Allan Armstrong Hunter

a biography

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In gratitude to Mr Hollywood Church
and the library
for the use of all those records!
We can all share Allan

Mildred Magruder

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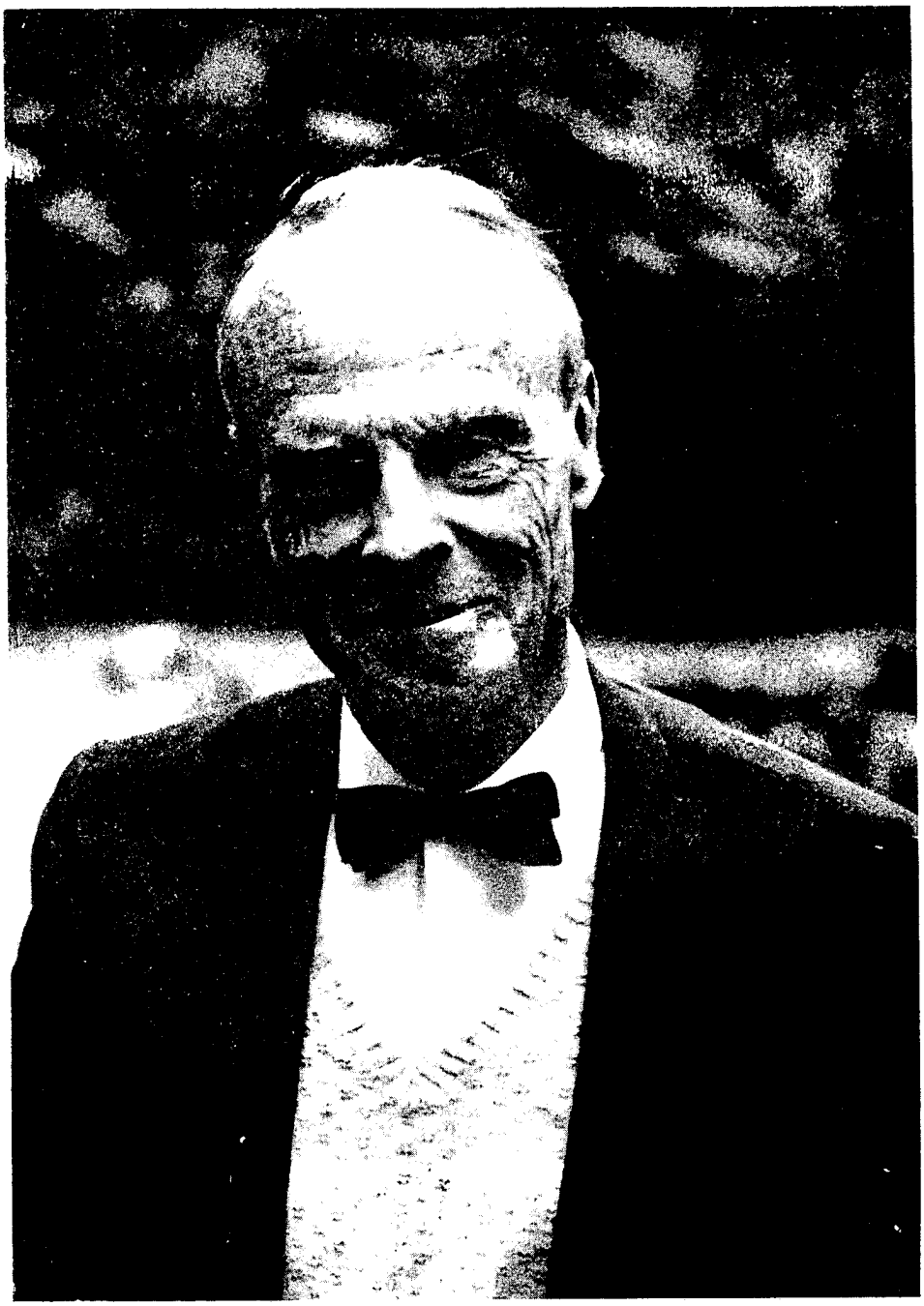
1974



FOREWORD

This biography could not have taken shape at all without the constant and willing cooperation of Allan Hunter. He submitted to dozens of interviews and kept up a generous correspondence; he made his writings and memorabilia available and suggested helpful friends as further sources for information. Among the friends was Margaret Edwards, who had made tapes of a series of conversations with Allan, covering both his experiences and his ideas, and these tapes she kindly allowed me to use. Many other friends giving personal reminiscences are acknowledged in the list of sources at the end of each chapter. Allan's sermons and published works were essential sources, and so were the records of Mt. Hollywood Congregational Church. Special periods of his life were illuminated by the accounts of Audrey Girdner and Annit Loftis, Herbert Nicolson, and Margaret Tjader; their books were most useful. These and other sources are listed in the bibliography. My own recollections of Allan Hunter begin forty-five years ago, and some events are from my own memory.

Allan read each chapter and made indispensable suggestions toward accuracy and enrichment. I am deeply indebted to Mrs. Betty Rohrer, Dr. John Anson Ford, my husband, Lloyd Magruder, and especially to Pastor Dan Genung for reading the manuscript and giving encouragement and correction. Barbara and Victor Pallos designed the attractive cover.

Writing this biography has been greatly rewarding, both for the pleasure of composition and for the intimate knowledge of the life and mind of Allan Hunter. Beyond expectation, the study has increased my admiration for him, my hope for man, and my search for reality.

Mildred Magruder
Los Angeles, 1974

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1. Toronto 1893-1897

In the affairs of men there is so much that is predestined that none except the elect may find assurance. Ethnic determiners, intellectual atmosphere, artistic inheritance, a tradition of family loyalty, the hazard of illness and death, all provide a set prior to the Person, and Allan Hunter's antecedents plotted the fortunate direction of his life before it was his to control.

Take ethnic determiners. It is said that all Hunters are descended from a Norse game keeper to William the Conqueror, and the love of hunting seemed to breed true in the Hunter blood. Later, as Lowland Scots, they migrated to Ireland for an infusion of Celtic mysticism. It is not surprising that an Irish grandmother of the family talked with a leprechaum in a little red hat and accepted his warning against pouring dish water on his home beneath the thornbush. After a Nineteenth Century potato famine two Hunter boys migrated to New York. One died, and the other, William, went to Canada to live with his uncle on a farm near the village of Millbrook, between Peterborough and Lake Ontario.

These Hunters were Protestants, tall, aware, interested in politics and religion, because these were the issues in the homeland. The William mentioned, soon on a farm of his own at Millbrook, became in time an elder in the Prebyterian Church, a justice of the peace, arbitrating the conflicts of the Irish clans thereabouts, and a friend of the Algonquin Indians then being resettled on a reservation. In 1840 he married Anne Armstrong, from County Armagh, in Ulster, and following the generous pattern of these families, they had thirteen children. They helped all of them either to a farm

or to a college education. The eighth child, born in 1855, was named for his father, William Hunter. He was Allan Hunter's father.

And what of the intellectual atmosphere? William was one that went the way of scholarship. He graduated from high school in Peterborough and from there went to the University of Toronto, where he was graduated and in 1877 got an M.A. This he did with the active help and encouragement of the whole family. One of the strengths of the Hunters, then and later, was a sense of family unity and supportiveness that made the abilities of each available to all. Those were the years of the Darwinian controversy, when the Theory seemed to threaten religion and the bases of culture. William read Henry Drummond's Ascent of Man and was encouraged by Dr. McCorkle of Princeton, the Presbyterian reconciler, to study this sensitive issue. He also investigated Kant's Critiques and took highest honors in philosophy.. But he was an enthusiastic cyclist as well, adopting an art new in America, and a goalie on the soccer team. After getting the master's degree, he went for a year to Knox College, in Toronto, a Presbyterian seminary, and for his second year, to Union Theological Seminary in New York, pastoring in backwoods churches in the summer. His commitment was to the ministry.

And the arts? While he was studying at Knox, he came to know Elizabeth Chambers. She was also called Eliza and Lizzie. But the recurrence of this name,like a haunting motif, is one of the amazing themes of this story. Her father came from a gentle Irish family, transplanted to the unexpectedly difficult life of a pioneer farm. Her mother's people were long-lived, able folk, and both families were well-established in the professions, as pastors and

missionaries, teachers and government officials. Eliza's father was concerned for the spiritual welfare of those same Algonquins at Woodstock that interested William Hunter. She was an artist and musician, loving folk songs, nature, and literature. She was lively, gracious, and quick-witted, and also competent in the practical arts of housewife and hostess.

And so they were married, in 1881, and William took the Presbyterian pastorate at Parkdale, in Toronto. Here, in the next three years, Graham and Irene were born. While they served at Orangeville, Anne, who died, and Stanley were born.

In 1888 William Hunter began a nine-year pastorate at Erskine Church, now St. Paul's United Church, in Toronto. The parsonage was near the University of Toronto, where he had graduated, and it became the cultural center of the family's life. In turn, their home became the center for religious and political discussion and intellectual stimulation, not only for university students but also for relatives and friends in need, and for community leaders. He was a real friend to students and younger relatives like his brother Robert, and Eliza was the loved and gracious spirit pervading this hospitable home. There were four children in the family. In 1893 Graham was ten, Irene, seven, Stanley, five, and Cecil, two. The life of the household was active, happy, and full of love.

William Hunter had built up a church great in membership and in moral strength. Religion to him meant God and the Saviour, and social action. He used his energies to oppose the liquor traffic, and he was a national officer in the Boys' Brigade, a precursor of the Boy Scouts.

In the spring of 1893, Eliza, or Elsie, as William called

her, was pregnant with her sixth child. She was happy, and still found time in her busy life to play the piano and sing folk songs, and she had recently painted two pale canaries among violets. William's birthday was March 23, and she planned a book of remembrance as his gift, of "Birds and Bees and Blossoms of all the Seasons." She used nine by twelve inch drawing paper, fifteen pages, hand-bound into hard covers. There were vignettes on each page, painted in pastel water colors. Most of the pictures celebrated the spring that was filling her with joy, but summer was there too, and three pages for fall and winter. She gathered the memories of all her life's springs and reproduced them accurately. The flowers of the fields were there--violets, red clover, jonquils, daisies, blue-eyed grass, fern fronds, pussy willow--with birds, and real or fanciful children and flower faces, idealized and charming. The pictures were accompanied by neatly hand-printed poetry about nature, from T. B. Aldrich and Bayard Taylor, brief quotes from Scripture, and bits of gentle humor, expressing the beauty of the world and its goodness, and the love in it. But also there was an undertone of transience, hope deferred, and the unknown Mystery inevitably facing us all:

> The everlasting river's brink
> And the sea of glass beyond whose margins
> Never yet the sun was known to sink.

William loved the book and treasured it..

The river's brink was not far. On March 31 her last son was born, and he was named Allan Armstrong Hunter, Armstrong for his Irish maternal grandmother. The baby adjusted normally to life in the world. But Eliza failed to regain her strength. In a few days she had influenza, or was it pneumonia? Diagnosis and also treat-

ment were uncertain in those times. It was presently plain that she would not recover. Yearning after her family in her weakness, she called ten-year-old Graham to her.

"My son," she said, "I want you to take care of your little brothers and sister, whatever happens."

Frightened by the strangeness and strengthened by his love, he promised , and he carried the burden of this trust all his life..

Eliza turned to her sister Amelia James and asked her to sing a folk song she loved, "I'm Far Frae My Home." She listened to Amelia's faltering voice singing the familiar tune, and it was the last she heard.

What happens to a new baby and four other small children without a mother, and to a grief-stricken and hard-working father? They were rescued by William's older sister, Elizabeth Ann Dobbins, already a widow. The children called her Aunt Lizzie, and she cared for them like her own for the four years that the family stayed together.

As a relief from sorrow, William Hunter plunged into his work and labored to make his ministry in Toronto even more fruitful. He also finished his doctorate at the University of Toronto. In the light of the higher criticism and Darwinism, he wrote his dissertation to reconcile science and Christianity.

In spite of effort and devotion there were problems in the household. The beautiful little Cecil contracted a minor illness, was given a mistaken remedy, and died. The motherless baby Allan comforted himself by sucking his thumb, and for years he felt the humiliation of a babyish habit and a misshapen mouth. At three years he contracted scarlet fever and permanently lost the hearing

of his right ear. For Allan the experiences of loneliness and hurt were so grave that he suppressed them completely, and he remembers nothing from these four years.

William Hunter was burdened with grief and worked beyond his strength. But he tried to be a companion as well as a mentor to his children, and took a daily run with them around the blocks near home. One day the illness and weakness he had been struggling against evercame him; he collapsed in the street beside his children, hemorrhaging from the lungs.

It was plain that he must stop his labors and follow the treatment usually prescribed for tuberculosis in those days: he must go to Colorado, live out of doors, and rest. Since the future was so uncertain, there was no recourse but to divide the family among willing aunts and uncles. Eliza's sister, Amelia James, took Irene and Graham to live with her in Woodstock; Irene went on to Denver in six months, and Graham stayed with her for two years. Stanley lived with Uncle Robert Hunter until Robert took a pastorate in Greeley to be near William; then Stanley went to Uncle Sam's farm near the village of Cedar Valley. There Allan and Aunt Lizzie Dobbins had been living since the family separated in 1897.

I-2 Peterborough 1897-1901

The household at the Cedar Valley farm was headed by Samuel Hunter, youngest brother of William. He was married to Blanche, and they eventually had four children: Eric, near Allan's age, Grace, Audrey, and Alma. Grandmother Hunter, Anne Armstrong, the Scotch Presbyterian lass from Ireland, lived with them, a little lady in a black silk dress and shawl and white cap, in her late seventies. She smoked a clay pipe and drank green tea. But in her youth she had lived the hard life of a pioneer and once had fled from a bear, real or supposed. Allan came to the farm in 1897, and Lizzie Dobbins with him, chiefly to look after him and provide continuity in his confused life. But any farm could use another pair of willing hands. Stanley came to the farm two years later and started high school in Cedar Valley. When he came home week ends he always brought small gifts for everyone. Uncle David lived in Woodstock, and there were many kinfolk about, all feeling close family ties. They were good people, kind, honest, hospitable, hard working, religious, and shrewd.

Peterborough was about eighty miles east of Toronto, north from Lake Ontario. It was a city of about twenty thousand, industrialized because of available water power. The country around had been farmed for nearly a century, and Cedar Valley and Woodstock were farming communities between Peterborough and the lake. But there was still virgin forest of ash and maple near Sam's farm, full of foxes, squirrels, racoons, weasels, ground hogs, bull frogs, and many birds. There was a mill at the fall line, running a grist mill, and the pond offered excellent fishing. The farm produced

grain and cattle, Ben Davis apples and maple syrup, and the Hunters ate well, though sometimes money was short.

Life for adults on the farm was determined by the necessities of planting and harvesting, and caring for the animals. In summer the men worked long hours in the fields, and the women cooked three big meals and also carried lunches to the fields morning and afternoon. They canned vegetables from the garden and fruit gathered from the woods. In fall and winter Sam butchered pork and beef and cut stove wood, and toward spring tapped the maple trees and made maple syrup. The winters were hard, with snow filling the roads and farm yard. The plumbing consisted of a pump and a remote outhouse papered with the Toronto Globe, a frigid but imperative goal in midwinter. But the farmers accepted the hard life and the work ethic, and eventually the material rewards were worth the effort.

Besides, they were sustained by a severe Presbyterianism, renewed weekly in the strict observance of the Sabbath. Winter and summer they made the four mile trip each Sunday, to church at Cedar Valley. They drove a democrat wagon and were covered with buffalo robes when it was cold. To Allan the church service was an agony of trying to sit still by interesting himself in the innocent diversions provided by his aunt. In the afternoon there was usually Sunday School in the school house a mile from home. This event was made endurable by the Sunday School cards to take home; there was a Golden Text and a story, but the important part was the picture, beautiful in blues and lavenders and irridescence like peacock feathers. A sober life style prevailed on Sundays, and there was no whistling or swimming. But after dinner the front parlor

was opened for visitors, and conversation and hymn singing were permitted. In fact, a command performance was often demanded of Allan. He stood on the eminence of a hair cloth chair and sang what the audience suggested. The guests were taken by his talents, but it may be that his family, with their dry humor, were enjoying a moral irony when they asked him to sing "God sees the little sparrow fall," knowing his passion for birding. One day his sense of exploitation climaxed and he rushed into the barnyard, determined to fulfill at least part of the action of the song. There on the wooden fence by the manure pile sat one of the divinely watched-over sparrows. He shied a perfect stone with perfect aim, and the sparrow fell according to Scripture. He felt not the slightest remorse. In fact, his practiced accuracy of aim was a continuing satisfaction to him.

The festivals of the church were no part of the lives of these good and respectable people. At Christmas, perhaps there would be an orange and a candy stick, but it was no time for celebration and hilarity. One year, however, the hired man provided a happy memory. On this Christmas day, fortuitously, the hired man was both sober and at leisure, and he offered to take Allan hunting.. He took the muzzle-loading musket down from its place on the wall above the stove, let the boy help him pound down the paper wads over the powder and then over the shot, and set out to look at his traps. There was a skunk. He held the heavy gun for Allan to aim and fire. The rebound knocked the boy on his back into the snow, but he hit the skunk and was happy. He was answering an ancestral call to hunting.

On Saturday nights the adults allowed themselves a mild release from their dour life. In thelamp light after supper Uncle

Sam took out his fiddle and played "Pop Goes the Weasel" and other worldly music. There was a treat of oatmeal cookies, milk, and maple syrup, and Grandma Hunter, in her black dress and white cap, her feet on the fender of the stove, would pour out a saucer of tea for the "wee one," beginning his life-long devotion to the cup that cheers but not inebriates. Allan began to have a wonderful sense of security and rootedness, acceptance and belonging.

Whatever this farm life was for the adults, it was idyllic for the boy. He was a part of the family's life, and still apart from it, more at home in the woods than in the farmyard. He was not a noble savage nor Wordsworth's Michael, but a wild thing with the bold pride, the innocent cruelty, and the sensuality of natural man. Nature was his great passion, and he loved the physical world and wanted to know about it in its most intimate and vital details. He wanted to project himself into it and impinge upon it. Nature was freedom, sense perception, the true roots of life and reality. This sense of awareness and joy, this sense of the utter realness of nature, came to him at the age of five on the Cedar Valley farm and stayed with him all his life.

Allan's fascination with birds may have begun in that shadowy and forgotten time in Toronto, poring over his mother's careful and lively pictures of canaries and meadowlarks. At any rate, on the farm he had abundant opportunity to pursue his quest. His accurate aim felled that sparrow in the barnyard, and he could pick it up still living and feel its pulse. His first gun was a slab of wood with nails and a rubber band to propel corn ammunition. You can't aim at a bird without observing it. He watched a skillful woodpecker seem to catch the corn he shot at it, and remain unharmed. Later,

with an air gun, he tried to draw a bead on a grouse on the ground, but the shot at that angle would roll out of his gun; the grouse didn't wait and Allan was late to school. He hit a bluebird on a telephone wire above a pool of water, and he watched the blood dripping into the water and staining its blue coat in handsome contrast. Without regret he continued for years to be challenged by a living target and exhilarated by his own expertise.

He became an intrepid explorer of forests and climber of trees, and he never fell or was hurt. His passion was to collect birds' eggs. With self-imposed ethics he never took all the eggs from a nest--just two or three. He learned all the bird lore: the crested flycatcher's nest is often lined with a snake skin and its eggs are scrawled with purple; the orchard oriole's nest has cobwebs in it; goldfinch, robin and catbird eggs are different shades of blue; a rose-breasted grosbeak has a full dress suit with a wound on his chest. But he accepted the "shark's egg" for his collection without questioning its donor! He diligently collected eggs, blew out the contents, and arranged them in sawdust under a glass case. And he thoroughly enjoyed the approval and fame coming to him from his uncle's friends who came to see the display. His interest in the details of birds also led him to try to paint them, and uncle David in Peterborough gave him two quarters for his painting of a partridge.

He could shoot birds and skunks. He could also catch fish. One Friday afternoon at age seven, escaping from the school house, he recognized the overcast sky of perfect bass weather. He ran the mile to the farm, gathered a few worms from the manure pile and his fishing tackle from the morning glory vines, and ran back to the

mill pond. He caught twelve bass, from one and a half to three and a quarter pounds each, and dragged them home in a pail supplied by a neighbor. All the family had bass to eat that night, bass provided by his industry and skill.

It was inevitable that at six years he had to start school in the red one room school a mile down the road. There were pine desks,easily and richly carved by generations of occupants and fitted with tantalizing wells for purple ink. When first confronted with the journey, he was terrified, and the honking geese made him cry. Aunt Lizzie walked part way down the road with him for comfort. But he soon became bolder and was taking shortcuts through the woods, beginning that familiarity with the deep woods already described. Hunters had the reputation of being able at school, and Allan soon found that he could prove his aptitude by taking part in spelling bees. But school also offered many less academic and acceptable means of strengthening one's sense of power and worth. One could resist learning the standard curriculum. One could harass the teacher by throwing spitballs, and the penalty of being kept in emphasized one's prowess. Reciting "readings" like "The Charge of the Light Brigade" was part of his program of showmanship, and so was singing to relatives on a Sunday afternoon. and the rebellion against it. He was learning ways to project his image.

But though he was resisting the formal learning processes, he was setting up his own activity programs, before Dewey. A short way down the road lived the Carmichael family, reputedly part Indian, composed of the father and two motherless daughters. The youngest of these girls helped him conduct an experiment with the purpose of finding out what will happen if you pull both ends of a dog. She

pulled the tail and he pulled the head. Finally he had to let go and was badly bitten on the face. He bears the scars to this day, but they are scars, not wounds, and the symbol of forgiveness. He had to wait a long time to understand the ultimate meaning of that experiment.

The eldest of the girls, two years his senior, was his constant companion during his last two years on the farm. These two motherless children explored the woods together like wild creatures. She helped him collect the birds' eggs, and they experienced together the fauna and flora of the woods. They swam together au naturel in the frog pond, coming home from Sunday School on a Sunday afternoon. They found pleasure and comfort in each others' bodies in an innocent sexuality that continued for two years. But still, because it was secret and undiscovered, he knew that it was not quite innocent. His suppressed guilt drove him to stern religious observance, skill as a hunter, and competence in spelling. At the same time, he was unconsciously learning the importance of sensuality in the human condition.

But events were shaping the end of this idyll of freedom.

I-3. Denver 1901-1909

When Allan's father, William Hunter, went to Denver in 1897, he was ill and broken by separation from his family. But in spite of loneliness and weakness he began to plan for his recovery with characteristic directness and energy. He lived out-of-doors, "in a piano box," as the phrase was, for the full benefit of the sun and air. In less than a year Irene, age twelve, came to go to school, and Graham at sixteen came to Denver in 1899, to go to Denver University as a freshman before entering Princeton. In 1898 William's brother Robert took a pastorate in Greeley to help him back to health. And he did recover, though he lost a lung and had to make allowances for reduced physical efficiency. In 1899 he accepted a pastorate in Denver, the First Avenue Presbyterian Church, and began an active and eminent ministry. He built a large and successful church and was later made moderator of the Denver Synod. He knew Judge Lindsay in Denver, and La Follette and Jacob Riis, advocates of new social reforms and upward mobility, though it cannot be said that William Hunter himself was in any way a radical.

In 1901 William had a visit from old friends, Sarah and Ella Holden and their father. They were returning from a round-the-world tour, tragic because of the death in Cairo of Mrs.Holden. She was the sister of William's sometime professor, Dr. Gregg. Sarah was a singer and the foremost woman artist in Canada, trained in Paris in famous studios and in New York as the student of William Chase. She was also a gracious lady, serious and Quaker-like in her attitudes. The visit was a fortunate one because William and Sarah decided upon marriage.

So it was that on a certain day eight-year-old Allan stood self-consciously on the station platform at Peterborough, holding

a box of candy provided by his concerned aunts. The awaited train arrived and a pretty lady stepped off. He gave her the box of candy, and she hugged and kissed him kindly. She greeted Stanley and the others, returned to the train, and was gone, all in a minute and a half. He had met Sarah Holden, Little Mother, and the meeting would completely change his life.

Three months later, Allan, with Stanley and Uncle David, went to Denver on the train, leaving the north woods and the farm, the kind relatives and the egg collection and the wild, free life. Uncle Robert married William and Sarah, and the family was again united.

Denver was a wealthy and vigorous town, and both of Allan's unfamiliar parents were cultivated and prominent. The house with its elegant furnishings, its unaccustomed bathroom, its routine of eating and dressing, the unknown faces, completely overcame the boy, and he was crushed with loneliness. He was unable to eat for three days, and his parents took him to the doctor, fearing serious illness. The diagnosis was homesickness, and he recovered from this acute stage. But the malaise continued for some time, and his understanding parents sent him back to the farm in Ontario for a visit, to ease the pain of adapting to the new life.

Sarah, Little Mother to Allan, though Mater to the rest, bravely assumed the task of civilizing the little wild boy, introducing him to the bathroom facilities to avoid embarrassments; encouraging him to memorize chapters of the words of Jesus in the Gospel of John for his religious instruction; tutoring him in the art she loved, hoping to make him an artist as well as an art lover. He was again given the advantages of travel and independence when

he and Stanley went to St. Louis to the Lewis and Clark Exposition in 1904.

His whole environment seemed to be focused on changing him, but it offered no solutions for the most urgent problems. His protruding teeth, supposedly from the thumbsucking of his lonely babyhood, needed correction, but he had to wait in self-consciousness until high school days for orthodontia. The bladder incontinence that embarrassed his family was a real physical problem aggravated by the guilt trauma and shock with which he now viewed the childish sex play. It was many years before he was sure of himself in this regard.

However, other agencies were vigorously working. A child evangelist got Allan under conviction at the age of twelve, and he was convinced that he had indeed committed the unpardonable sin. He felt almost at the brink of hell-fire, threatened with the punishment of a vengeful God.. His only hope was in earnest prayer, even at school, testimony at Christian Endeavor, and pious devotion to church. For several years this religiosity was his defense against despair, and probably also a confortable support to his role of pastor's son.

Carry Nation arrived in Denver in 1905, a vigorous sixty-year-old, wielding her hatchet against the Demon Rum. Allan admired her intensity, and her call answered his need for the ascetic life. He bought a hatchet and signed the pledge at the age of twelve.

The Denver school system too was at work on Allan. He began in third grade and progressed through junior high in Denver. His scholarship was not remarkable, and he was neither much interested nor greatly bored with what went on in the classroom. Most of his

lasting experiences, though connected with school, were extracurricular.

Allan still had a good aim and liked snowball fighting. Once a snowball with a rock in it struck him in the eye, and he stood in helpless pain with the blood trickling down his face. A Japanese boy gave him a handkerchief to bind up his eye, and Little Mother later washed it and sent it home to its owner. This incident had much to do with the sympathy and affection he had for the Japanese in later years.

His accurate aim also made him good at baseball, and he was the pitcher for a team called the Blue Garters. His sister Irene made him the required pair of blue garters. He had an in-group.

Once he was called before the principal for a minor fault. The principal invoked the Kantian criterion.

"What would happen if everyone did what you do? So you had better refrain."

Allan could not accept this generalization. "What if everyone went to China as a missionary? Then where would we be?"

The principal covered his inward grin.

There was little science in the curriculum. But Allan was still driven by an ambivalent love for birds, and curiosity about them. On Saturdays he went to the museum in the capitol building to look at the stuffed birds and to paint them--the blue grouse and ducks he wanted to shoot. The curator was helpful and friendly and took the birds out of their glass cases so that he could see them better. Was he satisfying his own scientific interest, trying to fulfill Little Mother's hopes for him, or answering the yearning of his own mother toward nature? But painting them didn't deter him from shooting three grouse out of season.

Supplementing his painting, he haunted the library in Denver and later in Greeley to find the Latin names for these game birds and animals he was hunting. The black duck was Anas boscus, the blue-winged teal, Querquedula discors, the gopher, Geomy bursurius. The existence of general categories to which the specific animals belonged fascinated him.

One Monday morning while he was at West Denver High School, the boy next to him was not at school. He had been killed in an accident in the mountains. This intimate touch of death shook him and gave him a sense of empathy with the dead that he would feel often in the war. He was beginning to feel a reverence for life that would one day spread even to the blue teal.

Little Mother was a helping presence in all of this, not only for Allan but for his sibs. She saw that Irene graduated from the University of Colorado, and the three boys from Princeton. But the crown of expectation that she held above them was often a strain to reach, and sometimes one ignored it or rebelled. When Allan put off his algebra or his chores, she would quote, "Just a little slumber, a little folding of the hands," and he sometimes pretended not to hear.

William Hunter worried about his shy and troubled son, but he could not help him and may have been a little annoyed by him. He decided to send him for a change of scene to his brother Robert, still pastor at Greeley. Uncle Robert and Aunt Christena had a son Bill, a year younger than Allan, and they became almost like brothers. It was a good life at Greeley, with basketball and track at school in the winter, and in the summer, vacationing at Middle Fork with Graham, and at Estes Park and Rocky Mountain Park with Uncle Robert, in a new wilderness. They could fish at Bear Lake, hike to Long's

Peak, and hunt in all these high and rugged mountains.

His father encouraged Allan to live outdoors and take plenty of exercise. For Allan this meant hunting. Besides its value as an insurance against tuberculosis, he found hunting the greatest comfort and escape from his anxieties and the most satisfying and exciting use of his skills.

A little below Greeley was the confluence of the Cache la Poudre and the North Platte rivers, a rich feeding and nesting ground for mallard and teal. On Saturdays he rode to the river on his bicycle, looking for duck to shoot. Once on his way home in the moonlight he disturbed one in an irrigation ditch and brought it down before it had flown ten yards. He could get a jack rabbit on its third leap. He hunted in the snow and retrieved his game through quicksand and water. Then he would ride or walk home, seven or eight miles, in the dark and with frozen pants. Aunt Christena had him share the ducks he bagged with the sick in Uncle Robert's parish, but Allan did not mind; he had had his pleasure, the exaltation of speed and accuracy, of being a good shot.

He escaped his father's illness. But he did not question his right to slaughter, and his hunting was only a temporary remission of the pressures of his sexual asceticism. However, through his continued experience of nature something else was quietly happening: he was unconsciously developing a theology. The doctrine as it had been given to him was that the knowledge of God comes only through the revelation of Scripture and the person of Jesus. But from his years in the wilderness the unformulated conviction grew in him that God is revealed through nature, His creation, and that the physical world is essential in ultimate reality.

In 1909 William Hunter decided upon a bold step. He accepted a call to a church in Riverside, California. There the world would open up for Allan, now sixteen, and he would grow up.

Thinking of the companionship Allan and Bill had had and their closeness as cousins, William Hunter gave the two boys identical watches as parting gifts. But the gift was bitter for Allan. To him it meant thathis father felt no different love for him than he did for Bill, and he was miserable with jealousy. Those watches did not help much to bridge the gap of communication that had always existed between Allan and his father.

I-4. Riverside, 1909-1911

William Hunter in Riverside repeated for the third time his success in developing a great church. He attracted many friends and civic leaders to Calvary Church, tourists came to hear a notable preacher, and the press recognized him as a news maker and a writer of ability. Again he became Moderator of the Synod. Stanley was at Princeton and Graham had a pastorate. So the family at Riverside consisted of the successful father, Little Mother, Irene, now twenty-four, and Allan. It was a considerable advantage for him to face a new life with this support.

Allan went to Riverside High School, and many conditions of his life continued as they had been in Greeley. Here also he found duck and quail to shoot, in the Santa Ana River wash and in the surrounding foothills. He swam in the pool and played tennis, though he was no star. He read about nature and became a Saturday Evening Post fan.

He also discovered the stimulating ideas of David Starr Jordan, the biologist and builder of Stanford. In 1907 Jordan published The Human Harvest, expressing the thesis that war brings the survival of the unfit, destroying the best blood in every generation. Allan was impressed by this moral imperative against war and enlarged upon it for a high school contest speech on peace. He was caught up in the peace movement, at a time, it is true, when it was not too hard to admit the follies of war. It was to be more difficult when he was a participant in the war. Fifteen years later, David Starr Jordan wrote the foreword to Allan Hunter's study of American relations with Japan and China, Facing the Pacific (1928). Ultimately the issue of peace was the moving force of Allan's life.

In 1911 Allan graduated from Riverside High School. Then came a work sabbatical. His father sent him on a trip through the Northwest. He paid for part of the expense, and Allan was expected to supplement this sum by working. He worked in the wheat fields in Idaho and Canada, going from place to place on the train. Once from the Canadian Pacific he spotted ducks and got off to shoot them. He evaded the game warden, concealed the ducks on the train, and brought them to Vancouver, where they were eaten by his hosts, the Chambers family, his mother's relatives.

In the fall of 1911 he entered Occidental College to learn his Greek, still an entrance requirement at Princeton. In 1910 Occidental withdrew from official connection with the Presbyterian Church, but it was the accepted school of the area for the Presbyterian-minded. The Academy was being phased out, and the school was feeling its destiny as a real college. The campus was in Highland Park, on North Figueroa between Avenues 51 and 52, in buildings later used as a city school, but still surrounded by chaparral-covered hills and scattered ranches. However, ground was already broken for new buildings at the new location in Eagle Rock. When President Theodore Roosevelt visited Los Angeles, in 1911, he was driven up the Arroyo Seco and commented on its possibilities as a series of parks; he stopped at the nearby Occidental campus for a reception in his honor, and gave an address.

So Occidental College was a stimulating place, with a yeasty atmosphere of growth and newness. Besides freshman courses, Allan crammed Greek, through the school year and into the following summer, studying day and night to fulfill Princeton's language requirement.

Not all of his time was devoted to Greek, however. At a Freshman get-acquainted supper one evening he helped with cleanup, and there in the kitchen, washing the dishes, was another freshman, the daughter of another Presbyterian minister. Her name was Elizabeth Walker. He later admired her performance as the heroine of a school play, The Sawdust Hero, and chatted with her on a few casual dates, and then he saw very little of her for ten years. But his heart had found its home.

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Chapter II 1912-1920 World War I

I. Princeton 1912-1916

Since 1746 Princeton had been training Presbyterian clergy. Allan's father, William Hunter, as a young man had been influenced by its liberal theology and enlightened science, though he did not go there. But Allan's brothers, Graham and Stanley, both graduated from Princeton, in 1904 and 1910, and it was natural that Allan should go there. He had been studying Greek for a year to be ready to enter in the fall of 1912.

In 1912 the campus comprised 539 acres, with Nassau Street, the main road between New York and Philadelphia, as its center. Historic Clio and Whig Halls, the library, and the East and West Halls faced Nassau Square. There were dormitories for nearly all the students and buildings for "recitation halls" in every discipline--about three dozen structures in all. The architecture was English Gothic, resembling Oxford, vine covered and surrounded by trees. The new president, John Grier Hibben, had resolved the impasse of the conflict between the former president, Woodrow Wilson, and Dean West regarding the location of the Graduate School, and a building program was in progress. Additional laboratories and dormitories and Palmer Stadium were being built. The athletic facilities were generous indeed and included ten field houses, boat houses, two stadia. There were also a museum, a chapel, two auditoriums, and Alexandria Hall for commencements. The central beauty of the campus was Lake Carnegie, made by the damming of the Millstone River and used for swimming, boating, and skating. In 1912 all these splendors were provided to accommodate 1543 students and 169 faculty. There were about 625 in the B.A. program. Tuition was $160 a year, but there were scholarships, prizes, and

tuition aids available.

Majors were offered in philosophy, political science, history, art, languages, and archeology. Since 1892 the college had maintained an archeology expedition in Syria, and this interest in the Near East may have helped to point both Graham and Allan in that direction. Princeton had a preceptorial system modeled by Wilson upon Jowett's tutorial system at Oxford: the young preceptors, about a third of the faculty, guided the reading of small groups of undergraduates. There was much stress on oratory, debate, and essay writing, and the two literary societies, American Whig and Cliosophic, under the guidance of the English Department, fostered these arts and gave prizes to the winners. Greek was required, and chapel was compulsory until 1915. The young gentlemen studied under the honor system.

In the fall of 1912, at the age of nineteen, Allan left the upstart West and became a part of this established and sophisticated community. On the train he read an article in the New York Times by the physician and mystic Sir Oliver Lodge, defining matter as a form of motion. Allan was haunted by this concept, and it set the intellectual atmosphere of science and metaphysics in which he approached Princeton.

He entered the life of Princeton, however, with reservations. He was shy and puritanical, too well brought up even to sing, as Robert Maynard Hutchins remarked about his own youth, and was furthermore somewhat pharisaic about his refraining from the other two pleasures. (He did, in point of fact, sing, as a sort of scab, breaking a choir strike in an Episcopal church in Trenton, during his freshman year!) He may have endured some harassment from the hard drinkers, but they tolerated him because he used to help them

home after a Saturday night bout. But for the most part he was respected for not drinking and was accepted socially. He went to one or two posh house parties where the Colgates were present, and to a fashionable dance at the Waldorf-Astoria. But the truth was that he didn't drink and couldn't dance well, and was too concerned about world events to be a socialite. He was invited to the clubs open to upper classmen, and he and Edmund Wilson joined one of them. This was "Bunny" Wilson, his friend and a visitor at his home in Riverside, in the summer of 1913; he later became an eminent literary critic. However, the clubs encouraged snobbery and were presently attacked on this score.

For the campus was really a democracy of the elite. It is true, freshmen were required to step off the walks to allow others to pass. But Allan and a friend, in freshman black, decided one day to break the precedent and hold their own at the approach of a man and two others. The man himself stepped off the path, greeting the boys with elaborate and ironic courtesy, "Good morning, gentlemen," with subtle emphasis on the last word. Then they recognized the visitor, followed by two security guards, as Woodrow Wilson, no longer president of Princeton, it is true, but governor of New Jersey and President-elect of the United States. A few weeks later he went with other students to the inauguration, in the same car with Wilson. These incidents were to have more far-reaching results than the brash freshman could have guessed.

Negroes were not allowed at Princeton in those days, and although Allan taught a Sunday School class at a black church in the town for a time, he had had insufficient chance to discover his own attitude toward Negroes. His learning had to wait for some years.

Allan's major was philosophy, but he got the prize in history in his junior year. He sent the money to Stanley for his work at Ewing College in India.

Allan was still using sports as a release from tensions, and he was a good track man, especially in cross country. He learned to keep on running, in spite of a stitch in his side that always came on long runs. When he ran in the races in Van Courtland Park in New York, he would find Graham at the fifty-yard line, waiting to cheer him to the finish. On Lincoln's birthday, his first year at Princeton, he and Stanley went skating on Lake Carnegie. It was a fine winter day, and everyone from the college was there, according to Stanley's observation. They could skate for three miles on the lake. There is a dim snapshot of them on their skates, with the bare tree-lined shore behind them. Allan is thin, hatless, with stiff, high collar and dark suit, standing competently on his skates. His brothers were looking after him as always, and they were enjoying and supporting each other.

In the summer of 1914, when he was twenty-one, Allan took two churches among the Muskoka Lakes, a chain of lakes close to Lake Huron and north of Toronto. The churches were eight miles apart in a beautiful country of clear, shallow lakes, streams, and ponds draining into Georgian Bay, and covered with maple and beech forests. It was less agricultural than the Peterborough area but ideal for a vacation land. There was serenity and security there, and confidence in things as they had always been. Then in August, far from this quiet place, an obscure archduke was shot, and Europe exploded into the First World War. Suddenly everything was changed, and the innocence was gone

forever. Allan had declared himself against war in that smug time four years before, supported by the opinion of the influential Dr. Jordan. But now he was surrounded by Canadian propaganda and sympathy for the war, and his parishioners and relatives were confident supporters of it. His cousins joined up, two to be killed and one, Bill Hunter, in the Royal Air Force, to begin a long career in the military. Allan could not sort out his loyalties or his ethical conclusions, and he went back to college profoundly troubled.

At Princeton his teachers all supported the war and were no help to him. Alfred Noyes came from England as a visiting professor, actually beginning a nine-year lectureship. His purpose seemed to be to build a mood supporting the war among his students. Allan took his course because he liked his poetry. But it became a course in disenchantment. Noyes derided Tagore and Browning and was preoccupied with the war all year. Allan made a syllabus of the course lectures and sold it, and Noyes, with some justification, was furious and gave him a low grade.

His ethics teacher, Werner Fite, said, "You'd shoot a mad dog in the street, wouldn't you?" Although he had once studied for the ministry, for him the analogy was proof. The philosophy professors, Norman Kemp Smith and Archibald Bowman, left their posts to go to war. Allan admired Smith and made the presentation speech when the class gave their teacher a watch as a parting gift. A religious education professor he later interviewed at Union Seminary said that the only logical course for a pacifist to follow is suicide, for if he lived he lived on the sins, the service, and the protection of those supporting the war. These are classic responses to war: our enemies are insane or subhuman; action, fighting, is easier than thought or justice;

the pacifist is copping out on his responsibility.

Nor did literature offer him solutions. Hardy's poetry he did not care for. He found Leo Tolstoi's Kreutzer Sonata warped by sexual over-indulgence and rebound thinking. The satire of Anatole France did not speak to him. Though he had listened to his father's preaching he did not understand his father's views about war or his justification of it. It was one of the points of non-communication between them.

Allan was aware of painful antitheses. He felt the disparity between the gay and luxurious party at the Waldorf-Astoria and the violence and horror of the war in Europe. He saw the problems of using the evil means of war to accomplish the often-stated just and noble ends of peace, freedom, and so on. He found no solution for his confusion and depression. He received the prize in history in his junior year, it is true. But during his senior year he had to repeat the exams for the required course in European history twice before he passed. He was almost unable to study; at least, he was blocked in the troubled area of Europe.

While Stanley was still a pastor at Bryn Mawr he was reading articles on the philosophy of war and was disturbed by the militarism of General Wood and President Wilson. Allan felt he saw blood on the hands of the deacons in his brother's church who were making money on munitions. Stanley took him to Philadelphia to hear Rufus Jones state the Quaker position. The speaker's recurring theme was responsibility. Stanley arranged for a brief but significant interview between Allan and Rufus Jones.

So Allan kept coming near the truth in those days, and still not finding it. He could have gone on the Ford Peace Ship, with

Jane Addams and the rest, but he did not go. On the way to Athens after his graduation he made the acquaintance of a man and his wife, parishioners of John Haynes Holmes. They were convinced by John Haynes Holmes' pacifism, but it did not speak clearly enough to Allan. He came close to an angel while a senior at Princeton, but still he was unaware. Kagawa, a student at the seminary, was taking a course in the graduate school. He stayed on campus eighteen months, but no one recognized him as a saint. They only saw a bowlegged little man, always laden with books and always hurrying to avoid being late, and they were inclined to laugh at him. He took a weekly meal with a professor, whose wife fed him well, but the rest of the week he lived on shredded wheat. He had already lived eight years in the slums of Kobe, caring for the ill and dispossessed until he ruined his health. After his study at Princeton, he went to Utah to organize farm workers and start co-ops. But almost no one at Princeton knew that they had missed one of the great practitioners of love and non-violence in our time.

Allan Hunter graduated from Princeton in June, 1916, at the age of twenty-three, having finally passed European history. But he had not reconciled his philosophical pacifism with the realities of the war, now in its third year.

II-2 Assiut, 1916-1918

William Hunter taught his sons many practical techniques for success: Get to know people through being interested in their children; cultivate good relationships with the press; devote two years to missions before going to seminary. The sons were willing disciples in all of these areas. In the matter of missionary services, Graham spent two years in Hawaii and two more with the Red Cross in Palestine. Stanley went to India to teach at Ewing College, 1911-12. Now it was Allan's turn, and he had an assignment to teach for two years at Assiut College, a Presbyterian school in Egypt.

He returned to Riverside after graduation in 1916 for a visit with his father and Little Mother before going abroad. While at home he preached in his father's pulpit at Calvary Church, on the subject of peace. Whatever he said on that occasion, he probably had neither resolved his own doubts nor found agreement with his father, and his views were going to be modified by his experience in the war.

In July he left on the train, going first to Santa Fe, New Mexico, where his sister Irene was recovering from tuberculosis. Then he went to Toronto to see other relatives, and on to New York. He preached in Graham's church and claimed the text, "I can do all things through Christ." He sailed July 29 on the Greek shipThemistocles, first to Piraeus, the port of Athens, and thence to Alexandria. From there he went by train three hundred miles up the Nile to Assiut and the college where he was to teach.

Assiut was a city of forty thousand on the upper Nile, in the midst of a well-arranged irrigation system. It was the meeting place of an important caravan route and the railroad and had a good bazaar. It was the capital of a province of Upper Egypt and

had fine public buildings. It had been a center of Coptic Christians for centuries, but it was also important in ancient Egyptian history and the site of many tombs. Assiut college, a Presbyterian school, accepted both men and women students, but on separate campuses.

Allan taught philosophy, English, and physical education but followed no narrow curriculum. One of his friends among the British army personnel, Lord Radstock, came to speak to the upperclassmen about his father who started an evangelical movement in England and on the continent in Mid-Nineteenth Century. Lord Radstock considered himself to be on a mission for God and King. Allan told his classes about California redwoods, German submarines, the necessity of killing flies, and the correlation between religion and science.

On his way through Mediterranean countries he had observed that the English sparrow was to be found there as well as in Ontario barnyards, and so he assigned his composition class at Assiut the topic of sparrows. Thethemes showed his students' detailed knowledge of sparrows, and also their dislike: sparrows eat seeds and crops, they are noisy and discourteous, they invade homes and classrooms with nests, noise, and dirt, they attract snakes. The results of this assignment show the perceptual nature of Allan's teaching and his good rapport with the students.

His own reading at this time, guessed from allusions in his early writing, included Wordsworth, Browning, Milton, Matthew Arnold, Wells, Anatole France, Whitman, Ezra Pound, Sydney Lanier, and these authors he may have introduced to his students.

Physical education included the gentleman's sports of tennis and track. But taboos and cultural differences were operative. He played tennis with an army captain; good. But when he played

with an Egyptian student the dean took him to task; this could not be done, for the "natives" must be kept in their place. The students on their part did not hesitate to use non-academic methods to ingratiate themselves into his favor--smiles, flowers. And one track man simply lay down on the course when he tired of running in the 109° heat, proving, naturally, their lack of sportsmanship.

The social life, too, was not indigenous. The amenities and comforts of English life were maintained, and tea was a ritual. There was a YMCA hut near the campus where the British soldiers gathered, and Allan liked going there to talk with the men over tea and cakes. He felt great empathy for the British Tommys, fighting across the Sinai Desert. Furthermore, he was flattered by the attentions of the Great. The captain, his tennis partner, told him about the submarines the Germans were using, and the suicide clubs on the Western Front that went over the top first. Lord Radstock, with his buttoned French boots, beard, and precise, aristocratic speech, told about his great house in England, being used at the time to house wounded Tommys. Allan had three friends in the Royal Engineers, and he was entranced with their exotic tales of Gourkas and Afghans, Boxers and Bengalese. All this talk put him in a "military mood," he admitted to his father in a letter printed in the Riverside Press, and he was for "Kitchener's mob," if they were all like these men, with their courage, obedience, selflessness, and endurance in hardship. Some of them had been in the fighting at Gallipoli.

It came time for summer holidays. In other times it would have been his great pleasure to go to the Sudan to try his skill hunting jungle animals. But now his desire was to minister to the battle-

worn Tommys, the sort he had seen in the Assuit Y, to bind up their wounds and feed them sandwiches, as he wrote home in a letter. The United States had entered the war in April, and he could feel less apologetic. But working for the Red Cross in France, where the American troops were, was not feasible. So he became a YMCA secretary at a rest stop in the Sinai Desert before the Gaza Strip.

In the summer of 1917 General Allenby was pushing across the Sinai Penninsula. The first Y unit Allan worked with was near Allenby's camp, and near a field hospital. It was beyond the rail head, and transportation to and from it was by camel or horses. Allan often made this journey, leading a camel through the sand, to bring up coffee and medicines. Once, borrowing a major's horse, he found the officer more concerned for the safety of his valuable animal than for the rider. The camp was dug into a hillside overlooking the Mediterranean and in view of a long strip of beach. They were in sight of shelling and dog fights between British and Turkish planes. Toward the end of the summer Allan worked at a canteen supposed to be the closest to the front of any canteen in the war, and within a few hundred yards of the enemy line. It was near an ammunition dump and open to shelling and rifle fire. At both canteens, the shelling shared nuisance status with the sand, permeating everything, and the flies, infesting the food and spreading sand-fly fever. Allan was slowed down by this infection for some days.

The second canteen had a dirt floor and palm leaf roof and walls, reinforced with sandbags. It was furnished with plank tables and benches and a wind-up phonograph. Medical inspection from Allenby's camp advised carbolic acid and tar oil on the floor to discourage flies,

but it was necessary still to cover everything and whisk flies off the bread and jam when eating. The water, brought by camels, had to be heavily chlorinated to prevent dysentery, and heavily laced with lime juice to mask the chlorine and prevent scurvy. Generally, Allan ate at the officers' mess, where apricots replaced the Tommys' plum jam, and whiskey was in supply. He was the only American who didn't drink; and the Scottish officers, though surprised, accepted his childhood pledge as reason enough.

The canteen was a rest stop, with change of personnel every four days or so. The soldiers represented the whole British Commonwealth: Gurkhas and Sikhs from India, armed with curved knives; Welsh, Cockneys, and Scots, each with his own rich dialect; Aussies and New Zealanders, often with camels; black men with Oxford accent, from the West Indies. These West Indians lived at a camp a short way down the beach and were used by the army chiefly for labor, though they performed well in battle. They were beautiful, swimming nude or riding their black horses into the blue sea and white surf. They played their banjos, mandolins, and flutes at night, and one of them learned to play Palestinian rag on the piano.

The YMCA stocked delicacies like canned fruit and chocolate, and Allan's job included dispensing the food and providing evening entertainment. There was a different program in the entertainment tent each night of the soldiers' stay at the rest camp: first night, a volunteer talent show; second night, Allan Hunter lecturing on California, homesteading, climate, Fords, with a pitch for the canned peaches at the canteen; third night, a religious service of hymns, scripture, and a few words by Allan. One night a London division gave a concert under the stars, using the Y piano and drawing a crowd of two thousand,

including the Y secretary.

The actual work was done by three orderlies directed by Allan, and a corporal, self-appointed, acting as M. P. to keep the soldiers from breaking things--records, the piano, athletic equipment.

The soldiers at the rest camp were cheerful, sentimental about their home folks, and glad to bring pictures and talk about them. They were sentimental about the women nurses, too, but willing to harass the officers by pulling up tent stakes and so on. But chiefly they were fed up, and the military command seemed to foster this boredom. After a few days of it, the troops would welcome action of whatever sort.

One morning Allan watched a young officer on the beach with his hundred Scottish troops, preparing for such action. With battle cries they charged, wielding hatchets and axes, neck high. These weapons had been borrowed from the Royal Engineers and the cook. That night, after brief but heavy shelling that Allan watched, they raided the Turkish camp, taking eighteen prisoners and killing the rest at close quarters in the trenches with their axes. Only one escaped. Next day the general, in formal dress in spite of the heat, came to the Y to commend the troops and drink tea from the white Y mugs at the plank tables. He praised the bravery of the Scots and considered the escape fortunate, for the Turk would spread the rumor of the Scots' ferocity. The officer who led the attack was glad to support this view, though Allan thought he may have been secretly relieved that one Turk was safe for a time. But the Tommy who got the medal for beheading the most Turks felt no elation as he talked to Allan later; he just felt sick.

Allan was still disturbed by paradox. The accepted compromise

of Christians in the war was to function on two levels, in a divided world. Of course there is the command not to kill, and Jesus' imperative is to love. But there is also the command to kill, given by the powers that be, and for such very plausible reasons. Faced with this dilemma, the rationalizing Christian obeys the command to kill and puts Jesus aside for the duration. Besides, there is still the dichotomy of means and ends; most were willing to concede the use of violence as a means to the end of peace. But an officer said, "The people at home think this war is Christian, but we know it is hell, and we have to kick our way through it to where we can later be Christians." Allan remembered this.

However, on the whole, he was caught up in the excitement and heroism of the war. He observed in sophisticated detail what was going on around him and wrote about his experiences in letters and articles appearing in the Riverside Press, the New York Times, the Presbyterian Banner, and The Continent, exploiting the material in sympathetic and enthusiastic mood and without moral comment. He was impressed by the military men he met--Allenby, and later Emir Feisal.

He also responded to the British, enjoying their speech, their social poise in the midst of chaos and danger, and their cool heroism. At the "aerodrome" three miles down the beach from his hut there was a well-equipped and well-run Y unit. He was invited there to tea and was impressed by what he saw. Australian bombers went out from the airfield on reconnaissance tours and to do a bit of bombing. But they always returned at 3:40, not to be late for tea.

On the occasion of his visit, the Y secretary asked a pilot to join them at tea. There were white linen table clothes and china

tea service, as well as a good piano in the room. Allan was fascinated by the Aussie guest, a great friendly outdoor man, interested in everything about America. After tea they walked to the beach for a swim--heroes all.

In the fall Allan Hunter returned to the routine of Assiut College. On week ends he went out to the villages to preach, getting to the little churches by bicycle, train, or man-back through the rising Nile. The Egyptians he met on these trips were poor and ate what they could find--rats, and on one occasion, Allan's pet owl. But they had learned to use the roads and railways that had invaded their sand dunes, to carry water in gasoline cans, and to beg for shillings.

He continued to go to the Y canteen near the campus, to meet and talk to the soldiers. He was still in conflict over the issue of the war. Here, as at Princeton, no one could help him, though one of the teachers knew that he was groping toward a non-violent position. The moral and theological problem, however, was really overshadowed by his personal need to assert his courage and manhood, to know that he was not afraid. And his mind was filled with the brilliance and heroism of the young officers he had known, their camaraderie and courage. Just at this time came the success of Allenby's capture of Jerusalem from the Turks, and a euphoria of patriotism and religious fervor prevailed. So at the Christmas break he went down to Cairo, purposing to join the Royal Air Force. But they refused him, possibly because his colleague had let them know his uncertainties. But he was deaf in one ear, too. He would have to go another route.

During his first Christmas holidays at Assiut he had gone on a visit to Cairo, meeting faculty from the new university there and visiting family friends. But in the early summer of 1918 he stayed at school, left in charge of the almost deserted campus. Taking advantage, the authorities impressed the janitor into the Egyptian army, and Allan had to come to his aid to get him out. The incident showed him once again that this war for democracy was not waged by democratic means. The next February, worn out and worried about his rejection by the air-force, he fell ill with jaundice and was in the hospital for three weeks.

Before Allan left Egypt he visited a man that in retrospect seemed to him to be the most important person in this war-torn region, though much different from most of those who dazzled him in those years. This was Oswald Chambers, an evangelist and mystic who, with his wife, lived during the war on the Suez Canal. He had just written a stimulating book, Our Utmost for the Highest. But he died while Allan was working in Jerusalem. He had prayed daily for four hundred people, and his widow came to seek out Allan in Jerusalem to let him know that he was one of them. Chambers had a growing influence on him; from him Allan began to know about intercessory prayer and about the energizing power of current choices; "Now is the most important word in the spiritual vocabulary." But the full force of Chambers' message did not come to Allan until years later.

His two years at Assiut were drawing to a close. Graham was in Palestine with the Red Cross at the time, and he helped Allan answer the question of what to do next. He found a place for Allan in the Red Cross.

II-3. The Red Cross and the YMCA 1918

In the summer of 1918, through the good offices of his brother Graham, Allan was given an appointment as lieutenant and assistant quartermaster in the Red Cross at Jerusalem. He was a member of His Majesty's Service, 52nd Division, under Field Marshall Allenby, of the Egyptian Expeditionary Force.

The British had taken Jerusalem from the Turks at the end of 1917, and the German troops had fled Palestine. Now Allenby, leading British troops, and Lawrence, leading Arab guerillas, were converging on Turks holding positions farther north. Trainloads of Turkish prisoners were being brought to Jerusalem for hospitalization or internment, and the Red Cross met them with what comfort cigarets could bring them. "Johnny the Turk" was looked upon with horror because of his reputation for barbarity, but these prisoners turned out to be sick and hungry human beings.

Allenby's operations had the promise of finality, his push sweeping north to Damascus, and Allan wanted to be nearer than Jerusalem to the action and the need. In September he asked for a six-weeks leave to rejoin the YMCA as a temporary secretary, free to go wherever there was need. And there was much need. There was influenza and malaria among the British soldiers, and the wounded lay in isolated field hospitals and tents around the harsh north end of the Dead Sea. From whatever sources he could Allan would gather aspirin, quinine, and iodine, and also cakes and cigarets bought with his own money. Packing his supplies into bags, he would load them into a truck and set out to find the soldiers in dressing stations and lone tents. Medical supplies were short in these out-

of-the-way places, and cigarets were the most direct and appreciated comfort he could bring. Sometimes he would encounter small groups of Turkish or German prisoners under guard, on the way to a railroad or prison camp, and these too would understand his gift of smokes. In his journeys he recognized, incongruously, ancient landmarks and sites associated with the events of the Bible--Jacob's well, Jericho, Nazareth.

One such mission took him to Anzac troops in the Moab Hills east of where the Jordan flows into the Dead Sea. He had hitched a ride in an empty truck and left it near the Jordan River, to catch another ride back to Jerusalem. The day was still hot, even at sunset, and he stood beside the dusty road watching the rays of the setting sun still lighting the tops of the trans-Jordan hills to the east. A cloud of dust rose in the direction of the river, and turned into a mass of thousands of Turkish prisoners in dirty grey uniforms. As they neared,he could see their condition--wounded, hungry, exhausted by the long sleepless march in the heat, ill with Jericho fever, dysentery, cholera. Some fell and lay at the roadside, not to get up again, while the rest stumbled on.

He was drawn to an undifferentiated soldier about his own age. He searched the indifferent face. "Do you have a girl friend, a family at home?" he thought. "Do you think you can defend them and whatever you value, in this way? You fool!" They caught each other's eye for a moment but with no sense of communication. Then he realized that the Turk needed forgiveness, not condemnation. In the intensity of his feeling he heard a voice saying, "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do." And his own response came at once,"And forgive me, too, for I don't know what I am doing. I too

share the guilt, the denial of love." An unforgettable sense of release from folly and realization of God's forgiveness flooded over him, and the scene and the truth were indelible in his memory from then on.

A day or two later he was again in a truck with another Y worker, again with medicine and cigarets, for Beirut. They stopped for the night at Haifa, on the coast, and after supper he climbed the height of nearby Carmel to view the River Kishon, the excellent harbor, and the city. He started down, and then blacked out with the first effects of influenza. When he awoke he was in a Carmelite convent not far off, in the care of German nuns, remaining after the retreat of the German troops. They treated him with great kindness and saved his life. As a convalescent he sunned himself in the convent garden and received some visitors--a sociable nun speaking excellent English, a monk in brown habit, the colonel of his Red Cross unit. After such an experience it was hard to harbor any grudge over theological differences with Catholics, or perhaps national differences with the Germans, for that matter.

But he was somewhat behind schedule on his way to Beirut. He got a lift in a Ford driven by an Air Force Tommy, to complete the trip. When they arrived, he generously, as he thought, divided a pomegranate with the tired driver and began to eat his half. But the Tommy at once got out and gave his half to a child lying in the gutter. Then Allan began to see the starving children lying everywhere in the streets. It was said that the retreating Germans had sunk thirty tons of food in the harbor as they left. Allan made an attempt later in Damascus to send supplies to Beirut, but he was still weak from his illness, and there were other interest there.

Allenby and Lawrence had already liberated Damascus and moved on, though Lawrence stood by as he had promised to organize the Arab government and support Feisal, third son of King Hussein, as ruler. Allan entered the city as a representative of the Red Cross, to gather facts, and justified his presence on that basis, though the Red Cross colonel had preceded him by several days. He was, however, one of the first Americans to enter the city after its liberation. It was an exciting place. The streets were full of Arabs celebrating their victory, and they were all in holiday mood. One of them shot a man with an Australian's revolver, just to see how it worked. But for the most part no one was hurt by the shooting and high spirits.

In the evening Allan walked out into the streets to experience the city and its happy inhabitants.

"Can you tell me where there is a cinema," he asked a young Hedjaz officer, on the chance that he understood English.

He did. "I'll take you there," he said gaily.

In a moment they approached a coffee shop, with striped divans and the fragrance of coffee and cigarets.

"But first we must drink together and be friends."

They stopped in this Arabian Nights setting and celebrated their acquaintance with the strong concoction of coffee that looked and tasted somewhat like sweetened mud.

"Your people love freedom and want to rule themselves," ventured Allan.

"Yes. We have heard about your President Wilson, who wants to help all little people in the world to be free."

"I admire Wilson very much, too. He was once the president of the college I went to, and I used to see him on campus. He spoke to

me kindly, as an equal," bragged Allan.

At once the young Arab was sure that his guest was a person of importance. "You must meet our king," he exclaimed.

So it was arranged and the cinema was forgotten. The next morning Allan was received at the palace. The anterooms were filled with sheikhs from many tribes, each in his special colorful costume and his jeweled scimitar, acting as a body guard to the king. Allan was met by a doctor in black, his interpreter, and was brought into the presence of Emir Feisal, the new king. He was thirty-three years old, with dark bearded face like an Italian Christus, cream head shawl, and a black gown with a brown robe and sash over it. The king and Allan drank the ceremonial coffee together and shared cigarets. The great room was carpeted with a fine rug and furnished with chairs of Lebanese cedar inlaid with mother-of-pearl. On the wall were two portraits, of Feisal's father, King Hussein, and of Woodrow Wilson. Feisal waved his hand toward this picture and made a little speech.

"President Wilson is a great man. He loves small people. We are grateful to Britain and America for freeing the Arabs, and we crow to you for help. I intend for all, Arabs, Christians, Jews, to be treated as equals in my kingdom."

Allan was greatly attracted to this brave young idealist who talked with beggars and saw that his Tommy driver ate before he did.

"We are here to help," Allan said modestly.

"We admire the American college at Beirut, whose president you are acquainted with, and I want you to start a school in Mecca for us," offered Feisal.

"I am for your program of justice and tolerance in a united Arabia. But I have planned to work in my own country when the war is over," Allan said.

"We are friends, and I want you to be my guest at lunch and to speak at a meeting tonight," said Feisal in parting..

The doctor in black drove Allan in a horse and buggy to a mansion in a Druse village where they were to have lunch, the house, reputedly, where Lawrence and the Arabs had plotted the revolt against the Turks. Presently they were joined by Feisal, arriving in a green Rolls-Royce, and finally, Major-General Cheval, head of all Australian troops thereabouts, and other British and Arab military dignitaries. There in eastern splendor, they were served a feast of sixteen courses, from lambs' eyes, greens, and squashes to exotic custards and pastries. Cheval valiantly ate every dish, but the rest of the western guests weren't able to do justice to it all. After further exchange of compliments and hopes, Allan returned to his hotel.

The evening meeting involved much the same order of notables, with some captured Turks as well. Allan was asked to speak, and he gave a simple summary of President Wilson's principles: the consent of the governed, self-determination of nations, freedom from tyranny, and so on. Feisal invited Allan to go to Aleppo with him, presumably to witness the final surrender of the Turks. But Allan knew that his holiday must end. He had a job to resume in Jerusalem.

He returned on a train filled with Turkish prisoners, and he was able to see them as gentle and harmless. He shared cigarets with them. Before arriving in Jerusalem, he stopped off near Nazareth to deliver medicines to two stranded remnants. He had to thread his way through the debris of battle--the devastated road, the broken German lorries, the incredible carnage of bombed columns of enemy troops--in the country where Jesus said, "My bread is to do the will of God." A war that had started for him as an adventure for heroes was ending

as an ordeal of prisoners and the ill, and a heap of corpses.

There was a sequel to Allan's acquaintance with Feisal. Weeks later in Jerusalem, an Arab officer and two or three couriers came through the streets of the city, paging Lieutenant Hunter. Demaree Bess, his friend and then a Red Cross worker from Beirut, answered that he knew the one they sought, and he received a box for Allan. It contained, with the compliments of King Feisal, a beautiful carved steel "sword that captured Damascus."

II-4 Jerusalem, 1918-1919

The job awaiting Allan Hunter at Jerusalem was at the Syrian Orphanage. The Red Cross had taken it over from a German, Pastor Schneller, who had developed and directed it and devoted his life to it before the Allies came to Jerusalem. Pastor Schneller was a benign white haired gentleman who continued to live in his house on the orphanage grounds while the new directors were in charge. The Red Cross made Edmund Chaffee director and Allan Hunter deputy director. Florence Means, later Chaffee's wife, was a sort of Manager-in-General.

It was barely November when Allan began to work at the orphanage, and the war was not yet ended. The new directors knew very little about their jobs yet, but the quarters were comfortable and well-furnished and the Moslem cook Hilweh was competent, and they recognized their good fortune.

The orphanage had splendid resources. The pleasant living quarters and school were on the western edge of Jerusalem, approached through a gate bearing the name in German. The grounds consisted of ninety acres. Thirty miles away, near Jaffa, the orphanage owned a farm of 1250 acres, producing oranges, almonds, apricots, grapes, and olives. There were about 430 boys and girls in the home, ranging in age from pre-school to the twenties. Forty-five of the older ones were apprenticed in the shops maintained by the school. They learned to be mechanics and to make shoes and furniture, for which there was much demand. There was also a blind school with thirty students.

The news of the Armistice came toward evening on November 11. Walking out at dusk, Allan saw the lights appearing over the Mount of Olives, and the cathedral was illuminated. All the bells in the city

were ringing, and the soldiers were parading. When he got back to the home, the children were chanting "salaam" and dancing in the court yard. They ran up to the roof to see the spectacular fireworks contrived by various army units. Later on Allan and a padre watched the army officers get drunk at a hotel and make fools of themselves. For a moment there was joy and hope in the world.

The new directors wanted to continue the fine agricultural and crafts programs, but they also wanted to introduce some new values, particularly American, as they thought. For one thing, they wanted the children to develop a respect for working with their hands, in a land where labor was thought to be degrading. But the most innovative measure was introducing student government and a student court. They hoped that the children would thus learn ethics and justice and the American spirit of fair play, team work, and honesty. It is a comment on the value of these same "American" virtues, and certainly on the abilities of the young Red Cross workers, that the orphanage continued to run smoothly and successfully for the fifteen months that they were in charge of it. Allan called it the happiest place in all Jerusalem.

This residence in Jerusalem gave Allan the chance he wanted to savor Palestine as the Holy Land, not as a battle ground. He had constantly been aware of the Biblical associations paralleling the horror of the war. But now he could reconstruct the experiences of Jesus, as settings and festivals brought them to mind. These scenes and events took on personal and emotional meaning for him.

At Christmas time following the Armistice he made a pilgrimage to Bethlehem. He found it a cluster of lovely white houses and

narrow cobbled streets clogged with traffic--solemn camels kneeling to be loaded, patient donkeys under their huge loads, Syrians with their dignity and quick sympathy as well as their laziness and jealousy, sincerely greeting with "Salaam Aleikum." Peace did not reign at the shrines and churches, however. British soldiers guarded the Church of the Nativity, to keep Orthodox, Armenians, Maronites, and Roman Catholics apart. The Greek Orthodox Christmas Eve service was gorgeous with many actors and many changes of costume. But quarrels among the various priests, about who owned the Holy Nail, which gaudy lamps belonged to each sect, who decorated this or that niche, threatened open violence. The star marking the alleged spot of the Birth was once stolen and was said to have been the cause of the Crimean War. In the war just passed, the Turks had cut down a great many trees and had left the children in the streets cold and hungry.

Early Christmas morning, on an Arab pony borrowed from a Syrian, Allan rode out of the city into the fields. Bethlehem is surrounded by hills, some terraced for grass and vineyards, some too rocky for tilling. Far to the east were the blue hills of Moab, just lighted by the rising sun. The shadows were still in the wadis he crossed. But blue-clad plowmen and bullocks were already working in the stubbled barley fields, perhaps the same plowed by Boaz. Several boys and girls in their straight, simple garments were looking after some sheep, and a small girl was carrying a kid in her arms. "Peace, peace,"she said, and he returned the greeting, able to believe it here in the fields.

He picked his way through the straggling olive orchards and vineyards guarded by ancient stone watch towers, and there on a hill was a white cross. When he reached the Field of the Shepherds,

the sun was brightening the barley stubble into gold, the wind twinkled the little grey olive leaves, and the goldfinches flew over the field toward Bethlehem. The scene lifted his heart with hope, and he remembered the experience to write about it more than once after he had returned to America.

Jerusalem was a microcosm of the Middle East. British soldiers and officers, American Red Cross workers and residents, Germans, Greeks, Russians, French, American Zionists and Palestinian Jews, Orthodox and Roman Catholics, Moslems, Arabs of varied origin, Syrians, Bedouins, all were there. Never was it more cosmopolitan than at Easter. The Jews took the bitter herbs, unleavened bread, and wine of the Passover, and bewailed their losses at the Wall. The Moslems marched to the supposed tomb of Moses for five days of feasting. Bedouins, Bahaists, Moslems, Greeks, and the rest, as well as the Deputy Director of the Syrian Orphanage, crowded the court of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre to see the Orthodox foot-washing ceremony. At last the Patriarch mounted the platform erected there and perfunctorily washed the feet of his embarrassed bishops, representing, of course, the twelve disciples. Judas, who was traditionally paid for his part in the little drama, departed on his evil mission, Peter was given the keys to heaven, and the entranced spectators were sprinkled with the foot-washing water. The Armenian Church competed with a similar ceremony. But the Orthodox Church countered with the spectacle of the Fire Festival, in which miraculous fire descended from the Tomb to light the candles of the worshipers. The Russian pilgrims were moved to ecstasy by the adoration of icons, and Allan hoped they would not be disenchanted by science.

There was a Protestant service, too, on the Mount of Olives. Allan and the children from the orphanage walked across the Kedron Valley past the tomb of Absalom, and up the steps to the Mount, to join the British soldiers from every corner of the Empire and residents of the American colony. From the eminence of Olivet he could see the hazy Moab Hills to the east, and the blue of the Dead Sea three thousand feet below him. At his feet were the domes, spires, and minarets of Old Jerusalem, and, outside the wall, the red-tiled roofs of the modern city. The surrounding hills were green with spring. An Anglican bishop led the outdoor service of old hymns and words of peace.

Allan made two more visits before Easter was over. One was to the Garden Tomb, another claimant to the honor of being the Burial Place, the "new tomb" supplied by Joseph of Arimathea. A little Syrian girl opened the door in the wall for him, and gave him pansies. There were flowers everywhere, pansies and dahlias along the path, and a cactus filled with turtle doves. A flock of goldfinches sang in a eucalyptus tree, in joy at the Resurrection, and the old hymn they had just sung at the Protestant service echoed in his memory:

Christ is risen, is risen today,
And love is Lord of all.

The other experience was often repeated while he was in Jerusalem and remembered as the most significant of his years in the Near East. The Garden of Gethsemane, at the foot of the Mount of Olives, was watched over by the Franciscan Brothers. Allan entered the Garden at dusk, after this day of public and often false ceremony, and the noises of the city were still intruding--a camel driver cursing, a baby crying, a woman laughing, a donkey braying, a dog

barking, and children calling. But these impressions faded as he watched some crows flying across the apricot western sky. The last sunlight rested on the dome covering the site of Abraham's willingness to sacrifice Isaac. Jesus himself might have taken courage to follow God's will, as he identified the spot. A full moon rose and a light wind from the Mediterranean stirred the little gray leaves of the olive trees. He sat near L'Arbre d'Agonie and thought about what must have passed through Jesus' mind on his Night of Decision. Is there no escaping people's hatred? What is it to love? What is it to be a human being? What is the will of God? And he finally came to the acceptance of God's will, even if it was to be the unfathomable Cross. Allan returned to this meditation time and again through his life. It became for him the touchstone of love, just as his empathy with the Turkish prisoners on the Jericho road became his touchstone of forgiveness. Love. Forgiveness. The feeling and the act that can save the human condition from catastrophe.

As he left the Garden a brown-clad monk picked some flowers for him to take home and walked him to the gate. Though they spoke different languages, they understood each other.

Allan's service at the orphanage was drawing to a close. He thought often of Damascus and the new kingdom of Arabeia and hoped for its well-being and success. He could visualize it, a city of minarets and well-watered orchards of pomegranates and pears and vineyards. The 300,000 Moslems, Jews, and Christians were not living in peace, as Feisal had hoped; they had conflicting customs and needs in Damascus as they had in Jerusalem, and retailing was

haggling, a sort of game. But he remembered the brave and idealistic Feisal and heard of a great military parade of nondescript but heavily-armed troops, and a citizenry still heady with the pride of new nationalism. They had confidence in British rule but preferred an American mandate; they felt threatened by the Turks and antagonized by the French. Ironically, the outcome of their need for national identity would come in a few months when the French would assume a mandate of Syria, including Damascus. The survival of Arabeia was one of Allan Hunter's concerns during his homeward journey.

II-5. Going Home, 1919-1920

Allan Hunter and Ted Chaffee took leave of Jerusalem and the Syrian Orphanage but not of each other, since they were going home together. The Governor of Jerusalem provided them with military passes to get home, and they started in October, 1919. Their route took them east to the Orient. They traveled first class and free, as military personnel, on trains and ships, and they completed their wanderjahre in considerable comfort and dignity. They departed through the Suez Canal.

First, India. Stanley Hunter, it is recalled, spent two years on a mission in Allahabad, and had aroused Allan's interest in India. Then there was the popular curiosity everyone held regarding this mysterious country, for example about levitation--could Yogis sit cross-legged in the air without support?--and extrasensory perception. Allan found no factual verification of such defiance of the pragmatic world. On the other hand, he learned about a few who were following an amazing discipline of love. Sadhu Sundar Singh was going among the poor up and down India professing and depending upon nothing but love, and embracing non-violence. Tagore had an ashram, a school for high caste boys, that Allan, with his interest in education, visited. The boys did some manual labor every day, cleaning their own quarters, work never traditionally done by their caste. This idea of respect for labor came from a social reformer of great popularity since the war, Mohandas Gandhi. He was teaching the independence of India, the improvement of the repressed castes, and the return to handcrafts, and these ideas were felt in all India. But Gandhi was then in prison. Allan was much attracted by Tagore's school and what he saw there, and it began for him a

lifelong admiration of Gandhi.

He visited Ceylon before leaving the south, landing at Colombo. From there he took a train to Kandy, about sixty miles into the interior of the island. He saw a beautiful green and lush land, full of waterfalls, tropical forests, and coconut groves. At Kandy he viewed the lake, heard the story of the 2500-year-old tooth of Buddha, enshrined in a golden lotus flower, and visited a Buddhist college for boys where the most popular activities were the Non-smoking League and the Boy Scout band. He took a ricksha back to his train at the end of his full day, feeling strange having a human being pull him. But he partially absolved himself of guilt by giving the man a whole day's wages as a tip.

By February they were in Shanghai. Dr. C. T. Wang, China's representative at Versaille, was president of the Tiffin Club and chaired a meeting at the Carlton on a certain day, at which Allan and Ted were honored guests. Dr. Wang made a speech in support of the Pan-Pacific Union, to encourage travel and intercultural exchange and understanding among the nations facing the Pacific. Captain Chaffee made a plea for the medical and economic relief of Palestine, and Lieutenant Hunter spoke for American assistance to the new country of Arabeia and his friend Feisal. This event received good coverage in the China Press in Shanghai. On February 12 this paper printed a lengthy article by Allan Hunter defining the growing nationalism in emergent countries throughout the world, with special attention to the part played by Lawrence and Feisal in develpoing the new Arab nation. He recommended the aid of an American mandate. As it turned out, this advice was not heeded, as we have seen. In the French quarter of Shanghai they spent a morning with

Dr. Sun Yat Sen, revolutionist, democrat, nationalist, and next president of China. This was an authentic and cherished experience for Allan and Ted.

The travelers moved on to Korea, where Allan saw the plight of 300,000 fundamental Christians awaiting the Second Coming. Their religion kept them from social action, and they were repressed by the Japanese occupation. He wrote an account of these endangered Korean Christians for The Christian Work, and a summary of the article eventually--December 25, 1920--made its way to the pages of the Literary Digest. As with the naive faith of the Russian women at the Easter service in Jerusalem, he was concerned about the impact of science on a literal Scriptural relgion.

In Tokyo he visited a Methodist college, and he thought he sensed an anti-militarism among the students, in spite of the strong militarism of the government. Dr. Yoshima, at the university of Tokyo, in an interview explained to Allan that the War department was separate from the rest of the government and not responsible to Parliament. But few were aware enough of this situation to oppose it.

On Easter Day in Tokyo Allan met Chaburo Shimada at tea. He belonged to the Presbyterian Church Allan had attended that morning and was a member of the House of Commons. He talked about the threat and counterthreat between the United States and Japan in competitive navy building, and the need to break the vicious circle. A picture of Lincoln looked down at them from the wall.

A few students in both China and Japan were trying to bridge the chasm of armed hatred between their countries. In spite of

the military orientation of these countries, Allan could find some hope. He considered these tentative liberal movements so important for the peace of the Pacific that he wrote an article about his discoveries for the Peking Leader, and it was published on their editorial page in April.

Allan was beginning to find out that he had much to write about and that people wanted to read it. While he was in the Near East he wrote to his father about what he saw, and some of the letters, as we have seen, were published in the Riverside Press or Enterprise; one about his life at Assiut College; one about his duties at the Y canteen in 1918; one about the scene at the Holy Sepulchre, in 1919. A letter to Stanley in 1918, about Allenby's troops, appeared in the New York Times Magazine. Besides these letters, he sent accounts of soldiers to the Presbyterian Banner and The Continent, in 1918, and before he arrived home, in 1919 and the first months of 1920, more articles went to these magazines and one to the New York Evening Post. These were accounts of religious shrines and festivals in Jerusalem. In fact, the Garden of Gethsemane and the Field of the Shepherds continued to interest him and the readers of these magazines, and certain others as well--The Southern Churchman, The Christian Century, The Christian Work. For several years after his return to America he continued to use these same images and symbols and modes of expression in many contexts, and the impressions stayed with him always. The quality common to all this writing, 1917 to 1922, is that it recorded in short articles his rich experience of the war and Palestine, in vivid and careful imagery. It is observation of the world around him and his feelings about

it, but without in-depth evaluation. Only an article or two written about peace in the Pacific, in 1920, begin to show social criticism and really look toward his next literary period.

There is one important exception to the uncritical recording of experience. On the month-long journey, across the Pacific, working their way on a freighter, he and Ted Chaffee reviewed their experience of Palestine in a skeptical mood. They collaborated on a novel called Jasper Jenkins in Palestine. Jasper was a representative of a group of Sunday Schools in heartland America, with $60,000 to invest in the care of Palestinian orphans. In surveying the need he makes a variety of contacts, travels from Cairo to Damascus, and gets to see the celebration of Easter in Jerusalem. The authors cover a great range of persons, notable and ordinary; geography, Biblical and modern; and customs, sacred and profane. They are doubtful of the soundness both of the Palestinians and of those who came to save them, but this feeling is expressed in comedy and general sympathy with all the characters. After a thorough study of needs and resources, Jasper decides that he can best use his money to found a school for dragomans, having suffered much from the ignorance and duplicity of guides. He wants to educate a generation of guides who know their counrty and its history and can drive a car and keep it running, and, as an added benefit, can keep the irrigation pumps working. For he forsees a horde of tourists shortly invading Palestine and tourism as its most promising industry. In the light of the subsequent troubled history of Israel and Jordan, Arab oil and the world power struggle, this is something less than a prophetic insight.

Jasper is an invention, a type, but those he sees are actual people, and his experiences are specific and vivid because they have been the experiences of the authors. In fact, events and local color dominate the book and tend to block out Jasper and his story. Glen Frank of Century publishing company called it neither fish nor fowl, neither fiction nor fact, and it was not published But it is fun to read and gives an unforgettable picture of post-war Palestine.

The cynicism of Jasper Jenkins, though not the hilarious comedy, may be a reflection of Allan's mood. He was sickened by the war and discouraged about the peace. He was concerned for the success of Arabeia and the Pan-Pacific Union. He was still exploring for a firm basis for the pacifism he was coming to believe in. Then, though he had had no opportunity for courtship in the midst of the war, nor hardly any inclination, he was unhappy that Elizabeth Walker was engaged to his old friend Demaree Bess. Finally, now that he was an adult, he thought perhaps he and his father could talk, especially about the war, though his father was never a pacifist, and have a meeting of minds. During the long Pacific crossing he looked forward with great longing to being home and seeing his father.

Then three days out of San Francisco a telegram reached him saying that his father had died.

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Chapter III, 1920-1926 Learning a Trade

1. Union Seminary, 1920-1922

So Allan returned to a house of sorrow, and what he had envisioned as a joyous reunion with his sister and brothers and his parents had to be a time of mourning. There was no way to make up for the years of separation and no way to find out how his experiences in the war would have looked to his father. His own problems continued--the conflicts raised by both war and pacifism, his regrets about Elizabeth Walker, a nagging earache, his tensions and anxieties. And now there was no relief in simple joy.

Throughout the war he knew that his father prayed at noon daily for his three sons, for their safety, their integrity, their nearness to God. Every day in Riverside he was reminded of this faithfulness, with gratitude and yearning, as he heard the noon peel of bells at the Mission Inn, the time when his father had always stopped what he was doing to think of his sons in the Presence. One day as he listened his eyes were drawn to his father's photograph on the wall. For a moment he seemed almost to have eye contact with the image and to hear his father's voice encouraging him to go forward, that life was good, The experience was so real and credible that it was like assurance across the uncrossable gulf, communication through the barrier of death. He could go on to the seminary with the feeling that his father did after all understand him and that life would be worth it.

Union was the prestige seminary, favored by Presbyterians but ecumenical, and Allan's father and his brothers went there.

As with Princeton, the mission years, and the ministry irself, it was inevitable that Allan should go there. Union gained added stature from its age, founded in 1836, its excellent theological library, and its affiliation with Columbia and New York Universities. Since 1910 the campus had been on 120th Street, between Broadway and Claremont, part of the complex including Columbia University and a women's college. Morningside Park was not far to the east and the Hudson to the west, a beautiful and elegant setting.

Allan had two great academic experiences at Union. One was centered in science and the works of J. A. Thomson. Union did not deny science and courageously faced the issue of its relationship to religion. McCorkle, in Allan's father's youth, had seen the essential unity of both disciplines, and the position of the school was that the Scriptures and true theology could not be out of harmony with science. The great Scottish biologist, Sir John Arthur Thomson at the University of Aberdeen, with his colleague Patrick Geddes, had been working on the reconciliation of science and religion since the 1880's, and he wrote many books to this end. His work ranged from early studies in sex determination to popularized biology, but always with the firm belief that science and religion were two views of the same Reality. He saw the evolutionary process as an upward spiral, of mind gaining mastery over matter. Man is now in front, but not necessarily the culmination. Wonder is an essential part of this cosmos with its beauty, diversity, unity, orderliness, power, and humanistic components. This was Thomson's mature and final conclusion, in Outline of General Biology, written in 1931 with Geddes. But it was the direction indicated in all his earlier writing that Allan knew at Union.

Thomson's five volumes on science, with Moffat's New Testament, were among the most influential books open to Allan at this time. Since childhood he had felt the reality and joy of the physical world, and it was essential to him to find that it correlated with the theological cosmos. Thomson's books were written to do this.

In 1924 Thomson gave a series of lectures at Union and at Yale, and it was Allan's good fortune to be at Union again in that year, with Elizabeth, to hear him. At a tea he asked Thomson how Jesus fit into evolution. The answer was that he is the highest manifestation of the process that we have yet seen, and we are evolving in his direction, more related to him than to the beasts.

Allan's other great academic experiences were in religion classes. Eugene Lyman, teaching philosophy of relgion, brought everyone into the class experience, and Allan responded deeply to his power of empathy. But especially Harry Emerson Fosdick, with his charisma, made everyone feel important and valid. He taught church history and practical theology. In the homiletics course his response to the students' sermons had profound significance for them. In evaluating the structure of one of Allan's sermons he said, "Allan, if you had an old lady in your car, you'd drive so fast you'd toss her out on her head," and laughed disarmingly.

In philosophy, Dr. Fosdick had a braod range, including the thought of India and China. He was an apologist for modernism in its confrontation with fundamentalism, in the 1920's. He had written three books of reinterpretation: The Manhood of the Master(1913), The Meaning of Prayer (1915), and The Meaning of Serv-

ice, (1920). While Allan was at Union Fosdick was at work on Christianity and Progress (1922), The Modern Use of the Bible (1924), and Adventurous Religion (1925). He defined the views of modern liberalism: that the individual's development, through the teachings of Jesus and the cooperation of God, is primary; that religion must transform society in conformity with the spirit of Jesus; that, since good is stronger than evil, we can afford to be optomistic about the social outcome; that the Bible does not have divine authority but is a record of man's search, and present experience provides the criteria of rightness. These ideas deeply influenced Allan's thinking..

He also adopted some of Dr. Fosdick's images and patterns: Jesus as the man of joy; the three Greek words for love and the New Testament stress on agape; human capacity for hope; the radiant religion of light; immortality as a part of evolution, and so on. His tender-minded optimism about youth, progress, the survival of the Good, may seem hardly justified. But by contrast the tough-minded of the 1920's were cynical rebels or expatriates despairing of mankind: Fitzgerald, Mencken, Eliot, Lewis, O'Neill, Anderson, Dos Passos, Dreiser.

Fosdick wrote the foreword of Allan's first book, Youth's Adventure, asserting the need for change, instituted by youth with Allan as spokesman, if western culture was to survive. Allan's debt to Dr. Fosdick did not stop with this recognition or with the student-teacher relationship. At another time he was a counselor. Henry Luce, who according to Max Lerner was looking for men who could "span the distance between the world of the intellect and the world of affairs," asked Allan to be religion editor of a new magazine he was planning, to be called Time. Fosdick advised

against it. "Stick to your last. Stay in the church," he said, "where you have made your commitment." Allan took his advice and never regretted it.

During his first year at seminary Allan did his field work in a fashionable Madison Avenue church. His tasks were conventional, and the only unusual aspect of his stay there was that another worker, whose fiance has been killed in the war, fell in love with him. Almost unconsciously aware that he was in love with Elizabeth, he resisted, though the pastor too thought they would make a good match. She married a man who became something of an alcoholic, and twenty years later she would have been willing to turn to Allan for comfort if she had met encouragement. This train of events seems to say something about the poignancy of human affections and the value again of commitment as priest and husband.

The deepest experiences of Allan's life at seminary came with his association with his peers. He kept his mental health in those times through a prayer group. There were five friends: Henry Van Dusen, Toby Safford, Phil Guiles, Thornton Penfield, and Allan. They met for twenty minutes twice a week for meditation and prayer, for sharing problems and concerns. They discovered that they all had problems and that the problems were much the same; distractions of various sorts, from girls to food; trying to see workers as people and feeling kinship; matters of doctrine. They found that trust and honesty with each other were possible, and that out of the experience could come a sense of direction and a realization of the presence of God.

Their group was directly related to the Oxford Group movement, but both have their roots in the Wesleyan class meeting and

in Eighteenth Century Pietism, and the ultimate pattern was Jesus and the twelve disciples. The common characteristics are the small group format, zealous honesty and intimacy, a focus on Here and Now, and the expectation of mystical experience. These are always expressed features of the groups as Allan writes about them. The concept and practice of a small group had validity for Allan from that time on, and he continued to develop and refine it as a tool for growth. But the essential conditions were there in the prayer fellowship of those five at Union.

One of the purposes of the group was to become more sensitive to each other's needs. The whole student body was shocked into awareness by the suicide of a student minister, Ed Redding. He was apparently well adjusted, outgoing, and no one saw his suffering. Or was suicide his challenge to the validity of the claim the "I am the resurrection and the life," underlined in his open New Testament? The faculty began to develop a system for training ministers in the skills of helping to prevent suicide. Allan tried to become more sensitive to the pain and confusion behind everyone's mask and to find the possibilities of joy.

Allan's best friend, Toby Safford, was also sharpening his awareness and expending himself for others. He fasted for two weeks in the hope that his condition might give the doctors a clue to the causes and cure for the illness of a friend. During his fast he and Allan went to a play, Job. He was in high spirits, perhaps because he was in love with Henry Luce's sister. But gallant as he was, he got pneumonia and died. It was spring, and Allan still thinks of it when he hears a robin.

George MacLeod was another of Allan's friends. He was a Scot

from the Island of Iona in the Hebrides off the coast of Scotland. Iona was the home of the missionary Colombo and his twelve followers in the Sixth Century, and of Benedictines in the Thirteenth. And there McCleod, in the Twentieth Century, had belonged to a company of earnest seekers. He was a veteran of the World War and was at Union on a scholarship. He and Allan lectured, campaigning for peace.

Allan also had a lecture on Children in the Orient, illustrated with slides, to raise money for the support of two Syrian students in college. Devotion does not make all perfect, however; one of them became a homosexual and was expelled. But the other, despite the loss of an arm, became a leader.

After his first year at Union, Allan spent the summer at the two mission churches at Muskoka Lakes, where he was in 1914 at the beginning of the war. Now after seven years he returned to these two churches and their Scotch-Irish congregations. He conducted services on Sunday, but he also served their general needs; he took children to the doctor, arranged for tonsillectomies, and so on.

When he returned to Union in the fall he worked in a settlement house in New York called Hell's Kitchen. There the superintendent of the Sunday School was the brother of the eminent Henry Sloane Coffin, and became the father of William Sloane Coffin, chaplain at Yale in the 1970's. Allan led the children in a project of carving and selling soapstone Buddhas and going without dessert to collect money for the hungry in Palestine, Russian, and China.

During these two years he continued to find outlets for short articles about the Arabs and about the countries he visited on the way home from Palestine--Ceylon, Korea. Then, chiefly in

1922, he turned again to his experiences in Jerusalem, Gethsemane, and Bethlehem, writing several articles that appeared in both religious and secular magazines.

And then, during Christmas vacation, in December 1922, he decided to take a sabbatical. Dropping his scholarship in church history, he returned to Riverside. Consequences he did not see clearly at the time later justified his decision.

III- 2. Sabbatical, 1922-23

Allan's conscious reason for interrupting his studies at Union Seminary was to be helpful to Irene and Little Mother. Irene was in fragile health, in bed most of the time, cared for by Sarah Hunter. Allan stayed in Riverside with them for the next seven months, to do what he could. He was very thankful then and later that he had this time with Irene.

He reported for the Riverside Press and wrote a column called "Under the Sun." He sometimes returned to the Palestine material for some of the content. One article was called "Southern California is the Holy Land of America." The analogy included Riverside as Jerusalem and Death Valley as the Dead Sea, and he pointed out similarities in mountains, birds, and flowers. Then he tells the story of his visit to the Garden Tomb. Other articles reflect his persisting interest in birds; he is knowledgeable about them but has given up the impulse to shoot them. He discusses the appearance, habits, and value of several "feathered tourists." He shows his esthetic excitement over towhees, black phoebes, blackbirds, hummingbirds, their beauty and song celebrating spring. The style is Latinized, decorated, with formal and studied elegance, and the articles are valuable chiefly for the development of his interest in birds and nature.

While Allan was reporting for the paper, Upton Sinclair was organizing the American Civil Liberties Union. He called Allan and invited him to be its secretary. But Allan remembered Dr. Fosdick's counsel and did not allow himself to be turned aside from the ministry. He was convinced that the message of Jesus is the only hope.

Irene was interested in langauages, especially Spanish, and in writing, contributing occasional features to the local press. She was encouraged by the friendship and advice of Zona Gale in Wisconsin, then at a rewarding time of her life. In these years, 1920-23, Zona Gale received the Pulitzer prize for the dramatic version of Miss Lulu Bett, became regent of the University of Wisconsin, and was loved for her touching stories of very ordinary people. With a foreword by Zone Gale, Irene's book of mystical poetry was accepted for publication July 1, 1924. This was Irene's thirty-ninth birthday, and the day she died. At the end she said she was reconciled and could forgive her enemy, God.

In January 1923, Allan, besides being a reporter, took a supply pastorate at the Church of the Messiah, at Van Ness and Washington, in Los Angeles. His duties were chiefly connected with preaching a sermon Sunday morning. There was one on his father, others on communication, reassurance, the Intervening Ugliness. He wrote an article for Century magazine, published June 1923, defining what he would like to preach. Much theological impedimenta, he felt, could be dropped. But the essential is that people are primary, as one loves them and works with them, a feeling that holds young people together the world over. The enemies of persons and their fulfillment are war, economic exploitation, race prejudice, sex irresponsibility. The Redeemer from these enemies is Jesus, whose spirit is humor, youth, energy, and love. Perhaps Allan used his congregation to test out these materials. The focus on persons and social problems, with dogma faded out, is part of the definition of liberalism that he learned from Harry Emerson Fosdick.

The congregation liked him and his preaching, and he would have several invitations to dinner each Sunday. The legend was that he sometimes accepted three at a time. As soon as he could after the benediction, however, he dashed down the broad steps of the church, clerical coattails flying, to catch a W street car and go to see Elizabeth Walker.

Allan and Elizabeth had been freshmen together at Occidental College, but after that year he went to Princeton and she went to a college in the South. They exchanged a few letters and saw each other on a few occasions, but after college they did not meet for five years. When he returned to America after the war, she was engaged to his friend Demaree Bess, son of the President of Macalaster College in St. Paul. She broke her engagement in 1921, but the slow progress of events had not allowed Allan to take advantage of her freedom, until his winter in Riverside. The possibility of seeing her had surely helped to bring him back to California, and he was calling on her every Sunday. Her father was the pastor of the First Presbyterian Church in Los Angeles.

Elizabeth Walker loved the seashore, so the beach was the right setting for their engagement. They were watching the surf at Santa Monica, on April 10, and as the sun was slipping into the ocean he finally kissed her and said, "I love you and want to marry you. But you'll have to know that if there is a war I'll go to jail if necessary." Elizabeth must have accepted the proviso, for they celebrated their engagement that evening with a dinner for two, with candles, at a fine old restaurant overlooking the sea.

Because they were saving money to send a Syrian boy to college,

there was no engagement ring, though Allan's brother told him, perhaps even meaning it a little, that if his wife didn't have one, he would never get a good church. During their engagement they and another couple spent a week at the Walker cottage at the beach. There was some criticism in those proper times, but their conduct was blameless.

They were married at an informal family wedding, by Elizabeth's father and in her home, on June 10, 1923, and spent a week of honeymoon at the beach house, ineptly searching. But for the first time in his life, being completely committed, able to be completely honest, and completely forgiven for his humanity, he began to feel freed of all bonds, a valid and complete person.

The influential Dr. Freeman, who had been a friend of William Hunter, had persuaded the Presbytery the preceeding year, to ordain Allan, in spite of his unorthodoxy. Allan was now thirty years old, a far traveler, a much-published author, an ordained minister, and a married man.

III-3. New York, 1923-25

Allan and Elizabeth went to New York in September 1923, so that he could reenter Union Seminary. They lived at the heart of things, near the "culture center of the universe," where one--anyone, even that bum Allan saw challenging all of it--might see Columbia University, Union Seminary, a prestigious women's college, Grant's tomb, all at once.

They were frugal, but they allowed themselves the pleasure of going to the theater. One night they went to Sunup with Allan's cousin Bill Hunter and Katharine Hillex, later married by Allan to Dr. Norman Kilbourne, in Los Angeles. She was a secretary at the YWCA where Elizabeth often swam. Unbeknown,Edith Martins, also Allan's parishoner in Los Angeles in later years, lived in a nearby apartment.

Allan resumed studies at Union, but the continuity of friends was broken and he began to be restless with the curriculum. However, he did get to hear and meet J.A. Thomson. He did not want to take Hebrew and other troublesome requirements, and traditional theology seemed somewhat futile, unreal, and irrelevant to current life.. He had already made this clear in the Forum article "Why Are We Silent?" stating the inadequacies of the church in solving social problems. He continued to take classes at Union, but he also enrolled at Columbia. He gradually realized that he did not need the benediction of a degreee from Union, and he did not take one.

He turned his energies to education, where, he felt, lay the greatest opportunities. He studied with Dewey and Kilpatrick, the great designers of "progressive education." Kilpatrick published his Source Book of the Philosophy of Education in its first edition

in 1923, and Allan may have used it as a text. Dewey had been writing for thirty-five years, psychology, ethics, philosophy, the relation of education to democracy and to society, and was then at work on Human Nature and Conduct. The ideas of these two men appear at many essential points in Allan Hunter's thinking, and a summary of some of their typical views now will help to recognize them as they appear in his writing and practice.

Dewey's universe, his view of Reality, is not static or closed but changing, biological rather than mechanical. This view grew out of the acceptance of the theory of evolution expressed in The Origin of Species. Like James, he applied a pragmatic sanction to truth, called by him instrumentalism: truth is tested by its success in experience. Experience is the basic reality. Though general ideas are necessary to deal with these particulars, they must be thought of only as naming manmade categories, a convenience; "universal laws" imply a closed universe, and are false and hindering.

Ethics is based on human nature and its needs. Choices are of prime importance and must be based on understanding and freedom. Self-discipline means understanding and persisting in a choice. Means and ends have organic connection and are inseparable, as Leslie Weatherhead also stressed. Education must be through experience, not authority; it should not be oriented to the classics, with tacit rejection of the present; social and political reform must accompany the new education; Kilpatrick regretted the separation of school and life, old and young, in the educational process; the humanities are for all, not just an elite. The present--Now--is where life is and where awareness should center. Social, politi-

cal, and economic reforms must extend democracy, correct rather than punish, and bring economic sharing. Economics is important because of its involvement as means.

The dominance of sense perception and experience in Dewey's philosophy connects him with Locke, and back of him, with the Fourteenth Century nominalist William Occam. Occam formulated a principle that impressed Allan at Columbia: the Law of Parsimony, which says that the simplest explanation is the one to accept. It is a comfort to find philosophical systems so coherent!

Allan received an M.A. in religious education from Columbia in June 1925.

During the two years that Allan and Elizabeth were students at Union and Columbia he pastored the Union Church at Palisades, New Jersey. It was not a vacation church nor an interim pastorate, but his own parish. He had the chance to learn his powers, and he found that they were considerable. He participated in the community, too, and wrote occasional pieces for the newspaper, The Palisadian. He wrote a parable about a pet dog, a real dog named Mutzy, who was clipped like a lion but was unwilling to live like one. Another article, published first in The Nation, was copied December 18, 1924, by The Palisadian. It tells the familiar story of his visit to Bethlehem and the Field of the Shepherds at Christmas 1918, with some notes on the orphanage.

Conferences were a way of life in those days, for people interested in changing society. Student Volunteers, five or six thousand strong, came to Indianapolis, protesting a society that allowed war and reaction. The conference bridged the passage

between the old and the new year, closing January 1, 1924. At this conference The Fellowship of Youth for Peace was launched by Stanley High, later editor of the Reader's Digest, Allan Hunter, and others, with an initial membership of fourteen hundred.

Another important feature of the conference was a panel of four speakers each defending a distinct position regarding war. Allan supported the uncompromising pacifist position, and Kirby Page helped him develop his case. He wanted very much to be effective, not only to uphold pacifism but also to perform creditably before so large an audience and the opposition, like the American Legion. Before he went to the meeting he knelt a little dramatically in his hotel room to pray for wisdom, and he read Moffat's version of the story of Satan falling like lightning from heaven. He saw himself going forth to strike a blow against evil. Henry Studdert Kennedy--"Woodbine Willie," the poet-preacher from England and chaplain in the war--was at the meeting, and at the informal voting after the panel had spoken, Allan had the great satisfaction of seeing this saint raise his hand in support of the "absolutist position".

On the train, January 2, returning from the Indianapolis conference to New York, Allan and Sherwood Eddy talked about the pacifist idea, but Eddy was not convinced at that time. Three months later Kirby Page won him over temporarily, but he supported World War II because he hated Nazi and Japanese militarism.

Kirby Page and Sherwood Eddy called a six-day retreat, at a different level. The group was a brilliant gallery of Christians from many areas of American life: Sherwood Eddy and E. Stanley Jones, missionaries; Reinhold Niebuhr, theologian; Arthur Nash,

manufacturer; John R. Mott, YMCA leader; Rufus Jones, Quaker mystic; Stith Wilson, mayor of Berkeley; Norman Thomas, Socialist; Scott Nearing, economist; Henry Van Dusen, later president of Union.

Allan roomed one night with Reinhold Niebuhr and another with Scott Nearing. He was embarrassed in this serious and spartan atmosphere by a pair of silk pajamas that he wanted to hide from this famous Socialist but could not dispense with.

The conference studied the work and methods of Jesus in order to find solutions to social problems. Then Rufus Jones presented his mysticism, a direct reception of God and His wisdom. The conference saw some hope in political action, if America would have a party comparable to the British Labour Party. At the end they came to a mystical consensus that they must try to bring about a political order helpful to the welfare of all America and of all the world.

A conference of representatives from twenty-eight youth organizations met in the summer of 1924 at Bear Mountain, near New York, to continue the discussion of peace action begun at Indianapolis. The Methodist youth were leaders, but representatives of Christian Endeavor, Independent Workers of the World, Friends, Jews, and Socialists were there too. They did not come to an agreement, with their diverse philosophies, but they had practice in group discussion and exposed themselves to a great variety of ideas.

At this conference, Allan was embarrassed to find that his roommate was a black man. But there was no escape; they had to find out about each other, and he had to face his difficulty about blackness. This man had graduated from eighth grade while

his mother washed clothes to support the family. He went away to a high school and finally to a college that would accept him, working for his tuition and earning one meal a day at farm labor. He graduated with highest honors. He told Allan about once ordering a milkshake in a drug store. The counterman served him grudgingly and then smashed the glass he had drunk from. By this time they were able to laugh together at this senseless racism, and Allan had overcome his initial bigotry.

This man was Howard Thurman. Three months later Allan invited him to preach as his Palisades church, and he spoke to the text "Put your hand to the plow." After the church service he joined the Hunters in their tiny apartment for dinner. Elizabeth was born in Birmingham and had never eaten a meal with a black man. Thurman felt her problem and tried to help with his own conversation and acceptance. After five hours of talk Elizabeth was won by his charm and at ease. This friendship continued after the Hunters' return to California and Thurman was pastoring All Peoples Church in San Francisco. Allan invited him to conferences at Asilomar and to a retreat of the Disciplined Order of Christ, and to share his pulpit at Mt. Hollywood Church, after Allan became its pastor.

So the two years in New York passed for Allan and Elizabeth, with study at Columbia's School of Education, pastoring at Palisades, student conferences, successful contacts with significant people. During the summer of 1924 they vacationed at Muskoka. This time it was a holiday in that beautiful lake country, not a missionary assignment. In this natural setting of woods and water they read the Gospels in Moffat's translation, and Elizabeth

changed her allegiance from Socrates to Jesus. They came to an understanting and harmony in their married life that was impossible in the semi-public apartment, even with the counsel of Margaret Sanger, then offering classes in marriage in New York.

Allan was also coninuing to write. The little features for The Palisadian were good press relations for his church. Significant magazine articles also appeared in these years. Free Youth published an account of the student conferences already described. In June 1923, Century magazine published the article on "What I Should Like to Preach." In late 1923 his article in the Christian Century was reprinted in part in the Literary Digest. It was called "The Path of the Star," giving an account of the Field of the Shepherds and hopeful examples from the Orient of movements among youth toward mutual understanding.

In August 1923, an editor of Forum, Henry Leach, wrote to Allan, asking whether he had anything else to say on the matter of "What I Should Like to Preach," the Century article published in June. The answer was a series of three articles for Forum. The first was "Why Are We Silent?" in the October 1923 issue. It records Allan's academic search for answers among respected contemporaries, and his challenge to the church. He pays his respects to J. A. Thomson and explores psychological causes of war, its economic futility, and Gandhi's non-cooperation, documenting his references. But we are still too uninformed to solve problems of conflict, he says, and the church and its dogma have little to offer. It is the living truth of Jesus, his respect for human life, that we must pursue. This essay was included in an anthology of

definitive comment on American life in the 1920's, titled The Uncertain World of Normalcy: the 1920's, the Major Issues of American History Series, Paul A. Carter, ed., (Pitman, 1971).

The next Forum article, in March 1924, was called "Experimenting in Faith." The morality of the past, he says, is breaking down, and we have no certain patterns for meeting our problems of sex freedom, militarism, economic inequality, restrictions on expression, racial injustice, psychosis. The list sounds as current as the concerns of the youth movements of today. He suggests group mysticism as an approach, in which the group members, in complete honesty, reveal their burdens and discuss them. This mutuality releases insights from the participants' deep intuition--the unconscious--God. The method has gained credence through the years and is now a favorite therapy, used, for example, by Carl Rogers, who was an undergraduate at Columbia when Allan was there. Group techniques are valuable in families, Allan pointed out, and help to sustain us when we take an unpopular position, through the support of like-minded people.

The last in the series appeared in May or June 1924. "Stirrings of Youth" describes the student conferences at Indianapolis and Bear Mountain earlier in the year and concluded that there was indeed a youth movement afoot, challenging injustice and materialism. The responses to this series ran the gamut from "I strongly approve and would like to hear more," to "What does a minister know about the world?"

In the summer of 1925, after the M.A. was accomplished, the Hunters returned to California. They saw the Pilgrimage

Play in Los Angeles, and Allan wrote a sensitive review called "The American Passion Play," for The Christian Work. He contrasts the sectarian priests of Bethlehem with the Field of the Shepherds, and the artificiality of Hollywood with the Pilgrimage Play, then in its fifth year. He commends the actors, the Hebrew and Gregorian music, and the costumes and hopes it will have a long run. But he censures the Christus for being too mild and humorless:

The Christian Work accepted another article for the September issue, "A Meditation on Christ," that startled the editors but deserved, they said, to be heard. Dogma about Jesus, surviving from an uncritical and unscientific age, comes between us and the real Jesus, said Allan. The doctrine of the supernatural birth, for example, developed because of asceticism about sex and the desire to give Jesus the authority of Messiahship. The Resurrection was a psychic, not a physical, phenomenon. The miracles show the operation of Jesus' healing and sharing power, but were usually misinterpreted by the spectators as a breach of the normal order of nature. The signicance of the Cross is that it has moved people, from the Roman Captain to Gandhi. This article expresses Allan's lifelong attempt to go directly to the spirit of Jesus, cutting through the demands of belief and doctrine common to institutional Christianity and sometimes supported by Scripture. The spirit of Jesus was made clear to him through direct experience and insight, his own and that of a host of perceptive witnesses, past and present.

His first published book, Youth's Adventure (Appleton, 1925),

gives full discussion of issues already raised in the articles. In his second literary period, beginning with articles in 1923 and continuing in the books until about 1935, the focus is sociological and the content is much broader than his own personal observation. This is in contrast to the first period when he wrote directly about what he saw and did: at first, the war, uncritically recounted; then the Holy Land, symbolically felt; and finally Asia, with a concern for lowering tensions. However, he turned this material into reminiscence and continued to use it.

Youth's Adventure is a sort of complement to Stanley High's Revolt of Youth, with more attention to marriage and groups. It was written at Union. Harry Emerson Fosdick's foreword speaks of the need for change, led by youth, and then each chapter deals with one of the issues. Allan identifies with the youth movement of his generation and describes its opposition to militarism, racism, and governmental dishonesty and concealment. Youth rejects religious dogma--the Virgin birth, verbal inspiration, heaven and hell--and favors service and cooperation in the spirit of Jesus. War uses the wrong means to get justice, freedom, and security, though police power for the World Court is necessary. The competitive economic system causes war and destroys personality, and we have to replace it with other life styles and motives: Kagawa's cooperatives, Gandhi's hand industry, and Jesus' simple life. Both for the health of personality, women's especially, and for the prevention of overcrowding, we must control popluation;equality, constancy, and openness are good for marriage. We cannot answer all questions about miscegenation and the relative intelligence of races, but we must start by getting to know each other and appreciating other cultures.

Education must concentrate on making choices and having successful relationships, using activity as its method; Jesus used progressive education. Seeking beyond the range of science, our research must go on in groups and in marriage, using the new mysticism and awareness to turn on the Light. It is Jesus' Way. In the 1970's it is called the consciousness movement.

This book defines Allan's basic and continuing concerns: pacifism, socialism, sex, racial understanding, dynamic education, group mysticism. The problems are perennial and have not yielded to generations of youth movements, and the Light is still dimly seen.

Allan and Elizabeth wanted to test out the validity of the ideas in this book, put them to the proof of experience. So they decided to leave the Palisades church when he got his M.A. and return to California to prepare for the new life. For three months, while Stanley and his wife were traveling, Allan preached in his brother's church, St. John's, in Berkeley. It was a satisfying experience for Allan, working with students and professors. His sermons made the point that Jesus was right about war, about economic sharing, and about God. Then, in September, as traveling secretary of the Fellowship of Youth for Peace, he sailed with Elizabeth from San Francisco for the Orient.

III-4. China, 1925-1926

In early September, 1925, the Hunters sailed from San Francisco on a Japanese ship bound for Tokyo. In Japan Allan lectured and made contacts, presenting the ideas of his sponsoring organization, the Fellowship of Youth for Peace. He had the hope of taking some Japanese on a good will tour of China, and in turn bringing some Chinese back to Japan. But the exchange of students did not come to pass. They stayed in Japan about a month.

They went to Peking later in the fall and took a modest apartment. It had central heating and the necessities, and later, a caged bird, gift of Elizabeth to Allan, that imitated the radiator. Allan traveled about, with a Y secretary as interpreter, lecturing on his four issues, economics, race, birth control, and pacifism.

The first of his tenets was 'we-ownership,' Norman Thomas' version of socialism. It included co-ops as one of the means of helping the economically depressed. Their ricksha man was an observable example for them of economic need. He was amazed at the luxury of their simple apartment. They paid him $1.50 a week for his services, an unheard-of wage. His little boy had scurvy, and they took him to Peking for medical care.

Another evil Allan attacked was racial inequality and conflict, always an issue in China. The Chinese had long been afraid of foreign intrusion. The conquering Manchus had been their rulers for centuries, and the revolution of 1911 was to drive them out. In more recent years, the Russians and the British had encroached on Chinese territory, and Japan claimed and enforced dominance in several areas, especially Nanking. The Chinese associated exploitation with the white race. So racial antagonisms were mixed with

legitimate economic complaints and nationalistic awakening.

A third purpose Allan had in China was to teach birth control. Childbearing and population growth were important in Chinese tradition, and having westerners tell them to curb their increase was like an attack on their racial identity. But they were reproducing at the rate of 4.5 children per family, and the need for population control was beginning to be apparent to some in the universities. A student told Allan that they weren't interested in his pacifism but to go ahead with his ideas about birth control. A teacher at the College of Agriculture and Forestry in Nanking, Cheo-Ming-I, went about in the villages showing farmers how to increase their yield of cotton and rice. Then he planted the idea of fewer children, with posters showing how smaller families can be better-fed and better-educated, and suggesting that population control is the will of God. Allan had studied the movement in America led by Margaret Sanger in defiance of the law. Mrs. Sanger favored a foam-and-spunge device learned in London with Dr. Marie Stopes and used in her Brooklyn clinic; But Allan was not arbitrary about methods. His message was that if they had the will they could work out the way. His success, he admits, was limited. China's population has since doubled, and the wife of the Y secretary, following his suggested method of contraception, became pregnant.

The most important plank in his lecture platform was pacifism. The classic philosophy of China was against violence and nationalism. But the Chinese had come to feel that military strength only could resist the West. Moreover, China had long been engaged in aimless civil war, with many war lords wanting to extend their

power. In 1925 Chiang Kai Shek was a prominent and powerful general and did in fact get control of China in 1928. The West was ready to furnish arms to all factions.

In the fall of 1925 evangelists were preaching obedience to command, trust in Jesus, surrender to the will of God, whipping up excitement among the students to save China. It would be unfair not to note other incentives to fighting: the draft, cash pay, unification of China. But even at Tsing-Hua Indemnity College the class of '25 gave a cannon to the college as their gift. In December the Hunters saw a military parade of students marching to the singing of "Onward Christian Soldiers," and Allan wrote an article with the title "Onward Chinese Soldiers" for Forum, September 1926, describing the antithetical role of Christendom in this crusade. The soldiers' fervor drove them into British-made shells shot by other Chinese. But the bullets were extracted with the help of an X-ray from Nanking Medical College. Military skills and the Sermon on the Mount were the two gifts of the West, but militarism was winning out in China. On Christmas Day, near Peking, Allan worked in a field hospital dressing wounds of Christian Chinese soldiers, and he heard them singing "Hark the Herald Angels Sing" on their straw beds that he and a Chinese boy had made for them. Later, soldiers from the other side, abandoned by their general, were brought in for care, and the YMCA furnished blank records so that they could speak messages to their families. Allan wrote an article for Association Men, a Y organ, hoping that non-Christian Chinese saw some good in Christianity through this contact. He was decorated by the "Christian General" Feng Yu Shan, for his Christmas Day service to the Chinese soldiers.

There is an inconclusiveness about the lecture platform; one would like to do something measurable. Elizabeth was organizing the library of the Yen Ching School of Chinese Studies. At the beginning of the second semester Allan also took a job, teaching English at National Normal University in Peking. This put him in touch with the renaissance going on in Chinese education. He ate lunch with a classic Chinese scholar, in skullcap and pigtail, Hung Ming. The scholar, however, was critical of memorizing the classics and liked to see the students rebelling. Allan told him about the student revolt in America. The scholar commented with delight, "What is that word your American students use? Oh yes, debunk. Thank you, sir, for that valuable phrase. That's what China needs--the debunking process. We Chinese are over-educated. What I like about you Americans is that you are under-educated."

Allan also had an interview in 1926 with a precocious scholar and pacifist, Harold Chiang. He was eighteen years old and had already had a long career as translator of the classics and tutor to the princes.

"The emperor," said Chiang, "used scholars to keep them from thinking."

"But we kill people in religious wars," countered Allan.

"Our way is worse," returned Chiang. "It kills the spirit."

At the National Normal where Allan taught, students were determining curriculum and choosing faculty. Students of linguistics were developing a colloquial language of a thousand characters, suitable for citizens of a republic to learn to read.. It had to be a unified instrument understood by speakers of all Chinese dia-

lects, but still sustaining the literary tradition, a difficult set of guidelines to follow. Jimmy Yen, the Hunters' neighbor in the compound at the National Normal, was a founder of the Thousand Character movement.

Jimmy Yen was a YMCA secretary educated at Yale. In 1918 he found 200,000 illiterate Chinese coolies in France, and he set up a crash program to teach them to read. Later he used the same method in China, teaching reading, agriculture, health, and citizenship, a mass adult education movement.

These trends away from classical education--student autonomy, colloquial language, practical adult education--had great interest for Allan as a student of Dewey and progressive education. It was one area in which growth was taking place in China. He also saw the beginnings of progressive education in Japan, especially in elementary education.

At the end of the school year, in the spring of 1926, it was their intention to return to the United States, but their departure may have been hastened by the fighting. In fact, as they were on their way in a truck to their ship, in Tientsin, almost fleeing some military action, they were stopped by soldiers who rifled some of their luggage. There are not many pleasures for soldiers in a revolution, but these soldiers enjoyed especially the Hunters' supply of Ex-Lax.

They made another visit to Japan on their way home. There Allan visited Arima, the creative warden of Kosuga Prison. His charges stayed and worked at the prison voluntarily, under minimum security, even in time of disaster, because he governed the prison with love, justice, and democracy.

Returned to California, they spent the summer at Sarah Hunter's home in Riverside. There and in a borrowed cabin in the mountains, Allan wrote Facing the Pacific, published in Japan in 1928. David Starr Jordan wrote the foreword, emphasizing the factual accuracy of the content and the clear understanding of the urgent Pacific problem.

Facing the Pacific deals in detail with the issues Allan Hunter had been lecturing about in China and seeks to point up the possibilities of peace among nations surrounding the Pacific. His usual interests are repeated: socialized economics, population control, the evils of war, Dewey's educational theories, mutual caring and respect among peoples, racial differences and contributions, group discussion for solving problems. In addition, he recognizes the $11 billion foreign investment in the Orient as the threat of a new imperialism, and the difference in standards of living between East and West as a problem that Western technology can help solve. China must have stable government, industrialization, and unions, and the solution is more inclusive than Sun Yat Sen's three-fold People's Doctrine. Kagawa and other Japanese Christians have improved labor conditions, but more industrial development and consumption are necessary. He approaches racial mixture gingerly but is sure about the necessity of birth control. Japan is militaristic, China pacifist, by tradition, but both are well armed. Nationalism keeps us all in conflict. China is tied to classic education, Japan is highly literate with a fiercely competitive education, but both are beginning to use new methods. Contacts between the East and the West are not

enough; they must be the right contacts. Exchange of students is helpful. American can offer patterns of technologogy and social China, humanness and cheerfulness; Japan, tact and taste. All need the spirit of trust and sharing.

A brief summary cannot show the fund of facts that supports the argument of this book. Allan draws from western philosophy and sociology, from scholars and ordinary people in Asia, and from his own experience and observation, and the facts are subjected to rigorous and intellectual interpretation. It is tightly organized and the method is analytical, with much use of categories and division into parts, examples, cause and effect. The style is allusive and the sources are usually documented. Incident and dialog replace the figurativeness of Youth's Adventure. But the impact of European affairs--Hitler and Communism--and the use of Asia as a military and economic proving ground for the West have cut across the causal line built up in the book. He fortunately avoids regarding Christianity as the determining force in Asia, but it is one of several influences from East and West that would lead to social improvement and international understanding.

It is carping to speak of error in this well-reasoned book, But eclectic utopia-builders face a danger. How does one choose the "best of each" from various cultures when one is constructing an ideal for Asia, or anywhere? American consumerism and technology, for example, seemed in those days to be our best contribution, but they have depleted the world's limited supply of resources and have polluted the ecology. We think China should have controlled its population, but China only now has decided that it has reached

optimal population everywhere and would resent western advice. Further, a culture is a system, each component organically related to the whole, and the whole cannot be violated. The reformer's fallacy is that one can excise an offending part without affecting the rest. One cannot stick a new culture together with parts from others and expect it to be viable. Finally, cultural change must be indigenous, from within the culture; only those living in a cultural community know what they want and what life style will provide it for them.

Allan hoped to become a chaplain at Stanford and was about to be accepted when a member of the board of Presbyterians who had the choice in their hands discovered his rejection of the incredible dogmas of the church. He did not believe in the virgin birth; there it was, frankly stated in the heretical book the gentleman held in his hand--Youth's Adventure. The commitee knew that they could not trust him to represent the church at Stanford.

However, he was to have another chance. Sunday, August 8, at the invitation of the pastor, Allan occupied the pulpit of Dr. Charles F. Aked's church, the Wilshire All Souls Church, at the Criterion Theater. Here Allan faced a large congregation used to innovative and liberal ideas. They saw a "tall, slender, blue eyed" young man of "unassuming mien and deliberate speech... notably retiring and free from any suggestion of pulpit oratory." His power was in "his sincerity of purpose and thought and in his carefully formed and unbiased judgments," said the writer of "Pulpit and Pew," in the Los Angeles Examiner, on August 9.

Allan prayed for the spirit of truth and trust, and then preached on "The Exquisite Responsibility of Being Alive." So many have tried to get into life and have failed, he said. Some hard and earnest men, like Ethan Brand, do not see that their efforts and exacting conscience may plunge those near them into misery. Some are pleasure-loving and thoughtless, like Marie Antoinette, who wore life like a feather. Jonathan Edwards wore life like a stone; his Puritan conscience drove him to work thirteen hours a day and observe seventy rules of conduct, but he missed the joy of living. Then there are the dull and hopeless, for whom life is a lump of putty; we don't blame them any more but try to find causes. Or are we half asleep in an ivory tower, building air castles, going down blind alleys, or waiting for our ship to come in? No, life is a flaming torch, to show us the needs and beauty of others. Jesus shows us how to reach out in sympathy to the world, as God reaches out to us.

Here are the compelling prototypes and figures, the humanistic allusions, the clear look at the nature of Jesus, and the imperative to compassion and respect for all, that touched, and still touch, everyone who hears him speak. Some members of the pulpit committee of Mt. Hollywood Congregational Church were in the audience, and they too liked what they heard. They invited Allan Hunter to the pastorate of their church, and he accepted.

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Chapter IV, 1926-1941 Mt.Hollywood Church

1. Community Setting, 1926-1928

Mt. Hollywood Church was Congregational by persuasion and had an unusual history. It was founded in 1905, and in its first years used successively Los Feliz School, a building at Prospect and Vermont, a tent, a building next to Los Feliz School. There was also a procession of changing pastors until Rev. Clyde Sheldon Shepard came in 1915. Then the Sunday School building on Rodney Drive was built and used as a sanctuary.

In 1918 Dr. E. P. Ryland became minister. This was a remarkable man. In 1917 his was the only dissenting vote in the Southern California Methodist Conference on a resolution in support of the war, and he was removed from his position as District Superintendent. The Santa Barbara church to which he was assigned refused to accept him. So he withdrew from the Methodist Church and the conference and accepted a call from Mt. Hollywood Church. He brought with him sixty members from his Hollywood Methodist Church.

He continued a pacifist witness, supported strikers and the rights of workers, and was involved in civic issues. He developed a large boys'club and was on the park commission in the early 1920's. There, by strange paradox, he once voted for segregated swimming pools. Mt. Hollywood Church grew to more than six hundred members in sympathy with his views, and the sanctuary was completed in 1921. Not only did he have social concerns; he was a sensitive mystic and a man of rare humor, charm, and culture. In 1926 he resigned his pastorate, and, having been forgiven by the Methodist Church, became General Secretary of the Church Federation.

This was the church that almost unanimously called Allan Hunter to its pulpit in the fall of 1926. On October 22 there was a re-

ception, vale for Dr. and Mrs. Ryland and ave for Allan and Elizabeth Hunter. John Anson Ford made a speech of appreciation for the one and greeting to the other, pledging the eager support of the congregation. Actually, Dr. Ryland stayed in the community and church, and was advisor, friend, and blessing to the new minister for half a lifetime.

In January of the new year Allan made his maiden speech at a Church Federation meeting, reflecting his recent experiences in the Orient. He predicted that the Chinese would make it all right, but that Americans were not well-thought-of in Asia, because of their manners and exploitiveness. This speech was reported in the Los Angeles Times on page 2, January 29, 1927. Allan had made his entree into two essential areas.

He made another contact with the community at the University of California at Los Angeles. The UCLA campus was still on North Vermont, where City College now is, and in the neighborhood of the church. He had made the acquaintance of Frederick Woehlner on the faculty, vigorous exponent of socialized education, who had his students doing community projects as course assignments. Allan in 1928 proposed a counseling service among boys in the area verging on delinquency. A group of students in Woehlner's class volunteered for the project and met a gaunt, competent young man with direct and immediate rapport with students. As it happened, the Education Department, ever vigilant for the safety of its students, decided that they were not mature enough for such a sticky assignment, and the fate of these bad boys fell into other hands.

Quite naturally another contact with UCLA was with the YWCA. Elizabeth was on the board of directors, and Katharine Hillex, the

Hunters' friend from Columbia University days, was the Y secretary. She came occasionally to Mt. Hollywood Church, and Allan officiated at her marriage to Dr. Norman Kilbourne.

California Christian College, later Chapman, was across the street from UCLA, and many middle-aged alumni date their friendship with Allan from those days. They came to the manse for group meetinngs, later called the Muriel Lester group, meeting Tuesday nights before that grate fire. Mt.Hollywood was commonly thought of as their college church.

Allan completed Facing the Pacific during the summer months before his coming to Mt. Hollywood, and it was published in August 1928, in Japan. He intended to give up writing when he took a pastorate, so that he could devote himself completely to his church, and he wrote very little during his first years at Mt. Hollywood. But in October 1928, Prebyterian Advance published "Ten Years After the Armistice." He deplored the trend toward militarism in this country, but he also saw a movement toward international understanding. He named an honor roll of those upholding war resistance: William Lyon Phelps, Harry Emerson Fosdick, C. J. H. Hayes, H. G. Wells, Albert Einstein, F. H. Allport, David Starr Jordan, Scott Nearing, William Borah, John Dewey. The list attests to the validity of the position and the breadth of Allan's interests and awareness.

Inheriting such a church and accepted by the community, the Hunters seemed to be in a perfect situation. However, there were a few challenges during those first years.

IV-2. The Manse, 1927-1932

In January 1927 Allan Hunter received his first new member into the church--Charles Cummings. But many people left the church when he came, and others who stayed opposed him in various ways.

One problem was budget. Allan never complained about money and seemed unaware of financial needs, though he soon had two children, Elizabeth Moore, born in 1927, and Allan Armstrong Jr., born in 1929. Nevertheless, he could not help being aware of the tight control the trustees kept on church affairs. His starting salary was $3,000, but this sank to $200 a month during the Depression, and for a time there was practically no salary at all. The budgeted $2,400 remained the same or crept up only very slowly throughout the 1930's, though sometimes the amount was augmented somewhat by individual subscription. The entire budget was about $6,000.

Choirs are necessary, Allan has come to believe, to keep the minister from talking too long, but he had to learn to take them lightly. For example, there was the Great Choir Quarrel of 1931. The congregation and the conservative director Roy Langley came to an impasse over "Onward Christian Soldiers." The director admired the stirring movement of the piece and the militant words and wanted to use it often. Those of the congregation who understood Allan's pacifism naturally objected to the warlike figures. Allan Himself was in northern California, doing FOR work during the peak of this dispute, and Elizabeth had to take the brunt of the conflict and try to bring peace. Langley stayed in the choir until 1935.

At another time, Allan let his disapproval of a choir romance be known, and the man tried to petition him out of the pul-

pit. Later Allan had occasion to admit that he was wrong in his judgment and that the woman needed to be rescued from a psychotic husband.

During the seven years after Langley left there were eight choir directors, until the advent of Donald Fischer at the end of 1943. During the years of change, continuity was maintained by the organists, Florence Lannon and then Julia Howells. Don Fischer was the leader of the choir for more than twenty years.

Allan was a Norman Thomas Socialist and a pacifist, worked for racial reconciliation, and held somewhat radical theological views. Each of these sensitive areas was sure to be an irritation to some in the congregation, and he sometimes felt under attack. In the midst of the choir unpleasantness he was tempted to accept an offer of the pastorate at a church near the University of Nebraska at Lincoln. But he found that those who he thought were his strong opponents were really for him, and he decided to stay at Mt. Hollywood Church.

His radical pacifism and his socialistic ideas of we-ownership made him a target for red-baiting in 1931. He and two members of the church college group were down town at a time of unrest. A Japanese ran down the street carrying a sign reading "Our children are starving." They saw the police beating people, and Allan and the young people compared their observations on the spot and sent reports of the outrage to the mayor and governor. At various times after that he was accused of being a Commie, and was so reported in the Times. He told a Times reporter that if it happened again, he would sue. Thereafter the paper gave him fair publicity, and he had good relations with Dan Thrapp, the religion editor.

Chief of Police Steckel arranged to have Captain "Red" Hines of the Red Squad accuse Allan in his office of being chairman of the Communist front Committee on the Foreign-born. Allan was not a member and had no connection with it; he had seen the machinations of the Communists in China and wanted no part in it. But the suspicion was planted, and the distinction between Socialism and Communism was not apparent to the Red Squad. As it happened, the captain later wanted Allan to put in a good word for him to John Anson Ford, and he apologized for the frame-up.

The Communists themselves continued to be fascinated by the church and to try infiltration. Elizabeth seemed to have a special intuition for identifying them. Some years later, about 1939, an anonymous Alice joined the student prayer group at the manse. She came regularly, wrote articles for FOR publications; and helped to make contact with the poor in Fickett Hollow. One night Allan asked her for an opening prayer. She sat mute for several minutes and then was moved to truth-telling by the silence and the spirit of the group. She confessed that she was a Communist and had been sent to infiltrate the organizations of the church. But she said that she felt at home and at ease for the first time in her life when she was with them. They never saw her again and they regretted it. But all this has an irrational and cloak and dagger tone. Allan learned to guard against misinterpretation and to be aware of spies from either side.

Despite these hazards, Allan escaped being involved in any legal problems, except for the matter of the wrecked car. He was calling in an apartment house and left his car at the curb. He heard a crash, and sure enough, it was his own car, wrecked

by a drunken prize fighter. The driver, when sober and pious, accompanied by his girl friend, came to church on Sunday, and his brother lamented that he had "almost run down a reverend." Allan testified to the facts in court, and the tragi-comedy closed with the brothers giving him $200 to settle out of court. The story came out in the news papers.

Allan never had an accident while driving with children, and no children were ever seriously hurt on the many trips he made with them. Once, however, as he was bringing children back from the beach, his car was rammed by a ricochetting car in a freak accident and a girl bumped her head. Fortunately there were no serious after-affects, and the family was mollified. There are those who are certain that Allan has a special guardian angel caring for this part of his life; someone must have been watching when he drove away from curbs without looking, talked to the people in the back seat, or stopped in the middle of Hollywood Boulevard to teach a grounded mallard that he does have wings and can fly out of the situation.

The manse was next door to the church, an old-fashioned two storey frame house with large living rooms and several bedrooms. The doors were never locked and everyone was welcome at all hours. Moved by a desire to help everyone and an impulse to openness, the Hunters were vulnerable to all sorts of frauds and dangers as well as people with real needs. The house got the apt sobriquets "Grand Central Station" and "Highway 4609," because of the constant traffic across its threshholds. But for the most part the family walked among these visitors unharmed.

There could be a bookful of stories about the guests at Mt. Hollywood manse. The Hunters helped many and failed with some. The value of chronology is lost; the problems are timeless, and no one can remember when they all happened.

However, the first guest is easy to date. He came at the end of 1926, a short time before the birth of Betsy. The old man had been thrown out of a rooming house down the street and the Hunters took him in, or were taken in. He established himself in a bedroom and never left it. They kept him supplied with camphor and honey, and he seemed to be giving himself a light treatment all night. His hypnotic eye got on their nerves, and Dr. Weitkamp finally had him transferred to Rancho Los Amigos. Then it transpired that they had been harboring an opium addict.

Allan took in a drunk, father of one of the Sunday School children, and after counseling, left him on the couch in the living room with a New Testament to read. He was gone in the morning, however, his departing message left under the couch: the New Testament and beside it an empty whiskey bottle.

A paranoid homosexual arrived in time to be counseled by Dr. Clarence de Voss, by accident visiting at the church that day. This psychologist persuaded the man to go to San Francisco for a new start. He was doing well and saw Allan at intervals. But he was drowned while rescuing two boys from the sea; that explained why he hadn't returned the valuable book he had borrowed from Allan.

A girl dressed for the mountains stopped one Easter, admitting her intentions of committing suicide, as her two sibs had done. The Hunters kept her at the manse for months, giving

her loving care and taking her to a psychiatrist for treatment. Finally the psychiatrist said it was safe for her to return to UC at Berkeley. She did, and, ill with influenza, turned on the gas. But a neighbor who often talked to Allan about suicide finally gave up his revolver and stayed alive.

A member of a famous gangster group came to Allan seeking an interview. But instead of confessing his own sins he complained about how difficult it was to live with his wife, who drank too much.

Allan came home one afternoon to find a middle-aged woman asleep on the living room couch, surrounded by her luggage. But two days later when he tried to contact her brother she disappeared at once. Another woman and her child came for shelter from her husband, and he took her in, although he was alone. They kept another woman for weeks while Allan convinced her parents not to commit her to Camarillo, and helped her to find a way to live.

Sometimes a lingering guest had to be hastened on his way by the arrival of another. One guest, playing up suicidal tendencies to get sympathy, was routed by the failure of the water heater.

The credulous Hunters finally allowed themselves to be suspicious of the imposters. They learned to recognize repeaters, to suspect flattery, requests for travel money, the desire to get religion, and some threats of suicide. At least they admitted such guests with their eyes open.

But it is frightening to realize the adjustments this fam-

ily had to make to keep open house, both to bums and to the brilliant who will presently be introduced. Both carried their special hazards for the family. Elizabeth had to be parish counselor and comforter and had to be ready at a moment's notice to extend a meal to include any number of extra mouths. The hard physical labor of keeping a large household going--buying, cooking, cleaning, washing--devolved upon her. In those years when the children were little, she sometimes had the help of Lottie, an old family servant from Alabama, beloved by the children. But the responsibility was Elizabeth's, She also carried a load, both creative and laborious, in the Women's League and the Sunday School and in civic services. We cannot allow ourselves to be tired, she said.

There was the lack of privacy, with people not the family always present, and often occupying the family's bedrooms, and there was always the chance of finding a stranger in the bathroom. One day in the presence of a dinner table full of notables, Betsy said, "Can't we just once have a meal without company?" She felt resentment from being displaced, and guilt because of her resentment, and rejection and unhappiness she could not cope with. Allan Jr. was open and vocal about his dissatisfactions, and he and a team of his buddies set about to sabotage the tranquility of the church. Allan thought Elizabeth was too lenient in disciplining the children, and she considered him too harsh.

But there were not many disagreements between them. She managed what little money there was. She made the adjustments necessary to the convenience of her busy husband, identifying her own plans and desires with his. But she never felt like a martyr; it was her joy to to it, and she did everything with humor, gra-

ciousness, and spirit. The classic story of the dishcloth must be repeated because it shows all this. One night after a crowded day Allan was reading at the kitchen table while she was washing the dishes. She dropped the dishcloth and wearily hesitated about picking it up.

"You pick it up," he said. "I don't need to reduce."

She picked it up, and then, walking toward him dramatically, she said with perfect timing and in his best pulpit voice, "Be still and know that you aren't God."

They complemented each other. He was a mystic with social concerns. She was practical, tactful, artistic. She could make the house a beautiful place with the simplest resources and her own skills. Special luxuries, like the Oriental rug and the grand piano, were gifts of Sarah Hunter, and came to them at her death in 1940.

In the War of the Rats, they didn't have the example yet of Schweitzer's absolute reverence for life in dealing with the same problem. When it came to such a pass that rats invaded the pockets of old suits and bit searching fingers, it was time to retaliate, indeed, to exterminate. This they tried to do by several means, and Allan finally drowned the last litter. But the deprived mother confronted Elizabeth with outstretched arms and haunting sadness, to accuse her, mother to mother, of allowing her husband, with all his fine talk about love, to commit murder. Or so it seemed.

Since being with the army in Palestine and using cigarets as a way of expressing good will and sympathy toward lonely and miserable soldiers, Allan had enjoyed smoking. In China too it

was a way of relating to people. But with the Depression he began to feel that the cost made the habit ethically unjustifiable. So he switched to a pipe, and he and Dr. Ryland liked to smoke together in the back yard in fellowship. He always smoked openly, in the yard, in full view of the assembled deaconesses or whomever, so that at least there would be no hypocrisy in the act. He intended, however, to stop but lacked a convincing motivation. Soon the motivation was to be supplied: one day Allan jr., aged three, without a stitch on but with his father's pipe in his mouth, pedaled down the street on his tricycle. First Allan got rid of the fancy pipes and used a cheap clay pipe. When the leftover tobacco ran out he replenished it stingily. Finally, after about four months, he really stopped entirely and was free of the desire for it.

IV-3 Pastoral Care, 1930's

Allan Hunter believes that a pastor's function is to give not structure but meaning, but Mt. Hollywood church in the 1930's had organization too. Until the new constitution was written, giving responsibility to several boards and committees, the Board of Trustees centralized the control. Running the church cost about $5000 a year, and an additional $1000 or more was given for benevolences, in spite of the Depression. The giving naturally reflected the concerns of the church: the Chinese Rice Bowl, Mexican nationals and Mexican missions, Indian and Greek relief, and the work of Kagawa and Muriel Lester.

The church had the usual complement of activities. There were a morning and an evening service, Sunday School and vacation school, boys' and girls' clubs, the Women's League, men's breakfast fellowship, a student group meeting in the manse, and a week night meeting for dinner or in the evening, usually with a lecture. All of these were vehicles for the social function of the church, to hear new voices, discuss ideas, and plan action.

The Hunter's Tenth Anniversary at the church was celebrated in 1937, Dr. Weitkamp taking the chief responsibility, and the same notice was taken of the Fifteenth Anniversary, in 1942, during the war, with Dr. Weitkamp, Harold Slocum, John Anson Ford, and Paul Davis as speakers. In 1938 a testimonial dinner was given John Anson Ford. From 1935 to 1942 Harold Slocum was assistant pastor and Margaret Slocum was secretary. Harold wrote a Newsletter and held the details of the church together in many ways.

One of the successful strategies of Allan's ministry was to bring people of interest and eminence to the church to speak.

Many of them stayed at the manse, briefly for a meeting or a meal, or for weeks as house guests. These brilliant people provided a stimulating resource for the church and perhaps an overstimulating environment in the manse. Some of them made repeated visits.

Allan had known of Kagawa at Princeton and in Japan, and Stanley knew and corresponded with him and helped Allan to an appreciation of him. Allan wrote a brochure, Kagawa, Gambler for God, to make him known when he came to America in 1931. Allan arranged many meetings for him: at Asilomar, where he prayed with Stanley "that the blue Pacific never would be stained by brothers' blood"; at a conference at the Los Angeles YMCA, where he stayed behind in the men's room, as Allan saw through the crack in the door, to pick up paper towels strewn by the others, though Japanese could not swim in the Y pool; at a Friends of Jesus meeting in Los Angeles, a Japanese movement. He also spoke at Mt. Hollywood Church on "The Love of God," and $750 was collected for his work in the slums of Kobe. At this meeting, in which he told about his life in the slums, the gangster that became his friend, the nine thousand determined dock workers he diverted from violence, Elizabeth saw a halo of light around his head.

He stayed the night with the Hunters, and in the morning he was asked if he slept well. "I heard the mocking bird," he said. He helped Allan to give up duck hunting, to reverence rather than destroy life. To remind himself of the point of view of the bird, Allan hung in the kitchen where he would see it often, a picture of a pheasant on the wing, in the foreground, and in the distance a hunter with his gun trained on the bird--

and so also on the observer. He kept this picture before him until he identified with the bird, not the hunter. Kagawa came again to the church in 1936, and also in 1941 just before the outbreak of the war in America.

Muriel Lester came first to Mt. Hollywood Church in 1932. She was the founder of Kingsley Hall, a settlement house in London's East End, where she went to live, giving up her considerable inheritance and her social position among the gentry. She had visited Gandhi's ashram in 1926, and he stayed at Kingsley Hall for three months in 1930. She had by 1932 written a book--she was to write more--called Why Forbid Us? It tells how she had gradually assumed priestly functions at Kingsley Hall, with more sense and sensitivity in them than in the accepted male rituals. It is a plea for the ordination of women. When she spoke, in her aristocratic dialect, she warned against the devil's three R's, regret, resentment, and remorse, and she was developing prayer as an important tool in her life, accompanying every action with expectation and gratitude. She was witty and charming, and also an imperious aristocrat, in spite of her abnegation. She spoke at church services and enjoyed the Hunters and the constant flow of life from the community through the manse. She returned to Mt. Hollywood in 1938, 1939, and 1941, and after the war, so we will see more of her.

There were many other notable people through the 1930's--Ralph Bunche, A. J. Muste, Rupert Hughes, Sherwood Eddy, Howard Thurman, Gerald Heard, Aldous Huxley, and as their times come they will play their parts. Allan Hunter had an affinity for the great, partly because people of like abilities and tastes feel at

home with each other, and partly because of his strategy of trying to touch influential people, leaders, since they had more power to persuade the rest and to make things happen in the world.

It was his consistent practice to share the Sunday morning pulpit with others at least once a month, to bring experts to the clubs and organizations of the church, and to arrange Sunday evening and midweek meetings to which speakers were invited. So through the 1930's the church had the rich experience of literally hundreds of competent, interesting, and worthwhile speakers, not always famous names, but great persons. Dr. Ryland, Harold Slocum, Arthur Gasaday, Graham and Stanley Hunter, Howard Thurman preached often, and many other ministers came once or twice. Lowell Young and Dwight Eaton, emeritus presidents of Beloit College, psychologist James de Voss of San Jose Teachers College, Elmer Fridell from the Baptist Divinity College, George Michaelides of the Near East School of Theology and once in the Turkish army, A. J. Muste and Nevin Sayre of the FOR, the Quakers Patrick Lloyd and Frederick Libby, psychiatrists Fritz Kunkel and Hildreth Caldwell, Dorothy Franklin, gynecologist, Carey McWilliams of the State Housing Commission, Elizabeth Vining, Quaker teacher and writer; the list shows the variety and excellence of these visitors. The policy of bringing knowledgeable and valid people to the church continued throughout Allan's ministry, but there is a special quality of eminence and distinction in those who came in the 1930's.

Allan occasionally left the church to speak elsewhere. During his four weeks of vacation he almost always had the chaplaincy at Tuolumne Meadows in Yosemite or at Fallen Leaf at Lake Tahoe.

He and Stanley sometimes exchanged pulpits. I remember hearing him in the fall of 1929 at St. John's Church, and many students from UC heard him gladly. He was there again in 1933 at a vespers service, a conference of delegates from ten churches. The Berkeley Gazette reported his address. The heart of it was his version of the Sermon on the Mount, paraphrased into modern idiom. He exchanged pulpits with Rev. Bodell of the Church of the Messiah, where he once preached for a memorable nine months, and at other local churches. He led conferences and religious emphasis weeks in Oregon and Colorado, and organized groups in the interest of peace up and down the coast. But usually when there were visitors at the church he liked to be there to enjoy them.

Bringing new voices to the congregation was an important way of ministering. But Allan had other characteristic means. The Hunters often turned to nature for refreshment and joy, and Betsy and Allan Jr. shared the pleasure of these trips to the mountains and remember them as happy times. When Allan was chaplain at Tahoe or Tuolumne they were provided by the park service with a comfortable "furnished" tent or cabin. The meadows, streams, trees, and animals were not only pleasant and beautiful but also deeply meaningful in understanding what is real. The small animals were an endless interest, and the bears were there as a reminder of the untamed in nature and of our vulnerability. But also they were a token of the safety of the blessed. Elizabeth was reading at a table outside the tent one night and was suddenly aware of not being alone. There, four feet away,

was a bear, about to reach for the cookies on the table, "You just get out of here!" she commanded, and the bear obeyed.

Allan knew the habits, song, and appearance of almost every bird, and found in them all a message about joy and trust in God's universe. Though Elizabeth might not have shared this detailed knowledge, her own songs were loosed in the mountains. She felt the web of life and the mystery beyond, and she wrote them into poetry, catching images and experiences in unforgettable phrases: milky jade of sky--silence flowing like a stream--the quick surprise of grass--our hearts touched hope--far surf of forest trees--death becomes the dream--the awful rumor of eternity....

Allan wanted to share the mountains with the children of the church, and for years it was his courageous custom to take twelve-year-old boys, and others, on short and long trips, to Mt. Hollywood in Griffith Park, Mt. Baldy in the San Gabriel Mountains, Crescent Meadow in the Sequoia National Park. They hiked, they practiced turning the other cheek, they sat more or less silent in a meadow, waiting for an insight. The results were often delayed: the squirming little boy of one season might bring his whole family to savor the Meadow the next year. With endless patience Allan dealt with the energies and ignorance of little boys. By some miracle they were never hurt, though he narrowly averted some accidents in the snow. Only once can Stan Weitkamp remember his being angry. That was when Stan, curious about the cigaret lighter in the car, disabled the ignition system, far from mechanics and aid. A host of those who were boys--and girls and families--not only in the 1930's but in the following decades, cherish the memory of those mountain trips with Allan.

He had other ways of reaching older students. The concerned or confused young people from Chapman and City College and the community met in the manse living room before the inevitable grate fire. The procedure for these groups matured over the years into almost a ritual. But in these earlier times they were more spontaneous and less structured. He would start with an invitation to discuss social problems that worried them, and perhaps personal problems and the relevance of religion would emerge as well. Then they would agree on simple disciplines; Muriel Lester's suggestions about prayer at stated times, an agreement to think about each member once a day, a commitment to do something. There might be time for reading and discussion of the reading, for mentioning special needs, considering each member, choosing a theme for the week and a concern for service, as the group matured in its experience together. One of the interests in the 1930's was contact with the Mexican community.

Those groups were an extension of the group Allan belonged to in student days at Union, and they are related to encounter groups and group mysticism in the next decades. Many remember these early student groups, and they were moved by the experience into very different directions. One from Chapman went to Union Seminary and around the world with Kirby Page, became a pastor among the miners of Kentucky, then a Communist, and spent time in jail. One turned from Christian Education to Catholicism and now teaches theology in a Catholic high school. One helped to initiate the Peace Corps. Another, a member of the Disciplined Order of Christ, is a worker priest in the Christian

Church, supporting his family at a craft. He testifies that Allan is the pole star of his life and introduced him to Kagawa, Vernier, Muriel Lester, Albert Day. And one is the present minister of Mt. Hollywood Church.

The concept of the student groups was of general interest, and Allan wrote articles describing them. In 1930 he wrote a story for the Stanford Illustrated Review about Y discussion groups eager "to see where the main root runs." One of the Christian Century Pulpit series, in 1938, gives directions for developing "a youth group in every manse."

Kagawa helped him to see marriage as a small group experience in which the sense of sharing can be a source of strength and can draw out insights to enrich the relationship of the family and spread into wider and wider contacts.

Conferences, of students, the YMCA, the FOR, ministers, and so on, provided another important way of functioning for Allan and the church. Yearly FOR conferences were held at the church, led by Sherwood Eddy, Nevin Sayre, Bayard Rustin, and in 1935 Allan went to an FOR conference in Oregon. In 1938 he went to the University of Colorado and in 1939 to Denver University for religious emphasis week. Many of the FOR conferences he worked with had the establishment of cell groups as their purpose.

Perhaps the most direct function of a pastor is to be a friend and comforter when people are ill or in trouble. Allan himself considers personal crisis as his most important place of service. Most members of Mt. Hollywood Church can remember times in their lives when they needed support, and Allan and Elizabeth were there. We have seen them take the waifs and

strays into their home; they were counselors to people in difficulty with each other or with the law; Allan always arrived at the hospital at once when there was illness, to offer prayer, money, and a word to hang on to. Gladys Davidson's mother said that he was like a son to her when her husband died, and the Catholic nurse said she had never before seen such love and attention from any pastor at a death bed. He had the same concern for those not in the Church. He knew how to bring the troubled into touch with the healing and comforting power of God, and recovery seemed to start with his prayers. He had learned to guard against the great hazard for us all of being insensitive when we should have been aware, and silent or self-centered when we should have borne witness to some one who needed it.

Sermons are the most visible function of the minister, and some attention must be given to Allan Hunter's. In the mid 1930's his sermons usually dealt with the human experience of coping. What are the useful and helpful qualities? Wholeness, strength, creativity, discipline, love, helpfulness, joy, courage--these are ends, and also means to fulfillment. Some other means appear to be prayer, communication, decision, the power to become. He was concerned with the relationship between means and ends.

He was interested in getting the most out of family life. He also dealt with the function of the church, the ideal world, how Jesus met all kinds of people. But for the most part the sermons did not have a social issues orientation; they were concerned with individual adjustment. There was a series on the ABC's of Christianity, but the sermons did not usually try to

solve questions of doctrine. He considers the nature of God, however. "God is not dead" must be axiomatic; God speaks to us through His immanence, and He works through us; "God among the mountains" suggests His relationship to the physical world; "The love of God is colorblind" assures us, too self-consciously, of a non-racist God who doesn't even notice if you aren't white.. The sermons are based on specific situations and ideas from the Bible, interpreted freshly and humanistically.

Allan liked to use compelling figures: the mountaintop experience, the magic pool of expectation, everyone an artist, window shopping and religion, white corpuscles--some years later the title of one of his books. He admitted to Muriel Lester that he would have liked to be a poet. Image and figure are the devices of the poet, so that he can be specific even when dealing with ideas, can suggest rather than be limited and explicit, can create startling and memorable myths and symbols. But Plato warned us about poets: they and we get to believing their inventions.

A sense of paradox appears in the titles, and this grew as the war loomed. We find antithetical ideas like "Judas and Jesus," "Not length but depth of life," "Two sons," "Poor little rich man," "Jesus on the picket line." Here is a feeling for irony and polarization, sometimes accepting ambiguity and sometimes resolving it in sharp dichotomy. In 1939 Allan wrote an article for Religion and Life called "The Unnoticed Irony of Christ," giving examples of what he found to be "humor and laughter," but often suggesting a bitter, almost savage mood in Jesus. The parables of the shady business deals are resolved in

the light of Dr. Torrey's translations as a question: Would one act like this crook? But the incident of the two swords seems to pass from humor into cynicism or expediency.

The magazine articles from the middle of the decade to the end are equally divided between social issues and religion, though the two interact. The social issues are socialism, race, and pacifism, and the articles will presently be considered in relation to relevant social action. These appeared both in student publications and in magazines with a religious focus. He wrote a second article for Religion in Life distinguishing Communism and Socialism.

For a time he was on the staff of David C. Cook's New Century Leader and wrote something once a month. For example, one article described two members of a prayer group: one was an alcoholic regenerated by using Luke as a guide; the other was Patrick Lloyd, though not named, who maintained a pacifist witness in the midst of action in World War I. But Allan once wrote an article expressing a less than orthodox view of hell, and that was the end of his relationship with David C. Cook Publications.

He wrote several articles for the Christian Century Pulpit, from 1931 to 1938. They start with a text, usually from the gospels, and develop material for a sermon. One in 1931, "Finding the Focus of Life," advises chancing all for a unified personality. Ramsey Mc Donald and Kagawa dared and made it. There are causes enough to espouse; let us work for the reconciliation of all people under one Father. "Wanted: a Sense of Direction," in 1935, develops an arresting set of analogies: driv-

ing at night with only a few signals about the nature of the road, so that much has to be taken on faith; the sheep willing to be fleeced to stay with the flock; the blanketing green of self-indulgence; The City of God at the end of the road for those that do His will. An article in 1937, "Permanent Values in an Age of Change," names the seven deadly values of our materialism, and the saving virtues of honesty, order, and so on. In 1939 came the article about the techniques of developing a youth group in the manse. His close connection with this periodical came to an end after World War II; the editor tired of his anti-war pre-occupation.

Several of these articles reflect an interest in biography, of Kagawa, Patrick Lloyd, Yoshido Endo, and, in the Chrtisian Century, of "Muriel Lester, the Joan of Arc of Pacifism." Allan Hunter wrote four books during this time, two on social issues and two on people, but all aimed at the same target that we might call Agape. These will be discussed in their place.

IV-4 Social Issues 1932-1938

An axiom of liberal Christianity is that it must try to improve the social structure, and this was Allan Hunter's constant concern. In 1925, in Youth's Adventure, he showed how the youth were taking the lead in social change. But now, at the beginning of the 1930's, he wrote some articles for student publications, Stanford's Illustrated Review, as we have seen, and the Intercollegian, to define urgent social issues and encourage students to take an interest in them. He sees no student movement, and he no longer identifies himself with students.

In 1932 he published Social Perplexities. This book deals with the same social issues as Youth's Adventure does--war, economics, sex, education, and theology--, but he notes that searching has replaced smugness regarding solutions. The issues are defined in the same way in the two books, but in Social Perplexities he brings support from many witnesses.

In the chapter on "Swords and Sovereignties" he discusses specific peace-keeping instruments--the Briand-Kellog pact, the League of Nations, the Pan-American Union, disarmament conferences, the World Court, and Kirby Page's Twenty-two points. He identifies war as an evil and intolerable means, whatever the end. In chapter 3, "Mammon," Norman Thomas and Sherwood Eddy define positions: cooperatives and planned society, free trade, population control (again in Asia!), we-ownership, and finally, abandoning the profit motive. In the "Color" chapter he deplores discrimination against the Japanese, though he is doubtful about the genetic success of interracial marriage and apologetic about

skewed I.Q. curves; after all, some Negroes have achieved in the arts and professions. He brings Sherwood Eddy, Paul Popenoe, Margaret Sanger, Bertrand Russell, John Haynes Holmes, and others to speak on "Marriage Tensions," and concludes that monogamy, birth control, and mutual interests are desirable, and that women too should have an orgasm, though he avoids the term. He deals with the communication gap in "Between Youth and Age" and suggests group study of Jesus' personality as a bridge; over-thirties can still learn and get new ideas.

These are the issues that should concern the church, not "Creed" differences. The personality of Jesus and direct connection with God will show the right way; we must love individual people and see with the eye of fact and hear with the ear of harmony. Philosophy comes to our support, giving universal backing for human values. He finds a cosmic drift toward mutual aid, an evolutionary trend toward personality and mind, a moral imperative, and Spirit. He brings Eddington, Hocking, and Jacks to witness, and also Kagawa, Gandhi, and Schweitzer. Jesus' deepest faith was that the Spirit of the universe supports man's basic needs for fellowship, unifying purpose, and integrated personality.

A word could be said about Allan Hunter's use of sources. He modestly identifies himself as a sciolist, an eclectic who, without necessarily mastering the whole of an author's system of thought, accepts statements, figures, illustrations, ideas that he finds he agrees with and that are useful in developing his own system. He is open to insights from every source, and selects from the discoveries of others. He has always read

Scripture with this attitude and has constructed his own concept of God and the personality of Jesus.

Quotes, even as they appear in Bartlett's Quotations, haunt him as the quintessence of the author's experience of life. Nietzsche spoke to him with "Many a man fails to become a good thinker for the sole reason his memory is too good"; if it is true, Allan is in mortal jeopardy with his amazing memory for quotation, incident, and names of people. Dean Christian Gauss quoted Renan to him: "Truth is a matter of fine distinctions," suggesting to him the danger of a career of hair-splitting. He wishes he had long ago found this remark of Gabriel Marcelle: "If the philosopher is to save man from himself he must carry on an unwearying, relentless war against abstraction"; he could have saved himself some errors, he thinks. Sciolism furnishes stimulating ideas but does not necessarily lead to a consistent system.

Of the issues defined in Social Perplexities, Allan Hunter was most active in the 1930's in economics, race, and pacifism. His socialism had its origins in Dewey's idea that educational improvements are dependent on and concommitant with social reform, and that socialized economic structures are important because economics is the most powerful means to any end in our culture. The youth movement that Allan identified with as early as 1924 considered economic causes of war, and he met Sherwood Eddy, Kirby Page, and Norman Thomas, all committed to socialized economics, at conferences of students and Christian leaders. He included we-ownership as one of his tenets in Youth's Adventure in 1925, and he already identified Kagawa and

Gandhi as models for economic justice, and saw Jesus' simple life style and de-emphasis of materialism as support for socialism. In China he proposed cooperatives as valid socialized economics.

Dr. Ryland, Allan's predecessor at Mt. Hollywood, was deeply concerned for the welfare of the working man in Los Angeles. A.J. Muste, a Troskyite, head of Brook Labor College, and later of FOR, visited the church and spoke in 1928. Allan renewed and reinforced his sensitivity to economic injustice when Kagawa came to Mt. Hollywood in 1931 and told about giving up his inheritance and identifying with the poor in the slums. In the same way, Muriel Lester, who came in 1932, had given up a fortune to live and work in her Kingsley Hall in London.

Many in the congregation were moved by the plight of workers and by the need for economic justice. In 1932 there was a National Garment Workers strike, and Allan's brother Graham Hunter took depositions from the workers to document their impossible working conditions. Allan took notes for Graham at interviews. They found Mexican women working in sweatshops fifty-five hours a week for $4.50. Adelia Haass, a Mt. Hollywood member, also helped in fact-gathering. Allan framed a petition and got the prominent minister of the Colonial Congregational Church to present it to the Ministerial Association. It petitioned Mayor Porter to restrain Capt. Hines of the Police Department from "unnecessary brutality in dealing with the women on strike." The next day at 7:00 a.m., 12:00 noon, and 5:00 p.m., ministers were on hand to see that there was no brutality. One minister was jailed.

The next year Helen Beardsley was in the midst of farm labor protests, and one of her coworkers was almost lynched by vigilantes. Mrs. Claude Davis and Ernie Besig joined Allan in trying to diminish the hardships of the Mexicans facing deportation. They used to see them off with food and good will. Evan Thomas, Allan, and some high schoolers took supplies to farmers, for fellowship and fact-gathering.

In 1934 Allan, Mrs.Kilbourne, and others from the church worked for the election of Upton Sinclair as governor of California. Upton Sinclair was a novelist, author of The Jungle and many other books exposing social abuses. He was a Socialist but was nominated for governor on the Democratic ticket. His slogan was "End poverty in California," and he said "I believe in the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man, and I insist on seeing them tried." He was accused of being a Communist, but his supporters were ready with the distinction between the force of Communism and the democratic consent and cooperation of Socialism. His opponent, Frank C. Merriam, appeared at a mass meeting at the Shrine Auditorium, and Allan and the Muriel Lester group at the church wanted to have a parade to publicize their candidate, Upton Sinclair. The police forbade it, but Allan organized the "walking newspaper." long streamers bearing slogans, such as, "He who neglects the poor neglects God." While the committee managing the mass meeting were inside conferring on how to dispose of them, the walking newspaper men got in some spectacular publicity for their candidate. Merriam won the election. But Sinclair wrote a revealing book about his campaign, I, Candidate for governor (1939). In it he thanked Allan for his part in the effort.

Allan would always be found supporting the minority canididate. During the Roosevelt-Wilkie election in 1940, Betsy was going to Starr King JuniorHigh School. A teacher had the students line up on opposite walls to indicate their fathers' preference for president. But Betsy was still in her seat. What was her father's choice for president? She had to confess that it was Norman Thomas, candidate on the Socialist ticket.

Related to the Upton Sinclair campaign and parallel to it in time was a growth in co-ops. In 1934-35 Allan was a member of the California Co-op Council and the Kagawa Cooperatives of Southern California, and the Hollywood Co-op began its existtence in the basement of Harold Slocum's house, next door to the church. Sherwood Eddy, a co-op enthusiast, spoke at an FOR conference at the church in 1935, and in 1937 held meetings in several places--the Shrine Auditorium, USC, Clifton's, and Sunday evening at Mt. Hollywood Church--on the Delta Co-op he was sponsoring. He spoke again at the church on Christianity and co-ops.

In the same series with Eddy, Dr, Ryland, chairman of the Social Action Committee of the church, spoke on labor problems, and Carey McWilliams, head of the Immigration and Housing services for the State, appeared twice to speak on migrant labor in California. He had recently written a book on Factories in the Fields.

In 1936 Allan wrote an article for Religion in Life, to draw the contrast between Communism and Socialism. Students and others, he wrote, are often deceived by the Communist program because it seems to be activist and reforming. But it uses the

methods of violence or starvation to overthrow opponents, and it accepts armed conflict as inevitable in the revolution to put the proletariat in power. In contrast, Eugene V. Debs, a Socialist, renounced war and was imprisoned for it. The third alternative, neither flight nor fight, is cooperation, the method of Socialism, for bringing social and economic justice. The article is a good apologia for Socialism, and it is also a compact defense for Allan against the allegations of Communism.

The social issue of racism centered in mid-decade. Allan had no trouble relating to Asians. For the Japanese friend in Denver, for the many friends made in his two Oriental journeys, 1920 and 1925, and finally for Kagawa, he had spontaneous understanding. But he had to learn to appreciate Negroes. When he was a student at Princeton he taught a Sunday School class of black children, and one of them may have been Paul Robeson; but even without the possibility of eminence among them they must have been a rewarding and educating group for Allan. Howard Thurman was his first close black friend. Ralphe Bunche spoke at Mt. Hollywood in 1926 on the "white problem." Bayard Rustin also spoke at the church and was admired for his pacificism. But these were famous people who had made it.

In the early thirties there were no Negroes in the congregation at Mt. Hollywood. A twelve-year-old, Alvin Gow, whose parents were longtime members of the church, had a playmate, Purcell Brown Jr., a black boy who had lived in the neighborhood all his life. One evening Alvin prevailed on Purcell to go with him to the boys' club meeting at the church, and so it was arranged be-

tween the mothers. He went to the club meeting that night and continued to go, and presently his brother Wyndom and his mother came with him to church, the only Black family at the time. But it eventually became an integrated church.

For weeks the boys sat in the front seats at church services, warily watching how they were received by the minister and the congregation. Was he sincere in welcoming them? Were they really accepted? In fact, some of the members were disturbed. Purcell went to the parties and danced with the white girls--there were no others--and there was criticism. On a walk in Griffith Park Allan conveyed this feeling to Purcell, suggesting that he should get to know some black girls too. But Purcell felt secure in Allan's approval of him. The truth was that Allan had not quite resolved his questions, expressed in Social Perplexities, about miscegenation and intelligence. Even Dr. Ryland, Missourian that he was, had to learn slowly. Just as he had once led bayonet drill at a military school where he taught, so also he had voted for segregated swimming pools; pacifism and racial understanding came slowly, with experience and maturity.

On Commonwealth near the church was a small, well-established community of Blacks many of whom had careers in business and the professions. Allan made friends with all of them, especially the children, the elderly, and the ill, and he visited them frequently. He came every week as long as she lived to see an old lady dying of cancer. He developed lifelong friends among them, and some became members of Mt. Hollywood.

In the fall of 1926, Allan had an encounter with a Japanese Christian student, Yoshio Endo. He had a letter of reference

to Allan from a mutual friend in Japan. But he called Allan from his hotel, saying that he would send the letter by mail and go on to San francisco and home; he had had enough of California Christians. It transpired that he had been excluded from a Y pool. Allan took him swimming in the public pool in Griffith Park. The young people of the church entertained him, he spoke at a church service, and John Anson Ford introduced him to some prominent nisei. He had a fulfilling experience, but he might have returned to Japan with a much different feeling. Allan remembered this incident and wrote about it in 1934 in an article for the Missionary Review, calling it "In Christ there is No East or West." He also pointed out other discriminatory practices and some of the efforts to overcome them.

In the summer of 1933 Allan had a Hagen scholarship at Union Seminary, to work on a book about the value of the Orientals in America, as a corrective to Hearst and Stoddard's Rise of the Color Tide. The resulting book, Out of the Far East, was dedicated to Elizabeth and published in 1934. It was widely used in many churches as a missionary study book. He supports his generalizations about Asians in America with abundant examples and illustrations. The data is carefully researched and documented, and much of it is first hand observation.

He shows how the history of Asians in America is related to employment. First they were brought as cheap labor, but in the end they were excluded from jobs. The church can help correct false stereotypes. It can also help to bridge the culture gap between the old country elders and the Americanized youth.

An excellent, rich chapter gives examples of successful

interchange of ideas, skills, and people between East and West. These examples go far beyond athletics or even exchange of students: Motze or universal good will; The American-educated Jimmy Yen and the Thousand Character Movement; the railroad hand-built by Huie Kin when he returned to China after working on the Central Pacific; the cycle of ideas from Hindu writing to Thoreau and from Emerson to Gandhi, and from Jesus to Ruskin to Gandhi; the warden of Kosugo prison; Kagawa.

The last chapter describes some of the four hundred agencies in the United States working with Asians and lists specific procedures for churches, such as supporting the farm labor unions; improving housing, work places, and schools; desegregating swimming pools; redeeming relationships through Jesus. There is a bibliography of forty-five books.

The book is written for a specific audience, and there is an occasional revelation of Nordic bias. For example, "A person whose glands have raised his cheek bones, slanted his eyes, and darkened his skin," as if he were a deviation from some norm. But for the most part the book is so factual and convincing and the relationships so hopeful that one nearly forgets the holocaust to come.

The witness of Mt. Hollywood Church was always for peace, and the minister and congregation were active in trying to make peace a reality. In 1931 the church sent a petition to the Regents to make ROTC elective in the state universities. Allan Hunter was also concerned about ROTC at John Marshall High School. At a Ministerial Association meeting he got a resolution passed pe-

titioning the school board to bar ROTC from Marshall, and the petition was granted. But the principal was angered, and Allan's invitation to give the invocation at the commencement in June was canceled. Three young men who wanted to be officers were disappointed and displeased, but one of them conceded after the war that Allan was right.

Allan came to his pacifist position through the actual ordeal of war and through confrontation with the experiences of Jesus. It was as if he had learned love and forgiveness from the spirit of Jesus in Palestine. His convictions were strengthened by broad contacts with people of good will in Asia and while a student in New York. Two of the strongest witnesses for the way of peace were Kagawa and Muriel Lester, visitors at the church in 1931 and 1932, and his friendship with them was based first on their pacifism. In 1932 the church supported Kagawa in his protest against militarism in Japan. In 1936 he was again in Los Angeles and made several appearances. He came to the church for an early morning communion in which he told about his reconciliation with Briggs Memorial Church in Shanghai, dedicating the church rebuilt after Japanese bombing. His message in Los Angeles was for peace around the Pacific.

In October 1935 Allan debated Rupert Hughes at the Present Day Club, Dr. E. C. Kreck, chairman, on the topic "Would I fight in any war declared by my government?" Allan defended a categorical "no" position. In November a plebiscite was taken in the church on its attitude toward war. Out of 166 votes, 70 were for no participation, 63 were for defense in the event of invasion, with scattered votes for other positions.

In 1937 the church was interested in the passage of several bills in Congress. The Neutrality Act and the embargo on war materials were passed, but they were made ineffective by lend-lease. The Emergency Peace Campaign held a mass meeting at the First Baptist Church, with Dr. David Burne-Jones of England and Dr. Alton Chambers of Broadway Temple in New York as speakers. Volunteers in this campaign spoke all year for peace. Arthur Casaday, a student at Pacific School of Religion, spoke for the cause at Mt.Hollywood Church in October. Dan Genung, then a student at the University of Arizona, also worked in this campaign. One purpose of this effort was to bring the passage of the Ludlow Peace Referendum. Legislation was ineffective in slowing the momentum toward war, but the church continued to speak its mind. In 1939 it sent a petition to President Roosevelt, and in 1940 the Whittier Conference, supported by the church, had war prevention as its topic. The church had registered its stand in a pacifist amendment to its constitution, and the members continued to reassert their views by individual letters to Congress and the President.

Four times between 1936 and 1941 Allan was the west coast chairman of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, and the church hosted FOR conferences. Nevin Sayre led the conference in 1937 and 1940.

In 1938 the International FOR met in Luntern, Holland, and Allan was a delegate. He sailed on the Queen Mary late in June, in the company of Sherwood Eddy and Bishop Jones of the Episcopal Church in Utah and an FOR secretary. At the conference Allan roomed with Philippe Vernier, French pastor much imprisoned as a con-

scientious objector, and worker in the Blue Cross, French temperance organization. Also at the conference were Muriel Lester; George Lansbury, English Labour Party leader and a founder of FOR; Siegmund-Schultze, social worker, sometime chaplain to the Kaiser and tutor of his children, war resister in World War I; Cannon Charles Raven, Oxford don and FOR secretary of England; Pierre Ceresole, Swiss engineer with a plan for alternative service for peace. These people became Allan's friends and he interviewed them as "White Corpuscles."

Allan also went to the conference of War Resisters, not all connected with the church, as members of FOR were. He traveled over Europe, too. In Paris he met Berdyaev, opponent of Russian Communism and German Nazism, and proponent of a true Christianity of love. In Berlin he visited a ghetto with two American rabbis, the place where Nazis had recently beaten to death twenty-nine Jews. How could anyone, Jew or Gentile, forgive that? When he returned to his hotel, the lobby was full of Brown Shirts in convention, proud, arrogant, and loud. To beat them on their own terms he would have to be worse than they, and he decided there was no compromise with Jesus' Way. With this simple confirmation he settled the issue haunting many pacifists confronting the brutality of the Germans in World War II. He visited Niemoeller's church while the pastor was in concentration camp for refusing to cooperate with the Nazi government.

In England he was the guest of Canon Raven at the estate of a duke in the Burns country. Here Allan wrote up some of the heroic stories for White Corpuscles in Europe. Professor C. J. Thompson and his wife, old friends from the Jerusalem days,

invited him to go with them on a trip through England, but he declined. In contrast to those at the conference, these friends were committed to the coming war.

White Corpuscles in Europe, then, was the book that grew out of Allan's summer with pacifists in Europe. But before it was published he wrote an article for Intercollegian, November 1938, titled "What Pacifists are Like," a thumbnail sketch of the coming book. In it he described Philippe Vernier's mystical experience of joy in the presence of God, while he was in solitary confinement in prison, and his leadership of a youth crusade. He tells about Muriel Lester, bound for peace missions in Germny and Czeshoslovakia, and about George Lansbury, M.P., going to interview Hitler, Mussolini, and Roosevelt in a desperate effort to avert war.

White Corpuscles came out in 1939. The metaphor of the title refers to the function of white corpuscles to flow to the worst trauma in the body to heal them; these Christians were trying to be healers. Aldous Huxley wrote the foreword, speaking of this personal and generally non-public way of dealing with the world's problems. Allan included Philippe Vernier, conscientious objector; Siegmund-Schultze, reconciler; Pierre Ceresole, ecologist and social engineer; Muriel Lester, leveler; and George Lansbury, economic cooperator. The book is a summary of what was being done by war resisters in Europe on the eve of the war. Allan Hunter is encouraged by what he sees. These subjects accept Jesus' commitment at Gethsemane to healing and reconciling. The book gives a sense of direct oral communication by using first and second person, informal sentences,

clichés, colloquialisms, dialogue, direct appeal and challenge to the reader, rhetorical questions. It is the first of a series of four books using the biographical method.

The second biographical study, Three Trumpets Sound, was published in 1939 too, by Association Press. The three trumpets are Kagawa, Gandhi, and Schweitzer, speaking for righteousness. There are fifteen chapters, five devoted to each subject. But this physical pattern should not suggest similarity of treatment. The nature of each man determines the organization of his biography, reinforcing the author's interpretation of each and giving a satisfying consonance of form and content.

The story of Kagawa begins with Allan's contacts with him, at Princeton in 1915, in Los Angeles in 1931, and at the Lake Erie conference in 1936. Then he moves back to an account of Kagawa in the slums of Kobe, back again to his childhood as preparation, and forward to the experiences leading him to the co-op as economic and social solution. This confidence in the co-op movement to solve all problems, together with over optimism and glib generalizing, Allan names as weaknesses. His strengths are his energy, his commitment to God and good will, his self healing.

The account of Gandhi starts with his philosophical origens: the Jain sect's idea of returning good for evil, Tolstoi's interpretation of Jesus, Thoreau's civil disobedience, Garrison's non-resistance, Ruskin's warnings against the dangers of money. In South Africa, as a lawyer and advocate for the Indians there, he tried out these ideas. He cooperated with the British in

conflicts with Zulus and in World War I, and expected independence for India from it. Failing that, he developed the methods of noncooperation, boycott, fasting and asceticism to deal with the government, and for himself, negative rules of self-discipline. He attacked India's social problems--liquor, drugs, child marriage, depressed castes--as well as his quarrels with the British, from the salt tax to colonialism. He was a politician and opportunist, but free of the lust for power; he wanted recognition for the Untouchables but accepted the caste system; though he had a British education he kept unwestern ideas--his rejection of sex, his fasting, his handcraft economics; his methods achieved independence from the British but not peace in India. Paradox seems to be the quality of his life, but what moved him most was his strength of soul and his realization of God.

Schweitzer's life is told in straight chronology: his successive careers in music, philosophy, teaching, theology, and medicine. When he saw that reconciling in Europe was futile, he fled to Africa and tried there to compensate for what European colonialism had done for it. This chronological organization reflects Schweitzer's own analytical intentions and plans regarding his life. His amazing skills and scholarship brought him to the conclusion that the will to live is man's motivation, and reverence for life the basis of his ethics. But he was not completely a pacifist and was too individualistic to be a socialist. He evaluates Jesus as a man in his times, but he finds His compassion the most appealing hope for the world.

These men, says Allan, function on the third level, rejecting innocent non-involvement and egocentric conflict, and identifying

with suffering and reconciling differences. They are all creative, tranquil because committed to a Greater than themselves, articulate, devoted to God's family. Seeing them we get some hope for ourselves. The great interest of these accounts, beyond the splendid subjects themselves, is the wealth of relevant incident, accurately and dramatically told. Another value is that we are made to appreciate their strengths and achievements, but also to honestly recognize their weakness and shortcomings. They are credible, human, and attractive. Allan evaluates them through his own special interests: socialism and co-ops, pacifism, acceptance of sex, population control, simplicity, and their sensitiveness to God and their concept of Jesus. So the biographies are individual, the biographer's view of these men, as it should be.

The style is not so oral and colloquial as White Corpuscles. It is more studied and artistic, with the encompassing figure of the trumpets, unusual diction, and over-predicated, inverted, balanced sentences,

IV-5 Secretly Armed: Mysticism, 1938-1941

Allan Hunter had been in the midst of great ventures to confront the powers of darkness: to argue the case of non-violence, to change world opinion with conferences and writing, to reform the social structure with co-ops and a demonstration of a simple, open life style, to control government policy by direct political action. But all of these idealistic and well-contrived efforts were failing. The hopeful took what comfort they could from a few white corpuscles. But by 1939 Russia and Germany were fighting their neighbors; France fell in 1940. The question persists: What should the peace workers have been doing? Where might FOR efforts have been effective? Should they, for example, have been working for mass emigration of Jews from Germany? Or what?

Some pacifists did indeed turn to another way; they turned away from activism and toward mysticism. Mysticism was not new to Allan. The practice of meditation was the heart of the prayer groups, and like Muriel Lester, he developed a constant awareness of the presence of God through prayer. But these modes were intensified. These last years before the war struck America were a sort of withdrawal, an Indian Summer, an interlude before the tragedy.

In England, Gerald Heard, an Irishman and BBC lecturer on science, Aldous Huxley, novelist and member of a famous family, and Dick Shepherd, notable minister of London, were going up and down the land trying to convince the people and the government not to go to war. But they failed and the war was inevitable. So Heard and Huxley came to America in 1938, and after spending

a brief time at Pendle Hill for a Quaker orientation, they turned to Southern California--Hollywood, in fact--as a last best hope, where at least a few could train with them to be "receivers of a bankrupt civilization."

Gerald Heard gave the commencement address at Occidental College in June 1938. He expressed his pessimism over the triumph of force in the world, and he told the graduates that the college must save freedom and civilization. They should strive for the Higher Humanism and intentional living, as a bulwark against dictators. The message was not an unusual one for a commencement address, and the recommended skills were general enough: the trained intellect and will, the sympathy of the mind, the understanding heart. But he could charm a stone with his charisma and his Received Standard speech.

Allan Hunter had a talent for drawing great people to Mt. Hollywood Church, but sometimes one suspects that being at Mt. Hollywood and knowing Allan started people on their road to recognition. At any rate, Gerald Heard began to appear in the pulpit in the fall of 1939 with a series of sermons on the Lord's Prayer, and later on the Beatitudes. These sermons continued until January 1941, sometimes teaming or alternating with Sherwood Eddy, Muriel Lester, and Kirby Page, as well as Allan. Gerald Heard filled the church, but Muriel Lester liked the Hunter Sundays just as well. She said they complemented each other: Allan had more experience with the non-intellectual sector of the population--church congregations, no doubt--and Gerald Heard was strong on science and meditation.

When Heard was a guest at the Hunter table, every effort

was made to raise the elegance level to meet his, with silver, candles, and so on, and the children were encouraged to make note of the brilliant conversation. Betsy was awed by his sharp features, goatee, hands clasped under chin as he said, "Shakespeare, like a flying fish, soared into the sky in the sonnets and descended into the depths in the plays." She was not quite overcome by the magnificence of the company, however, and in the midst of all the high talk she ventured to say, "But I have a little light too."

Aldous Huxley spent 1938-39 writing a book about Los Angeles--After Many a Summer Dies the Swan. He was disenchanted with the possibilities of Utopia in Hollywood and satirized not only topical phenoma but all human endeavor, especially sex and the desire to linger on in the corruption of life. Propter the enlightened sees the evil clearly and seeks to be free of time, personality, and craving, through mystical experience of God. In him we see Gerald Heard without disciples. Even he does not quite escape the author's thrusts.

The Hunters brought Muriel Lester and Huxley together at a dinner. He ridiculed fundamental religion, and Miss Lester stood up to him, challenging him to learn something about churches.

Muriel Lester was in America that year visiting college campuses, and a publisher suggested that she write a book as she traveled about on Pullmans. But she was not getting on with the book, and toward Christmas, 1938, she arrived in Los Angeles and came to the Hunters to finish it. She had the comfort of Betsy's room, which would make a twelve-year-old

feel imposed upon. But Betsy also had the memory of her as as a special Presence, on their Tuscon trip together. She stayed with the Converse family while Muriel spoke at meetings arranged by Dan Genung. Elizabeth Hunter did everything to make Miss Lester's stay at the manse comfortable, helped her to be creative, and nursed her through the flu. Miss Lester went daily to Barnsdall Park, a block away, then just a hill covered with olive and eucalyptus trees surrounding Hollyhock House, built for Miss Barnsdall by Frank Lloyd Wright. The owner often displayed liberal political and economic sentiments on sweeping signs along Vermont Avenue. Miss Lester labored for six weeks, and finally the book was finished, with Allan's help in organizing and revising, and members of the church typed it. It was called Dare You Face Facts? She felt quite satisfied with her stay and returned to New York in the early weeks of 1939. She and her sister Doris were made accociate members of the church in 1941.

There was a great sympathy between Muriel Lester and Allan Hunter. They had mutual interests in peace, the poor, art. She lived simply and with self-abnegation, a life style a born aristocrat can afford to induge in.

Every Monday Elizabeth and Allan, Muriel Lester, while she was at the Hunters', and Gerald Heard took a picnic lunch--packed by Elizabeth, of course--and spent the day on a firebreak in the Santa Monica moutains. Again, the dialog, or monolog by Heard, was at a high level, full of wit and intellectual adventure. After the pinic they would stop at Heard's sparsely furnished room nearby, and, sitting on a box or stool, they would meditate for an hour, waiting for a breakthrough. When nothing came--the illumination in the room was only the radiant face of Heard's watch--Allan and Elizabeth consoled

themselves with the realization that mature people don't require ecstasy.

But Gerald Heard was in earnest and continued to strive for a breakthrough. He believed Canon Raven when he said that evolution is moving toward a mutation of consciousness, and Heard was training himself to receive this metaphysical expansion when it should come. He had come to Southern California to gather a Remnant to work on evolving with him and preserving the culture. He organized retreats large and small. There was the trip to Death Valley. The Hunters, Gerald Heard, and Muriel Lester went, parking the children so that they could have adult converse, as Miss Lester put it in her autobiography. Betsy came to hate being left thus with a nanny, even if it was Mary Herbold, whom the children liked because she was not "pious." Elizabeth later dubbed these retreats a search for "sainthood in fourteen weeks." But it was on the way home from the Death Valley trip that she was inspired by the dazzling snows of the Sierras to write a poem on Gandhi, a soaring peak through whom we can glimpse "the spiraling heights of man's capacity."

There were other retreats, one for ten days in September 1939, at Fallen Leak Lake. Here Elizabeth worked at meditation at a new depth level. Gerald Heard admired her and did not think of her as a woman, which for him was meant to be a compliment. In 1941 there was a retreat at La Verne College, for students but also for seekers far and wide and with a variety of backgrounds. The August heat may have contributed to the psychic or psychological experience of some, for example, a director of religious education from the East. The group had been meditating in a circle for some time when this woman lost control. Heard sat transfixed, unable to

act; perhaps he was praying, or scared. Elizabeth went to her rescue, and she and Allan saw her later at the General Hospital. The level of the woman's meditation may be gauged by her conclusions on life at that point: she believed that she had a penis and could spit through her teeth. At an earlier retreat, of three men and four women, one of whom was a celebrated authority on homosexuals, a YWCA secretary cracked up. At another retreat, a young man who later became a professor of religion, suffered a similar collapse. They all regained their right minds, but it would be of interest to know in what light they afterwards viewed these aberrations.

By 1942 Heard's dream of a college or ashram for the serious pursuit of breakthroughs began to materialize into a corporation. It was called Trabuco College, after a canyon near the property. It is about fifty miles southeast of Los Angeles, approached by a private road off the San Diego freeway. Elizabeth was an early chairman of the Board and Allan was treasurer, and later chairman. Contributions were adequate, but Gerald Heard took the greatest responsibility for its financial as well as its spiritual support, quietly contributing $100,000 to the enterprise. As the campus took shape, there were buildings for living, eating, and sleeping, a library, a lecture room, and an elaborate beehive structure of several tiers and comfortable carpets but no windows or furniture, for meditating.

When life at Trabuco got under way, all the enquirers helped with the housework and orchard, listened to learned lectures by Gerald Heard in his beard and blue gown, studied in the library, and meditated a minimum of one hour before each meal, in the pitch blackness of the beehive. Competition developed, and endurance re-

cords were set of not three hours a day but finally eight, of waiting and seeking for levitation, illumination, breakthroughs, or simply sweet sleep. Asceticism prevailed in matters of food and sex.

Besides Allan and Elizabeth, Rodney Gale and his wife came seeking mutation of consciousness at this "Advanced Outpost." Amelia Rathbun, founder of Sequoia Seminar, also tried Trabuco. Aldous Huxley was a guest there, and Christopher Isherwood, both expatriate British novelists. Isherwood wrote a book about the experience and called Allan one of the Innocents. He introduced Allan to a decadent youth he hoped might be rehabilitated. Allan had the young man to dinner and later read his description of the assembled family as the most fascinating bores he had ever met. So much for objective opinions about Allan!

Eventually Allan and Elizabeth began to suspect the validity of the Trabuco approach, and indeed to find an incurable sickness in it. "Escape inward" palled on others as well. Certain rumors of scandals had touched the associations at the college, and after the war Gerald Heard gave the two hundred acres of Trabuco to a Swami, who made a monastery of it. Throughout this experiment, the congregation at Mt. Hollywood was patient of absences and of criticism both left and right. Gerald Heard was a forerunner of the mind-expanders of the 1960's and the consciousness movement of the 1970's, and Allan was able to transfer some of the Trabuco ideas to his concept of group mysticism.

In January 1940, Albert Schweitzer's secretary wrote a letter to Allan from Africa. It was written in French and translated by

the secretary into English. It expressed Scweitzer's thanks to Allan for including him in Three Trumpets Sound. He considered the interpretations accurate and the style alive. He said he was still thrilled by the Kingdom of God and by his own chance to serve in it. He hoped he could sometime see Allan, as well as Gandhi and Kagawa. But until the end of the war he had to stay in Africa, he said. He was later taken prisoner by the French, imprisoned in a camp in France, and eventually returned to Germany as an exchange prisoner.

Muriel Lester was in the pulpit at Mt. Hollywood Church in March 1941. On her way home she was met by the police at Trinidad, taken off the ship, and interned there. Later in the fall she was taken to England, put in jail, and deprived of her passport until after the war was over. In 1947 she was allowed to go to India.

In 1941 Kagawa was again with the Hunters. He told Allan about his imprisonment in 1940. The mosquitoes were relentless, and he covered himself with his kimono and sat almost motionless for forty-eight hours. He felt as if he were in the womb of God, and he heard a voice saying, "I am giving you a resurrection body." He had great joy during those two days, and was very creative during the rest of his imprisonment, planning a novel and inventing a game for students. "God reveals himself to me only when I will to love." He told Allan during his visit that less roast beef, salt, and sugar and more vegetables and exercise would improve one's quality of life. At a prayer meeting just before leaving for Japan, four months before the Pearl Harbor attack, he prayed, "Let Allan have a cross," because through crosses we can learn nearness to God. His last public address in Los Angeles ended with the question, "Are you willing to share Christ's cross on Calvary?" This was significant in the light of the suffering

that was to come to both America and Japan before he was to see these friends again.

August 13, 1941 he had five speaking engagements to fulfill in Los Angeles, one of them at the morning service at Mt. Hollywood. But his ship was waiting in the harbor at San Francisco, impatient to leave because of the uncertainty of the state of affairs between Japan and the United States. Kagawa canceled his appearance at all the meetings and went to San Francisco to board his ship. He cabled Allan of his safe arrival in Japan, and of the threat of war he felt there. Allan did not of course see him during the war, but several times he felt vividly in communication with him and felt his prayers.

For years Allan had been putting his best efforts into forestalling the war, but the world had chosen conflict. During the past two years he had been turning his energies toward changing the inner life, since the external world would not yield. So one would expect his writing in 1941 to be less social in its focus and more inward. And so it was. Secretly Armed (Harpers, 1941) does not try to change systems or argue with institutions. But it finds ways for persons to react like Christians in conflict situations and to use the means of love and trust in God; the choice is our own. He is answering the question, "How do Christians survive in a world given to war and violence?" The illustrations and incidents in the book show that in hard places and crises it is best to dare to be vulnerable, to be relaxed and without fear, to be warm and friendly but disciplined. At the least we can refrain from killing anyone; at the most we can start an avalanche of love. We must try to keep in touch with God, knowing it is possible for everyone to do so.

Reading stories of the saints helps--Brother Lawrence, Woolman, Rufus Jones, Evelyn Underhill, Augustine--and gathering in prayer groups for fellowship with others. As Oswald Chambers knew, now is the important time, the time of choices.

Allan had used the title before, in 1937, for a devotional booklet used in the church. It is a quotation from Rupert Brooke: "Secretly armed against all death's endeavors." It comes from a sonnet named "Safety," written at the beginning of another war, in 1914, and Brooke found his safety in being a part of eternal nature.

In the 1937 book Allan made three points: 1. Don't fear life; even at the verge of failure we can give over to God. 2. We can be real persons by fostering the welfare of God's family. 3. We can learn techniques for keeping God at the center, then follow practical suggestions for being a real person. The situation is not intense as it is in the later book, where one must find ways of developing defenses against evils if one is to survive.

Some of the analogies in the 1941 book are standard: the armor of goodness, the spiritual climb. But Allan is also developing the image of the life-giving sun that brings out the leaves of trees. This may be accepted as a figure of speech, or as an almost literal identifying of God with the life-giving strength of the sun. He also uses the figure of the tunnel through which we escape to the light, later very important in his symbolic system. The illustrations are from people he knew as well as from people in literature and history. Antithetical epigrams are common: "Those who talk don't know and those who know don't talk." He supports his ideas by quotes from philosophy, religion, and literature, what Allan calls his sciolism.

Allan and Elizabeth learned in those years before the war to relate to the immediate community, to understand their position as minister and pastor of Mt. Hollywood Church, to oppose social wrongs as activists, and, when the constraints of the war made this futile, to strengthen their inner lives for survival. They found a company of friends in sympathy with them, and were able to touch and be touched by the great ones and bring their influence to the congregation. Probably the most significant of these were Howard Thurman, Toyohiko Kagawa, and Muriel Lester, but the procession of competent specialists in politics, economics, psychology, and sociology speaking at the church was a continuing education to its intellectual and spiritual life, and to the Hunters' as well. Allan drew creative people with unusual talents to the church as members, and they planned programs and projects of all kinds that made up the content of church life. He appealed to a variety of personalities and made peace among them. He produced and published seven books and uncounted magazine articles, pamphlets, and of course sermons during these years. It is a remarkable record that made him as well known in the wide world as in his own community.

Kirby Page said of him at this time, "He is not a wandering itinerant but has his roots down deeply in the life of one congregation and one metropolitan area. He combines, as few pastors have done, a deep and sustained life of prayer and social action. He is involved in the peace movement, race relations, the economic and political struggle." We have seen in details that this is so.

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Chapter V, 1941-1949 World War II

1. Beginning of the War, 1941-42

On Sunday, December 7, 1941, Fritz Kunkel, M.D., a Los Angeles psychotherapist, was holding a series of three meetings at Mt. Hollywood Church on different phases of creative opposition. His speech in the morning included a discussion of a cause of war: personal antagonisms are projected onto other nations. During the service came the announcement of the attack on Pearl Harbor by the Japanese, and every one understood that this meant our entry into the war. The next morning, the Japanese ministers of Los Angeles were invited to the church to pray with Dr. Ryland and Allan Hunter.

Though the device, the attack on Pearl Harbor, was a surprise, the congregation had expected that eventually some occurrence would precipitate our entrance into the war. In September the church had voted financial support to its conscientious objectors. In November both Dr. Ryland and Allan preached on crisis. On December 14, after the war was declared, the congregation voted to reaffirm a long-standing amendment to its constitution asserting that "under no circumstances would it lend itself to war purposes." On December 28 the congregation passed a resolution providing that in emergency the church property would be loaned to the American Red Cross or the American Friends Service Committee to be used for relief of human suffering, and suggesting that the members support these agencies. Actually, it was often used in the coming years to shelter fugitive CO's and protesters AWOL.

Allan had to make his personal declaration to the draft board by April 27, 1942, at 6 p.m., and he got it in just before the deadline. He stated that he was registering as a conscientious

objector because he was a minister of Jesus Christ and of God's good will, and he would betray his country if he went against his own insight. He could only relieve suffering and try to overcome evil with good. His position was not challenged, especially since he was forty-nine years old and a minister of the gospel. But the declaration gives his theological basis for pacifism and his practical response to it.

In the first months, old friends talked over the war with Allan. Kirby Page led a conference at the church emphasizing joy, the future, and peace in this torn world. Nevin Sayre, Patrick Lloyd, and Howard Thurman came to the church and could be depended on to support a pacifist position in the pulpit. Frank Laubach, Gerald Heard, and Allan had a three-way discussion on "Is Jesus the only way?" The conclusion was that loving is the only way. Sherwood Eddy came to the manse repudiating pacifism. He asserted that killing people didn't matter, for they would die anyway, and would probably materialize elsewhere. He claimed to have witnessed the dematerializing of a porcelain dog that materialized again somewhere else, a datum for his new enthusiasm of psychic research. Allan found this sophistry hard to understand.

What happened to the Japanese in Los Angeles, and especially to the members of the Hollywood Independent Church, was a concern to Allan and to Mt. Hollywood Church throughout the war and after. The history of the evacuation is told by Girdner and Loftis in an excellent book, The Great Betrayal. At the outbreak of the war the FBI began at once taking into custody all the

Japanese about whom there was suspicion, mostly Japan-born leaders in the Japanese communities and associations. But there was no general hostility against the Japanese, though they themselves were sometimes afraid. But the Dies congressional committee on un-American actvities predicted disaster for the West Coast, and tolerant people such as Governor Olson began to favor evacuation.

People took sides at once. In favor of evacuation were the American Legion, Sons and Daughters of the Golden West, and the California Farm Bureau. Against evacuation were the American Civil Liberties Union, the AFSC, the Northern California Committee on Fair Play, Robert Gordon Sproul, president of the University of California, Dr. James A Blaisdell of Pomona College, and Robert Millikan, president of California Institute of Technology. On January 29 Attorney General Biddle annouced evacuation of the Japanese from the West Coast, with the support of California officials, including Attorney General Earl Warren, President Roosevelt, the press, and a variety of pressure groups that would be advantaged by the removal of the Japanese. Norman Thomas, Carey McWilliams, and Chester Rowell raised their voices in support of the constitutional rights of American-born Japanese. Allan and Carey McWilliams debated two of the opposition on national radio. The Tolan Committee, after hearings in February, admitted that serious constitutional problems were involved, but it could see no alternative to evacuation. Then an alleged Japanese submarine harmlessly shelled a coastal refinery, and a straying weather balloon over Los Angeles was inflated to an air raid, and nearly everyone was calling for immediate evacuation. The operation was set in motion at once.

No practical plans or preparations had been made, however. A fishing village on Terminal Island was the first to receive notice to evacuate, February 25, but they had nowhere to go. Allan Hunter, Dr. Ralph Marberry of the Baptist Missions Board, and the AFSC searched out hostels for the fishermen and their families to stay in and trucks to take them there, and the evacuation took place.

On March 27 a freeze on the movements of the Japanese was announced, to go into effect in two days, but in the interval they still had the option of voluntary evacuation. In those two days Rev. Girdner got together a caravan at Hollister to go to Denver. One problem was to find communities that would accept the evacuees. General DeWitt, who made no distinction between loyal and dangerous Japanese--"A Jap is a Jap" were his words--, had charge of evacuation and acquired 5800 acres in the Owens Valley, where Manzanar was to be built. March 23 a caravan of private cars, army jeeps, and the California Highway Patrol brought Japanese men to the spot to work, and in April the families came. There were camps also at Tule Lake, Poston, Gila River, and so on, ten camps altogether, and county by county the Japanese were moved from the coastal areas. They usually met at a church or school, were transported by private car to centers, like the Rose Bowl or Santa Anita Race Track, and were taken to the camps from there by the army. At the camps they found rough wooden or tar paper barracks, sand, heat, poisonous reptiles, and, hardest of all, watch towers, barbwire fences, and armed guards.

Near Mt. Hollywood Church was the newly built Hollywood Independent Japanese Church, and there was a close friendship between

the two. The recent minister had been Rev. Kiyoshi Tanimoto, who had returned to Japan when the threat of trouble grew, and had become the minister of the Methodist Church in Hiroshima. The minister of the Hollywood Independent Church at the beginning of the war was Royden Susu-Mago. Allan Hunter and Rev. Burney Binford gathered and printed the sermons preached immediately befor the evacuation by seven Japanese ministers of various denominations who had been influenced by Kagawa. Rev. Susu-Mago said in his sermon that America needed the Japanese and they needed America. This is what Allan had said in Out of the Far East, and he gave each of the young people of the Japanese church a copy of this book as an assurance of friendship.

Mt. Hollywood Church took this church as its special care. The Federal Reserve Bank of San Francisco set up ten offices to help evacuees sell and store property and settle other financial matters. But Mt. Hollywood, with the aid of lawyer members, took legal responsibility for Hollywood Independent Church. The effects of many of the members were stored in the church basement until their return. Rev. Ray Kinney, assistant minister at Mt. Hollywood, worked with the Japanese congregation during the spring of 1942 to help them solve their problems about property.

When the actual time for evacuation came, Allan and members of the church, Helen Beardsley especially, were there at the Japanese church with sandwiches and coffee and tears of affection to bid the evacuees goodby. "You sure like these Japs," commented the officer in charge of their evacuation. Allan and the congregation at Mt. Hollywood kept in touch with them and helped them throughout the war, at Manzanar or wherever they were, as we shall

see. Dr. Ryland's grandson Victor took care of the church grounds until he himself was called to the war and to his death, shot down in his plane by the Japanese. Ray Kinney tried to keep a Sunday School going there for the neighborhood, but it was unsuccessful. Finally it was necessary to rent the church building to another congregation for the duration, an arrangement which helped to keep the absent Japanese congregation solvent.

In 1938, when Allan was in Europe, he began to gather stories about heroes of good will, and, as we have seen, White Corpuscles, a group of biographies of prominent heroes of Europe, was published in 1939. Three Trumpets Sound developed the biographies of the three in the world that moved him most. These people all dared to face every situation and person they met not only with non-violence but with positive good will and love. This heroic confrontation of hatred and violence with love, and the possibility of success in the confrontation, became a continuing fascination for Allan. He gathered incidents and examples from everywhere, though still mainly from Europe, since he had more recently been there. He used them often, hoping to encourage young people to try this Way, in the knowledge that others had gone before and they were not alone.

A collection of these stories appeared in 1942, as Heroes of Good Will. It was a fifty-two page product of "United Services," operated by Harold and Margaret Slocum on the mimeograph in the church office. They also produced a fine series, in "quarto" pamphlets and also standard sized typed pages, of sermons and articles, and, in this case, a book. Heroes of Good Will was the

first of three versions issued at ten-year intervals, the last two called Courage in Both Hands. It is the third in Allan's series of biographical studies.

In the preface Allan defines some terms. Shaw, he observes, said that heroes are those who prevent, and Allan adds that they also inject good will into hard places and practice the presence of God. Courage is fear that has said its prayers, he writes, quoting a poet and anticipating his later title. There are forty-two stories, organized into eight sections, though the distinction between the categories is not always apparent. At any rate, the classification idea was dropped in Courage in Both Hands.

Most of the stories are told here for the first time. But the story of Muriel Lester and Mrs. Smith had been told in White Corpuscles, the story of Arima the governor of the prison in Facing the Pacific, and the story of Kagawa and the drunk in Three Trumpets Sound. Several of the stories appear in subsequent writing: Richards and the Kurds, Gandhi and the Untouchables, the Maori festival for the general, Dr. Pennell bringing peace to North India, Patrick Lloyd and the vision of Jesus, widow Baiko San who became a priest, Fei Yen, a coolie girl who ran a clinic, Mensong lighting a candle. Thirteen of the stories do not appear in later editions of this book. They are sometimes less pointed; they may show too painful suffering for the hero; sometimes in later versions the details are altered in the interest of accuracy.

The stories come from outside the United States, and from many countries and types of culture. They especially show that "savages" understand good will as well as Europeans do: cannibals,

head hunters, Samoans, Filipinos; that the ancients, in India, China, Rome, were capable of love and humility; that good will can work even in a competitive economic system. The stories show that good will exists between enemies in war. Good will brings greater security and surer survival than do violence and resistance with arms. Redemption is possible. This project of collecting heroes of good will, as it developed over the years, touched many thousands of young people as well as adults, and especially ministers, giving courage to those who would like to be loving and vulnerable, and offering a degree of scientific evidence to the skeptical.

V-2. Wartime Activities, 1942-43

And so a primary concern of Mt. Hollywood Church was to watch over the evacuees in internment camps. In June after the people from the Hollywood Independent Church left, Dr. Ryland was in the pulpit because Allan was at Manzanar, and he was often there as the months passed. His advice to ministers preaching at that camp was to avoid the text "I will lift up mine eyes unto the hills." The mountains, beautiful as they might be, were their constant prospect at the camp, unless they were hidden by the frequent dust storms. He went so often to minister to those in camps that early in 1943 he asked the congregation to reassert their willingness for him to spend his time in this way.

The evacuees were a special project of the Quakers, and many others were interested in the welfare of those in camp. Herbert Nicholson, a Quaker missionary to Japan, spent much time at the camps and made many trips with his truck, carrying supplies and often people. At various times he had Roy Smith, Stanley Jones, and George Gleason as passengers. Dr. Gleason, a member at Mt. Hollywood, found his future wife at a camp, Mrs. D'Ille, devoted worker among evacuees.

Allan and the church were able to fill many specific needs in the camps. They sent $100 to the Heart Mountain Camp in Wyoming, to help with the church being built there. The kindergarten teacher at Manzanar was supplied with craft materials. The camp children received gifts at Christmas and at Easter from Mt. Hollywood Sunday School. A Japanese at Hillcrest Tuberculosis Hospital needed transfusions for hemorrhaging stomach ulcers. Rev. Nicholson called Allan, who brought together eight CO's from the

church for him to take to the hospital. But willing devotion failed, and it was too late to save the man's life. Again, a member of Allan's prayer group arranged for a Buddhist family to bring their baby from the camp to the General Hospital under guard. They stayed at the manse, and Allan took them to the hospital the next morning. This time again, in spite of the redemptive and life-saving services of the hospital, they failed and the baby died. But the parents, Allan, and the hospital had together made an effort toward healing. Whatever the effort and the result, the Japanese were always full of gratitude.

The young men of draft age were another concern of the church The congregation had accepted financial responsibility for the CO's in its membership, which meant paying $30 a month for men sent to Civilian Public Service camps, if they were unable to pay it out of their own resources. There were five Mt. Hollywood CO's at CPS camps, and besides their keep the church sent gifts at Christmas time, provided necessities in short supply--for example, there was a towel shower--, and showed their friendliness by frequent visits. In return, the Tanbark camp helped pack the boxes of food and clothing the church sent to Germany and Japan after the war.

Allan counseled CO's, a hundred or more of them during the course of the war, witnessing to the forgiving and reconciling qualities of Jesus, making it possible for the inarticulate to learn to formulate their revulsion to war, and helping them through the legal alternatives open to them. This counseling brought him under suspicion and criticism, in the church, in the

neighborhood, in congressional committees, and in the District Attorney's office. More than this, the church and the manse became a shelter for CO's in trouble because they had left CPS camps and were absent without leave, and he was therefore liable to arrest for giving sanctuary to "deserters." Allan, A.L. Wirin, and two others went to the County Attorney's office and stated that they were sheltering these men and would continue to do so. No action was taken against Allan or the church. But it is no wonder that the District Attorney of the Ninth District is alleged to have said that there were three people he wanted to see jailed because they advocated bail rather than jail for CO's: Charles Mackintosh, Glen Smiley, and Allan Hunter. A few of those Allan took in were psychotic and later went to the state hospital. It seemed to those concerned about CO's that psychotics were given CPS assignments in order to discredit and humiliate pacifists in and out of the camps.

There were psychotics not only among the CO's but also among the warriors. Many sent abusive letters, and at least one paid Allan a call. He was in uniform and came to Allan's door at two o'clock in the morning.

"I've a mind to tear your eyes out and rape your daughter," he threatened.

"No you won't. You are too much of a gentlemen," said Allan, trying to appear cool in spite of a pounding heart. He opened the front blinds and began to move toward the fire tongs. But he was praying for a better way of responding.

"Let's go into the kitchen," he suggested, "and get something to eat."

So they had toast, jam, and coffee, and the man poured out his bitterness for four hours. His wrists were scarred with suicide attempts, and Allan couldn't tell whether he was high on drugs or alcohol, wanted to scare a civilian preacher, or was calling for help. The man left at dawn, as a jay called. But Allan's commitment to non-violence had freed his mind to think of alternatives to fear and violence.

Some of the boys of the church went as soldiers, and four of them were killed: Lee Weitkamp, Victor Ryland, Charles Suess, and Bob Burt. Allan often let it be known that he did not love the military system, but he loved these boys, and he kept their pictures on the pulpit as a reminder of great courage and great loss. Lee Weitkamp was married in the church in May 1943 and was shot down piloting a plane in July the same year. Victor Ryland too was a pilot. Others, like Purcell Brown Jr., went and returned, and one of the deep experiences of the church was the realization, one Sunday, of mutual loss and mutual unity among all the congregation because of these soldiers. Purcell wept for his friends, Dr. Ryland prayed over the suffering of mankind, and the congregation felt the binding force of compassion as never before.

An institution is the lengthened shadow of one man, said Emerson, and Mt. Hollywood Church was surely a reflection of Allan's teaching and practice in those days. The work of the church with internees and CO's during the first years of the war was the most visible. But committees also arranged study series on world order and on the issues of peace, seen then as

food shortage and conscription; made efforts to bring the return of the Japanese to their homes and property; and sent recommendations to Congress regarding relief to Europe. The church had a peace library, augmented from time to time by one of Patrick Lloyd's many interests, the Book Fair.

The usual organizations of the church continued during the war, to meet the needs of every age group, status, and purpose. Sunday School, vacation school with a hundred children, hobby clubs, Pilgrim Fellowship, Evening Fellowship for young people; the Women's Leagues, neighborhood groups, the Circles, the couples' group; midweek and Sunday night forums; study groups for parents, mothers, adult discussion, Bible study; social evenings and family dinners; four prayer groups, including the Muriel Lester group for young adults--more than twenty groups met each week. The social life of the church had a certain grace and distinction: May Day luncheons, garden teas, international family night, catered dinners, with special music and speakers or pictures--this was Elizabeth's touch. New lay leadership would add new interests: the Gambles were skilled with young people, and Helen Klein in mental health. Phil Bashor replaced Ray Kinney as assistant to the pastor.

The church was also a place of meeting for other organizations not really a part of the church program but nevertheless reflecting its interests and supported by church members. The Red Cross and AFSC sewing ladies met in the basement. The Co-op, FOR, and AFSC conferences met at the church, with old friends as speakers: Nevin Sayre, Starr Dailey, Glen Smiley, Frank Olmstead. A Quaker fellowship used the church for its meeting Sunday afternoon. The WCTU always had announcement of its meetingplace in the bulletin,

placed flowers on the altar in memory of Francis Willard, and invited the church to an annual dinner in the dining room. Olive View Guild, to provide a chaplain at the sanitarium, was founded by Mrs. Gamble and had the liberal support of the church. The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom met at the church. The annual Whittier Institute on international relations had the cooperation of the church and usually sent speakers to an auxiliary Sunday afternoon meeting at the church. Even before the Youth Center opened there were Hi-Y and Friendly Indian clubs at the church. The church was a center for a far-flung community of like minds.

During the first years of the war, Kirby Page and Howard Thurman came occasionally to speak. Then several professors from UCLA and USC came to present their specialties, David Eitzen being the most influential, because of his year-long class in human relations. Other visiting speakers were Lucille Day, Paul Delp, and Bruce Maguire, Y secretaries; Mrs. Spencer Tracy, representing services for the deaf, Mosley Jones for Alcoholics Anonymous, and Dr. Ruth Temple of the City Health office. But for the most part the speakers during the war were members of the family; ministers in the church, Dr. Ryland and Harold Slocum; Conference representatives, Paul Delp and George Jenkins; FOR and AFSC people already mentioned. The church discussed the problems of the war and acted where they could to relieve CO's and evacuees suffering because of the war. But most of the church activities continued in a normal way, ministering to the ordinary social, intellectual, and spiritual needs of a congregation under the stress of the war. Allan continued to bring others beside himself to this

ministry, but because of the war they were from a narrower geographical circle and were more directly connected with the life of the church.

Allan's concerns and the creativity and strengths of those he attracted as members determined the pattern of the church. But he also had a few somewhat private interests expressed in his own ways. He was always sought as a leader or speak at conferences. There were not so many during the war because of travel restrictions and other restraints, but the number rose immediately after the war to probably seven or eight a year in 1945 and 1946. Most of them were in the West, but he also went to Texas, Iowa, Nebraska, North Carolina. There were spiritual emphasis weeks at universities and colleges; Methodist and Congregational, FOR and Y conferences; and retreats at Tahoe, Camp Farthest Out, and the Sequoia Seminar.

One of his aims at conferences was to establish cell groups on the FOR model, often called Muriel Lester Groups. A group of young people meeting before the grate fire in the manse Tuesday evenings has been described. There were comparable groups elsewhere: the Casadays' group in Berkeley, the Sibleys' in Vancouver, Mrs. Converse's in Tuscon, the Halls' in Seattle, the Meyers' in New York, the Eels' in Washington, D.C. When Dan Genung came to All Peoples Church in Los Angeles Allan helped him start a youth group there. Allan wrote a booklet listing "rules" and suggesting procedures, passages for study, and a bibliography, for the conduct of Muriel Lester Groups. A group sought to develop in its members awareness of each other's needs and concern for social

problems, and to meet the needs through meditation, prayer with Miss Lester's situation-orientation, interchange of insights among members, and a commitment to action.

Another sort of meditation group was inspired by Gerald Heard. There were two in the church, cells of mature people meeting in the prayer room on Sunday afternoon and on Saturday. Ultimately some of them joined to make a Wednesday evening group meeting in the kitchen, with much the same membership for years. This group subjected itself to a rigid discipline of silence, meditation, readings in Heard, Tillotson, Underhill, Fenelon, Woolman, Bede. They aimed to love one another and energize the church and society through their insights. Routine was desirable, Allan wrote in an article for Fellowship in 1943: fifteen minutes of motionless silence to start with, following a suggestion for meditation; "breathing the sky," for a sense of vastness and intimacy with God; meditation about such persons as Muriel Lester, Philippe Vernier, Dr. Ryland, Jesus, about the nature of God, and about human nature; holding people in the light; handing over the deep will to God. From time to time this Wednesday group went to Trabucco College for a long retreat, taking what they could digest of Gerald Heard's rich fare.

Another direction of Allan's endeavor was marriage counseling, of those about to be married and of those in trouble in their marriage. From the first, in Youth's Adventure, he proclaimed the importance of sex in human experience, the necessity of equality and unity, and the advantages of birth control. He developed his ideas further in The Radiant Possibilities of Marriage, which began to take form before the war and was revised and reissued through

the years until the fourth and final edition in 1966, revised with the help of Paul Popenoe of the Institute of Family Relations. There is a third alternative, says the earlier booklet, to flatness and failure in marriage: neither acquiescence nor breakup but radiance. Like the bird in the hand of the smart alec, the fate of marriage is up to the participants. He cites some ideal marriages: the Brownings, the Kagawas, the Gambles. Then he puts sex in perspective: it is a gift of God, not an enemy of the soul; it is a joy, not just for procreation; climax is for women as well as men. Then follows an account of contraceptive methods, though the pill was not among them in the 1940's, and a description of the sex organs and intercourse. At this point the book is neither so esthetic and sophisticated as Van de Velde's Ideal Marriage nor so complete as Popenoe's small Preparation for Marriage, both available before 1940. Some individually variable or, from present point of view, actually erroneous, opinions are given as universal axioms, in the earlier editions, for example regarding position, simultaneity, and frequency. But the sense of mutuality fostered throughout probably ameliorates the errors. Chapter IV suggests a mutual psychotherapy in which both spouses make full confession of their sex experiences so that they can heal each other's repressions and guilt. This idea, rewritten from the point of view of overcoming a wife's frigidity, appears in a paragraph credited to Allan in Oliver Butterfield's Sexual Harmony in Marriage, pages 42-3. Mutual confession has the sanction of therapists, but one can't help remembering how it turned out for Tess Durbeyfield.

The earlier versions of Allan's book contain the striking figure of the Tower of Loneliness necessary to each spouse for

repossessing his soul. In later editions the lower storeys in the edifice of ideal relationships are added: fun, work, sex, trouble, intellectual and spiritual stimuli. These are experienced together, but the tower of quiet and solitude each approaches alone. The final chapter develops the idea of power with, not power over, one's partner. Marriage, in the unfortunate cliché of the chapter, is a fifty-fifty matter. This concern over sharing power I take to be the major stumbling block to success in marriage. There is no balancing of goods, no "equality," in marriage. If you cannot give all and receive all, you are back in the world's competition and legalism; and power is only for the insecure. But the chapter goes on to make the useful comments that joy and working together are good for marriage and that marriage should be a union of souls in search of love in the spirit of Christ. The book expresses Allan's convictions about the importance of sex in the growth of persons and the discovery of God. Sex in monogamy is spun into the Reality of the universe, the ideal expression of love, even Agape, the Word made flesh, the supreme example of unity and cohesiveness. We could add that a little recognition of the necessities of the human being's animal nature, together with a relaxed sense of comedy, would also help us in handling this sometimes bitter cosmic jest, expressed in the casual command to be fruitful and multiply.

V-3. Conflict, 1944-45

Government and communities were full of suspicion and investigations during the last year and a half of the war. The Dies Committee on un-American activities and the California Tenney Committee were ostensibly inquiring into the Japanese, but their real target was those who sympathized with the Japanese. In December 1943 a state senate committee headed by Legionaire Gannon began hearings in Los Angeles. The issue was the return of the Japanese to the West Coast. A bill pending in the California legislature would forbid their return, and the Gannon Committee hoped to discover that public opinion would support such a law.

First they listened to anti-Japanese witnesses telling atrocities. Then those in favor of the return of the Japanese were called and were harassed until the Times observed that "legislative committees should not be bullies." Gannon refused to hear A. L. Wirin, saying "I've had all I want of the American Civil Liberties Union. Now you get out or I'll have an officer put you out." Robert Millikan of Cal Tech sent a protest against Gannon's conduct of the hearings, and Gannon said, "Who is Millikan?"

The committee consented to hear Margaret Thayer of the Pasadena Committee on American Principles and Fair Play, and Allan Hunter representing the FOR. Allan felt that he could speak for a considerable body of opinion in FOR and church conscience favoring the return of the Japanese to their homes and property in California.

During the course of the interrogation the inevitable ques-

tion came: "What do you believe about intermarriage?

"That is between individuals and God," said Allan.

"We have a law against it. Do you believe in obeying the law?"

"I believe in changing it."

Then the other stock question: "What if the Japanese were coming down the street. I suppose you would meet the invaders with a Bible and a speech."

"I hope I would meet them in the spirit of Jesus," answered Allan.

"And what about the rest of us who resist with weapons?"

"I respect the soldier who gives up his life."

The senator stood up in anger and Allan rose in deference. The reporters thought there was going to be a fight, and lights flashed for pictures. The story got first page coverage in the Times, December 10, but there was no criticism of Allan Hunter. The news story stated that he retained his poise throughout the questioning.

The next day an investigator for the committee called on Allan, and they went for a walk in the park to be unobserved. He told Allan, "I want you to know that a lot of people feel as you do and would like to see the Japanese back." Allan felt that this was a vindication of the conscience of ordinary people.

However, there was plenty of opposition to Allan, official and unofficial. Annonymous letters of abuse, threats, and obscenity came to him as a result of this publicity. He mentioned this in Fowler's Book Store, and the proprietor said he agreed

with the letters. Allan could only withdraw. But later Ward Fowler gave him a Columbia Encyclopedia as an offer of reconciliation.

The Gannon Committee continued its investigation, intending to bring to light groups seeking the return of the Japanese. The FBI tapped Allan's telephone, it was thought, and one of them visited him in his study. He reported that Allan had a picture of Stalin on his wall; actually it was Albert Schweitzer.

Even within the church criticism grew, nourished by war casualities among the members and in the community. Members left because of Allan's uncompromising opposition to the war, and the pressures and antagonisms made him decide to resign. On a certain Sunday in early spring he was prepared to present his resignation. But the service turned into an open meeting of testimony and honest expression of feelings on all sides. He found that the members did not feel hostility so much as confusion and personal suffering. Dr. Weitkamp said that his son Lee, who had died in the war a few months before, was a conscientious objector at heart. So Allan did not resign after all but stayed on with the problems, difficulties, and triumphs.

Sources of misunderstanding and conflict remained. One Sunday morning Gordon Mitchell gave a report of a Quaker conference he had attended that strongly criticized Roosevelt's policies. Allan had already noticed an imposing figure in a colonel's uniform and accompanied by a beautiful woman, and at the close of the Service they greeted each other.

"I'm Allan Hunter. What's your name?"

"Jimmy Roosevelt."

He had been sent by Evan Carlson, his superior officer and a friend of Allan's, but rumor had it that he was spying for the President or was planning a devious political move. Allan promised to pray for him, and the friendship continued even after Jimmy Roosevelt became a congressman. He was occasionally able to help with legislation Allan was interested in.

Even more complex was Allan's acquaintance with Theodore Dreiser in the last year of his life. Dreiser's prodigal life style and his Communism are balanced against his democracy, his warmth, and his genius. The story is told by Margaret Tjader in her biography Theodore Dreiser (1961). Dreiser was born a Catholic, but he studied the lives of Woolman, George Fox, and Rufus Jones as models for Solon in The Bulwark, which he was working on in 1944. Then he heard about Mt. Hollywood Church and its minister, a liberal and tireless worker for peace and the underprivileged. Mrs. Tjader took Dreiser to church, and they found a remarkable man. We are indebted to her for a living picture of Allan. He spoke in plain but beautiful language and with perfect naturalness, about contacting God through thought and meditation. He was wearing a dark blue business suit, "a man of medium height, slim, with wearing sandy hair and features sculptured by what emotional and spiritual experience," anywhere from forty to sixty years of age. (He was in fact fifty-one.) His face easily changed from seriousness and intensity to amusement and great tenderness. The service they heard was a conventional Protestant ritual of sermon, hymns, and prayer, but the prayers were slower in pace, with silences like a Quaker meeting. Afterward Allan stood on the broad white steps, greeting all who came out with kindly humor, blue eyes crinkling in the bright sun.

"That man has something," said Drieser on the way home. "What a character, and yet, nothing at all." You don't discuss Allan Hunter's sermons, they agreed, any more than you argue about satisfying music. You just want to hear him again. And Dreiser and Margaret Tjader continued to come to church and to sit on the front row, hoping, so Allan said, to ease the problems with alcohol and women.

Allan visited Dreiser one clear winter day, at his house on Kings Road, when the hills were greening after a rain. Allan admired the new grass and its beauty. They talked about India. Gandhi was the greatest contemporary, Allan said casually, as if the truth needed no emphasis. He explained satyagraha as the power of non-violence. Dreiser talked of his lunch with Churchill in 1928, when Churchill predicted the early collapse of Russia. But Dreiser saw the suffering and poverty of the Welsh miners. Allan talked of Philippe Vernier, who had peace and joy in spite of his own suffering and the world's, because God's arms lifted him up. Allan and Dreiser enjoyed each other. "Delightful chap," Dreiser told Mrs. Tjader. The three of them and Mrs. Dreiser went to a UCLA conference of philsophers and atomic scientists. Arthur Compton and Hugh Miller admitted not only the possible existence of God but also the necessity of communication with Him. The idea pleased Dreiser and was basic for Allan.

Allan gave a series of talks on the New Testament during Holy Week, 1945, and Dreiser came to the Good Friday service. He listened reverently to Allan's recital of the Crucifixion and humbly took communion. Mrs. Tjader said he turned to repentance for his self-indulgence, after this "most unusual service." And he joined

the Communist party, because it had the aim of the Sermon on the Mount and because he had sympathy for the Russian writers! He was interested in the discussion of prayer and of Thoreau that Mrs. Tjader brought to him after a retreat with Allan in the mountains near Redlands.

About two o'clock on the afternoon of December 27, 1945, Allan, on the way to an appointment, felt, almost without willing it, that he must turn off Santa Monica Boulevard onto Kings Road and stop at Dreiser's house. He passed the protesting Communists at the door and went directly into the bedroom, where Dreiser lay under an oxygen tent. Allan asked Mrs. Dreiser if they should have prayer, and he prayed briefly, committing everything into God's hands and to God's peace. As he left he said, "Bless you, Brother," and Dreiser recognized him with a lift of the hand. He died four hours later.

Allan was asked to take the service, at the Rudyard Kipling chapel in Forest Lawn Cemetery. John Lawson, Dorothy Healey, and other Communists were also there, and Allan felt that their intention was to conduct the service according to their own design. He resisted being overwhelmed or leaving in anger, and went ahead with the service, despite Lawson's presence. In his robe he stood at one end of the casket and Charles Chaplin at the other. Chaplin read one of Dreiser's poems, Lawson gave a criticism full of party propaganda of Dreiser as a "man of culture," and Allan spoke quietly of Dreiser's cry for compassion and his wish for the spread of power among all. He prayed, "Thou hast made us restless till we find rest in thee." At the graveside he committed Dreiser to God.

Allan appealed also to other Hollywood figures. They considered him far-out and liberal, and though they had no church attachment, they turned to him in a romantic mood to marry them. After one of these affairs was over, John Barrymore asked Allan to have a drink with him in his hotel room. Allan was not tempted by such glamour, however, and simply replied that he did not drink.

In the midst of the antagonisms and antitheses of 1944 came the great affirmation of Say Yes to the Light, dedicated to Gerald Heard of Trabuco and Douglas Steere of Pendle Hill. Allan wrote part of it on the train coming home from a retreat at Pendle Hill. He had used the title before, in 1936, for a devotional booklet. The chapters of this little book deal with enjoying nature, helping others, thinking of God in the Muriel Lester patterns, facing violence as she did, and assenting to God. There is a bibliography of the dependable classics in the field: Bowie's story of the Bible, Kirby Page, E. Stanley Jones, Muriel Lester, Leslie Weatherhead, Harry Emerson Fosdick, Masefield's "Everlasting Mercy."

Like Secretly Armed, Say Yes to the Light of 1944 is theological and philosophical. The thesis is that one cannot live a life of non-violence without faith in God. The title dramatizes the necessity of choice, and its redeeming value. The philosophical positions are elaborately and generously embroidered with illustration, hypothetical example, anecdote, figure, and aphorism. Many theological issues are met, and it is a summation of Allan Hunter's thought and imagery at a time of climax.

The first chapter raises the question of choice: Do we act

from inherited patterns? No, we choose our course. He uses illustrations from nature; familiar stories of the woman in labor--"I've changed my mind!" and Patrick Lloyd--"Please lend me your handkerchief"; and a hypothetical case of having to answer at gun point the question about believing in God. Committing oneself to a choice has releasing value.

Chapter 2 begins with the story of the wild duck that spent a winter in a farmyard and got too fat to fly; he spiraled downward. But the upward spiral may be chosen too; evolution progresses in a series of choices. Allan cites J. A. Thomson's confidence that the universe is evolving toward the personality of Jesus. We can tune in on God, and there have been four waves of Christian progress, according to Latourette. But Toynbee sees no such inevitable advance, except through suffering.

Chapter 3 deals with Jesus' life as a series of decisions: what level to act on, the nature of the Kingdom, the necessity of repentance, accepting the will of God at Gethsemane. The next chapter faces darkness--evil, suffering, ignorance. Evil may be suffered, not inflicted, and must be met with love. He tells the story of the Turks on the Jericho road who toward the end of the First World War taught him his need to forgive and be forgiven. Chapter 5 develops two models, the two feet of seeing and doing and the three levels. He defines the levels here in terms of our relation to God: denial of God and values, "fighting for the right," and trusting the love and reality of God. Love, like wisdom, may fail, but love is God's way. The next chapter asserts the necessity of saints in order to keep the Right Way before the world. He quotes Heard, Steere, and Huxley on sainthood, and adds his own definition.

The point of agreement among them seems to be that saints, though in the world, are not of it but are God's.

Chapter 7 gives some techniques for training the spirit: prayer according to Muriel Lester, reading the saints, group meditation, church. The last chapter outlines the procedure for seeking insights: being informed and alert, waiting for revelation, and then acting upon it. He gives the figure of the pyramid of priorities; we can compromise the values at the bottom but the apex principles are immutable. Like each tree in the ecology of Crescent Meadows, we make our unique response to the Light.

When Allan has once worked out an idea; created a symbol or adopted an image for it, phrased it or thought of an illustration for it, it takes on the permanence of Truth and ever after bears the same form. Many enduring patterns of this sort, sometimes already familiar, appear in this book and often reappear in the same modes later on: breathing the sky, the three levels, the two feet of seeing and doing, the Gethsemane decision, the Jericho Road, two ends of the stick, the woman in labor, the pyramid of priorities. A good memory, as he once suspected, may keep one from getting new insights and finding new vehicles.

A humanist of seriousness and good will might be troubled by some of the conclusions, too. He might have love and compassion for other human beings because they are centers of suffering and joy like himself, not because love is an attribute of God, nor even because other human beings are children of the same Father. He might ask whether non-violence the world over correlates more closely with those sure of God than with

others. He might feel that individual will is a precious and valid reality in the universe, a unique contribution to the whole, and would not want it to be submerged in a universal will, even if it were possible in this world of specifics. The Thomsonist idea about evolution leaves some questions, too. Is the upward spiral inherent and therefore automatic? Or is it a potential and so a hope? Or might it fail entirely if no one opted for it?

The chapters showing how Jesus' life was a series of decisions consenting to the Light, and telling the ways of meeting evil with love and forgiveness, without regard to consequences, are strong and convincing and do not require a special theology to be operative. But Allan adds the theology, nevertheless, describing the qualities of God: loving and demanding fatherhood, alive, creative, and compassionate reality. These might be challenged in many camps, from fundamental theology to woman's lib, and they might not help a searcher to discover a credible referent. The almost imperative discipline of prayer and meditation prescribed as the means to insight and commitment must be beamed to a special group for whom this method is effective. It cannot be presented as a universal, applicable to all who seek the right way. How does one avoid the danger of generalizing one's own insights and personality into Universal Truth?

V-4. Aftermath, 1945-1946

The Bomb was dropped on Hiroshima August 6, 1945, and on Nagasaki August 9, and Japan formally surrendered August 14. The war was over. But the evacuees had been drifting back to their homes in California since February. In September the relocation camps were closed and all had to return, but again no preparation had been made. The Congregational Conference and Mt. Hollywood Church asked for volunteers to meet the trains and greet the crowds of returning Japanese. Many now elderly Japanese can remember Allan meeting them at the train and saying, "Here I am. Can I help you?"

Mt. Hollywood made every effort to find jobs and housing for members of the Hollywood Independent Church. Their church was turned into a hostel where some of them lived until they were settled in work and had a place to live. They received their possessions that had been stored in both churches and watched over during the war by Mt. Hollywood. The Japanese often had to return to hostile communities that begrudged them housing, would not employ them or give them relief, and harassed them in many ways. But their gratitude for help was unstinted. Mr. Nagano, for example, who lived in the neighborhood, cleaned up the grounds of Mt. Hollywood Church in an effort to say thank you. On October 28 the church invited the Japanese congregation to a candle light service followed by supper, to welcome them back. This sociable was returned by the Japanese church in December 1946 with an elaborate dinner and speeches. On this occasion Dr. Ryland said, "People ask me, 'Aren't you bitter against the Japanese, now that one of them has killed your grandson Victor?'

I answer, "No, that Japanese boy was sent out by his government, just as mine was sent by our government. Both were victims.'" The Japanese congregation gave $100 to Mt. Hollywood Church in appreciation for its help. The church began at once to search for a worthy use for this sacrificial gift.

As soon as the war was over and lines of transportation were again open, the church, directed by Dr. Eva Olman and the World Friendship Committee, began to pack boxes of food and clothing, first for Europe and very soon for Japan too. Weekly the committee and others from the church collected good warm clothing and nonperishable foods and packed boxes according to government regulations. Later they sent CARE packages of food. The CO's at Tanbark CPS camp helped in the packing. The annual totals were tremendous, increasing yearly until six tons were sent in 1948. Besides this, $300 was collected for heifers for Europe, in early 1946, and goats were sent to Japan and Okinawa.

Pastor Ehler's church in Oldenburg, Germany, was adopted by Mt. Hollywood Church in 1946. Pastor Ehler's church welcomed the boxes sent from the church, and also helped to distribute materials to nearby camps for displaced persons. Dan Force and Robert Forthman, CO's from Mt. Hollywood stationed in Germany, also helped to distribute boxes. When Mt. Hollywood members visited the Oldenburg church in 1951 they were told, "You have taught us the meaning of Christian love." The Oldenburg congregation sent to Mt. Hollywood Church twenty-nine tiny wooden figures that they had exquisitely carved and painted, representing German folk tale characters. A few years later Elizabeth Hunter gave

them to a little girl in the congregation who was badly injured at Christmastime, and since then hundred of people have seen them and been made glad.

Early in 1947 the church adopted Michio Kozaki's church in Tokio, aided a child care center in Berlin, adopted nine Korean orphans with the assistance of Stuart Meacham, and adopted a church in Heidelberg. And there were two other projects intimately touching the church that will be described later: aid to Tanimoto's church and to a displaced family. The demonstration of compassion and practical service in these years is amazing and humbling.

Besides these relief projects, the church, and particularly the minister, were concerned about the trials of the CO's. From 1938 until 1958 Allan Hunter was on the executive committee of the American Civil Liberties Union. CO's in need of legal aid were often its province, and A.L. Wirin acted as counsel to many of them. Allan testified in court for some that he knew. On one of these occasions Wirin told him that the Department of Justice was thinking of lodging an indictment against him. So in the court room, when the judge said, "Mr. Hunter, how have you counseled these men?" Allan was suddenly terrified. He asked God's guidance, that he might be open to love and honesty, and all at once he felt a sense of elation that he was able to testify to his real belief, knowing that he did in fact believe it. In his answer he tried to explain to the judge his position as a pacifist, that the Gospel gives the Way of Jesus, the Way of loving one's enemies.

He said, "I don't have the right to be the conscience for

any young man, not even my own son. But if young men aren't influenced by the gospel I teach, my life would be a failure."

The judge said, "Thank you, Mr. Hunter. You may step down." He heard no more about an indictment.

Allan and the church were concerned also about the threat of peacetime conscription. Letters went to congressmen whenever conscription bills were at a crucial stage. But the country and the government were determined to establish the draft as a permanent institution, and there was no hope of effective opposition. Ironically, more than twenty-five years later, a conservative and militaristic administration allowed the draft quietly to become inoperative.

Speakers came to the church with information on atomic energy control, and petitions went to the United Nations and to the President. The needs of the returning CO's and Japanese made fair housing and fair employment laws important. The church supported such legislation and a law assuring a minium wage of 65¢ an hour. The congregation listened to a plea for local option in liquor licensing, and prevented a liquor store from getting a license on Vermont Avenue, near the church. Allan kept the church aware of significant legislation and opportunities for effective action.

After the death of Lee Weitkamp, his father, Dr. Alfred Weitkamp, gave $1000 as a nucleus for youth work at the church. A committee was formed in 1944, with Dr. Willis Johnson as chairman, to plan a Memorial. John Anson Ford proposed a plan for a youth center, and the congregation began to visualize a building with facilities for athletics and clubs. Paul Delp spoke at a Sunday service,

telling the needs of the community as they appeared to a Y secretary, and in February 1945 the congregation decided to raise money to build a youth center. There was a drive for subscriptions payable over a three-year period, and more than $22,000 was pledged. By the halfway point, in October 1946, $13,000 had been paid.

Meanwhile, with about $5,000 of the Memorial fund, the Sunday School building had been redone, to provide club rooms, and the Hollywood Youth Center was opened with Dixie and Gordon Mitchell as the leaders. The response was so great that the young people, junior and senior high schoolers, had to be organized into age level groups, for boys and girls. So there was a possibility of twenty-four clubs, patterned on the YMCA and the YWCA program, and nearly all of the possible clubs materialized. Three other groups met as part of the church program. The church facilities were used every afternoon and evening, and the church furnished leadership.

This remarkable work, touching three or four hundred young people at any one time, continued to vitalize the church and the community for more than seven years. But the Memorial eventually was to take a form other than that planned in 1944. In November 1946 the church gave the Mitchells a reception, celebrating in this way the opening of the Youth Center and a stage in the development of the plans for the Memorial for Lee. At the beginning of 1947 Katharine Kilbourne came to the church as director of religious education, entering upon another great expansion in the services of the church to young people.

Four interesting visitors came to the church in the last years of the war and transition to peacetime. They all shared Allan's love of nature and his conviction of the power of love

to deal with the untamed and savage. Lois and Herbert Crisler had great skill in photography and made beautiful movies of the Olympic Peninsula and other parts of the Northwest. They were so at one with the setting and its wild life that they were able to get rare pictures of animals following their natural way of life in the "living wilderness." Larry Trimble worked with wolves in Canada, accustoming them to his presence and leadership so that they could be used in the movie version of Jack London's Call of the Wild. Later he trained dog guides, and he brought one to a family night at Mt. Hollywood for all to admire. Mrs. Grace Wiley knew how to treat King Cobras with respect and good will, so that she could handle them and get them to obey her. Allan took some youngsters to see her and her snakes, to see how one survives better on faith than on fear. But the sad truth is that though her rattlers had struck her a few times and she lived, she eventually died of the bite of an untamed Egyptian cobra.

Another event of 1946 should have been a satisfying honor for Allan. At the end of 1945, we recall, he ended a brief but intimate relationship with Theodore Dreiser by conducting his funeral. Malcom Dana, president of Olivet College in Michigan, was impressed by this funeral and by Allan's liberal views, and at the beginning of the spring semester in 1946 invited him to the college to conduct four days of religious emphasis. Allan gave some lectures too for the local ministerial candidates. The college awarded him an honorary Doctor of Divinity degree. But it is characteristic of Allan's casual regard for honors that the people of Mt. Hollywood Church were unaware of his new status until October. A year later Malcolm Dana returned Allan's

visit, preaching at a Sunday service at Mt. Hollywood, and in the afternoon conducting a workshop on "Techniques of Christian Living."

V-5. Conclusions, 1947-1949

One of the first visitors to come to the church from afar after the war was Muriel Lester. After six years of absence she was spending Easter 1947 at Mt. Hollywood Church and spoke Sunday morning on "Anonymous Saints and Sinners." She was then International FOR secretary and was returning from a visit to India and China, her first long journey since the British government had deprived her of her passport and restricted her travel in 1941. Another European visitor, in August, was Miss Zarnack, Y secretary from Germany, on her way to a conference in China.

The following year, Agnes Sanford, author of The Healing Light, made her first visit to the church from her home in the East. She had great skill in focusing the healing light of God on ill and troubled people, though she never made a spectacle or public show.

From across the Pacific came several visitors in the summer and fall of 1948. Iwao Ayusawa was a Quaker and member of the Labor Relations Board of Japan. He had pacifist sympathies during the war and was the first Japanese official allowed to leave Japan after the war. Soichi Saito, a national secretary of the YMCA in Japan, spoke at the church on "Christianity in Japan." Rev. Michio Kozaki was a guest at the manse, on his way to the Amsterdam Conference. He was moderator of the United Church in Japan and pastor of the church in Tokyo to which Mt. Hollywood Church sent boxes.

During the war Rev. Kiyoshi Tanimoto, former pastor at the Hollywood Independent Church, was pastor of the Methodist church in Hiroshima. It happened that at the moment of the Bomb he was

two miles from the center of impact and protected by rocks and walls, and so escaped acute injury. He worked for days among the injured and dying in the center of Hiroshima and for months labored to rebuild his church. He gained worldwide notice as one of the heroes of John Hersey's Hiroshima. In December 1947 Mt. Hollywood Sunday School sent gifts of food and clothing to Rev. Tanimoto's church in Hiroshima. The box was delayed in customs and he didn't get it until Easter, but he sent a letter of thanks at once. Allan Hunter hoped for a fragment of his bombed church. But since they had already cleared away the charred timbers, Tanimoto sent some pieces of the blasted camphor tree from the churchyard, through a messenger, Eiko Kakito. This was in August 1948. Miss Kakito, carrying the camphor wood in her arms, arrived and gave it to Allan during a Sunday morning service. October 17 Rev. Tanimoto himself visited the church and was lovingly welcomed by the congregation.

Allan was able to tell him that the camphor wood was already being fashioned into a cross as a memorial to peace. This was the investment made with the $100 gift from the Hollywood Independent Church. The year before, the Mt. Hollywood congregation decided on the nature of the memorial. The options were a piece of sculpture and a cross, and the vote was 62 for the sculpture and 63 for the cross. Democracy, not consensus, prevailed, and the pieces of wood to make the cross were sought and found. They were being carved by a sensitive artist, Nashan Toor, of Pasadena--a plain cross of the natural golden wood, with Gandhi's words carved into its base: "He is our peace." The chancel was remodeled, with steps leading up to a simple altar as the focus

of attention, the pulpit and the choir as ancillaries only, at the sides.

On November 27, 1949, the Cross was dedicated and placed on this altar, as the center and heart of the church. The theme of the service was Peace. Rev. James Murakami of the Hollywood Independent Church led the Lord's Prayer in Japanese. Rev. Tanimoto, appropriately present at the ceremony, preached the sermon on the need for peace and love, the only realities. Dr. Ryland gave a meditation on the Cross, speaking of the new life brought by forgiving and asking forgiveness. Allan Hunter spoke on how the Cross applied in the current world requiring reconciliation, sharing, and respect for all humanity. The Cross, the sign of Jesus' experience of embracing God's will, and the symbol of Agape, reconciliation, and forgiveness, is the center of Allan Hunter's ministry.

In July 1949 another sequence in Allan's life came to a satisfying conclusion. His longstanding admiration for Albert Schweitzer made Allan include him as one of the three trumpets sounding for mankind before the war. In the letter of thanks in 1940 Schweitzer expressed his desire to meet Allan sometime. But imprisonment and restrictions because of his German birth made the event uncertain. At least, it was far from Allan's mind on that July day in 1949, when he was conducting a funeral for a black man at a little cemetery in Whittier, the only place that could be found to accept a Negro. When he returned home, he found a telephone message from George Hogle in Aspen, Colorado, saying that he had arranged for Allan to fly there and meet

Schweitzer, there at a conference. Allan went at once.

A meeting was arranged in the cafeteria at breakfast, July 7, and Allan prefaced it with a meditation of preparation. He sat down at a table and watched for Schweitzer's ungainly figure to appear. He came, took his breakfast tray to a nearby table, and sat down between his wife, a handsome Jewish nurse, and Dr. Emory Ross. Many came to have him autograph books, delaying his breakfast. After breakfast, Allan offered a mountain flower to Mrs. Schwietzer, and the doctor rebuked him with a look; one does not pick mountain flowers.

Later they were sightseeing together in a car, Dr. Schweitzer and Dr. Ross in the front seat and Mrs. Schweitzer and Allan in the back. He asked about the story of the rats. She told him how the rats were keeping her awake at night, and her husband caught them in a non-violent trap. But when she put them in a sack and gave them to a helper to drown, Schweitzer intercepted them and let them go. She confronted him with the basic question: "My husband, which to you love most, your wife or the rats?" The answer was silence.

Dr. Karl Menninger ate dinner with them at the restaurant by the Roaring Fork, and Gary Cooper came to shake hands with Schweitzer. Afterward, on the way to his room, Schweitzer sat in the back seat of the station wagon with Allan, who tried to avoid bothering him, engrossed as he was in planning the tapes he had to make that evening. But he put his arm around Allan and gave him an impulsive hug, which meant to Allan, "Thanks, brother, for not asking those foolish questions I have been answering all day." He asked Allan into his room while he

worked with the radio men for two hours, making tapes in German and French of his lecture on Goethe. When the technicians were gone, he relaxed on his couch and told Allan that he appreciated Three Trumpets Sound.

"To think that someone would come all the way from California to see me," he said in English. Allan knew he had to go and stood up. Schweitzer's great hand grasped his.

"Are you sure you know how to get back to your room?" he inquired kindly. Allan said he knew his way and left.

Allan wrote the story of this meeting for the Christian Century, and the article was later included in a college anthology. He also contributed an account of it to a book of tributes compiled by the Friends of Schweitzer for the doctor's eightieth birthday, June 15, 1955. Allan reported his feelings about Schweitzer to his congregation in a sermon July 10, immediately on his return. He spoke on "Albert Schweitzer, Hero-Scholar of the Primeval Forest."

Gerald Heard also was at the Aspen conference. He praised Schwietzer, in the birthday anthology, as one of the three great heroes of the age, who were, by coincidence, Allan's three trumeters. Adlai Stevenson met Schweitzer at a lunch in Chicago. Among the others writing tributes in the birthday book were Norman Cousins, Martin Buber, Albert Einstein, Bromley Oxnam, Ralph Bunche, Emory Ross, and Martin Niemoeller.

Sending boxes of food and clothing to Europe and Asia was still in 1949 an important activity at Mt. Hollywood Church. In four years the relief from suffering and the mutual friend-

ships from these gifts were immeasurable. The church was also concerned for displaced persons in Asia--the nine Korean orphans--and in Europe. In the spring of 1949 the Social Action committee brought Dr. Fred Smith to the church with a film giving information about still homeless Europeans. A drive was begun to get sponsorship for such a family, and Mt. Hollywood and the Glendale Congregational Church agreed to cooperate in the undertaking. The Karacauskas family from Lithuania was chosen, and the two churches shared their travel expenses of $300. The Glendale Church furnished their housing and Mt. Hollywood employed "Mr. K.", a building engineer, as caretaker. They came early in 1950, and the church had a long and pleasant association with a cultivated European family. After a year they lived upstairs in the manse, and in 1957 they moved to the apartment in the new building. After Mr. Karacauskas' death, his wife went to live with their son in Santa Susana. This is what happened to one family uprooted by the war.

Before the war Allan Hunter attracted to the church speakers well known for their social concerns: Kagawa and Muriel Lester, Sherwood Eddy and Kirby Page, Ralph Bunche and Howard Thurman, Nevin Sayre and A.J. Muste, and so on. After the war there were friends from enemy coutries, and also the Crislers and Larry Trimble, all testifying to the power of love.

Allan also had friendships among literary people, notably Upton Sinclair, Gerald Heard, Aldous Huxley, Christopher Isherwood, Theodore Dreiser, and later Milton Mayer. It is not surprising that the congregation contained creative writers, for example,

Elizabeth Hunter, Elinor Lennen, and Martha Cummings, and that later a productive poetry club developed out of a university class.

About 1948 a group of musicians began to come to the church, not only to perform but also to become a part of the church. They were attracted by friendship with Allan and Elizabeth, the planning of Katharine Kilbourne, and the expertise of the organist, Julia Howell of USC and the choir director, Don Fischer. Excellent soloists came to the church as choir members or guests--Kay Fessenden, James Lampiasi, Okla Gerrel, Odeta Felious, who became a well-known folk singer, and also Stuart and Virginia Wade, John Arnold Ford, and John Raitt, eminent professionals. Carroll and Eileen Jennings and Ralph and Phyllis Peterson were generous with their talents, and Arthur Weitkamp was the faithful baritone.

In another area, a couple whom Allan had married, Hugh Beaumont, father in "Leave it to Beaver," and Kathy, served not only with their entertainment skills but more especially in their calling as ministers in the youth activities. Ray Bouett coached plays. During Easter week, 1950, Ruth St. Dennis presented a remarkable program of sacred dance giving choreographic expression to the experiences of the Last Supper and the Tomb and Resurrection. Through several seasons Dr. Alexis Schardt, professor at USC and Pomona College, gave series of lectures on the history of art, and Ray Bouett gave practical courses in drama and acting. John Raitt sang a benefit concert in November 1950 that brought in $520 for the manse fund. The congregation got to see the movie Second Chance, starring Hugh Beaumont. The congregation was developing a sensitive esthetic appreciation, and demanded and enjoyed a high level of artistic performance.

An organizational change at this time should be noted in passing. In October 1947 a merger at the conference level between the Congregational and Christian Churches was proposed. There was little real opposition at Mt. Hollywood, and, after characteristic study and discussion, the church voted, in April 1948, 135 to 7 in favor of the merger. The union proposed in 1955, the Congregational-Christian Church with the Evangelical and Reformed Church, was more difficult and caused more polarization, but in the end the opposition relaxed and Mt. Hollywood joined the United Church of Christ, in 1961.

The last two or three years of the decade were again productive for Allan as a writer. As with Secretly Armed and Say Yes to the Light, the writing deals with essentially theological problems. Three articles, the first in Christian Century (February 1946) and the other two in Pulpit Preaching (December 1947 and February 1948), define basic Christian tenets and show their relevance to contemporary life. "Forgive or Else" takes its direction from several examples of vengeance that extends the vicious circle of evil, and of forgiveness that breaks it: the Jews done to death in the German ghetto, Jacob Deshazer's change of heart, the Philippine death march, Hiroshima, Paul. "The First Four Words" grapples with the relation of the eternal and the temporal. We have both in our natures. God is immediate and present; the Eternal Now is the time for living. "Lest There Be Strangulation" proclaims the necessity of witnessing, to those near us and to those in power, using the fine figure of the pigeon that strangles in the wind if he cannot fly.

In November 1947 the distinguished Annals of the American Academy of Politcal and Social Sciences issued a symposium of opinions about the movie industry. To this anthology Allan Hunter was asked to contribute an article expressing the point of view of a clergyman. In this article he said that with few exceptions the content of movies is determined by what will please viewers and make money for the producers. Then follows a list of results to personality from this motivation. Children are exposed to the spectacle of violence; too high a value is put on consumerism, glamour, and alcohol; the Protestant clergy is downgraded, though he de-emphasizes the point; extramarital sex is a matter of course; stars are hero-worshiped; the viewer's mood is passive acceptance or escapism, with no urge to seek causes or solutions. We as public do not demand that movies have ethical validity, creativity, or realism. We could bring improvement if we made the effort. The article is organized, has a sociological slant, and is specific to the extent that categories of evil are named. But it would be greatly strengthened if reference were made to actual movies, characters, plots, and scenes. Only one title is mentioned, and its explicit content is not given. Nor are there references to psychological studies of specific movie experiences on viewers .

In 1948 The Audacity of Faith was published by Harpers, dedicated to Allan Jr. and Betsy. Betsy was going to an Episcopal school in the East and Allan was at Whittier College. This book resembles Say Yes to the Light but has more development in some areas. There are parallel chapters in the two books with much the same content, on saints, sin, the life

of Jesus. The chapter on methods of training in Say Yes is expanded to four chapters in Audacity. Much the same patterns and figures are used in the two books; but they are cast into sharper form in the second, with elaboration of the three levels concept. Say Yes deals with decision, evolution, and reducing egocentricity through the infilling of God. The Audacity of Faith relates everything to the three levels. The requirement is to function on the third level, as Jesus did, and the theological demands are relaxed. Each chapter investigates the resources of the third level through its own special content, method, or symbol.

The first chapter establishes the concept of the three levels, defined here as complacent acceptance, conflict, and reconciliation. Third level action rests upon the faith that right means will lead to a good end, the conclusion of Jesus at Gethsemane. The second chapter uses a series of figures to illuminate the levels. Level I views life as a picnic, and a person functioning on this level has hypothyroidism. Level II is like a psychopathic ward of patients with overactive thyroids and nagging consciences. Level III is a delivery room. Conscience is like an inherited wound up alarm; if one listens for it he can hear its sound more and more clearly. There are other often-used figures: life as a tennis match with God in which you miss some balls but get another served to you; repentance as the growing edge of evolution; the power of God like the sun drawing out the leaves; grace, relieving us from the vicious circle of routine. But figures give the reader too much latitude in choosing a possible meaning; they are more remote from the referent than abstraction is. They have literary and esthetic rather than strict semantic value.

The third chapter defines the three levels with a complex set of spatial and biological figures that fit together into Allan's system of myth. First is the facade of pretense or role playing that we present to public view; we should learn to laugh at it. Behind it is the cave filled with wild beasts--the lion of power, the hare of fear, the pig of greed, and so on--the beastly evil in us; we must face this zoo and offer it to God. It is a brilliant figure and ingenious in its variety, standing between the medieval bestiary and Animal Farm. But it is a desecration of the animals and does not help one understand his own maladjustments. Finally there is the tunnel, the way out of the cave, filled with the Mystery of the Presence, and leading, if we faint not, to the Light at the end. The device of the synonym is used here to identify the Presence--ground, apex, spark, and so on. But this is still the idiom of figurativeness.

The method of chapter 4 is quoting authorities, the third-level saints, Isaiah to Muriel Lester. They assert the immanence and transcendence of God and the affirmation of the Resurrection. Chapter 5, on the Wrath, explains the theological implications of several concepts associated with evil. The Wrath is the consequence of sin, but it is offset by forgiveness and mercy. There is a third alternative; we do not need to choose between two evils. There cannot be eternal punishment in God's good universe, but woe to him who is the cause of war. Evil is within and egocentric. Does God send evil? Who is the devil? Only the power of the Cross can extricate us from these puzzles.

Chapter 6 uses the figure of athletics and training. The self-discipline he describes should give us empathy, make us live simply, and teach us to be forgiving. The next chapter is anal-

ysis: Jesus'counsel for fasting, service, and prayer; ways of praying; the three levels of self, others, and God; kinds of prayers. Chapter 8 is a list of devices to remind us of God--beads,times of day, a "frame," and so on. Chapter 9 is an expanded definition of the cell group, using several methods for defining: etymology, origins, figure, function, use, composition, content, process, class, and differentia, qualities. The chapter is an encyclopedic summary of all of Allan's writing about groups.

Chapter 10 uses the events of Jesus' life to show the three social evils of his culture and ours: class, love of money, and violence, and how he responded to them on the third level. The church ought to make the same response, but at least as individuals we can live our lives on the third level. The last chapter returns to the figure of the three levels as they fit modern conflict. Level I is complacent about evil. Level II uses any means to gain an end, usually defined as a "principle." Level III is centered on means; the end is less defined, something like knowing God or being at home in the world, insight that develops as we live. It also deals with the Now, not a future good; present experience is eternal. What if we were to try this Way, giving up opposition and destruction of enemies, relying on reconciliation, sharing, taking the long chance that Jesus was right?

The Audacity of Faith is a strong book, with many sources of its strength. One is the sophisticated series of methods, using every device to be persuasive and to interest the reader with its ingenuity. Also the characteristic figures and patterns

find their clearest and most pleasing expression here, though they are pleasurable rather than persuasive. The book is a careful exposition of the essential postulates of Allan Hunter's philosophical position, the clearest of all his theological writing, and the most convincing. It is diminished least by the passage of time and depends least on a theological position for its credibility. It is less dogmatic than Say Yes to the Light, and especially the last two splendid chapters can be embraced by a wide spectrum of men of good will.

The sermons of these years parallel the interests of this book, being on forgiveness, cooperation, the third alternative, reconciliaton. Many of the sermons help with practical problems people face: criticism, inertia, responsibility. They are often phrased in sentences--Love cannot grow in a vacuum; or a question--Are you overimpressed with evil? Spread too thin? How can we strengthen the family? Can we be social without drinking? Sometimes they reflect Allan's current experience--beside the swift waters of the Sierras, and the meeting with Schweitzer. The meditations in the bulletins are quoted from friends: Kagawa, Vernier, Lester, Schweitzer, Elizabeth, Gandhi, Rufus Jones. The sermons are anchored in the present and in people.

Allan's Christmas sermon at the end of 1949 uses the levels model with a different figure. It is the case of the person sinking in La Brea Pits. What does the onlooker do? Does he race about in panic and let the victim sink? Does he jump in and become mired in the same danger that is dragging the other man down? Or does he keep his feet on the solid ground and reach out to rescue him?

Allan's affirmation is that there is solid ground discoverable, there is a light at the end of the tunnel. He expressed it in the amazing record of social action in the church, in the rich contacts and complex life of the church, and in his writing and sermons. But what people remember, when you ask them, is really none of this. What they remember is a person, or Allan and Elizabeth, two persons together, with grace, concern, awareness, kindness, humility--"like Jesus."

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Chapter VI, 1950-1963 Fulfillment

1. Ways of Communicating in the 1950's

What are the ways of encountering life? According to one's capacities or mood one will enjoy sense experience, collect data and try to relate them, manipulate things or ideas, develop skills. For Allan Hunter the first interest and primary responsibility is communication. Speech has been a Celtic passion from the beginning. Those great fairs--Oenachs--in early Ireland, for political discussion, poetry contests, gleemans' tales, crossroads palaver, were the climax of the year, and those with Irish blood have continued to be notably articulate. For Allan, verbalizing is so basic in reality that he likes to call God the Communicator and man's function, to communicate with God and people.

In September 1950, he was able to use a vehicle of communication he had neglected for twenty-five years. He was asked to teach a class at City College on Universal Man in the Modern Novel, Tuesday evenings through the fall semester. The class read Dostoevsky's Brothers Karamazov, Tolstoi's War and Peace, Romain Roland's Jean Christophe, Thomas Mann, Pearl Buck, Steinbeck's Grapes of Wrath, Alan Paton's Cry, the Beloved Country. He used Conrad's preface to the Nigger of the Narcissus as a motivating guide. Conrad says that the artist's work is to share the mystery in the human condition and the sense of oneness that binds human beings to each other in this mystery. In our experience of life there is always irony; poignancy, Allan calls it. How narrowly we miss Paradise! But at high moments we glimpse the meaning of Agape. In Cry,

the Beloved Country he found the crises of irony to be the murder of one working for racial justice, the meeting of the two fathers, and the lonely communion taken by Kumalo as his son was being executed.

It was a popular course, and a half dozen professors came to it too. Allan also gave Sunday evening talks at church on the material discussed in the course--The Brothers Karamazov, Julia de Beausobre's Woman Who Could not Die, and so on. The chief concern was to find Agape in artistic expression.

Allan developed a happy friendship with the president and others at City College. He was appointed to an honorary committee that met at pleasant dinners from time to time and was charged with giving advice. Employees of the Board of Education were then required to sign a loyalty oath, and Allan might have been the one to challenge the validity of the practice. He put off his decision until the last hour of the last day--after he had taken Betsy to the hospital and had met Ed Sanders of FOR by chance in a lunch room down town and had listened to his advice against signing. But he did sign, with the reservation that he would not support the country with violent acts.

In October 1951, the church celebrated Allan's twenty-fifth anniversary as its pastor. At a Sunday service there were greetings from the Conference and the congregation, Stanley Hunter's prayer, and Allan's reaffirmation of the reconciling power of Jesus. In the afternoon there was a service of worship and a reception. Elinor Lennen wrote a long biographical poem for the occasion, 140 lines, chiefly in blank verse. It is one of the classic expressions of appreciation for the work and presence

of Allan and Elizabeth at Mt. Hollywood. Travel, she says, gave him power and compassion; he developed an opposition to war, learned faith and the harmony between means and ends; became a counselor of youth, a writer of books, a man of prayer and meditation; he was helpful, sympathetic, and understanding; and with him there was Elizabeth, the perfect blend of Mary and Martha. All this is expressed in apt symbol and figure, as are Miss Lennen's annual birthday poems, continuing over twenty-five years, down to the present.

As a further tribute to Allan and Elizabeth, the congregation collected into a booklet the poems of Elizabeth and significant and poetic prose passages from Allan's books. Elizabeth's exquisite poems, mostly responses to nature, speak of time, silence, beauty, and death; they are simple and sophisticated, artistic and utterly accurate, and poignant to the point of tears. She wrote this poem about Allan:

Etching

After these hundred faces sketched so drily in--
Rough, careless copies of the Dreamer's real intent,
This face shines like a rare illuminated manuscript,
On which the years have graven lines,
Of subtle meaning, wrought with delicate precision,
And inescapable goodness.
Anyone, seeing the design, although no scholar,
Would agree,--
"Yes, surely, this one is authentic!"

Elizabeth's poems we knew. But we had not reckoned on a poem by Allan. It is a "Prelude to Prayer," appearing first in the Christian Century. The prelude is expressed in terms of the sounds and sights that calm the will like evening and suggest the presence of God. It consists of two stanzas of abbreviated ballad meter, unrimed except for the last line, echoing the

first of its stanza.

Prelude to Prayer

The meadowlark's clear call against the night,
The cricket's pulsing chirp,
The sleepy fly that bugled past
Blend into one.
Across the barley-silvered hill,
Above the green-black oaks
Like evening mist Thy presence slips
Into my will.

It is satisfying in imagery and in the fusing of emotional and mystical experience. One could wish for more poems from Allan; perhaps his symbolism belongs in poetry rather than expository prose.

Allan continued to use the accustomed means for making his voice heard. During the three years, 1950 through 1952, he published at least twelve articles, in New Century Leader, Adult Bible Class, FOR's Fellowship, DOC's Life Stream, Methodist Youth's Motive. The theme of all is the power of love for salvation, sometimes literal and physical. Cell groups are described as aids. There is an alternative to self-love and self-hate--the self-forgetting from the love of God within. He uses memorable images: door mats, the flower in the pavement, the Hiroshima Cross. He finds illustrations in the lives of spiritually successful people; Kagawa, Elwood Worcester, Julia de Beausobre of Russia, Toburn of India. He tells anecdotes of anonymous saints: the chaplain's vision on the battlefield, the woman saved from attack by her concern for her attacker, the Chinese researcher overcoming prejudice in San Francisco.

After this, the flow of articles abates. One appeared in Life Stream in 1954, describing the efforts of a cell group at

the University of California to make mystical contact with the Binding Force. An article in The Pulpit in 1957 makes the point that we, like God, must respect the person at the same time that we reject the sin and try to cast it out. The admonition to love and forgive always leads, in these articles, to credible results and to the heart's desire. But God tends to dissolve in figures: the kingdom within, the immanent and transcendent, the Father, personality, the Spirit, the Binding Force. Is there no way to discuss Reality in literal, unambiguous terms?

In 1954 the Friends of Albert Schweitzer collected an anthology of tributes to the doctor for his eightieth birday. Allan Hunter was asked to write one, and he told about their meeting in Aspen, Colorado, in 1949, giving an appealing picture of a caring elder saint. This essay has already been summarized.

In 1951 a second edition of Heroes of Good Will, renamed Courage in Both Hands, was published by Fellowship press in hard-back. The next year a paperback appeared. It had a preface defining the three levels, and a comment by Charles Mackintosh, enlarged somewhat in the 1952 edition, stressing God in everyone, the devil's work at each level, and encouragement to risk God's way. The sources of the stories are carefully documented and many stories are accompanied by pictures of the heroes. Of the fifty-eight stories, thirty-nine had been told before, chiefly in Heroes of Good Will, but also in the published books, Audacity of Faith, Secretly Armed, Three Trumpets Sound, and White Corpuscles. Nineteen stories are new, usually from World War II and its aftermath, but also there is the story of Laubach in the Philippines, and the hostile Indians in

South America.

These stories, like those in the 1942 edition, give authentic examples of people of all sorts acting in love, without hate or cowardice. Sometimes they are destroyed, but usually they not only bring love where there is hate and overcome evil with good, but also they survive. Probably it continues to be Allan's most popular book, and it re-enforces the yearning of thousands and encourages them to risk following the way of openness and good will.

Allan had spoken many times on radio, but in February 1952 he appeared on KNXT, in a discussion of unversal military training. In the following years he and the choir appeared several times, twice in 1954, in 1958 on KFAC in "Worship in the West," and in 1962 on"Churches of the Golden West" on KTTV. These were more than exciting and glamourous performances; they were another way to speak for a new way of life.

The procession of visitors, old and new faces, continued. Some of the new speakers were Andre and Magda Trochme from France, Getsie Samuel from India, Dr. E. V. Pullias from the Department of Education at Pepperdine and USC, Dr. William Parker, interested in prayer therapy; the Hiroshima Maidens, disfigured by the Bomb; political figures such as Glen Lipscomb, Mary Tingloff, and Wilson Riles; the English pacifist Vera Britain, and Heinrich Grueber. Martin Niemoeller had a breakfast communion service with ministers and the FOR at the foot of the Hiroshima Cross.

In 1960 and 1961 Dorothy Gibson helped in contacting the news media and planning forums. The first series included Richard Neutra, architect, Robert Newman, UCLA professor, and Linus

Pauling, Cal Tech Nobel prize winner in physics. The second series brought Norman Cousins, editor of the Saturday Review, whom seven hundred came to hear, and Dr. Edward Stainbrook, counselor and psychiatrist. All of these were stimulating and prophetic voices.

Linus Pauling attracted a professor fromGlendale Junior College, Frank Cox, to hear him, and he by chance was seated next to Allan, near the front of the church. He asked Allan what connection he had with the church. Allan, in puckish mood, replied that he was the janitor. Of course, he knew that the moderator was to call on him for the invocation, so that his true identity would be revealed. The conclusion was that Cox joined the church and Allan lectured at his college.

The prayer groups continued. But the writing about them in these later years seems to stress mutual insight and fellowship among the members, a concern for each other and for service projects, rather than the lonely and strained route of solitary meditation. The groups at the church were important sources of strength to Allan, and a restricted few were touched by them. But other groups, less arcane, had the same sense of fellowship and search--the teenage Second Milers, the pastor's classes of young and old preparing for church membership, the mothers' groups led by Elizabeth, and many groups with lay leadership.

Allan, always in demand as a speaker, was reaching an ever-widening audience at conferences and retreats. In the last fourteen years of his ministry at Mt. Hollywood he must have taken part in a hundred of them. Some were permanently organized and recurring. In 1951, the Disciplined Order of Christ, founded

in 1945 by Albert Day in a Methodist group, began to be known on the West Coast, and Allan Hunter nurtured it as first regional president. The group held monthly gatherings and annual week end retreats, the latter, in later years, at Westmont College in Santa Barbara, and Allan was always a participant or leader. The members came from varied religious backgrounds and cultivated communication with each other and with God through many channels. DOC became increasingly meaningful to Allan.

In 1951 he held a retreat for the Fellowship of Reconciliation in New York. FOR had a strong pull upon him and he was greatly tempted at that time to leave the church and spend all his energies working for the Fellowship. The need for the security of old friendships and especially his sense of commitment to the church kept him from making the break. However in 1954 he took a leave of absence through February, March, and May to devote himself to FOR. During the first months he worked in California, holding conferences up and down the state and in Arizona that are still remembered by the participants. In May he held conferences in New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Michigan, The message was always to promote fellowship among those he worked with and international peace. After this special effort he continued his interest in FOR, as national vice chairman, though gradually he withdrew from an administrative role; he couldn't get to all the meetings. In 1961 he supported and helped with the Behavioral Conference in the San Bernardino Mountains, planned by Lois Hamer, then west coast director. The ten distinguished members of this conference considered

alternatives to war, but they could come to no conclusion because of the complexity of the problems, even when they reconvened six months later at the United Nations, and they found that the strength of the power structure made the socio-economic approach futile.

Other organized groups Allan served were the YMCA conferences at Asilomar, the Sequoia Seminar at Berkeley or Ben Lomond, the Whittier Conference on International Relations, where he was on the faculty in 1951, and Pendle Hill, the Quaker center in Pennsylvania.

Students always heard Allan gladly, but there was perhaps a shift in the nature of the groups. In the first years of the 1950's he went to Y conferences at Asilomar and conducted religious emphasis weeks at universities--Colorado, Kansas, the California Theological Seminary in Berkeley. But fashions change, and he came more and more to be working with young people in church groups--Wesley Foundation and Pilgrim Fellowship, in Los Angeles, at Pilgrim Pines, and, in 1957, at Valley City, North Dakota. This Pilgrim Fellowship Mid-Winter was arranged by Lois Hamer, and he drove to the meetings in the bitter cold and snow of a northern winter. At Mt. Hollywood he continued to take junior highs to Sequoia and Pilgrim Pines.

Many of his meetings were special occasions with ministers and laymen in their churches: Easter week services at Burbank or Laguna Beach, Methodist women at Pacific Palisades, Churchmen's Fellowship at Pilgrim Pines, a week with Central Church, Lexington, Kentucky, where religion took third place to horses and the tobacco crop. The only black man in the church was the jan-

itor sitting in the far corner of the balcony. Allan arranged several conferences for special people: Muriel Lester at Mt. Hollywood, and Kagawa, in 1954, and Agnes Sanford for DOC in 1960. In 1961 he was chaplain of the Annual Conference of the United Church of Christ.

According to Allan's own evaluation of his intentions in those years, his accent was more and more on the inner life, the left foot of understanding and prayer, and the non-violent commitment of FOR and AFSC. People remembering him in retreats and groups in the 1950's recognize his gift for communicating with all ages and conditions. They felt a one-to-one relationship with him; he spoke directly to them and their needs; like Jesus he had honest and effective concern for other persons; there were no blocks to communication with him; he understood and accepted all.

There are more than thirty sermons, chiefly from 1956 to 1959, transcribed by Margaret Slocum, again church secretary, from notes and tapes. They give a cross section of his preaching ministry during those years, and also a fair composite of his total message from the pulpit, since both the message and the style change only in surface features over the years. In 1955 there was a series based on great people, reflecting Allan's person-centered living and thinking. The people were arranged in pairs that could be compared and contrasted: Woolman and St. Francis, Bunyan and Brother Lawrence, Thomas à Kempis and John Wesley, Evelyn Underhill and Thomas Kelly. The printed sermons beginning in 1956 are of two kinds, one group addressed to problems of non-violence and international understanding, and how God's love

can function in the world; the other dealing with problems of personal adjustment and how they relate to ethics. The sermons usually developed from an incident or personality, real and relevant. The Scriptural sources are mostly the life of Jesus, the Lord's Prayer, the Sermon on the Mount, and the letters of Paul. Issues and problems come from life observed and experienced, with illustrations and support from contemporary thinkers and doers that Allan knew or met in the news: Martin Luther King, Schweitzer, Heinrich Grueber, Agnes Sanford, Dr. Ryland, John Magee, Kagawa, Hocking, Elizabeth Vining, the Crislers, Albert Bigelow, Linus Pauling, Charles Van Doren, DeShazer, Fosdick, Eisenhower, Khrushchev, Vernier, Niemoeller....

The symbols and models of the sermons had been worked out in his books, and he uses the familiar patterns: the facade, the zoo, the left and right eyes, the pyramid, the ostrich, the mallard on the boulevard, the elephant and the daisy. The figure of the bridge is an archetype, part of the myth of the facade, cave, and tunnel. It is forgiveness, or man forgiving, making communication possible between man and God and man and man. The sermon themes center in love, forgiveness, and communcation. The private values these qualties produce are regeneration and healing, hope and joy, with the corollary virtues of gratitude, self-discipline, courage, intentionality, genuineness. The public actions from this triad of qualities are international understanding, non-violence, and good will.

The impression of the sermons, oral and written, in contrast to the ingrown books and articles, is newness, each one a current experience and a fresh insight into the Real. In many

ways, Allan's sermons and talks especially in their fragile and ephemeral oral form, are his most durable and satisfying medium of communication, the true Bridge. There are several reasons for this. When he is speaking he establishes a strong bond between persons, whether in conversation or in a listening audience, with a feeling of wanting to communicate, not create an artifice. He seems to be finding the means of expression in his present thinking, not in formal structures recalled. Further, the listener knows when the mood is humor or irony and does not mistake the tone. Finally, the sermon or talk is contemporary, adjusted to today, and does not seek to give the permanent and universal value of A Book to something that belongs to Now. One's insight is always limited and could be reconsidered and altered, if it hadn't been sent to the printer. Socrates and Jesus were content to entrust their ideas to the transient air, and who knows what errors crept in,in the writing. But the magic effect of their personalities on people was more authentic and trustworthy. So with Allan; his most valid and moving words are spoken.

VI-2. Crisis Ministry in the 1950's

At the beginning of 1951 the Hunters moved into the newly-purchased parsonage on Myra Avenue. It was an interesting house with a study at street level, a split-level dining room and living room, and a stairway to the bed rooms. It was not a new house, but it had a fireplace and many pleasant features, and it pleased Elizabeth. It was a mile from the church, and this protected the Hunters a little from the invasion of privacy and the demands upon their hospitality that came from living next to the church. The first floor of the old manse became a center for youth activities, and the Karacauskas family moved into the second floor.

Although the Hunters in their new home had fewer erratic guests than before, ministry to people in crisis was still Allan's greatest concern. Uncounted members in and out of the church are witnesses to his help and counsel.

Allan was at home in the hospitals, and was especially helpful to the ill, whether they were recovering safely from surgery or were wasted with terminal cancer. His prayers could stop a stubborn spasm of hiccoughs, or they could ease unendurable pain so that sufferers could die with dignity. He brought communion to the dying. He was there in emergencies--heart attacks, car accidents--focusing God's healing on the patient and bringing confidence to the family, so that there are those who feel that they owe their lives to him.

He had great skill, growing from love, in dealing with death, where the need is to comfort those that remain. One family remembers how he asked the grandsons and neighbors to write out what

they could recall about the grandfather, to be read at the funeral. It is a different matter to pray with a woman from another faith who has just had word that her son is missing in action, but he was able to do that too. But what does one say to a mother who has just run over and killed her child in the driveway? She ran to the church, where Allan had married her. The Saturday group for prayer and healing was meeting, and Mary Light was there. They put the mother in a chair and laid hands on her; they tried at least to show their love and desire to heal.

Allan several times in his ministry had to deal with those threatening suicide, and many of them eventually carried out their intentions, in spite of love and counsel. In those years he tried to save a dear friend, following her to Calexico to dissuade her, but again he failed. The failures were a great burden upon him. He used to take home two sisters from his pastor's class, dropping them off at a place where, it transpired, they were hearing the Communist message. They both joined the church. One of them years later called him about her sister, who was threatening suicide because her husband had left her for someone else. People turned naturally to Allan in crisis.

Divorce, rape, sex deviance brought to him many troubled people with strange experiences. A woman, with her baby and husband, came to the door at two o'clock one night, telling a story of sex aberration she couldn't take. He did not see them again. Another woman, a member of the church family, told him before the cross of allowing herself to be raped to save her children. When the man returned at another time he was caught by the police and died of a heart attack in the patrol car on

the way to the station. One Saturday Allan's mission was to "marry" two eighteen-year-olds at the General Hospital, a black boy and a dying white girl.

Sometimes his encounters with people with vices turned out well. One night at Fifth and Figueroa he picked up a man confessing to alcoholism, and he took him to an Alcoholics Anonymous night club at Wilshire and Fairfax. The man began a successful journey toward sobriety. But sometimes Allan failed. A model boy from the community, who played George Washington Carver in Julia Raymond's play in vacation school, joined the army and became a drug addict. His brother tried to find him in New York before he died, but the social worker said he was "beyond contact." This brother served a prison term, but Allan kept in touch with him, after his release and marriage, with hopes for his success. Allan had some curiosity about the use of mind-expanding drugs, but he was saddened when Gerald Heard and Aldous Huxley began to take mescaline and LSD experimentally in 1953. The drugs inspired Huxley to write Doors of Perception (1954), a vision of an ideal world, though he later regretted writing it, and he tried to project into the fourth dimension to contact his departed wife. He used mescaline to sustain himself in his sorrow and pain, and he died of cancer of the tongue in 1963.

Allan had special understanding for emotionally disturbed people, and a case history of his work with one of these friends reveals his patience and skill, and Elizabeth's. He visited this "client" at home and at the hospital, wrote letters, sent gifts, counseled when she felt unable to cope, took her into their home when she had no work or was threatened with recommitment, inter-

vened with her family, and finally helped her to be independent of his aid, and very grateful.

But his repertoire of healing skills was not limited to counseling, friendship, and prayer. Another dear friend was ill and disturbed, and in her confusion accused her husband of being unfaithful. So one day Allan called on her, with a careful plan in mind. He entered the bedroom with a firm and confident air and announced to her that he was going to do something backed by Scripture.

"You have been saying things," he told her, "that aren't true, and you know they aren't true, but an evil spirit is in you that makes you say it against your will."

He spoke of the event in Jesus' life when he exorcised the devils from the unfortunate man, and he prayed with her. Then at what seemed like the right moment he took her hand and announced with confidence, "Demon, come forth!"

Apparently it did, because she never again had to scream denunciations.

Not enough has been said about Allan's ironic sense of humor and comic balance. One family remembers the time that they were in the midst of a noisy argument, all stops pulled out. There was a silencing knock at the door. Sure enough, it was Allan framed in the doorway--with a rose in his hand picked from a nearby bush. He spent only a few moments with them, but the mending was accomplished. They were amazed that the argument had lost its urgency and was never raised again except to be laughed at.

Our most poignant crises come to us through the distress

of our children, and sometimes we are powerless to come to their rescue. Both Betsy and Allan suffered disruptions in their education during these years, and their unhappiness touched Allan and Elizabeth with deep and hidden wounds. Betsy became ill in 1951 when she was at UCLA, and it was 1953 before she could return to school. Then she went to Woodbrook College at Sully Oaks, near Birmingham, England. It was a Quaker center, with seventy students from all over the world. In 1955 she lived with Lois Hamer in Albuquerque, teaching at a private music school and taking an English course at the University of New Mexico. Allan Jr. was drafted and in 1953 was serving as a 1-AO medic in the army, working in the medical laboratory at Fort MacArthur. He was honored as the soldier of the month, and his father didn't know whether to be ashamed or proud! Finally in 1954 he returned to Haverford, taking the pre-med course. He spent the summer of 1955 as a lab technician at the Good Samaritan Hospital in Los Angeles. But he flunked out of Haverford, failing in mathematics and physics, and did not even let his parents know that he was penniless in New York. The crisis was not over for these two.

VI-3. Golden Anniversary, 1955-57

Mt. Hollywood Church was fifty years old in 1955, and the thirtieth anniversary of Allan Hunter's pastorate came in 1956. These event were a stimulus to growth and new life in the church and deserve notice.

A core of membership identified with the church and had been there from the beginning. During these middle years of the 1950's many older members passed away: Frank Snow, Rose Weitkamp, Mary Weitkamp, Mrs. Gleason, Dr. Ryland. Dorothy Gamble, and, in 1960, Alfred Weitkamp. The members attracted by Allan were diverse and not always primarily church people. They had strong individual concerns and the competence to work out their plans, and Allan gave them their head. The church was interracial, and people with a great range of cultural heritages felt at home. But they were dominantly middle class, with conventional education, and their young people went away to college. They traveled far and wide, and they had rich experiences and were given to political activism. Many in the church were prominent and talented, with responsible positions in the professions, especially education, social services, and the arts. John Anson Ford, hardly an average member, to be sure, but nonetheless representative, was for twenty-five years member and chairman of the county Board of Supervisors, and in 1956 was a delegate to the Democratic presidential convention.

Most, though not all, had pacifist convictions and were concerned about atomic energy control and the continuing draft. They were sensitive to social, economic, and ecological problems and like Allan were inclined toward solutions that spread and

equalized opportunity and power. Fair housing for minorities and the plight of the Navajos in the city, brought to the attention of the church by George Thomas, the Quaker peace proposals, new ideas in education and psychology, art and architecture, life in Russia, India, and emerging African countries--these were the interests that engaged the attention of the congregation, or segments of it. One third of the church budget was spent on benevolences.

The church was also beginning to feel its role in the inner city, and it set out to meet new community needs with new organizations, added to its traditional church program. Dr. George Gleason developed an active Golden Age Club; there was an adult education program to teach literacy and citizenship; an Alcoholics Anonymous group met at the church; the Red Cross sewing circle relaxed and played canasta during the summer. These new groups reflected basic changes in the area surrounding the church. From 1954 to 1956 Katharine Kilbourne, Dorothy Ward, and others sponsored a successful Center for Foreign Students. Every Friday night they came from City College and other schools for fellowship and fun in the church recreation room. Mary Alice Geier became director of Christian Education in 1954.

After several weeks in the pastor's class, joining the church was a simple ceremony--just the questions "Do you love Jesus and seek to follow him?" and "Will you work for his Kingdom through the fellowship of this church?" The affirmations of those joining the church were silently echoed by the congregation present. But by the accretions of long years, complex ritual grew around the two main festivals of the church, loved and enjoyed by all

and expressing the common feelings of Allan and the members.

The coming of Lent was noted, and the season was often honored with a sermon series. But the pattern began to unfold with Palm Sunday. There would indeed be palms, and special and more elaborate music by the choir. During Holy Week there would be nightly services at which Allan talked on the life of Jesus, or a series of speakers presented aspects of his teachings. On one evening during the week there would be a "meager meal" usually of multi-purpose food and rice, with a generous contribution to Meals-for-Millions. Good Friday evening was a communion service, introduced by Allan's simple reading of the Garden scene, the Last Supper, and the Crucifixion, appropriate choral music, and the reception of new members. In 1956 twenty-one joined on this day, and about fifty during the whole year. After this solemn experience, everyone able to walk followed Allan on the exhilarating climb to the top of Mt. Hollywood, in Griffith Park, which had to be accomplished before park closing time at ten o'clock. On Saturday Allan often took junior highs on an outing. On Easter morning at dawn, the young people, their parents, and others greeted the day with their own sunrise service in Griffith Park, and everyone came to breakfast at the church, at eight o'clock, contributing thereby to some cause of interest to the youth group. The children created a program during Sunday School, and usually went to the church service, too. The sanctuary was filled with Easter lilies, and every seat was occupied. The choir sang several joyful and affirmative anthems, with a special soloist, perhaps John Raitt, and the service climaxed with the triumphant and credible sermon.

The four weeks of Advent opened with a Christmas Workshop and refreshments or a potluck dinner. Families came and worked together on carefully planned Christmas crafts, making decorations, cards, gifts, and cookies. At the Sunday service before Christmas the choir usually sang a contata or program of carols. In the late afternoon came Christmas Vespers, telling the stories of Christmas in music, tableau, and dialog. The choir and all the Sunday School children took part. At the end of the program, the children brought their red stockings filled with coins for a specific and understandable need and put them in the Manger. Afterward there would be a party with punch and Christmas cookies. Sometime during Christmas week the choir and young people went caroling to hospitals and the housebound. On the Sunday evening after Christmas the Bishop's Players often came and played Winnie the Pooh or An Episode of Sparrows. On New Year's Eve, from ten to midnight, the congregation gathered for a watch night service. The sermons through these weeks were about love, joy, peace, and hope. Many of these customs are still a part of the celebration of Easter and Christmas at Mt. Hollywood Church.

This was the church, membership about four hundred, that was approaching its fiftieth anniversary. The church began the observance by making an elaborate self-study and a master plan. Rodney Gale and Clifford Strem headed a committee to plan the programs. Dr. Gleason studied desirable additions to the activities of the church, and Wilfred Wilkinson's committee gathered the needed funds. The recreation room, redecorated with a stage and de-emphasized pillars, done at a cost of $6600, was dedicated in the summer of 1955. The plans for the memorial chapel were

set in 1954, and Mr. Wilkinson's diligence and the generosity of the Weitkamp family brought $25,000 to finance it.

The anniversary of the founding of the church was celebrated in October 1955. On Friday, October 14, there was a Homecoming banquet honoring new members, at which Rev. Tanimoto spoke. October 16, at the Sunday service, Vance Geier was installed as assistant minister, by Rev. Clark Harshfield of the Conference office.

At the Anniversary Dinner in January 1956, Dr. Earl Cranston of the USC School of Religion was the speaker. Pat Crowley expressed the feeling of the young people, giving a series of living pictures of Allan going about his ministry: Allan baptizing a baby, greeting a child as Jesus did, playing tennis with fourteen-year-olds and helping them feel the stillness of a doe and her fawn, revealing the meaning of love and the presence of God, in a college group before the fire, leading a Sunday service, teaching us always to look with wonder at the world, to be channels of God' love, and to be grateful. Pat's tribute moved everyone, and Elizabeth wanted to include it in an account of Allan that she intended to write sometime.

On a Sunday evening the choir and congregation enjoyed an anniversary vespers of music. During the summer A Half Century at Mt. Hollywood Church, written by Helen Cummings and Dorothy Ward, appeared in mimeograph. In October the Homecoming Dinner honored Allan and Elizabeth for thirty years at Mt. Hollywood; there were 170 present.

In December 1956 the contract for the new building was let, to be built where the old manse had stood. Finally, after some

delays, it was completed and dedicated, on September 22, 1957. It was a memorial, not only to Lee, but to Mary, Rose, and Alfred Weitkamp. It also represented the cooperative efforts of the entire congregation over twelve years. The whole project of service to youth included the rearrangement and renovation of the Sunday School building and the recreation room, and the two programs the alterations had aided--the Hollywood Youth Center and the Foreign Students Center. The building was different than that conceived in 1945, with gymnasium and club rooms for the physical and social development of teens. The building dedicated in 1957 has a small but beautiful chapel, offices, a parlor mainly used for adult meetings, and rooms and play area for preschoolers of the Sunday school and for a day nursery or Head Start program during the week.

VI-4. Europe, 1956

In June 1956 Allan preached the baccalaureate sermon at the Silver Lake Presbyterian Church, to graduates of John Marshall High School, nine of whom were from Mt. Hollywood Church. The school had apparently forgotten its resentment against him for having helped to remove the ROTC, before the war. Between this event and the celebration of his thirtieth anniversary in October, Allan and Elizabeth were in Europe. His last visit to Europe was before the war, in 1938, when he went to the International FOR conference at Luntern, Holland, and gathered material for White Corpuscles in Europe. The 1956 trip was also in the interests of the FOR, and paid for by it, and the outcome this time, too, was a book, another biographical study, Christians in the Arena (1958).

Allan and Elizabeth left for Europe the first week in July. Frances Palian, an artist, and Julia Raymond, who could speak French, went with them. They went first to Germany--Hamburg, Weisbrook, where he had four hours with Martin Niemoeller, and Bruckenberg, where Allan went to hear Pastor Heide. After the service the pastor greeted him.

"Are you Allan Hunter?"

"Yes."

"Of Mt. Hollywood Church?"

"Yes, that's right."

"Well, I want your people to know that it was their packages of food, sent me after the war, that helped keep me alive."

The chain of blessing still held, from those packages sent from the church ten years before.

In Vienna, with a Baptist guide, Allan met Kasper and Hildegard Meyer leading the FOR. In East Germany he found Heinrich Grueber pastoring a church under the shadow of Communism. He also went to dinner in East Berlin where Communists were giving propaganda speeches.

Allan asked of his dinner partner, a Communist leader, "What did you do during the war to keep up your spirits?"

"But they were never down."

"O come, You know there were moments when you were discouraged. What did you do then?"

The Communist suddenly stepped down from his role and answered as a human being. "There was a phonograph. I listened to Bach."

They went to France, where Julia Raymond was a helpful communicator, explaining, "You know, we're just ignorant Americans. You'll have to be patient with us." André Trochme came to see them from his home in Le Chambon, in the coal country of southeast France, where Philippe Vernier once lived. Vernier Allan found living in another mining country, at Mauberge near the Belgian border! Allan saw him going about his practical parish work and met his family. He went to Zurich, Switzerland, and Copenhagen and saw Paris and the Louvre before leaving the continent. In England he found Donald Soper in London, Muriel Lester at Kingsley Hall, and Kathleen Lonsdale in the country. Renewing ties with these friends and hearing their sturdy witness for non-violence helped to support Allan's sense of the bond that holds all the world together, the unity, good will, and humanity that connects us all.

Finally he had interviewed all of the Christians in the arena except the three Dutch sisters. He came home at the end of August and began the book about them. Christians in the Arena (Fellowship Press, 1958) was dedicated to Elizabeth, who had shared in the fact-gathering. Of the biographical books it most resembles White Corpuscles (1939), being neither an intensive and structured study, like Three Trumpets Sound, nor a compendium, like Courage in Both Hands. Philippe Vernier appears in both books, and all were old friends.

The title is a little melodramatic, but actually there is no odor of martydom about these people. They did not cast themselves to futile destruction. Rather, "the arena" is where life is going on, where people confront adversaries and dare to be vulnerable, depending on good will, not power. It is a place of activity and reality, where something is at stake. The arena is set in contrast to an ivory tower or a haven of rest.

Each subject is distinguished with a trait or epithet. Heinrich Grueber, first in the book, was the "bridge builder"; he was living and working in East Germany and was trying to build a bridge to the Communists. They, he felt, were at least trying to meet human needs. During World War II he was imprisoned at Dachau, survived through the aid of Jews whom he had befriended before imprisonment, and was released at the insistence of Franklin Roosevelt. Both a Jewish Rabbi and Pastor Niemoeller expressed appreciation for his efforts to bring people together, and he found persons more important then the theories they or he held.

Kathleen Lonsdale was a nuclear physicist and member of the

Royal Society, and her thesis was that a scientist must care what happens to his discoveries, take responsibility for their results. During the war she went to prison for refusing to register for civil defense. She believed in unilateral disarmament, and after the war opposed the arms race and nuclear weapons. She visited China and Russia and aired her protest against war on BBC. She and her husband had been Quakers since World War I, and she depended on the inner Must, as well as on scientific data and the witness of Jesus, to guide her.

Andre Trochme had to choose between truth and responsibility. He decided that persons are more relevant than factual accuracy when one is sheltering fugitive Jews, as he did at Le Chambon. He denied their presence if he had to to save them, and he did save them all. When Allan saw him, his home was the IFOR headquarters on the continent. He spent time in a concentration camp during the war and taught the Bible to the Communists there. They felt that Christian ethics may be for the future; meanwhile, we must live under the expediency of struggle. They accepted imperfect means to a more perfect end, but Trochme insisted on the Eternal Now, which cannot be distinguished from the end. He continued to oppose militarism in post-war France and challenged the church to speak out against war.

Martin Niemoeller had to grow into a pacifist position. In World War I he manned a German U-boat and accepted the dualistic morality of Augustine and Luther through which the will of the state prevails over the advice of religion or the church. In World War II he reversed this stand and resisted Hitler because of the fuhrer's attack on the sovereignty of the church;

He was eight years in Dachau, but even then he offered to command a submarine, if Germany was attacked. When he was at Mt. Hollywood in 1950 and took communion with the other FOR's at the foot of the Hiroshima Cross, he still was not sure; there might be a just war, for defense, for example. But finally he learned non-violence, and by 1956 he was working for disarmament.

Susan W. learned kindness from two war experiences. She entertained a Gestapo officer and learned to treat him as a friend, and she overcame her enmity for a roomer by discovering that the enemy is within.

Donald Soper, preacher at the large church called Kingsway Hall, Tower Hill, in London, and a frequent speaker in Hyde Park, worked for social justice and confronted the Labour Party and the United Nations with the need for more courageous stands on peace. He believed in democracy, the family, disarmament, the undivided world, and transformation by grace. He believed that Jesus was right and that the pacifist does not need the militarist's protection to he safe.

Wilhelm Mensching , like Schweitzer, was a missionary in Africa during World War I. He was taken prisoner by the British and interned in India, mistreated by his captors, but encouraged by a kind medical officer and Gandhi's idea of soul force. His two sons were at the Luntern conference in 1938; one survived the war, and one died. He himself was pastor of a church in Germany during the war, where he refused to "Heil Hitler" or preach a hate sermons for the funeral of RAF casualties. Gandhi, Fritjof Nansen, and Schweitzer came to his unusual church. Like Kierkegaard and Trochmé, he felt the importance to life

and ethics of using the right means to gain an end.

Philippe Vernier was hardworking and fun-loving. When Allan came to see him they went to visit a drunk. He had a lower-middle class parish in Mauberge--miners, alcoholics, children needing camp experience. He dealt with Communists on the third level. In the 1930's he spent much time in prison, at Lille and Quaregnon, because of his uncompromising pacifism. In 1938 Allan saw Pastor Vernier only at the conference, though they did room together, and in White Corpuscles he recounts the prison experiences, the work with CO's, children's camps, and the Blue Cross, a French temperance organization. But this time Allan saw his parish, met his wonderful practical wife Henriette, and accompanied him, now twenty years older, as he went about his down-to-earth pastoral work.

These people met the issue of the Means. The End had been settled for them in a general way--reconciliation, compassion, Agape for all mankind, the way of Jesus. But their endeavor was to make every daily act contribute directly. So they dealt with Communists as souls, persons; they learned not to hate Nazis and found them responsive human beings; and they had, most of them, survived two wars, continuing their ministries of love in a generally hostile setting.

The data here does not show why these people responded as they did; why their Christian witness led them to non-violence while it has led others to support war; why imprisonment and the sight of violence made them compassionate rather than bitter; why they could see those of other ideologies as potential friends rather than enemies. Is it God's determinism or a complex of

inherited glands and nerves, childhood impressions, and family traditions too subtle to analyze? But the information from these lives does support the hope that non-violent response is possible in any situation and that success--that is, survival and an answering good will--can often be expected..

These are all Christians, and for the most part ministers and FOR members, and this gives them an almost unfair support for their actions. We also need in-depth studies of non-violent attitudes among those of other traditions and callings. Both the common denominator among them and the differentia would be of interest.

VI-5. Denouement, 1958-1963

The United States was conducting atomic bomb tests in the Pacific in the spring of 1958, and a few concerned people were aware of the threat in these tests to the security of other nations and the dangers to the ecology from fallout. Albert Bigelow and a crew of three others proposed to sail their ship, the Golden Rule, into the test zone in protest, though invasion of the area was prohibited. On January 9, a group in sympathy with Bert Bigelow's protest gathered at the dockside in San Pedro to encourage the four men. FOR and AFSC people were there, John Raitt, Don Murray, Allan Hunter, and a tenth grader who was doing a term project on non-violence. Allan held a meditation with Bert and his crew in the hold of his ship, to reinforce their sense of commitment. He also wrote an article for the Christian Century about the project, calling it "Four Men Act." The Golden Rule was scheduled to sail January 10, but there were delays, and another send-off for the crew was celebrated March 19, at Mt. Hollywood Church. But the Golden Rule did finally sail into the forbidden waters around Eniwetok, the crew was arrested, and Bigelow spent sixty days in jail for his infractions. July 27 he was again at Mt. Hollywood Church, and he spoke to the congregation on Hiroshima Day, August 6. It was a heroic and quixotic adventure, and Allan was glad to have had a part in it.

The big event of 1959 concerned Allan Jr. After he left Haverford he marked time, in the winter of 1956-7, at the Harkness Pavilion of the Presbyterian Hospital in New York, taking training in hospital administration. He had been rejected at the medical school because of low scores in the

qualifying exams. But he wanted to marry a student at Bryn Mawr, and her father was a great doctor in Washington, D.C. He saw that Allan had the possibilities of becoming a fine surgeon. Allan entered Washington University and made all A's. So Haverford reconsidered and admitted him to the medical school. This happy development in Allan's ordeal of maturing brought great joy to Allan and Elizabeth. In June 1959 they went to Washington for the wedding of Allan Jr. and Helen Louise Simpson, and their cup was full.

There is a sense of acceleration in the next years, as if there were too many events and experiences to be crowded into a time with its limits already set. The year 1960 opened with sorrow; Allan's brother Stanley died on the last day of 1959. At the memorial service Allan spoke of his brother's never-ending kindness to everyone, and his helpfulness to his younger brother, and how his tenderness broke through his weakness at the end, to communicate with Allan. Treasuring the actual happenings of life was always Allan's way of coming at the truth about people, and of keeping their presence with him.

Many of the events of 1960 have been mentioned before in other contexts, but to feel the fullness of the Mt. Hollywood experience, let's set a few of them down in chronological order. In January there was a DOC retreat at the church, with Agnes Sanford as speaker. John Anson Ford and Mrs. Clifford Clinton, returned from recent trips, had an evening on Russia, and Dr. Weitkamp and Helen McCutcheon presented Africa at a family night. The spring forums featured Norman Cousins and Edward Stainbrook.

Pilgrim Fellowship had an exchange work project with a Bakersfield PF, and the two groups painted some rooms at Schaefle Memorial Church in Los Angeles. In June a group of young people, with Lois Hamer, went to Ameca, Mexico, to help the community build a church. There was a vacation school, and folk dancing at two family nights. The Hunters went to Pendle Hill, where Allan spoke July 1. In July he also held a DOC retreat, aided by John Magee, at Westmont, in Santa Barbara. Byron Johnson, a Congressman, and Theodore Anderson, of the Economic Development Agency, held a forum for FOR, and there was an FOR conference at the church. In August Charlee Weitkamp was severely injured in a car accident and Gary left for two years of alternative service in Morocco, both deep experiences for Allan. Little Mei Lin came from China to become a member of Vance Geier's family. The Hunters, according to long custom, spent part of the month at Tuolumne Meadows, where they recaptured the intimate joys of mountains, streams, wild things, and Allan preached two or three Sundays. In September he led a retreat for church families at Pilgrim Pines, and in October he and Cedric Emery took a wriggle of junior highs to Sequoia. Purcell Brown's only daughter Pamela died that month and the memorial service was held at the church. In her memory a continuing fund was set up to educate Thanka Chella, in India. Dr. Alfred Weitkamp died in December. And everyone can add his own personal memories associated with the church in that year. One family, in Europe for the summer, spent an unforgettable twenty-four hours with Philippe Vernier and his family, with an introduction from Allan Hunter.

In 1961 the church had to consider the merger of the Congregational-Christian Church with the Evangelical and Reformed. The

congregation had read and listened to information and exchanged arguments for five years, But in spite of some disagreement, the church voted, in May, to join the United Church of Christ. Allan and Elizabeth took a two-week vacation while the congregation was voting. Dr. Gleason died in June, and Allan again being away, John Anson Ford conducted the memorial service. Synanon representatives, including the founder Chuck Dedrick, presented their saving work with drug addicts, on a Sunday after church.

A climaxing event, Sunday, October 15, was the elaborate observance of the Hunters' thirty-five years at Mt. Hollywood. The program was announced in the Times the day before. A picture book of all the members of the church was issued on this day, for which Allan wrote an introduction expressing gratitude for recollections, especially for the crises that had given a sense of relatedness and communication, in the light of Christ's Way. The members and friends wrote personal notes in a book of remembrance as a gift for them. His sermon at the morning service was, appropriately, "Our hope for years to come," and this was followed by dinner and program. John Anson Ford, Dorothy Ward, and the moderator Marian Mills gave tributes, and a panel discussed the future of Mt. Hollywood Church, a topic of increasing interest to the congregation. In the months to come this question narrowed to "How can our church meet the needs of a changing community?" and perhaps to the subjective prospect of survival.

In 1962 Allan's retreats continued--family camp at Pilgrim Pines, Sequoia Seminar on Gandhi at Ben Lomond. There were notable visitors--Allan Jr. and Helen Louise, and also Heinrich Grueber, Getsie Samuel, K.K. Chandy. The Youth Class, now under

the leadership of Jane and James Taylor, raised the amazing sum of $3155 during the summer to send surplus food to Hong Kong, and in November the congregation had the satisfaction of seeing slides John Anson Ford brought back from Hong Kong showing World Service depots dispensing that food to the hungry. There were five members of the congregation working in service projects in remote places in the world, and the church also was helping the Migrant Mission, the mobile chapel program, and the toy loan service in the San Joaquin Valley.

Courage in Both Hands was published in a Spanish edition, and in 1960 in a Japanese translation in Japan. In 1962 a third English edition was published in paperback by Ballantine Press. It is much the same as the 1951-52 edition, with the same foreword defining the three levels, and most of the same moving and convincing stories. There are two new ones from World Ward II: the story of Elizabeth Pilenko, who took another's place and died in a German gas chamber, and the Pearl Harbor pilot Matsuo Fuchida, converted by DeShazer. Two stories, about Gary in Morocco and Don in Europe, record CO's doing alternative service. There are four stories from the civil rights movement, and a detailed account of the winning of the Acua Indians in Ecuador. The careful documenting is the same, but the pictures have been omitted. The attractive paperback edition helps keep the collection current and popular.

Allan sent A Way of Looking to Abingdon Press in 1962, but it was not published, and he worked on a thorough revision, renaming it Look with Wonder. He returned to the material in 1972, reorganizing and updating it, but he did not return it to the

publisher. Since this book has not been published but nevertheless represents for him a summation of his thinking and purposes, it should be reviewed in some detail. The two 1962 versions are considered here.

There are two themes, and bringing them together is one of the difficulties of the book. The first two chapters define one of the themes. Some animals and people seem to have built-in communication mechanisms. In animals they are instinctive. In man communication seeks to break through the routine of the physical universe with creativeness. Communication must be unique in each person, but like enough to the rest for understanding. On the other hand, there are natural deterrents to communication, and these he expressed in the myth of the facade or show window, and the cave filled with beasts. But there is a way out, through the tunnel to reality and God, and over the bridge of forgiveness. Communication and good will are equated, because, apparently, if man understands God's will and truly sees other human beings he will respond with love. And the reverse is true--the law of love and communications runs forward and back: by escaping from levels I and II into level III, we become able to communicate with God. The starting point is repentance, as the next chapters show. The revision divides this material into three chapters, adding the idea of the image of God in all people that makes repentance possible.

The next two chapters concentrate on the bridge to be crossed. There is a process to follow, closely resembling the evangelical's road to salvation: face the evil within, repent, make restitution, witness to the experience, and forgive ourselves, others, and God.

This therapy releases energy for righteousness, the psychological equivalent of Grace in the older theology, it seems, except that forgiveness as a function of man gets the stress. In world affairs forgiveness should express itself in processes of rehabilitaion and problem solving rather than retaliation--a world court, unilateral disarmament. The revision expands these two chapters into four, adding ways to strengthen the United Nations and criticizing divisive and power-seeking religion.

The next chapters apply prayer to healing mind and body. Chapter V establishes a figure, the spectrum: the short waves of prayer and the long waves of man's devices. The graded series, beginning with the longest, least discriminating waves, is an evaluation of our culture: law, community pressures, education, science, literature, art, nature, work, medicine, therapy, religion, groups, marriage, the last being the nearest to prayer in sensitivity. Intercessory prayer has a chapter to itself. Its purpose is to provide a channel for God's healing, to cooperate with the will of God. It can be directed to the healing and guidance of others, but never for selfish ends.. The possibility of extrasensory influence upon others is glanced at but not confirmed; the expectation is that through prayer one will understand how to be helpful, how to act in behalf of someone.

Chapters VII to IX deal with ethics. First there is a survey of certain methods of making choices: intuition, balancing pros and cons, considering motivation, following the spirit of Jesus, meditation. The revision elaborates an ideal procedure: gather facts, read and meditate, and the wait for the spirit to speak. But we must be warned about blind spots and simplistic answers.

The next chapter develops the process of meditation, giving a subjective stream of consciousness account of trying to concentrate and being distracted. Progress can be measured by a prayer ladder, from spoken prayers to mystic identification and complete submission to the will of God. The revision adds examples, enlarging this chapter into three. The next chapter asks "Why hop on one foot?" The left foot of prayer and the right foot of action--the effort to know God through meditation and doing the work of the world--must parallel each other. A ritual of prayers for times of day and the familiar techniques for prayer groups follow. The revision adds the figure of garbage disposal, ridding our lives of unwanted aspects by offering them to God, and raises the question of dream messages. The assumption of these chapters is that the ultimate experience of the righteous and blessed is a mystical illumination and certainty about perceiving the will of God. But those who do not have these experiences have William Law and Gandhi in their company, and Patrick Lloyd, though he had a vision of Jesus on the battlefield, did not find meditation helpful. Some of the most troublesome people in history have been sure of divine direction.

Chapter X asserts the radiant possibilities of marriage and names the levels in the relationship: play, work, sex, facing problems, partnership with God. Explicit mention of these is omitted in the revision, but possibilities of individual growth, cooperation with God, and mutual reinforcement are stressed.

The next two chapters attempt to apply good will to the broad world. There are fine examples of people using love in

face to face situations, of non-violent protest against racism and prison abuses, of empathy at Synanon. Then follows a fantasy broadcast of Christian love on a Russian radio, and the question is raised whether the United States can change direction. The revision adds a chapter, gathering further examples of public figures--Luthuli and Martin Luther King--who acted from good will. There is also a vivid passage reliving the decision at Gethsemane. For some the old uncertainties will still be unanswered by these chapters: Was the Cricifixion really the will of God? And was it the best expression of love? But the chapters raise the hope that, though love and God's will may not be plainly known, at least, like Jesus, one can refrain from violence.

The last chapter seats the reader beside fast waters in the Sierras and describes the scene, the fauna, and the robin. Why does he sing? Is he a Marxist, motivated by economic necessity? Or a Freudian, calling his mate? Or is he indeed proclaiming his joy in life and God? The book ends with hope for immortality, and the revision offers Brother Lawrence and Bonhoeffer as believing witnesses to this hope. The explicit message of the chapter is that even in today's world we can receive comfort from nature, live on the third level, and expect continuance.

The two themes, searching for communication with God and acting from love, are never firmly fused. The thesis that only communication with God can insure acting from love is discouragingly limiting. The principle of love is applied to war, healing, sex, and race, a broad range. But other challenging reconciliations might be attempted, for example, between mystic and non-mystic, pacifist and militarist, theist and agnostic.

Reconciling does not mean bringing the opponent over to one's own way of thinking, but rather finding a larger category into which both fit.

In spite of an arbitrary thesis, the style of the book reveals uncertainty: fragments without predication, rhetorical questions without answers, hedging phrases, hypothetical cases and single examples for proof, and most of all, figurativeness and allegory where the reader longs for direct exposition and explicit commitment to meaning.

And still the figures--the ladder of prayer, the levels of marriage, the spectrum of healing, the two feet of cognitive and affective response, the garbage disposal,, the myth of facade, zoo, tunnel, light, and bridge--while inconclusive as proof or persuasion, are beautiful as embellishments. The examples of saintly people who act from love are high encouragement. It is a joy to read about the areas that yield to love and forgiveness. Among the many suggestions for communicating with God and people, making choices, enduring life or rejoicing in it, learning to repent and forgive, there is rich plenty and help for all. The book is a confident affirmation of God, love, forgiveness, and immortality.

Important options for the future faced Allan in these days. In the spring of 1963 a letter came from Japan asking him to give the first of what was intended to be an annual lecture on Kagawa. The lecture would be published. This offer was a temptation to Allan because of his long-standing interest in Japan and Kagawa, and because he relished the pleasant trip with Elizabeth. But he had been invited to spend some time in residence at the Chicago

Theological Seminary in the fall, and he decided to keep his commitment and deepen his involvement with students rather than to renew his old interest in the Far East. It was what he would call a watershed decision, and the years following opened up greater and greater scope for serving the young.

Allan and Elizabeth had once thought that they, like "Harry" Ward at Union Seminary, would retire to a ghetto, or to a slum, as Muriel Lester and Kagawa had done in their youth. But they gave up the idea, and when retirement was approaching arranged to live at Pilgrim Place in Clarement, among other retired minsters and missionaries , and near the stimulating students and faculty of Claremont Colleges. The time had come, the crucial age of seventy. Elizabeth was weary from public responsibilities such as the county Board of Education and the YWCA board, and duties laid on her by the pastorate, and she never could take the rest she needed. More than this, there were warnings of her failing health. Was it a head injury from a fall in the kitchen? It was established as an incipient arteriosclerosis that would be progressive and would eventually affect the central nervous system. By the end of June 1963 a place would be open for them at Pilgrim Place.

What are the concerns of a man about to retire? Allan had to make decisions about his own life, of course. He had to realize that his occupation was gone. After Thirty-seven years he had to change not only his home and setting but also his way of serving, experiencing, and communicating. But there was still the congregation to think of. The quotes he chose for the Sunday bulletin dealt with how to put love into practice in the

world. This is what he had wanted the church to learn. But the sermons faced the gritty problems: intelligent selfishness, being distracted by serving, what to do about hostility and temptation, crushed expectations.

On Sunday, March 31, the church was full, in honor of his seventieth birthday. He preached on forgiveness, next to love in importance among the truths he wanted the church to remember. Following the service there was a birthday party in the dining room, and he and Elizabeth were surprised by Project Grandparents, the gift of round trip plane tickets to Washington to see Keith Armstrong Hunter, their new grandson, born December 8, 1962.

So on April 19 Elizabeth flew to Washington, but Allan had too many commitments to take a holiday yet--a retreat at Occidental College, an appearance at Whittier College, where he spoke in a panel discussion of war, following Ronald Reagan on the program. Before going to Washington he led a DOC retreat in Kansas City. On May 5 his resignation as pastor of Mt. Hollywood Church was read, in his absence, and the congregation, realizing that there was no postponing it longer, accepted it on May 12.. Allan flew back to Los Angeles May 13, to be chaplain at the three-day Annual Conference of the United Church, in Long Beach. By the next Sunday he had succumbed to a throat infection, and Vance Geier preached in his stead.

Elizabeth returned from Washington, and they continued their work in the church through June. The church operated as usual, with its quota of weekly meetings, and vacation school. Elizabeth had the painful and wearing task of sorting and packing, deciding

what was to go to Claremont, disposing of the rest, all that goes with breaking up housekeeping.

On Tuesday, June 11, at their annual Staff Recognition, the faculty at City College gave a party for Allan. Dr. Lombardi, president of the college, gave him a certificate,and an honorary Associate in Art was conferred on him. Allan quipped that he valued it more than his honorary D.D., but that both were like the Britsh Order of the Garter "that didn't have any of this damned nonsense of merit about it," quoting a lord who had been awarded it..

On the evening of June 23 there was a concert of Allan's favorite music. The children sang "All Creatures of Our God and King," the choir and John Raitt sang "Expectans Expectavi," "St.Francis' Prayer," and "Let There Be Peace on Earth," William Mintner played two Bach organ numbers, the Johnson Quartet, Marie, Jane, Alma, and Almita, sang something from Cavaleria Rusticana and a spiritual, and a string ensemble of ten, led by Tommy Johnson, played a Corelli concerto. It was a gala evening, with words by John Anson Ford, James Ito, and Vance Geier, and Elinor Lennen's 1951 poem in praise of Allan and Elizabeth was reprinted for all present.

Allan's June sermons repeated what he wanted to leave in the memory of the congregation. The calendar was on his side and furnished five Sundays for sermons: Are you excited about God? Blessed are the debonair, The church as dynamic adventure, How do you keep your faith? and the Meaning of Persons. On that last Sunday there were seven baptisms.

Allan had been curious about birds since childhood, and in seventy years had gathered much learning and lore about them. It was his ambition to write a book about birds, and he had such a

book in process, two-thirds done, in fact. He knew the phoebe, or crested flycatcher, that in Canada built a nest under bridges and lined it with moss. He knew that the arctic tern follows the light south and that even the jay can sing beautifully on occasion. He loved the mockingbird, never heard the nightingale, but ~~never~~ enced the hermit thrush. Dying birds may sing a whispering song. The humming bird is attracted by red flowers--or red ties: so wear a red tie in the mountains--and the female fastens her nest together with cobwebs. Birds have a homing instinct, an inner guidance, though no sense of humor or awareness of being aware. But their song is the secret ecstasy of the soul, and their wings are for freedom. This is the sort of truth he could tell us about birds. He called the book <u>They Chose Wings</u>. The title pays its respects to the idea that evolution had progressed through a process of choice, with increasing conscious control. He intended to finish this book during this first summer of his retirement.

Dan Thrapp interviewed John Anson Ford on Allan Hunter's retirememt, for the June 9 <u>Times</u>. Dr. Ford said that one cannot evaluate Allan's work on the basis of statistics of church membership. His pastorate was remarkable in this country and the world. He personalized Christ's teachings and confronted the congregation with problems like race relations, economic inequalities, education, the function of the church, and the nature of the soul. His had been a selfless and intense ministry. He had written more than ten books, often used by student groups. Important people had spoken from his pulpit, and Vance Geier was the assistant minister. Elizabeth Hunter shared credit and talents with him in his ministry. This is the judgment of a competent public

figure deeply involved in the church. Dan Thrapp's evaluation is objective but still sympathetic: Allan Hunter was a pacifist with a "decent outlook," admired by most if not accepted; he was often at odds with his times, regarding relocation of the Japanese, armed resistance, nuclear testing.

Allan and Elizabeth planned to spend much of the summer with Elizabeth Hunter, Stanley's widow, in Berkeley. But Allan wanted to be in Los Angeles when a man once in Mt. Hollywood Sunday School came out of prison, July 1. Also a persistent house guest had to be persuaded to leave, and provision made for Betsy, who was staying with them. But finally the household goods were committed to the movers, to be left at the new address in Claremont, and Allan, Elizabeth, and Betsy drove away from the house on Myra at the beginning of July, on their way north. In the confusions and anxiety of leaving a way of life, pulling up roots, they passed Camarillo before they realized that he had left his billfold in an old pair of pants in the house in Los Angeles. The trip back to get it delayed and tired them and increased their tensions, and it was after dark when they got to the hotel in Santa Maria. He took several suitcases out of the car and carried them into the hotel. But apparently he left one in the parking lot beside the car, and someone must have taken it while he was inside. The suitcase contained most of their clothing for the summer. It also held the manuscript of <u>They Chose Wings</u>.

The police took only a casual interest in this theft, and there were no clues. This was a loss of valuable material and much labor; but besides, Allan's projected summer's work was

gone, something that would have eased the rootlessness of retirement. He did not try to put the book together again. It is a sad loss to all of us. It would have been a pleasant and wise book, and would have had a wide readership.

The next day they put Betsy on the bus to go to visit her cousin, and then went on to a Sequoia Seminar at Ben Lomond, making do without their supply of clothing. Elizabeth was a meaningful presence at this retreat, as they worked with a small group. They made new freinds, for example Tom Bull, working in later years with deaf-mutes, near Washington, and a practicing Laubach Literacy tutor. The seminar confirmed Allan's new commitment to an old calling, working at retreats.

From there they went to Berkeley to stay with their sister-in-law. Elizabeth rested there, and Allan went to a DOC retreat at Santa Barbara and to a family camp at Sequoia attended by twenty families from Mt. Hollywood. He also went to another family retreat on the Russian River. The summer in Berkeley was pleasant for them, wandering about the town, enjoying the shade trees and nasturtiums in the back yard, receiving visitors. It is said that there were sixty visitors that summer, at Berkeley and Tahoe, and much of the work of entertaining must have fallen upon Elizabeth. They also made deliberate effort to reorient themselves to their new condition: their accustomed pastoral work was at an end, they had to recognize Elizabeth's illness, and they wanted to find an antidote or preventive for tensions.

They spent some time at the Stanley Hunter family lodge at Tahoe, and a few more days at Tuolumne, snd finally, in mid-September, it was time to make their way to Pilgrim Place.

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Chapter VII, 1963-1973 The Best Is Yet to Be

1. Claremont, 1963

The Hunters had had possession of their house at Pilgrim Place, Claremont, since the beginning of May, and since June their household effects had been waiting for them there. The white cottage was one among many along Eighth Street, near enough to the facilities of Pilgrim Place for convenience but providing separate housekeeping. There were an attractive lawn and plantings, and shade trees. Within, one found a living-dining room across the front and a kitchen and two bedrooms, adequate but plain.

It was a hot mid-September day when they drove down to Claremont from Yosemite. Since Elizabeth never drove a car, Allan had been driving all day, and they were both exhausted. They felt anxiety about arriving at their new home and unlocked number 666 in a dreary mood. There was a warm, closed-up smell about the house, and boxes, furniture, rugs, and books were in disorder; just as the movers had set them down.

"Well, this is where we die, it seems," said Allan in tactless weariness.

They ate some bread and fruit left from the trip and searched among the boxes for bedding. Sheets and a thin blanket were enough in the heat, and spreading them on a mattress on the floor they fell into troubled sleep.

About two o'clock they awoke, miserable and crying, so greatly needing reassurance. They talked for hours, sharing their misery, the mystery of aging, the anxiety of an unknown future, each giving the other a sense of validity and acceptance. Beyond words,

was their mutual deep physical response, a climax of communication, love, fulfillment, release, and beauty. They felt more able to meet what was to come, and slept.

The task of setting the house in order was almost more than Elizabeth could face, and Allan began to understand the accommodation he would have to make to their new life. But before they were really settled in, Allan had to fly to Chicago to keep his commitment to be in residence at the Chicago Theological Seminary, and Elizabeth spent the interim in Washington.

The president of the seminary was a pacifist and a member of FOR. Those were the days when Students for Democratic Action was mainly non-violent, and among those at the seminary discussion was the mode. Allan also was involved in the personal and emotional lives of the students as an observer, just by being there and listening and watching. This generation of divinity students could be startling and new in their outlook. "I abhor that word prayer," stated a serious third-year student who had given up a successful place in business for this venture into theology.

One evening Allan was to give a talk to students and faculty after supper in the refectory, where he ate with the rest. He was tired of the fog of solemnity and abstraction that settles on graduate students, and he longed to do something to dispel it. Mischievously he began his speech with a meaningless imitation of the then current jargon: "In this time frame, the maturational cognition of encounter involvement activates confrontation less successfully than mind-expanding implementation...." But no one recognized his impressive periods as nonsense. No one laughed; no one even smiled.

In desperation he asked what was on the steeple of the nearby Gothic cathedral-type church. Was it a cross? No, it was a weather-vane, a rooster, turning with every shifting wind. His audience began to unbend a little.

But the heaviness weighed on him. At the president's house later that evening he announced that he was going home the next morning.

His hostess asked, "Allan, why are you leaving?"

Thinking of nothing better to say, he answered, "I want to hug Elizabeth."

The students, discovering that he was leaving, collected about $28 of their scant resources and gave it to him in an envelope, with the note, "To help Thanka through school"--Thanka, the girl in India Mt. Hollywood Church was supporting.

In Los Angeles in November FOR arranged a dinner in honor of Allan Hunter, at the Limehouse Restaurant in China Town. Rev. John Heidbrink spoke, and a great many Mt. Hollywood people were present.

On December 29 Allan was invited to Mt. Hollywood Church to receive the title of Pastor Emeritus. Dr. Howard Anderson of the Conference, aided by Stanley Weitkamp, conferred the honor, and Allan preached on "This new start we are here to make." There were, of course, "refreshments and a social time" afterward.

VII-2. Occupations, old and new, 1964-1967

While Mt. Hollywood Church was searching for a new pastor, Allan Hunter tried to remain aloof as far as possible, neither advising the congregation nor encouraging them to continue their dependence on him. He pursued his own activities, leading many seminars and retreats. In February 1964, he led a "Spiritual Life Clinic" at Asbury Methodist Church, The topics he spoke on suggest familiar content: Why hop on one foot? Progressive communication, A bridge that has to be crossed, Radiant possibilities of marriage, The practice of openness, Facing the spectrum of healing, Your spiritual growth and social concern.

As soon as he finished this conference he held another at Blue Valley Methodist Church in Northridge. There he explained "Our search for meaning," inward through prayer and the inspiration of Fenelon, Underhill, and so on, and outward through "acts of power." And so it continued. He had star billing at the DOC retreat at Santa Barbara, where the topic was "The design for joyous living." Later in the summer there was the retreat at the Stone Tree Ranch in the Valley of the Moon, an old house in an integrated neighborhood where fifteen from the San Francisco Venture could worship, study, discuss, and serve. In a class in an adult study series at First Congregational Church in Pasadena, his word was "Free to say yes to the light."

During the winter, in the Adult Education section of Santa Barbara City College, he was the last of four speakers in a series called Ferment in Modern Protestantism. The others were a Swami and two from the Center for Democratic Study. He held a Spiritual Life retreat for United Church high schoolers at Pilgrim

Pines; "Don't come if you aren't serious about studying reality," he warned. Then there was a DOC retreat at Albion, Michigan, and a School of Prayer at Claremont Methodist Church. There he was described as "a free spirit, his own gospel word made flesh, original, informal, personal, walking the plain path, a gadfly." He talked about being open to respond, and outlined ways of praying. He held a Day of Spiritual Renewal at Mike Fink's Methodist Church in Redlands, and a study for married couples at Sebastopol, using The Radiant Possibilities of Marriage as a text.

So the retreats continued over the years, increasing in number and significance. The ideas are constant, but the intimate, live, and person-centered presentation of them touched people year after year. Themes most valued were non-violence and reconciliation, marriage, communication with God and man, forgiveness, healing. They all are related to social concerns, but Allan's accent was increasingly inward, on the left foot of the spirit.

In 1967 Raymond Magee edited Call to Adventure, an anthology of essays on the nature and uses of retreats, dedicated to Allan because of his skill as a leader. Magee's introduction observes that life is a rhythm of withdrawals and returns, what Allan called the alternating left foot of spiritual insight and the right foot of social action. Many have found retreats useful--Benedict, Luther, Loyola, Fox--and they are essential for man's survival in our times. As the Jew Martin Buber, the Christian Dietrich Bonhoeffer, and the psychologist Carl Rogers have testified, retreats provide both apartness and community, and bring social and personal change. The book gathers the theory and opinion on retreats of a baker's dozen and organizes the essays

according to purpose: advance, adventure, and spiritual training. Allan's essay "Continuing Forward" is in the last section, a dramatic presentation of retreat procedure.

Allan begins with the philosophical assumptions of the retreat: God is ever present to express Himself through the spirit of Jesus, the third member of the Trinity, as I take it, and we all have some capacity for response. Then he records a demonstration of how a retreat develops. The leader raises questions and contrives to get the right answers: Why are we so dull at communicating with God? Because our prayers are too glib, we don't listen, we are too egocentric, we are afraid of loving and accepting. So we need to meditate on what the blocks are and what we are listening for. Again he asks, what action would Jesus demand? And the answer in this catechism is, the left foot of Prayer and the right foot of action. On this note, ironically, the participants retreat to a coffee break for an artificial stimulant, or sedative.

After they return from their mind-changer, the leader continues. We must turn our attention from our unworthiness and fix it on the Center of Caring. We must meditate to find the course of our selfhood, what we are, how we fall short, and to seek the blessing of God's forgiveness to cleanse us. Is this escape, this time of wonder, love, and praise, justified in a scientific age? he asks. Prayer is adoration of the Boundless and a denial of self; it is contrition, offering all the qualities we are ashamed of; it is petition, intercession, incentive to social action, not an evasion of responsibility.

Then follows another demonstration of procedure. The leader

asks everyone to sit erect and breathe deeply, saying, "Let all that is within me bless His holy name." They are asked to think of specific people and commit themselves to act with empathy, to await God's presence, and engage in social action. It helps to contact a skilled communicator, to read the Gospels, Woolman, Law, Tom Kelly, and so on, and to meet with a church group.

It is easy to criticize such a method as ritualistic and self-assured; the denial of self in the adoration of the Boundless as a negation of personality and humanness, vertically rather than horizontally directed. But to be fair, this is offered as one way to apprehend Reality, not necessarily the only way. The purpose of the mystical contact with God, as Allan makes clear, is never personal ecstasy, but rather an experience of the Now as the keen edge of Eternity, almost as Walter Pater wanted to sense it, freeing us from the guilt of the past, making us open to see and hear and love people, and enlivening us to our responsibilities. The ritual may do no harm and seems to be primarily a device for focusing attention.

The DOC retreat in 1972, though after a lapse of five years, can serve to show this design worked out in practice. Allan had three quite different avenues of contact, but all with the same purpose of awareness and communicating. He led a small group in which he used encounter devices: thinking in silence about someone in relation to God and people, using the formula "I in you and you in me"; "framing" someone, with the four sides of the picture the caring universe, time and eternity, freedom to say yes to the caring, and assent to the will of God; opening hands to give up the "garbage" and receive a gift; saying the charm "Breathe the Spirit deeply in

and gladly blow it back again"; telling a childhood memory of beauty; embracing each other in a close circle; role-playing a meeting with someone to whom we would like to express God, by getting beyond the facade and the zoo; completing the cue "Now I feel free to..."; adding to the ritual "Christ be in my ears and in my hearing, in my tongue and in its quieting, in my traumas in their healing..."; expressing what one's real gift is. Young and old responded joyfully to these signals.

Another route was taken by the intercessory prayer group of about a hundred that met in a formal garden or in the chapel and its yard. The purpose was openness, direct contact with God, in the interests of the welfare of others. Participants were advised to assume the existence of God and to pray that one's love be concentrated on a person in need, whether loved or not. One must not try to control the person's will but to pray for its healing, so that God's will can be expressed in him. The group and individuals pray for specific people. In the end, like Jesus at Gethsemane, we must give over our wills to God and let Him work through us.

Another way was the Franciscan Walk, through the cultivated naturalness of the Westmont campus, to appreciate nature and God's image in it. Tree meditation, identifying with a part of a tree, bird lore shared by Allan, the spiritual implications of wings, bird song, sky, sunlight, these are some of the enrichments of nature. The unforgettable image is the group, cutting across age levels, resting with Allan on the stone bridge, the stream running free beneath, too free in a semi-desert with the sea only three miles away, so that we can hear its voice. The pilgrims fill the bridge, searching for hummingbirds among the red-flowered shrubs,

and trying to reconcile the presence of dead branches in a living tree. One serious youth sits on the path in lotus position, straight as a cobra; his elders forget their solemn vocations and think about why birds sing; the young people try to verbalize their most profound insights, here in the woods. The thinking was often figurative, but it need not have been, because here they were dealing with data, the given of the universe, reality itself, the Web of life, organically binding us all together.

Before the retreat is over, the young people, sitting on the lawn with Allan, are willing to express the primeval love of life, the urge to creating, that they share with the animals. They lift a wolf howl to the sky, first hesitant, then joyful, and the eager dog at the edge of the group recognizes a fellow feeling.

In the fall of 1964 Elizabeth was in Washington with their son's family. While she was gone, on Thursday, November 5, Allan's brother Graham died at eighty-two, after an illness of many months. Allan wrote to Elizabeth the following Monday, saying that there was no need for her to shorten her visit and assuring her that he was trying to eat properly and was approaching a desired goal of 135 pounds. He told her about the many kind friends, from the Methodist Church in Claremont but chiefly from Mt. Hollywood, who had called or come to see him since Graham's death, but the greatest comfort, he said, was thinking about Elizabeth and Allan's family in Washington. On Thursday that week he went to a memorial service at the rest home in Pasadena where Graham had spent his last two years. The following Sunday Allan gave his tribute at a service at Fullerton Presbyterian Church, remembering Graham's kindness to him when they

were young, his social concerns, and his deep love of God that in his last illness transcended his conscious thought and speech. He prayed for comfort and for Graham's surviving family. One cannot forget this tender impression of Graham.

Allan did not want to be involved in the process of choosing a pastor at Mt. Hollywood, but he could not avoid continued ties. The church called High Anwyl, and he should have preached his first sermon as pastor November 1, 1964, but he wanted to be in Chicago at a conference on abortion at the same time. So Allan, in an unhappy mood, came and preached on finding inner strength. During Anwyl's vacation in August the following year, Allan again preached twice, on the face of Jesus and on reconciliation.

The moderator Marian Mills, whom Allan called a saint, though they were not always in accord, died in this month, and Purcell Brown took his place as moderator. Contacts were more frequent as the months passed into 1966. In January that winter he held a family camp at Pilgrim Pines that all who went found comforting and helpful. Doris Lester died that month, again giving Allan and the congregation common cause for sympathy. He preached in February and again March 13. Muriel Lester, visiting the Hunters in Claremont and Lois Hamer in Los Angeles, should have been at Mt. Hollywood that Sunday, but she was ill. However, she preached there the next Sunday. During the week two other friends of Allan's visited the church: Martin Niemoeller, whom Allan saw in Germany in 1956, and Lew Ayres, pacifist actor. In April Allan held a memorial service for Igor Karacauskas, the refugee who spent twelve years as caretaker of the church. On July 10 Allan

and Elizabeth's forty-third wedding anniversary was celebrated by many Mt. Hollywood friends at Julia Raymond's miniature estate in Monrovia.

Allan's seventy-fourth birthday, March 31, 1967, was celebrated in the recreation room at Mt. Hollywood, and it was a sort of homecoming festival. Although the active organizations in the church were diminishing, the ones that survived were the Elizabeth Hunter Women's Fellowship, the youth group led by the Taylors, the faithful choir, the sewing group with a somewhat autonomous existence, and two meditation groups, still enspirited by Allan's teaching. Allan continued to be a part of Mt. Hollywood, and the church remembered him in its activities and looked to him at crucial times.

The citizens of Claremont were not unaware of Allan either. The Claremont Courier, in March 1966, carried a series of interviews with pacifists, five of them, and Allan is called "probably Claremont's best known pacifist." The article tells the story of his "conversion" to pacifism when he saw the Turkish prisoners on the Jericho Road, so many years ago. It quoted him as "affirming," not "objecting" in conscience: "You say no to killing so that you can say yes to saving and enhancing life." The pacifist can solve problems in new, unstructured, and more successful ways. Allan was also a member of the Claremont Peace Council, as one would expect.

He gathered his thoughts on pacifism into a ten-page definition, "Confessions of a Pacifist." He began it with some questions and ambiguities inherent in the pacifist position. 1. One cannot avoid involvement in the country's fighting machine; all our

consuming contributes. You cannot starve the tape worm without harming the host. 2. The usual accusation is that the pacifist accepts and profits by the protection of the soldiers. But there is a question whether the soldier really performs his protecting function. Further, the pacifist supports the moral integrity of society. 3. The virtues of the soldier--courage, willingness to suffer, fellow feeling, and so on--are needed by the pacifist too.

He next tells the story of the soldier that came threatening him in the night. Because Allan was committed to non-violence he had strength and creativeness to cope successfully. The psychiatrist finds a variety of motives for the CO--transferred father antagonism, masochism, plain funk--and it is true that the springs of action are mixed. But pacifism as a mode of action is right, and we can try to act non-violently for the right reasons.

Religion often supports violence, he continues, and incredibly can even find killing a favor, since it releases the captive soul into eternity. For the military, war is partly a game, a testing ground for weaponry and tactics. One should recognize that there are three levels of action: ignoring evils, retaliating against them, and reconciling the various interests. From his own life he tells his experience of the Jericho Road in 1916, his reaction to the Nazi Storm Troupers in 1938, and his answer to the judge when questioned about his counseling of CO's in the 1940's.

Questions remain: How is massive evil restrained, and how is police power defined and applied? But the most urgent problem for the pacifist, he says, is how he himself may become a channel of Christ's healing and peace. This unpublished manuscript is an able summation of a lifetime of thought and experience of pacifism and should be more generally known.

VII-3. Elizabeth, 1967-1970

In the spring of 1967, after the big birthday party at the church, Allan and Elizabeth had laid plans to go to England to see Muriel Lester once again. At the last moment, however, they had to cancel their reservations because of the illness of Betsy. It seemed to have been for the good. For whatever cause, Allan had a coronary attack in June while at Yosemite with Elizabeth and Cedric Emery. But he recovered rapidly and preached three times at Mt. Hollywood during July and August, and held a memorial service for Mrs. Russell, Esther Kinney's mother, during Hugh Anwyl's long vacation in England.

But in the autumn all went well, and they flew to London to visit Muriel Lester, who was in frail health. It was a precious last chance for Muriel and Elizabeth to renew their caring for each other. In Edinburgh they stayed with George McCleod, an old friend with whom Allan had worked for disarmament in 1920, while at Union Seminary, and erstwhile secretary of the International FOR, though he had been a soldier in World War I. He was a liberal economist and the leader of an organization to put his ideas into practice. In more recent years he had become a lord. While the Hunters were staying with him, Elizabeth became ill with a respiratory infection. As a remedy Lord McCleod recommended whisky, but she refused to take it and recovered without it.

When it was time to leave, he took them to the airport.

"Allen, have you ever been in jail?" he asked.

"No. Have you, George?"

"No. Nor I."

They both had a little the feeling that, not having been im-

prisoned for conscience, they had not been truly valid rebels against established evils.

In December, after they returned home, Elizabeth called Muriel on the telephone for her birthday present. In February 1968, on a Sunday morning, Muriel began a letter to Elizabeth, her "precious and special pal." "What a lot we learn," she wrote, "as our bodies grow older and more stubborn. But what a wonderful increase of joy and serenity occurs...Thank God." She had to interrupt the letter to get ready for church, slowly, so that there would be no heart pains. To go to church? No, to enter a greater mystery. A half hour after closing the letter--not with her own name but with gratitude toward God--Alice, her nurse, wrote that she "passed on to be with the saints."

The women of the Elizabeth Hunter Fellowship took turns, on pleasant afternoons, taking Elizabeth for a ride. This pleased her, gave Allan a rest, and was a labor of love and devotion for the friends from Mt. Hollywood. Elizabeth might forget what she had just heard, but her unvarying courtesy and good cheer, her social competence, her interest in one's family and her own, were at a level much deeper than the events of the moment.

Elizabeth entered the Hollywood Hospital for a time during the winter and in the following months was in and out of the rest home. Allan came less frequently to Mt. Hollywood and held fewer retreats, for it was increasingly important for him to be with Elizabeth. It was difficult to care for her, but he wanted to keep her at home. So they arranged to have a housekeeper live in, to help. The housekeeper had the guest room in their little house,

and when Elizabeth was too restless Allan slept on a a mat on the living room floor. When she wandered about at night, he restored her to bed. One night, after something like the thirteenth time, he dragged her roughly to bed, and she cried, "You have no right to treat me so brutally! It shows you don't care for me any more."

"It's because I care for you so much that I put up with this nonsense," Allan petulantly defended himself. He spoke from his weariness and sorrow, but also because of the difficulty he found in switching roles, hard for any man, from the nurtured to the nurturing.

But in the morning, after their breakfast and silent meditation together, the old serenity and faith could come through. One day almost inaudibly she prayed,

> May we be more open to Thee,
> more sensitive to others
> and more humble about ourselves.

--as succinct a summary of the whole duty of man as one could find.

On Thanksgiving Sunday 1968, they went to church together--it was, in fact, the last time--Elizabeth chic in the blue suit sent by plane from Helen Louise in Washington. Afterward they walked home hand in hand, and Elizabeth looked at Allan and exclaimed, "I married the luckiest man in the world!" Perhaps it was her old humor. Or perhaps she was thinking of his good luck in being more than commonly handsome, intelligent, and articulate. But he knew that forty-five years with Elizabeth was more luck than any man could deserve.

Before the end of the year Elizabeth entered McCabe Nursing Home, a Pilgrim Place facility, as a permanent patient. It was a relief for Allan, and she was assured of appropriate care. But it

meant moving again, this time to a cottage on a quadrangle with a score of other solitary people--two rooms and a bit of kitchen. There were too many indispensable pieces of furniture, books, pictures...too many memories to crowd into the small house. The Chinese rugs, the bookcases, the antique chairs of other days were there, the comfortable davenport, reading stand, ample desk, and the pivots of his life--the speaking picture of his father, the bird painted by his mother, the landscapes of Little Mother, Elizabeth at several vantage points, Gandhi, Muriel Lester, Kagawa, Philippe Vernier, Howard Thurman, a bust of Schweitzer....

Someone came to give the room a weekly cleaning, and Allan could eat his inadequate meals and receive visitors. There were always visitors--old friends, students and teachers from Claremont Colleges, an AWOL marine sheltered for five weeks, people in trouble, happy people. He fed them all with canned soup and toast and tea, and whatever the bounty of the season and other visitors provided.

Allan went on occasional retreats and was sometimes at Mt. Hollywood, during 1969. He was to preach on that painful day when the question of the pastor's tenure came to a congregational vote. There was an attempt, it was alleged, to pad the balloting with new members brought for the occasion. But Allan did not preach his sermon that day. He felt that the time for the prophetic function was past and only the priestly work of reading Scripture and praying was suitable. And that is what he did, before the congregation cast a negative vote. In the pastorless interim following, he was occasionally one of the guest speakers, at Easter 1969 and in June. But again he wanted to remain neutral and non-directive. At the end of 1970 the church called Dan Genung as pastor, a long-time

friend of Allan's and leader of DOC, and its traumas began to heal.

But 1969 was a time of deep depression for Allan, when, as he said, all he could do was entrust himself to the Dead Sea, where one cannot sink lower. He spent as much time with Elizabeth as he was allowed, and was usually there at mealtime to help her with her food. She talked much, but he could seldom find meaning in it. But sometimes she would tell him,"How I love you! I love you so much I can hardly bear it." Or he would ask her, "Why are your eyes so beautiful?" and she would answer, "Because I love people." Allan patiently explained to her, "I am Allan, your husband, and you are my wife." "Good for you!" she congratulated him. In her random movements she touched a visiting school doctor who was examining her. Lucid and with habitual courtesy, she apologized, "Oh, I'm sorry." Unable to control her superficial life, she nevertheless retained her deep grace and validity. Allan took her the short walk to the solarium in the rest home, and she relaxed beside him on the davenport, listening to Betsy play hymns. Suddenly she began to sing, and it was like the hermit thrush that haunts the woods in the High Sierras.

But most of the time she had to be restrained in bed, to keep her from hurting herself or wearing herself out. Visitors, besides Allan, did not help her, and more and more she was under sedation. This private grief helped him to understand the suffering of others and opened up the reaches of love transcending the body and the mind. Mt. Hollywood Church, realizing the expense Allan was under, set up a Pastor Emeritus fund to pay for Elizabeth's care at McCabe, and Allan appreciated this.

Allan and Betsy troubled each other, and they were both unhappy after being together. But sometimes it happened that he could

make meditation work, so that he could commit these conflicts to God and find his own tensions relaxed and the problems resolved.

In October 1969 Allan went to Washington to baptize Jennifer, his third grandchild. The second was born in 1965, and he and Elizabeth had gone for a visit then. The most remarkable thing about a baby is its is-ness, Elizabeth once said, an ongoing hope.

Family, and especially sexual, relationships were an urgent and deeply significant aspect of Allan's life. After his childhood conviction of guilt he had been abstemious until his marriage, and sex had an exclusive association with marriage for him. But it was obviously a strong force, both in its direct expression and in its redirection into ethical, esthetic, and religious channels. He considered marriage counseling an essential part of his ministry, as we have seen, and he recorded his views several times in books and articles. Records of his counseling show his concern for learning to express caring and moment-by-moment awareness in marriage, and developing a sense of responsibility for all concerned. Monogamy is the ideal, but mistakes are not irreparable, and he was glad, without being judgmental, to marry a couple that had been living together. Even in cases of obsessive sex, he expressed confidence that Jesus communicating with the deep will could transform and bless. In 1971 he invited all those he had married to a Celebration of Marriage at Mt. Hollywood Church, and the testimony of scores of successful couples was reassuring.

Allan never wanted to forget any experience but tried to extract the poison or sorrow and integrate the memory into his understanding of Reality and himself. He was able to ask, almost with detachment, "What have the years with Elizabeth taught me?" He had

learned, he said, that loyalty to one woman sets one free to love all women without guile, and it is possible to be monogamous. Married love has a much greater range of joyous experience than casual sex, because it is a growing relationship.

He pursued the course of this growth by defining four relationships: amoebic exploitation of the environment; parent-child dominance and manipulation; marriage, which starts, he says, as a fifty-fifty balance of power, of giving and taking; and mutuality, in which I become less and less and you become more and more. In marriage one learns, he believes, to give as well as take, and to move from level three to level four, that is, to agape. However, this seems to be a dangerous risk to take. Unless people go into marriage on the fourth level of giving all, an absolute commitment, they probably have little chance of staying together long enough to learn mutuality.

In "The Forty-six Year Honeymoon" Allan in seriousness quotes a rather exploitive old Persian on love: "We do not love a woman merely because she is pretty, possessing a pleasing mannerism. We love her because in an indescribable way she sings a song we alone can fully understand, a voice that lifts our soul and makes it strong." And what if she is no longer able to sing that song? It is with God. This is a pretty sentiment, but no woman wants to have meaning only because she encourages the ego of her lord and by this means achieves immortality. Allan stated the case better at the end of the piece, expressing the mutual caring, communication, recognition of infinite value that spouses can have for each other: "This that you have given us will not die. We are in your hands and you are in our hearts."

VII-4. The Theology, 1970-1972

In these years when he was living alone, Allan Hunter made several efforts at summing up his pacifism, his views on sex, his theology, in letters to friends, such as those to Larry and to Judy, in articles--"The Confessions of a Pacifist" and "The Forty-six Year Honeymoon"--, but most notably in the tapes he made with Mrs. Margaret Edwards in 1970 and in the unpublished revision of Look with Wonder, renamed Within You, Great Depth. These sources, together with sermons and talks, and oral and written interviews, make it possible to draw some conclusions about his theological positions.

Allan's way of thinking was always to avoid abstraction and deal in specifics. In social issues he drew his data from personal and observed experience. In religion specifics meant starting with the experience of God's love. This empiricism would be related to science and positivism on the one hand and to Wesleyan experiential religion on the other. It leads to service to those in need.

However, we cannot expect a tightly-knit theology, because Allan had slight interest in scholastic or Calvinistic system-making, and because he was moved by strong ideas expressed in aphorism and did not hesitate to accept and use them, though they may have come from unrelated philosophies. Reference has already been made to what he called his sciolism. He meant that he was ecclectic, selecting what suited him from various sources. One need not accept or even master the whole of a man's thought in order to appreciate aptly expressed single ideas. Allan responded to splendid statement, and he admits that his addiction may have begun with reading Bartlett's Quotations. The love of aphorism is in an honorable

tradition. Churchill, who could not bring himself to learn his school Latin, memorized a book of Latin quotations for use in the House of Commons. And Matthew Arnold could think of no more sensitive criterion for literary excellence than to compare the work at hand with classic touchstones, great passages from the literary past. The proverb and the purple patch come to us from both folk and elite. Allan's interest in aphorism was encouraged by his remarkable verbal memory.

Allan's sciolism also applies to an ecclectic selection among or within sources, mining the discoveries of others. In this Jesus is his pattern. Jesus' great ideas were rediscoveries from the Old Testament, extracted from context and put into a new setting. The Great Commandments his hearers recognized as two widely separated Old Testament texts. Jesus chose the worthy ideas for re-emphasis and let the rest go. Allan continued the process, finding only a little Scripture consistently valuable: Amos, Hosea, the Sermon on the Mount, Gethsemane and the Crucifixion, Paul's letters.

He also selected the most plausible translations of passages of Scripture. "Be ye perfect even as your Father in heaven is perfect"? No, "Be all including in your good will, even as your father in heaven includes all." "All things work together for good to those who love God"? No, "In all things God works for good with those who love him."

He applied the same selectivity in finding, or creating, the personality of Jesus. He takes what he can use from Scripture and fills in from more recent visions of the ideal and his own experience of goodness. Jesus may seem bitter and hostile, but that is Matthew's view of him; we will use "Father, forgive them," "Not

my will but thine," "Love your enemies" in our picture. Jesus may seem to recommend expediency, but not if we recognize the tone of irony or interrogation.

So instead of absolute and definable authority, Allan selected His authority, or selected statements of the truth that witnessed with his spirit. From his early years in college he was haunted by quotations like "In quietness and confidence shall be your strength." It was Kagawa who said that religion starts not with argument but with the experience of the love of God, and Gabrielle Marcelle who said that one must carry on an unwearying "war against the spirit of abstraction," the ideas with which this discussion started. Schopenhauer spoke to Allan through one sentence at the beginning of an essay: "The feeling of kinship is the source of all pleasure and delight"; he remembered Fiske for saying "Half the cruelty of the world is due to our stupid inability to put ourselves in the place of the other person." These remarks, possibly obiter dicta for their authors, are saved for a prominent place in Allan's thinking. It is a sort of cosmic economy, a sifting and salvaging of what is worth while in human thought.

Allan applied the principle to people, too. He remembers one teacher because he said, "If it is a paradox, you can be pretty sure Jesus said it." He could extract the Hollywood trappings and Macpherson overtones from Katherine Kuhlman's performance at the Shrine Auditorium and appreciate her for her healing effect on people.

Allan encouraged the groups he worked with to use the same method, sometimes passing out mimeographed sheets of quotes from Eckhart, Fenelon, Woolman, Rufus Jones, Laubach, and so on, to inspire creative meditation. The church bulletin carried a short

quote, always a fresh one.

So Allan's theology comes in flashes and insights, rather than a logical system, and the insights are not always consistent. But this too is understandable in his philosophy, for Reality is dynamic and changing, and diverse individual personalities--people--may be its chief abode.

Sciolism and figurative thinking make it difficult to identify God. In Within You, chapter 3, there is a list of names for the Beyond: Center, of stillness, Atman, real self, Tao, Allah, Enlightenment, the good, essense, being, spirit, inward light, guide, tender care that nothing is lost, cosmic effort of will to lift and save all, mutual irradiation. To this may be added from other Hunter sources; father, ongoing will for good, guiding power, pioneer of light who makes us sensitive and free, the will to communicate love, unlimited caring, the binding force. These terms point to a variety of referents. Allan's favorite figure for God is something like the atmosphere, which we perceive as infinite, in the vast blue sky, and as intimate, in the air we breathe. The common quality of all suggests a caring influence in the universe. It is sentient? Concentrated in personality? Tangible? With local habitation? (There are indeed enough names!) Willing, suffering, communicating, like man? Ultimates, Allan says, must remain vague. But some would find it enough to say, of man's condition, that we live in a small galaxy generally favorable to our type of life and that human beings have developed some capacity for kindness. It may be that love, instead of being supported by an all-powerful Absolute, is really fragile and scarce, needing our careful nurture, in this lucky corner of the vast bleakness, lest it disappear from the universe completely.

Allan stressed that Jesus thought of God as father--his father--and that his purpose was to reflect God's nature. His final act was to submit completely to what he understood to be God's will for him, to present himself to God in complete openness, so that men might see the way of love. In that sense he died for us. Allan empathizes strongly with Jesus making this decision. The essential quality of Jesus is caring, and we may participate in it as the branches participate in the vine and attain its qualities. Allan's Jesus is universal and representative man and needs no attribution of divinity. Allan rejects the sacrificial, substitutionary, or intercessory theories of the Crucifixion. "Father, forgive them" is not a prayer to shield sinful man from the Wrath, but rather it is a statement of the nature of God as Forgiver: "Father, you are the kind of being that forgives" would be a more precise wording of Jesus' prayer, or perhaps, "Father, help them to be open to your forgiving power." Perhaps there could have been some reconciliation if he had asked sooner that they forgive him and he forgive them, where there was misunderstanding and disagreement between them.

The other problems of Christology do not trouble Allan. Was Jesus born of a virgin? The significant fact is that he was born. Is he divine? God showing through him is divinity enough. Was there a resurrection of the body? Resurrection of the body is a dangerous idea, Allan says, because of its potential for being misunderstood. It is enough that he is alive in us--a concept equally difficult for some to understand. Allan does not discuss the identity and functions of the persons of the Trinity, but the presence of the Spirit flowing through Jesus, alive in man, could no doubt be thought of as the Third Person. That leaves an unanswered question about the pre-

sent nature of the Second Person except as a vehicle for the Holy Spirit.

God, naturally, is essential to the rest of Allan's theology: prayer, mysticism, and immortality. Prayer depends not only on the existence of God but also on the possibility of two-way communication between man and God. Prayer is directed toward God, meditation is focused within, and telepathy is based in extrasensory perception. These processes are admittedly difficult, and Allan, as we have seen, has given much time and effort to working out techniques and cultivating them. In Audacity of Faith (1949) and Look with Wonder (1962) he lists many kinds of prayer; but in these later years two essential acts of prayer remain. One is learning to be aware of God, open to the Spirit, attending through sense perception, emotions, will, intellect; that is, what can we learn about Reality and the human condition by making an effort to be sensitive to our experience? The other is trying to be helpful to people through intercessory prayer. It must not be manipulative but rather must express the willingness of the intercessor to hear and follow the will of God in the needy one's behalf and to open that one's mind to the will of God. In recent years he prefers to call it the will to bless or to affirm. Healing is a special form of intercessory prayer; it seeks to clear the way of impediments to God's healing power and to help the ill or troubled person to receive it.

Mysticism is a shorthand sign for the figure of the vine and the branches, the formula "I abide in you and you in me," the use of the current of energy between God and man. It is the infilling of the spirit that strangely warmed John Wesley; but modern mystics would be embarrassed by the ecstasy of the medieval saints.

It is the left foot of relationships, the spirit, understanding, contrasted with the right foot of science. But the figure fosters error, for feet must function alternately; there are two, independent, almost antithetical, and the division assumes a dualism. Actually, life may be a unit or there may be a thousand approaches, but dichotomy is too neat and simplistic. The point here is that mysticism assumes perception and communication on two levels, a dualism in the kinds of reality, a spiritual ecology separate from the physical, and perceived only by an elite group, whether by endowment or choice. But the two worlds must be bridged, integrated, reunited, before there is healing in the universe and in man.

If one accepts the dualism, it is not difficult to accept immortality, the hope that something of the person--personality or soul--survives dissolution of the physical structure and maintains a separate existence in the intangible world of the spirit. There is no clear word about the nature of this survival, whether the existence is in God, independent, or in human memory. In the memorial to Ross Detwiler, who finally committed suicide in spite of the efforts of Allan and other friends to save him, Allan said that there is something in us infinitely precious and worthy to be preserved, and nothing in the universe is wasted. In the service for Julia Raymond he said that her love and good qualities of character are part of the eternal world. Immortality is a quality of life, he says, but as to whether it has quantity, extent, as well, he admitted to having no proof. Love is so perfect and wonderful an experience that death is trivial in its course; the value of persons is untouched by death, and long after they

are gone, we feel the presence of loved ones. He rejects the idea of physical resurrection and does not try to answer the question of communication with those who are gone, though keeping his mind open to the possibility. His final word is that we are in God's hands, and we can trust ourselves to God's caring; whatever may be will be right in the universe.

The ethics is dependent on this theology only in the assumption that love and forgiveness are basic qualities of God, and we try to be loving and forgiving to be like God. But there is other motivation in Allan's ethics. Human beings are bound together in an ecology of souls, like the organic ecology of the earth, and we affect each other with every act. At this point a dualism between the two ecologies seems unneeded: the physical world of acts and the spiritual world of relationships naturally intersect and coalesce into one world. We must will the best for all life, says Allan, and share, follow non-violence, forgive, for the well-being of all. The attributes of the first two levels of action--indifference or inattention, and hostility or missing the mark in relating to people--are the causes of sin. But we should not be too impressed with sin nor too oppressed by guilt. We need to commit the beast within to God and sin no more; that is, live on the third level of reconciliation and forgiveness. So do we find the Beyond within. We must recognize our sin, repent, do restitution, forgive and accept forgiveness. As in the old theology, all this is so that we can become valid persons, a contributing part of the Kingdom among men that now is and shall be.

VII-5. The One Word, 1972-73

On Sunday afternoon, October 1, 1972, Allan was in Washington to baptize his fourth grandchild, Allan Armstrong Hunter III, at Allan Jr.'s home. The preceding Sunday he preached at the Church of the Saviour, as unusual church founded and pastored by Gordon Crosby. Crosby was a captain with airborne troops in World War II, and in a foxhole as shells were dropping, he read a book his brother, also a minister, had sent him--Say Yes to the Light. Prospective members of this church attend a prayer and study group two nights a week for two years. After becoming members they work several hours a week on a mission--the Children's project, Potter House, Dag Hammarskjold College, Senior Citizens' Housing Project, Dunamus--and they must be able to say to all they work with, "I love you and always will." The membership under such a demanding discipline is small, seventy to a hundred. There was a mutual admiration between Allan and this congregation.

At the end of October he held a retreat in North Carolina and attended the Dunamus Conference at Princeton, a student movement working for the conversion of people of influence. Then he returned to California to a DOC retreat at Ben Leven, November 4 and 5. The calls kept coming to him to lead retreats, more than he had time or strength to meet.

On November 11 he spoke at an FOR dinner at Mt. Hollywood Church at which the question of enlisting the influential in the peace movement was again raised by all the speakers. Allan quoted George McCleod to the effect that pacifism and the pentacostal movement must be joined. He also found some fresh figures: George Fox's image of the ocean of darkness and death that seems to flow

over the Light, but there is also a tide running the other way; after World War I John Galsworthy said that wars will continue until we learn to look for the green hill far away; if we try with our own hands to thaw the world's hate, our hands will only grow colder, but the sun will warm both our hands and the hate.

The next week Allan went to an AFSC retreat at Camp Seeley in the San Bernardino Mountains. Among the participants was the 'Italian Gandhi," Alonzo del Vasta. There was also an atheist, who furnished the challenge to reconciliation between atheists and mystics. The atheist responded to Allan's presentation of Felix Adler's idea of Ethical Culture and his quote "transforming the fear of frustration into a shaft of light." The mountains are cold in November, and Allan got thoroughly wet and chilled in a rain. When he returned to Claremont he developed a heavy chest congestion, as good a way as any to die, he thought desperately, alone in the night. Finally the following week he went to the Pomona Valley Hospital for five days of rest and tests. It could be the touchy digestion that always kept him from eating much; or a coronary, warnings of which had interrupted his activities from time to time during recent months; or pneumonia, complicated by a diagnosed chronic emphysema. But it would take more than that to disable him, and the arrival of Allan Jr. hastened his recovery. They came to Mt. Hollywood to Sunday service December 10, and then Allan Jr. returned to Washington.

He felt his weakness and loneliness during the following week, and Elizabeth was failing. Toward the end of the week she fell into a coma. He sat with her all day Friday, marveling at the gift of life and its dissolution. He held her hand, weeping and praying

in gratitude and love, and repeating Scripture, and he felt that she sometimes gave some recognition of his presence and his longing. He had a strong sense of the ongoingness of love and faith and personality. All but the center faded away; only Elizabeth remained, though weighed down by mortality and waiting to be released. Elizabeth died a little after midnight. It was December 16, eleven days before her eightieth birthday.

On the last day of the year Allan led a memorial service for Elizabeth at Mt. Hollywood Church. It began with her favorite hymns and Scripture and continued with Allan's memories, old and recent, and his conviction that the road is endless, expressed in the haunting story of the Presence of Jesus on the road to Emmaus. He closed with the practical plea to carry forward her desire for reconciliation, by writing to a congressman in support of amnesty and cutting off financial support for the war in Vietnam.

Afterward, in the recreation room there was a time of joy, when her friends recalled and shared her marvelous gifts and abilities, her unfailing sensitiveness and listening quality, her humor, gratitude, and kindness. Allan had the certainty, at that moment, that such love is the link, the promise of immortality, that love can never die.

It was the natural thing for Allan to lead a Key 73 Prayer Breakfast during the week and to come to Mt. Hollywood to church the next Sunday, to take up his life again. The City Council passed a resolution in honor of Elizabeth's memory. The church set up a memorial scholarship fund in her name, assuring the income from $10,000 as a permanent resource to aid students.

The house at 667 Leyden Lane has become a record of Allan's concerns and the interests of his friends. The outside doors are covered on both sides with mementos: cartoons, ecclesiastical and political, pictures of birds, a tranquil autumn scene, a Korean orphan, the Taj Mahal and a starving child, a post card from Germany, an anti-war poster: "War is not healthy for...," quotes from Kennedy and Gandhi. A bulletin board in the kitchen displays pictures of his grandchildren, Ralph Bunche, U Thant, Odetta, Frank Laubach, an article by Cesar Chavez. A couch in the "hotel Lobby" sitting room accumulates current books, a piece of drift wood, Ross Detwiler's picture of desert rocks, Irene's book of mystical poetry. There are transparencies of flowers and birds in the window and a mobile of birds from the ceiling. The table will be laden with tea things and the chairs will be arranged in an expectant circle in the center of the room, reflecting the constant hospitality to chance callers and planned groups. The little house is on a corner of the quadrangle, easily accessible from three sides; the doors are never locked and a written invitation to enter always lies on the door mats.

These mats are constantly worn by old friends, students and teachers from Claremont and other colleges, singly and in groups. Some come regularly: discussion or meditation groups, a group of seniors and their teacher, a group of neophyte mystics with interests in mental space travel and astrology as well as communication with God. A roomful comes for an evening meeting, and Allan hopes someone will bring the five loaves and two fishes. Some students come to spend a Sunday retreat on peace. Or they come singly for an evening of griping about academia or the seminary, for confession and counseling, for a few minutes of quiet before an exam.

An astronomy professor who has discovered mysticism comes with his wife for dinner. Young people come for a few days to be near Allan and "find themselves." They drop in at odd moments for conversation and a cup of tea. One is in a class in non-violence at Scripps College; they are studying the effects of good will in many areas, from international relations to organic gardening. One man fasted for fifty-one days to get out of the navy and the killing. Friends from Mt. Hollywood and from far and wide stop often to see him, and he is seldom alone for long.

He is sometimes away at retreats, in Colorado, Capistrano Beach, the Quaker Center at Ben Lomond, the DOC at Santa Barbara. For two months, March and April 1973, he was in residence at Dag Hammarskjold College near Washington, D.C. The college was named for the martyred United Nations secretary because of his sacrificial devotion to peace and human welfare, and because of his search for spiritual understanding. Norman Cousins is on the board of the College, A South Vietnamese, once a Hanoi agent who backed away from poisoning his victim because it was the little girl's birthday, is on the faculty. Buckminster Fuller is a lecturer there. And Allan was there during those months as a couselor and friend to the students.

This college represents for Allan a promising new departure in education, a life-long interest for him. He does not lose his concern for economic and racial equality, non-violence, integrity in government. But he turns more and more to the inward life of the person rather than to the outward life of action, and the social concerns have meaning only as they touch persons. Reading and writing too have lost their urgency for him. He wants to spend all of his time with people, their needs, their thinking, their friendship.

He meets them at home, at Mt. Hollywood, at retreats, he treasures the visits of Allan Jr. and his family and Betsy, He sees Jesus as a person first of all, and thinks of God as the Source of personality. Agape itself has significance because it binds people together. Persons are the Word made flesh.

All through his life, Allan says, he has got what he wanted. For more than sixty years he has had the joy of loving Elizabeth, He was concerned for social justice and searched for ways of peace and love, and he was fortunate in having a congregation of like mind, that encouraged his search. He wanted to communicate, to write and preach, and he was able to be extraordinarily productive in both fields. He wanted to work with students, and his opportunities for touching the young have even increased in the latter years. And he is surrounded by a thousand friends. Such good fortune flows from many springs--inheritance, family, education, spouse, times and place, besides his own qualities. But the Source of all is the Spirit of God flowing through Jesus, and Allan is able to tap this resource.

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