

# The Marxist Barthian significance of Lex Miller for Arthur Prior

*Mike Grimshaw*

*University of Canterbury, New Zealand*

*michael.grimshaw@canterbury.ac.nz*

## Abstract

One of the most formative influences upon Arthur Prior from his arrival at Otago University and especially at Knox College in 1932, was theological student Alexander “Lex” Miller (1908-1960). This influence continued through to Miller’s untimely death and significantly drove Prior’s theological turn to Barthianism and also his engagement, for more than a decade, with Marxist thought. This article discusses the life and thought of Lex Miller and how Miller’s thought influenced Prior’s theology and politics. It concludes with the transcription of a letter from 1946 in which Prior sets out his response and reaction to Miller’s *The Christian Significance of Karl Barth* (1946b). In this letter Prior makes clear that Miller’s book has made him reconsider his own position as he has come to see that, in regard to Marxist economics, he “had been hoodwinked”.

**Keywords:** Arthur Prior, Lex Miller, Pacifism, Communism, Christian Socialism, Karl Barth, Karl Marx, S.C.M., theology, Otago University.

## 1 Brief Introduction

Alexander ('Lex') Miller was born in Scotland and came to New Zealand with his family in November 1921. His father, Reverend Matthew Miller (1870-1930) served as Presbyterian minister at Dargaville in Northland, Point Chevallier in Auckland and then Helensville, north of Auckland. Lex Miller attended Mt Albert Grammar in Auckland, and then studied at Auckland University College, gaining a MA, having also worked as an office boy for the *New Zealand Herald* newspaper. Miller was a very active religious journalist throughout his life and in this can also be seen as a significant influence upon Prior's own extensive religious journalism.

## 2. Lex Miller: Christian pacifist

Miller had come to national attention in April 1928 when along with three others (most notably, Alun Richards<sup>1</sup>) he applied for exemption from compulsory military training on the basis that it was contrary to the teaching of the Scriptures. (see Davidson 2017) The Presbyterian Church had, the previous year, resolved that individuals who held conscientious objections to military training on religious grounds could not only remain members of the church but also become clergy. Miller, Richards and William Byrt<sup>2</sup> were all students for the Presbyterian ministry, currently undertaking tertiary study at Auckland University College, prior to their theological training at Knox Theological Hall, Dunedin; the fourth, Leonard Usher, was a teacher and Methodist preacher. Miller and Richards lost their appeal for an exemption and were both fined £5 and deprived of their civil liberties for ten years.

In "When I was a Fresher" (Prior 1948) Prior recalls the impact and influence of Miller on his own Pacifism and Barthianism: "Miller keen on dogma. Inspired by Barth of the R[eformers]. Christian life hard to believe and life hard to belief appealed to the heroic in man, and expected to gather only a minority. Took us a while to around this. Theology and social questions the main thing debated at the SCM at this time." (Prior 1948, p.2). Prior also noted (in an 'Insert') "Three strains in Miller,

---

<sup>1</sup> Prior, from his arrival at Otago University had, via the S.C.M, and its journals, and as contributors to *Tomorrow*, and then via the *Outlook* which Richards edited 1948-1955, an ongoing Presbyterian church and religious journalism relationship with Richards (1907-2000). For details on Richards see the entry in: <https://www.presbyterian.org.nz/archives/Page194.htm>

<sup>2</sup> Ill-health prevented Byrt from undertaking theological training.

Communist, dogmatic and “agonistic”. Miller inevitably the centre of the talk – was the centre then” (Prior 1948, p.3).

While at Knox College, Miller (as Chairman) involved Prior (as secretary) in the short-lived radical Christian pacifist group the N.Z. Army of Reconciliation (1933) which arose from the 1932-1933 summer conference of the Student Christian Movement (hereafter S.C.M.)<sup>3</sup>. This was based on the Peace Army of Britain called for by the Anglican Pacifist Maude Royden in February 1932 in response to the failure of the League of Nations to adequately respond to the Manchurian crisis (Weber 1997). Miller undertook to create a New Zealand version of this movement and did so from later October 1932, calling for expressions of interest in *Open Windows* in October 1932, noting;

Recently twenty in Otago spent a week-end in thorough discussion and analysis of the proposal. No unanimity was reached concerning the Peace Army as now organised, but it was decided to attempt more definitely the mobilisation of pacifist opinion, first within the Movement. In regard to definite Peace Army organization in N.Z. some feel the British plan falls short in certain respects; some conceive of an organisation with aims wider than those suggested, directed to the translation of the spirit of reconciliation into action in several fields. It is felt to be wise to move slowly and avoid false steps, so that organisation will not be set on foot immediately.

(Miller 1932)

It is safe to assume Prior was one of those twenty early discussants, given he was to become secretary of the resultant Army in New Zealand. It should also be noted that Miller’s call in *Open Windows* occurred immediately after a long letter from Arthur Prior on ‘Christianity and Communism’ (Prior 1932) strongly endorsing the increasing alignment between communist and Christian critiques of capitalism, especially that expressed by Theological Hall Youth Director and lecturer in Religious Education J.D. Salmond who, in ‘Karl Marx versus Karl Barth’ stated both are offering similar religions, similar gospels so as “to offer

---

<sup>3</sup> [https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/TS19330320.2.35?end\\_date=31-12-1934&items\\_per\\_page=10&phrase=2&query=%22Army+of+Reconciliation%22&snippet=true&sort\\_by=byDA&start\\_date=01-01-1932](https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/TS19330320.2.35?end_date=31-12-1934&items_per_page=10&phrase=2&query=%22Army+of+Reconciliation%22&snippet=true&sort_by=byDA&start_date=01-01-1932)

humanity a way out of its present difficulties" (Salmond, p.13); going as far to offer six points where Barth and Marx are in common (Salmond, p.14), yet concluding that "Marxism is social idolatry". (Salmond, p.14) In his letter, Prior notes that communism "is a religion first and foremost" (Prior 1932, p.19) that in their "determination and devotion" to the cause, communists put many Christians to shame (Prior 1932, p.19); yet at the same time concluding that communism "can never offer the existence and outcomes that Christianity can." (Prior 1932 p.20)

The Miller-and-Prior-led Army of Reconciliation had two core aims: "firstly, to co-ordinate and organise for effective action the radical Christian forces in New Zealand; and secondly, by individual and joint action to make known and endeavour to gain acceptance for the convictions of the Army, particularly among the students and in the churches of the Dominion." (NZ Army 1933) The Army was active across New Zealand over 1933, speaking to churches and especially presbyteries, but as was noted in the *New Zealand Herald* after a delegation by the Army to Auckland presbytery in August 1933, while its aims of peace were supported, its politics and pacifism made it far more difficult for the Church to support and endorse, especially as a Christian organization formed outside the church<sup>4</sup>. The church preferred instead to undertake its own work towards peace while also working with the League of Nations and the local League of Nations Union. While the Army of Reconciliation continued its work into 1934, including attendance at the National Peace Moment conference in Wellington in February 1934, it seems to have dissipated by the end of that year.

Miller completed his theological training and was licensed by Auckland Presbytery in October 1934. He then acted as General Secretary of the NZ S.C.M. from February 1935-December 1936. Miller was also editor of the S.C.M. student magazine in 1936 which was relaunched as *Student*, regularly publishing Prior, who had earlier been a co-editor of the previous S.C.M. magazine *Open Windows*; while Miler had also edited this magazine in 1933.

Prior and Miller were also both romantically involved with the Hursthouse sisters; Miller marrying Kae Hursthouse in early 1936 and

---

<sup>4</sup> [https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/NZH19330809.2.152?end\\_date=31-12-1934&items\\_per\\_page=10&phrase=2&query=%22Army+of+Reconciliation%22&snippet=true&sort\\_by=byDA&start\\_date=01-01-1932](https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/NZH19330809.2.152?end_date=31-12-1934&items_per_page=10&phrase=2&query=%22Army+of+Reconciliation%22&snippet=true&sort_by=byDA&start_date=01-01-1932)

separating in August that year after travelling as New Zealand delegates to the World Student Christian Federation in San Francisco. Arthur had been briefly engaged to Kae's younger sister Mary Hursthouse<sup>5</sup> in early 1936 but soon fell for her "rather dangerous little friend" (Grimshaw 2018 p.61) Clare Hunter and quickly married her. Later, both Lex and Kae ended up in Britain at the same time as Arthur and Clare, and the tensions arising from this are noted in Prior's letters to Ursula Bethell (Grimshaw 2018), yet another reminder of what a small, tight-knit world the S.C.M. operated in.

### 3. Lex Miller's Christian Socialism

As recounted by Prior, Miller combined radical politics and Barthian theology, with George MacLeod of the Iona community (for whom Miller was deputy leader in the 1940s) describing Miller as "Karl Marx through the week and Karl Barth on Sundays." (Ferguson 1990 p.210). This would seem very apt given Miller's later self-description as a "Marxist Barthian"<sup>6</sup>.

While in New Zealand, via his deep involvement in the S.C.M., Miller gave many Christian socialist talks across the country and wrote many articles, for various publications, advocating for Christian socialism and the need to understand and engage with the thought of Karl Marx. For example, in June 1936 Miller, as S.C.M. General Secretary, gave an address "Communism" (Miller 1936b) at Canterbury University College that was reported in the *Press* newspaper<sup>7</sup> and widely circulated across New Zealand. Miller's central point was that while Marxism was a correct interpretation of the situation of the contemporary world, it did not and could not provide the solution or remedy; for Miller, that was what Christianity and its ethic of self-sacrifice offered. Miller also wrote for the journal *Tomorrow*, but unlike Prior who employed the nom de plume "Richard Bramley" (Grimshaw 2023a), did so under his own name

---

<sup>5</sup> In one of those interesting historical asides, apparently Karl Popper, when in Christchurch, later fell in love with Mary Hursthouse (Grimshaw 2018, p.54) For a photo of Mary Hursthouse in 1939 see:

<https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/periodicals/RADREC19390317.2.74.2>

<sup>6</sup> This is how Lex Miller described himself in a 1946 letter to a member of the Canadian SCM.

<sup>7</sup> [https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/CHP19360620.2.28?end\\_date=31-12-1942&items\\_per\\_page=10&query=lex+miller+communism&snippet=true&sort\\_by=yDA&start\\_date=01-01-1933](https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/CHP19360620.2.28?end_date=31-12-1942&items_per_page=10&query=lex+miller+communism&snippet=true&sort_by=yDA&start_date=01-01-1933)

as he was not constrained by being a student for the Presbyterian ministry.

Miller's writings for *Tomorrow* all discuss the issues confronting Christianity in the contemporary world of politics and economics. The first was part of a series on "Popular Fallacies", all discussing Christianity. Miller's contribution was "That Christianity Is Intellectually Discredited" (Miller 1936a) in which he argues that the current attitude that expresses this view is not "the sturdy atheism of last century" (Miller 1936a p.14) but rather one that science has replaced religion and the two are incompatible; yet Miller argues most of this approach is undertaken "in ignorance of the immense volume of work" undertaken by Christian scholarship (Miller 1936a p.14). For Miller, the real attacks on Christianity arose from Freud and Marx (Miller 1936a, p.15) and while Miller dismisses Freud, he spends his concluding focus on the necessity to engage with and respond to the Marxist critique, because both Christianity and Communism "are essentially 'dogmatic'" and therefore both Christianity and Marxism must not be "obscurantist" in engaging with the challenge of each other. Miller's position, which he concludes with, is that he aligns with "the set of facts – concrete, objective, historic facts of which the Christian Church speaks and concerning which she testifies continually." (Miller 1936a p.15).

This piece aligns with and continues an argument laid out by Miller in *Open Windows* in October 1935 as "The Church And Modern Thought" (Miller 1935) which arises from notes of an address to an auxiliary conference. Miller argues that the modern world is living in the close of the third period in the history of Church, that of the renaissance<sup>8</sup>. For Miller this end of the humanist, naturalist tradition results in a situation where "the Western world still believes in believing in man, but no longer believes in man." (Miller 1935 p.2). But with humanism now "bankrupt", modern society has seen the emergence of communism with its own reality expressed and experienced in what Miller calls "the religion of Communism" (Miller 1935, p.3). What is required, argues Miller, is an understanding that the "answer to Communism can only be an alternative version of reality." It is here that we can see the clear expression of what Miller will consistently argue for over the following decades; an argument which Prior aligns with as well:

---

<sup>8</sup> The previous two periods were that of church as aggressor prior to c. 400 AD and the period of the dominance of Christian thought, from 400 A.D. to the renaissance.

...the real answer to Communism is in the theology of Karl Barth, and the real antithesis which is developing in the modern world is that between the logical naturalism which is Communism, and the supernaturalism of the Catholic faith, reiterated by Barth for our sakes.

(Miller 1935, p.3).

The challenge is between the communist golden age to come and the Christian Kingdom of God (Miller 1935, p.4), but most importantly, for Miller and for Prior as Barthians, "between the Church and Capitalism, as between the Church and Communism, there can be no truce at all". (Miller 1935, p.4)

Also in 1936, Miller contributed a chapter on 'Communism' (Miller 1936c) to the Presbyterian study book *Christ and Tomorrow* (Salmond 1936), a symposium collection attempting to address the current socio-political and religious crisis of the times, seeking "to combine theory and practice in such a way that balanced thinking and vigorous action may result". (Salmond 1936, p.2)

Miller's short chapter (Miller 1935 pp.55-60) included a list of four books for reference. Miller's description of Communism was as both a philosophy and sociology, whose exponents regard it as a substitute "for all philosophy and all religion" (Miller 1935 p.55) and includes a discussion of Communist social theory in which Miller states "there is today no serious disputing of the general truth of Marx's account of social change" (Miller 1935 p.57); and he agreed with the communist that "the end of capitalism cannot be long delayed. In all probability it awaits only the next economic crisis, the seeds of which remain in the system itself to germinate in due course." (Miller 1935 p.57) The end of capitalism has, Miller notes, been delayed in several countries by the rise of fascism (Miller 1935 p.57); described as "essentially the last dying effort of the capitalist order to stave off its inevitable state." (Miller 1935 pp.57-58)

Miller's conclusion begins by stating "it is futile to attempt to dispute the general soundness of the Marxist description of society and the Marxist explanation of social change" (Miller 1935 p.59) and he accepts much of the communist critique of the failure of the churches in regard to the class struggle. The central argument that Miller makes—and would continue to make for the rest of his life in various ways—is that "we have no quarrel with the communist indictment of capitalism, which to him is an anachronism and to us a blasphemy. Our complaint is not that Communism is too revolutionary, but that it is not revolutionary

enough.” (Miller 1935 p.59) For while the communist description of society can be accepted “as true” (Miller 1935 p.60) their “description of the universe” is “ludicrously inadequate.” (Miller 1935 p.60).

Prior, writing to Bethell, called this booklet “an excellent shillingsworth” and example of “when really good stuff happens.” (Grimshaw 2018, p.44); therefore, it is safe to assume that much, if not most or even all, of what Miller was writing at this time, across a range of publications was thinking in both a political and theological sense that Prior agreed with.

Miller’s three other articles for *Tomorrow* arise from sermons he preached in St Paul’s Church, Christchurch where, following his resignation from the S.C.M. he was ordained locum tenens, which he held until he went overseas later in 1937. The first article, “A Blasphemous Social Order” (Miller 1937a) attacks the waste of contemporary society; a waste “not of material goods only, but of human capacities” (Miller 1937a p.47). Miller demands that Christians “must call the whole basis of our society in question” and that “Christians ought to be radical critics of the present social order” (Miller 1937a p.48) and so offer a third way between the reduction of the real political alternatives of the present order, which are either fascism or communism. (Miller 1937a pp.48-49). Miller followed this up in his next *Tomorrow* article with an extension of sermon notes on “The Prophetic Nature of the Church” (Miller 1937b), which again includes a comparison between what the Church offers and does and that of the communist party, with his understanding that it is far easier for the Church to confront and challenge and offer an alternative to the basis of capitalist society than it will be to the communist one. This is why, in the new year, his third sermon-based response was on “Christian Social Duty” (Miller 1938a) and here he argues for a Christian social justice and involvement with the poor in class-struggle, both “inside and outside the Church” (Miller 1938a p.157), so as to not give up the contradiction to capitalism – or to fascism – to communism. One issue identified by Miller is “that the Church has become too much a middle-class institution” (Miller 1938a p.157); therefore the continuation of inequality both within and outside the church needs to be seen “to be blasphemous” (Miller 1938a p.157); arguing instead for the pooling of all income of members of a church “so that after the material needs of all were met on a brotherly basis, the balance might be used for an extension of the Church’s work.” (Miller 1938a p.157). He emphasizes that the Church must offer a third way against “the only two human alternatives” of conservatism and fascism “or Communist revolutionary action.” (Miller 1938a p.158) In

response, Miller calls for the Church “to demonstrate the historically impossible – we must voluntarily declass ourselves” (Miller 1938a p.158), an action to be informed by “Christian economists”. (Miller 1938a p.159)

Miller sought to live out what we can term his radical political theology, first in London doing work for the presbytery of North London and later in working class parishes in the East End and then with his involvement with Christian pacifists in Birmingham, where Prior joined them as a supply preacher for a while in 1939. While at Birmingham, Miller and Daniel T. Jenkins established *The Presbyter: A journal of confessional and Catholic Churchmanship*, a monthly cyclostyled news-sheet that became a well-known forum for engaging with the theology of Karl Barth in Britain. Its manifesto was ‘The transformation of theology in the twentieth century’. (Morgan p.183) Prior later wrote for it and continued to do so when he was back in New Zealand from the end of 1940, writing to Bethell in July 1941 that he had “just received a bundle of copies up to April of this year”, detailing the articles of note including in No.8 “a ‘Modest Proposal’ by myself – a statement of the territorial as opposed to the sectarian doctrine of the Church”, including “factory chaplaincies” and in no.13 “an exposition by myself of Barth’s doctrine of the State as given in his Gifford lectures.” (Grimshaw 2018, p.218).

Also in 1939, at the beginning of the war Miller wrote the pamphlet ‘Pacifism, Revolution, Community’ (Miller 1939) which Prior described to Bethell as “excellent”, also noting that he “saw the ms” (Grimshaw 2018, p.214). Miller’s pamphlet is an argument for the necessity of socialism and pacifism to come together, whereby the impulse to community can be realized “without withdrawal from class struggle.” (Miller 1939) A central point made by Miller is that the dilemma for Socialism is that it doesn’t “understand the nature and limits of parliamentary democracy under capitalism”. (Miller 1939 p.18) This failure necessities in turn Miller’s impassioned call for Christian socialist pacifist community. This again helps us understand what was also framing Prior’s political and theological thinking at this time. Miller calls for the realization of the “revolutionary necessity” which “will deliver the socialist from parasitism and the pacifist from political isolation.”(Miller 1939 p.19) At the same time Miller states the central paradox of his radical Christian socialist pacifist position: “We can live in society only by compromising the law of love; yet the law of love requires we go on living realistically in society.” (Miller 1939 p.26). This leads to his central point that repeated compromise requires social repentance and this is be found by living in a certain type of community expressing

“...the essence of community living – to act in such a way as to actualize community in common sharing and mutual responsibility.”(Miller 1939 p.29) This results in in the concluding basis of what we can term Miller’s political theology: “...revolutionary activity is always less a matter of organization than of individual integrity.” (Miller 1939 p.30). Miller’s thinking and theological practice had also been expressed in the pre-war intentional Christian community The Shadwell Group that sought to live voluntarily on the national average wage and pooled any surplus for common social purposes. The ideas were expressed in a booklet co-written with Herbert Spencer Clark ‘The National Average: A study in Social Discipline’ (Miller 1941)

Just as Miller attempted to live his political theology of community by working in poor parishes in the East End, so too, it can be suggested, did the Priors when they applied, in early 1939, for a “joint job of ‘tutor-and-mother-superior’ at a Hostel for about a dozen Austrian Jewish Christian children in the East End.”(Grimshaw 2018, p.20). Prior discusses the community, the warden Father Paul Leveroff, and then their “very bitter disappointment” at not getting the position, in considerable detail in a letter to Bethell (Grimshaw 2018 pp.20-22)

While the Priors returned to New Zealand in the northern summer of 1940, Miller stayed in England working for the Presbyterian church, becoming in 1940 minister in charge of a ‘five-church’ experiment within the Presbyterian church of England (Clements p.29), then working amongst the homeless during the Blitz while also undertaking – via the S.C.M. – with Anglican priest, theologian and historian Alec Vidler, missions to the universities in Leeds and Dublin (Clements p.30). Vidler later stated he had “a deep admiration” for Miller as “[w]e had both been influenced by the Christian realism of Reinhold Niebuhr<sup>9</sup> and saw eye to eye on most things.” (Vidler p.123).

Miller, via his work in Birmingham and his S.C.M. connections was now moving in influential Christian circles. From September 1942 to spring 1945 he worked as deputy leader of the Iona community in Scotland. This intentional Christian community, founded in 1938 by Rev. George MacLeod, saw trainee clergy and the unemployed living together, rebuilding the ruined accommodation at Iona Abbey. In this context Miler was later described as an “acute theologian of the Barthian

---

<sup>9</sup> It is unclear as to whether Prior was similarly influenced by Niebuhr at this time; but we do know his reading and focus (if not on Barth) was increasing going back to the Scots reformers during this period.

school and a sharp political analyst” with a “focus on economics” and a “concern to identify with the dispossessed of society.” (Ferguson p.195) Miller also became a member, for the latter years, of the influential study and discussion group The Moot, established in 1938 by J.H. Oldham following the 1937 Oxford Conference on ‘Church, Community and State’. The Moot, which ran until 1947, was a “group of distinguished intellectuals” who met “to discuss the nature of modern society, the relationship between social planning and freedom, and the role of religiously-based values in shaping society.” (Clements p.1) Notable members included sociologist Karl Mannheim, T.S. Eliot, John Middleton Murray, philosopher H.A. Hodges and Alec Vidler. Miller participated in Moots 17-21 (June 1943-December 1944), first as a guest and then elected a full member at the 20<sup>th</sup> meeting in June 1944 (Clements pp.566-714). It would seem most likely that it was Vidler who introduced Miller to The Moot; while it is worth noting that Miller’s co-editor of *The Presbyterian*, Daniel Jenkins (later, a noted theologian) attended Moots 18 and 19. In 1943 Miller also published his first book *Biblical Politics, Studies in Christian Social Doctrine* (Miller 1943), which drew on his Iona lectures and previously published work.

Following his time at Iona Miller returned to New Zealand, but did so via Canada at the invitation of the Canadian S.C.M. where he spoke at McGill university on “The Christian Interpretation of Marxism” (Anderson 2011) and became involved with the S.C.M. student-industry logging workcamp, deeply influencing it and subsequent work camps, especially in regard to the idea of the wage pool, while also leading, on its last night, a session on “Marxism and its Christian implications.” (Anderson 2011)

Miller returned to New Zealand in November 1945 and set about finishing the manuscript for what became *The Christian Significance of Karl Marx* (Miller 1946), which can be read and understood as the culmination of more than a decade’s wrestling and engagement with the question how to relate Karl Marx with Christian life and theology. For example, in a New Zealand S.C.M. study book compiled in 1936 by Miller and Prior’s other close friend Basil Dowling, the statement is made: “If a practice like voluntary communism, for example, is to be defended, it must be defended not by pointing to the fact that it was practiced by the Early Church, but by showing that it is required by the truth of the Gospel obeyed in the circumstances of our own day” (Dowling and Miller 1936, p.5). Similarly, in the same study pamphlet, Miller’s Marxist-informed Barthian Christianity can be discerned:

In plain terms, it is necessary to understand that the war between the economically privileged and unprivileged is intensifying, and that the issue can only be the substitution of Communism for Capitalism – by violent means unless the circle of antagonism can be broken. The demonstration of this fact is a lengthy business, but what has to be emphasized is that it is unintelligent Churchmanship – not serving God with our minds – if we do not endeavor in our individual conduct, and corporately as a Church, to maintain brotherliness in an economic sense (to talk of brotherliness without a common sharing of goods is a hypocrisy) amid the economic realities of an unbrotherly world.”

(Dowling and Miller 1936, p.17)

This study booklet is a call for Christian witness against all the current political and economic options of the world:

...in the modern world this [Christian witness] will involve the Church in conflict not only with Communism of the Marxist kind, but with the capitalist order, with its exploitation of men for economic ends, with fascism also, and every approximation to it which would make men instruments of State or national ends.

(Dowling and Miller, p.22).

In reading across Miller’s multiple writings on the economic and societal challenges of the times<sup>10</sup> it is clear that Miller sees Marxism as the diagnostic tool of the existing social and political ills, but that the cure is a non-capitalist aligned Barthian reformed Christianity:

...like the Communist the Christian moves realistically and without fear amidst the facts of the world; and unlike the communist he steps without fear across the boundaries of this world...[this means] As between the Church and Capitalism, so between the Church and Communism, there can be no truce at all, for the Church alone exist to declare that man’s life is fraught with honorable and holy purpose “to glorify God and to enjoy Him forever.”

---

<sup>10</sup> I am in the initial stages of compiling material for writing what can be described as the political theology of Lex Miller.

(Miller 1935, p.4).

Later, while part of The Moot, in meeting 19 (January 1944) Miller presented a draft paper entitled 'The Treason of the Theologians' which was published as "Theological and lay responsibility"<sup>11</sup> and described as "drawing autobiographically on the writer's debt to both Karl Marx and Karl Barth and the need to bring both theology and social concern together." (Clements p.656 n.8) Again it is probably safe to assume that a copy made its way to Prior in New Zealand.

While back in New Zealand Miller joined the Home Missionary Service of the Presbyterian church, serving as locum minister in Masterton (Prior's home-town) and more long-term in Napier. While his primary reason for returning was to marry Jean McLaren<sup>12</sup>, he also made use of his time in Napier, prior to marriage, to expand what can be called his applied Marxist Barthianism, by working "in a wool store on weekdays (to try to bring my knowledge of the industrial facts of life into some relation with my theology) and preach on Sundays" (Miller 1946a), which he undertook while also completing the manuscript for *The Christian Significance of Karl Marx* (Miller 1946a). While in Napier, once married, he also expanded an earlier pamphlet he had written for the Canadian SCM "The Christian at Work in the World" into his next book *Christian Vocation in the Contemporary World* (Miller 1947).

The Millers left New Zealand in April 1948, travelling to Britain and Europe before arriving in New York where Miller undertook a PhD in Religions at Union Theological Seminary and Columbia University; here he renewed his connection with Reinhold Niebehur, acting as his teaching assistant (Harvey p.5)

On completion of his studies Miller was first the visiting chaplain in religion at Stanford University, and within six weeks of activity so successful that he was appointed Stanford's first full-time professor of Religion in 1951. (Harvey p.5). Miller died suddenly of a heart attack in

---

<sup>11</sup> It was published in *Christian News Letter Supplement* 206 (19 April 1944); the *Christian News Letter* was a weekly then bi-weekly periodical published by J.H. Oldham 1939-1949.

<sup>12</sup> They married March 23, 1946. Jean C. MacLaren (1908-2011), was a fellow student of Miller at Auckland University College and at this time a teacher in Napier in Hawkes Bay, New Zealand. Their only son David was born in 1947 (and died 1984). Jean worked for the Office for Foreign Visitors and the Office of Public Events at Stanford University. For details on Miller's first marriage to Kae Hursthouse (who remained a friend of Arthur) see (Grimshaw 2018 p.77 fn34).

1960, but his legacy lived on, as Van Harvey's history of religion at Stanford noted:

The middle sixties may also be said to have been the apogee of Alexander Miller's conception of what religious studies should be at Stanford, a program in which an articulate faculty trained in the country's most prestigious theological schools –Yale, Harvard, Chicago, and Union – acquainted undergraduates with the best of the Christian heritage in biblical studies, theology, and ethics”

(Harvey p.6)

This is the contextual background to the following letter from Prior to Miller that was deemed of sufficient value and importance that he took it with him from New Zealand to New York and then to Stanford and kept it in his papers. In it Prior sets out his detailed response to what was evidently a provocative challenge to his existing thinking on Marx and Christianity, especially regarding Marxist economics.

#### 4. Letter from Arthur Prior to Lex Miller, March 26, 1946<sup>13</sup>

Flat 5  
8 Macmillan Ave  
Chch S.I<sup>14</sup>  
26/3/46<sup>15</sup>

Dear Lex

You & Jean must be just about married by now, & your mother cannot be far away, & one way or another I imagine that the last thing you want to think about at the moment is your book “The Christian Significance of Marxism”<sup>16</sup>. But I, alas, have just read it, & I am of course full of the things I want to say to you about it. I can only suggest that if these comments arrive at an inopportune time you keep them to read later.

---

<sup>13</sup> This letter has been located and transcribed by Mike Grimshaw in 2018, edited by Mike Grimshaw, Martin Prior, Peter Øhrstrøm and David Jakobsen in 2022 and further edited by Mike Grimshaw again in 2025 for this discussion. It is part of the Alexander Miller Collection, presently kept at the Stanford University Archive: Miller papers (sc495 box 1 folder 1). The letter is written on letterhead paper from Canterbury University College. The institutional heading has been crossed out. *The following footnotes are all **Editors’ Notes** on the Letter. Those by Mike Grimshaw are signalled as **MG**:*

<sup>14</sup> **MG**: Christchurch, South Island.

<sup>15</sup> **MG**: The Priors has recently moved into a flat on the second floor of this very large house in the hillside suburb of Cashmere. They stayed here until 1949 when a fire, originating in the flat below, badly damaged their flat and many of Prior’s books and papers. Prior wrote of the fire and its impact in a letter to Raphael 12/4/49 (see: Grimshaw 2025a). It has been transcribed by P.J. Smith (2023) and included in his MA thesis “Arthur Prior in the 1940s: letters and un-published works of Prior 1946-1949”. For Prior reading on the veranda of this flat see this photo on the Prior & Popper UC page: <http://popper-prior.nz/items/show/90>

The house is still standing, having been repaired and retained as flats up to the 21<sup>st</sup> century. It is currently undergoing a very slow renovation and repair. The substantial damage caused by the fire is still evident on recently exposed internal timbers. [I know the owners and have been in the house and could easily identify the rooms that were Prior’s flat.]

<sup>16</sup> **MG**: Alexander Miller, *The Christian Significance of Marxism*, New York: the Macmillan Company, 1949. (117pp). I have used this this edition, rather than the original 1946 edition, because of what I was able to access.

I won't say much about the chapters on "What Christianity has to Say"<sup>17</sup> & "What Christians have to do". They strike me as pretty right; miles better than most utterances about what Xty[sic]<sup>18</sup> has to say & do in the face of Communism; & bits of them might almost have been written by myself. What interests me is your brace of chapters on "What Communism Is" which certainly couldn't have been written by anyone but yourself; unless [2] it were some actual Marxist. That job of informing people about what Communism is, couldn't have been done better. But it has had an effect on me which almost certainly was not intended. It has released me from a sort of complex that I have had about Marxism right up till now, a kind of inward bondage to it despite all my points of difference from it, based on the feeling that though its philosophy<sup>19</sup> might be abominable its economics were unanswerable. Many years ago my uncle (Brailsford<sup>20</sup>) told me that this was not so, & that in fact the Marxists

---

<sup>17</sup> **MG:** The book's contents are: Introduction; I: What Communism is (a) *The Period of the Manifesto*; II: What Communism is (b) *Some Key Terms*; III: What Communism Is (c) *The Twilight of Capitalism*; IV: Contemporary Criticism; V: What Christianity Has To Say; VI: What Christians Have To Do; Epigraph: *The Hero, the Communist and the Christian*; Annotated Reading List.

<sup>18</sup> "Xty" is shorthand for Christianity

<sup>19</sup> Editors' note: Prior has written but then crossed over 'Logic' before.

<sup>20</sup> **MG:** John Brailsford (1884-1956), married to Arthur's aunt Ruth. Brailsford had been editor of the English-language newspaper *Central China Post* in Hankow in the 1920s, having been imprisoned in New Zealand as religious conscientious objector (Quaker) in World War 1. On returning to New Zealand, in the 1930s he was Otago-Southland director of the Workers Educational Association (WEA). His adopted son Norman (Russian born and orphaned in the 1923 Tokyo earthquake) ran off with (and then married) Clare Prior in 1941 when Arthur and Clare stayed with the Brailsfords in Dunedin. Norman and Clare were not card-carrying communists but did work for a time as journalists for the Soviet legation in Wellington on the 'Soviet News' publication. Norman and Clare relocated to the Soviet Union in 1970 and worked in publishing and translation there. The New Zealand SIS held a clipping (with redacted side comments) on record of a newspaper article by Norman, published as they left, discussing their departure for Russia on a Russian freighter from the Hawke's Bay port of Napier. The New Zealand SIS also held a file on Arthur Prior from 1962 with the comment: Unsubstantiated report that Professor Prior was believed to have been a member of "C.P." [Communist Party] at the time he married Clare. [source: Grimshaw OAI request April 2022]. The New Zealand SIS stated in an accompanying letter (25 May 2022): "We note that Arthur Prior was not under investigation by the NZSIS". It does seem, from this letter, that Clare was of

were guilty of an economic fallacy quite comparable to the A+B theorem of the Douglas Credit people<sup>21</sup>; but when he tried to explain this to me it was all up in the economic air & I couldn't make head or tail of it, & remained unconvinced. But you have now stated the elements of Marxism with such clarity that the fallacy just hits a man in the face. And you help your readers to see it by drawing attention to it yourself, though in what seems to me a very curious fashion.

I think it's easiest to start from the A+B theorem – Lloyd Ross's refutation of that in his "Tickets without [3] Goods"<sup>22</sup> is just about the only economics I know. The Douglas people say that the expenses involved in producing an article are divisible into two portions – A. expenditure on equipment, raw materials etc; & B. the payment of wages & salaries & the like. (or maybe their letterings is the other way round – that doesn't matter). And, so they say, it's only the B payments, the wages & salaries, that become "purchasing power"; so that when it's all summed up there's only £B available to buy stuff for which £(A+B) has to be paid. Lloyd Ross points out that it's a sheer myth that A payments don't become purchasing power – you don't pay them to the machinery; all the money gets into somebody's pocket sooner or later, & he can buy the goods if he wants to. Now these Commoes, as you expound them,

---

note to the New Zealand SIS. Norman died in Russia 1998 or 1999 and Clare died in Russia in 2001. [Source: conversations and emails with Clare's daughter].

<sup>21</sup> **MG:** See: <https://www.socred.org/s-c-action/social-credit-views/the-a-b-theorem/the-core-of-the-core-of-douglas-a-b-theorem-and-hence-of-social-credit-s-economic-diagnosis>

The financial payments of a producer are divided into A): all those made to individuals as wages, salaries and dividends; and B) all those made to other organizations for raw materials, bank charges and other external costs.

Because A) is the rate of flow of purchasing power to individuals, but all payments go into prices, the rate of flow of prices cannot be less than A+B. (Douglas 1920, p.21). The basic theorem is that the total amount of consumer purchasing power cannot be equal to the total value of goods available for sale. It has been dismissed as a fallacy because B payments will make their ways into the hands of individuals and so can be purchasing power alongside A payments.

<sup>22</sup> **MG:** *Tickets without goods: a criticism of the Douglas social credit proposals* / by Lloyd Ross; with an introduction by A.G.B. Fisher: Dunedin: L. Ross, [1933?] 46 pp. Ross (1901-1987) was an adult educationalist, trade union official and labour activist and writer. He worked for a few years in Dunedin and taught briefly at Otago University before returning to Australia. see: <https://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/ross-lloyd-robert-maxwell-15927>

make an absolutely similar division of the expenses involved in producing an article - there's A, the employer's profits, & B, the wages of the workers; B becomes "purchasing power" & A doesn't, so [4] that if the employer tries to make A as large as possible & B as small as possible he makes it more & more impossible for his goods to be bought, & something has to smash somewhere. But once again, why doesn't A become purchasing power, no matter how large it is compared with B? Of course the employer's not going to spend all his loot on his own goods, & neither are the workers, & in the case of some goods the workers may not buy any & only the employers do so - there's always that indirectness & time-lag in the application of the "purchasing - power" created to the goods from which it is derived (Ross admits that in connection with the Douglas people too). So that all this business about capitalism involving a "contradiction" seems to me to be just hooey<sup>23</sup> - at all events, the "contradiction", if it exists, is not this one, & the Marxists never mention any other (except ones that are derived from this).

Now about all this you have a quite extraordinary footnote on p.20<sup>24</sup> - "My own lay judgment is that nothing essential to the Marxist analysis depends on the [5] validity or otherwise of this theory", & you are supported by Mrs Cole, who says that " the Labour theory of value...formulates the faith that the working-class get a rotten deal from the capitalist, but has no particular relation to the facts of economic life." In other words, feed the working man with a cock-&-bull story that will

---

<sup>23</sup> **MG:** Slang for silly or worthless.

<sup>24</sup> **MG:** The full footnote is:

There is not space, nor am I competent to deal with the details of Marxian economics. The key to them is the theory of surplus value or the labour theory of value, according to which the contribution of the labour-power, which is the principal ingredient in industrial production, always receives less than its share of (the money-price of) the finished product. This creates an accumulated debt owed to the workers, and an indictment of capitalist industrialism. My own lay judgment is that nothing essential to the Marxist analysis depends on the validity or otherwise of this theory, and I am supported by an article by Margaret Cole in the FABIAN QUARTERLY for April, 1943, in which she says:

"Marx was a brilliant advocate: he excelled in taking his opponents' arguments and turning them inside out to suit his own moral ends. Thus, he turned Hegel upside down to make the materialist conception of history, which is a fine argumentative weapon, and faith to fight for. Similarly, in the field of economics, he countered the classics with the labour theory of value, which formulates the *faith* that the working-class get a rotten deal from the capitalist, but has no particular relation to the facts of economic life."

persuade him to do what you want him to do, & leave it at that. Surely this is the worst kind of snobbery – a trick of the 20<sup>th</sup> century aristocracy to keep the ordinary man in his place by putting across what's good enough for him to believe though the propagandist himself knows better.

Of course I'm not denying that the worker does get a rooted<sup>25</sup> deal from the capitalist, but just what service are you doing him by giving him a mistaken idea of what this rotten deal is, which will almost certainly involve a mistaken idea of the remedy for it?

Again & again the [6] Marxists slang the Douglas people & others for appealing to generous emotions without scientific knowledge, but what is this stuff of Mrs Cole's but exactly that? – And even supposing there's some answer to the above criticism, the extreme doubtfulness of the Marxist theory, which you & Mrs Cole admit, makes it quite monstrous that it should be made a justification for all the bloodshed & torture that guys like Koestler describe. It's all a sort of lunacy. – I write, of course, with the zeal of a convert; or more accurately with the indignation of a man who has just discovered that he has been hoodwinked for years.

At the same time, I have a feeling that there is a “contradiction” somewhere in a system which permits each employer to make the absolute maximum of profit by pushing prices up as far as poss<sup>26</sup>. & wages down as far as poss. It does seem to turn economic life into a “war of all against all”. – My reactions here are very similar to those which I felt on reading the Reader's Digest summary of Hayek's book on Serfdom. He seemed to me [7] to have proved to the hilt that all sorts of vile consequences would follow from the attempt to plan by every possible means for the absolute maximum of economic efficiency; but to have proved nothing whatever against those who “planned” with some more modest aim (the prevention of starvation & unemployment, or something like that). – In both cases the devilry lies in this attempt to get the maximum at all costs. There ought to be some name for this; my wife<sup>27</sup> suggests “maxism” – maybe someone could write a book on “The Christian Significance of Maxism”.<sup>28</sup>

---

<sup>25</sup> **MG:** Slang for broken, useless, worthless.

<sup>26</sup> That is, “possible”.

<sup>27</sup> Mary Prior.

<sup>28</sup> Editors' note: Prior has written, but then crossed over: “The curbing[?] of the ‘War of all against all’, including its economic manifestations, is of course one of the preventions of the State.”

Then there's another thing- in your précis of Koestler<sup>29</sup> you seem to argue that the Marxist has to steel himself to be ruthless & all the rest of it, & so it's a sort of virtue in him for all its horribleness, & creates a real moral tension. [8] But all this desperateness seems to sit very ill with the Marxist's confidence that the classless society is bound to come anyway. Of course it's nonsense to say that a belief in predestination implies that we should sit back & do nothing; but how can a man who really have this belief behave as if the whole revolution would fall through if he relaxed even enough to be a little decent to people? - It seems pretty clear that this ruthlessness is bound up in some way with his "maxism"; it's very reminiscent of the ruthlessness of the old laissez-faire economists who wouldn't on any account interfere with the System to help immediate distress because they thought they had a cast-iron proof that the System worked at its maximum efficiency if it was left entirely alone.<sup>30</sup> [9]

29/3/46 - Not much of the above is really in criticism of your book (apart from your joint footnote with Mrs Cole) - it's in criticism of communism itself, & the sort of criticism that we can only begin to make after communism has been clearly & fairly laid out before us in precisely the way you lay it out in your book.

And word now about my book<sup>31</sup>. I have been thinking a lot about what you have said about its undue length, & have found a way of making a further radical reduction. I am going to concentrate to begin with on "The Church & the Ministry" & just produce an anthology about that; & then later on we can think about others. With this Church & Ministry one we are now well ahead, & I think we may have it ready in about 3 months. There is one potential source of delay [10] - I mean to quote from the Scottish General Assembly debate on Missions in 1796, but the Assembly Proceedings in the Theol. Hall Library do not go back that far, & I shall have to attempt to get a microfilm of the report from Edinburgh or somewhere & I don't know how long that will take. My present guess as to the length is between 180,000 & 200,000 words. That

---

<sup>29</sup> **MG:** See Miller (1946 pp. 59-64). The section is headed (b) *The Problems of Mortality and Compassion* and discusses Koestler's *Darkness at Noon*. There is a fn (p.59) that states "This section incorporates an article previously published in *The presbyter* in the spring of 1945."

<sup>30</sup> Editors' note: Prior has written, but crossed over the following: "This particular variant of the thing was answered in advance by Bishop Butler, in his *Dissertation on 'The Nature of Virtue:* "Some ... have expressed themselves in a manner which may occasion some danger ... of imagining the whole of virtue to consist in singly aiming,"

<sup>31</sup> **MG:** This is most probably Prior's very long manuscript on Scottish theology.

is, I should say, about the length of an Everyman volume. What should be my procedure about publication? When I have rewritten the Preface (I'm not sure when that will be - I'll have to recast & lengthen the original one), should I send it over to this friend of yours, accompanied by such items as are then typed there'll be plenty – we have over 50 quarto pages, single-spacing, already)?

Mary & I are on a committee affair down here that's preparing for a Faith & Order<sup>32</sup>

[end of pages of letter in file]

## 5. Conclusion

Prior's proposed book never eventuated. The fire in their flat destroyed and damaged many of his papers, while his newly appointed position teaching philosophy at Canterbury University College saw him increasingly turn his academic and intellectual focus to questions of philosophy. At the same time, he also continued his developing role as a public intellectual, both outside and within the church. (Grimshaw 2020; Grimshaw 2025a, Grimshaw 2025b)

Prior's thought and writing, as can be deduced and assembled across a wide variety of sources, is deeply indebted, up to the early 1950s, to the influence, both formative and ongoing, of Lex Miller. If from 1932 Miller led Prior into both Barthianism and a critical engagement with Marxism, he also, with his book, provoked Prior to think his way out of sympathy with Marxism. It can be suggested that this political freedom in turn

---

<sup>32</sup> **MG:** This is for the first Faith and Order Conference, Wellington, August 26-September 2 1947, held by the National Council of Churches", attended by 165 representatives of the Anglican, Presbyterian, Methodist, Baptist, Congregationalist Churches, the Church of Christ, the Salvation Army and the Society of Friends. The "committee affair" was a committee, centred in Christchurch, established by the National Council of Churches, to prepare for the Faith and Order conference. One outcome was the establishment of 15 study groups across New Zealand who contributed to what became "Faith And Order Inquiry Handbook" (34 pp) which under a heading "Confidential. For Discussion Only" presented material to be discussed in preparation for the Faith and Order conference. This set out chapters on The Doctrines of: Grace; the Church; the Ministry; and, the Sacraments, each with subheadings and questions. That the Priors were part of this committee signifies the degree to which at this time they were centrally involved in Presbyterian church life and activities. The Chair of the organizing committee, Rev. Dr Ian W. Fraser was at this time chaplain at St Andrew's School, Christchurch. He had been editor for the *New Zealand Journal of Theology* Prior had written for in the 1930s. (see Grimshaw 2023b)

allowed Prior greater intellectual freedom to engage with philosophy. While he remained a man of the left up to his death, he was able to leave the Marxist-adjacent thought and politics behind; just as he was to later do with Barthianism. If Miller remained a Marxist Barthian, Prior ended up neither; but Miller remained a formative and central mentor and influence, not just theologically but also for Prior's ongoing societally-focused, theologically-informed writing as a public intellectual.

## References

1. Anderson, B. 2011. 'Alexander (Lex) Miller: A Marxist Barthian', <https://hhstory.wordpress.com/presentations-and-articles/alexander-lex-miller-a-marxist-barthian/>
2. Clements, K. ed. 2009. *The Moot Papers. Faith, Freedom and Society 1938-1944*. T&T Clark Theology/Bloomsbury.
3. Davidson, A.K. 2017. 'Compulsion or Conscience: Alun Richards and Opposition to Compulsory Military training 1927-1930' in G. Troughton ed. *Saints and Stirrers: Christianity, Conflict and Peacemaking in New Zealand 1814-1945*. Victoria University Press
4. Dowling, B. and Miller, A. 1936. *The Message of the Church. Twelve Studies in the Acts of the Apostles*. NZ S.C.M.
5. Ferguson, R. 1990. *George MacLeod. Founder of the Ioana Community*. Collins.
6. Grimshaw, M. (ed.) 2018. *Arthur Prior, 'A young progressive'. Letters to Ursula Bethell and to Hugh Teague 1936-1941*. Christchurch: Canterbury University Press.
7. Grimshaw, M. 2020. 'The Public Prior: A.N. Prior as (relocated 17<sup>th</sup> & 18<sup>th</sup> century) Public Intellectual 1945-1952', in Halse, P., Jakobsen, D. & Øhrstrøm, P., *The Metaphysics of time: Themes from Prior*. Aalborg University Press, *Logic & Philosophy of Time*, Vol.4., pp.25-61.
8. Grimshaw, M. (2023a). 'Arthur Prior's nom de plume writings in Tomorrow and the Otago Daily Times 1935-1937', *Logic and Philosophy of Time* Vol. 5: pp.1-30. <https://doi.org/10.54337/lpt.v5i1.7832>
9. Grimshaw, M. (2023b). "To write and think 'in his own tongue': Arthur Prior, Jack Bates & the New Zealand Journal of Theology',

*Logic and Philosophy of Time*, 5(1).

<https://doi.org/10.54337/lpt.v5i1.7862>

10. Grimshaw, M. 2025a. Prior as Naphtali: Christian commentator and pseudonymous Christian public intellectual. *Logic and Philosophy of Time*, 6(1). <https://doi.org/10.54337/lpt.v6i1.9940>
11. Grimshaw, M. 2025b. 'The Prior-Brasch Landfall Letters (1946-1958)', *Logic and Philosophy of Time*, 6 (1). <https://doi.org/10.54337/lpt.v6i1.9941>
12. Harvey, V. 1998. 'Religious Studies at Stanford. A Historical Sketch', *Sandstone & Tile* Vo.22 Nos. 2 & 3, pp. 3-10.
13. Miller, A. 1932. 'The Peace Army' [Letter] *Open Windows* Vol. VI no.6 October, p.20
14. Miller, A. 1935. 'The Church and Modern Thought', *Open Windows* October pp.2-4.
15. Miller, A. 1936a. 'Popular Fallacies. That Christianity Is Intellectually Discredited', *Tomorrow* Vol. II no.11 January 26, pp.13-15.
16. Miller, A. 1936b. 'Communism', [reported as 'Good Points in Marxism'], *The Press* 20 June p.7.
17. Miller, A. 1936c. 'Communism' in J.D. Salmond ed. *Christ and Tomorrow. A Study Book for the Times*, Presbyterian Bookroom, pp.55- 60.
18. Miller, A.1937a. 'A Blasphemous Social Order', *Tomorrow* Vol. I no.2 November 24, pp. 46-49.
19. Miller, A. 1937b. 'The Prophetic Nature of the Church', *Tomorrow* Vol. I no.2 December 22, pp.125-127.
20. Miller, A.1938. 'Christian Social Duty', *Tomorrow* Vol IV no5 January 5, pp.156-159.
21. Miller, A. 1939. *Pacifism, Revolution and Community*, Peace Pledge Union.
22. Miller, A. 1941. *The National Average: A study in Social Discipline*, The Shadwell Group.
23. Miller, A. 1943. *Biblical Politics, Studies in Christian Social Doctrine*, S.C.M. Press
24. Miller, A. 1946a. Letter from Miller to Dr Hugh Moran, SCM Press London March 9, 1946. Alexander Miller papers, 1930-1961 Folder 4 Box 1, Special Collections Stanford Libraries.
25. Miller, A. 1946b. *The Christian Significance of Karl Marx*, S.C.M. Press.

26. Miller, A. 1947. *Christian Vocation in the Contemporary World*, S.C. M. Press.
27. Morgan, D.D. 2010. *Barth Reception in Britain*, Continuum.
28. N.Z. Army of Reconciliation 1933. [One page manifesto]
29. Prior, A.N. 1932. 'Christianity and Communism', [Letter] *Open Windows* Vol. VI no.6 October, pp.19-20.
30. Prior, A.N. 1946. 'Letter to Alexander Miller 26/03/46', Alexander Miller Collection: Stanford University Archive: Miller papers (sc495 box 1 folder 1).
31. Prior, A.N. 1948. 'When I was a Fresher'. Transcribed and edited by Prior, M., Jakobsen, D. and Øhrstrøm, P. In: Hasle, P., Øhrstrøm, P. and Jakobsen, D. (eds.): *The Nachlass of A.N. Prior*. <https://nachlass.prior.aau.dk/paper/when-i-was-a-fresher>
32. Salmond, J.D. 1932. 'Karl Marx vs Karl Barth', *Open Windows* Vol.VI no. 2, April, pp.13-14, 16.
33. Salmond, J.D. ed. 1936. *Christ and Tomorrow. A Study Book for the Times*, Presbyterian Bookroom.
34. Vidler, A.R. 1977. *Scenes from A Clerical Life*, Collins.
35. Weber, T. 1993. 'From Maude Royden's Peace Army to the Gulf Peace Team: An Assessment of Unarmed Interpositionary Peace Forces', *Journal of Peace Research* Vol.30 no.1, pp.45-64.