

**MARGARET GLOVER**

**IMAGES OF PEACE IN BRITAIN: FROM THE LATE NINETEENTH CENTURY TO THE SECOND WORLD WAR'**

**(University of Reading: unpublished Ph.D thesis, 2002)**

**Two volumes: volume 1 – 378 pages, with appendices; volume 2 – 474 images**

This thesis investigates the rich range of images and outlets associated with pacifism, and considers the changing palette and motifs of peace, especially between 1900 and 1940. The author embeds the display of peace into the history of the peace movement. Quakers were at the heart of the peace movement, driving it forward through the Boer, Spanish Civil, First and Second World Wars, and sustaining and nourishing its longevity and integrity. Indeed, the author has revealed their archive of Friends' peace posters to be integral to her thesis and to twentieth-century pacifism. Other groups are included; the Peace Pledge Union, Artists' International Association and Pax feature most strongly. The art and design of Birmingham Quaker Joseph E. Southall and Catholic Eric Gill form a large part of the thesis. However, the thesis reveals how central were amateurs and local campaigners to the production of peace images and peace activism. Moreover, the tensions that war and pacifism provoked are explored throughout. The author utilises a range of methodological approaches and incorporates not only what peace imagery consisted of, but also its media – such as posters, the pacifist press, buttonholes and the art – as well as display outlets: for example, the body, the street, peace shops, placards, pageants, processions, vehicles, exhibitions, cinema and theatre.

**KEYWORDS:** pacifism; peace movement; Quakers; Peace Testimony; Peace Pledge Union; peace exhibitions; peace shops; peace imagery; peace posters; peace badges; white poppies; *Peace News*; Spanish Civil War; World War One; World War Two; Artists International Association; Peggy Smith; Dick Sheppard; Joseph E. Southall; Eric Gill.

**USEFUL FOR:** museums and other parties interested in the display and utility of peace imagery and ephemera; archivists of faith-based and pressure groups; people looking at the roots of protest movements and the methodology of twentieth-century activists and pressure groups; advertising historians of peace, advertising, art, memorials, remembering, shops, the high street, town civic life, street theatre and the Outdoor Movement; war historians considering the public mood on the Home Front and preparations for war; those looking at the role of faith in art.

## INTRODUCTION

**Overview:** In this section, the author outlines: central themes; definitions of the terms used (for example, 'activist' is rejected as a loaded word;; 'pacifism' was only introduced into the British language in 1901); the rationale of the thesis and its relation with wider scholarship; the sources, methodology and structure of the work.

**Rationale:** This 'historical review' draws on 'peace history, art history and ephemera studies'. The aims of the study are to: 'explore new ways in which a visual dimension could be added to conventional approaches to peace history'; provide an initial historic framework for the production and use of certain artefacts, in particular peace posters, which could inform the work of peace museums and ... collections'; and 'to uncover the peace campaigning roles of artists'. Whilst the thesis touches upon peace campaigning since 1816, it concentrates on the period 1900-40. England is the focus of the work, as most UK peace activity occurred there; additionally, peace organisations emerged first in Britain (and America). The author centres on Quakers as they have been 'the only section of society to participate in the British peace movement from its beginnings to the present', though different constituencies and ideologies, as well as methods of peace dissemination, are included.

**Sources:** The peace organisations that most inform the work are the Quaker associations: Friends Peace Committee (established 1888) and Northern Friends Peace Committee (1913). It is Quaker collections that have proved most extensive, especially the Library of the Society of Friends. The author notes the difficulty with which peace museums have negotiated their exhibits, with sources often appearing to be as much about war. Perhaps because of this, the Victoria and Albert, and the Imperial War Museums have few peace posters. Essentially, volume 2 of the thesis is the author's 'database of Quaker posters'; although the thesis embraces a range of sources, including film, press reports and interviews with peace campaigners.

### CHAPTER 1. QUAKER PEACE POSTERS, 1895-1939

**Overview:** This section intertwines Quaker campaigning, the emergence of the peace movement and the impact of two world wars with poster design. The chapter is bracketed by considerations of the

poster as an object, and by a 'postscript' of post-1939 Quaker peace posters. Supplemented by the Northern Friends Peace Board (NFPB) collection in the West Yorkshire Archives, the author concludes that those 'in the Library of the Society of Friends [are] unique in Britain, and perhaps the world' as the collection includes examples from all decades of the twentieth century.

**Quaker Traditions:** The author emphasises the importance of the Peace Testimony to the history of the Religious Society of Friends. Since the 1816 establishment of the Peace Society, Quakers have been at the heart of peace campaigning. As simplicity was central to Quakerism, there was little tradition of design or decoration, though printing had a strong lineage. From the late-1800s, Friends began to engage with art, but few became artists. Nevertheless, Quaker education and disapproval of military training in schools fostered imagery, especially the 1884 *Prize Peace Tracts for Young People*. In 1887, Friends established a central body for peace work comprised of members of Meeting for Sufferings, an administrative arm of a well-organised and active grassroots. Peace Committee (PC) also campaigned internationally, helping to generate peace congresses and conferences.

**War Steps In:** 'The most important surviving nineteenth-century poster connected to British Quakers' publicised a town meeting in Harrogate, Yorkshire, called to urge national approval of Tsar Nicholas II's 1898 disarmament proposition (which inspired the Hague Peace Conferences, Court of Arbitration and, eventually, the League of Nations). The Boer War and potential conscription refocused Quaker efforts. In an atmosphere of Edwardian jingoism, the Society trod carefully, even redefining patriotism as based 'on love and friendship'. From 1909, increased European tensions, a new generation of active Friends and the 1910 introduction of Antipodean conscription led to increased Quaker peace activity. Links were made with the Independent Labour Party (ILP). The Peace Committee were especially active in 1913, a year that saw the establishment of the Northern Friends Peace Board, a more independent Quaker organisation, and protagonist of peace posters. The threat of World War One saw some members of the Society of Friends question pacifism, as well as an increased demand for peace material. As conscription appeared in 1916, Friends turned their attention to conscientious objectors. Links with the Independent Labour Party ensured involvement with the umbrella group the No-Conscription Fellowship'; whilst massive losses in France eroded public sympathy for objectors, in 1917 there was an increased desire to think about post-war life.

Quakers recognised the fundamental unfairness demanded from Germany by the 1919 Versailles Peace Treaty. Amidst cries of 'never again', the peace movement grew. The League of Nations Union

(established 1918) amassed significant membership, new peace groups sprang up and the main Quaker organisations became a focus. Nevertheless, alongside positive steps such as the World Disarmament Conference, the 1930s saw aggression from Japan, Germany and Italy, and the Spanish Civil War garnered British fighters. Peace shops and peace parades became common in Britain. Public military ceremonies were targeted by Quaker posters soon after the 1935 foundation of the Peace Pledge Union by Dick Sheppard, former Dean of Canterbury and a popular radio broadcaster (its treasurer, Maurice Rowntree). As World War Two loomed, Friends again refocused on conscription.

**Design and Imagery:** *A Plea for a Peaceable Spirit* (1901) was the first recorded Quaker 'poster' to not advertise a peace meeting. It was distributed widely, to Sunday schools, 'sundry Christian groups', house-to-house, a trades union and a Glasgow Universal Peace Congress bookstall. With the end of the Boer War (1902) and military expenditure rising exponentially, Peace Committee published small cards of statistics. Their popularity resulted in enlargement to *The Shell Poster*, which Peace Committee considered its first peace poster. A pattern for Quaker posters began: various dimensions were issued, including the useable cards; simple, informative text in clear, horizontal font often cited a question, and/or a timeless quote from an established figure (so timeless, posters were recycled. Friends were sensitive to attitudes, especially during wartime, but NFPB refused to comply with First World War government censors), or asked people to 'Think', echoing recruitment posters by using 'you' or 'YOU'; black and red dominated designs, but green, blue and yellow later featured; designs were not usually religious and 'Religious' was dropped from the Society of Friends, promoting accessibility; posters were displayed 'outside Friends' premises, as a form of outreach to the general public'. Few images were used until the 1930s. A notable exception was the three-colour [1908] poster *Just Treatment of Native Races*, featuring Benjamin West's famous 1771 painting of Quaker William Penn's treaty with native Americans; the author suggests it subverted perceptions of 'native races' and British imperialism. Quaker works were not groundbreaking, often overlooking the 'new typography', but one, *The Modern Meloch*, was praised in a 1928 trade magazine. Even so, 1930s pictorial posters 'were a strange mixture of designs' by amateurs and professionals; the latter included Sydney Langford Jones, a rare named artist with Quaker associations. The author notes that 1930s posters reflected changing concerns about war, including aerial warfare. Yet throughout 1895-1940, no attempt was made to frighten people nor was "horrors of war' propaganda' used; a general hallmark of the British peace movement. Instead, 'calm optimism' pervaded and sharply contrasted with 'some socialist propaganda'.

## CHAPTER 2. THE 1930S: ORGANISATION AND UNDER COVER ACTIVITY

**Overview:** This chapter explores 'indoor' peace activities and their visual elements. The section opens with an outline of peace organisations (including No More War Movement, National Peace Council (NPC), International Peace Campaign (IPC) and Pax, a Catholic body) that enjoyed 'cross-membership and co-operation', These, and especially the League of Nations (LNU) and Peace Pledge Union (PPU), which involved millions, ensured grass-roots campaigning and international representation.

**Peace News and Peggy Smith:** Launched under the auspices of the NPC in 1933, and allied to PPU, *Peace News* became an independent weekly newspaper in 1936. It was 'a unifying force for British peace campaigners', the 'first pacifist weekly newspaper in the world', and one which is still published. *Peace News* used advertising posters. Although sold in many newsagents, at least until 1939, most sales were through street vendors; groups of vendors were especially successful. Libraries in Britain and abroad also held *Peace News*. Armistice Week 1939 saw 42,000 copies printed and it continued to be published during World War Two, despite government powers to halt presses. *Peace News* was founded by Quaker Henry Moore and featured articles by Vera Brittain, Bertrand Russell, Mahatma Gandhi, Fenner Brockway and George Lansbury, an MP and later PPU President. As well as carrying advertisements and international news, it published photographs, cartoons by Arthur Wragg and E. E. Briscoe, and portraits by Peggy Smith. Embedded in the movement, Smith sketched prominent speakers and delegates at peace conferences and meetings. The author traced the sketches. Their American owners have returned them to Britain (University of Bradford).

**British Grassroots Campaigning:** Local peace weeks 'had many advantages'. With few resources, they gathered together indoor and outdoor activities of local organisations, churches, schools and the general public. Manchester held the first officially recorded in 1929. Peace weeks can be seen as extensions of annual Peace Sundays marked by church services on the last Sunday before Christmas or later Armistice Day. Quakers were often at the heart of their organisation. In 1936, *Peace News* and the IPC's *Peace Week Handbook* advised on how and what to organise.

Foreshadowed by Suffragette techniques, peace exhibitions and shops gained currency. Peace exhibitions were safer than anti-war events, which attracted images of the horrors of war, as well as vandals. They were available for hire and well established by 1938, proving vital to 'peace centres' and

'peace shops'. Staffed by volunteers, often connected to Quakers, and usually in short-leased commercial premises, peace shops sold a concept. However, they also sold limited goods, enrolled campaign members and enhanced links between local campaigners. The first reference discovered by the author was in 1914, but the first substantial record was of Scarborough Peace Shop, opened by Quakers and the LNU in 1927; she later uses Reading as a small case study of how outlets operated, though she also refers to other locations. As support for the LNU dissipated and PPU grew, they often provided support to local sites. Shops were both an outlet for peace images, and generated the need for further posters (including those from chapter 1, and others featuring the PPU and Dick Sheppard, and single-issue campaigns, like 1938's anti-Air Raid Precautions) and other outlets to publicise their existence, as well as fascias. Appearance varied greatly, but was inevitably essential to sales, especially for reticent customers. Visitor numbers were affected by international events. A 1936 *Peace News* article seems to have fostered further shops. Stands also appeared at trade shows, where new formats of peace image were tried, including photomontage. Nevertheless, as war loomed, peace centres, theatres and Friends' Meeting Houses became increasingly important. Even on private premises, censorship impinged. The 1940 Poster Trial (featuring prominent PPU members) revolved around Blackheath (London) Peace Shop's use of the slogan 'War will cease when men refuse to fight. What are YOU going to do about it?'. This, it was argued, incited the armed forces to abandon their duty. Amidst discussions of poster location and intent, the Magistrate recognised the defendants' good character, but found them guilty, issuing a year's probation and a fine.

**The Arts of Peace:** The Artists' International Association (AIA) and IPC were linked. Endorsed by figures like Paul Nash, Henry Moore and Eric Gill, 'The First British Artists' Congress and Exhibition' was organised by the AIA in London, 1937. Picasso's *Guernica*, depicting the aerial bombing of civilians during the Spanish Civil War, was unveiled at the Paris World Fair, 1937. Here, the AIA erected a 'Tower of Peace' outside the popular Peace Pavilion. Reliant on images and bordered 'by a huge fresco' centred on the League of Nations, the interior traced the history of war, featured the IPC and included pacifist literature. Artists also participated in Glasgow's Empire Exhibition Peace Pavilion (including a peace garden) in 1938, but it 'became an Establishment affair' involving senior military officers.

Alluding to refugee artists briefly, the author goes on to discuss drama and film. Peppered throughout this section of the thesis are the names of plays, including work by established writers, faith-groups and amateurs who penned plays for schoolchildren and drama societies. Theatre managers and drama groups were drawn to themes of war and peace. Audiences opened a new frontier for the peace

message, though unlike posters the message utilised scenes of misery. Radio and film (lantern slides and cinema and their promotional material) also attracted new audiences, especially for local peace weeks. Nevertheless, from 1936/7 restrictions crept in. The increasingly 'militaristic content of cinema newsreels' drew protest, though the sites sometimes became venues for peace speakers.

### CHAPTER 3. THE 1930S: OUT AND ABOUT – ADVERTISING ON THE MOVE

**Outline:** This chapter considers visual peace representations when campaigners were outdoors and open to abuse: badges, poppies, parades, pageants, processions, 'campaigning on wheels', hiking, rambling and peace camps, as well as the interface between: female and male; urban and agricultural; campaigners and the military.

**Buttonholes for Peace:** Increasingly common in the 1930s, wearing peace badges and white poppies was not only sensitive in itself, but also in its manner and timing. As well as raising funds, the author characterises them as 'a mobile advertisement ... and an invitation to speak to the wearer'. However, badges assisted public recognition of the green and yellow colours of the Peace Pledge Union (PPU), alongside the traditional peace colour of white and its representation of a female or dove. After World War One, whiteness assumed another meaning; surrender or the perceived cowardice of non-fighting men (women gave white feathers as a sign of contempt), which became especially problematic for pacifists' use of white poppies. Initially, memorials were decorated with fresh flowers on Armistice Day; only in 1921 were red poppies initiated by the British Legion to raise funds for ex-servicemen. Once white poppies were introduced in 1926, the Legion refused the profits, which instead went to War Resisters International. The buttonhole was controversial. It prompted animosity from those involved or bereaved by World War One, and often did not chime with wider sentiments. This initiated reflections on the appropriateness of outward peace witness, especially for men, close to Remembrance Sunday.

**Campaigning on the Road:** By the 1930s, peace campaigners had decided to take their posters to the people. 'Walking' posters were introduced. A group of volunteer walkers was even more striking. Pacifists embraced 'poster parades' to a greater degree than suffragettes and trade unions. The *Peace Week Handbook* adopted existing methodology in advising on how to display posters, and even at what speed. Campaigners again faced abuse, with younger people considered 'particularly annoying' and

some encounters ending in altercations. As the nation edged towards war, poster parades gained momentum and sophistication, moving across different days, using leaflets and sequential posters, then settling in one place. Some groups began holding regular parades. The idea of 'a long-distance poster parade' across London was organised to generate interest for a mass demonstration in 1938; 1939 conscription also provoked a large protest. After war began, night-time methods were adopted: chalk messages on roads and leaflet distribution. Increased tensions had also mobilised the Women's Co-operative Guild and other women's campaigning. The author implied that the association of the female image with materialism and peace, female processions with placards and posters (or pilgrimages, the term used only for women's events) were resonant. A Women's Peace Day was also inaugurated.

Pageants, processions and pilgrimages were established by the 1930s. Some events were national, but most local and part of the 'street theatre of small towns'. Lessons learned from these were communicated through the *Handbook*, which also advised how to make anti-war banners and 'to advertise peace professionally' through poster-design, which cited 'positive steps to prevent war'. Music and singing often accompanied the pageants, which again responded to local mood. Floats were employed and proved especially useful for managing child participants and presenting complex tableaux. With the increase of motorised transport and campaigners, vehicles were also used to display posters and participated in poster parades, or fashioned their own furniture of signs, badges and boards. They attracted attention beyond organised events, with campaigners even informally congregating en route. Bicycles, motor-cycles, cars, vans and even a PPU 'Manifesto Coach' took to the road; coach passengers commented on the diminution of recruitment posters between the North and Midlands, and the coach was well-received everywhere it stopped.

**Campaigning in the Fields:** Peace campaigners and socialists were often associated with 'green' practices. They promoted hiking (contemporaneously meaning cycling and walking) and rambling at home and abroad: the activities 'encouraged fellowship and improved health, especially that of the working classes'. The association between land and peace was furthered once war broke out in 1939, as conscientious objectors – thought of less harshly than in 1914-8 – either volunteered or were sent to join the Land Army. The 'spiritual aspects of hiking' were recognised, with the Holiday Fellowship, Youth Hostels Association and International Tramping Tours established by Quakers, including the Cadburys. Dick Sheppard was also 'a strong supporter of rambling'. Camping enabled peace and social work to combine. International Voluntary Service work camps trained individuals in Britain and elsewhere. Quakers organised Youth Peace Camps, 1935-9. Participants visited local pacifist groups and sometimes

spoke publicly, announced by posters and leaflets. The PPU held a large camp in 1937. There were also War Resisters International camps. Face-to-face encounters were an important feature, even between contrary viewpoints. This extended to organised confrontations, such as congregating with posters and literature at air shows. This method increased with the 1937 bombing of Guernica, despite the 1934 Incitement to Disaffection Act. The year 1937 also witnessed the increase of military parades and tattoos, and of pacifists' campaigning. The events were part of the drive for recruitment, which were also targeted, with banners and posters employed to juxtapose government images.

#### **CHAPTER 4: THE BETTER WAY – JOSEPH E. SOUTHALL, QUAKER SOCIALIST ARTIST, 1861-1944**

**Biography:** Southall was an only child; a birthright Quaker related to established Quaker families, the Bakers and Sturges, whom were of sufficient 'wealth and social standing' to participate freely in civic affairs and radical concerns. In 1863, he and his widowed mother moved to Edgbaston, a wealthy suburb of Birmingham, which had a prominent community of Friends, including the Cadburys. At twenty-one, Southall received legacies enabling him to pursue art. He fell in love with his first cousin, Anna Elizabeth Baker. They did not marry until 1903, when they were too old to parent children together. He initially trained in architecture, which permeated his life and trips to France and Italy. His contemporaries included the only other famous Quaker artists of the period: Henry Scott Tuke (1857-1929) and Roger Fry (1866-1934). Southall helped found the Birmingham Group of Artist-Craftsmen and was associated with the Arts and Crafts Movement. Although dedicated to this and the Friends, he was a singular artist and man, not quite exhibiting the temperament or approach of either group. Nevertheless, he was successful in Britain and Paris in his lifetime. He moved amongst William Morris (a socialist), Edward Burne-Jones, William Holman Hunt and Walter Crane; the author compares the work of such artists with Southall's, in the text and also in images in volume 2 of the thesis. Southall held life-long important roles within the local Society and Independent Labour Party (becoming Chairman in 1914-31; a position he attained at the Edgbaston branch of the Labour Party. He had also joined the Quaker Socialist Society by 1916).

**Pacifist Activity:** Southall was a life-long pacifist, who lived during the Boer, and the First and Second World Wars. He spoke alongside David Lloyd George on an anti-Boer War platform in Birmingham, where the stance angered a violent mob. In 1915 he spoke on 'Art and Peace' at a London peace

conference, explaining his motivations and ideals. Southall was chairman of the Birmingham Auxiliary of the Peace Society in 1914, was Peace representative for Quakers, and in 1939 helped form the Birmingham branch of the No-Conscription League. In between, he consistently criticised the peace conditions imposed on Germany in the 1919 Treaty of Versailles and 'wrote blisteringly about the League of Nations'. He also wrote articles to *The Seed*, a journal produced by Friends Anti-War Group. Southall's artwork was a prominent outlet for his pacifism.

**Major Works related to Peace:** Aside from commissions for Paul Cadbury (c.1922), and illustrations for *The Labour Leader/New Labour Leader* and *The Ploughshare*, Southall's main works were

**Paintings:**

*Along the Shore* (1914)

*Corporation Street, Birmingham* (1915/6)

*The Gamblers* (1922)

**Illustrations:**

*Ghosts of the Slain* (1915; published 1916)

*A Fable* (1917)

*Fables and Illustrations* (1918)

**Motifs of Pacifism:** Southall worked in tempura, watercolour and ink. He employed the Arts and Crafts style with figures wearing Edwardian dress, as well as the classical or Medieval (especially influential for Southall was Florentine Quattrocento art) as was typical. Women and men were both portrayed as sturdy and still, the latter quality attracting criticism. 'Many of his personifications of Peace ... have the authoritarian air of a confident goddess ... Fully rigged boats' represent 'ideal happiness, while bare masts appear in ... scenes of strife'. *Ghosts of the Slain* (a pamphlet written by Liberal MP, R. L. Outhwaite) presents other key themes of Southall's work, most especially the motif of blindness and those whom he believed caused war: 'the established Church, the wealthy' and businessmen were 'not affected by war and therefore encourage it, blinded by hypocrisy, greed and stupidity'. In recognition of the repeated patterns of history and Southall's pacifist art, on the eve of World War Two, *Fables and Illustrations* was reissued by Northern Friends Peace Board and Friends Peace Committee.

## CHAPTER 5: ERIC GILL, CATHOLIC PACIFIST, 1882-1940

**Biography:** Eric Gill was the eldest of thirteen children. Gill's grandfather and father were Congregationalist ministers (his father eventually becoming Church of England). Other close relatives

were missionaries and one, a nun. His mother was a professional opera singer before marriage'. Gill did not practice religion as a student or early in his career. He trained in stone-masonry and inscription-cutting under the shade of the Arts and Crafts movement at several different institutions in Chichester and London, where he studied under Edward Johnston, a calligrapher and typographer descended from prominent Quakers; a group who would criss-cross the life of Gill.

Gill was drawn to socialism, where he encountered Distributist thought – land should be distributed fairly for private ownership – and pacifism in the aftermath of the Boer War, for which reason he began designing war memorials and inscriptions, taking on Joseph Cribb as his first apprentice. By 1907 Gill was married (having a total of four children) and had moved to Sussex, where he experimented in community living; a manifestation of his disdain for modern industrialisation. In 1913, he converted to Catholicism and received a commission for Westminster Cathedral that kept him out of much of World War One. He was in the army for three months, mostly spent ill in hospital. In 1919 Gill was busy with war memorials, forming the 'Guild of St Joseph and St Dominic' to revive religion in craft, and hosting the war poet David Jones. Increasingly, Gill moved away from the ideal of 'just war' and by 1923, exemplified by the Leeds University War Memorial, had become anti-war. The Gills and other families, including the Attwaters, moved to Wales, moving again in 1928 to Buckinghamshire.

By the early-1930s, Gill was an internationally recognised artist, and in 1933 he engaged in a lengthy correspondence with *The Friend* regarding his conception of art. Concurrently, and with the Catholic Church supporting Fascism, he underwent 'a profound spiritual' and personal experience whilst working in Jerusalem. He recognised the futility of battling for wealth; capitalism drove war and corroded humanity. Whilst lost in translation and officialdom, the subject of Gill's commission for the League of Nations' Geneva headquarters – 'The Re-creation of Man' – sprung from this recognition.

**Major Works Related to Peace:** His stone-masonry at the University of Leeds War Memorial ('Our Lord driving the money changers out of the Temple', unveiled 1923) and The Re-Creation of Man (1938) are the main two works. The overwhelming majority of his art and craft work was not peace related, though the author uses these as punctuation marks in Gill's biography.

**Style:** Gill was a 'stone carver, engraver, typographer and printer to provide public propaganda for peace'. He was a firm believer in the artist as artisan. The main unifying feature of his work was his delight in the female form, which, the author argues, '[represents] peace in the sense of spiritual and physical completion ... Bodies were beautiful, holy and to be enjoyed'. His main pacifist artwork was

'Our Lord driving the money changers out of the Temple', an 'attack' on the 'main cause of war, the misuse of money', which echoed the imagery of Southall's *Ghosts of the Slain*.

**Pacifist activity:** Much of Gill's 'peace work' employed his skills as a writer, public speaker and committee member. He was a central figure in the left-wing Artists International Association, the Catholic peace organisation PAX, and the Peace Pledge Union (PPU). The AIA was founded in 1933 to '[oppose] fascism and colonialism abroad and unemployment and deprivation at home'. Gill apparently joined in 1934 and became part (albeit often distantly) of its steering committee. Amidst the tumult of the Spanish Civil War, he turned away from the artistic differences prevalent in the AIA. In 1936, PAX was formed by Gill, his friend Donald Attwater and others. Gill spoke on behalf of PAX at Kingsway Hall under the umbrella organisation, the Council of Christian Pacifist Groups, sharing the platform with George Lansbury and Dick Sheppard. This consolidated Gill's position in the peace movement. Yet his 'absolute pacifism' did not always sit well with Catholicism. Clear strains emerged within PAX in 1938, surrounding the participation in Air Raid Precautions; Gill described it as 'part of the war machine'. In the face of the Munich Crisis, speaking at Friends House, London, Gill promoted long-term national self-sufficiency and short-term passive resistance. Throughout this time, Gill had been crafting wood-engravings for publication and his printing business, Hague and Gill, had been working on Quaker and pacifist projects (e.g. Attwater's pamphlet, *Bombs, Babies and Beatitudes* and Pax's *Statement for Conscientious Objectors*. The press also published *Peace News* at short notice in 1940). In addition, Gill was increasingly involved in PPU and featured in *Peace News*. He designed a PPU Christmas card in 1937, and in 1938 crafted the sign for Dick Sheppard Peace Centre, Bayswater, as well as Sheppard's gravestone.

In 1939, Gill was co-opted formally onto the PPU National Executive, then their Council. He actively attended meetings in London and, as war hit, helped direct policy and principle through PPU's Forethought Committee. Gill was also busy writing about pacifism (including an article in *Peace News* and for the Fellowship of Reconciliation, as well as a burgeoning literature for PPU, notably *The Human Person and Society*) and speaking at Quaker events and for PPU and PAX; the latter entered into crisis after the suggestion that their publications should be channelled through the Ecclesiastical Censor, partly due to an intended open statement about conscientious objectors. Gill, and Honorary Secretary Stormont Murray battled against the proposition to censure and won. Gill continued to be busy sculpting and writing his *Autobiography*; indeed, it was his writing, his peace propaganda, articles and pamphlets, that are, in the view of the author, in many ways 'his most lasting legacy'.

## CONCLUSION

This section draws the disparate strands of the thesis together and clarifies the author's assertions. She opens by stating that 'the images arising out of the British peace movement in the first four decades of the twentieth century were produced as much by untrained as trained artists'. There is little evidence of innovation in peace advertising, in part due to the finances of local campaigns, but also because the posters conveyed timeless messages and were, therefore, reused. The stability of the Religious Society of Friends, their financial backing and their tenets ensured the continuation of peace ephemera. Indeed, through the central Peace Committee and the Northern Friends Peace Board, Quakers were the main producers of peace posters; consequently, the imagery was often positive and devoid of the horrors of war. From 1937, the Peace Pledge Union was also important; it was through them that the palette of peace increased from white, to include yellow and green. Aside from the white poppies, peace motifs (such as a white-garbed woman or a dove with an olive branch) remained much as they had for centuries. Nevertheless, through 'the printed work of Joseph E. Southall, as well as the work of newspaper cartoonists and illustrators of journals, it is possible to trace the gradual diminution in stature of allegorical Peace'. In addition, between 1914 and 1936 the depiction of 'women in fear looking upwards appealing to heaven' shifted 'to women looking upwards in fear of aerial bombing'. Certainly, the destruction of cities frequently appeared in anti-war propaganda.

Professional artists made and donated images for peace newspapers, journals, pamphlets and other propaganda. They displayed their artwork at peace exhibitions, especially in the 1930s through the Artists' International Association; if any money was raised some or all would go towards the peace movement. The author suggests that the Artists' Peace Campaign and the Peace Publicity Bureau are potential avenues of new research. Southall and Eric Gill hold certain similarities. As well as emerging from the aesthetics of the Arts and Crafts Movement, both spoke about their art and peace connecting, though Southall often preferred to let his art 'do the talking'. Both men also wrote about pacifism. Yet this thesis has uncovered other artists who provided images for the peace movement, including Sydney Langford Jones, Peggy Smith and *Peace News*. Such images and others of the peace movement were disseminated in various ways, including 'town processions, a trade show, a rural fair, a book fair' and this 'encouraged the public to regard campaigners as an acceptable part of the community'.

## **APPENDICES**

### **APPENDIX 1. SYDNEY LANGFORD JONES, CLARA BILLING AND THEIR FRIENDS**

A four-page section of: concise biographies of the Quaker artists and married couple Langford Jones (1888-1948) and Clara Billing (c.1882-1963); inventories of their artworks and illustrations; a list of their friends; and a catalogue of references.

### **APPENDIX 2. WRAGG, BRISCOE AND OTHER *PEACE NEWS* CARTOONISTS (TO 1940)**

The five-page section includes: a brief biography and detailed anthology of Arthur Wragg (1903-1976); E. E. Briscoe's cartoons of the 1930s; and a list of other cartoonists and their works, including Denis Tegetmeier, one of Eric Gill's sons-in-law.

### **APPENDIX 3. PEGGY SMITH (1895-1976)**

A four-page segment consisting of: a concise biography of Peggy Smith; an inventory of her writings, records, portraits and subjects; and a bibliography.

### **APPENDIX 4: SOME PEACE SHOPS, CENTRES AND MAJOR STALLS**

A list of the dates, locations, organisers and printed material/ display of a selection of peace shops, centres and major stalls.

### **APPENDIX 5. 1934-1940: SOME PEACE PARADES, PAGEANTS AND DEMONSTRATIONS**

A selected directory of peace parades, pageants and demonstrations, listing their dates, place/ event and participants.

### **APPENDIX 6. ERIC GILL AND THE PEACE MOVEMENT, SOME PERTINENT DATES FROM 1933**

A useful timeline of key dates and events involving Gill and the Peace Movement, 1933-40.

### **APPENDIX 7. QUAKER PEACE POSTERS, 1895-1995, AN INITIAL LIST**

A section of fold-out database charts, detailing all the physical posters found by the author and listing their dates, issuing body, poster title (plus first words, and pictorial input, if any), colours, campaigning themes, clear or implied religious content, a question used as a design device, a quotation used as part of the design, 'evidence' and printer.

Summary prepared by Rebecca Wynter (2012)