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 Stoddert 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 a-
bout 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 represent-
atives 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 understanding 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 continuing to write. The little features for *The Palisadian* were good press relations for his church. Significant magazine articles also appeared in these years. *The Christian Century* 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 significance 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 population; 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 Huntors 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 necessaries, 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-sponge 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" Peng Yu Shen, 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 was 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 technology and social China, humaneness 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 lifestyle 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 committee 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 eve 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 meetings, 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, Presbyterian 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. Alport, David Sparr 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 Mansk, 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 ownership made him a target for red-baiting in 1931. He and two members of the church college group were downtown 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 newspapers.

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 ricocheting 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 sobriquet "Grand Central Station" and "Highway 6609," because of the constant traffic across its thresholds. 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 do it, and she did everything with humor, gre-
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 cigarettes 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 over-stimulating 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 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. Musto, Rupert Hughes, Sherwood Eddy, Howard Thurman, Gerald Heard, Aldous Huxley, and as their times came 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 Weikamp remember his being angry. That was when Stan, curious about the cigarette 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 discus-
sion 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 experi-
ence 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 Catholi-
cism 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 McDonald 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 preoccupation.

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.
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-Kellogg 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!), w-e-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 Popene, 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 concomitant 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 candidate. During the Roosevelt-Wilkie election in 1940, Betsy was going to Starr King Junior High 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 existence 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. Ralph Bunche spoke at Mt. Hollywood in 1926 on the "white problem." Bayard Rustin also spoke at the church and was admired for his pacifism. 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 stu-
dent 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 recon-
ciliation 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. L. C. Kreck, chairman, on the topic "Would I fight
in any war declared by my government?" Allan defended a cate-
gorical "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 inva-
sion, 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 Lunteren, 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 Germany 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 origins; the Jain sect's idea of returning good for evil, Tolstoy'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. Falling 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 cre-
ative, 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, be-
yond the splendid subjects themselves, is the wealth of rele-
vant incident, accurately and dramatically told. Another value
is that we are made to appreciate their strengths and achieve-
ments, but also to honestly recognize their weakness and short-
comings. They are credible, human, and attractive. Allan e-
valuates them through his own special interests: socialism and
co-ops, pacifism, acceptance of sex, population control, sim-
plectic, 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,
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 phenomena 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 a special Presence, on their Tuscan 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 associate 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 indulge 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 mountains. Again, the dialog, or monolog by Heard, was at a high level, full of wit and intellectual adventure. After the picnic 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 Schweitzer'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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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 everyone 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