CHRISTIAN SOCIOLOGY (1920-1940):

A REVIEW AND CRITICAL ESTIMATE OF THE

MAIN TRENDS OF THE PERIOD.

H. F. LEATHERLAND.
# SYNOPSIS

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INTRODUCTION.

THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH AND THE

CONTEMPORARY SITUATION.

(1) The failure of liberal humanism.

(2) The emergence of Communism and Fascism.

(3) The endeavours after a "Christian Sociology".
In the period between the wars there were happenings within the Christian Church which provide material for a fascinating chapter in the Christian story. These happenings passed almost without notice amid momentous contemporary events on the world stage. Their significance was scarcely observed, for they seemed to be of little account beside the revolutionary changes which were creating upheaval throughout the nations. But amid the strong and devouring kingdoms of the "ideologies" there was "one like unto a son of man" quietly and pacifically gaining his enduring dominion among all "the peoples, nations and languages". The oecumenical movement as it gained impetus brought more and more Christian leaders in the various Communions of the Church to cooperation and understanding, and more and more Christian people of diverse allegiances to a sense of their common purpose in the service of their one Lord and of their membership in the one Church of His Redeemed. It is the aim of this thesis to survey these happenings and to trace the development of the oecumenical movement, so far as the "life and work" of the churches is concerned, in its formative period. But, since Christian history cannot be isolated from the situation in which it is enacted, it will be necessary first to give some account of the background from which the oecumenical movement emerged.
(1) The failure of liberal humanism.

The Great War did much to undermine the self-confidence and optimism which had characterised man's endeavours since the great revolutions of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It is not without significance that H.A.L. Fisher describes the modern period in the history of Europe as "The Liberal Experiment". But, experiment though it may have been, the cause of liberty and democracy attracted its apostles and evoked the zeal of a religious mission. The English Revolution of 1688 established the freedom of the citizen and parliamentary democracy. The Declaration of Independence of 1776 sounded a clarion to which the minds of many idealists on the continent vibrated responsive. "We hold," affirmed the founders of the newly formed American States, "that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it." It is well known that these ideas had a considerable influence upon the French Revolution. The French Constituent Assembly of 1789 was concerned to enumerate two sets of rights, namely, "the rights of man" and "the rights of the citizen". The great liberal and
democratic movements of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were inspired by these ideas.

But the modern experiment was not only liberal, it was also humanist. That is to say, man felt sure of his own power to solve his problems and to attain his destiny. Two factors contributed to the ascendancy of the humanist temper. The rapid extension of industry, the growth of world markets and the opening up of new territories for the supply of raw materials, the succession of mechanical inventions and technical development all tended to foster the belief that man was asserting his mastery of nature and proving himself to be lord over the earth. This belief was further strengthened by the new conceptions which were provided by natural science. Darwin's "Origin of Species" (1859) had the effect of giving to men a biological category which they applied to every realm of life. Darwin had shown that evolution could explain the past. Was it not also the key to the future? The survival of the fittest found its economic counterpart in the principle of laissez-faire. Society and civilisation would advance from stage to stage, shedding the errors and limitations which marred them, until perfection was at length reached.

This liberal humanism was the dominant temper of thought in the opening decades of the twentieth century. It
received its first great check in the war of 1914-18, for it then became clear that history could not simply be read as the record of man's unimpeded moral progress, nor could it be accepted as axiomatic that men and societies would grow out of the wrongs which marred them. It was seen that the triumphs of technical development and applied science could be used to bring destruction upon, as well as benefit, mankind. In the period between the two wars the optimistic outlook of liberal humanism gave place to widespread disillusion. The ideals of democracy and freedom were abandoned and scorned in one more area of the earth; man's scientific prowess was seen to have outstripped his moral power; and the confusion of thought, the decay of standards of conduct and appreciation, and the manifest lack of a guiding purpose for individuals and societies all revealed woeful inadequacies in the philosophy of liberal humanism. It seemed that the experiment had failed. "The proud banner of human progress wears now a tattered appearance and flies only at half mast, while there creeps upon the western nations a new and often cynical despair as to the future prospects of civilisation." ("God's Will in our time", p.9.) The oecumenical movement took its rise at the time when the failure of liberal humanism was becoming evident.
(2) The emergence of Communism and Fascism.

The oecumenical movement, which over two decades has developed in theological understanding and in its sociological witness, has given the Christian answer to the situation caused by the failure of liberal humanism. We shall fail, however, adequately to appreciate the significance of the oecumenical movement unless we see it in relation and contrast to the great political movements which, emerging from the same background and speaking to the same situation, have dominated the life and thought of western civilization over the same period. We refer to Russian Communism, Italian Fascism and German National Socialism. Each of these movements was a reaction against the individualism of the nineteenth century, for each made its appeal to communal solidarity. Each was in large part a reaction against secularism, for each was a crypto-religion, with a prophet, a creed and a church, claiming from its adherents the entire devotion of their lives, and inspiring in them a missionary ardour.

The years which immediately followed the 1914-18 war saw a widespread breakdown of faith in democracy and the capitalistic system. The unequal distribution of wealth and power between man and man, the existence of dire poverty in the midst of actual and potential plenty, and the seeming failure of parliamentary institutions to redress the evils
of the time all tended to reinforce the belief that "planned economy" must replace laissez-faire. Nor was this all. "One major evil resulting from the war was the collapse over a great part of Europe of social discipline. The trust in authority was undermined, the fabric of custom broken, and while everywhere the defeated peoples, loosened from their old moorings, watched for new leadership over uncharted seas, this was specially true of Russia. There government was found at its worst and weakest. There the soil of revolution had been most fully prepared, and there, too, more swiftly and decisively than in any other region in Europe emerged at the crisis of disorder a man, a doctrine and a faith." (Fisher, History of Europe, pp.1186-7.)

The doctrine, which became the creed of the new Russia, was derived from the writings of Karl Marx. It affirmed that a true reading of the history of men and their social institutions shows a process which inevitably moves to its necessary climax in the overthrow of the capitalist ordering of society and its replacement by Communism. It denied the right of men to hold private property, and centralised in the State the ownership of factories and all instruments of production. It sought to improve and plan agriculture and to unify it with industry. It claimed the complete and public education of all children on the basis of communist
aims and philosophy. It found in the Church and in Christian belief the stronghold of middle-class morals, art, social structure and way of life, and these it sought thoroughly and ruthlessly to exterminate. The Communist Manifesto (1848) in which this doctrine is summarised ends with the famous peroration. "The Communists consider it superfluous to conceal their opinions and intentions. They openly declare that their aims can only be achieved by the violent overthrow of the whole contemporary social order. Let the governing classes tremble before the communist revolution. The proletarians have nothing to lose in it but their chains. They have the whole world to gain. Proletarians of all countries, unite!"

The doctrine found its prophet in Lenin, a fanatical and ruthless visionary who in six years, with the aid of the highly organized Communist Party, his secret police and the Red Army, entirely transformed the life and institutions of Russia. Communism emerged as a world force contemporaneously with the oecumenical movement in the years immediately after 1920.

At the same time there could be discerned the small beginnings of movements which were destined to become powerful, to challenge the traditions and beliefs of western civilisation and to lead to the further breakdown of Christendom. In 1919 Benito Mussolini founded his organisation in a
small office in Milan. Little more than three years later, on October 30th, 1922, he marched on Rome, took control of the Italian State and proceeded to achieve sole domination over its government, education, industry and every department of life. The astounding success of the Fascists was due to the failure of the old liberalism to deal adequately with the disillusion and distress in Italy after the first world war. Parliamentary government, with its freedom of speech and open debate, appeared to produce no policy which could rally the country and gain the support of the patriotic spirit. The Fascists were a party of action. They were disciplined and authoritarian. They brought a new standard of efficiency into public life. They attacked the industrial problems with resolution, making industrial disputes illegal and integrating all industrial concerns into a scheme whereby the public interest was served and the workers' interests were protected. The rebuilding of Rome, the reclamation of malarial regions in the south and the careful fostering of every influence which tended to unite the nation revived the national consciousness of the Italian people. It is true that this was only achieved by silencing the universities, suppressing freedom of speech and of the press, destroying parliamentary government and establishing brute force in every department of life. But the cost did not, at the time, seem too great. Such was the reaction against the liberalism which appeared effete.
Fascism emerged, and it soon gained sympathetic admirers and led to the formation of similar parties in other countries.

The rise of National Socialism in Germany is equally striking. The party which gathered around Adolf Hitler was formed at the time of Germany's frustration and defeat in 1920. Its accepted body of doctrine was formulated some three or four years afterwards in Hitler's autobiography, Mein Kampf. A decade later it was in possession of absolute power in Germany. Nazism followed in many respects the Italian pattern, but it was conceived not only as the alternative to Communism, but also as the means whereby Germany might recover the losses she had sustained by defeat at the hands of the Allied Powers. The aims of the National Socialists have been succinctly described by H.A.L. Fisher. "They demanded the union of all Germans in a centralized German State, the abrogation of the peace treaties, the return of the German colonies, the disfranchisement of the Jews, the foundation of a national army, and the communalization of the large shops. They attacked pacifism, cosmopolitanism, capitalism. A fanatical German patriotism, which refused to abandon the will to power, marked them out for eventual success."

(History of Europe, p.1196.)

It will be our concern later to examine more closely some of the basic tenets of Communism, Fascism and Nazism, and to test them by the fundamental Christian doctrines.
We may note, however, at this point some of the features they have in common. Although Communism is universalist in its aim and appeal, while Fascism and Nazism were nationalist in scope, all three systems are tyrannical and totalitarian. Against them the individual is allowed no right of appeal. They have no place for the "rights of man" and the human liberties. They disregard minorities and pour scorn on the solution of political problems by discussion and the appeal to reason. They achieve their ends by violence and ruthlessness. They exhibit, in short, a complete reaction against all that liberal humanism cherished.
The endeavours after a "Christian Sociology".  

The question may be properly raised, how did the Christian Church address itself to the situation caused by the breakdown of liberal humanism? The answer appears to be twofold. (1) It came to a deeper understanding of its theological task. (2) It came to a more sensitive awareness of its sociological witness.

(1) In any age the theological work of the Christian Church is given its main emphasis by contemporary conditions. In the era in which liberal humanism was in the ascendant, theology felt itself called to the aid of those whose faith was threatened by the incursion of science into every realm of thought. Answering the challenge of the evolutionary hypothesis, it equipped men who could no longer accept literally the account of creation in Genesis chapter 1 (with Archbishop Ussher's dates) with a re-stated doctrine of creation and revelation. It met the new and expanding enquiries of psychology by examining the validity of religious experience and establishing its claim to give insight into truth. It replied to the proved untenability of the infallibility of the Bible by laying open the Scriptures to the patient recovery of their documentary sources and to the "higher criticism", thus giving to men a richer and more comprehensible Bible and establishing its authority on a firmer foundation. It responded to the investigations of
the comparative study of religions and of anthropology with a new interest in the living faith of the Old and New Testaments and of the historical development of their fundamental religious ideas. The greatest achievement of these theological tendencies was the recovery of "the Jesus of History" with its consequent endeavour to understand and seriously regard His ethical teaching and to apprehend what was meant by the primary concept of His thought "the Kingdom of God".

With the decline of liberal humanism and the disintegration of Christendom which we have witnessed in the last two decades, the emphasis of theology has gradually shifted, and its task has come to be interpreted more in terms of "dogmatics". The widespread repudiation of the Christian ethic and the assailing of fundamental Christian truths have made necessary a presentation and a restatement of the essential Christian faith. The warning voice of Karl Barth broke upon the ears of theologians with a "theology of crisis" to meet a situation itself fraught with crisis and disaster. The systems of the great classical Christian thinkers were approached afresh, and the words which Aquinas, Calvin and Luther could address to the stresses of the modern world were interpreted by such men as Maritain, Brunner and Niebuhr. Endeavours were made to sound again the profoundest thought of the Apostle Paul, and it is upon
such themes as the fallen estate of man, our need of redemption and the saving work of Christ that the most significant theological work has been done.

(2) But side by side with this deepened theological understanding, and indeed informed by it and integrated into it, there has developed a more sensitive awareness of the sociological witness before the Church. In the last two decades Christian leaders have been concerned with a growing confidence in their mission and an increasing sureness of their right to summon the Church to assume its proper responsibilities in the life and work of the world, and to bring under the Lordship of Christ all the interests and concerns of man. An increasing volume of informed writing on these matters has come from men, of whom William Temple, Reinhold Niebuhr, Maurice Reckitt, V.A. Demant, A.E. Garvie and Christopher Dawson may be mentioned as examples.

But the advances in Christian sociology were not made solely by the work of individual thinkers. In all the major Christian communions corporate thinking was done upon the great contemporary social problems, and significant pronouncements were authoritatively promulgated. Moreover, a series of important conferences, most of them oecumenical in character, brought the leaders of the various non-Roman communions together and enabled them, in a large measure, to reach a
common mind on the sociological witness of the Christian Church.

The pattern of subjects for discussion at these conferences was set out at the Conference on Politics, Economics and Citizenship, held at Birmingham in 1924. There the work was done on the basis of commissions which presented reports inter alia on education, the relation of the sexes, politics and citizenship, industry and property, and international relations. Subsequent conferences, at Stockholm in 1925, Oxford in 1937, Tamboram in 1939 and Malvern in 1940, accepted these as the chief topics for consideration.

It is our purpose to examine the main significant trends in Christian sociology during this period as they are disclosed by a review of the writings of individuals, and of the conferences and corporate pronouncements of the Christian Church. That significant trends may be observed is due to the growing seriousness with which Christian leaders faced an increasingly challenging situation. At C.O.P.E.C. the optimism which marked the liberal era in theology, and the optimism which followed the "war to end war" and the establishment of the League of Nations, were clearly echoed. At Stockholm deeper notes were occasionally sounded. At Oxford the Churches spoke with a more surely prophetic voice. In this short period of twenty years a
worsening political situation, and the failure of the nations to make their League effective, drove the Church to examine afresh the basis of its own international order; "poverty in the midst of plenty" and the millions of unemployed men in the great industrial lands forced it to consider the real nature of its social witness; the indoctrination and perversion of youth by Nazism made it think out afresh its conception of education; and the success and power of the totalitarian regimes made it examine more thoroughly the proper claims of the State and its own relation to them. It would not be unfair to remark that, at the beginning of the period under review, Christian sociology was mainly an endeavour to present the ethical teaching of the New Testament with a social emphasis; but by the end of these two decades it had successfully met the challenge of Karl Marx, taken the full measure of Nazism, exposed the inadequacies of scientific humanism, and had virtually become a new theological discipline.
I. THE RELEVANCE OF CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE TO SOCIOLOGY.

The deeper theological understanding and the more sensitive sociological awareness which have been experienced by the Christian Church in the last two decades are intimately inter-connected. Both together form the response which the living Church has made to the world in which it is set. We must now endeavour to determine more specifically the relevance of Christian doctrine to sociology. Three Christian beliefs, in particular, must be examined, for they yield the standards by which we can properly make a critical estimate alike of the secular sociologies and of contributions to Christian sociology. They are (1) the doctrine of man, (2) the doctrine of divine providence, and (3) the conception of the true nature and mission of the Christian Church.
The Christian doctrine of man.

In the modern controversy the fiercest battle has been fought over the conception of man. Implicit in Communism, Nazism and scientific humanism, as in Christianity, is a dogma concerning man. Christianity and its assailants each have their answer to such questions as: "What is man's status in reality?" "What resources can he command for the ordering of his world?" "What possibilities of development can be discerned in him?" "What is his final destiny?" It is upon the answers to these questions that irreconcilable divergences are found. On the doctrine of man the Christian Church, vis a vis its rivals, is both the challenged and the challenger.

Communism is a faith which claims the entire allegiance of men. Its psychology is religious in character. It purports to have an answer to the ultimate questions of human existence; it promises a satisfying end towards which the vitality of the human spirit may be directed; and it holds out before men as its final goal the prospect of the salvation of all mankind. The essence of the Communist doctrine is to present us with an entirely new conception of man. We are to reckon, not with the individual emphasised by Christianity, nor with the "economic man" of modern culture, but with "social" or "collective" man. Nicolas Berdyaev has
adequately described this conception. "The new Communist man is no apotheosis of the individual, autonomous, endowed with individual initiative and boundless yearning - no Faust of modern history, no atom possessing exactly the same formal rights as every other atom, though not at all equal in actual power or material possibilities. It was this individualistic man of modern times that created humanist culture, with science and capitalism as well. But neither is the Communist man the Christian man who still remains, although suppressed, in the lower levels of the modern individual. The new man of Communism is a social man, socialised to the depths of his spirit, with a socialised consciousness and conscience, socialised thinking and activity." (Christianity and the Crisis, p.569.) In this conception, the individual finds his true destiny in serving the interests of social life. For the sake of the perfect society which is to come he must sacrifice his conscience, his thinking, his moral values. To the collective belong all powers and all rights. It is the collective which will conquer and exploit the forces of nature; it is the collective which will organise and achieve the ideal community. In the exercise of its planning and achievement of social action, Communism is prepared to use violence, cruelty and ruthlessness against the individual. As Berdyaev has said, "Communism cramps and limits the
individual man, but to the social man it gives boundless possibilities." The system is based on the presupposition that there is no God. It therefore follows that the individual has no intrinsic value. Moral values are regarded merely as an emanation of the economic organisation of society and they have, therefore, no abiding validity. The entire energies of man are to be devoted to the achievement of the classless society and the universal establishment of Communism. Religious observances, worship and prayer are, therefore, condemned as being socially unfruitful. The practical result of these denials is the paradox that Communism begins by calling men to utter self-sacrifice and ends by exploiting them; using the psychology of religious faith, it results in materialism.

In order that the Communistic conception of man may be understood, it is necessary to give a brief account of the philosophical speculation from which it took its rise. In his youth Marx was profoundly influenced by Hegel, and the source of his anthropology is found in the Hegelian school. As N.N. Alexeiev remarks, "Anyone who has studied the history of Marxist doctrine is convinced that the deepest philosophical roots of Marxism, and especially of the Marxist anthropology, are to be found in the theological controversies which arose in the Hegelian school after the death of Hegel." ("The Christian Understanding of Man", p.86.)
According to Hegel, philosophy, in tracing out the actual given structure of the human mind and of nature, is tracing out the structure of the Absolute itself. It is possible to interpret this conception as a "philosophy of religion", and Hegel himself held that the doctrine of the Trinity is an adumbration of his position. Marx, however, rejected the religious aspects of Hegelianism, and held that the Absolute reaches to full self-consciousness in man. Working upon the concept of man, he arrived at the conclusion that the "individual" is an abstraction. Man can only be understood in relation to his social environment. As a person, he is not responsible for the social consequences of his action. He can be totally explained in terms of naturalistic and materialistic factors. This does not mean that man does not stand out as over against nature, nor that he is to be identified with the animals. To quote his own words, Marx says, "Man can be differentiated from the animal world by consciousness, by religion, by anything else you like. But Man himself begins to differentiate himself from an animal so soon as he begins to produce his own means of life - a step which is conditioned by his physical organisation. Because Man produces his means of life, indirectly he produces his own life itself. The method in which Men produce their means of life depends primarily on the nature of the already existing means of life which are to be
reproduced." (Die Deutche Ideologie, vol. II, pp. 11 and 12.) Having thus established man's historical status, Marx finds that the individual is not to be credited with unique or absolute value. In discussing the Jewish question in an article published in 1843, he rejected the democratic and Christian evaluation of man because it affirms that "not one man alone but each man has value as a sovereign being: man even as uncultured and unsocial, man in his carnal manner of being ... as he is when spoilt by the whole mechanism of history, subordinated to the domination of inhuman relations and forces; in a word, man who is not yet a proper representative of a species ... For liberal democracy that illusion, dream and postulate of Christianity, namely, man as a sovereign soul, but entirely different from real man as he actually is, is a concrete reality, an actuality, a practical maxim of this world." (Quoted by Alexeiev, op. cit., p. 104.) Whatever value man possesses depends solely upon his historical and economic function. "If I speak of individuals it is only in so far as they are the personifications of economic categories and representatives of special class relations and interests." (Das Kapital, from the preface to the first edition.) The true man, the "proper representative of a species", can only come into being in the communistic society. Before the historical process reaches its fulfilment in that, man is the bearer of those
contradictions which result from the class conflicts and mutually antagonistic struggles which give society its distinctive patterns, and which bring even the State (an organisation devised for exploitation by the ruling classes) into existence. With the advent of the classless society, the State will disappear, and the "individual" and the "social" in human personality will become identical. Thus for Marx, man finds his significance and destiny in a totalitarian society, which is not, however, a totalitarian state. "Not until man has recognised his own powers as social powers and organised them as such, and in this way has ceased to see any separation of social power from political power, can human emancipation be accomplished." (Quoted by Alexeiev, op. cit. p.107.)

It has sometimes been observed that, whereas Communism is a philosophy which has found its practical expression in political and economic organisation, Fascism and Nazism are primarily political and economic reactionary movements, whose philosophy (if it exists at all) is merely improvised and in the nature of what the psychologists term "rationalisation". This is not the case for, although Fascism and Nazism cannot claim an equivalent of Karl Marx, it is not difficult to trace the ancestry of the ideas which their systems have put into practice. In this connection it would not be out of place to mention Fichte and Nietzsche. In his "Addresses to the
German Nation" (1807), Fichte proclaimed a nationalist creed. By an insistence on the purity of the German language (for which Nazism was later to substitute the conception of "blood") the essential German character must be preserved; a new kind of education must "mould the Germans into a corporate body" - an education which, he averred, "must consist essentially in this, that it completely destroys freedom of the will"; and a universal military regime must be established, not merely for defence but under the constraint of "the devouring flame of higher patriotism, which embraces the nation as the vesture of the eternal, for which the noble-minded man joyfully sacrifices himself, and the ignoble man, who only exists for the sake of another, must likewise sacrifice himself".

Nietzsche (1844-1900) held that mankind is more a means than an end, and can be regarded as material upon which certain exceptional individuals experiment in the exercise of their greatness. The "Christian-democratic" ideals, as he termed them, of humility, self-renunciation and service to the weak, were to be repudiated. In Zarathustra and other of his writings war is openly glorified, and the future is said to belong to the kind of greatness which "by means of discipline and also by means of the annihilation of millions of the botched and bungled, and which can yet avoid going to ruin at the sight of the suffering created thereby ... " In more modern times the philosophy of Fascism has been expounded in
the writings of Othmar Spann, of Vienna, who began his career in 1919. The modern world, Spann contends, is presented with an inescapable choice between "Individualism" and "Totalitarianism". Communism in his view is the fulfilment of individualism. "That in Marxism the 'State dies off' is the outcome of its inherent Individualism which regards society as being, essentially, lack of domination of human beings by human beings, a 'free association' of individuals." Spann's endeavour is to describe a kind of society which is not a relationship of persons. This Fascism and Nazism gave to the world in their national groups based upon race-mysticism, and in their conception of society, the units in whose structure were not individuals, but economic functions.

But we must turn more particularly to the doctrine of man found in Fascism and Nazism. Rosenberg, echoing Spann, affirmed that "Democratic and Marxian movements take their stand on the happiness of the individual", and regarded this as a criticism of them. It is certain that in the Fascist and Nazi systems the individual has no status and no intrinsic worth. If the psychology of Communism is religious in character, that of Fascism and Nazism is predominantly behaviouristic. At the social level the behaviourists believe that it is possible so to organise and fashion society that men, thus presented with new situations, will respond by
showing the behaviour and attitudes it is thereby desired to create. Fascism, as Mannheim claims, "plans and changes the political world at the will of behaviourism".

That Fascism and Nazism aim at "conditioning" the individuals who are brought within their systems is clearly seen in the writings of their chief exponents. Thus Mussolini: "Fascism is not only a lawgiver and founder of institutions, it is also an educator and promotor of spiritual life. It aims to refashion both the outward form of life and also its inward content - man, his character and beliefs. To achieve this purpose it enforces discipline and uses authority. It enters the soul and rules with undisputed sway." With this we may compare Hitler's words in Mein Kampf: "The true National State must make it its duty to develop a suitable system of education for its youth so that it may maintain a race of men prepared for the last and greatest decisions of this globe. The first nation to take this road will be the conqueror. The whole character and education of the true National State must find its apex in its racial instruction. It must brand the sense of race and the feeling of race in the instincts and the understanding of the hearts and brains of the youth entrusted to it. No boy and no girl shall be permitted to leave school until he or she has been initiated into the deepest knowledge about the inner necessity and essence of blood purity."
If then the individual possesses no intrinsic worth, what is the end which gives life its meaning? The answer is: the glorification of the State, or the exultation of the natural community. "The Fascist conception of the State is all-embracing. Beyond it no human or spiritual concept can exist" (Mussolini). "The individual is nothing - das Volk is everything" (Hitler). The destiny of the individual, if a man, is to fight or toil for the military aggrandizement of the State, and, if a woman, to bear children for that purpose. Within society, the individual can have no vocation as a person; he or she can only be the bearer of an economic function which makes its necessary contribution to the life of the whole. An important difference emerges here to mark off Fascism and Nazism from Communism. In Communism, in theory at least, the State and "the dictatorship of the proletariat" are meant to "wither away". The exploitation and enslavement of the individual can, therefore, be regarded as accidental or incidental. In Fascism and Nazism, however, dictatorship of the ruling caste is essential to the system, and the subjugation of the individual is deliberate and permanent.

Because of the ability of Communism and Fascism to gain the allegiance of men, Christian theology has been forced to plumb to the very depths its own doctrine of man. Superficial thinking will not meet the challenge of these powerful systems. Liberal Christianity may cry: "The Jesus of History has shown
us the path which leads to life. If only men would exercise the humane virtues of tolerance, brotherly-kindness and charity, the problems of the world would be solved."

Scientific humanism may echo this optimism and exclaim, "Man has great resources within himself. He has achieved control over the forces of nature and has gained knowledge of every phase of human activity. If only we can apply and extend our knowledge - of the human body, to banish disease; of the mind, to banish fears and control phantasies; of sociology, to regulate communities; of the natural world, to harness its resources; of economics, to control the production, distribution and consumption of wealth; of eugenics, to breed a finer race - we shall be saved." But the words "if only" serve but to introduce the general confession of the twentieth century. They are the acknowledgment of human doubt and weakness. In uttering them we say, "And there is no health in us".

What then is the distinctively Christian doctrine of man? (i) Against Marxism it holds that for the true understanding of man we must go, not to philosophical reflection, but to the Biblical revelation and the response which faith makes to it. Man is created by God after His own image. That he is a created being implies that his ultimate significance is conferred upon him by God. His status is limited by this fact and dependent upon it. That he is created
after the image of God means that God has endowed him with freedom and responsibility, thus making him unique among all created beings, and conferring upon him an intrinsic value. This means that he can never be truly understood if he is regarded merely as part of the natural order, as the product of historical forces, or as conditioned by social relationships. He is not simply a psycho-physical organism which may be moulded by a behaviouristic psychology. He is a transcendent being, more than body and mind, whose true centre is found in the spiritual realm and in the purpose of God. He is made for eternity, destined to enjoy a fuller life and a deeper knowledge of God in a life beyond mortality, and in this is found the dynamic impulse of his being. Because he has this status, he may not be exploited or enslaved.

(ii) Christian doctrine affirms that man is a sinner. The evils which affect him are not due simply to ignorance which can be overcome by the increasing application of knowledge to the human problem, nor to environmental conditions which can be improved until perfection is attained. They are due to his defeat in the realm which makes him uniquely and essentially man, the realm of the spirit. His true relationship with God has been fundamentally disturbed and perverted. That is the truth which is preserved in the myth of the Fall of Man. There is one "chief end" of man, and that is to
"glorify God and to enjoy Him for ever". From that high purpose man has fallen, and in consequence his true relationship to God is obscured, his relationship to his fellows is thrown out of its true balance, and his proper understanding of himself is marred by contradictions. Having lost the true end of his being, he seizes upon various other ends in turn, and towards the attainment of these he directs his energies and purposes, only to find that they do not solve his problems nor bring him the abiding peace he seeks. For example, he may stress first the freedom of the individual as the ultimate purpose which will give life meaning and value, only to find that by so doing he enables some individuals to gain a power which they use to exploit others. He then goes to the other extreme and demands that social solidarity shall be the end, only to find that in securing it his existence as an individual is threatened. (iii) Christian doctrine affirms that man needs a Saviour, and that his Creator has become his Saviour. Man cannot save himself. He cannot resolve the contradictions in which his fallen estate has involved him. He can be saved only by the revelation and the redeeming activity of God. This has been given him in the person and words of Jesus Christ. For in Jesus Christ, Son of Man and Son of God, man is confronted by ideal Man and by God Himself. By the response of faith and obedience to Christ man sees the true end of his being, and becomes a member of that new humanity which Christ's saving work has restored.
The liberal view of progress has virtually been abandoned. Underlying it was an evolutionary and optimistic philosophy of history. It assumed that a natural law of development controlled the course of events in the past and would continue its beneficent influence throughout an indefinite future. Events of the recent decades have proved this conception to be untenable, and men have either regarded history as futile or have sought to formulate a philosophy of history which would give meaning to the human predicament. Only one such philosophy, the Communist, calls for our consideration before we outline the Christian view. Fascism and National Socialism were infatuated with a conception of destiny based upon the will to gain an empire by force in the interests of an allegedly superior State or race: a mythology may have inspired them, but they did not work out a philosophy of history.

Communism, however, claims to see a pattern in the human story and offers a cogent interpretation of events. It propounds the materialist conception of history. This, in Marx's formulation, takes over three assumptions from Hegel, namely, that history is a given process which has a unity independent of what any particular historian may read into it; that this process has a cause other than the conscious purposes of men; and that the process is "dialectical",

(2) The Doctrine of Divine Providence.
that is, it follows the logical pattern of thesis, antithesis
and synthesis. Marx holds that the fundamental principles
of materialism can be applied to human society and its
history. The unity underlying the process of history is
the economic development of society: the cause which is
outside the consciousness of man is "economic determinism";
and the pattern of logical contradiction can be traced in
the achievement of stability, the revolutionary change and
the regaining of order in a new type of society, which is
the oft-repeated process of history. Marx claims that at
any given stage of human society people enter into "prod-
tion relations" with one another which correspond to the
development of their "productive forces". "The totality of
these production relations constitutes the economic structure
of society, the real basis upon which a legal and political
superstructure arises and to which definite forms of social
consciousness correspond. The mode of production of the
material means of life determines, in general, the social,
political and intellectual processes of life. It is not
the consciousness of human beings that determines their
existence, but conversely it is their social existence that
determines their consciousness." Whenever society reaches
a certain stage, the "material productive forces" (the
potentialities of further development) come into conflict
with "existing production relationships" (the status quo)
and "a period of social revolution then begins". "With the change in the economic foundation, the whole gigantic superstructure is more or less rapidly transformed. In considering such transformations we must always distinguish between the material changes in the economic conditions of production, changes which can be determined with the precision of natural science, and the legal, political, religious, aesthetic, or philosophical, in short, ideological forms, in which human beings become conscious of this conflict and fight it to an issue." We cannot assess a revolutionary period by the verdicts of the people who are living in it: rather must we recognise that their conscious judgments of it are determined by "the contradictions of material life". History records these successive epochs and revolutions. "In broad outline we can designate the Asiatic, the classical, the feudal and the modern bourgeois forms of production as progressive epochs in the economic formation of society." (Quotations from Marx: "A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy").

The Communist philosophy of history is the only serious rival to the Christian doctrine of Divine Providence. The importance and relevance of the Christian doctrine to-day have been forcefully stated by V.A. Demant: "Where everything in the secular world seems to conspire against belief in the supremacy of the Spirit, the task of upholding faith
in Divine Providence will become more and more difficult for the Christian Church. This faith is the ground of all our religion, and if it continues to lose hold on men no teaching about the Holy Spirit, or Brotherhood, or the Social Values of Christianity, will avail anything. The problem of Providence is posed to the world at the present day by the baffling nature of the social problem. Is our Western industrial civilization but one of a series of senseless cycles of culture, or has it some meaning, some purpose in relation to the destiny of man? The breakdown of our present industrial society is raising searching doubts as to whether history has any significance, as it has already destroyed the myth of 'Progress' which for a time proved a substitute for religious faith." ("God, Man and Society", pp.34-35.)

An important initial difference must be noted between the Christian and the Communist views. The Marxist interpretation (like the Hegelian) is concerned with the revelation of history; Christianity points to a revelation in history. For Christianity the meaning of history is determined by that which lies beyond history. It derives its fundamental conception from the Hebrew thought and experience of God. The Bible knows God as "the Living God". As Creator and Redeemer He is transcendent, but He nevertheless acts in the world of time. The Christian
interpretation of history can be said to begin in the Covenant - the birth - by which at a certain point of time Israel became the people of Yahweh. Through the covenant-relationship the moral will of God was made known: His righteousness, faithfulness and mercy were revealed, and His demand for righteousness in the life of the nation was made plain.

The idea of revelation is integral to the Christian view of Divine Providence. History is not regarded simply as a process of development in time towards an unknown goal. The "end" of history has been revealed. It is "the Kingdom of God", the establishment of those eternal values which belong to God's nature, and the accomplishment of His purpose in a society of persons who find their full and satisfying life in fellowship with Him. Revelation is the declaration of the eternal values which belong to the moral will of God, the interpretation of events in relation to the Kingdom of God, and the creation, constant renewal and extension of the divine community. It is always dynamic: it is given to men, not primarily through the enunciation of truth, but through the inspiration of persons at the initiative of God. He speaks to the world through the community bound to Him by the covenant-relationship, and to that community through the prophets. Revelation, in the Christian view, finds its climax and consummation in Jesus
Christ, the Incarnate Son of God. "God, Who at sundry times and in divers manners spake in time past unto the fathers by the prophets, hath in these last days spoken unto us by His Son, whom He hath appointed heir of all things, by whom also He made the world..." (Hebrews 1,1-2). In Jesus Christ, the Kingdom of God is both revealed and realized, and the missionary vocation of those who are gathered into it on the response of faith becomes explicit.

The eschatological element in the Christian view of Divine Providence is important. To reconcile the patent facts of evil in human experience with the universal reign of the righteous God constitutes a serious problem. The suggestion of liberalism, that evil will be gradually eliminated in a course of events which progressively tends towards God's reign, is now seldom made. In its stead there has been a rediscovery of the relevance of the apocalyptic thought found in the Biblical record. The central truth there enshrined is that evil must be overcome by the victory of God. This victory is partially seen in the fact that reality is so constructed that evil cannot achieve an enduring kingdom; it is always self-destructive. Dr. C.H. Dodd understands the Pauline conception of "the Wrath of God" as an endeavour to state this truth. St. Paul, he says, retains this concept, "not to describe the attitude of God to man, but to describe an inevitable process of
cause and effect in a moral universe ... " (Moffatt Commentary on Romans, p.23.) But it is in the Cross of Christ that Christian faith clearly sees the Divine Victory over evil. Christian thought moves both in eternity and in time. The Christian knows that in Christ the Kingdom of God has come, and that in the Cross sin has been finally and decisively defeated. His faith takes him into the eternal realm where that is true. But he also knows that he must pray "Thy Kingdom come" and that he must continue to strive against sin. That is his task and duty in the temporal world. In this world progress and the continued enrichment of civilization are possible; but they will always hold the potentialities of both good and evil. The Christian (as the conceptions of "the Day of the Lord" and the "Second Advent" remind him) looks for a consummation of history, wherein the Victory of God over evil, which has already been gained, will be manifest.

The Christian doctrine of Divine Providence is not utopian in character. In our outline of it an endeavour has been made to state its chief positive contentions, that God is Creator and Saviour, that He makes known His moral will and purpose, and to emphasize the Christian belief in His moral governance, divine judgment and eternal victory.
The reaction against liberalism is nowhere more clearly seen than in the abandonment of individualism. The quest of the modern world is for social solidarity. The great movements of recent years have sought to achieve community. In their structure there is not only a dogma concerning man and a conception of destiny, there is also a doctrine of the nature of society.

The Communist doctrine of society is explicitly formulated in the writings of Marx and Engels. In the "Manifesto of the Communist Party", for example, it is argued that the history of society as it has been known hitherto is the history of class struggles. This has now become simplified into the struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. Communism aims at organising the proletariat, equipping them everywhere to overthrow the bourgeois supremacy, and placing political power throughout the world in their hands. But before this can be finally achieved there must of necessity be a transition period, wherever the revolution takes place, between the overthrow of the capitalist society and the establishment of the communist: this is "the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat". The dictatorship is a temporary phase. It will suppress the minority of people who exploit their fellows, thus for the first time creating genuine democracy for the majority. It will use as its
apparatus a special form of the State, but it will eventually "wither away". Marx envisages the achievement of communist society in two stages. In the first, the means of production will belong to the community, but from the proceeds of labour economic expansion must be made possible and better social services must be provided for the people. It cannot be expected that justice and equality will be perfected. Unjust differences in wealth will persist, but the opportunity for exploitation will have gone. "But these defects are inevitable in the first phase of communist society as it is when it has just emerged, after prolonged birth-pangs, from capitalist society. Right can never be higher than the economic structure of society and the cultural development thereby determined." (Marx: "Critique of the Gotha Programme, 1875.) "Socialism" is the popular designation of this phase. But there is a higher phase of communist society. Marx in the same work thus describes it: "In a higher phase of communist society after the enslaving subordination of individuals under division of labour and therewith the antithesis between mental and physical labour has vanished; after labour has become not merely a means to live but has become itself the primary necessity of life; after the productive forces have also increased with the all-round development of the individual, and all the springs of co-operative wealth flow more abundantly - only then can
the narrow horizon of bourgeois right be fully left behind
and society inscribe on its banner: from each according
to his ability, to each according to his needs!"

Many of the developments forecast by Marx have taken
place, but one major event he did not foresee - the emer­
gence of fascism from capitalism. Fascism, as Mussolini
himself averred, is a reaction against individualism and
the Liberal conception of the State. But it is also
opposed to Communism. Its doctrine of society is an
exaltation of the State. It took as its slogan, "tutto
nello Stato, niente contro lo Stato, nulla al di fuori
dello Stato" - "everything in the State, nothing against
the State, nothing outside the State". But "the State"
is here a mystical conception. "The Fascist State, the
highest and most powerful form of personality, is a force,
but a spiritual force, which takes over all the forms of
the moral and intellectual life of man. It cannot,
therefore, confine itself simply to the functions of order
and supervision as Liberalism desired ... It is the form,
the inner standard and discipline of the whole person; it
saturates the will as well as the intelligence ... "
(Mussolini: "La Dottrina del Fascismo", 1932.) Obedience
to the law of heroic sacrifice unites individual and State
in an indissoluble bond, and makes possible the achievement
of a superior form of spiritual existence. The expansion
of a nation, both by military conquest and by its leadership of other peoples in the realm of ideas, is a sign of vitality.

Although National Socialism was so closely akin to Fascism, it had a recognisably different doctrine of society. In Hitler's view, National Socialism was founded upon "the iron logic of Nature". From his conception that Nature wills to improve all life by making the stronger species victorious over the weaker, and his equation of the strength of a species with the purity of its stock, there emerged the first principle of the Nazi doctrine of society - racial purity. "The will of Nature is to preserve rigidly the distinction and differentiation of races, and the first duty of man is to co-operate with Nature, to behave in accordance with Nature's Will. The duty of man is not to try to conquer, change or moralize Nature, but simply to obey it." (M. Oakeshott, commenting on "Mein Kampf" in "The Social and Political Doctrines of Contemporary Europe", 1939, p.198.) But it is not to be thought that, because there are different races, there is equality between them. Some are higher, and it is their duty to dominate the lower. The highest race of all, the Aryan, is the creator and bearer of civilization. Racial sense and feeling is the basis of personality. It is also the basis of the Nation, for in the National Socialist ideology the
nation is conceived as a racial unit. The State is the apotheosis of the nation: by it a community composed of the same physical and psychological type is brought into being.

Christianity also is concerned to form men into a society. The pressure of events in recent years has not only made Christian people re-think their doctrine of the Church's nature and mission: what is more important, it has made them re-discover the experience of the Church as a community. The gifts of the Gospel are two - its message to the individual, and its offer of life in the fellowship of the redeemed. The bases of membership in the Christian society is not biological accident (as in Nazism), the seizure of political power (as in Fascism), nor the accomplishment of a revolutionary economy (as in Communism); it is the reconciling love of God. Its members are born "not of blood" (the cult of race), "nor of the will of the flesh" (the cult of human power), "nor of the will of man" (the religion of human achievement), "but of God" (the religion of grace). (John 1:3.)

For our understanding of the nature of the Church we rightly turn to the Biblical revelation. Dr. C.H. Dodd observes that "Paul begins the history of the Church with the call of Abraham, to whom the promise was given: 'In thee shall all nations be blessed'. There was thus called
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into being, in the purpose of God, a universal society, the people of God." ("The Kingdom of God and History", p.27.) The Old Testament traces the record of this "people for God's own possession". It gives an account of their call and discipline, their achievement of nationhood and their vicissitudes among the nations and empires of the world, the revelation of God's purpose (especially through the prophets) and their imperfect understanding of it, the promise of the Messiah and their failure to become the kind of community which would recognise and respond to Him. At the heart of this story of God's dealing with Israel is the conception of the Covenant. God, for His part, had chosen Israel, set His love upon them, and would ever reveal to them His nature and truth: they, for their part, were to serve, obey and trust God. Thus were they to be prepared for their vocation, which was to become the bearers of God's revelation and redemption to the whole world. But Israel did not rise to the height of their function as a redemptive community. Only a minority, "the remnant", in every age discerned the purpose of God; only occasionally was Israel's destiny interpreted in the light of a missionary task. When, therefore, Jesus the Messiah came, after an unsuccessful appeal to the whole nation, He deliberately began to fashion a "New Israel". His disciples, with whom He came to share His deepest purposes, formed the nucleus of this new
community, this "people for God's own possession". (I Peter 2.9.) The New Testament traces the record of the Church, called first out of the old Israel and then out of the Gentile world, taking its message of God's redemption, wrought in the Cross and Resurrection of Jesus Christ, into the world; rejoicing in its experience of the power of the Holy Spirit, and becoming more and more confident of its missionary vocation.

This bare outline cannot do justice to the Biblical conception of the Church. One of the most impressive features of modern Christian scholarship is the work done upon this conception, and the unity of the results achieved by students who approach the subject from their different traditions is striking. The cardinal point is that the Church has been shown to be involved in the "kerygma", the essential message which the early Christians proclaimed to the world as their Gospel. Thus the Church is no human device or expedient: it is the Society which God's purpose has brought into being, and it is His will that all who respond to the Gospel message should be gathered into it. All the traditional characteristics of the Church are found in the New Testament. Its unity is explicit in a passage such as Ephesians 4.4. "There is one body, and one Spirit .. one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all ... "; its holiness, for example, in I Peter 1.16, and
2.9, "be ye yourselves also holy in all manner of living", "a holy nation", and in the many references to Christians as "called to be saints"; its catholicity is evident, for example, in Galatians 3.28, in Christ "there can be neither Jew nor Greek, bond nor free ... male nor female."

The catholicity of the Church is implicit in the covenant-relationship. Wherever Christian believers are gathered together in a local fellowship, the bond which unites them to one another is their sharing in worship and service of the one Lord and their common response to the one Saviour. This is the essential "form of the Church". It underlies all the differences of tradition in worship and polity, and it becomes evident in times of stress and persecution. It also provides the ultimate unity of all the Christian communions in the one Catholic Church. The oecumenical movement itself, concerned as it is with the given unity of the Church, the una Sancta, derives from this fact. Those who are members of this one universal community cannot be indifferent to their relations with one another. But the Church is also seen as a universal society on a more practical level. It is commissioned to preach the Gospel to every creature, and all who respond to that message must be welcomed into its fellowship. It therefore proves its power to transcend the barriers which commonly separate men, race, nation and class, and thus to discharge a "ministry of reconciliation" in a divided world.
Among human societies the Church is unique in its origin and status, and in its universality. The method by which it extends its dominion in the world is also distinctive. The Church accomplishes its mission by three types of ministry, the prophetic, the pastoral and the priestly. It has a message to deliver, a word from God to give to mankind, a Gospel to proclaim. In fulfilment of this task the Church sends its apostles and preachers throughout the world. It has a service to give to mankind, a care for men and women, a sharing of their burdens and needs. This has inspired the Church's concern throughout the ages for the poor, the sick and the oppressed. Finally, there is laid upon it the duty to penetrate the life of the world at all points, to share fully in all the interests of mankind, in a real sense to become identified with the world, and yet to raise the life of the world into the presence of the Living God. This the Church has done, and must continue to do, by the witness of its members in all the activities of human life, by its unwearied intercession, by its readiness for sacrifice, and by its faithfulness, if need be, unto death.

The doctrine of the Church is the counterpart to the revived secular interest in community. By it proposed or attempted "sociologies" must be assessed. It must also give direction to the ecumenical movement.
One of the great figures in the ecumenical movement was William Temple. He stands first in our list of representative thinkers because throughout our period he consistently called the Church to a social witness derived from Christian truth, and with great force and clarity commended the principles of Christian social order to leaders and laity alike.

Dr. A.E. Garvie enjoyed an intimate knowledge of Continental Christianity, had much practical experience of the ecumenical movement (especially in the "Life and Work" part of it), and endeavoured in his writings to present a systematic treatment of Christian social philosophy.

It is the conviction of an influential group within the Church of England that the only adequate basis for a Christian social philosophy is to be found in the Catholic tradition. Anglo-Catholic sociologists must therefore be included in our representative thinkers, and V.A. Demant, M.B. Reckitt and W.G. Peck - who are all associated with the Anglo-Catholic Summer School of Sociology - have been selected as exponents of this approach.

Roman Catholic thought is represented by Jacques Maritain, who has attempted consistently to apply the
principles of Thomism to the modern problems arising from politics and economics.

The tendency to resist this appeal for a return to the "mediaeval synthesis" finds a vigorous protagonist in A.D. Lindsay, who defends the principles of modern democracy and the insights which the "free" Church contributed to them.

The attitude of Christianity to Communism was one of the much debated questions in our period. Christopher Dawson (following the official Romanist view) holds that the two faiths are irreconcilable, and sees in Communism the prototype of anti-Christian religion: John Macmurray maintains that there is an essential kinship between them, and attempts to correct the errors and remove the accretions of both in order to bring out their basic similarity.

The profoundest contribution to Christian Sociology in modern times has been made by Reinhold Niebuhr. He has protested against the naturalism and humanism to which much contemporary Christianity was reduced, and has shown the need to establish sociology in theological understanding, especially of man's need for redemption.

In the work of these thinkers we shall find an adequate representation of the modern contribution to Christian Sociology.
(1) **WILLIAM TEMPLE.**

Our study of representative thinkers in Christian Sociology begins appropriately with William Temple (1881-1944). Temple was the acknowledged leader of the modern oecumenical movement, both in its "Faith and Order" and its "Life and Work" activities. C.O.P.E.C. came into being by his inspiration; Malvern was his special concern; he had a large share in the responsible work of Oxford 1937, and it may be noted that "The Message to the Churches" published by that Conference is almost solely his drafting; he attended most of the other great oecumenical Conferences which come within the period under review. But it was not only through this medium that Temple made his significant contribution to Christian social thought. In his spoken and written word he showed a passionate concern that the implications of Christianity should be fully realized in the social order. W.G. Peck writes of him: "William Temple was the latest of those great prophets of social righteousness whom God has raised up in the English Church. None made a more signal impact upon the mind and conscience of the nation; none was more gladly heard by the common people; none gave himself more fully to the support of social justice" (William Temple: an estimate and appreciation, p.59). To set out his basic thought, as it is expressed in his many writings, must now be our endeavour.
A fundamental principle in Temple's teaching and thinking was the sanctity of the human personality. This derives from Christian belief in the Divine Fatherhood. A man's value is ultimately his value, neither to himself nor to his society, but to God. This reverence for the human person provides a standard by which we can test the methods and results of economic and industrial organisation, the educational system and the claims and activities of the State. It is the Christian's standing-ground when he has to challenge social evils; it is the foundation of his concern for social righteousness. There are two important derivatives of this basic principle, (a) freedom, and (b) fellowship.

(a) Freedom. Temple held that if personality is to be developed and allowed to manifest its distinctive features a man must be given the widest possible area of effective choice. Economic liberty must be secured, or political liberty will be ineffectual. But the freedom which is to be most zealously guarded is the freedom in what is distinctively personal, namely freedom of worship, thought and expression. In "Faith and Freedom", a lecture delivered in 1935, Temple pointed out that liberty may be rooted either in selfhood or in Divine Sonship. The first is precariously grounded. Men may strive for freedom in order to secure their own particular claims and interests, and it is true that where these selfish interests are identical or supplementary to each other a certain measure
of co-operation is possible. Indeed, existing democracies rest largely on this foundation, but it cannot be the ultimate basis of true freedom. Essential liberty derives from man's Divine Sonship. Against that no earthly authority can have a valid claim. It carries with it the recognition that all other men are entitled to the same respect as regards their personality. Thus it makes possible the extension of freedom, for men will be more concerned to resist the repression of others than of themselves. Freedom so understood is enduring. "Where freedom has no deeper root than the personalities of the citizens it will perish and justly perish ... Where freedom springs not only from the individuality of men, but from that independence which is an aspect of their conscious dependence upon God, there it will not perish, because its foundation is superior to circumstance; nor will it deserve to perish, for it will always unite rather than divide, and create not faction but true commonwealth" (Thoughts in War-time, pp.129-30).

(b) Fellowship. This principle of Divine Sonship is not only a root of freedom, but of fellowship. The claim that a man makes for himself is valid also for all other men in virtue of their humanity. Freedom and fellowship are closely connected. There can be no fellowship without freedom; and if there is freedom without fellowship social collapse will result. Temple was concerned with the applications of this principle. In 1924, he pointed out that industrial production
is essentially a co-operative enterprise which needs Capital, Management and Labour; "our need is a full and frank recogni-
tion that industry is in its own nature fundamentally co-
operative, so that all competition within it is kept in check
by the co-operative spirit and purpose" (Christus Veritas,
p.205). In 1940 (in "The War as a Divine Judgment") he wrote:
"The chief and most destructive evils of our times are due to
the clash of corporate bodies - economic or industrial units,
nations, races; these can only be checked if their members
are also members of a fellowship which includes them all.
The cure for nationalism is the Catholic Church" (Thoughts in
War-time, p.48). He always pleaded that the ultimate secret
of fellowship is a growing sense of unity in Christ. "Without
this," he remarked in his lectures on "Christianity as Thought
and Practice"(1935), "I do not expect to see any living and
enduring sense of fellowship between the nations. As yet this
'oecumenical sense' is feeble; but it is growing fast."

Temple's views as to the basis of the Church's concern
with politics and economics were firm and clear. He met the
argument that the Church's business is solely with the spiritual
life of the individual by pointing out that the conditions in
which a life is set affect character, and the Church is legiti-
mately concerned with anything which affects character. It is
further to be remembered that Christianity came into the world
as a society, and it must criticise actual institutions in the light of its own social principles. These considerations formed the subject-matter of "Essays in Christian Politics" (1927) and continued to occupy him until the end of his life. This concern will lead to the condemnation of inequalities in educational facilities and of an industrial system which pays little respect to the worker's personality and regards "Labour" as a commodity. It will lead to a reversal of the view that economics are autonomous, and demand their proper subordination to ethics and politics. Economic laws are not written in the constitution of reality; they are but generalisations from experience, and the classical view that self-interest is the only effective and relevant economic motive must be shown by the Church to be misguided. To his fundamental principle (the sanctity of personality) Temple added two other Christian social principles - the duty of service and the power of sacrifice. Service to the general welfare must be the motive alike of individuals and of groups or classes within the community, and this it is the task of Christianity to inspire. But Christianity goes further than this: at the heart of our faith there is a principle revealed in the Cross of Christ whose implications in social and international questions we have hardly dared to unfold. "In a society that had never become corrupted, fellowship might rest on justice; but when
once corruption has set in, it can only be based on self-sacrifice." (Essays in Christian Politics, p.18.)

It was natural, in view of this Christian structure of his thought, that Temple was much concerned with the nature and expression of democracy. Of all forms of government, democratic principles are the best fitted to carry into human affairs the Christian view of man. The real root of democracy is neither the claim that there resides in "the People" an inherent sovereignty, nor the suggestion that "the People" is always right, but that liberty which is an implicate of respect for the human personality. In defence of the practice of democratic government he wrote, "The reason for letting the majority govern is not that it is sure to be right; on the contrary, on any new and intricate issue it is sure to be wrong. But there is no means, till afterwards, of settling which minority (if any) is right. And the majority will seldom go as far wrong as some minorities often go. But the reason for letting the majority govern is not even that it is nearly sure not to go very far wrong. It is that the exercise of political responsibility is good for the citizens who practise it, so that a community trained in democratic politics is likely to be a more richly developed and more securely stabilised community than any other. And this in turn rests on the fact that it is the form of constitution which does most justice to the nature of man as God made him." (Christian Democracy, 1937, pp.28-29.)
This is not to imply that democracy is the remedy for all the ills which afflict human societies, nor that it should everywhere be established without regard to a society's stage of political development. It is admitted that democracy may become perverted and destroy its own true foundation. It makes great demands on the moral resources of a nation. But "more than any other form of constitution it corresponds to the full Christian conception of man - man as 'fallen', i.e. selfish, and therefore needing to be governed, and that, too, by force; but man created 'in the image of God', and therefore capable of responding to moral appeal and living as a good member of the whole family of God" (idem. p.30). That Christianity best expresses itself through democracy is only one side of the truth; it is also true that if democracy is to survive it needs both the Christian co-operation towards unselfishness and service for others, and the Christian restraint upon the tendency to use liberty for the exploitation of others.

It was inevitable that Temple's concern with the community and its wise ordering, and the individual and his true status, should lead him to give much attention to the instrument which the community uses in its executive function, namely, the State. He saw that Christian social thought, if it is to be fruitful in politics, must go beyond politics. In his Scott Holland Memorial Lecture, "Christianity and the
State" (1928), he propounds the following definition: "The State is a necessary organ of the National community, maintaining through law as promulgated by a Government endowed to this end with coercive power, the universal external conditions of social order" (p.123). He insisted that the State is an instrument. It is true that there is no higher earthly authority: it is admitted that the heightened national consciousness of modern times has brought it into a new prominence; it is inevitable that its influence will be carried further into economic planning and into spheres which have hitherto been left to voluntary effort. All this constitutes a real danger that the State may come to be regarded as an end. It is only the Christian doctrine of man which can set the proper limits to the State's pretensions. The State's authority is to be recognised; but only as the people who form the national community uphold the higher authority of God can the tendency to absolute sovereignty be checked. The individual is the permanent reality - the State is transient and is meant to serve the individual's true welfare. "The real reason why the State must not presume to dictate to me my manner of life is not that I am myself, but that I am a child of God" (The Hope of a New World, p.22). The State is "entitled to give directions to its citizens" and "to implement these with
appropriate sanctions", but "it is not at liberty in its pressure upon his mind and especially through the education which it provides to suggest that he has no moral duty except to serve the State" (Christianty in Thought and Practice). The State is a most powerful educator. It moulds men's minds and develops their character, either for good or ill. The question the Christian is concerned to ask is: does the State in its attitudes and actions recognise the true status of the person? "If the citizen as he confronts the State is merely an episode in the passing stream of the generations, if he is rooted only in transient history, then both in duration and in significance the State vastly surpasses him, and indeed his value is nothing more or less than his value to the State or to the Community. The State in dealing with him need consider no interest but its own ... On the other hand, if each several man is a child of God, created for eternal fellowship with his heavenly Father, the State is called upon to treat him according to that dignity and in preparation for that destiny" ("Faith and Freedom" in "Thoughts in War-time", pp.123-124).

Certain problems of social ethics much occupied Temple's mind. In 1935, (in "Christianity in Thought and Practice") he raised the question whether the moral principles which are rightly urged upon individuals can be applied simpliciter to govern the relations of groups of men such as States. He
concluded that they cannot be. A man, for example, may be encouraged to sacrifice his own interests for the sake of others, but a nation cannot be so admonished in the same way: in national policy a loyalty is due to both past and future generations, and this principle of "trusteeship" is a moral consideration which has to be taken into account.

But a more acute question has to be faced: the use of coercion in the maintenance of justice. Temple held that "the social life of man is part of the Divine purpose in Creation, and what is requisite for its maintenance is part of the Divine activity in preserving what Creation has brought into being. This is the theological justification for the State and all its apparatus." (Christian Democracy, 1937, pp.38-39.) It is admitted that Christianity abjures the use of force, just as Law (in its essential quality) is an expression of reason. But where an individual, class, group or nation defies law, refuses to submit a dispute to reason and accept its reward, or engages in aggression against humanity, there force is rightly employed as an instrument of restraint. This view led Temple to define his attitude to pacifism. For the pacifist position he had a profound respect. He held that it was right, and for the good of the Church, that some Christians should be called to this witness as a vocation, but he insisted that it could not be made the universal obligation of all Christians. "I think
it is likely that different Christians ought to give different answers, according as their vocation is the more monastic or the more civic expression of Christian discipleship; and we ought all to respect one another's consciences." (Thoughts in War-time, p.23.) He held that if pacifism cannot be regarded as a universal Christian position, still less can acquiescence in the continuance of war and the occasions of war. Justice must be established, but as the first achievement of that love which binds mankind in true fellowship.

In the latest development of Temple's thought, he was beginning to assess the significance of the idea of "Natural Order". He came to see that social righteousness cannot be achieved simply by an appeal to people and classes to change their behaviour; the whole purpose and organisation of the modern social structure (in its industry, commerce and finance) must be examined in the light of God's purpose in Creation. "Temple now understood the problem as not merely that of restoring man to a harmonious relation with God and his fellows upon the level of ethical purpose, but as also that of restoring man to a right relation with God as Creator and Sustainer of the whole natural order, which includes the physical world and man himself at his sub-volitional levels". (W.G. Peck, "William Temple; an estimate and appreciation", p.71.) In an address entitled "Theology To-day" delivered in 1939, Temple explicitly raised the problem for himself.
"What is the relation between the order of Redemption which the Christian enters by Faith and the order of Creation to which he belongs as a man? Is there a Natural Order which is from God, as Catholic tradition holds? Or is there only Natural Disorder, the fruit of sin, from which Christ delivers us, as Continental Protestantism has held?" (Thoughts in War-time, p.106.) He returned to this question in his opening address at the Malvern Conference in 1941, and there explicitly pleaded for the conception of natural order. (See "Malvern 1941", p.18-19.) In his "Christianity and Social Order" (1942), he devotes a chapter to "The Natural Order and the Priority of Principles". "In practice," he observes, "the Natural Order or Natural Law is discovered partly by observing the generally accepted standards of judgment and partly by consideration of the proper functions of whatever is the subject of enquiry. This is a task for human reason; but so far as reason enables us to reach the truth about anything in its own essence and in its relationships, it enables us to see it as it is in the mind of God. Thus it is a Natural, not a Supernatural, Order with which we are concerned; but as God is the Creator, this Natural Order is His order and its law is His law" (p.57). Modern life has become chaotic because economic activity is divorced from its true purpose in the Natural Order: society will not find relief from the stresses and strains to which it is subject until political
and economic principles and those which govern the other departments of life are all rightly related to each other in accordance with God's intention and to man's destiny as His child.

This summary of William Temple's contribution to Christian Sociology may fittingly conclude with an authoritative appraisal of his work. "Beneath all Temple's public utterances concerning particular social and economic issues was a stratum of patient theological and philosophical thought. Whether his conclusions are ultimately substantiated or not, his perception of the necessity of this approach to the chaotic problems of our time and his valiant attempts to reach a statement of Christian social doctrine will doubtless prove to have been amongst the most significant intellectual labours of an epoch." (Peck, op.cit. p.59)
Dr. A.E. Garvie (1861-1945) was one of the best known of the British leaders in the ecumenical movement. In addition to his grasp of economics and sociology, he had a remarkable and intimate knowledge of the political and religious situation in Europe, and enjoyed an exceptional facility in several of the continental languages. One reviewer of his systematic treatise on Christian social philosophy wrote, "The book has been forged not in a college library or lecture-room, but in places like Birmingham, Stockholm and Lausanne, and it has therefore a very intimate bearing on some of the most urgent problems of modern social and individual life" (Congregational Quarterly, January 1931).

This book, "The Christian Ideal for Human Society" (1930), studies the Christian commitments in personal and social life from the historical, ethical, psychological and sociological points of view. The first part reviews the historical development of the Christian ideal (interpreted as the family of God rather than the kingdom of God) from its preparation in the prophets to the redeeming and reconciling revelation in Christ; gives in broad outline its application by the Church in the early medieval and modern periods, and finally sets against this historical background the challenge to the Christian ideal which is presented by the organization of modern society. The section on ethics finds the standard of
moral judgment to be "man's realisation through self-sacrifice ... interpreted as man's conscious and voluntary fulfilment of God's purpose ... " (p.138), and assesses the place to be given in the moral life to the human ideals of truth, beauty and holiness; the cardinal virtues of wisdom, temperance, courage and justice, and the Christian graces of faith, hope and love. The third part, on psychology, discusses heredity, environment and individuality (or potential personality) as the factors of human development, and gives an account of the formation of human character as light is thrown upon its processes by the classical and the "new" psychology. The contribution of modern psychology to an understanding of the way in which the human personality is redeemed is the subject of the concluding chapter in this section. The final part of the book deals with sociology. Its introduction reviews the various theories of society from Hobbes's Leviathan to Spengler's Decline of the West, and finds in Maciver's Community: a Sociological Study, one of the most valuable approaches to the study of the nature of human society.

Garvie adduces his reasons for attaching importance to the sociological approach to Christian ethics. "The ethics of the Christian Church, especially during the last century, were too individualistic; morality must recognise more fully each man's dependence on, and function in, society, and must become more social. It is not enough to cultivate the Christian
character by the testimony and influence of the Church apart from consideration of the total conditions under which that character is to be conserved and advanced" (p.293). C.O.P.E.C. and Stockholm were a summons to the Churches to realise that "Christian morality is not only concerned with the virtues or vices of individuals, but necessarily also with the right or the wrong of social relations, the goodness or the badness of social institutions" (p.294). In this more social treatment of Christian ethics Maciver's view of society suggests a sound starting-point: "Let us not conceive community either as a mechanism or as an organism or as a soul; for the unity of which we are thinking is not mechanic or organic or even psychic; it is properly named only with its own name - communal" (Maciver, Community, p.89). "Neither is the individual apart from the society, nor the society apart from the individuals, a reality;" says Garvie, "altruism and egoism are alike moral abstractions, for self and others cannot be separated and opposed to one another; individual development and social evolution are necessary conditions the one of the other: character makes institutions and institutions shape character" (p.294). With such considerations in mind, Garvie proceeds to the social application of Christian ethics in the family, education, industry, leisure and culture, citizenship, internationalism and the Church.

"The Christian Ideal for Human Society" is a comprehensive, almost encyclopaedic, work. Only an indication of its scope
has been given. But a somewhat more detailed treatment must be accorded to one of Dr. Garvie's later and shorter books. "The Fatherly Rule of God", 1935, was written both out of a concern for the difficulties of the Church in Germany as it faced the demands of a totalitarian state, and as a preparation for the Oxford Conference of 1937. This gives it a special relevance to our purpose. "The perilous condition of Continental Protestantism in relation to the Governments has led the Universal Council for Life and Work, the continuation of the Stockholm Conference of 1925, to decide that the special subject for study at the next Conference in 1937 shall be Church, Community and State; and small conferences and group and individual studies are being pursued in different countries in preparation for that Conference ... This has been the immediate occasion for this book ... Further, the subject of the relation of Church and State, especially in Germany, is one of so urgent importance and acute interest that anyone who, like myself, has had exceptional facilities for keeping himself informed on the course of events is under obligation to share his knowledge with others so that they may be guided to a right judgment" (from the Preface, pp.vii and viii).

The particular problem of the State and the Church must be seen against the background of God's providential ordering of the world and of His purposes for mankind. The treatment of it must be theological, and it must therefore be approached
through consideration of God's relation to man. Fundamental in the Christian view is the truth that God is personal and in personal relations with man. Sin has admittedly disturbed man's fellowship with God, but "we must not exaggerate man's undoing by his sin; it has not gone so far as to destroy beyond recovery his promise and his potency as God has made him" (p.23). This leads to a review of the doctrines of creation, providence, revelation and redemption, but it is redemption which is the guide to all God's ways. "God's Creation is His Revelation of Himself, and His Revelation is the Redemption of mankind. The attempt to assign this or that activity of God to Creation, or to Providence in distinction from His action in Christ is mistaken and misleads ... Not only the Church, but the State also must be related to the redemptive order" (pp.39-40).

Man is a social personality. This fact leads to a discussion of the necessity and nature of society. Society is not imposed upon nature, nor is it a sum of individual units, as Hobbes and Rousseau held. Biological terminology is to be set aside; Herbert Spencer's application to society of the analogy of "organism" is inadequate. Garvie again follows the ideas and terminology of Maciver. "A society is a willed relation. A flock, or a herd, or a pack is not a society. Where men have common interests, or community, they will come together in an association, and that association will
have common modes of action, which are its institutions" (p.52). This he applies to both Church and State. "What makes a Church a community is the common possession (koinōnia) of the Holy Spirit, the new life from God which results from faith in the love of God as realised in the grace of Christ. The Church (ecclesia, the called out) is the association in which this community brings believers together, the ministry, the worship and the witness, the Sacraments are the institutions in which the association functions. As regards the State, the community is the common nationality, the sense of belonging to one nation ... The State itself is the association of individual subjects or citizens, and the institutions are monarchy, parliament, law-courts, etc" (pp.52-53).

Christian men and women are placed in these two communities. Conflicts of loyalty are possible, but Church and State ought so to fulfil their purposes that these are averted. Hence there follows an attempt to delineate the functions of the State and the mission of the Church. The modern world has seen the rise of an irrational and exaggerated nationalism: closely connected with this (because the State is the organ of the Nation) is the claim of the State to be "totalitarian", that is to direct and control all the activities of the community. The Christian judgment will condemn this perverted nationalism, and the Church will oppose the pretensions of the totalitarian State. But nationalism as such will be respected -"we may say that the course of history as the process of the
divine providence justifies us in believing that at present at least the differences of nations are not inconsistent with the universal redemptive purpose of God" (p.77). Between Church and State conflict is not necessary, and co-operation is possible - "the functions of the State have been so extended and the mission of the Church, as it ought to be conceived, has been so expanded that apartness is now impossible" (p.81). The interests of the State now cover almost the whole range of human life. Its increasing intervention in the economic sphere for the sake of the common good seems inevitable; it must also assume responsibility for the intellectual and moral education of its citizens. These trends demand the friendly co-operation of the Church. Garvie draws an important and useful distinction between the Church in its Soteriological aspect, that is the Church viewed as the organ of God's saving purpose, and in its sociological aspect, that is viewed as a particular kind of association of men. "The Church will not fulfil her vocation as the object and organ of the Kingdom of God, the saving sovereignty of the Father, unless, while in her sociological aspect as a human society, holding property, administering funds, appointing and dismissing persons, generally making contracts, she must accept the laws of the land, she in her soteriological aspect as agent of God's purpose must not only assert her independence of the State, but even a superiority to the State as exponent
of the mind and will of God, censoring if need be the action of the State when wrong, summoning the State to action when necessary for the common good, which includes character as well as condition, and advising the State as to the application of the principles of the Divine Revelation to the concrete situation of the nation at the time" (pp.159-160).

The co-operation which the Church gives to the State will be marked by courtesy, toleration, a recognition of "the difficulties which confront, the dangers which threaten, the responsibilities which rest upon the State" (p.175).

The final concern of the book is for Christian universalism: applied to the Church we may describe it as "oecumenicity", and to the State as "internationalism". This again is rooted in theology: it derives from our belief in the one God and Father, the one Lord and Saviour, and the one Spirit, and from our commission to proclaim the Gospel of redemption to the one human race in all the world. All the communions of the Church need to act upon the growing conviction that the Spirit of God is saying to them, "Make manifest your unity in Christ." But "the universalism of Christianity cannot be confined to the relation of the Churches: it must be extended to the relation of the nations to one another" (p.229). This internationalism must be promoted both by political and economic co-operation, and it must be inspired by the voice of a united Church. It is thus that Church and State will witness to the "fatherly rule" of God throughout the
world. "If in the State men must still experience God's rule as law, through the Church they should learn that it is meant to be a servant of grace."
(3) THE ANGLO-CATHOLIC SOCIOLOGISTS.

It will be convenient to consider together three representatives of what is known as "the Christendom group" in the Church of England. "Christendom" is a quarterly journal of Christian Sociology which is closely connected with the Anglo-Catholic Summer School of Sociology. In general terms, the standpoint of this group is the conviction that the Catholic tradition and philosophy provides the only basis for a social order which is in harmony with the Divine purpose for mankind. Three exponents of this point of view may be selected whose writings are significant and influential - V.A. Demant, M.B. Reckitt and W.G. Peck.

(a) V.A. DEMANT.

Canon Demant has considerable scholarship both in theology and economics; his philosophical approach has been much influenced by Neo-Thomism. He became prominent as Director of the Research Department of the Christian Social Council, and it was in this capacity that his first important book, "God, Man and Society" (1933) was written. This work was a serious endeavour to state fundamental Christian principles and to work out their application to complex modern problems.

The first part of "God, Man and Society" defines the scope of Christian Sociology. It is a theological discipline, concerned with man and redemption. Redemption has not only to do
with the individual's personal destiny - it must also take into account his relationships with his fellows, and with the natural world. "God has placed man in society and made him in part a creature of nature, and no gospel of redemption can avoid taking within its scope these conditions under which man, in the order of creation, is called upon to work out his spiritual destiny. Indeed, at no period when the Christian Church has been a powerful influence have the social and economic aspects of life been left out of its message" (p.16). Christian doctrine, moreover, gives insight into the abiding needs of men and women, and can therefore concern itself with the foundations of social life with a cogency beyond the power of any merely secular programme of social reform. "To all human motives, therefore, which impel men to work for a good social order, the Christian can add not only a religious motive with its additional power, but also an insight, based upon knowledge of human nature, into social good and evil, and into the effective methods of attacking complex and obstinate situations" (p.21).

When we turn from these theoretical, but fundamental, considerations, to inquire into the extent of practical Christian witness we find a wide range of activity. There is the duty to protest against what the Christian mind sees to be wrong in social affairs; the work of alleviation; and the attempt (by encouraging pioneer and experimental movements) at constructive Christian action. But beyond all these there
must be a genuine criticism, in the light of Christian principles, of the objectives of organised social life. The churches have challenged the world's motives and methods, but they have in general accepted the objectives which the world sets itself and which are incompatible with one another. It is not sufficient to single out for attack certain features in the existing economic enterprise: current assumptions about the place of economic activity in man's life must be examined, and its true purpose in God's intention for the well-being of man must be established. This is the paramount concern of Christian Sociology: it will make a Christian judgment on the social structure.

The remainder of the book is devoted to a discussion of particular types of problem. In the sphere of economics, relations of employers and employed, and of producers and consumers, are reviewed against this Christian standard; the ethics of property, investment and interest are likewise set against the Christian requirement and tradition; and finally, the relation of man to his material, seen in the Christian light, establishes man as a responsible artificer, and condemns waste and the production of worthless and shoddy things as disrespect to nature. In the sphere of politics, the chief problems which the book is concerned to raise are: What guidance can the Christian get from his faith for the part he plays in political life? And how can Christian judgments on civic and national matters be given political expression both
by responsible citizens and by those who are directly engaged in the administration of government? The difficulty is, that if action is confined to issues in which co-operation with others of any or no religious or moral persuasion is possible, then distinctively Christian obligations are passed over; and there is no Christian social philosophy radical enough to embody the essentially Christian judgments which spring from our doctrine of man and redemption. These questions lead directly to an investigation of what the purpose of the State is, and how Christian civic responsibility can be exercised.

In 1939, Demant published "The Religious Prospect", which he called an essay in theological prophecy. Starting once again from the fundamental Christian beliefs concerning man and redemption he attempted this time to evaluate such movements as Liberalism, Marxism and Fascism. "The forces that are making history in Europe to-day are not merely political, economic or moral: they are involved in conflicting assumptions about the nature of reality and of human existence in particular. It is on this plane of dogma about existence that the Christian faith has to meet the struggles of our time" (p.5).

The world of "becoming", of constantly changing situations, of historical process, can only have meaning when we see it to be rooted in the eternal world of "being". The movements
that are altering the whole texture of our lives are enigmas to us, because we have no conception of what life is. We try to understand the becoming, and it eludes us because we have ceased to believe that there is being which is both in and behind the becoming. The spirit of man is felt to be something that can merely wriggle in the wake of the movements of history with enthusiasm or plaintive protest. We have lost the sense of man's active place in the historic process, because we see him as only involved in it and not also making it" (p.12). Only in the light of Christian dogma can the meaning of contemporary happenings be discerned.

Modern man may have ceased to acknowledge the God Who is eternal and transcendent; this does not mean that he has ceased to have to do with God. He moves "to and fro in the earth", finding one temporary refuge after another, but is driven from each by frustration and pain. He goes from the individual to the collective, the liberal to the totalitarian, the rationalist to the vitalist philosophies of life. Each promises to be the home of his mind and spirit. As each is found inadequate he repudiates it with violence, and identifies his good with its opposite. What is the real meaning of this dialectic? Two points are to be noted: that man is not at home in the world of "becoming" is due to his fallen estate; that he cannot truly assess the movements of his existence (seeing their relative truth, but not making any of them an absolute) is because he does not see them in relation to the
Eternal "Being", God. "Another factor must therefore be introduced to account for the fact that man does not find his being in his actual existence, and is impelled, without his awareness of it even, to change his existence in criss-cross manner to flee the pain of frustration of his being. This factor is the fallenness of man, his sinfulness..." (p. 148). "He is actuated by God whether he has religion or not. Absence of religion is not absence of being or separation from God. Where there is no religion, or where there is a religion that has no transcendent God, man will nevertheless be moved by the pull of his being, that is by God, but his movements will be ceaseless alternations in the temporal order between opposite poles. In that case God acts not as the Way, the Truth and the Life, but in judgment, wrath and tragedy. He moves man away from one false position through the pain of frustration man experiences in it. And so long as there is no awareness in man of the reality that is moving him, he goes over to the opposite position for relief until that too reveals its contradiction of his true being" (pp. 164-5).

The Christian message for to-day will take seriously the dogma of the Incarnation, thereby affirming that there is "an element in the Being of God which is behind and beyond the cosmic process in which He also operates immanently", and preserving the double relationship of kinship and contradiction between God and the world. This emphasis will avoid the error of Liberal Christianity which tends to deny the contradiction,
and the error of Barthianism which tends to deny the kinship. But we shall not be concerned with a purely Incarnational theology: the tension between the cosmic and redemptive aspects of the Christian faith must be accepted. It is only in the light of redemption that man's spheres of interest - biological, social, economic and political - can be given their true order of value. The book concludes by stressing the need for new theological work upon Grace, Sin and Natural Law. "For the full resources of Christian faith to be brought to bear upon the human problem to-day, we require as part of our mental equipment, a theological treatment of the doctrine of Natural Law, which will envisage those aspects of human existence which were beyond the purview of the medieval philosophers" (p.242). But alongside this Thomist approach (and not as an alternative to it), which emphasizes the reality and significance of the creature, must be set the emphasis of Augustine that God is All.

(b) MAURICE B. RECKITT.

Mr. Maurice B. Reckitt, editor of "Christendom", is best known as the author of "Faith and Society", which was published in 1932. This book combines a valuable historical summary of the Christian Social Movement with an independent contribution to Christian Sociology.
The first part of the volume bears the title "The Task and the Movement". It is concerned to vindicate not only the legitimacy, but the necessity, of Christian and theological interest in politics and economics. The basis for Christian Sociology must be the "triple foundation of theological assurance, effective unity of action, and disentanglement from worldly standards (in which must be included not only moral but intellectual assumptions) ... " (p.37). Its relevant material will be derived from "four mines of truth - social science, social criticism, Catholic social tradition, and the 'community thinking' of Christian groups to-day" (p.80). Its dynamic - "the dynamic of social redemption" - is the Christian Faith. Industrial civilisation, which has run itself out into the contemporary situation of breakdown and crisis, must be challenged by the Christian faith and the requirements of God's design for man and society. "A Christian Sociology, in seeking to establish all society round the central purpose of reflecting the glory of God, would thereby restore to man a power of discriminating the essential and the true, lacking which, the complexities of industrial civilization must continue to torture his spirit and obliterate his will." (p.81.) There follows next a very useful account of the Christian Social Movement in Great Britain and the United States of America.
The second part of the volume sets out "The Elements of a Christian Sociology for To-day". Its chapters deal successively with the problems of Church and State in politics; the need for internationalism and endeavours after a world order to be grounded in a Christian philosophy; the plea that reality in economics cannot be secured save by a Christian approach; and move to the conclusion that the only hope for our precarious civilisation lies in the re-discovery of that Christian salvation which gives to all human relationships their true significance by reference to the purpose for which God has created all things. "Here is the full salvation which the Church must bring. It calls indeed for a great revival and expansion of our Christian consciousness; devotion kindling the imagination instead of burning itself out in exalted aspiration; faith not held apart in proud and careful tenacity, but urging on to the wrestle of mind and spirit with all that forbids man to move forward to the purposes God wills to achieve through him. Such are the responsibilities laid upon religion at this moment; only upon their faithful discharge can we build our social and our truly Catholic hope." (pp.459-460.)

(c) W.G. PECK.

The Rev. W.G. Peck is now on the permanent staff of the Industrial Christian Fellowship, where he is Director of Clergy
Schools. The sub-title of one of his books - "Christian Dogma and Social Redemption" - indicates the main subject of his interest and thought.

The book referred to, "The Divine Society", was published in 1925. It argued that there can be no stable society which is not derived from a conception of Ultimate Reality: for want of this, modern secular constructions of society are breaking down. We turn, therefore, to the Christian conception of Ultimate Reality in order to find a sound basis for social structure. "It has therefore to be shown what are the political implications of the Christian Faith: what are the nature and function of the Christian society. Christian dogma must be set in opposition to those secular assumptions which now govern human relations" (p.123). The truth that personality can only find itself in fellowship (which needs to be stressed against the false individualism of modern times), finds its ultimate expression in our belief in the Holy Trinity. "Now, the Christian Faith reinforces this consideration with the most profound and daring sanction, declaring that even within the Being of God personality exists only in social relation. The doctrine of the Holy Trinity is far from being a purely academic construction without meaning for practical affairs. It lies at the root of the Christian ethic. It signifies that God is both personal and social, both completely, both at once: that within His infinite Being the relation of love is for ever
adequately sustained" (p.136). The implications of the Incarnation, the Atonement, Christian Experience and the Church are then examined. Our Lord's teaching enunciates the principles that human life should be founded, not on the conception of rights, but on a profound gratitude; that the end of our existence is not in material things; and that life should be organised, not primarily for gains and rewards, but for service. All these have a social and economic reference. The Incarnation itself implies the corporate unity of mankind, the equality of all men in their need and indebtedness to God, and the real significance of material things in their use for spiritual purposes. The Atonement reveals the true method by which evil can finally be defeated. Thus the dogmas in which our faith is summed up are "not only statements of schematic conceptions of the universe, but become, when rightly interpreted, canons of practical behaviour" (p.224). The Church must make manifest the spirit of this social system which is implied in essential Christianity, and penetrate every concern of the body politic with it. "Our argument is that the very existence of the Church, the society of men formed by the impact of the supernatural at a definite point in history, and sustained by divine communion, necessitates the idea of a civilization of which that Christian fellowship shall be the inner core and animating principle" (p.264-5).

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In 1927 Peck published "The Divine Revolution", in which he further developed his thought on the meaning of the Passion
of Christ. The point he urged was that in going to the Cross our Lord was revealing the essential nature of divine activity in dealing with a world which was at enmity with God. This has a peculiar relevance to the Church in suggesting the method whereby the Christian society must attempt to change the course of human activity which (alike in the structure of economic life and in the preparations for war) is tending towards self-destruction. "Thus the immediate duty of the Church in relation to the realization of the Kingdom is first to accept resolutely the social implications of the most sacred doctrines of the Faith; then to construct a Christian sociology having in view the essential features of modern life; and finally to assert before the world that Calvary provides the only sufficient inspiration and motive of social idealism, and that the Risen and Ascended Christ is the only sufficient ground of hope for humanity's noblest dreams" (p.215).

His doctrine of the Church was formulated in a course of lectures given in 1933, and later published under the title, "The Social Implications of the Oxford Movement". He attempted to show the social significance of the Anglo-Catholic Revival, which not only brought men face to face with spiritual realities, but also reminded them of the Church as a society of supernatural origin. He urged that, only as the principles of this Divine Society are recognised, can what is true and good in modern culture be rescued from frustration and find its
real meaning in relation to the spiritual purpose. For example, Christianity embodies a true humanism: the personal, social, civic and economic interests of man are to be subservient to their true end, which is to seek first the Kingdom of God. But secular humanism, in which the pursuits of mankind have no reference to this true end, can only lead to collapse and disaster. "The world now knows that catastrophe is by no means excluded from the possibilities of the future. But though all men despair, we shall not despair. By the Word made Flesh, by the sign of the Holy Cross, by that most excellent mystery, the Church, we are pledged to a faith that cannot be shaken, to hope against hope that love may conquer a loveless world." "The Catholic Revival meant that within the visible, historic Body of Christ, with its dogmas and sacraments, was to be found the true source of social redemption."
By far the most consistent and systematic attempt to relate the principles of Thomism to the modern situation is that made by the French Catholic philosopher, Jacques Maritain. Two of his books require notice in our survey: "True Humanism", published in the English translation in 1938, and "Scholasticism and Politics", which made its appearance two years later. The former is concerned to apply the philosophy of St. Thomas Aquinas to the situation which has arisen through the industrialization of society, and the latter to use it as the means of a critique of the chief trends in modern politics.

Throughout every department of St. Thomas's massive system of philosophy and theology runs the fundamental conception of the "two orders" of "nature" and "grace". "Grace," he asserts, "does not overthrow nature, but perfects it." Nature forms a preparation for grace: in this order man, guided by reason, strives towards the common good: its virtues are prudence, justice, fortitude and temperance. Grace, with its supernaturally revealed dogma and its supernaturally endowed sacraments, makes possible to man the theological virtues of faith, hope and love, and completes nature. In the subordination of nature to grace is to be found the link which binds the whole universe together.

In political philosophy the special application of this principle is found in the spheres of the State and the Church.
The purpose of the State, in the divinely appointed economy, is to establish the common good; this means to promote the well-being of its members at the earthly level, where man is regarded simply as a rational being. To the Church is appointed the task of raising man to the knowledge of the supernatural good, which is God. Grace, which the Church imparts, both assists man to follow out natural goodness and its virtues, and endows him with power to rise to the supernatural good.

Maritain sees that this scheme as it was worked out in the Middle Ages, where the Holy Roman Empire and the medieval Holy Catholic Church were dual powers and orientated all life in a Christian direction, has gone and cannot be revived. But he is concerned that the essence of it should be preserved and that a modern equivalent should be found for the medieval social order. This is the problem dealt with in "True Humanism", a series of lectures given in 1934 in the University of Santander. The "true humanism" is that wherein man is directed and assisted by God's grace. This has been almost absent from the politics of the modern epoch. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the prevailing form of rule was autocracy with a temporal (and not spiritual) sanction: in more recent times it has been liberalism, which reacted against autocracy with a false idea of freedom, and made the individual (bound to his fellows by the social contract) the basis of society. Maritain repudiates both autocracy and liberalism, and so has to face
the problem of finding a basis for the structure of modern society. He finds his clue in Thomism, of which the fundamental principles can be carried out in ways which meet the demands of different ages and conditions. The principle of analogy, for example, whereby the good in creatures can in different degrees point to and illustrate the good in God, has a political counterpart: the various orders of society can exemplify the ideal of a State which works for the common good and prepares the way for the Church.

"Pluralism" is his key-word for the organization of modern society. In the new Christendom various social orders, with a functional basis, would be integrated into the total economic structure. Of agriculture he writes, "... it is towards a renewal and revivification of the family-type of economy and ownership, under modern forms and utilising the resources of mechanisation and co-operation, that the regulation of rural economy would tend, an economy which is besides more fundamental than that of industry and whose well-being should, in a normal society, be first assured. Co-operative services, however generally developed they might be, and a trades-union type of organisation, whatever new methods it might apply, would have to respect this fundamental direction in agriculture." (p.158-9) Industry would be organised in corporations: these would be "societies of persons", in which workmen, technicians and investors would all be members; the
workers would be "co-proprietors", sharing alike in profits and administration. Capitalism, being a materialist economy, would be superseded: what is suggested in its place appears to be a form of syndicalism.

Maritain has also suggestions to make concerning politics: he holds that the parliamentary method of government is outmoded, and would base his alternative on the "vocation of leadership" exercised by the small fraternity which will undertake the social and political guidance of the majority. But his main concern is with the way in which Christian influence is to be made effective in society. He recognises that under modern conditions Christians and non-Christians have to live and work side by side; it is this fact (rather than any direction of the State by the Church) which suggests the method of Christian action. "If the mediaeval Church directly formed and shaped political Europe, it was because it had first need to raise the temporal order from chaos: a task, moreover, which it could not refuse, but of which from the beginning it had justified apprehensions and never desired. To-day a highly differentiated temporal organisation exists. It is not for the Church but for Christians as temporal members of this temporal organism to strive directly and immediately to transform and act upon it in the spirit of Christianity. In other words, it is not for the clergy to hold the driving-wheel of truly political and
temporal action." (p.265) Present-day Christianity will rather seek to influence society through unofficial groups and movements. In this way Christian principles, of which some will come to be consciously and others unconsciously accepted, will permeate the whole of modern life and its manifold interests and concerns, and a "true humanism" be established in the contemporary world.

"Scholasticism and Politics" also had its genesis in a series of lectures: they were delivered in the United States in 1938, and covered a wide range of topics. It is with the argument of chapters one and three, "Integral Humanism and the Crisis of Modern Times", and "The Human Person and Society", that we are here mainly concerned. In these Maritain brings the light of Thomism to bear upon the trends of modern politics. He examines the bourgeois individualism and rationalism of Rousseau, the Communism of Marx, Fascism and National Socialism, and finds that they all in the long run break down because they are anthropocentric. Individualism, which started with the ideal of a freedom in which every man was to express himself, ended in the crushing of the weak and the rule of plutocrats over wage-slaves. The most recent social and political manifestations, Communism, Fascism and Nazism, have come as the nemesis of this bourgeois individualism, but they too are materialistic. Either they set up economic man as the end of existence, or they deify the State
or the demonic forces of blood and race. Maritain sees Thomism as the way out of this situation. What is needed is a new subordination of nature to grace. Political theory must preserve an openness towards God, which keeps alive the values of civilisation, and guards against that materialism which denies the image of God in man. "One of the worst vices of the modern world is its dualism, the dissociation between the things of God and the things of the world. The latter, the things of the social, economic and political life, have been abandoned to their own carnal law, removed from the exigencies of the Gospel. The result is that they have become more and more unlivable; at the same time, Christian ethics, not really carried out in the social life of the people, became in this connection, I do not say in itself or in the Church, I say in the world, in the general cultural behaviour, a universe of formulas and words; and this universe of formulas and words was in effect vassalized, in practical cultural behaviour, by the real energies of this same temporal world existentially detached from Christ. Such a disorder can be cured only by a renewal of the profoundest energies of the religious conscience, arising in temporal existence." (p.22) But this demands a recognition of the primacy of the spiritual order.

But Maritain needs a conception wherein nature and grace can meet, if in his modernization of them the one can be made to serve the other. This he finds in the "democracy
of personality". He is careful to distinguish between "the individual" and "the person". The individual is man as a unity of physical and mental forces: it is a unity which is precarious since it tends to break up into uncontrolled instincts. By personality is meant that side of man on which he is open to God, and to the divine values. It is the true principle of unity, which gives coherence to human nature itself and promotes the union of men with one another through justice and love. In modern social philosophies the individual has been in the ascendant and the person has been set at nought: this has led to materialism and its attendant distresses. The social philosophy we need to formulate must indeed take account of the individual with his legitimate needs, but it will look to the true recognition of the person. "... by reason of his destination to the absolute, and because he is called upon to fulfil a destiny superior to time - in other words, according to the highest exigencies of personality as such - the human person, as spiritual totality, referring to the transcendent whole, surpasses all temporal societies and is superior to them. And from this point of view - in other words, as regards the things that are not Caesar's - it is to the perfect achievement of the person and of its supra-temporal aspirations, that society itself and its common good are subordinated, as to the end of another order, which transcends them." (p.72)
The foregoing cannot be regarded as an adequate summary of Maritain's thought, which explores many fields of interest and embraces many subjects. Our aim has been simply to present the main features of that Neo-Thomism which has had so far-reaching an influence in Christian sociology as they are formulated by its chief exponent.
Our initial interest in A.D. Lindsay's contribution to the debate derives from the fact that he explicitly rejects the neo-Thomist approach to the Christian concern with politics and economics. At the beginning of his "Christianity and Economics" he wrote, "There is a view which in some quarters is becoming a commonplace, that our problem of the relation between Christianity and economics has been solved already. The Middle Ages, it is held, knew and practised the right relation between Christianity and economics. Unfortunately we in the modern age have departed from it. We have, largely through the influence of Protestantism, or at least of Puritanism, broken up the mediaeval synthesis. If we want to get right in this matter, all we have to do is to return to that synthesis and all will be well. I think that this view of the matter is profoundly mistaken ..." (p.5). In a later book, "Religion, Science and Society", he is even more emphatic. Commenting on a statement made in a discussion at which he had been present, that our present-day reconstruction should begin by going back seven centuries, because we are witnessing the end of Cartesian man, he writes, "Afterward, however, the challenge involved in the phrase 'the end of Cartesian man' and the exhortations that we should go back seven centuries - that is, I suppose, to St. Thomas - set me thinking. Had the turn which Europe took in the sixteenth
and seventeenth centuries really been a mistake? Did men then really depart from the main stream of Western civilization? Did Luther and Calvin and Descartes really go over a stile into Bypath Meadow and so land Western civilization in the dungeon of Giant Despair? ... For let us be quite clear what this challenge really means. It does not just mean that Protestantism was a mistake - though it does mean that; or just that modern science has been such a misfortune that we should give it up - though it does mean that. It means that what is sometimes called Anglo-Saxon civilization is a mistake; that the great American Experiment was a mistake ... I believe ... that what Western civilization did in both religion and science in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was a supreme act of Christian faith: that to talk of going back behind it is an act not of faith but of despair" (pp.9-10). Thus, knowing where Lindsay stands in relation to one of the significant contemporary movements of thought, we are ready to consider carefully what he has himself to say on the modern problem.

"Christianity and Economics" was published in 1933. In this volume of lectures Lindsay admits that the secularisation of political and economic thought has been one of the outstanding features of the modern epoch. But this is rightly to be understood as one expression of a revolt against the "mediaeval synthesis", in which political thought and
action were subjugated to ecclesiastical control. "The secularisation of political thought marked the beginning of the modern State. The secularisation of political thought first found expression in an extreme form in Machiavelli, and later in Hobbes, in a doctrine which made politics immoral or at best amoral - certainly something with which religion had little to do" (p.12). The plea for a complete separation between religion and politics can still sometimes be heard: it is made by the Marxists from the one side and by extreme forms of "pietism" from the other. But the prevailing tendency of modern times has been towards a rapprochement between politics and religion. For this there has been good reason. The State is confronted with the necessity of maintaining for its citizens opportunities to live the good life. For this it needs the Church to keep alive and to promote the conception of what the good life is. "The State thus needs the Church, but cannot do the Church's work. Each has to have the necessary independence of the other in order to be able best to work in co-operation with the other. Such co-operation when it is attained is the thorough justification of the great change known as the secularisation of politics. It may seem to give less place to religion, but it gives more, in the sense at least that it asks infinitely more of it" (pp.25-26).
What is needed is a similar re-establishing of a connexion between religion and economics. Here the nature or at least the tradition of economics makes the problem more difficult. Politics and economics started with the same Hobbist view of man. Politics found that it had to abandon this conception and recognise the reality of man's moral purposes: economics has clung to the materialist interpretation of human nature. Hence there is widely-held and deeply-rooted opinion that economics and religion have nothing to do with each other. That is the initial difficulty. "If we agree that the separation often made in modern times between Christianity and economics is false and disastrous, the history of the analogous relation between Christianity and politics suggests that the way to deal with that error is not to return to the mediaeval synthesis but to find a new one" (pp.35-36). The need to find a way of effective co-operation between Christianity and economics is urgent, because we are now involved in a system where our power of technical production and scientific organisation are being defeated by moral failures.

An economic system is a method of exchanging goods and services. Within it the relations of men to one another are impersonal. They differ from those personal relations of understanding, and the sharing of a common purpose without which a genuine society cannot be built up. Hence there is
a tendency towards the lessening of personal responsibility for what is happening in the economic sphere, and the treatment of men merely as means. To this we must add that, just because the economic system deals with what we need for life and livelihood, we tend to overlook the fact that it is simply an instrument, and may easily regard it as an end in itself.

This is the gravamen of the charge against the economic system, especially in its industrial organisation. It tends to treat men only as means. Even in the relation of exchange, where we have perforce to use one another as means, the real, human and personal existence of men and women must not be forgotten. But it is in the industrial sphere that the position is most acute. "The modern industrial system is regarded with intense bitterness by masses of people, and I believe that their main quarrel with it is that they are considered only as means, cogs in the wheel, mere instruments. This widespread bitterness is a very noteworthy feature of the present situation, and it is our first duty to understand it" (p.72). Our failure to understand it is a reflection of the gulf which exists between two sections of society, those who manage and take responsibility, the bourgeoisie, and those who are managed and have responsibility taken for them, the proletariat. Only by collective bargaining can the workers gain any real status in the community. Their dissatisfactions are not met solely by higher wages and
better conditions: "what really concerns the wage-earner, I am convinced, is loss of status or personal dignity, in the sense that he feels that he is regarded as a tool or an instrument and nothing more" (p.81).

If this is true, the point upon which criticism must be concentrated is the relation of organising and being organised in industry. It is obvious that in industry (as distinct from commerce where sympathy and co-operation can establish right personal relations) there must be government. There must be command and obedience. The vital question is: what is to be the basis of government? "... economic relations are not enough, and cannot possibly be enough, on which to form a basis for government. In so far as capitalism has tried to find a basis for the government of men in economic relations alone, making men submit to discipline and order from fear of dismissal, it has sought to base government on a principle which has never been successful and has always provoked bitterness." (p.85) The important change which must be secured in our industrial system is not the abandonment of competition (which may be sound if wisely regulated), not the entire surrender of profit-making (against which there is little to be said if it is done responsibly): it is the establishment of a form of government which involves respect and co-operation in the personal relationship and the recognition that men are never merely means, but ends in themselves.
The idea of economic determinism must be resisted. There is a widespread belief that the nature of the economic system is such that little can be done to change it. But Christianity is a religion of redemption: and, as the Incarnation reminds us, redemption comes by penetration and not by escape. "Christianity is a religion of hope and of goodwill to men, and cannot acquiesce in the view that any of man's doings are incapable of redemption." (p.99) "The Christian view of the economic order will both assume its existence and recognize its conditions, but will also believe that within the order and conditions there lie possibilities of evil to be overcome and of good to be developed. With the feeling of impotence and inevitability with which the economic order in itself is so often contemplated Christianity can have nothing to do." (p.100)

The book ends with suggestions about possible Christian action. Many of the evils in the economic system can only be put right by political action, and there the judgment of the Christian mind will have to take account of political possibilities and conditions. But there are ways in which Christian individuals and churches can make effective witness; it is important for us to get our values right, and really to care for the human person. "The process of strengthening our hold on spiritual values is bound in itself to affect the economic system. Wanting things does not of itself make
them practical, but wanting things is the first step towards getting them." (p.134) It is not a duty laid upon the Church to prepare its own detailed solution for economic problems, nor yet to have a declared attitude towards one or other of the solutions proffered by economists and statesmen. Rather must the Church continue to give spiritual enlightenment and strength; in particular it has most important work to do in breaking down the barriers of misunderstanding and mistrust, which must be preliminary to any technical solution; and it must continue to send out men and women into all the spheres of active life. Individual Christians can "refuse to submit to the moral and spiritual segregation which economic conditions are bringing about" (p.143) by widening their circle of friends to include people of different classes: and they will always have opportunity to establish genuinely personal relations of helpfulness to others, even in the context of State administration and increased social services. "Because nowadays so many things are done by the State on a scale and with an organisation which only the State can produce, there is not less but much more need for the Church to inspire men with that spirit which makes us give ourselves willingly, and give the very best of ourselves" (p.153).

In his Beckly Lecture, 1934, "The Churches and Democracy", Lindsay sought to trace the political implications of the "priesthood of all believers". In seventeenth century
England can be found the beginnings of two great influences which have fashioned modern democracy - Puritanism and Science. The findings of science were given a sociological application which led to the conception of community as composed of individuals who were identical units possessing an abstract equality. This trend was followed by philosophic Radicalism. The Puritan strain led to a truer and richer conception of equality, and gave opportunity for the fruitful practice of democratic government and responsibility. In the conception of the priesthood of all believers is to be found the true meaning of human equality: it recognises their undoubted differences in capacity and achievement, but says that they have one all-important thing in common - their membership and place in the family of God. In the conviction that God reveals His purposes to the ordinary man who turns to Him in obedience and trust we have "a standard - the will of God, something absolute, universal, impersonal - and the belief that the ordinary man or woman has something to contribute to the working out of that standard". (p.23) In the self-governing fellowships of the seventeenth century congregations of Anabaptists, Independents and Quakers is found the practice of genuine democracy and the genesis of toleration. The doctrine of toleration "follows directly from the doctrine of the spiritual priesthood of all believers, from the belief that the purposes of God demand
all the variety and diversity of gifts, and that the purpose of organization is to set free and harmonize (and not to make uniform) spiritual life". (p.26)

When we turn to the contemporary situation we see the need for the continued penetration into social life of the spiritually informed democratic group. The industrial organization of modern life - with mass-production, its standardization, and its concentration of power in the hands of a few and its regimentation of the many - has militated against the ideal of democracy. The totalitarian political systems depend upon the mass organisation of society and cannot allow freedom to minorities. "The political system of Italian Fascism, of Russian Bolshevism and of German National Socialism are very different from one another, but they are alike in refusing to tolerate or use organized minorities; they are all alike in insisting on the State having a monopoly of the forces which mould public opinion; they none of them have room for free Churches which can have any independent concern for social life" (pp.41-42). The truth is that our society is becoming disintegrated: its natural cohesions have been destroyed, and there is, therefore, a tendency and a temptation to bind it together by artificial bonds and to give it a false unity by means of mass psychology and force. The real and effective way of recovery must be through the growth of personal
understanding, responsibility and judgment. These can only be learnt and fostered in the small society which enjoys a life of its own within the larger community. The separate individual must always be powerless against the organization of the State. He can never stand up to it except through his own organizations, and unless these organizations are allowed an independent life" (p.48). This indicates the kind of contribution which ought to be expected from the Christian Churches. And it is a contribution which is needed even in the most liberal and democratic State. "The possession of power is always to some extent demoralizing. The most enlightened of civil services can never altogether escape being bureaucratic. The most liberal and democratic State machinery will become dominated by officialdom unless there are in Society independent sources of inspiration. If there cannot be free Churches except in a free State, there cannot be a free State unless there is in it a free Church" (p.74).

Lindsay would not claim that he has put forward a solution to the modern problems of politics and economics as the Christian has to face them to-day. He has not offered an alternative, for example, to Neo-Thomism. The solution, he would hold, is in the future, but the principles he has discussed indicate the direction in which the Christian solution is ultimately to be found.
Christopher Dawson is deeply aware of the need to restore "a vital contact between the spiritual life of the individual and the social and economic organisation of modern life". He observes that men to-day "are divided between those who have kept their spiritual roots and lost their contact with the existing order of society, and those who have preserved their social contacts and lost their spiritual roots". (Preface, p.v, to "Enquiries into Religion and Culture, 1933) In the former category he includes contemporary poets, artists, religious thinkers, and some of the rebels, and in the latter, the politicians, business men, and socially successful people in general. Such a state of affairs is a symptom of the disintegration of society, and is detrimental to both society and religion. "If religion loses its hold on social life, it eventually loses its hold on life altogether." (Preface, p.xx, to "Religion and the Modern State".)

"Religion and the Modern State", published in 1935, deals with this problem in its most acute form, the challenge to Christianity made by the rise of the totalitarian regimes. One of the characteristic features of the new conception of the State is its universality. Communism in Russia, National Socialism in Germany and certain trends in the Capitalism and Liberal Democracy of the Western countries,
though differing in important ways from each other, are all moving towards the same goal of omnicompetence and totalitarianism. "The old individualist ideal of the State as a policeman whose business it is to clear the field for individual initiative is a thing of the past. The State of the future will be not a policeman, but a nurse, and a schoolmaster, and an employer and an officer - in short an earthly providence, an all-powerful, omnipotent human god - and a very jealous god at that. We see one form of this ideal in Russia, and another in Germany. It may be that we shall see yet a third in England and America." (p.106)

The new State always subordinates the individual to its own requirements, or to the economic process: it repudiates his intrinsic value as an end in himself. It must therefore be hostile to Christianity, since between its philosophy and the Christian faith there is unyielding opposition on the doctrine of man. But the new State is prepared to formulate and propagate a new faith. Upon this it relies to stimulate the enthusiasm and to secure the loyalty of its supporters. Thus it tends to become a counter-church, with its own dogma and discipline. Yet it is to be observed that the spiritual forces which are anti-Christian to-day owe their existence to Christianity. Nationalism may offer to its adherents the bond of a sacred community, for which the individual will gladly lay down his life: that is a
conception derived from the Church. Liberalism and democracy learnt their humanitarianism from the Gospel. Socialism's passion for justice and for the rights of the poor and the disinherited is inspired by Christianity, and Judaism, its parent faith. The new State, then, with its new faith, is more than "the culmination of the process of secularization in Western history and the unification of our culture on a purely materialistic basis." "It may equally be regarded as the result of a spiritual reaction against the materialism of nineteenth century bourgeois society: as an attempt to find some substitute for the lost religious foundations of society and to replace the utilitarian individualism of the liberal-capitalist State by a new spiritual community." (p.44)

In Dawson's view, it is Communism which is the prototype of anti-Christian religion. Christianity and Marxism are at enmity, not because their judgments differ on politics and economics, but because they uphold antagonistic philosophies of life and irreconcilable doctrines concerning the nature of man and society. Thus he writes, "... it is in Communism that the latent opposition between the new state and the Christian religion attains its full realization in the social consciousness of our age. For the first time in the world's history the Kingdom of Antichrist has acquired political form and social substance and stands over against
the Christian Church as a counter-church with its own dogmas and its own moral standards, ruled by a centralized hierarchy and inspired by an intense will to world conquest." (p.58)

The growth of this new type of State can be traced quite simply. It received its first great impetus with the introduction of compulsory universal education: this placed in the hands of the State power and responsibility to mould the minds of the nation's youth. The institution of compulsory military service (on the Continent) carried the process of regimentation a stage further. And finally, the State's extension of economic control has strengthened its grip on every department of man's life: this economic control has come about in several ways, as, for example, through the victories of socialism, through the inherent needs of an industrially organised society, and through the success of the humanitarian movements which have brought about much of our social legislation.

The modern State has a bias in the direction of materialism. This is true alike of Liberal Capitalism and Marxian Socialism, both of which are attempts (the one from the point of view of the bourgeoisie and the other of the proletariat) to meet the economic problems of industrialized society. It is to be observed that Dawson exempts Fascism from many of his strictures. He is of the opinion that the "Fascist State as such is not consciously or intentionally
hostile to religion" (p.52); and, while far from giving uncritical support to fascist methods or claims, he notes with approval that the Catholic social ideals for the corporative type of state organisation, as set forth in the encyclicals of Leo XIII and Pius XI, "have far more affinity with those of Fascism than with those of either Liberalism or Socialism." (p.135.)

It is against the general background of Thomism that Dawson formulates his conception of the Christian solution to the problem occasioned by the rise of the totalitarian state. This we should expect from a Roman Catholic writer. But he has observations to make upon the Christian attitude to the modern situation which are wider in their scope than the specific tenets of his own communion. "We need a political philosophy," he writes, with both capitalism and communism in mind, "that is more catholic and more humane - one which does not exclude or deprecate the non-economic functions and values, but which treats man as a free moral personality, the creature of God and the maker of his own destiny" (p.43). Christianity, especially English Protestantism, must beware of the danger of identifying itself with enthusiasm for social justice and reform and so becoming indistinguishable from secular humanitarianism. It must remember both its own creed, with its necessary reminder of Original Sin and its consequences, and its own
distinctive contribution to political thought and action. "... it is clear that the true social function of religion is not to busy itself with economic or political reforms, but to save civilization from itself by revealing to men the true end of life and the true nature of reality." (p.125) It is as the Church makes manifest its own nature that the truly Christian answer will be given to the claims of totalitarianism. Christianity, he concludes, "is not merely a social religion, it is in its very essence a society, and it is only in the life of this One Body that the individual human being can attain his true end. But this society is not a State or an economic organization. It is the society of the world to come, the Bride of God, and the mystical Body of Christ. Consequently Christian sociology is also theology. It is the theory of this divine society through which and through which alone the true destiny of the human race can be realized. All other societies are partial and relative ones - they exist to serve the temporary needs of humanity and to organize and protect the natural foundations on which the supernatural structure of the one absolute society is built up." (p.145.)
The relation of Christianity to Communism was a much discussed question in the middle decade of our period. We have already noted that for Christopher Dawson Communism is a counter-church, the fruit of a false philosophy and the embodiment of an anti-Christian faith. In the view of John Macmurray, on the other hand, there is a very close kinship between Christianity and Communism. For this to be fully realised, certain misconceptions about Communism must be corrected and "pseudo-Christianity" must be unmasked and repudiated. But when essential Communism and real Christianity are discovered, the latter is found to be the fulfilment of the former.

This is the theme of "Creative Society", which was published in 1935. Since Christianity is one of the great world religions, and Communism repudiates religion and gives a non-theistic explanation of religious experience, it is important to examine the nature of religion in general. Religion says, Macmurray, "is the oldest and most universal of the characteristic forms of human life. Historically, it is the source of all the other forms; of politics, art, philosophy, science and the rest". "Our first question about religion must therefore be, 'What is it that human beings express always and everywhere in their religious activities, at any stage of human development and in any
form of religion?" To this the true answer is that "they express their sense of community; and therefore all religion is the expression of community." (p.32.) Of this there is a psychological explanation in the nature of consciousness itself. "In man, the continuity of nature is broken through the emergence of a new capacity in consciousness. In animal life there is consciousness; but it is consciousness in the world, not consciousness of the world." (p.36.) Man's rational powers give him knowledge of life as a whole and consequently awareness of death. With the knowledge of death comes the fear of death, and this isolates man both from the world of nature (from which threats to his existence constantly come) and from his fellow men (who may become his enemies): yet the same rational powers reveal to man his dependence both upon nature and his fellows. Man's deep need is to overcome this fear of death, without losing the awareness of the fact of death: it is religion which meets this need, and by doing so it reintegrates the individual with his fellows and with the realm of Nature. Religion is therefore at one and the same time the expression of community and the expression of reason.

There are, however, two forms in which false religion may express itself. One is other-worldly idealism (where the realisation of community is postponed to the hereafter), and the other is materialism (which attempts to establish
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There are, however, two forms in which false religion may express itself. One is other-worldly idealism (where the realisation of community is postponed to the hereafter), and the other is materialism (which attempts to establish
community by force); they appear within Christianity itself as the contrast between Catholicism and Protestantism, where these have become pseudo-religions. "Catholicism tends to a falsification which turns it into a religion of power seeking temporal control, while Protestantism, when falsified, tends to become 'purely' spiritual, and to withdraw from responsibility for material life." (p.132.) Now the Communist attack on religion is made because the Communist identifies religion with idealism: in doing so he identifies Communism with materialism. But when we closely examine the teaching of Jesus with its emphasis on the Kingdom of Heaven and the means of its realization on earth we find that it "can be expressed in such a way as to exhibit the main theoretical conceptions of Communism - the unity of theory and practice, the dialectical nature of social development, the importance of class conflict, and the fundamental part played by economics in the social process - as structural ideas in the religion of Jesus." (p.91.)

If, therefore, essential Christianity is recovered as it existed in the mind of its Founder, it can include all that is true in Communism in the expression of the universal community of mankind. It is to be further noted that in history Christianity seized upon the Greek conception of society as an extension of the family and the Roman view that society is a reign of universal law, and fused them into the conception of society as a universal family. "Christianity
had set itself the task of achieving the synthesis of the Greek and the Roman ideal, not in theory but in practice."
And, "it is Christianity that commits Europe, and through Europe the world, to a continuous process of dialectical development which can only reach its goal through the social unification of mankind." (p.124-125) Communism requires to be modified to meet the contemporary situation: its dialectic is obsolete, since it still thinks in terms of the Marxian economic analysis: the modern dialectic is between nationalism and universal interdependence, and here the synthesis can only be achieved by Christianity.

It is Macmurray's view that "when we realize the full nature of Christianity in its reality, we recognize at once that the whole of Communist theory, in so far as it is positive, falls within Christianity ... Christianity implies Communism, and the denial of this merely isolates Christianity from its own reality. The problem that faces us is the synthesis of the two, not in theory merely but in practice." He admits that there are particular points on which Christians will look for reassurance, if misunderstanding is to be avoided. These are the alleged Communist repudiation of democracy, denial of freedom, devaluation of the individual, setting aside of the family, and reliance upon the use of violence. His treatment of these questions in brief is the endeavour to show that Christianity has professed to exalt democracy and freedom, the worth of the individual
and the sanctity of the family, and to advocate the methods of persuasion and love, but has permitted them to be over-ridden in the actual life of society; whereas Communist practice has often been misrepresented and is not so black as it has been painted. He further admits that it is a defect in Communism that it has tended to neglect the impulses in human nature which make for integration and co-operation (in Macmurray's terminology, the "love-motives") and to rely exclusively upon those impulses which make for the satisfaction of material needs (the "hunger-motives"); this concentration has led Communism to the view that life is completely determined by the economic factor. Here a correction has to be made. "The defect of Communism is its ignoring of that aspect of human life which is grounded in the love-impulses, and the failure to see that all human progress towards the establishment of a truly human community depends upon these, and indeed upon the subordination of the economic hunger-impulses to them." (p.145) Thus we must emancipate Communism from its material expression and divest Christianity of its unreal forms in order that the synthesis of the two may be found in "creative society".

In "The Clue to History", published in 1938, Macmurray offers a further clarification of our understanding of Christianity. The contemporary situation, with the menace of National Socialism, the persecution of the Jews and the inescapable crisis in Western civilization, can only be
interpreted as a further stage in the perennial struggle between the religious solution of life and its opposite. In order to understand the religious way of life in general, and Christianity in particular, we must understand the Jewish consciousness. The Jew is the religious teacher of mankind par excellence, not simply because he found the true God, but because he realized the religious nature of society. For the Jews religion did not mean primarily observing a cult - it meant being the people of God. Jesus clarified this idea and it found its wider expression in Christianity.

Subsequent history reveals the conflict of this religious conception of society with conceptions based upon the dominance of wealth or force. In particular we find that under Greek and Roman influences Christianity becomes a dualism of "theology" and "contemplation". Under the pressure of Roman thought, Christianity became amenable to the ideas of dominance, and its theology hardened into legal forms. The penetration of Greek thought, on the other hand, enhanced a tendency to withdraw from the world of action and to be occupied with an other-worldly City of God. Hence in Mediaeval Europe we find a form of society which is fundamentally worldly, and accepts Christianity either as a cult, or as a cloister in which to retreat. But the essential idea of the Jewish-Christian faith, that of the religious society, cannot be destroyed. Its witness and challenge still persist in the modern world. That is why Fascism and
Nazism are anti-Christian and anti-Jewish. It is the Jewish consciousness which holds the possibilities which Fascism and Nazism fear - the community of universal equality and brotherhood. "The Jewish spirit is not merely under the illusion of these ideas; it is the force, in the world, which creates them in idea and compels the rest of humanity to achieve them in practice." (p.227.)

In these two books Macmurray has indicated his conception of the universal society for mankind and the way in which history is moving towards its realization. His thought is stimulating and suggestive, but two important observations have to be made. Macmurray is operating with an immanentist view of Christianity, and therefore his "creative society" will be humanist rather than Christian. And it is surely a difficulty that his "clue to history" leaves unexplained the fact that Communism, which does not persecute the Jews and which derives its social ideas from Judaism and Christianity, nevertheless is bitterly antagonistic to Christianity and is fundamentally atheistic.
Niebuhr is one of the major prophets of our period. Since 1928, when his first book, "Does Civilization need Religion?" appeared, he has clearly and insistently called Christian thinking to the need both for deeper theological understanding and more sensitive sociological awareness.

Niebuhr is the counterpart of Karl Barth. He matches the "theology of crisis" with an "ethic of crisis". Wrestling with the experience of the modern disillusionment, he rediscovers the significance of apocalyptic. Aware of the naturalism and humanism to which Hebrew prophecy and Christian faith had been reduced, he attempts to restore the transcendent will of God to its true place in our thought and endeavour. He is equally disturbing to the reforming idealist, who hopes to transform society and resolve its conflicts by a simple devotion to the good; and to the revolutionary who seeks to establish justice in society after violently eradicating its present injustice. His attempt is to persuade us to accept and maintain the tension between the transcendent - due reverence for the perfect and abiding will of God - and the historical - recognition of the inescapable conditions and limitations under which we have to live. Acceptance of this tension, he says, alone makes a religion ethically fruitful.
Niebuhr deals (explicitly or by implication) with the main contentions of the thinkers whose work we have reviewed; his importance is such that we are justified in submitting his thought to a careful exposition and criticism. His views can conveniently be summarized as follows:-

(1) **HIS ANALYSIS OF THE BEHAVIOUR OF MEN IN SOCIETY**;

(2) **HIS TREATMENT OF THE PROBLEM OF ESTABLISHING GOODNESS IN SOCIETY**;

and (3) **HIS ESTIMATE OF THE MEANING OF HISTORY**.

(1) **NIEBUHR'S ANALYSIS OF THE BEHAVIOUR OF MEN IN SOCIETY**.

The thesis propounded in "Moral Man and Immoral Society" (1932) is well known. Niebuhr contends that "human collectives, races, nations and classes are less moral than the individuals who compose them". "Individual men," he writes in the Introduction, "may be moral in the sense that they are able to consider interests other than their own in determining the problems of conduct, and are capable on occasion of preferring the advantages of others to their own. They are endowed by nature with a means of sympathy for their kind, the breadth of which may be extended by an acute social pedagogy. Their rational faculty prompts them to a sense of justice which educational discipline may refine and purge of egoistic elements until they are able to view a social situation, in which their interests are involved, with a fair
measure of objectivity. But all these achievements are much more difficult, if not impossible, for human societies and social groups. In every human group there is less reason to guide and check impulse, less capacity for self-transcendence, less ability to comprehend the needs of others, and therefore more unrestrained egoism than the individuals, who compose the group, reveal in their personal relationships." Conscience, in short, is admittedly a fact in moral experience, but its efficacy is in inverse proportion to the size and complexity of the social group in which it has to act.

Niebuhr is concerned to explain why this should be so. The clue to his answer is found in two phrases in the passage quoted - "rational faculty" and "egoistic elements". They are not particularly happy phrases, but we will accept them as they stand. The egoistic elements in human nature are powerful and determinative to a degree seldom recognised by the moralist. In the personal life of the decent individual they are to some extent restrained by reason and the social conventions; but, denied their full satisfaction in this quarter, they demand it, though in a disguised form, in another, namely in his group life. Our secret sins take body, not as Masefield suggests, in our children, but in our societies. Thus a man, whom reason persuades to be a relatively mild individual, may be a most aggressive patriot, and he finds many convincing reasons for being such. "Unquestionably there is an alloy of projected self-interest in patriotic
altruism. The man in the street, with his lust for power and prestige thwarted by his own limitations and the necessities of social life, projects his ego upon his nation and indulges his anarchic lusts vicariously. So the nation is at one and the same time a check upon, and a final vent for, the expressions of individual egoism." (Moral Man, p.93.) Reason may thus believe that it is directing the "egoistic elements" when it is really being used by them.

This tension in the heart of man is fundamental in Niebuhr's thought. For him it is the sign that man is living in two dimensions of existence, the historical and the eternal. It sets up that anxiety in man which is the breeding-ground of his sin. And it is the root cause of the problems which arise from the behaviour of men in society. It explains, for example, why societies are unstable. Because of the strength of the egoistic impulses in men, every society is all the time subject to one or both of two disrupting tendencies. On the one hand, will tends to dominate over will, thus sending society in the direction of imperialism, and splitting it into the "haves" and the "have nots", or on the other, interest clashes with interest, thus producing the tendency to anarchy. In these circumstances society can only be held together by some form of coercive power, the possession of which inevitably tempts to its abuse; the abuse invites the endeavour to restore the balance of justice; but the
new "set-up" has its own seeds of disruption; and so the process is repeated over and over again.

Three points are worthy of mention and will summarize the thought which Niebuhr elaborates upon this framework of interpretation.

(a) With searching scrutiny he lays bare the characteristic behaviour of the chief social groups. The heart of the book, Moral Man and Immoral Society, is found in the three successive chapters which bear the titles, "The Morality of Nations", "The Ethical Attitudes of the Privileged Classes", and "The Ethical Attitudes of the Proletarian Class". He finds hypocrisy to be the most significant moral characteristic of a nation. Whatever tribute it pays to altruism, it cannot be other than selfish. "Perhaps," concludes Niebuhr, "the best that can be expected of nations is that they should justify their hypocrisies by a slight measure of real international achievement and learn how to do justice to wider interests than their own, while they pursue their own." (p.108)

The privileged classes in society have their own form of hypocrisy. The beneficiaries of a given organization of society, they identify peace and order in general with the stability of that particular form of society, and are indifferent to the injustices upon which their privileges are maintained, or at the most are prepared to meet the victims of those injustices with a philanthropy which is a combination of pity and power. The proletarian class is a modern
development, due to the trends and conditions of an industrialized civilization. Its members turn to Marxism as the natural expression and definition of their social and political attitudes. "If we analyze," says Niebuhr, "the attitudes of the politically self-conscious worker in ethical terms, their most striking characteristic is probably the combination of moral cynicism and unqualified equalitarian social idealism which they betray. The industrial worker has little confidence in the morality of men; but this does not deter him from projecting a rigorous ethical ideal for society." (p.144-145) About the creation of a better society by means of education, democratic methods and political idealism, he is entirely sceptical. But he has a pathetic faith in the victory of his class to usher in a classless society. His social vision of greater equality is necessary, but his confidence in the inevitability and the efficacy of violent revolution needs qualification.

(b) We may next observe that his analysis of the behaviour of men in society leads Niebuhr to a critique of the idea of progress. That progress is a fact he does not, of course, attempt to deny. Primitive societies have developed into very complex societies. Many social groups with a precarious existence have been welded together into large and powerful communities. Nation states have reached the point where they must become a world community. But
what he is most anxious that we shall not forget is this, that in the course of historical progress the possibilities for good and evil, for justice and injustice, develop together. As he puts it in the pamphlet, "Europe's Catastrophe and the Christian Faith" (1940), "Each advance in any field of human endeavour has in it the possibility of transmuting chaos into order, but each such new level of order is more precarious and tentative than the previous level." He sounds the warning note that this will be found true of the new international order, and continues, "In short, the conception of history as moving toward the revelation of both Christ and anti-Christ is a much more accurate description of historical process than the simple utopian dreams of our contemporary culture, prompted by either liberal or Marxist creeds." (pp.38-39.)

(c) The third feature concerns Niebuhr's dualism between the ideals of ethics and religion on the one hand, and politics on the other. In the last chapter of "Moral Man and Immoral Society" he writes, "From the perspective of society the highest moral ideal is justice. From the perspective of the individual the highest ideal is unselfishness. Society must strive for justice even if it is forced to use means such as self-assertion, resistance, coercion, and perhaps resentment, which cannot gain the moral sanction of the most sensitive moral spirit. The individual must strive to realise his life by losing and finding himself in something
greater than himself." (p. 257.) Niebuhr maintains that, if there is not an absolute contradiction between these two moral perspectives, neither is there an easy way of harmonising them, and in the end he urges that it is better to accept the dualism than to attempt a harmony which threatens the effectiveness of both ethics and politics.

(2) **NIEBUHR'S TREATMENT OF THE PROBLEM OF ESTABLISHING GOODNESS IN SOCIETY.**

It will be seen from this summary that Niebuhr's analysis of human behaviour reveals a situation of which we must despair. His **cynicism** is almost Hobbsian in character. His position is almost that of Thomas Paine's dictum which he quotes, "Society is the product of our wants and government of our wickedness." Indeed Niebuhr would be shut up to cynicism, disillusion and despair - but for the grace of God. Having assessed the human predicament, and found it to be without hope or means of recovery, he extends the doctrine of justification by faith, as it were, to a sociological application. Human society, no less than the individual under conviction of sin, must say,

"Not the labours of my hands
Can fulfil Thy law's demands,
Could my zeal no respite know,
Could my tears for ever flow,
All for sin could not atone,
Thou must save, and Thou alone."

To establish goodness in society means to bring about brotherhood instead of the domination and anarchy to which
communities seem to tend. This is the ideal enshrined in the Kingdom of God and the ethical teaching of the New Testament. We recognise that social achievement in history has brought about impressive structures of justice. These all make possible approximations to brotherhood. But they all contain contradictions of the Kingdom of God as well, for in human history the creative and destructive possibilities cannot be separated. In his second volume of Gifford Lectures, on Human Destiny (1943), Niebuhr writes:—"Human society represents an infinite variety of structures and systems in which men seek to organize their common life in terms of some kind of justice. The possibilities of realizing a higher justice are indeterminate. There is no point in historical social achievement where one may rest with an easy conscience. All structures of justice do indeed presuppose the sinfulness of man, and all are partly systems of restraint which prevent the conflict of wills and interests from resulting in a consistent anarchy. But they are also mechanisms by which men fulfil their obligations to their fellow men, beyond the possibilities in direct and personal relationships. The Kingdom of God and the demands of perfect love are therefore relevant to every political system and impinge upon every social situation in which the self seeks to come to terms with the claims of other life." (p.199)

This point about the relevance of the "Kingdom of God and the demands of perfect love" requires further elucidation.
Niebuhr denies that the love ethic can ever be a simple historical possibility. It has been the cardinal error of liberal Christianity in general, and of the perfectionist sects in particular, to claim that through the practice of this absolute ethic the transcendent ideal can be realised in an immediate historical situation. The relevance of this absolute ethic, this demand of Jesus for the practice of perfect love, is "the relevance of an impossible ideal". This is the theme of "An Interpretation of Christian Ethics" (1936). About it we may note three points:—

(a) The impossible ideal is relevant to our everyday situation as the measure of our failure. Because Christianity demands the impossible, it reveals and emphasizes the impotence of human nature. "Some transcendent possibility always stands above every actuality, as a vantage point from which actual achievements are found wanting. Thus the ideal of perfect love gives a perspective upon every human action which prompts the confession, Are we not all unprofitable servants?"

(b) The impossible ideal is relevant as the ultimate criterion of our achievements. It presents us with an absolute standard by which we must judge every attempt to bring about a better order of society. It delivers us from being complacent about our social and international justice. "Against all forms of moral complacency the Christian faith must sharpen the sense of the Kingdom of God as a relevant
alternative to every scheme and structure of human justice. It sees history as a realm of infinite possibilities. No limit can be placed upon the higher possibilities of justice which may be achieved in any given historical situation."

Again, "the law of love remains a principle of criticism over all forms of community in which elements of coercion and conflict destroy the highest type of fellowship."

(c) The impossible ideal is relevant as a principle by which we may (and must) discriminate between practicable alternatives in a given situation. The law of love provides the criterion whereby we determine which of the "second-bests" offered to us as possible courses of action approximates most closely to the ideal. "If we do not make discriminate judgments between social systems we weaken the resolution to defend and extend civilization."

We have so far discovered two of the main strands in Niebuhr's thought. At the empirical level of human endeavour we find a situation which, even when we take full account of its massive achievements, leads us ultimately to despair. Above it there are the known possibilities of good, which historical development is powerless to incorporate fully into those achievements. Human societies, no less than individuals, when they see the truth about themselves have to cry: "The good I would, I do not; but the evil which I would not, that
I do." But there is a third strand. Niebuhr is concerned to persuade us that this contradiction in human nature is overcome by the grace of God. He is convinced that we are driven, alike by our need and by the message of the Gospel, to take account of an order of existence which transcends time.

(3) **NIEBUHR'S ESTIMATE OF THE MEANING OF HISTORY.**

Our starting-point is that the meaning of history is given to it, and not found within it. We have to take seriously the fact of revelation. "A man," remarks Niebuhr, "who stands in the historical process is too limited in vision to discern the full meaning of that process, and too limited in power to fulfil that meaning." But God discloses to us His righteousness and His eternal purpose - that is the end which history is meant to fulfil. Prophets and apocalyptists looked forward to an end of history which would both disclose and establish the sovereignty of God, which would both reveal the meaning of history and fulfil it. In Jesus Christ faith (which must always be the correlate of revelation) sees both the disclosure of history's meaning and its fulfilment. But we must hold together in our minds the idea of the Christ who has come, and the idea of the Christ who is to come. History moves between the two - between Christ's first coming, when He submitted to the limitations and necessities of human
conditions and shared in them, and revealed to us God’s intention for man and his communities, and Christ’s second coming, when all that He disclosed will be vindicated, established and proved triumphant, and the eternal ideal will become what actually is. The Kingdom of God was revealed at Christ’s first coming; it will be established at His second coming. History moves between nature - the order of existence which we have to accept, the conditions under which we have to live - and eternity. But in Jesus eternity has been revealed to us who are bound up in and conditioned by nature. This word of revelation completes our incomplete knowledge: it throws light upon those elements in history - for example, our striving after justice and brotherhood and our uneasy conscience about slavery or war - whose source and inspiration are beyond history. It enables us to understand the contradictions and obscurities in history: for it throws light upon our limitations and shows us our true situation. And it delivers us from false hopes and false interpretations of what is possible to us; for it bids us look in the true place for the fulfilment of history.

But when in faith we accept this fact of revelation, we have to go further. A problem immediately arises. In Christ eternity is disclosed to us; in Him we see the nature and purpose of God in His righteousness and the perfection of love. That is what the Kingdom of God is. From that we look upon
ourselves and our communities, involved in the historical process, and we know that there we cannot establish the righteousness and perfection of love which are the Kingdom of God. How then can revelation be other than judgment? And yet if revelation is no more than judgment, the purpose of God is defeated. It is here that we need to take seriously the other great word of faith - Atonement. "The Christian doctrine of Atonement," says Niebuhr, "with its paradoxical conception of the relation of the divine mercy to the divine wrath is therefore the fundamental key to this historical interpretation." "The ultimate paradox of the Christian faith is that the majesty of God is revealed in a Suffering Messiah, that God establishes His dominion over history by a mercy which takes up into itself and overcomes in its own heart history's sinful contradictions." Christ comes into history, and all the forces which perennially defy the will of God thwart and destroy Him. But He comes as the Suffering Servant. He meets the gainsaying of sinners, not with a power which destroys them, but with a sacrificial love which redeems them. This sacrificial love, which is the manifestation of the divine agape, both fulfils and contradicts the divine judgment. When it confronts us, as it does at the Cross, two interpretations of its relevance to our situation are open to us. We may regard it as a technique or a strategy which we ourselves are to attempt to practise, as a force in
history which will gradually triumph over evil. This view Niebuhr rejects. Or we may recognise that it will remain tragic and defeated in history, but triumphant in the sense that it is eternally right and true, and finally to be vindicated at the conclusion of history. This is Niebuhr's position. "The Cross," he says, "is not a goal which man progressively achieves, but a revelation of the true character of God, man and history, within every moment of history."

We must now endeavour to see how, in Niebuhr's view, the Christian faith throws light on the meaning of history. "The Christian faith," he asserts, "finds history tragic but not meaningless; and declares that the tragedy is resolved by the mercy of God." We believe that God, Who is Creator, Judge and Redeemer, is the source and end of history. When we affirm of God that He is the Creator, we are asserting that the processes of history and nature are not self-derived and self-explanatory. When we affirm of Him that He is the Judge, we are asserting that human life and action cannot be estimated by standards which are immanent in them, that history is to be taken seriously, and that the distinction between good and evil has an ultimate significance. And when we affirm of God that He is the Redeemer, we are asserting that all historic good is incomplete, that there is a corruption of evil in all man's achievements within history, but that God's mercy has the power to destroy evil and to fulfil His eternal purpose.
We pass now to a constructive criticism of Niebuhr's position. (In what follows, acknowledgment is made of helpful suggestions put forward in G.H.C. Macgregor's "The Relevance of the Impossible".) We begin with Niebuhr's analysis of the behaviour of men in society. Is it true that all human communities always and necessarily tend towards one "pattern of society", namely that which is the "I dominate you submit" relationship in macrocosm? It is obvious that this is the basis of many types of society - the mob, to take a simple example, and the community which has lately undergone a violent revolution, to take a more complex one. It was the structure of the society which Niebuhr knew in Detroit, where in his one and only pastorate he faced the problems raised by Henry Ford's industrialism. It is undoubtedly the structure of a great deal of civilization in its modern and contemporary developments. But it is not the structure of the family nor of the fellowship. Is there not a possible development from the family, through the fellowship, to the co-operative community, and finally to the community of nations? May not power politics be transcended? To raise this question is not to birk the facts of human finiteness and human sin, but it is to suggest that a modification of Niebuhr's position is necessary. But above all, is there not a unique society in the world, of whose existence Niebuhr takes no account whatever, namely the Christian Church? Ought not Niebuhr, in his analysis of the behaviour
of men in society, to consider the relevance of God's purpose and method in calling out from the nations of the world a people for His own possession, which stands over against all other human societies even while it moves within them, and has proved reconciliation, rather than force, to be its cohesive power? It is true, of course, that this society is marred by human sin; it has always tended to absorb into itself the prevailing sociological moods and tempers of the larger groups in which it is set. But it surely has what they have not, the ability to repent, and the gift of regeneration, as distinct from reform. It is in this unique society that the tension between the transcendent and the historical has proved to be most ethically fruitful. And probably the true function of the perfectionist sects, despite their exaggeration and their unwarranted optimism, is to call and to recall the Church to be the Church. Be that as it may, surely the real significance of the Church lies in the fact that it is a society which is not devised by the wit of man, nor simply thrown up in the processes of history, but which owes its existence to the purpose of God, and is contemporaneous with His revelation of Himself. If we ponder upon the doctrine of the Church, as it is given in the Scriptures, we shall come to the conclusion that Neibuhr's analysis of the behaviour of men in society, though very largely true, is not complete. His
sociology fails to take account of certain data which the theologian ought to include.

Niebuhr's treatment of the problem of establishing goodness in society, when re-examined, leads us to suspect that he has omitted certain considerations which are very much to the point. It is not to be denied that the doctrine of justification by faith is fundamental or that it illuminates the sociological problem. But is Niebuhr right in ignoring everything that the New Testament says about sanctification? He rightly stresses the Biblical view of the grace of God as pardon, but does he sufficiently weigh the equally Biblical view of the grace of God as enabling power? "If any man be in Christ, there is a new creation." "I can do all things through Him that strengtheneth me." "We are more than conquerors through Him that loved us." "We are God's fellow-workers." "The works that I do shall ye do also." If we leave that note out of Christianity, something authentic is missing. That is the note which Niebuhr never sounds. This brings us to reconsider the relevance of the law of love as given in the teaching of Jesus. If Jesus were only the greatest and wisest ethical teacher that the human race has produced, Niebuhr's case would be unanswerable. The law of love would then be relevant as an impossible ideal, and we should be right to regard it as the measure of our failure, the ultimate criterion of our achievements, and the
principle by which we discriminate between the practicable alternatives in a given situation. It is precisely because we believe that Jesus Christ is the incarnation of the Son of God, the Word made flesh, the Redeemer of mankind, the great High Priest who ever liveth to make intercession for us, and the Giver of the Paraclete, that we find this interpretation of His teaching to be inadequate. To those who have found Christ in that way, which is the way in which the Christian faith presents Him - to those who have found in Him forgiveness and newness of life, and who are incorporated into His Body, to those for whom He has become "wisdom from God, and righteousness, and sanctification, and redemption" - is not His teaching addressed in the most pointed and personal manner? Surely what Jesus said is not just enunciated in general; it is spoken to all who believe on Him - to believers in every age, and everywhere within the ever-widening frontiers of the Christian Church, because He is "the same, yesterday, to-day, and for ever". That we cannot be other than finite and sinful in the life we live under the conditions of history, we admit. But surely the promise of God as recorded in the New Testament is that those who are "in Christ" are being sanctified by grace toward that perfection of love which they have been shown in Him. They know, and know uniquely, the ethical fruitfulness of the tension between the transcendent and the historical. Niebuhr, because he has no doctrine of the Church (and therefore none of the Holy Spirit), seems
nowhere to make a distinction between the relevance of Christ's teaching for the believer and for the unbeliever. Ought not such a distinction to be made? Once again, Niebuhr's case would be unanswerable if Jesus is the Son of God and no one ever believed Him to be such. To the unbeliever (and indeed to those who having been baptized with John's baptism and have not so much as heard that the Holy Ghost has been given) the teaching of Jesus cannot have any relevance other than that of an impossible ideal. To the unbeliever and to the legalist, it must remain as the measure of his failure, the ultimate criterion of his achievements, and the principle by which he discriminates between practicable alternatives in a given situation.

We turn; finally, to Niebuhr's estimate of the meaning of history. Once more the point at issue is whether Niebuhr omits something which the New Testament insists ought to be taken into account. In Christ's first coming, the Kingdom of God is disclosed. In His second coming the Kingdom of God will be consummated. The question is: is there a continuing activity of Christ in which the Kingdom of God is operative? Niebuhr's omission is made good by two other thinkers. Rudolph Otto, in the "Kingdom of God and the Son of Man", says, "Jesus ranged far beyond (the Jewish apocalyptists) by an idea which was entirely unique and peculiar to Him, that the Kingdom - supramundane, future, and belonging
to a new era - penetrated from the future into the present, from its place in the beyond into this order, and was operative redemptively as a divine *dynamis*, as an inbreaking realm of salvation*. And C.H. Dodd reminds us, "We are wrong in confining (the New Testament premises) to purely spiritual experience. They declare that *as any situation* is brought within the context of sacred history, with its creative centre in the Gospel facts, it is exposed not only to the judgment of God, but also to the possibilities of transformation and renewal which we can neither define nor limit, because they lie within the immeasurable power of the mercy of God. It is to this transformation of *an actual situation* that the prayer of the Church refers, Thy Kingdom come." (History and the Gospel, p.176.) To that we may add the question: How can any actual situation better be brought into that context where it lies open to the possibilities of transformation and renewal by the immeasurable powers of God's mercy than by the strategy of the Cross? There may be no guarantee that the strategy of the Cross will be successful - guaranteed success and walking by faith do not go together - but did not the Lord call those who believe on Him to practise it, that they might be bearers of His redemption? These questions are raised because it would seem that Niebuhr fails to take into account some of the important Scriptural guidance which is relevant to the task both of discerning the human predicament
and commending the Gospel to the modern age. But in raising them we do not in any way undervalue Niebuhr's weighty contribution to Christian sociology.
A significant feature of our period is the attempt at what may be called "corporate thinking". The various communions of the Christian Church came increasingly to feel that they were facing a situation fraught with difficulty and menace for them all. Modern problems were seen to have a range and a complexity which demanded a sharing of all the Christian resources of thought and insight. The recognition grew that our different ecclesiastical traditions and theological backgrounds have each a positive contribution to make to a common Christian witness. For these reasons corporate thinking in commissions and conferences has greatly developed.

Much of the important work in Christian Sociology has been done in a remarkable series of great conferences, which have brought together the leaders of all the non-Roman Churches, representatives of the Western and the "younger churches", and also the Christian youth of the world.

The Conferences with which we are concerned are the following: -

(1) C.O.P.E.C. 1924.
(2) Stockholm 1925.
(3) Jerusalem 1928.
(4) Oxford 1937.
(5) Madras 1938.
(6) Amsterdam 1939.
(7) Malvern 1941.

At the opening meeting of the Conference on Politics, Economics and Citizenship, held in Birmingham in the spring of 1924, William Temple (then Bishop of Manchester) declared: "The fundamental aim of the Conference is that we may receive a new realisation of God, especially in relation to those phases of life from which any direct reference to God has usually of late been excluded." After speaking of the Sovereignty of God as the moral law which can never be set aside, he continued, "So we try to realise a little more fully than we or our fathers have done what is that holy Will for us and for our generation. It means that we must study the facts of contemporary life, and the challenge which on many sides is offered to our civilisation. But above all things it means the opening of our minds and hearts to God in the humility which drives out our personal predilections and prejudices."

(Proceedings of C.O.P.E.C. p.3.) The delegates to C.O.P.E.C. represented the major Christian bodies in this country. In their preparatory work they had had contacts, by questionnaires and correspondence, with Continental, American and Asiatic Church leaders, some of whom were present at the Conference. The material before the Conference was contained in twelve reports, each of which was drawn up by a commission whose
members were specialists in the subjects concerned, though of different denominational affiliations and political and economic standpoints, who in their turn drew upon the group thinking of Christian people in various parts of the country. This widespread co-operative preparation, and the representative character of the Conference, prompted the Bishop of Winchester to say at the opening meeting: "Although the churches are not yet united in matters of faith and order, yet in pressing the way of Christ in things of citizenship, politics and economics reunion is an accomplished fact."

(Proceedings, p.4.)

The commissions presented their reports on the following subjects: (1) The nature of God and His purpose for the world. (2) Education. (3) The Home. (4) The relation of the sexes. (5) Leisure. (6) The treatment of crime. (7) International relations. (8) Christianity and war. (9) Industry and property. (10) Politics and citizenship. (11) The social function of the Church. (12) Historical illustrations of the effects of Christianity. This range of subjects justifies the Bishop of Winchester's remark that the Conference was "a demonstration that the Church is waking up to the social implications of the Christian message; that a vital part of our evangelisation abroad is the Christianising of conditions at home."

(Proceedings, p.4.) The context in
which the thinking on these subjects was done is well described
by William Temple in his address from the chair: "With the
steadily growing sense that Machiavellian statecraft is
bankrupt, there is an increasing readiness to give heed to the
claim of Jesus Christ that He is the Way, the Truth and the
Life. We represent here today the convergence of a spiritual
movement in the Church prompted by loyalty and hope, and a
spiritual movement in the world prompted by disillusion and
despair." (Proceedings, p.21.)

We must now attempt briefly to summarize the material
presented to the Conference by the commissions.

In the pronouncement upon THE NATURE OF GOD AND HIS
PURPOSE FOR THE WORLD, the main emphasis falls upon what Jesus
revealed as a teacher. His interest in the realm of nature,
His concern for men and women, and His confidence in God are
commended. By reflection upon His life and cross we can see
the glory of the life based upon love, and the ugliness of
sin is brought home to us. Sin is interpreted as consisting
of ignorance, which can be remedied by study and increased
knowledge; of the persistence of instincts and impulses
inherited from our animal nature, which we can learn to con-
trol; of our concern with wrong purposes, from which we can
be drawn away by the vision of God; and of deliberate
disobedience, for which the cure is a "change of heart".
The spiritual capabilities of man give the clue to our understanding of him, and in the history of the race we see the progressive realisation by man of his nature as a spiritual being. This realisation is to be interpreted (according to the standpoint from which we view it) either as man's discovery or as God's revelation, and the dual process is to be observed both in the Bible record and outside it. The material world in which he is set may either help or hinder the development of man's spiritual life, for material things are inimical to him unless they are made instruments for the Spirit of God. The aim of Christian social endeavour is to offer the whole of life to God. Christianity is admittedly difficult to practise in our imperfect world. Jesus showed that God's purpose is that men should live in love for one another and in love to God. This ideal can only be realised in a wholly Christian world, and it is the task of the Church to create such a world. In the dilemmas which arise for the Christian at present, with regard, for example, to war, the penal system and the occupation of public office, we must learn the wisdom which knows when to compromise and when to break away from the sub-Christian social morality. Bad customs are not to be accepted as final. The supremely important thing in social witness is always to see the vision of God as He is revealed in Jesus Christ.
It is not surprising, when we realise the theological assumptions of this preface to the Conference, that the report on **EDUCATION** should be the first to receive consideration. In the opening meeting, the Bishop of Winchester had quoted with approval the dictum of H.G. Wells, "Human history becomes more and more a race between education and catastrophe." (Proceedings, p.3.) The aim of education, in the commission's view, is "the full and harmonious development of the resources of the human spirit, the making of the perfect man or woman. Such a one will possess a single wide interest, a consistency of feeling, thought and conduct, a perfectly integrated personality, rightly related to the society from which it is inseparable." If this unity of purpose inspires education, no subject which is taught or studied will be thought of as detached from the truth through which God reveals Himself. All knowledge is sacred because it is knowledge of God's world. But it must also be affirmed that, without losing sight of the ultimate vision, citizens must be thoroughly qualified to witness to this supreme purpose in some particular form of service to their fellow-men. Passing to more detailed matters, the report urges that Christians must regard as the first essential the provision of religiously minded teachers, for the right attitude to life can only be communicated by
personality to personality. Over-specialisation in teaching is deprecated. The educational system should be graded and provide a continuity from the nursery school through the primary and secondary schools to University and Adult Education. It is desirable that side by side with the schools provided and maintained by the State there should be educational institutions (open to inspection by competent authorities) which are of different types and enjoy freedom to experiment. With regard to "religious instruction", the report suggests that, within the framework of public education, teachers should be trained competently to handle instruction on the Bible and the growth of religious thought, and that "religious instruction" should be more than a lesson in ethics, inculcating also the right relations of man to God and man to man. Regular corporate worship should have its place in all types of schools. The Churches should take seriously the opportunities given to them in the Sunday Schools, where training and practice in prayer and the expression of worship should be given in addition to the teaching of the Bible. The Churches ought to be more alive to the possibilities of education amongst their adult members, both in co-operation with other bodies in the general movement of adult education, and in subjects directly related to the Bible and religion. A further point in the
report is worth noting, namely, the importance of education in the promotion of sound international relations. "The safest basis on which to build the Christian ideal of peace on earth is a strong public opinion in every country in favour of organising co-operation between the nations and giving political expression to their inter-dependence, particularly for the purpose of preventing war. Members of the teaching profession have in their hands the readiest means for the creation of this essential public opinion."

"If world co-operation is to be made a basic factor in the next generation's outlook on life, every teacher, whatever his subject, will do well to keep up-to-date in knowledge of the constitution and achievements of the League of Nations."

The next two reports may be taken together. They are those made by the commissions on the **HOME** and the **RELATION OF THE SEXES**. In the normal family is to be found the ideal community in miniature. Any Christian consideration of the home must take account of three problems: (1) the relation of husband and wife, (b) the relation of parents and children, and (3) the relation of families and the community. Marriage is normally based on the attraction of the sexes for each other, though other motives, such as the desire for children or for a home, may enter into it. These motives may be selfish, but the presence of children ought to modify the
relation of husband and wife, drawing them closer together and giving them new opportunities for unselfishness. It is important to remember that the child is a person, whose own character needs to be developed. Recognition of this fact is a warning against domination or over-possessiveness on the part of parents. The family is not to be regarded as an end in itself. Sometimes the younger members, in order to serve the community and to do God's work in the world, have to leave home. If there is conflict between duty to home and the claims of Christ, then the claims of Christ are to come first. The community is made up of homes, and there is meant to be a reciprocal enrichment between them. The home has responsibilities to the community in training the right kind of citizens. The community has responsibilities to the home in the provision of adequate houses in well-planned districts; in the control of rents and the maintenance of a proper standard of wages, possibly supplemented by family allowances; in the provision of sickness and unemployment benefits; and in the establishment of infant welfare centres.

The commission remarks that in sex is found the possibility of the creation of happy homes, and the possibility of misery and degradation. Our approach to the problems raised by sex should be made by attempting to discover God's purpose in creating male and female. It attributes many of the
contemporary difficulties to the fact that we are living in an age of transition. In past centuries woman was regarded as the inferior of man, indeed often as his plaything, and she has now become his companion. With the emancipation of woman and the acceptance of her right to work side by side with man, much of the trouble which arises from an over-emphasis on the physical side of sex will disappear. The possibility of frank and open friendship, and the opening out of more spheres which give scope for her energies will ease the problem of the unmarried woman. In the present experimental age we are getting rid of the false differences between men and women, but we are beginning to appreciate the real differences, which are found in the realm of the mind, and to appreciate the fact that in the purpose of God man and woman are the complement of each other. Concerning the specific problem of the permanence of marriage, the report affirms that Christianity must accept the highest ideal for men and women. Christians are divided as to the permissibility of re-marriage after divorce in exceptional circumstances; they are agreed as to the seriousness of marriage and the need to encourage those who enter it to do so after full instruction about the sacramental nature of its obligations and the honour of its estate. A Christian society envisages sex as issuing in life-long marriage, and as the
maker of homes and children. As Jesus carried people back beyond Moses to God's intention, so the Christian will take people beyond what the legislator may have to allow to that same ultimate. Extra-marital relationship is to be condemned, as Paul condemned it, on the grounds of the sacredness of the body and the sacredness of personality. The report notes the divergence in Christian judgment upon the rightness of family limitation through the use of contraceptives. It urges that adequate and reverent instruction in matters of sex, in their biological, psychological and spiritual aspects, should be given to children and young people. The keynote of its discussion is its affirmation that sex is a gift, made by God for the enrichment of human life; its true use is to be learned and to be regarded as a high achievement of human endeavour; and its purpose is always to be thought of as holy.

The report on LEISURE can be dealt with more briefly. That Christians have a legitimate concern about leisure is seen in our Lord's example, and is brought home to us in the fact that Christianity inherits from Judaism the tradition of one day's rest in seven. The Christian Sunday is not the Jewish Sabbath, and is not meant to be trammelled with unimportant restrictions, but the re-creation of the spirit should have the first claim upon it. It is primarily a day
set aside for worship, and secondarily a day for rest. Unnecessary commercial exploitation of it should be resisted. Passing to more general considerations, the commission urges that, under the present organisation of community life, leisure should provide creative occupations and opportunities for self-expression, which many people lack in their necessarily mechanical and routine work. It holds that, as society is constituted at present, the Church is justified in providing recreation for its adherents. It suggests that in the interests of the community's welfare holidays with pay should be given to workers, and pleads for the ample provision of playing-fields and good facilities to encourage people to take part in drama, music and folk-dancing. Attention is given to the abuses of leisure, and in particular the dangers of gambling and intemperance are discussed. Gambling, which is exploited by a highly organised trade, is a perversion of the spirit of adventure and makes a strong appeal to people who live drab lives. It fosters the spirit of covetousness and often leads to dishonesty. A radical consideration of the problem of gambling demands a revision of the operations of the Stock Exchange and the various commodity exchanges. The human impulses which find their misdirected expression in gambling must find their true outlet in a compelling form of Christian adventure. With
regard to intemperance, the evils which excessive drinking causes are noted. Christian people are not agreed as to the duty of personal abstinence, but should investigate the possibilities of mitigating the evils by such means as the State management and control of the drink trade, and the policy of "local option" in particular neighbourhoods. The need for adequate education concerning the effects of alcohol on the human body is stressed.

The next published report concerns the TREATMENT OF CRIME. When we seek guidance on this important social and moral question from the teaching of our Lord, we find little that is of direct value, for He was concerned with sin rather than with crime. But from the principles which He enunciated we learn that redemption rather than retribution should be our aim. His teaching forbids a merely legal attitude to offenders. The first Christian duty is to investigate, and attempt to remove, the causes of crime. Of these some of the most fruitful are poverty, unemployment and overcrowding; gambling and drink; false standards in personal and social values; and lack of discipline. The mere infliction of suffering upon the offender, meant to show society's indignation at his wrong act and to act as a warning to others (and to the criminal himself) not to repeat the misdeed, does not seem to have the required deterrent effect. The psychological condition of the offender should be investigated and taken into
account. Reform should always be the aim before society in its treatment of criminals, and this requires both the improvement of prison conditions and the introduction of more educative methods in the treatment of prisoners. The probation system is praised as a Christian method, and there is a plea for further steps in the enlightened attitude towards juvenile delinquents, begun with the introduction of Children's Courts. The divided Christian judgment on the legitimacy of the death penalty is noted, with the observation that opinion seems to be hardening against it.

Two reports on closely allied subjects may be summarised together, namely, INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS and CHRISTIANITY AND WAR. The commission realised that the war which ended with the Treaty of Versailles compelled Christian thinkers to examine international relations by the standards of the Gospel, thus bringing its light to bear upon what had hitherto been a dark continent in Christian thought. Nationality is given in the providential order of God; the bond which unites people in a nation is a mental and spiritual one; and a nation will serve mankind best by giving its own distinctive features to the good of the community of nations. But, because of the development of trade and the speeding up of communications, the nations have become interdependent. Common moral standards, which they will all observe, are
required. An inflamed and selfish nationalism is a danger to the peace of the world. In the Middle Ages, nationality was kept in check by the unity of Christendom. Since the Reformation, the idea has become prevalent that there is nothing above the sovereign State by which its actions can be judged, and a world of independent and rival sovereign States gives rise to conditions of anarchy which are bound to lead to war. Steps have been made towards this necessary common morality, for example, in the universally accepted condemnation of slavery. The Treaty of Versailles envisages principles which universally govern labour conditions, and these are gradually being adopted by the individual nations. But there is need for further development, for example, in agreement of standards to regulate the production of armaments. The report draws attention to Colonial problems, and the problems which concern racial minorities within a State. In the last century the seizure by the Great Powers of little developed territories for their empires gave rise to rivalry and war. Standards need to be formulated and observed upon which the lesser developed countries may be occupied and developed by the strong nations. These conditions should have regard to the welfare of the native populations, securing for them fair wages, a share in the increased prosperity of their lands, a form of government suited to their needs, and
the possibility of a higher level of life. The opinion is expressed that an International Board of Control would do this better than the Mandate system proposed by the League of Nations. The complex situation caused by the presence of racial minorities within a nation is recognised, and the plea is made that public opinion should be encouraged to support equality of treatment. Methods of promoting international understanding are discussed. The value in this direction of the aid given by one country to another in distress is noted, especially when public opinion supports government action in providing the relief. But the chief ground of hope for future improvement in international goodwill is found in the League of Nations. The Covenant states the intention of the signatories to "promote international co-operation and to achieve international peace and security." It envisages "open, just and honourable relations between nations", and pledges "the maintenance of justice and a scrupulous respect for all treaty obligations". The report insists, however, that the League is a piece of machinery, whose operation can be made effective only by the whole-hearted support of public opinion, and the abandonment by the member-states of the older methods of diplomacy. A strong appeal is made that the Churches should rally behind the League.

The commission which dealt with the problems raised for the Christian conscience by war felt that an advance had been
made in so far as modern wars have to be justified on moral grounds before peoples are willing to support them. The Christian conscience ought to condemn, and refuse to support, a war which is undertaken for aggression. Underlying war there is usually an economic motive, but this is disguised. The divergence of Christian judgment upon the subject of pacifism is discussed. The teaching of Jesus, it is stated, gives no direct guidance on this issue, and we can only infer His attitude. All Christians agree that war ought to end, but they do not agree as to Christian duty so long as war persists. Non-pacifist Christians do not fall behind those who take the other view in affirming that war is contrary to the spirit of Christianity, and that Christians ought to do all that lies in their power to promote peace. They would, in general, refuse to support a war which was unjust, or where the issue had not been submitted to arbitration. But they would hold that in certain circumstances recourse to war may be the lesser of two evils, and that they, as Christians, are justified in taking part in it. Christian pacifists, on the other hand, recognise the legitimacy of the other point of view, but hold that war defeats the good ends it sets out to achieve, and in its course brings a degeneration of the ideals which were set forth as claims for its support. God in Christ, and especially upon the Cross, has shown His own way of dealing with evil, namely, by a love which manifests
its redeeming power through sacrifice. The report commends the World Alliance for the Promotion of International Friendship between the Churches to the support of all Christians in their task of peace-making.

The reports which now await our consideration bring us to the heart of C.O.P.E.C. They deal with Industry and Property and Politics and Citizenship. Industry is one of the means whereby God's purpose for satisfying men's needs is furthered. In it God's will should be sought and obeyed, as in every sphere of human interest. If the people who are engaged in industry become spiritually-minded and desire to become just, merciful and peace-loving as their Heavenly Father is, the methods employed in industry will be changed, and those qualities will be shown in their relations with their fellow-men. The worthy achievements of modern industrial development are noted with appreciation, namely, the higher standard of living and the greater degree of comfort which it has brought to a greater number of people. Its bad features are discussed. The number of industrial accidents remains high, and many diseases are occupational in origin; the beauty of the countryside is destroyed by the inroads of industrial requirements; small numbers of men hold the key positions, and for the majority the system of mass-production means little freedom and little opportunity for
self-expression in daily work. The commission further notes the tendency of industry, as it is at present constituted, to sharpen the contrast between riches and poverty, and to entrust more and more power in the hands of shareholders who know little or nothing about the men and women whom they employ. In times of slump or depression the economic burden is unequally borne; the managerial classes and the owners of capital tend to suffer a curtailment of their comforts, whereas the workers are deprived of the very necessities of life. The evils of unemployment are discussed, both in their physical and psychological aspects, with the plea that it is a Christian duty to search for the causes of this recurring disaster. The cleavage between Capital and Labour, made worse by prejudice and ignorance, ought to disturb the Christian conscience, which must work for a peace founded upon knowledge and justice. The report recognises the power possessed by finance, and urges that the joint stock banks should be made responsible to the community, and that speculation in corn, cotton and other commodities should give place to planned and co-operative marketing. In recognising the need to mitigate or abolish the evils at present evident in industry and commerce, we must realise that it is not enough to assert that to change men's characters will of itself improve the system. The system under which men work itself profoundly
influences their character, and the Christian aim must be both to renew the spirit of individuals and to change the present economic system.

In its discussion of property, the report recognises that the New Testament accepts private property as a fact, but teaches that the owner must use it for the good of others as well as for himself, and is concerned to give grave warnings concerning the moral and spiritual dangers of "great possessions". The problems which arise in the modern world have to do in the main with the ownership of capital. The people who own essential machinery and plant wield enormous power in the community; great numbers of men and women can make a living only by their permission, and therefore are virtually controlled by them; and they take a disproportionately large share of the benefits of industry. There is, therefore, need for modification in the ownership of capital and there should be room for experiment. State ownership is not the only alternative to private ownership, as municipal enterprise and co-operative undertakings illustrate. The ownership of land presents peculiar and complex problems. Justice demands that a few members of the community should not be allowed to appropriate land to their exclusive use, nor to derive great benefits from it in the form of rents and royalties, when they yield no corresponding service. The general right of the community as a whole to control over the use of land should be recognised.
With regard to planning for future changes in the realm of economic affairs, the commission urges that Christian opinion should be guided by fundamental principles, such as the value of the individual person in the sight of God, the need for liberty, economic as well as political, and the duty of service. The path of advance will be found in greater social control over economic life, for only through social control can the community secure the protection of its weaker members, give greater liberty to a greater number of people, and make possible a greater degree of co-operation.

Consideration of politics and citizenship is introduced by the reminder that our Lord's teaching is binding upon societies as well as individuals. A fundamental question which must be settled before the Christian's attitude to politics can be adequately discussed concerns the nature and authority of the State. Men and women are associated for various purposes in different communities, but the State is over all of them and claims the loyalty and obedience of all its members. By what authority does it do this? The report affirms that the State is endowed with divine authority. This statement evoked a measure of dissension in the Conference, but it was agreed that men and women are under a "sacred obligation" to be loyal to the State. In other words, although there may be differences among Christian people as
to terminology and emphasis, it should be recognised that the State exists in the purpose of God to maintain a just order in human society, and that its unique authority should only be challenged for grave cause. But, although the wise State will make what allowances it can for honest minorities, there are occasions when the individual for conscience' sake feels bound to resist the State's behests, and the State feels bound to inflict punishment. The fact that the State exists to fulfil a divine purpose gives the Christian his title to take part in politics. Christians have from the earliest days sought to influence the conduct of the State, and their aim should be to help the State to see and to fulfil the divine purpose for which it is intended. But the functions of State and Church are not to be confused, as they have been at some periods in the past, notably at the time of Hildebrand. The State may enforce the morality for which the average man is ready, but the Church must inculcate a higher morality by the methods of instruction and persuasion. Christian people often find it difficult to take part in politics, because of the abuses which are found in the party-system, and because of the bitterness of the class-conflict. The former difficulty could be relieved by furthering inter-party discussions among Christians of various party allegiances, in order to seek a common mind on matters of common concern. The
latter difficulty can only be overcome by the insistence on the part of all Christians upon justice and the right of all people to the full development of their personality. The report notes that, among the various methods of government, democracy comes the nearest to making possible the achievement of a common purpose in the framing of which all members of the community join. Christian people should feel a special interest in local politics, bringing to them both criticism in the light of the Gospel and personal service. The Christian should always remember that, because governments deal with men and women in the mass, there is always need to supplement political activity with personal service to individuals.

We may conclude this summary of the material presented to, and discussed by, C.O.P.E.C. with a brief account of the report on THE SOCIAL FUNCTION OF THE CHURCH. The task of the Christian Church is to express the mind of Christ in the constantly changing conditions of human existence. The spirit of reconciliation and unselfishness must be made the prevailing one in all the interests and activities of mankind. Perplexities inevitably arise in the endeavour to be Christian in a partly Christian world, but it has to be admitted that Christian people have often failed to be true to their Master. The Church needs to repent for its errors
and shortcomings. It must renew its witness, positively to the truth as it is in Christ, God's revelation of Himself to man, and negatively against the enemies of the Kingdom of God by condemning what is wrong. It must inspire pioneers who will open up ways for increasing Christian enterprise and service in society. It must educate its own members in Christian social witness, and train men and women to bring a Christian judgment to bear on politics and economics. It is necessary to combine technical knowledge of these matters with the Christian outlook. In all these ways the Christian Church will prepare itself to undertake what is one of the most pressing tasks before it in the present age, namely, Social Evangelism.
II. The Stockholm Conference on Life & Work, 1925.

"Since the days of the Council of Nicea, the 1600th anniversary of which Christendom is celebrating this year, no Oecumenical Christian Conference of this magnitude has taken place." In those words Dr. Kapler, President of the German Evangelical Church Federation, described the Conference on Life and Work which met at Stockholm from August 19th to 30th, 1925. Its delegates numbered more than 500, represented 31 different Christian communions, and comprised 37 nationalities. Fully to trace the history of the movement which led to the Conference would take us beyond the scope of the present work, for it began in "An Appeal for Peace and Christian Fellowship" issued by church leaders in several of the neutral countries soon after the outbreak of the 1914 war. But it is relevant to our purpose to note that the suggestion to hold such an oecumenical conference was favourably considered at a committee meeting of the World Alliance held at the Hague in 1919 and commended to each constituent national council. Preparations were begun in 1920 at Geneva, and continued in the following years. C.O.P.E.C., with which the World Alliance closely co-operated, was regarded as one of the most important preparations for the Stockholm Conference. At a meeting in Zurich in 1923, the International Executive
of the World Alliance was able to formulate the purpose of the Conference in the following words. "The Conference on Life and Work, without entering into questions of Faith and Order, aims to unite the different churches in common practical work, to furnish the Christian conscience with an organ of expression in the midst of the great spiritual movements of our time, and to insist that the principles of the Gospel be applied to the solution of contemporary social and international problems." (G.K.A. Bell, Official Report of the Stockholm Conference, p.1.) The task of the Conference was to consider six main subjects, namely:—

(1) The Purpose of God for Humanity and the Duty of the Church.

(2) The Church and Economic and Industrial Problems.

(3) The Church and Social and Moral Problems.

(4) The Church and International Relations.

(5) The Church and Christian Education.

(6) Methods of Co-operation and Federative Efforts by the Christian Communions.

We must now endeavour to review the significant work of the Conference on each of these subjects.

(1) The Purpose of God for Humanity and the Duty of the Church.

It was inevitable that much of the thinking of the Conference should be coloured by the experiences of the recent war, and that there should be a deep consciousness of the tragedy of
the immediate past and an inspiring hope for a better future. This was evident in the first address, which was given to the assembly by M. le Pasteur Wilfred Monod, of Paris. In deeply moving words he described the humiliation which Christendom had experienced in the Great War when millions of baptized and communicant Christians had been engaged in fighting and killing one another. That tragedy had come upon the world at a time when science, the Labour Movement and the progress of moral enlightenment were taking the nations into an era of productive co-operation, and when religious movements, such as the World's Student Christian Federation, and the re-discovery of the powerful concept of the "Kingdom of God" promised rapid and fruitful evangelisation. The outbreak of the world war found Christianity without any organ by which to express its judgment on what was taking place, and the States felt themselves free to commit their peoples to the conflict without taking into account anything the Churches might feel or say. "The Churches have had enough of this. They do not wish to be treated any longer, so far as the collective life of nations and the destinies of mankind are concerned, as a negligible quantity. Aided by divine inspiration, they have therefore resolved to re-unite ..." (op. cit. p.60). In the Lord's Prayer, with "Our Father" as the creed and "our bread" as the programme, they are prepared to find the basis of their oecumenity. They must capture the public opinion of the
world. With one voice they must address the great
"internationals" of science, labour and the League of Nations
("that marvellous institution ... destined to unfurl ... a
banner which will unite all the peoples of the world without
distinction of race, colour or religion ... " (op.cit. pp.69-70)). In particular they must make their witness known in
the matter of war and peace. "Let us inform the heads of
States, let us notify Governments, that henceforth, every time
that the shadow of an imminent conflict between baptized people
darkens the sky, immediately the whole of Christendom will
solemnly and unanimously raise its voice to proclaim the
Gospel of God, to recall to the world the law of Christ, and
to declare that war, without a previous and sincere attempt at
arbitration, is the crime of crimes." (Op.cit. p.71.)

It was the Rev. Dr. A.E. Garvie, of Great Britain, who
formulated in more theological terms the first main subject
of the Conference. Affirming that Christian morality is
determined by our thought of God, he proceeded to outline the
Christian conception of God, as He is revealed to us in Jesus
Christ, the Incarnate Word. God's purpose for man is that he
should find his complete good in constant communion with, and
resemblance to, Himself, that is in a holiness which is also
love. But man's fellowship with God is voluntary, and this
involves the possibility of sin. In the Cross of Christ we
see God's purpose to reconcile man to Himself, to remove the
hindrance of sin, and to cancel its guilt. God's purpose is
concerned with all mankind and with the whole of manhood.
Science teaches the unity of manhood as comprising body and
spirit; history points to the increasing unification of man­
kind, but the spiritual unification lays behind the material.
Our belief in One God, Who is the Father of all, and our
experience of one world, demand that there must be One Church,
as the human partner in the divine enterprise of reconciliation
and redemption. There can only be one society of believers
in Christ. This truth must be practised as well as confessed,
and set forth in a church which, transcending the divisions of
race, nation and class, is prepared by study, service, sympathy
and sacrifice to become "more immanent" in the life of mankind,
and find the way to the resurrection of its power by being
"crucified with Christ".

(2) The Church and Economic and Industrial Problems.

In the material presented to the Conference on this
subject, two tendencies may be observed. Some of the speakers
were mainly concerned to analyse the meaning of Christian
charity and to describe the nature of social sympathy in the
abstract, and others sought to assess concrete human situations
and practical problems in the light of the Gospel. In the
opening address, the Dean of Worcester (the Very Rev. Dr. W.
Moore Ede) of Great Britain, remarked that Christianity had
largely been driven out of the social concerns of human life, partly because of the religious tendency after the Reformation to regard Christianity as a matter of individual salvation, and partly because of the economic tendency, which became evident after the publication of Adam Smith's "The Wealth of Nations" in 1776, to elevate self-interest into a gospel. But because of its insistence upon love, brotherhood, service and justice, the Christian revelation and message must always be seen to have social implications. Speaking on "Christian Charity and the Social Problem" Licentiate Steinweg, of Germany, observed that the most elementary obligation of Christian Love is the practice of justice. Discussing the more concrete matter of "The Application of the Gospel to Economic Life", Sir William Ashley, of Great Britain, forecast a tendency in the civilised world towards a period of increasing nationalisation or socialization, and remarked that the part that the Christian Church can play in this development will not be less but greater than before, for it will be called upon to create the initial driving force, an unselfish desire for social betterment. One of the most important papers read to the Conference on Economic and Industrial Problems was that given by M. le Pasteur Elie Gounelle, of France, whose subject was "Man and Property". After outlining the teaching of Jesus on property and calling attention to the weakness of the Church's witness
in economic matters (upon which its critics readily fasten), he urged the delegates at Stockholm to make four demands.

1. The Conference ought to call the whole Church to the confession of its own social sins, in order that it might lead humanity to repentance.

2. It ought to define, by the principles laid down in the Gospel, the precise aims of industry, commerce and ownership, in order that their part in the divine purpose for mankind might be clearly seen. The capitalist order is marked by the desire for personal profit, intensive competition and the class-conflict. The churches must strive to transform it into a truly democratic regime, with service as its aim and shared responsibility and cooperation as its method. Only by such a change can that justice be realized which demands both a partnership of capital, management and labour in the enterprises of industry, and a sharing in the control and the benefits of production, and in the ownership of its means, on the part of honest workers.

3. It ought to aim, as a practical step, at the foundation of an International Institute for Life and Work. The functions of such a "Christianisme Social" would be to study from the standpoint of the Gospel the situation of the working classes; the relation between capital, management and labour; to protect where necessary against violations in the realm of commerce and industry of the moral law; and to urge
practicable means of reform. (4) It ought to send a religious and friendly message to the world of labour. "Has not the hour come for the Church of Christ to express her warm sympathy with the labouring classes and to give the working people the assurance that she will stand by them in all their troubles, their tribulations, their rightful claims and their earnest hopes?" (op.cit. p.172).

The suggestion for the foundation of an International Institute was supported by the Bishop of Västerås (Sweden), the Right Rev. Dr. E. Billing, in his speech on "Co-operation", but a British delegate, Miss Constance Smith, formerly Deputy Chief Inspector of Factories, pointed out that the International Labour Organization, set up as part of the structure of the League of Nations, by its appeal to the principles of justice and mercy, stands for a Christian order in industry.

The Conference also considered particular problems, such as "The Child and the Adolescent in Industry", pointing out that, whereas in most countries the exploitation of child labour has been almost entirely abolished, the Christian conscience has still to arouse public opinion concerning the physical, mental and moral needs of working adolescents; and "The Church and Unemployment", when it was urged that the Church has the double duty of caring for the spiritual and temporal needs of unemployed men and women, and of discovering and removing, as far as lies within its power, the causes of unemployment.
The introductory address on this subject was given by Prälat D. Schoell, of Germany. He pointed out that Christian ethical principles, in their general terms, are valid for all time, but their implications have to be thought out afresh in each generation as humanity confronts a constantly changing situation. Christian tradition is to be revered, but it cannot be accepted just as it stands, for often the conditions which it has in mind become obsolete. The modern age has to face new problems, concerning which tradition has no direct word. There is, therefore, need for prophets and pioneers raised up by God to proclaim His message to the contemporary world, and for Christian thinkers, under the discipline and guidance of the Holy Spirit, to work out a solution of current social and ethical problems. This need arises when we consider, for example, marriage and the home. Here the Church must learn how to present her ideal of marriage as a life-long union in a society which challenges the accepted standards of sexual behaviour, and to preserve the spiritual bonds of the family and the authority of parenthood when the patriarchal conception of them can no longer be maintained. Similarly, in a world where work has become a joyless and almost meaningless thing to many people, and "labour" has become a commodity to be bought and sold, the Church must think out afresh how the Christian conception of vocation and the realization that work is a service worthy of God can be
revived. "There is no single sphere of life in which the Christian standard can be surrendered; but there is perhaps no sphere where a fresh thinking out, simplification and development of these principles is not necessary. The formulation of a new Christian ethic without abandoning the austere earnestness of the Gospel, but stating how the Christian ought to think and act in modern times, is the foremost task of the Church in view of the social and moral questions that confront her." (op.cit. p.221.) But in the endeavour thus to express Christian principles in practical life, the Church will have to fight against the blatant materialism and sensuality of modern life, against the view that ethics can be maintained when religion is abandoned, against the "new morality" which teaches that life should be ordered according to a man's own caprice, and against the tacit acceptance of a sub-Christian ethical standard in industrial and political life. Working through the press, parliamentary representation and direct influence upon legislation and administration, the Church must become the conscience of public life.

The more detailed problems which were considered by the Conference included the family and the home, the relation of the sexes, and housing; the treatment of crime; leisure; and the problem of alcohol. It is not necessary to offer more than a brief comment on the more important papers read on these subjects. (1) The Rev. Will Reason (England) pleaded
that constructive Christian Sociology must restore to the home the central position which it has largely lost in the complex developments of modern civilisation, for in the home, where there is an immediate inter-relationship of persons, we see more clearly than in any other group the essential structure of society. (2) Advances towards a more enlightened and human treatment of the criminal were found by the Rev. Dr. H.H. Hart (U.S.A.) to lie in the recognition that the criminal is a person; in methods of the social diagnosis of crime; in experiments in systems of adult probation; in the special treatment of juvenile offenders; and in the various achievements of prison reform. (3) The discussion of the problem of alcohol is of interest chiefly for its comparison of the methods of combatting the drink trade and the evils of excessive drinking shown in the Prohibition experiment in America, the system of individual control by means of a "ration book" practised in Sweden, and the educational and legislative methods of Great Britain.

(4) The Church and International Relations.

The outstanding feature of this part of the Conference is the optimism which gathers round the establishment of the League of Nations, and the insistence on the Christian opportunity given thereby. The universal character of the Church is recognised and the Church's duty to proclaim its message of
brotherly love, alike in international affairs and in the securing of social justice, is urged. But when the questions of peace and war are discussed, it becomes clear that the minds of most of the delegates are dominated by the ideals of the League of Nations. This became evident in the address of the Right Hon. Lord Parmoor, of Great Britain, who argued that the teaching of Christianity must dominate the whole international outlook by awakening the consciousness of human brotherhood and insisting upon the claims of men and nations within this brotherhood to equal rights, especially in the settlement of disputes. "The only practicable way of giving reality to this spiritual aspiration is by the constitution, in some form, of an international community in which the member states recognise the duty of mutual responsibility and of mutual restraint in the common interest. They must be prepared to make some sacrifices, and to take some risks to promote the great principle of human peace." (op. cit. p. 466.) In the absence of such a restraining central body, nationalism has become competitive in the desire to gain military or commercial domination, and has therefore been directed by selfish and unchristian motives. In the Covenant of the League of Nations two great principles of Christian ethics are assumed, namely (1) the acceptance of the idea of a commonwealth in which the members stand in a relation of equality to each other,
and pledge themselves to the settlement of disputes by friendly methods. This will make possible the reduction of armaments and brand aggressive war as an international crime, thereby bringing near the possibility of peace. (2) The commitment to trust and co-operation on the part of the members, which will bring to an end unworthy suspicions and doubts. A French speaker, M. le Pasteur Jézéquel, also gave expression to a similar confidence in the League. He urged that in taking up their task of peace-making the Churches must repent because they have so often invoked the divine blessing upon war. The problem of war can now be isolated, and discussed without waiting for the problem of the relation of peace and force to be settled, for war is no longer necessary to secure what is right. "Formerly a nation when threatened or attacked could pretend that war was the only possible recourse for the saving of her existence. It is not true to-day, at least it is not entirely true, for we have just seen rising the conception of a new law." In the League of Nations we have an impartial tribunal for the settlement of international disputes. "The Church will no longer need to ask whether force is legitimate, whether war in certain cases can be justified; it will be for her only to condemn war absolutely. War is a crime since it can be avoided, since there is now a tribunal to which any menaced nation may appeal." (op. cit. pp.473-474.)
Two voices were raised in warning against an over-optimistic confidence in the League of Nations. Dr. Klingemann, Superintendent of the Rhine Province of Germany, urged that the aim for which Christians work is the Kingdom of God. But, as Luther taught, the Kingdom of God cannot be identified with any state of temporal welfare. Christians form a minority in the life of nations, and the questions of war and peace follow from laws which we cannot change. We have to recognise the sovereignty of God, and "we do not know if it will please God to bless us with an age of peace or if His hand will be stretched out in judgment over the nations. In no way are we allowed to interfere with God's purposes, and His Kingdom does not depend on a state of things we are able to bring about." (op.cit. p.451.) He pleaded that his own country should be allowed to rebuild her economy and recover her place among the nations. He did not undervalue the League of Nations, but could not find in its present state "religious power or any communion with the Kingdom of God". Dr. Adolf Deissmann, also of Germany, felt that the Churches should recognise their great task to work as a reconciling and restoring influence in a world divided by racial, national and economic conflicts, but he pleaded that they should not be prepared to hand over to the League of Nations the responsibilities which properly belong to them. "The League of Nations ought not to be the great waste-paper basket for the unsolved problems of humanity." (op.cit. p.480.)
The distinctive power of Christian Love as an agent in the reconciliation of mankind was stressed by Dr. Natanael Beskow, of Sweden. If God is Love, then Love must be the most positive thing in the universe since it corresponds with reality itself. Our problem is to bring this almighty, creative agent of reconciliation to function in the contemporary world. This will demand whole-hearted action, even to the sacrifice of life itself. "To believe in the reconciling power of the Cross must mean not only to stand under the Cross, but to go the way of the Cross." (op.cit. p.541.) Christian Love, moreover, will create its own tools and methods, and it will be found that, on a small or on a great scale, whenever it is put to the test it will prove its power to break down misunderstanding and fear. It must find its present opportunity and expression in international service.

One other topic which came before the Conference is worthy of mention. The importance of the "World Alliance for Promoting International Friendship through the Churches" and its relevance to international peace was stressed. The Alliance, as the Right Hon. Sir Willoughby Dickenson, of Great Britain, pointed out, is a permanent body, agreed to by twenty-eight federated councils and representing many different nations and communions. Its aims are "to bring about good and friendly relations between the nations" and "to enlist the churches in a
Joint endeavour to achieve the promotion of international friendship and the avoidance of war". It offers a practical means by which Christian people can co-operate towards the saving of our civilization.

(5) The Church and Christian Education.

This subject was introduced by the Rev. Dr. W. Adams Brown, of the U.S.A. Presenting the findings of a preparatory commission on education, he affirmed that two convictions must dominate our thought. We have a Christian responsibility to bring the spiritual resources of the Gospel to bear upon the life of our generation; and it is our duty as teachers to find out how Christian principles can be consistently applied to all the relations of life. As Christian teachers we must endeavour to understand the persons whom we seek to influence for Christ; to develop to the full the resources for character-building which the Gospel puts at our disposal; and to find the appropriate points of contact which will open the way for the Christian message in circles with which the Church is at present out of touch. In the present situation there is a tendency on the part of teachers to regard education as co-extensive with life, and to make themselves responsible for physical and moral, as well as intellectual, training. This is an advantage in so far as education can be recognised as the training of the entire personality for fellowship with God and for the service of men. But it is not without its dangers from the Christian point of
view, for in practice religion is apt to be crowded out, or to be given a subordinate place, in a curriculum which is receiving an increasingly scientific emphasis. The Church must recognise that its witness for Christian education calls it to work in a larger sphere than that occupied by schools and colleges, for the formulation of a philosophy of life and the training of character is also undertaken by labour, commerce, the various youth movements and in the propaganda of the State. The question must, therefore, be faced: how can the Church discharge the responsibility divinely committed to her as a teacher? She must take seriously the obligation laid upon her to be consistently Christian in the sphere of life which is directly under her control, and she must seek every possible contact with the larger spheres of life which she desires to influence. The central place which worship demands in the complete life must be recognised and the implications of this fact for education must be emphasised. The address concluded with the practical suggestion that an "International Bureau of Education and Research" should be established to serve as a clearing-house for the various Christian communions on those moral and religious matters which they have in common.

The Conference then proceeded to consider such topics as "The Education of the Christian Personality", "The
Education of the Civic Conscience", and "The Education of the International Conscience for Brotherhood". Of these we may briefly note some of the suggestions made by E.F. Wise, of England, concerning the education of the international conscience. In schools and colleges, the presentation of history, geography and philosophy must be free from national prejudice. The Churches have a duty to educate politicians and voters in the principles of international understanding, and in times of crisis a duty to present the point of view of their own nation and the nation with which it is in dispute. The churches must accept the task of preparing the way for more effective expressions in political life of the essential unity of mankind, of which the League of Nations is a preliminary. Finally, the churches must encourage every possible form of practical education in international understanding by their influence upon governments, politics, industry, the arts and science, and by their promotion of missionary enterprise, social and humane activities, and even in sport.

(6) Methods of Co-operation and Federative Efforts by the Christian Communions.

A happy appreciation of the experience of Stockholm was voiced by the Rev. Dr. Charles S. Macfarland, of the U.S.A.
"The universal co-operative movement which has here found expression is not something that has been created or invented here. It has been simply a manifestation of the Spirit of God moving the minds, and still more the hearts, of men just as truly as at Pentecost." (op. cit. p. 634.)

It was, therefore, natural that the Conference should desire to continue its work, and to foster all possible means of further co-operation in Life and Work among the churches. The principles upon which such co-operation could proceed were admirably summarized by the Metropolitan of Thyateira. The various Christian communions all take their stand upon the acceptance of God's revelation in Christ, Who is Lord and Saviour. They will learn to banish mistrust of one another by respect for, and appreciation of, each other's usages and traditions. They have learned that co-operation in practical matters is possible without organic union. They have found that loyalty to one's own communion is not an obstacle to co-operation. The Conference resolved to appoint a Continuation Committee, whose purpose should be to perpetuate and strengthen the work begun at Stockholm. In the reference to this Committee made in the "Message of the Universal Conference on Life and Work" which was intended as a summary of its activities, the following passage occurs: "May we not hope that through the work of
this body, and through the increasing fellowship and co-
operation of the Christians of all nations in the one Spirit,
our oneness in Christ may be more and more revealed to the
world in Life and Work." (op.cit. p.715.)

This review of Stockholm may fittingly conclude with
a reference to the words of the Very Rev. G.K.A. Bell, then
Dean of Canterbury, from whose official history of the
Conference our quotations have been taken. "To-day brings
the sessions of our Universal Conference to a close. We
have dealt in Christian fellowship with particular problems
which confront the modern world. But I am sure that the
feature of these days which has impressed us most, and made
us most grateful to God, is not the thought and care expended
on the subjects for debate. It is the simple fact that, in
a troubled world, men and women of different nations, whom
politics and political societies have failed to draw together,
have been drawn together here by Christ. It is the simple
fact that men and women of many Christian communions,
separated in many ways from one another, have met in this
place in worship and love."

Such was the spirit experienced in this first great
ecumenical conference on Life and Work.

The International Missionary Council was constituted in 1920 to take over and further to develop the work of the Continuation Committee of the great Conference of missionary societies held at Edinburgh in 1910. By 1925, its leaders throughout the world felt the desirability of holding a meeting of the Council which should provide opportunity for full consideration of the great tasks which were confronting the Christian Church. Jerusalem was the chosen place of meeting, and from March 24th to April 8th, 1928, some 250 delegates, representing 51 countries of the world, were gathered at this International Missionary Council. Of these about a quarter were nationals of the lands of the "younger churches" - a term which first came into use at Jerusalem, 1928. Through the various Student Movements the younger generation of Christians was represented. Commenting upon it ten years later, its Chairman, Dr. John R. Mott, observed, "Perhaps never had a gathering brought together in such close contact a body of Christian leaders representing so many races, nationalities and communions, and such sharp differences in intellectual and spiritual background. (International Review of Missions, July 1938, p.305.) The subjects considered were:

II. Religious Education.

III. The Relation of the Older and Younger Churches.


VI. The Christian Mission and Rural Problems.

VII. The Future of International Missionary Co-operation.

Not all of this is relevant to our present enquiry, and it will only be necessary to review the message of Jerusalem, 1928, in relation to:

(1) Industrial Problems.

(2) Education.

(3) International Relations.

(4) Non-Christian Systems.

(1) THE MESSAGE OF JERUSALEM, 1928, CONCERNING INDUSTRIAL PROBLEMS.

In a paper which was circulated amongst the members of the Council before its meeting, the Rev. William Paton drew attention to a new problem, which had not been on the horizon at Edinburgh, 1910. This was the problem caused by the development of industry in the lands which receive the Christian Mission. "An unchecked industrialism means
for the East the disappearance of much of her beauty, the submerging of the values distinctive of her civilizations, and the inrush of new problems affecting the inmost fabric of her social life." (Jerusalem Report, Volume 5, p.11.)

Seeming to promise to draw the various parts of the world together, because the economically developed countries need the raw materials and the undeveloped need the products, this process of industrialization is in fact full of the possibilities of strife. British Christianity had been brought face to face with the problems inherent in industrialism at C.O.P.E.C. Stockholm had focussed the attention of European Christianity upon them. Now Jerusalem was to perform a similar service for the younger churches.

The new situation is complex. The new conditions of life and work often bring actual hardship and suffering to backward peoples and to the masses of men and women in the older countries of Asia whom economic necessity drives into the industrial centres. But these peoples are involved in more subtle dangers through the transition from one form of society to another. "The caste system of India, the family organization of China, the tribal life of Africa were adequate, in a sense, to maintain the older life; it is one of the most obvious facts of the world-situation to-day that these ancient sanctions and systems have but little support to offer in the new and confused world into which the peoples
are being ushered." (op.cit. p.105.) The new needs prompt the workers to take measures to help and protect themselves, and there is the temptation to the kind of violent action which is born of desperation and fear. The Christian Church is often felt to be blind to these great social changes and consequently incurs loss of moral leadership. There is great need for a Christian ethic, articulated boldly and concretely in view of the actual situations in which men are living.

The paper concluded by indicating the task of the Christian Church in relation to these needs. It should join with other bodies (such as the International Labour Office) in the work of ascertaining and publishing the facts about the effects of industrialization on backward (and other) peoples. It must proclaim the eternal principles of Jesus Christ, and enunciate their bearing upon changing and complex forms of society. It must undertake definite action, such as the support and advocacy of sound legislation, the provision of social workers for the new tasks, the development of facilities for education in the areas of industrial development, and the more effective ministry of itself as a real fellowship.

After deliberation the Council approved and published an authoritative statement upon these questions. Its introduction, Christ the Lord of all Life, re-iterated the
conviction that the Gospel contains a message, not only for the individual, but also for the world of social organization and economic relations. Christianity welcomes the triumph of science and technical skill, and sees them as means whereby the resources which God has given to His children may be made more fully available for the service of all. But it can never regard wealth as an end in itself, and it will test any social or economic system by the simple yet fundamental criteria of Christ's teaching as to the sanctity of personality, brotherhood, and corporate responsibility. Men and women can find their full life only in a fellowship which enshrines these three principles. "All forces therefore which destroy that fellowship - war, economic oppression, the selfish pursuit of profits, the neglect of the immature, the aged, the sick or the weak - are definitely and necessarily in sharp contradiction with the spirit of Christianity." (op. cit. p.184.) A note of penitence was then sounded. "We acknowledge with shame and regret that the churches everywhere and the missionary enterprise, coming as it does out of an economic order dominated almost entirely by the profit-motive (a motive which itself stands in need of Christian scrutiny), have not been so sensitive of those aspects of the Christian message as would have been necessary sensibly to mitigate the evils which advancing industrialization has brought in its train, and we believe that our failure in this
respect has been a positive hindrance - perhaps the gravest of such hindrances - to the power and extension of missionary enterprise." (op.cit. pp.184-5.)

Concerning the Problems and some Christian Solutions, the statement records that the Council was specially impressed by four points:

(a) The investment of capital in undeveloped areas; steps must be taken (where possible through the League of Nations) to secure that this is done on terms which are compatible with the welfare and progress of indigenous peoples.

(b) The development of the economic resources of undeveloped areas; it is necessary that this should be done in ways which protect the indigenous peoples and are compatible with their welfare, and which also secure that the resources are utilized for the service of the world as a whole.

(c) Protection against economic and social injustice; the governments of the economically more advanced countries have an obligation to see that in the areas of development there is no forced labour, that the native peoples engage in work on the basis of voluntary contracts which they understand, that good conditions and medical services are provided, that legislation ensures an adequate standard of life, and that the indigenous peoples thus share fully and equitably in the fruits of economic progress.
(d) Avoidance of friction between nations engaged in economic expansion; it is desirable that an international code should be worked out by the International Labour Office and the League of Nations, defining the relations between the various powers interested in colonial expansion, the indigenous populations affected, and indicating the possibilities of fuller co-operation.

The statement concludes by expressing the Council's concern that there should be provision for research so that missionary organizations might be informed as to the economic problems in the areas where they are working, and so that, in the light of full and accurate information, Christian bodies both in the sending countries and on the mission fields might co-operate in the removal of un-Christian conditions of life and work. "The Council therefore regards it as of vital importance that Christian bodies both in the mission field and in Europe and America should be equipped for the study of this subject, by the establishment of an adequately staffed Bureau of Social and Economic Research and Information, in connexion with the International Missionary Council." (op.cit. p.191.) The Bureau, it was suggested, should work in close contact with the various National Christian Councils, the corresponding bureau set up at Stockholm, the relevant departments of the Y.W.C.A. and Y.M.C.A., and the International Labour Office. "Christian
Churches, in all parts of the world, must seek to obtain a fuller knowledge of the social and economic problems which confront them, in order that, under the guidance of their Master, they may be less unworthy instruments in the advancement of His Kingdom." (op.cit. p.193.)

(2) THE MESSAGE OF JERUSALEM, 1928, CONCERNING EDUCATION.

The preliminary paper, circulated amongst the delegates, was prepared by Mr. J.H. Oldham, Secretary of the International Missionary Council, and the Rev. Luther A. Weigle, Professor of Religious Education at Yale University. It made the scope of "religious education" very wide. "Religious education in the Christian sense includes all efforts and processes which help to bring children and adults into a vital and saving experience of God revealed in Christ; to quicken the sense of God as a living reality, so that communion with Him in prayer and worship becomes a natural habit and principle of life; to enable them to interpret the meaning of their growing experience of life in the light of ultimate values; to establish attitudes and habits of Christlike living in a common life and in all human relations; and to enlarge and deepen the understanding of the historic facts on which Christianity rests, and of the rich content of Christian experience, belief and doctrine." (Jerusalem Report, Vol.2, p.11.) The paper found many reasons for the
co-operation of the Church and State in education. The one is concerned to make good Christians and the other to make good citizens, but there is no contradiction in that. Moreover, the modern tendencies in education which emphasize the importance of the person reveal a remarkable degree of correspondence with what the Christian claims the purpose of education should be. "Christian education ought to stand for what modern education at its best is seeking." "There is a growing recognition among those responsible for the conduct of national systems of education that education needs the help of religion." (op. cit. p. 94.) The possibility of conflict between national systems and Christian principles is admitted, and the serious nature of its implications, should it arise, is recognised, but any danger there may be is regarded as coming only from a tendency toward "a utilitarianism which exalts material values above the things of the spirit." "... there is no ground for discouragement in regard to the future of Christian education. Whatever may be the surface currents, the deeper movement of the tide is with the Christian cause."

The official statement began by making an appraisal of the Teaching Method of Jesus. "It is our firm belief that the Christian Church is being led alike by a fuller appreciation of the teaching work of Jesus and by recent studies of educational and psychological principles to a new vision of the place of religion in education and to a fulfilment of that
vision in new types of educational work." (op.cit. p.220.) In Jesus the contrast between preaching and teaching, between evangelism and education, does not exist. His one concern is to set men free from self-centredness and self-regard and to lead them to harmony and unity of life in the doing of God's will. In all that Jesus did three characteristic notes are to be observed, the note of life, the note of freedom, and the note of fellowship - emphases which are endorsed by modern educational methods. Turning to Religion and Education, the statement observes, "It is our vocation to be imitators of Him, applying as best we may His methods to the performance of our task as teachers." (op.cit. p.225.) Modern education and Christian principles unite in the affirmations that (1) Religion is an essential factor in education, and (2) Education has an essential place in religious work.

(1) We cannot limit education to instruction or vocational training. It must lead to an appreciation of aesthetic, intellectual and moral values, and it must promote the growth of a full, balanced and purposive personality. These important ends cannot be achieved without the unification of the self around a dominant purpose for social living. "Where there is no such interest, men are likely to become superficial and ineffective; where it is low, they will be dwarfed and distorted, unhappy in themselves and dangerous to their fellows. Religion, when worthy of the name, incorporates man's response
to the eternal values of life. As such it is essential to education. Without it education will be not merely incomplete: it is almost a contradiction in terms." (op.cit. p.226.)

This need of education for religion is fully met only in Christianity for in Jesus we have the example of perfect personality, in His Gospel of the Kingdom we have the expression of perfect society, and in His Spirit there is the only power by which mankind can individually and corporately be transformed.

(2) The great importance of education in religious work is stressed. Indeed, whether we describe the Christian task in the world as "education" or as "evangelism" is determined by the standpoint from which we approach it. Evangelism describes our purpose: education our method. "Our goal is the conversion of the world: we can interpret that conversion in terms of the ever-present energy of God, subduing by love our wills to Himself; or we can interpret it as a training up of humanity for fulness of life in Him." (op.cit. p.227.)

In the section of the statement which records Findings from the Fields two remarks are worthy of quotation. They concern the home and the community. "The home exerts the deepest and most abiding influence upon life and is the most determining single human factor in the development of the race." "We have not adequately recognised the distinctive
character of the community and its influence upon the individual." (op.cit. p.286.) These sentences are of interest in view of the much greater importance which consideration of home and community was to assume in the next decade.

(3) THE MESSAGE OF JERUSALEM, 1928, CONCERNING INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS.

The omission of any discussion on international relationships and the questions of Church and State is a remarkable feature of the Jerusalem Council. Of all the oecumenical conferences which come under our review, this was the furthest removed from the experience of war. C.O.P.E.C. and Stockholm met in a post-war situation; the later conferences were to meet under the menace of imminent war. It is this fact which probably explains the content and brevity of an official statement which was issued on The Christian Mission and War. It is quoted in full. "Inasmuch as the world-wide Christian Mission is an expression of the spirit of the Prince of Peace, and an attempt to realize the truth that in Him all dividing lines, whether of race or class, are transcended; and,

Inasmuch as war is universally acknowledged as a most grievous hindrance to the triumph of this spirit among men;

The International Missionary Council summons all who share in the world-wide Christian Mission to unremitting
prayer and effort to secure (1) the renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy; (2) the adoption of peaceful methods for the settlement of all international differences; and (3) the changing of those attitudes and practices which constitute the roots of war." (Jerusalem Report, Vol.8, pp.200-201.)

(4) THE MESSAGE OF JERUSALEM, 1928, CONCERNING NON-CHRISTIAN SYSTEMS.

Dr. John R. Mott remarked that "the Jerusalem Meeting will doubtless always be associated in the thought of discerning people with lifting into a place of central prominence the consideration of secularism as the chief antagonist of the Christian faith - in fact, of all religious faiths." (International Review of Missions, July 1938, p.306.)

Sensitive to this menace of secularism, the Council in an official statement of its message offered an analysis of the world-situation. It noted the advent of a new relativism in human thought, which made men doubt whether there is any absolute truth or goodness; it detected the "birthpangs of a rising nationalism"; and recorded the yearning of youth "for the full and untrammelled expression of personality, for spiritual leadership and authority, for reality in religion, for social justice, for human brotherhood, for international peace". (Jerusalem Report, Vol.1, pp.479-480.)
The Christian response to this situation is the affirmation: "Our message is Jesus Christ. He is the revelation of what God is, and of what man through Him may become." (op. cit. p.480.) The vision of God which Jesus discloses arouses in men a sense of sin and guilt, but in the resurrection and the gift of the Holy Spirit they are offered God's renewing power.

The statement then proceeded to issue a call to Christians to show greater zeal and responsibility in presenting the Gospel to the world, to non-Christians to appreciate the truth and the relevance of what Jesus taught, and to all who inherit the benefits of secular civilization and (through industry, science or art) contribute to its advancement to recognise their indebtedness to Christianity. A paragraph from this summons to mankind may be quoted to illustrate the Christian appeal, as the Jerusalem Council presented it, to the contemporary world.

"Amid the clashes of industrial strife the Gospel summons men to work together as brothers in providing for the human family the economic basis of the good life. In the presence of social antipathies and exclusiveness the Gospel insists that we are members of one family, and that our Father desires for each a full and equal opportunity
to attain to his own complete development, and to make his own special contribution to the richness of the family life. Confronted by international relations that constantly flout Christ's law of love, there is laid on all who bear His name the solemn obligation to labour unceasingly for a new world-order in which justice shall be secured for all peoples, and every occasion for war or threat of war be removed. Such changes can only be brought about by an unreserved acceptance of Christ's way of love and the courageous and sacrificial living it demands." (op. cit. pp.493-4.)
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IV. THE OXFORD CONFERENCE ON CHURCH, COMMUNITY
AND STATE, 1937.

One of the duties with which the Stockholm Continuation Committee was charged was to summon, at an appropriate time, a further Conference on Life and Work. As the Conference which met at Oxford in July, 1937, was the successor to Stockholm, it will be necessary to recapitulate the chief events which linked them. The Continuation Committee met every year from 1926 to 1930, when it was reconstituted as the "Universal Christian Council for Life and Work", with a staff and permanent headquarters in Geneva. There an International Christian Social Institute was set up, which worked closely with the International Labour Bureau. In 1932 the Universal Council summoned a small international conference to discuss the problems of unemployment. It was found that consideration of these questions involved an inquiry into the contemporary social organization, and a further conference was held in the following year (Rengsdorf, 1933) with "The Church and the Social Order" as its theme. Out of this came a further development, and a year later another small conference (Paris, 1934) met to discuss "The Church and the Modern Problem of the State". In the same year, 1934, a meeting of the Universal Council (Fanö in Denmark) decided to convene a world conference on "Church, Community and State". Preparations for this were entrusted to Dr. J.H. Oldham, and
were continued over two or three years in the form of small representative gatherings and an interchange of thought through the medium of papers in English, German and French. The preliminary study, in addition to the five subjects for the Conference which are set out below, included more doctrinal matters such as "The Christian Understanding of Man", "The Kingdom of God and History", "The Christian Faith and the Common Life", and "The Church and its function in Society". Commenting on this, Dr. Oldham has written, "The preparatory work for the Oxford Conference has revealed how relatively slender are the resources on which the Church can at present draw for dealing with questions which lie on the border-line between doctrine and life, and which for their understanding and solution demand a combination of theological understanding and an experience of practical affairs." (The Churches Survey Their Task, p.17-18.)

The Conference was composed of rather more than four hundred delegates. Of these three-quarters were officially appointed by the Churches, and the remainder came at the invitation of the Universal Council and were mainly lay people "representing other departments of knowledge besides theology and possessing practical experience of practical affairs." The German Evangelical Church was denied permission by the government of the Reich to be represented; the Church of Rome took no official part in the Conference. With these two
exceptions the Conference was representative of contemporary Christianity, and it is worthy of note that there were delegates from the younger Churches in Asia, Africa and South America. The members came from forty different countries.

The subjects discussed by the Conference were five in number, namely:-

(1) Church and Community.
(2) Church and State.
(3) Church, Community and State in relation to the Economic Order.
(4) Church, Community and State in relation to Education.
(5) The Universal Church and the World of Nations.

The reports of the Conference are given in Dr. J.H. Oldham's "The Churches Survey Their Task", which we must now endeavour to review.

(1) **CHURCH AND COMMUNITY.**

An analysis of the existing situation in which the Church is set to witness reveals widespread social disintegration to be its dominant feature. "The most general and the most significant phenomenon in the world of 1937 is the dissolution of the spiritual bonds and accepted organizing principles which have hitherto controlled and given meaning to the common life." (The Churches Survey Their Task, p.189.) The causes of this are many. Among them may be cited the breaking up of compact
communities by increased means of communications and the large-
scale operations of industry; the menace of war and unemploy-
ment; and that spiritual insecurity which has attended the
abandonment of old loyalties and traditional authorities.
Communism in Russia, and the nationalism of Japan, China, India,
Turkey, Egypt, Germany, Italy and other countries, must be
understood as attempts to reconstruct this disintegrating
social life. Communism attempts to plan corporate life on
rational principles in a classless society. Nationalism makes
patriotism the unifying force and secures social cohesion by
reviving traditional loyalties and pieties. Both bear witness
to the fundamental human need for community.

This situation gives a powerful challenge to the Christian
Church. Its first task is to affirm the deeper meaning of the
present disintegration. Men are doing violence to their own
nature by attempting to live without God and ignoring both His
gifts and His claims. The secularist revolt against the
traditional Christian presuppositions, which has characterized
the modern period in the history of Europe, has resulted in
national and class strife. This is the outcome of an over-
estimate of the power and self-sufficiency of human reason.
But the Church must recognize that to a considerable extent it
reproduces within itself the conflicts which vex humanity. It
must, therefore, admit its share in responsibility for the
present situation (which lies in part in the tendency to regard
the Gospel solely as ministering comfort to the individual and
to neglect its prophetic message and its offer of redemption
for the corporate life of mankind) and face its own need for
repentance and amendment. "The modern situation is indeed
God's call not only to the world but to a Church which has been
content to preach the redeeming Word without the costly redeem-
ing deed." (op.cit. p.197.) A further demand made upon the
Church is that it shall recognise with the utmost frankness
that it is now no longer dominant and authoritative even in what
was once known as Christendom. It takes its place among the
many influences and movements of the modern world. "To-day
convinced Christians are everywhere in a minority in a pre-
dominantly unchristian world. For the relation of the Church
to the community the mission field is now normative." (op.cit.
p.200.) This means that the Church must see its work in the
present age as more missionary than pastoral, and strive to find
a new understanding of its duty to those areas of the common
life with which it has lost touch.

But even this does not constitute the whole of the
challenge with which the modern situation confronts the Church.
The new faiths of communism and nationalism have proved their
power to evoke sentiments of loyalty, comradeship, self-discipline
and self-sacrifice - the very qualities to which Christianity
appeals. But they challenge the Church on her two great
commandments; on the first, because they claim for themselves
what can only be given to God, and are forms of militant idolatry; and on the second, because they foster hatred of members of a certain class, the 'bourgeois', the Jew, or the coloured man. The Church, in the name of Christ's love, must face those social evils which its rivals seek to abolish by violence and hate. Finally, the Church, recognising that social systems and institutions which largely mould the lives of individuals tend to give modern life its impersonal character, must discover how Christian neighbourliness can be made real and effective in a "world of large-scale organization, of complicated group-relationships, and of diffused responsibility".

An attempt must now be made to analyze the Christian position, and to define more precisely the way in which Christianity ought to make its impact upon the common life of the world. What responsibilities have Christian people, individually and corporately, in regard to the culture, institutions and social life of civilisation? On what terms are they to live with their non-Christian or partly-Christian contemporaries? The answers which Christian people will make to this problem depend upon their belief concerning the nature of revelation. Here the issue upon which judgment is divided is whether God's revelation to mankind of Himself and His will is given solely in the Biblical stream of history, or whether there is also a natural revelation in the religions and civilisations outside it. But without waiting for a full answer to this
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problem, we may lay down two guiding principles: (1) Christ is the Lord of all life. "For the Christian Church the revelation of God in Jesus Christ is finally authoritative in every department of life." (op.cit. p.206.) (2) But the Gospel does not supersede the ethical knowledge derived from other sources, for God is the Creator of the whole world and has not left Himself without witness outside the confines of Christianity. We have, however, to recognise that Christians differ concerning the relation of their distinctive ethic to the life of the world. Some hold the essential Christian attitude, Agape, is to be made the guiding principle in all the affairs of life, and that the believer must not acquiesce in any corporate action which involves a lower standard. Others hold that society can rightly be required to live by "natural law", or "the moral law", or "the principle of justice"; this may be less than the distinctively Christian ethic, but the Christian can accept it as a common basis for himself and non-Christians, and thereby he can strive gradually to lead men to the Gospel commandment. The representatives of the third view hold that the Christian standards are to be honoured in personal life, but have no applicability to public life, whose structure is to be regarded as determined by the sovereign will of God. These divergences of view make it inevitable that Christians should differ as to the Church's attitude to war, the capitalist system, the penal code, and similar practical matters.
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It is not easy to define the duty of Christian individuals and groups within the common life. That the Christian is committed to a distinctive way of living (in the showing forth of *Agape* towards his fellow-men) is unreservedly accepted. But since he has to live and witness in the midst of a secular society, he is bound to act upon either an overt or unexamined accommodation to his non-Christian contemporaries. The problem of personal compromise is real and acute. To some people (and their representatives are found inside the Church and beyond its borders) conscious compromise is inconsistent with sincere Christian profession. Yet it is impossible directly to apply the principle of redemptive love to the whole field of the common life. In the past much social reform has been achieved by means of a "working compromise" with contemporary moral standards. But on the other hand there is an ever-present danger that Christian people will conform with the standards of respectable society rather than raise them by means of a distinctive contribution. Any thorough-going discussion of this complex question would have to bear in mind the persistence in Christendom of the "Church type" (which sees practical Christianity in terms of a universal appeal to humanity), and the "sect type" (which is more concerned to summon individuals and small groups to live by a distinctive, if not perfectionist, standard), and to recognise the necessity and proper function of both in the church catholic. "The exclusive predominance of the one would produce an irresponsible individualism and would
destroy continuity; the exclusive predominance of the other
would produce a stagnant conformity and would prevent advance." (op.cit. p.216.) It should further be remembered that we owe
a special duty to the prophets and pioneers who seek to arouse
mankind from the lethargy which seems inherent in our nature;
and in any acceptance of apparently necessary compromise we must
guard against self-deception. But "compromise" is an ambiguous
term, and a distinction is rightly to be drawn between "conduct
due to the limitations which are implicit in human finiteness
and in the given conditions of social life ... and true and
blameworthy compromise which implies a failure to fulfil genuine
possibilities of faithful discipleship." (op.cit. p.216.)

Most of the perplexing problems concerning the Christian's
life in the world arise from the fact that every person is never
simply an isolated individual, but is always "enmeshed in a web
of organic corporate relationships". To these social frame­
works, which are powerful and permanent organic structures
family, neighbourhood, nation and race - the Germans have given
the name, die Ordungen, "the orders"; to understand their
nature and true significance is one of the major tasks of
contemporary Christian thought.

A marked characteristic of the "orders", which mould the
life and condition the thought of every individual more than he
is apt to realize, is their dual nature. Each is potentially
both a blessing and a curse. Each is "always partly God-
inspired, partly sin-infected." "For the Christian faith, each
in its true expression is, in some sense, a part of the divine order, part of God's gracious provision for the enrichment of man's life. But there is conflict between their respective claims. Much more important for Christian faith, each is for ever tending to make demands upon the Christian in conflict with his duty to God. Like every individual, each of the great corporate societies or "orders" of human life is always infected with the sins of pride, fear, idolatry, greed and insularity." (op.cit. p.218.) Tension may, therefore, arise between the exaggerated or illegitimate demands of the various "orders" and that which claims his unqualified obedience, the will of God.

The relative importance of the "orders", of which the family is admitted to be basic, is a practical question which has to be settled. The two which give rise to the acutest conflicts of loyalty and the most poignant human problems in the world of to-day are the National Community and Race. These must be briefly considered in turn.

(a) The Church and National Community (Volk).

Nationality is one of God's gifts to mankind. The ties of blood and soil, common tradition, culture and purpose are very powerful, and it is part of the providential order that each nation should make its distinctive contribution to the life of mankind. But any form of national egotism, or the
conception of one's own nation as the sole source and standard of human excellences, is rebellion against God. Thus it is a Christian duty to foster a sense of trusteeship of national virtues and to be vigilant against sinful national pretensions and tendencies.

(b) The Church and Race.

Once again the existence of the different races is to be accepted as full of possibilities, under divine providence, for the enrichment of human life. We may not differentiate between the various races in respect of their intrinsic value; rather should we recognise that God has created them to bring their unique and distinctive contributions to His service in the world. Racial pride, hatred or exploitation must always be opposed, and condemned as sinful; the Church must demonstrate within its own fellowship the reality of that community which God intends, wherein national and racial limitations and divisions are transcended.

The Report concludes by indicating the direction of advance. Consideration of the problems which arise from the relation of the Church to the Community lays a two-fold responsibility upon the Church. Advance can only be made if there is both oecumenical and local study of the questions relevant to the Christian understanding of God's intention for the common life. And there is laid upon the Church, both in the local congregation
and in its smaller and larger groupings, the further responsi-

bility of taking immediate practical steps towards a fuller

oeumenical witness. "The oeumenical movement which has

found expression at Oxford should become an integral part of

the life of every Church, every local congregation, every

individual Christian. To help to create it, to support it,
to develop it, is a solemn responsibility to God, Who so loved
the world that He gave His only-begotten Son for its sin.
Thus shall be plainly manifested to mankind in its chaos and
division something of that peace and order of brotherly love
which come only from God and from Jesus Christ His Son our
Lord." (op.cit. p.240.)

(Note: In "The Churches Survey Their Task" there is a
Shorter (pp.68-76) and a Longer (pp.188-240) Report on "Church
and Community". Both have been consulted, but only the Longer
Report is summarized above as it incorporates all the essential
material of the Shorter.)

(2) CHURCH AND STATE.

"One of the outstanding facts in the present world-situation
is the increasing significance of the State in the total life of
mankind." (op.cit. p.241.) This modern political development
raises problems for the Christian mind and often places burdens
on the Christian conscience. When we attempt to analyze the
present situation we find not only the breakdown of traditional
cultures but the impulse towards new patterns of community.
If there has been a weakening of the "liberal" ideals of freedom, equality, self-determination and tolerance, there has also been a revived emphasis upon the "authoritarian" ideals of obedience, surrender and sacrifice. The new communities which have emerged have given to the "class" or State an absolute value and have demanded for it an unconditional loyalty. In certain countries these views are openly declared and accepted. But it is to be noted that the tendency toward the totalitarian state is not confined to them. "Even in countries where the ruling ideas are those of liberalism and democracy, economic and political forces are at work which must lead to a rigid control of economic life, of public opinion, of national habits, and in general to a greater unification of the national being. Even where the State does not seek to influence men directly, but leaves wide room for the activities of religious and other free societies, such tendencies are none the less noticeable." (op.cit. p.247.) This situation has emerged from a background of widespread cultural change, marked by the increasing sway of irreligious secularism, and it would seem that "men are following social and political symbols with religious fervour because they promise them a unifying centre for life and a satisfying fellowship".

We have, therefore, to face the crucial issues before the Church at the present time. Throughout its history the
Christian Church has had to define, in the light of its own Gospel and mission, its attitude to the problems and tasks with which the existence of the State confronts it. It must clarify its mind as to the ultimate sanction of the State in the providential order, and its own responsibility especially to the modern State, under which the interests and activities of life are being increasingly comprehended. And it must get to grips with the urgent problem of the essential nature of freedom and authority. "A Christian answer is needed to a double question - that of the freedom of the Church and of its members to bear witness within the political order in word and deed to their Lord, and that of the freedom of men in general to live in accordance with the high responsibility of those who have been created in the image of God." (op.cit. p.251.)

The Report seeks to give guidance concerning the Christian position on these issues.

(1) The Christian view of the sanction of the State.

Christian thought upon political questions reveals wide diversity of attitude and judgment. But here the oecumenical tendency has its significance, for it is the Church, as a supra-national fellowship deriving its being from the revelation of God in Christ, which is the starting-point of our discussion. "The Church of Christ as the community in which grace and love are at work in the totality of its life and witness must be
our common standing-ground." (op.cit. p.253.) Problems are set for members of the Christian Church by the contemporary State chiefly over the conception of "sovereignty". "The State, whether it is organized as a democracy, or parliament, or dictatorship, claims itself to determine, and to make obligatory on all its subjects, the extent of its competence and in what constitutional forms it will exercise it." (op.cit. p.254-5.) It is a further characteristic of the State that it holds a monopoly of the means of coercion, and is thereby capable (if it misuses its great power) of becoming an instrument for evil. This fact may give rise to acute tension between Church and State, and it places upon the Church a special duty of vigilance. "It is only the Church that in the last resort can show the State the limit of its power." (op.cit. p.256.) As we face these facts and tendencies, we have to define the Christian sanction of the State. We recognise that in the political sphere the State is the highest authority, but we maintain that it does itself stand under the judgment of God. It exists to serve His purpose by maintaining justice, ministering to the welfare of its members, and making its contribution to the life of mankind. Its authority and dignity derive from this divine sanction. If it transgresses the boundaries in which it works by God's appointment, it becomes an obstacle to His gracious rule.
(ii) The responsibility of the Church toward the State.

Christians, because they are under obedience to God, will give legitimate obedience in the "orders" of His appointing. To the State they will give a loyalty which is both co-operative and critical. They will take their part in rightly shaping the political order, but they will also test by the standards of justice and love all legislative and administrative action. In three groups of questions the Church has a positive responsibility to see that the State is functioning as it ought. These are, "the Christian concern for the maintenance of law and justice, the exercise of force in the political sphere, and the task of the State in the cultural life of the community". (op.cit. p.259.) In all of these there is much need for further thought and clarification. Christians are divided in their judgment as to the basis of their conception of law and order; is their understanding of justice derived from "natural law" or from the revealed will of God? The place of force in the political sphere must always be a disturbing question to the Christian Church which is under the commandment of love; the problem has taken on a new aspect in modern life, since the State is now able to control its citizens not only by physical coercion but by moral and spiritual pressure. Further, the responsibility of the State for the cultural life of the community has become an urgent matter, because the modern State
claims "the right to direct the mind and heart of the nation along definite lines". There is a danger that "the State may develop into a secularized Church with a world-view of its own." (op.cit. p.264.)

(iii) The Christian view of Authority and Freedom.

This danger raises the question of the Church's freedom to discharge its own functions in the life of society, and of the fundamental freedom which is the right of humankind. The Christian understanding of man is the point at issue. The Church derives its freedom from its obedience to its Lord. The State cannot confer freedom upon the Church. It may recognise the Church's freedom; where it does so, the Church will gratefully acknowledge this "tribute of the political authorities to the sovereignty of its Lord". It may attempt to restrict this freedom; where this happens, there must be conflict between Church and State. "For the Church must demand freedom to proclaim the Gospel to all mankind, and in all spheres of life, not for its own sake, but because it has received this commission from God, Who is also Lord of the State." (op.cit. p.266.) The problem becomes acute because of the Church's public character; what is involved is not the private devotion of Christian people, which the State cannot attack, but the public proclamation of the Christian message and the varied service to mankind in which the Church must openly engage.
In its concluding section on present tasks and duties, the Report urges that the primary duty of the Church is ever to renew its faith and strength through communion with the living God. "Precisely because its strength is derived from the supra-political sphere will its influence be felt spontaneously and effectively in the political sphere. If politics is to be redeemed we need renewed men and women." (op.cit. p.271.) As examples of more specific tasks the Report mentions the need for the Churches to summon their members to repentance and consecration, so they may become agents for promoting God's purpose in the world; the need for the Churches to form "agencies of co-operation" in the local, national and world-wide communities, so that they may effectively discharge the tasks which can be done by united effort; the need for the Churches to call their individual members to co-operate with the State constructively in and through their ordinary vocations; and the need for all the Churches to guard "the opportunity of worship, of witness, of service, and of education, which is essential to their mission, and this not for their own sake only, but for the sake of the States". But it should also be realized that every Church has a further duty as a member of the Church Universal: that is "to follow with sympathetic interest the fortunes of those, Christians and non-Christians, who are
victims of cruelty and oppression, and to do what it can to secure for them a treatment compatible with the dignity of their human personality as children of God". (op.cit. p.273.) It is only by taking this stand for freedom, its own and that of all men, that the Church can fulfill its commission, and preach the Gospel to all mankind.

(Note: In "The Churches Survey Their Task" there is a Shorter (pp.77-86) and a Longer (pp.241-274) Report on "Church and State". Both have been consulted, but only the Longer Report is summarized above as it incorporates all the essential material of the Shorter.)

(3) CHURCH, COMMUNITY AND STATE IN RELATION TO THE ECONOMIC ORDER.

Our first task is to establish the basis of the Christian concern for the economic order. God in Christ has revealed that love is the rule to which the whole of human life is to be subject. The Christian is under obligation to love his fellows because he knows that God wills to redeem them and to restore them to the true human dignity. But in the economic sphere the expression of this commandment will be found in the pursuit of justice. In all social arrangements, economic structures and political systems the principle of justice must be firmly established as the working standard required by the divine will. By this means the self-assertiveness of those who seek their own advantage at others' expense will be
restrained, and the cause of human brotherhood will be promoted. Christian charity may go beyond the bare requirements of justice, but it must not be made an alternative to the attempt to secure fuller justice in any given social order. "Christianity becomes socially futile if it does not recognize that love must will justice and that the Christian is under an obligation to secure the best possible social and economic structure, in so far as such structure is determined by human decisions." (op.cit. p.95.) But if it be insisted that the working standard is justice, the relation to it of the law of love - which for the Christian is ultimate - must be defined. The law of love is a criterion of judgment which will reveal points in the existing social structures at which the Christian conscience will be disturbed, and indicate aims to which Christian action should be directed in the pursuit of justice.

When we come to an analysis of the present economic situation, we find that oecumenical Christianity is not facing one economic order, but many. But it is the intention of the Report to concentrate upon capitalism. It is to be fully recognised that in its earlier developments capitalism brought many benefits to mankind. It emancipated the individual from the social and cultural restrictions of feudalism; its technological advance did much to overcome natural scarcity of economic resources; it reduced manual labour; it helped to
bring distant parts of the world to a sense of their inter-
dependence. It was hoped that it would promote social justice,
but it has instead aggravated inequalities, promoted insecurity
and put modern society under the domination of "economic laws". Further ill-effects have been the destruction, through mechanisa-
tion, of old crafts; the segregation of urban and rural
populations; and the threat and actuality of long periods of
unemployment. Moreover, capitalist production has tended to
treat human labour as a commodity (to be bought as cheaply and
used as advantageously as possible); the profit motive has
robbed the worker of the social meaning of his work and has
fostered hostility between economic groups. The worst social
effects of these tendencies have been mitigated by social
legislation and welfare, and by the rise of the trades unions
and the co-operative movement. But capitalism, especially
since the first World War, has entered a new phase. In its
earlier development it was expansionist; in its later it has
become monopolistic. The rise of new industrial competitors
accelerated competition for dwindling world markets; industrial
concerns have united into powerful corporations; and the
economic process has become increasingly involved in political
ramifications. "On the one hand, the economic process has been
increasingly subjected to State control and interference; and,
on the other hand, trading and industrial and financial groups
have been tempted to obtain the support of the State for their particular interests, and the original ideal of modern democracy has thus in practice become increasingly difficult to achieve." (op.cit. p.101.) A consequence of this development is seen in the rise of socialism and communism which are in large part a protest against the evil results of the capitalist economic order. In some countries, especially where Christianity has seemed to be bound up with the culture of the ruling classes, this protest is allied to a radical opposition to the Church. Where this has happened, the Churches must "acknowledge that God has spoken to their conscience through these movements, by revealing through them the real situation of millions of their members". (op.cit. p.102.) But with this admission there must go an unqualified rejection of the utopianism, materialism and disregard for the dignity of the individual which are found (for example) in communism.

In the economic order there are certain points at which the Christian understanding of life is challenged. Before they are enumerated, it is to be frankly recognised that the economic order holds potentialities for good. If the discoveries and processes of modern science and technology were fully and wisely used, poverty could be removed, and a more equitable distribution of wealth could be achieved. But in
four ways the operation of the economic order can be seen to
deny the status of man as a moral and spiritual being, and to
thwart his true development.
(1) The enhancement of acquisitiveness.

The pursuit of material wealth as the dominant motive of
industry is bound to affect adversely the quality of society.
It will give rise to conflict of interest between different
economic groups and inculcate false values and standards of
success. "As long as industry is organized, primarily, not
for the service of the community but with the object of pro-
ducing a purely financial result for some of its members, it
cannot be recognised as properly fulfilling its social
purpose." (op.cit. p.105.)

(2) Inequalities.

The products of industry and the financial wealth result-
ing from it are distributed with marked inequality. This
means that many people are condemned all their lives to
environmental evils, which a privileged minority escape, and
are deprived of the means of developing their powers. "Any
social arrangement which outrages the dignity of man, by
treating some men as ends and others as means, any institution
which obscures the common humanity of men by emphasizing the
external accidents of birth, or wealth, or social position,
is ipso facto anti-Christ." (op.cit. p.106.)
(3) Irresponsible possession of economic power.

The Christian conscience must always protest against power which is wielded by individuals or groups who are not responsible to any organ of society. In the economic order of many countries this kind of tyranny, in the exact meaning of the word, obtains: power is wielded by a hierarchy (with leaders of finance at the top and controllers of key industries and masters of the larger and smaller economic undertakings lower down the scale) whose members are not accountable to the community over which the power is exercised. It is true that trade unions and legislation have modified to some extent the incidence of this power, but their action has chiefly been to secure certain minimum standards; they have not to any appreciable extent modified or directed economic strategy. The effect of this great economic power "tends to create in those who wield authority ... a dictatorial temper," and its "effect on those over whom it is exercised is equally serious. Often it makes them servile ... " (op. cit. p.108.)

(4) The frustration of the sense of vocation.

It is difficult for workers (who often are directly conscious of working for their employers' profit, and only indirectly of contributing to the public well-being) to accept the demand that the Christian should do God's will in his daily work. In addition to this many workers are engaged in
producing things that are useless, shoddy, or even harmful; certain employments (for example, some kinds of salesmanship) involve deception or other threat to the integrity of the worker; and there is the sense of insecurity which arises in the minds of many because of the constant threat of unemployment.

When we turn to consider Christian decisions in response to this challenge, we find substantial agreement upon certain general principles, but marked divergence of judgment upon methods and aims. That Christians are bound to test the institutional framework of society by their doctrine as to the nature of God and man, and to amend it where by this criterion it is seen to be defective, is admitted. But concerning their immediate duties in the sphere of politics they differ widely. A widespread contemporary controversy is the issue between private enterprise and social ownership. But among advocates of each of these main positions are found disagreements. Those who believe in the reform of private enterprise are generally found to advocate such policies as the increase of political control upon the holders of economic power, and the dispersal of inequalities by taxation and social legislation. Those who believe in the transition of a system of private enterprise to one of social ownership differ widely as to the degree of socialization necessary in modern technical civilization, and the tempo at which it should be carried
It is generally posited that basic industries and the natural resources of the community's wealth shall be brought under social ownership. It is also to be noted that "there are certain social proposals which fall between the policy of maintaining the system of private property and that of socializing it. Chief among these are the proposals for the socialization of money and credit, and for the extension of the principle of co-operation through voluntary co-operative enterprises. Both of these proposals have secured particularly strong support among Christian people on the ground that on the one hand they offer the opportunity of eliminating the evils of the present system in a more thoroughgoing fashion, and that on the other hand they involve less social conflict and tension." (op.cit. p.113.) These differences of judgment and divergences of suggested action are real and important; but in the Christian Church there is a fellowship in Christ which transcends them. If advocates of both sides of a controverted question would remember that they are sinners before God, as well as His instruments and servants, this "would itself be a great constructive contribution towards moderating the bitterness of the struggle between social groups". (op.cit. p.114.)

A great responsibility rests upon those who endeavour to interpret the meaning and relevance of the Christian faith to people in a position to make operative decisions in economic
life. An attempt must now be made to formulate Christian teaching in relation to the economic order. There are certain matters which can be readily assessed by Christian principles, and others upon which Christian judgment cannot be made apart from patient study and the guidance of expert knowledge. But there are three areas of economic life upon which the Christian faith throws light, and a framework of Christian teaching relevant to them is suggested.

A. "Christian teaching should deal with ends, in the sense of long-range goals, standards, and principles, in the light of which every concrete situation and every proposal for improving it must be tested." (op.cit. p.115.) Such standards will include fellowship between man and man - an economic order which frustrates this or perpetuates class divisions must be changed; opportunity for all children and young people to develop their particular capacities; the care of people disabled from economic activity; the intrinsic worth and dignity of labour; and reverence for the natural resources of the earth as God's gifts to the human race.

Direction should also be given to Christian thought upon the important subject of property, and the following points are to be noted. All human property rights are relative, since man depends for all things upon God the Giver; the existing system of property rights is properly to be criticized in view of the largely non-moral processes by which it has been
industrial property rights must never be maintained without regard to their social consequences; a distinction is to be made between various forms of property; for example, there is clearer moral justification for personal possessions for use than for property in land and the means of production, which give their owners power over people.

B. "The message of Christianity should throw a searchlight on the actual facts of the existing situation and in particular reveal the economic consequences of present forms of economic behaviour." (op.cit. p.119.) This will mean, not a denunciation of individuals, but a presentation of facts in such a way that they speak to the conscience. Ministers and clergy can often see the effects upon people of the economic structure; experts can supply relevant statistics. It is the business of the Church to examine the total situation and to point out where contemporary economic institutions are infected with evil.

C. "This searchlight of the Christian message can also make clear the obstacles to economic justice in the human heart, and especially those that are present in the hearts of people within the Church." (op.cit. p.121.) Christians need the kind of self-knowledge which will help them to understand how far their attitudes are moulded by the position which they hold in the economic order. This is true, for example, of
"those parts of the Church which contain chiefly the comfort­able middle-classes". But the illusions of other classes and groups must also be dispelled, and Christians ought to recognise their special obligation to try to interpret the separate groups in society to one another. Such self-knowledge is a necessary condition of repentance and amendment.

The concluding section of this Report bears the title, immediate Christian action. Action to be undertaken by the Churches includes the reform of their own institutional life, which will mean a scrutiny of the methods by which they raise money and administer property, and a deepened concern to secure equality in ministerial remuneration and in the equipment of Churches; the development of new machinery for research and action, so that Church pronouncements may be made after the study of relevant facts and thus have a greater authority; and the integration of work and worship. Action by Christians will include action within the existing economic order in business, industry and the professions, local and national government, and social work; group experiments made by "cells" of people with a particular purpose and concern; and "a readiness to make sacrifices, to take effective action, to forgive those that trespass against them, and to love those that seem to be their enemies" (op.cit. p.129) for the sake of effectively changing the economic order.
Education is described as "the process by which the community seeks to open its life to all the individuals within it and enable them to take their part in it." (op. cit. p. 130.) The light in which a community views its culture will determine the kind of education it seeks to promote. Where the culture is regarded as final, the community will attempt to impose it authoritatively upon the minds of its younger members; where the culture is regarded as developing the younger members of the community will be encouraged to receive it with freedom to criticize and to suggest improvements.

In Education, Church, Community and State all have their part to play, and we must note certain relevant characteristics of each of them.

(i) The Church.

The Christian Gospel is concerned with every human interest and activity. It claims the whole of man, and every human institution, for God's service. The Church, therefore, cannot be indifferent to education, although it is not its province to assume sole responsibility for the conduct and organization of it. Home, community and State have their functions, and Church members will be encouraged to work within them in the service of education. The claim upon the Church's
interest, however, abides. "She is concerned that every child and adult shall receive the fullest education consistent with his capacities; but she must make plain that no education is adequate without the living encounter with God and the response of personal faith." (op.cit. p.131.) The way in which the Church interprets the requirements of education is determined by its understanding of its own essential nature. As a fellowship of free persons who are under obedience to Christ, the Church reveres the human personality, and must oppose any education which "teaches men to subordinate themselves to any human force as the final authority"; realizing that God has so made men that they are members one of another, it will also oppose any system of education which stimulates "the unconditional self-expression of the individual". As a redemptive fellowship, recognising evil as well as good in any culture, the Church encourages the kind of education which makes a man "both a grateful recipient and a critic of the cultural heritage". Because the Church transcends nation, race and class, it will educate her own members to consider themselves as belonging first to God and secondarily to the nation, to repudiate racial discrimination and to work for the removal of inequalities of opportunity which derive from social distinctions. In taking this stand, the Church may come in conflict with the educational policy of the State or the community. Finally, knowing itself to be an eternal fellowship, the Church cannot regard as adequate
any education or training which simply fits man for useful citizenship in an earthly community, and neglects to regard him as a creature of eternal destiny.

(ii) The State.

The State has a vital interest in education, because upon the intelligence, training and abilities of its people depend its economic welfare and its national strength. It needs to receive the support of its members for national policies and legislation, and to promote their loyalty. In a time of social disintegration such as the present, national solidarity is also an interest of the State. Certain States have, therefore, sought to use (and in some cases to control) the school, the press, the radio, the film, the stage and other media which influence the human mind and behaviour to inculcate their ideals and to maintain the unity of their peoples. Other States recognize the rights of various agencies to a share in the task of education. "They wish their culture to be enriched by the contributions of creative citizens, and place fewest restrictions upon the pursuit and discussion of truth." (op.cit. p.137.)

(iii) The Community.

It would be difficult to overestimate the importance of the community in the education of its members. The social, economic and political relationships which form the structure
of society have a more powerful influence in fashioning the outlook, attitudes, character and ideals of men and women than that of any formal education. "Christian education is deeply concerned, therefore, with shaping the patterns of community life in a way that will foster Christian insights and conduct." (op.cit. p.137.)

There are certain factors in the present situation which affect the relations of Church, Community and State with regard to education. The secularization of modern life has brought men to act upon motives and pre-suppositions which are almost wholly "this-worldly"; technical and scientific advance has encouraged man's faith in his own power to direct his destiny, and modern psychology has promised him a means of dealing with his personal problems. The development of industry and the growth of large towns and cities has done much to weaken or destroy natural community; and this widespread social disintegration has affected even the home and brought about a weakening of the family bonds. There have been changes in the sphere of education itself: interest has shifted from the acquiring knowledge and skills to the student - to-day education is setting out "to create a particular kind of person in accordance with its interpretation of the ends of man's existence" (op.cit. p.141); in broadcasting and the cinema we have
new and powerful educational agencies; and there is a notable increase of State intervention in education.

This situation gives rise to crucial issues for Christians in education, of which four may be mentioned to illustrate the possible ground of conflict between Church and State.

(i) Freedom.

Freedom to pursue truth and to impart it should be paramount in education. In many countries, however, powerful movements have in recent times sought through education to subordinate the individual to the interests of the community, as these are interpreted by the political authority. The Christian Church must oppose this attempt to mould the human personality, for "education must encourage a disciplined sense of obligation and the unfettered development of the individual's capacities". (op.cit. p.142.) But while she insists on liberty from improper outward restraints, she holds also that the human personality attains its completeness and true freedom in obedience to God.

(ii) Social Disintegration.

It is understandable that, faced with social disintegration, the community should make great efforts to restore national unity. This purpose is reflected in education, through which the attempt is made "to banish everything which conflicts with a common national ethos". But the Church,
while fully recognising the legitimate claims of the State to loyalty and service, is bound to insist that Christianity promotes a fellowship which transcends the boundaries of nation, race and class. This will sometimes bring the Church under suspicion, or in open conflict with the State.

(iii) Control of Youth Movements.

The appeal of the totalitarian regimes to youth is to be admitted: they offer a sense of brotherhood, an object of loyalty and a purpose for living. In some States, Church, family and community have all been deprived of their proper opportunity to share in the development of the next generation. "This is a challenge to the Church to present Jesus Christ to the youth of every land as Lord, and to enlist their devotion for His purpose for mankind through the community of His Church." (op.cit. p.145.)

(iv) Modern knowledge, method and technique.

State and community are now concerned with aspects of education - character training and spiritual health - which were formerly the special interest of the Church. The Church must "welcome an education which concerns itself with the whole man, and new sciences and techniques which assist in the solution of spiritual difficulties". (op.cit. p.145.) But the Church ought to be sensitive to, and to warn the community
against, the tendency (which modern conditions heighten) of
interpreting education too narrowly as vocational or academic
qualification for professional success and of neglecting a wide
and human culture as well as insight into the true meaning and
purpose of human life. In her own education of both young
and old she must keep abreast of modern knowledge and methods,
but she must also "proclaim in its purity her own essential
Gospel of the healing mercy of Christ ... and that through the
appropriation of this mercy men can receive salvation of soul
and that apart from it there can be no final attainment of
mental and spiritual health." (op.cit. p.146.)

We are now in a position to appreciate the immediate tasks
of the Church in education.

A precondition of effective Christian witness can be
stated immediately. "If the Church is to discharge her
teaching duty she must bring her communions into a common
front on educational issues and unite her forces in fulfilling
this urgent task." (op.cit. p.147.) Five matters can then
be enumerated to which the Church should address her common
mind.

(i) There is need to formulate a theology which is
relevant to current life. The Christian faith has in every
generation sought to meet prevalent errors and to win the
contemporary mind. It is an urgent necessity to-day that the
Christian understanding of God and man should be expressed in
"a living theology which grows out of the devotion of multitudes of Christian people and out of the collaboration of Christian thinkers in all countries and in all communions of the Church". (op.cit. p.149.)

(ii) Another need is for a philosophy of education which is based upon the Christian presuppositions, and a psychology of education which takes due account of the significance of religious experience.

(iii) We must recognise the educational task of the Church in her own institutions and through her own membership. Parents should be taught the importance of their way of life in forming the attitudes and values of their children. The Church must not neglect its concern and responsibility for the recruiting, training and encouragement of Christian teachers. The quality of the Church's work amongst children and young people must be zealously guarded, and the promotion amongst adults of education in the Christian faith and its commitments must be included in its ministry. The Church must learn to use the press, broadcasting and the cinema in the Christian education of its own members and the larger community. The ministry must be equipped for the work of teaching as well as for preaching and the pastoral office.

(iv) Where the government of a country is responsive to Christian opinion the Church has an opportunity to influence public education. Christians should seek to achieve the
largest possible agreement amongst themselves in what they ask (whether for the power to maintain Church schools or to give religious instruction in State schools) or the civil authorities will provide a secular education in order to avoid sectarian strife.

(v) In a non-Christian environment, the greatest opportunity before the Church is in those countries where a friendly government welcomes the co-operation of Christian missions in the provision of schools. "Here religion is regarded as essential to the re-integration of a community which has lost the social, economic and spiritual cohesion which it possessed under primitive tribal conditions." (op.cit. pp.161-2.) In other lands, where the environment is not Christian, the situation is more difficult. Sometimes the State is unwilling to give permission for Christian teaching in its schools and colleges: here the Church can rightly claim on academic grounds that "no education is complete which arbitrarily excludes one whole field of human experience and history". In other cases the political situation may be antagonistic to the Church: here Christian parents and teachers do what they can in the home and in unofficial ways.

This summary of the Report on Education may fittingly conclude with words taken from its final paragraph. "The Church's largest contribution to education, like her supreme ministry to human life, is her Gospel, with its interpretation
of existence and its inspiration to live worthily. Where life is without meaning, education becomes futile. Where it is ignobly conceived, education is debased. Where it is viewed in the light of God's purpose in Christ, it assumes divine significance." (op.cit. p.166.)

(5) THE UNIVERSAL CHURCH AND THE WORLD OF NATIONS.

The Report calls attention to the all-too-familiar features of the present situation. International tension, colossal rearmament, widespread economic depression, and the universal fear of a major war were the background against which the Oxford Conference met. "Where even ten years ago there was in a great part of the world a spirit of optimistic faith in the creation of a true international order, there are now bewilderment and dejection." (op.cit. p.167.) In such a situation the Church's duty is to summon men to repentance, and to faith in the living God, and to show compassionate concern for the multitudes who suffer.

Against this dark background there is one ground for thanksgiving and hope: the emergence of the oecumenical Church. The great missionary movement which began towards the close of the eighteenth century carried the Church throughout the entire world. Since that time there has been an increasing recognition of the unity of the Church Universal.
"The Churches are realizing anew that the Church is one."

This tendency has been sharpened by the rise in many parts of the world of totalitarian political regimes, whose effect has been to awaken "in Christians of every land a deepened loyalty to Christ and the Church and a fresh sense of their need of solidarity in Christ." The true description of this movement is not "international" but "oeccumenical", a term which suggests the given fact of unity in Christ. In a broken world of contending nationalisms, the Church offers, not the ideal, but the fact of brotherhood. This implies that the Church will manifest, on the one hand, a deepening concern for her own unity and a practical care for her various members and communions in their tasks and difficulties; and, on the other hand, a sense of responsibility towards civilization and all the immediate problems of human relationship. "Knowing man and what is 'in man' Christians will not be elated with an un-Christian hope; knowing Christ and what is 'in Christ' they will not be cast down with an un-Christian despair." (op. cit. p.170.)

Before entering upon a discussion of the particular problems which confront Christians in the world to-day, it is necessary briefly to define the relationship between the Kingdom of God and the International Order. Although no one would formally equate the Kingdom of God with any scheme of international order devised by man's intelligence
and brought about by his effort, in practice there has been a danger that Christians should identify their hopes too closely with specific proposals for human betterment, thus courting disillusionment when they were not fulfilled. But it remains true that our conception of the Kingdom of God is relevant to our practical choices and endeavours at the political level, for Christians must approach all such proposals as those who seek to obey the living God and to promote His purpose as they have seen it in Christ. The Christian's attitude towards the international order thus wears a double aspect - it will welcome and work for improvement in international relations but it will not be able to regard any solution as final or entirely adequate.

We have to face the inherent difficulties in the establishment of international order. Within any State which orders its life in a constitutional way, the relations between individual citizens and the various social groups owe their stability to (and achieve their adjustment by) common agreement as to the purpose of society and common acceptance of the law and its sanctions. This is the result of long development and adaptation. But in the relations of the States with one another there is no parallel set of conditions. The political units of the world have no organic connection with one another. International law is incomplete and does not operate within a generally accepted international social
framework. The relations between the States are still conceived and determined chiefly in terms of physical power. The need to modify or abolish this system of "power relationships" is widely recognised at the political level, and various proposals (such as "Federal Union" and the "League of Nations") have been put forward for dealing with it. The heart of the evil, observes the Report, so far as it is political, "is to be found in the claim of each national State to be judge in its own cause. The abandonment of that claim...is a duty that the Church should urge upon the nations". But the root of the trouble is deeper than the political level. In the international field power is irresponsible; its selfish and aggressive exercise can be checked only by the recognition of duty towards God and the promotion of His purpose. "All law, international as well as national, must be based on a common ethos - that is, a common foundation of moral convictions. To the creation of such a common foundation in moral conviction the Church as a supra-national society with a profound sense of the historical realities, and of the worth of human personality, has a great contribution to make."
(op.cit. pp.173-174.)

Christian people, moreover, have a special interest in the conditions of peaceful change. The international order will not remain static, and it can be altered only by violence or by voluntary action. It is one of the Christian tasks in
the world to endeavour to secure by voluntary action such changes and adjustments as will remedy injustice and promote equality of opportunity for individuals. This requires wide and accurate information; and also the education of statesmen and peoples in willingness to make sacrifices for the sake of other nations. Further, since the unequal distribution among the nations of natural bounties is one of the causes of war, Christians should move their governments to abstain from any policies which are directed to secure a monopoly of national advantages.

We come now to an account of the attempts to organize an international order.

(i) The League of Nations.

It is to be remembered that the League is neither a government nor a church. It cannot make effective decisions without the concurrence and support of its constituent governments; and yet it is, and must be, concerned with the world of day-to-day politics and administration. The assertion was current even at the time of the Oxford Conference that "the League had failed". Upon this the Report comments that, while it is admitted that the Covenant of the League has not been fully observed and vindicated by the States which signed it, the League can be justly said to have achieved a measure of success in international co-operation. Where its work has been hampered by the system of power-politics (the root problem
in international politics) that success has been very partial; where this hindrance has not operated, as in the work of the International Labour Organization, the success has been most marked.

(ii) Permanent Court of International Justice.

The existence at the Hague of the Permanent Court deprives nations of the excuse to attempt to settle by force any disputes which involve "the interpretation and application of admitted international obligations".

(iii) Treaties.

Treaties and other agreements, which are not based on antagonism to other nations, or exclusive in their commitments, make a contribution to the establishment of international order.

(iv) The Church as Peace-maker.

The Church, "while giving discriminating support to work for peace and justice", cannot "leave the duty of peace-making to political agencies". "The Church is itself called to a ministry of reconciliation in a world riven by fears, suspicions and grievances. The Church should be able by the leading of the Spirit to discover characteristically Christian ways of intervening as a healing and reconciling influence in a world of conflict". (op.cit. pp.177-8.)
The Church and War is a subject which raises complex questions and an agonizing perplexity for the Christian mind. Our consideration must start from the universal fellowship of Christians and their primary loyalty to the one Lord. "Here is the first obligation of the Church, to be in living fact the Church, a society with a unity so deep as to be indestructible by earthly divisions of race or nation or class." (op. cit. p.178.) There is agreement amongst Christians that "war is a demonstration of the power of sin in this world", but there are divergent views as to Christian duty in the practical situation caused by the outbreak of war. In general three positions may be distinguished, all of which are sincerely and conscientiously held by Christians:

(1) that the Church should renounce war absolutely, and Christians should refuse to take any active part in it;

(2) that Christians should participate only in "just wars". By "just war" is meant either a war which is justifiable on the basis of international law (for the maintenance of international agreements and other "police" measures) or a war which is waged to vindicate some essential Christian principle (such as the protection of the weak against wanton aggression);

(3) that war is inherent in this sinful world-order and no Christian effort can eliminate it. Christians (except where they are convinced that the cause is wrong) are therefore
normally bound to obey the State's requirements (including the call to arms) without demur, because the State is the divinely appointed agent to protect society against anarchy and the powers of evil.

The Church must call its members to confess their share in the pride, selfishness and distrust which promote the spirit of war, to labour more earnestly to remove the causes of war, and to witness to our conviction that "the principle of the unconditional supremacy of the State or nation, advanced either in time of peace or of war, is incompatible with the Church's faith in Jesus Christ as its only Lord, and is therefore unacceptable as the final norm of judgment or action". (op.cit. p.182.) In time of war, as well as in peace, Christians should pray for their own nation and for its enemies. "The Church should witness in word, in sacramental life, and in action to the reality of the kingdom of God which transcends the world of nations. It should proclaim and obey the commandment of the Lord, 'Love your enemies'." (op.cit. p.183.)

The final section of the Report is concerned with the Church's witness. In what specific ways can Christian action be undertaken here and now in the difficult and challenging contemporary situation? The following considerations are relevant. Racial barriers, such as the colour-bar and anti-Semitism, should be removed from those churches which, even
under conditions of pressing difficulty, have tended to accept them. The securing of freedom to worship, to make public witness to religion, and to engage in religious training, for all sections of the Christian Church is an international problem. The sharing of Church resources, whether of money, leadership or counsel, is a mark of the Church's oecumenical solidarity. The education of Church members in the understanding of the witness, problems and life of other Churches than their own is a necessary step towards realizing the oecumenical nature of the Church. Education for peace, and an endeavour to secure disarmament, are also among the tasks to be undertaken by the Church in its life among the world of nations. The Report ends upon a note of thankfulness for the movements which are working for the cause of international understanding through the Churches. "We rejoice in the decision taken by the Conference to recommend the creation of a World Council of Churches, and we urge that the study of the problems dealt with in this Report should be included in its aims." (op.cit. p.187.)

Oxford, 1937, marks a turning-point in the history of the oecumenical movement. This great Conference was the culmination and co-ordination of much valuable thought and study. It sounded a deeper note of Christian realism than anything that had been attempted before, and it laid the
foundation for further effective work in the future. Its proposals for a "World Council of Churches" are worthy of note. They envisage the formation of an advisory organization, representing all the churches and gathering up existing oecumenical movements, which would effectively combine "Life and Work" and "Faith and Order". Its main responsibilities would be

(i) to carry on the work of the two World Conferences;
(ii) to facilitate corporate action by the Churches;
(iii) to promote co-operation in study.
(iv) to promote the growth of oecumenical consciousness in the Churches;
(v) to consider the establishment of an oecumenical journal;
(vi) to consider the establishment of communication with denominational federations of world-wide scope as well as with the movements named in the preceding paragraph (i.e. the oecumenical movements, such as the International Missionary Council, the World's Student Christian Federation, etc.);
(vii) to call World Conferences on specific subjects as occasion requires. (op.cit. pp.279-280.)

There can be no more fitting conclusion to our review of the Conference than the final paragraphs of the message which is sent out to all the Christian Churches.

"We have much to encourage us since the Conference at Stockholm twelve years ago. The sense of the unity of the
Church in all the world grows stronger every year. We trust that this cause will be yet more fully served by the World Council of Churches, proposals for which have been considered by the Conference and commended to the Churches.

We have tried during these days at Oxford to look without illusion at the chaos and disintegration of the world, the injustices of the social order and the menace and horror of war. The world is anxious and bewildered and full of pain and fear. We are troubled, yet we do not despair. Our hope is anchored in the living God. In Christ, and in the union of man with God and of man with man, which He creates, life even in face of all these evils has a meaning. In His Name we set our hands, as the servants of God and in Him of one another, to the task of proclaiming God's message of redemption, of living as His children, and of combating injustice, cruelty and hate. The Church can be of good cheer; it hears its Lord saying, "I have overcome the world.'" (op.cit. p.63.)
V. THE INTERNATIONAL MISSIONARY COUNCIL MEETING
AT TAMBARAM, MADRAS, 1938.

In modern ecumenical Conferences Tambaram holds a significant place. As early as 1934 the International Missionary Council began to make preparations for a gathering of Christian leaders from all parts of the world, which should be a lineal successor to Edinburgh, 1910, and Jerusalem, 1928. It was stipulated that of the delegates who attended the Conference at least half should represent the Younger Churches. Indeed, among the secondary reasons for the summoning of the Conference - the primary one being the consideration of the Christian task in the contemporary situation - were its opportunity to interpret to the Younger Churches the Conferences on "Faith and Order" and "Life and Work" of the previous year and, more important still, the securing for the Younger Churches of an opportunity to take their due place in the World Council of Churches at its inception. Speaking of the recent Conferences in his opening address, the Chairman of the International Missionary Council, Dr. John R. Mott, said, "The Tambaram gathering is by far the most important in this series. Why? Because it is the first and the only one which will have brought together on a parity as to numbers, initiative, participation and leadership the representatives of the older Churches of Europe, North America and Australasia,
and the younger churches of Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Pacific Islands." (Tambaram, Madras, Series, Volume VII, pp.3 & 4.)

The 470 delegates who met at Tambaram from December 12th to 30th, 1938, represented seventy different countries of the world. Their programme of study and discussion was based upon the following framework:

I. The faith by which the Church lives.
II. The witness of the Church.
III. The life of the Church.
IV. The Church and its environment.
V. Co-operation and unity.

In their wide range of deliberations they were mainly concerned with the missionary enterprise, which is outside the scope of the present review. But consideration was also given to the problems which the "Life and Work" part of the oecumenical movement must face, and these are relevant to our present purpose.

It will be necessary, therefore, to give an account of the findings of the following Sections of the Tambaram Meeting:

(1) Section I. The Faith by which the Church lives.
(2) Section II. The Church - its nature and function.
(3) Section V. The witness of the Church.
(4) Section VII. (a) The Christian Home, and (b) Religious Education.
(5) Section IX. Christian Education.

(6) Section XIII. The Church and the changing Social and Economic Order.

(7) Section XIV. The Church and the International Order.

(8) Section XV. The Church and the State.

It will be interesting to see the problems with which C.O.P.E.C., Stockholm and Oxford have made us familiar set against a world background, and to note the way in which the mind of the younger churches views them.

(1) THE FAITH BY WHICH THE CHURCH LIVES.

The world to which the Christian Church seeks to minister is broken and confused. Many people have lost all faith; some are discovering new faiths which have as their object the nation or class, but these, being rooted in false or inadequate conceptions of man and the world, tend to aggravate the disorder; others still seek to rest their confidence in man's power to save himself through his science and enlightenment. Only in penitence and humility can the Churches approach their task, for they are deeply implicated in the world which they are endeavouring to save; they are "so enmeshed in the world that they dare not speak God's full word of truth unafraid, so divided that they cannot speak that word with full power, so sullied by pettiness and worldliness that the face of Christ cannot be clearly discerned in them, or His power go forth through them for redemption". (Tambaran
Yet the Church lives by its faith in the Eternal God, Who has acted for man's salvation in Jesus Christ His Son, and has given the Holy Spirit in the Church that it may continue Christ's saving work in the world. In obedience to its Gospel, the Church must attack social evils, war, racial hatred, injustice and the like, and declare the compassion and pardon which are the gift of God. In its world mission, the Church is effectively bringing healing and enlightenment to mankind, and by the providence of God it is moving towards unity in its great task. "The decade since last we met has witnessed the progressive rending of the fabric of humanity; it has witnessed an increasing unification of the body of Christ." (op.cit. p.192.)

Christianity was then considered vis-à-vis its rivals, and four faiths were enumerated which compete with it for the loyalty of men.

(i) Nationalism.

Three types of nationalism can be distinguished in the world of to-day. Amongst peoples who are awakening to self-consciousness and manifest a natural desire to order their own affairs and determine their own destinies, nationalism is "self-expressive". The Church will meet this by acknowledging it to be part of God's purpose that nations should bring their peculiar gifts and abilities to the well-being of the whole
world, and it will at the same time warn against the dangers inherent in exaggerated national pretensions. Well-established nations are often dominated by the type of nationalism which is "self-satisfied", and here the Church has to be alive to the dangers of hypocrisy. There is also, as for example in Fascism and similar movements, a new, aggressive and fiercely "self-assertive" nationalism. It is this which in practice becomes an alternative faith or religion, because it claims man's entire allegiance. This situation the Church will meet by teaching that while nationality is part of the providential order, and Christians have therefore duties to their nation, nationalism is a power corrupted by sin and is capable of being used as an instrument of sin. But the appeal of nationalism is sympathetically appreciated. "We recognise that, in the midst of the disintegration of the basic structures of life, a strong assertion of national solidarity seems often to be the only alternative to social chaos." (op.cit. p.196.)

(ii) Communism.

With the aims of Communism as a programme for social reconstruction, Christianity has much in common as, for example, its concern for the underprivileged and its demand for the more equitable distribution of wealth and opportunity. But Communism as a philosophy based on Marxism, which is atheistic, materialistic and utopian, Christianity must entirely
repudiate. Once again the reasons for which Communism gains sway are recognised. "It appeals to youth because it challenges existing social evils, offers a clear-cut programme of action, and attempts to provide a scientific analysis of economic and political situations." (op.cit. p.197.)

(iii) Scientific Scepticism.

There are many people in the modern world who, trained in the scientific method and meeting life with the presuppositions of science, feel unable to accept Christianity because of what they understand to be the demands of loyalty to truth and intellectual integrity. Though they may "bring a wholesome rebuke to any merely glib dogmatism, or to a piety which refuses to expose itself to a rigorous scrutiny" (op.cit. p.198), it cannot be too strongly insisted that there is no incompatibility between Christian truth and scientific truth. Christian truth is primarily concerned with persons, and it is known in a way appropriate to the "personal order", which is different from the method by which in the laboratory or elsewhere we ascertain truth about things. Christian truth cannot be known by analysis or argumentation: it can only be discovered after the decisive experiment of faith. The Christian, moreover, is willing to admit that there are many questions to which he has not the answer. "For Christian faith, there is mystery at the horizons of life; but at its heart there is the Living God, disclosed as Holy Love in Jesus Christ."

(op.cit. p.200.)
(iv) Non-Christian Religions.

In the world there are many religions, apart from Christianity, which claim the allegiance of great numbers of men and women. "We see and readily recognise that in them are to be found values of deep religious experiences and great moral achievements." (op.cit. p.200.) Their existence points to the fact that God has not left Himself without witness in the world at any time. In them there are genuine glimpses of God's light, but all religious experience and insight have to be tested before God as we know Him in Christ.

In their contact with these non-Christian faiths, Christian preachers and teachers should have a genuine interest in the religious life and heritage of the people amongst whom they work; but they must never fall into the error of supposing that the scriptures of these religions can take the place of the Old Testament, which is a unique preparation for Christ. When Churches are established in the environment of non-Christian cultures they should become firmly rooted, not only in the heritage and fellowship of the Universal Church, but also in the soil of their own country, which means that in their polity, their methods of worship and the architecture of their buildings, they will be recognisably indigenous.
We have to distinguish between the one and undivided, perfect and holy Church, which we know through faith, and the empirical church, sharing the weaknesses and limitations of human nature, which we find in the world. Only a Church penitent and constantly renewed by the Holy Spirit can fulfill God's purpose; it is by His grace that the Church can give to mankind a fellowship in which race, nation and class are transcended and which can rise triumphant over tensions and war.

There are many people in both the East and the West who are not convinced that the Church is relevant to the needs of contemporary life, or that it is necessary to the furtherance of the Christian Gospel. Against them it must be urged that the Church remains the fellowship to which Christ has given His promises; alone it bears the responsibility of transmitting the Gospel from one generation to another. We admit that it is far from being what Jesus Christ requires of it, but it is part of our Christian obedience (and, it may be, sacrifice) to be joined to one of its communions and so devote ourselves to its reform from within. "We may and we should doubt whether the Churches as they are do truly express the mind of Christ, but we may never doubt that Christ has a will for His Church, and that His promises to it hold good. If we desire to live according to that will and to become worthy of
those promises we shall accept both the joy and the pain of membership in His Body." (op.cit. Vol.II, p.293.) Having regard to the world-mission of the Church and growth in many different environments and cultures, the Report pleads strongly for the establishment of churches, both young and old, alike in the East and the West, which are genuinely indigenous.

"It is not in principle wrong or illegitimate that there should be, as interpretations of the one Gospel, many forms of Christianity." "It is the Gospel of Christ which we are to give to others, and not our own particular form of Christianity." (op.cit. p.295.)

The essential task of the Christian Church is focussed in each local congregation. There in worship, the hearing of God's Word and the observance of the Sacraments, and in prayer and intercession, the fellowship lives its life in God. The cells which make up its life are consecrated families and households. In the larger society around it the Church will be Christ's ambassador - its very existence should serve to emphasise Christian principles in social life. But it will also be "a colony of heaven". "In its worship and witness the Church is sustained by its assured hope of its final fulfilment in the eternal kingdom of God." (op.cit. p.298.)
THE WITNESS OF THE CHURCH.

The Church to-day stands in a missionary relationship to the whole world. In the West as well as the East, it has to consider its witness with regard to non-Christian religions, new paganisms, and the cultural heritage of the nations.

In the world of the non-Christian religions certain trends may be observed. Often under the influence of Christianity they have sought to develop latent possibilities in themselves by purifying their conception of God, raising their ethical level and expressing a social conscience. Sometimes, in reaction to the impact of Christianity, they have made intense claims for their own faiths. Again, some of the older religions, such as Hinduism and Buddhism, have sought to reform and rehabilitate themselves to meet the needs of modern life.

The effect of nationalism upon religion is another factor of which account must be taken. "The rise of nationalism has a tendency to control all the religious feelings of a nation, and to make the genius of a nation or race the object of its worship." (op.cit. Vol. I, p. 208.) Sometimes this strengthens one religion to the detriment of others, and sometimes it has a weakening effect upon all religions.

New cults and paganisms are arising in all parts of the world to meet certain basic human needs, such as the assurance that a spiritual world exists, the deeply-rooted desire for
life in community, and the like. "In so far as the teaching and practice of Christians have failed to give assurance of the providence of God, and of eternal life which our Lord proclaimed and lived, we must share responsibility for the growth of these cults." (op.cit. p.209.) It is in reaction to a secular view of life that these paganisms have arisen.

Concerning the witness of the Church in this new and complex world situation, the following observations are apposite and meet with general agreement. The Church is called to a deep and sincere interest in the religious life of the people to whom it goes, and it should seek more fully to understand their faiths as total systems of life. In two quite different sets of conditions, for example, this is illustrated: primitive people "feel the need to save those forms of life which have been their cultural home"; and in the religions which form part of ancient civilizations "there are valuable cultural elements which ought to be preserved and integrated into the life of the new Christian community from its very beginning". (op.cit. p.212.) The Church, moreover, is called upon to encourage co-operation between its members and those of other faiths in all good social and community movements. There is need for every local church to undertake new enterprises by which its experience of fellowship may be enriched; and the Church Universal is called to a fuller expression of Christian unity, and to an undivided verdict against the wrongs of the times.
(4) (a) **THE CHRISTIAN HOME.**

"No two institutions need each other so fundamentally as church and home." (op.cit. Vol.IV, p.17.) The changes of the past two or three decades have had their effect upon home life and in many parts of the world have made the maintenance of a truly Christian home much more difficult. This is especially true of areas where modern industrialism has encroached upon rural communities and sweeping political movements have disturbed ancient social structures. The resultant problems are of deep concern to the Church, which must ever set before its members the ideals and standards of the Christian home. This it can do by direct teaching; by demonstrating the equality of the sexes in its own life and work; by striving to remove bad economic conditions which adversely affect home life; by seeking to improve the quality of commercialised recreation and training its own people for the creative use of leisure, and by giving the necessary guidance to its young people on the meaning of marriage and the ways in which Christian homes are established.

(b) **RELIGIOUS EDUCATION.**

More effective religious education is seen to be an imperative task before the Church in every part of the world. The tendency in many lands to banish religious instruction from the schools places the responsibility for it increasingly upon
the home and the church, and what is meant by religious education must therefore be grasped with imagination and vision. "The objectives sought by the Church through its educational programme include an understanding and acceptance of Jesus as Saviour and Lord, an experience of personal fellowship with God, a Christian philosophy of life, a progressive and continuous development of Christlike character, an intelligent share in work for the improvement of the social order, definite life commitment to the fellowship of the Church in its worship and work both at home and abroad." (op.cit. Vol.IV, p.65.)

By the following means the Church can make its work of religious education (which must always be seen as inter-related with evangelism) more effective. On the Mission Field it will use curriculum materials which are rooted in local racial, cultural and religious experience: it will share to a greater extent in adult literary campaigns, which open a fruitful field for religious education, and it will distribute more religious literature in the vernacular. In many places it will be able to make fuller use of modern aids, such as the radio, film and drama. Everywhere it will be alive to the possibilities of work through youth movements, sensitive to the opportunities which are given in camps and conferences, and eager to make contacts with the student population. Every local church will
see "religious education" as one description of all its activities, and it will be zealous to encourage among its members individual Bible reading, prayer, and the activities which are found in an informed and disciplined Christian life.

(5) **CHRISTIAN EDUCATION.**

"Education is and must always be a major concern of the Christian Church. This statement is confirmed by the large place which it holds in the life of the older and younger churches to-day. In the present century it has acquired an importance which is even yet not fully recognised. Modern discoveries and developments have so perfected its technique that it has become the most potent instrument for forming the ideas, determining the outlook and moulding the character of individuals and peoples." (op.cit. Vol.IV, p.54.) In the light of these facts the people who direct Christian educational policies must review their aims and methods. The Church is everywhere facing problems of adjustment, so far as its work in education is concerned, because of the increasing extent to which the State is directing popular education: in many countries the problems are acute because the ends which the State is seeking to achieve through education are opposed to the fundamental principles of Christianity.

In its lower stages, education (where the Christian community is strong and well-organized) should be related to
the local church. The Report is mainly concerned with conditions on the Mission Field, and it asserts that the Christian school is not one which ministers exclusively to the children from Christian homes, but one in which "the whole tone and spirit of the institution must be Christian, so that the school itself may demonstrate what the life of a Christian community can be." (op.cit. p.57.) It will, moreover, be intimately related to the social and economic life of the wider community which it serves.

In the higher stages of education, particular problems arise for the Church. Many of the great Christian high schools, colleges and universities in India, the Near East and the Far East, are older than the local churches, and owe their existence directly to Western effort. "They have brought to bear on generations of students those fundamental conceptions of God, the world and human life which the Universal Church holds as a trustee for a world that seems bent on turning its back on them; a belief in the unity and majesty of truth; high standards of character and conduct, a passion for intellectual and moral freedom, fortitude in the face of opposition, respect for the views of minorities, a sense of fellowship with all mankind." (op.cit. p.58.) The future of these most valuable institutions calls for the exercise of the highest Christian wisdom. In their administration Christian Nationals must take an increasing responsibility; educationally they must
offer possibilities for research as well as opportunities for teaching; and they must be on their guard against the dangers of secularisation.

Once again, the problem of the State and the Christian purpose in education has to be faced as an issue which concerns the world church. The Church has a duty to endeavour to share the Christian heritage with its own members and others; the attitude of the State cannot affect this duty, but it does determine the means which can be adopted to carry it out. The obligation of the modern State to provide education for its citizens is recognised. In many countries this is done in co-operation with the Church. In some countries the State is increasing its hold upon education because it wishes to mould the life, thought and character of its people, and to propagate the particular doctrines it desires to exalt. The Church must make the fullest use of the opportunities afforded to it under any given set of conditions. Where freedom is granted, it must be wisely used. Where the State makes the prohibition of religious instruction a condition for the receipt of grants-in-aid, the Church must maintain what schools it can. Where religious instruction in schools is unconditionally prohibited, the Church must look to pre-school education, the education of parents, the use of Christian literature and other agencies for the continuance of religious education. And it remains
generally true that there is an increasing need for the co-operation of Christian institutions themselves in the interests of greater effectiveness and efficiency in the provision of the standard of education which modern life demands.

(6) THE CHURCH AND THE CHANGING SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC ORDER.

It is difficult to realise the Christian meaning of community in the social and economic order which dominates the world to-day. A Christian community must always be conscious of its stewardship of the natural resources of the earth and of the worth of each individual person: both of these tend to be denied or forgotten in contemporary developments. The movement towards cities, mines and industrial areas has broken up village life and natural communities, seriously disturbed home life, fostered secularisation and helped to promote rebellion against accepted moral standards. Agriculture has been commercialised; and crafts have been allowed to decay; an individualist economy with its attendant competition has violated older communal and co-operative systems. In many instances legislation has been introduced into the countries where these great changes have taken place which bears no relation to the needs of the community, and often racial and colour discrimination has aggravated the difficulties and distress. The achievements and possibilities of modern science
tend to be viewed under such conditions with apprehension, lest they bring further exploitation and destruction.

These vast changes and confusions, which are found in several large and important geographical areas, are reflected in the Christian Church. Often there is a tension in the mind of the believer between the insights of his awakened Christian social conscience and his realisation of the extent to which the Church is implicated in an unjust social order. It is necessary, therefore, to appreciate the true social significance of Christianity. The "new order" to which the Christian looks is the Kingdom of God, which confronts the whole of man's life with God's redemptive offer and demand. The Kingdom is not to be identified with any system, either the status quo or with any contemplated or realised revolutionary change. Nor is it to be thought of as pietism unrelated to the contemporary scene. It is both within history and beyond history.

It is to be noted further that Christianity is concerned to change both individuals and the social order. "It is not enough to say that if we change the individual we will of necessity change the social order. That is a half truth. For the social order is not entirely made up of individuals now living. It is made up of inherited attitudes which have come down from generation to generation through customs, laws, institutions, and these exist in large measure independently of individuals now living. Change those individuals and you do
not necessarily change the social order unless you organise those changed individuals into collective action in a wide-scale frontal attack upon those corporate evils. Social change will come from individual change only when the content of social change is put within the concept and fact of individual change." (op.cit. Vol. V, pp.595-6.)

This is not to assert that social change will of itself produce the necessary changes in the individual. The Gospel confronts sin both in the individual and the collective will, and demands repentance of both of them. Our repentance must recognise that we all live by the fruits of an unjust social order, and it must take away the moral dullness which makes us insensitive to the evils of exploitation and class and race prejudice. Ethical sensitiveness and factual knowledge of existing conditions are indispensable to the Christian as he seeks to combat social sin: without the first he becomes a shallow humanist, and without the second an ineffective sentimentalist.

The "new order" envisaged in Christian social action requires that the sacredness of the human personality shall become a working fact, and that every man shall have equality of opportunity for his complete development. This will imply a redistribution of the world's goods on the basis of justice amongst the nations, since economic means can purchase opportunity. The unit of co-operation must be the whole human race:
the present inequality of opportunity open to various nations is a cause of war. War, as a means of settling international disputes, is to be repudiated, and God's offer of His Kingdom must be insistently made to a torn and distracted world through the preaching of the Gospel.

The Church's social action has a bearing both upon its own life and upon the life of society. The Church as a whole will be concerned to order its own practice by the Gospel, to educate its ministry for leadership in social action, to give opportunities of service to trained social workers, and to stimulate in its members Christian social attitudes and action. In the local church there will be study of social and economic conditions, an expression of Christian witness in and through the individual members' vocations and work, and an attempt to make the membership a cross-section of the various economic, social, racial and national backgrounds of the neighbourhood, and to achieve a real Christian brotherhood between them.

In its impact upon society, the Church will test the practices of governments and nations by the Gospel, and declare where the existing order is contrary to God's will. It will go out in sympathetic fellowship to those of its members who may find themselves in conflict with an established order for Christ's sake and the Gospel's. It will stimulate its members to make a right use of political machinery to secure social reform, even though it is not to be identified with any political party.
"Political action by churches may be as Christian as any other type of Christian social action, but it is the duty of the Church to keep the means as well as the ends of such action entirely consistent with the highest Christian ideals."

(op.cit. p.604.)

The Section concludes its findings by giving illustrations of certain types of Christian social action. Much of it, such as medical missions, constitutional endeavour for particular reforms, and the like, is in the nature of amelioration without directly challenging the political basis of the existing order. In certain directions there is an implicit condemnation of the present system and the attempt to show on a small scale a better order. "Of this type there might be cited as one instance the Martandam Y.M.C.A. Rural Reconstruction Centre in Travancore. Here on the basis of a comprehensive programme the villager is provided with services designed to meet every type of need, spiritual, physical, mental, social and economic. But he is only helped in order to help himself." (op.cit. p.606.) The community experiments in co-operative living which have sprung up in England, China and India are cited as further illustrations. The third type of social action commits Christians to the task of providing a complete economy of life which is compatible with the Christian faith. The illustration of this quoted in the Report is the Christian Co-operative Movement in Japan, which is based on the conviction
that Christians should "labour to create the environment in which alone the whole man can in fact be free", and attempts to secure this end by co-operatives which cover every relationship of production, distribution and consumption. "This experiment in Japan commands the respect of Christians everywhere, for it restores the science of economics to its rightful place as something that concerns the whole of man and outlines a complete system of community life both practical in modern conditions and compatible with Christ's principles."

(op.cit. p.608.)

It is on this note of the restoration of "economics" to its rightful place that the Report closes. Its final words are deserving of quotation: they clearly indicate the essentially religious purpose of Christian social action. "It is not good enough to think of economics as a materialistic science concerned with clothes, food and housing. It is equally concerned with the men who wear the clothes and the men who plan the houses. For Christians then to deal in economic activities is not to cross the barrier of their rightful domain but to create the only circumstances in which the whole man can be built up." (op.cit. p.608.)
The Conference was fully aware of the poignancy of its situation. It was an ecumenical gathering of Christians called out from nations which were "in the throes of war or under its shadow of fear". Confronting the problems of international order Christian principles have the following implications. In practice between nations, the love of neighbour means the doing of justice; but international justice calls for some qualification of a State's sovereignty in its dealings with other States, and it also requires more equitable access for all nations to natural resources and world markets, and economic co-operation on the international scale. The effort to impose the will of one people upon another by force is to be condemned, and racial persecution is abhorrent to the Christian conscience. Christians are committed to international co-operation and recognise that "an effective system of international organisation is necessary to provide peaceful and legal means for political and economic change and to co-ordinate national policies to meet economic and social problems. It should also open the way to the disarmament which is essential if nations are to avoid war and bankruptcy. International law should be developed to meet the needs of our day, and every effort should be made to discover fair and adequate means for its enforcement."

(op. cit. Vol. VI, p. 268.) In times of open conflict Christians
have a duty to care for their standards of righteousness, justice and mercy, which are above any purely national interest, and which tend to be set aside. With regard to the rightfulness of a Christian's participation in war, conviction is divided. There are those who take the pacifist position, and those who hold that it is the duty of the Christian to support the State in its prosecution of a just war. But "we are agreed that whatever opinion we have on these heart-searching questions, we are all entangled in the common sin of mankind, and must seek the forgiveness of God". (op.cit. p.270.) In times of peace the Church should endeavour constantly to build up its oecumenical community, and in time of war Christians should refuse to accept a break in their fellowship, but should use every material and spiritual means to cherish their sense of unity in Christ.

The Church has an abiding task in the endeavour to promote international goodwill. This it will discharge by its preaching and the demonstration of its own fellowship; by its teaching, especially to children and young people, through which it furthers education for peace; by its encouragement of individuals and groups to engage in reconciliation; and by its search for and dissemination of the truth concerning international questions. And it is to be remembered that "in the missionary enterprise the Christian movement makes an indispensable contribution to the international order" (op.cit.p.274) for here international and inter-racial contact may reach its highest level.
Problematic Church-State relationships are highlighted, with the Church acknowledging the State's role in preserving law and order, but also critiquing when it fails to uphold justice. The Church has a duty to hold the State accountable for its actions.
least to encourage, an anti-Christian outlook. The Church should therefore define what it conceives to be the minimum rights upon which its religious freedom depends. These will generally be held to include the right to assemble for unhindered public worship, to formulate its own creed and to determine its conditions of membership, to maintain its ministry, to preach the Gospel publicly and to impart religious instruction to the young. These are the basic, but not the sole, elements in religious freedom. These claims the Church makes primarily because of its existence as the Body of Christ and its conception of the rights and obligations of men as children of God.

The Church will aim at securing, by Christian methods, relief from the disabilities to which it is now in many places subjected. It will seek to understand the causes which have led the State to impose restrictions on religious freedom and (as far as lies in its power) endeavour to remove them. In all its relations with governments, and in all decisions, it will accept as its prime obligation the need to witness to its complete and ultimate loyalty to God. The Report takes a sober view as to the future: "that the Church, if it is to be faithful to its Master, will be called upon increasingly in the coming days to suffer for its convictions, as it takes its stand against the unreasonable demands of the State, is a deduction from several converging lines of evidence." (op.cit.p.287.)
VI. **THE WORLD CONFERENCE OF CHRISTIAN YOUTH,**

**AMSTERDAM, 1939.**

The Conference of Christian Youth which met at Amsterdam from July 24th to August 2nd has its place in the series of oecumenical conferences which come under our review. But it will not be necessary to do more than append a short note upon it. Its discussions raised the problems which confront the younger generation of the Christian Church in all parts of the world; their intricacy and many-sidedness were clearly revealed; but the Conference made no attempt to give the kind of constructive contribution which can be assessed in our appreciation of the modern contribution to Christian Sociology.

The Conference, which met under the Chairmanship of Dr. W.A. Visser 't Hooft, comprised fifteen hundred delegates from seventy nations of the world. All the five continents were equally represented. A comment made in the survey of the Conference, given in its official report, "Christus Victor", is of interest. "Added to the variety of race and nation was the variety of occupation. These men and women did not belong only to the leisured classes, nor were they all professionally employed in Christian service. They were selected by churches and organizations from the ordinary run of their membership. They had left their offices and
workshops, their hospitals and factories, as well as their universities and parishes, to attend the Conference. From serving wounded soldiers in China, from repairing telephones in America, from the ranks of the unemployed in Britain, they had come to Amsterdam. This was not a gathering of those who habitually attend international conferences; rather was it the Christian Youth of the world assembled for a purpose."

(Christus Victor, p.4.)

The worship of the Conference was so ordered as to set forth the distinctive contributions of the main communions (except the Roman Catholic) of the Universal Church. Bible Study was closely related with the study of contemporary problems. Seven "Special Interest Groups" were formed to discuss the following questions:-

(1) Christian Youth in a World of Nations.
(2) Christian Youth in the Nation and the State.
(3) Christian Youth in the Economic Order.
(4) Christian Youth and Race.
(5) Christian Youth and Education.
(6) Christian Marriage and Family Life.

In the reports presented by these groups, the problems which the Oxford and Tambaram Conferences faced are seen again, this time through the eyes of youth. Their approach to the difficulties and bewilderments of the contemporary
situation is best summed up in a passage taken from a Statement made by the Conference.

"We affirm the task of the Church to proclaim the truth as it is made known in Jesus Christ and experienced in the life of the Christian community, and to test all human systems and institutions in the light of this truth. We realize that if we live up to this calling we will enter into conflict with the world, just as some who belong to our fellowship have already had to pay high prices for their loyalty to Christ.

We pledge ourselves and those whom we represent to work for peace and justice in all social and international relationships. In war, conflict, or persecution, we must strengthen one another and preserve our Christian unity unbroken.

Characteristic of this time in which we meet is not only the fact of international tension and social unrest, but also the fact of a rising oecumenical consciousness. The nations and peoples of the world are drifting apart, the churches are coming together. There is a growing conviction of the essential togetherness of all Christians. Our Conference takes its place in the line of a great succession of world gatherings, and we are ambitious to add to the momentum of this quest for Christian unity." (Christus Victor, p.237.)
VII. The Conference on "The Life of the Church and the Order of Society", 1941.

The last Conference to come under our review is that held at Malvern from January 7th to 10th, 1941. Like C.O.P.E.C., it had Dr. William Temple, then Archbishop of York, as its Chairman, and it owed much of its inspiration to the greatness of his mind and vision. Unlike C.O.P.E.C., its membership was drawn exclusively from the Church of England. Malvern was more definitely "theological" than C.O.P.E.C., and the difference in their emphasis, and their assessment of the real problems of the day, is a significant illustration of the way in which Christian Sociology gained in depth, vitality and insight in the period "between the wars".

We may conveniently consider the Malvern Conference by noticing in turn (1) its purpose and preparation, (2) the utterances of those who took part in it, and (3) its findings and significance.

(1) THE PURPOSE OF MALVERN AND THE PREPARATION FOR THE CONFERENCE.

The purpose of the Conference was clearly enunciated by the Archbishop, both in his Introduction to the published volume of papers, and in his Opening Address. It was "to consider how far the Christian faith and principles based upon it afford guidance for action in the world of to-day".
To formulate a political programme was not the aim; but it was felt that to be content with the unapplied generalities of "fundamental principles" was not enough. The Conference set out to achieve something less vague than the latter and less detailed than the former. It recognised the need for "middle axioms" in Christian social witness. As the Archbishop said in his Introduction, Christianity must penetrate the political and social field at three levels: (a) The Christian Church must proclaim the Gospel in its purity and fulness. (b) Christian thinkers must work out the general implications of the fundamental principles of the Gospel in relation to contemporary needs. To do this is to supply those necessary "middle axioms" - "maxims for conduct which mediate between the fundamental principles and the tangle of particular problems". (c) Christian citizens must work out practical measures of political activity, and must scrutinize existing political programmes in the light of fundamental principles, with a view to giving the greatest possible support to these derivative maxims. "At this point," Dr. Temple observes, "there is room for diametrical opposition of judgment between equally loyal Christians on questions of practical wisdom; there may be agreement about the end and disagreement about the means best fitted, in the actual situation, to promote that end" (p.viii). Malvern's concern was with the "middle axioms".
In his opening address the Archbishop further elaborated the approach which would be made at Malvern to political and social questions. To discover the precise bearing of the Christian revelation upon contemporary issues involves the attempt to set out in due order of importance the various theological principles at stake. It means establishing the Christian assumptions at the heart of political thinking, for in the modern period political science has drawn its inspiration mainly from Plato and Aristotle, and has not taken the Christian revelation into account, except as an afterthought. On this point a sentence is deserving of quotation. It will not be forgotten that Malvern met at a time when the issue of the war had not been finally decided. "We find ourselves fighting for human rights and a conception of life which have no justification except in the Christian doctrine of God and man. All the great political questions of our day are primarily theological, and we have not got ready to our hands the body of accepted theological doctrine which we need for the double purpose of vindicating the treasures of our inheritance and of pointing the defenders of these to the source from which they may draw inspiration and steadfastness" (Malvern, p.12). But this task cannot be attempted without an accepted theological starting-point. For Anglicans who are "heirs of the whole richness of the Catholic tradition and also of the special insights of the Reformation", there
must be a decision on the acceptance or rejection of "Natural Theology". The Archbishop has no hesitation in preferring the Scholastics to the Reformers as his mentors in the quest upon which Malvern set out. "If... we believe that there is a truth about the political and social life of man that is at once divine in essence (for man is God's creature) and apprehensible by reason, we shall do well to start with the great scholastics; but we shall not be content with them." (ibid. p.13.) There is, however, at least one great defect in scholasticism, whether in its medieval form or in its modern restatement (for example, by Maritain) and that is its failure to appreciate "the hideous power of sin".

Such was the purpose of the Archbishop's Conference at Malvern, and such was the theological context of its deliberations. "So we set ourselves to work out the principles of Christian living in the political and economic realms, and the proper relations of these in the 'natural order' to the other departments of life and especially to man's destiny as a child of God. These principles and their order of subordination the Church should know and proclaim; and the Christian citizen should take his part in the political arena, striving to conform the practice of his country to them" (Malvern, p.15).

Careful and systematic preparation had been made for the Conference. A representative committee of clergy and laity drew up a basis, known as Document A, for discussion on the
chief theological and practical matters. In addition to this certain specific questions (Document B) were set forth by a group of laymen. The papers read at the Conference were designed to answer the points raised in these documents.

An attempt must now be made to abbreviate Documents A and B, and thus to elucidate the questions which were in the mind of Malvern.

Document A.

A. The Nature of the problem confronting Christianity.

(1) In the modern national community, are we attempting to live for ends which are incompatible with man's real nature, or is our breakdown due simply to incomplete knowledge and imperfect manipulation of our resources?

(2) In international relationships, why does not peace follow from the evident desire for it? Is war mainly caused by defective international organisation, or does it spring out of the failure of nations to solve their own internal problems?

B. The Church's responsibility at this point in human history.

(1) Has the Church a witness (and, if so, upon what grounds) concerning the economic and political causes of the possible breakdown of civilization?

(2) Is the present situation due in part to the fact that the modern Church has been more concerned to raise the
moral level of social effort than to discover and correct falsity in the dominant purposes of corporate life?

(3) If the Church's gospel, creeds and sacraments contain guidance for man in the expression of his family, political and economic life, how does this guidance differ from the general modern assumptions?

(4) How are the answers given to these questions related to the doctrines of Creation, Incarnation, Redemption and Grace?

C. Practical issues.

(1) What ought the Church to demand in the face of post-war problems, such as:

(a) the threat of a post-war slump?
(b) the revival of the rural community?
(c) the recasting of the monetary system to secure that demand is equivalent to industrial potentiality?
(d) the subordination of mass-production to human values?

(2) Will the Church be compelled to acquiesce either in an attempt to preserve the present system of "financial-industrialism", or in a drift towards collectivism? Or is there a third course, in the exercise of freedom in co-operation and the expression of fundamental equality in variety of function? What bearing has the doctrine of redemption (as the truth concerning man's fundamental status here and now)
upon the Church's action in this choice of ways?

D. The practical questions set forth in Document B.

E. Leadership.
   (1) What is to be understood by "leadership" in the Christian Church?
   (2) How far is the leadership of the Church in the national community dependent upon an adequate and purposeful conception of education?

Document B.

This contained questions submitted by Sir Richard Acland, M.P., for the consideration of the Conference. They raised the following issues:-

(1) Is it a Christian duty to bring individual ownership of income-producing property to an end?
(2) How can educational advantages be made independent of fortuitous financial means?
(3) Ought not Christians to forego expenditure on luxury so long as society does not assure to all its members adequate means for the necessities of life?
(4) What improvements ought Christians to advocate in the National Health services?
(5) Can Christians maintain a merely negative attitude to the attempts of the present system to restrict output
artificially in order to maintain profitable trading?

(6) How can the Church make it clear that Christians stand for a world in which there will be no distinctions, but men will be regarded equal and as brothers?

(7) What is the attitude of the Christian Church to the coming period in which the activities of humanity will more and more be centrally planned?

Such was the wide range of subjects with which Malvern was concerned. We must now attempt to give some account of what was said in the Conference.

(2) THE CONFERENCE.

Analyzing the essential nature of the problem (Document A, section A.(1)), the Rev. W.G. Peck argued that the modern malady is not due to failure in moral intention or to the misdirection of scientific knowledge. It is assignable to modern society's neglect to give primacy to man's spiritual status. Because economic activity is not given its proper subordination to the spiritual ends of man's nature, life in the modern community can only be accepted upon terms which inevitably create a tension between his ethical and economic being. This tension cannot be resolved either by recourse to collectivism (for modern collectivism is not founded upon theological truth about God, man and the world) or by the application of greater intelligence to existing goodwill (as the failure of the League
of Nations and the various Economic Conferences suffice to show). The contradiction within the present system must be laid bare, and its results must be admitted. "The close of the period saw a darkening contradiction between the necessary economic enterprise and the true spiritual morphology of man. It saw, indeed, the growing revelation of an interior self-contradiction in the economic enterprise itself. Work produced unemployment. Production produced poverty. International trade produced a growth of fantastic nationalism. The natural aim of secular security produced a soul-destroying secular uncertainty. And man, the lord of the world, became the enigmatic epiphenomenon of a process of nature, the purpose of which escaped his power to divine. He had reached the ultimate implication of the modern situation." (ibid. pp.22-23.)

Christian social philosophy must take as its starting-point the re-assertion of man's spiritual status. It will heal his "divided personality" by making his relation to God the integrating and co-ordinating factor in his life, and not, as in practice it has become, one interest existing alongside others, such as science and economics. "The mediaeval Christian doctors believed that the integrity of human personality required that man's economic and social situation should be factors in his realization of his spiritual end. This meant two things. It meant that economic action takes place for the satisfaction of the needs of man considered as a creature intended for the vision of God. And it meant that
social situation, whether of prince or peasant, is never more than a mode of expressing an assumed spiritual status common to all men within Res Publica Christiana." (ibid. p.24.)

In the light of such principles, Christian social philosophy will criticize any given social order. "If an economy is seeking an end which is not the satisfaction, upon the natural plane, of a being of supernatural destiny, its purpose must be false, and no moralizing can save it. If a social order, however equalitarian, does not regard social status as an expression of fundamental spiritual status, it will become a prison of the spirit." (ibid. p.24-25.) In the modern situation, this will mean that the primary intention behind the industrial process must be the satisfaction of human needs, and that for all who are engaged in it this natural purpose which governs work must be recovered. Men and women will then no longer derive their rights and duties from a contractual relationship accorded to them as instruments of economic purpose, but from their proper human and spiritual status.

It must be admitted, however, that the problem of discovering the social and economic means of expressing this spiritual status in modern conditions is not easy of solution. But unless it is attempted, Christianity will not touch life at any vital point for many of our contemporaries. "Is it surprising that religion becomes apparently irrelevant to the problems with which mass man is confronted? The modern life
purpose has been sundered from the eternal purpose, and men fail to understand the meaning of religion for their various embarrassments, because they do not understand its tremendous relevance to the problem underlying the total situation." (ibid. p.31-32.)

Mr. Maurice R. Peckett, whose paper was entitled "War: the upshot of 'Peace'" (A.2.), contended that "War is the truth about modern civilization; it is, in the final analysis, what men are co-operating together to produce." (ibid. p.46.) The basic, though not the sole, cause of war is economic. No nation to-day finds within its own boundaries "a natural economy or a reasonable plenty", and this leads to a sense of insecurity. Christianity so far has not dealt with international problems in any distinctive fashion; it has done little more than appeal to sentiment. "It has not, that is to say, dealt with ends and purposes on the basis of a dogmatic declaration of the Christian doctrine of man and society. It has looked round for the best intentions of 'the good world', and begged the bewildered and frustrated victims of the world process to cling to those intentions yet more tenaciously." (ibid. p.51.) International co-operation depends upon the acceptance of common purposes. The true witness of the Church in this sphere is to make plain what these purposes are and to discern the points at which nations begin to depart from them.
Consideration of "the Church's responsibility" (B.1 and 2) was entrusted with Miss Dorothy L. Sayers. The question was first raised as to whether the Church has a responsibility in the world other than to maintain the purity and piety of its own life. The type of Christianity which withdraws from the world produces adherents who become more Christian at the cost of becoming less human. But it is open to the more serious objection that it denies the central Christian dogma of the Incarnation. It is this belief which gives warrant for the Church's concern with, and responsibility toward, the world. "If, that is, the Church as a Christian society, is concerned with civilization, or with politics and economics, it can only be on the grounds of a realistic and sacramental theology of the Incarnation." (ibid. p.66.) But the adoption of this "sacramental position" by which the Church undertakes to sanctify humanity, commits us to a care for the whole of humanity, for art, letters, labour, learning, reverence for earth and material things, as well as for politics and economics. Acceptance of this responsibility brings its own peculiar temptations and dangers. The Church may attempt to exercise a "totalitarian" control over all human interests and activities; indeed the conception of the Church which controls everything "from the school-primer to Grand Opera" is not unknown in history. Or the Church may identify itself with the political system or social structure which happens to be dominant at any given time,
in order to exercise power over civilization. But if the Church does this, "she will retain her power only so long as that structure is able to maintain itself against the judgment of its own inherent corruption. After that point is reached, and the inevitable counter-movement has begun, the Church will appear as a reactionary, vainly endeavouring to support the status quo against a flood-tide bearing all the world's energy in the opposite direction. If she then identifies herself with the counter-flow, the same thing will happen again; for the new movement will in turn develop its inherent vices, and the Church will once more be left maintaining the status quo, at the opposite end of the tidal stream." (ibid. p.68.) The Church, therefore, in order properly to exercise her responsibility in the world must test all social and political systems by the standards inherent in her own Gospel, and must not identify herself with any of them. "I do not mean that she must be uninterested in the social, political, and moral sphere of the Law, but that she must be disinterested." (ibid. p.73.)

In dealing with "Revelation and Social Justice" (B. 3 and 4.) Mr. D.M. Mackinnon read a paper which, being somewhat abstrusely theological, is not easy to summarize. Its aim was to set forth the theological basis of the Church's concern with the sociological order, and to establish the Church's right to apply prescriptions deduced from her dogmas to the natural life of man. But if Christian dogmas are to have sociological significance, it
must first be shown that they are intelligible factual propositions, that is to say, that they give true information concerning reality, and are not, for example, hortatory or mere symbols. It is here that the scholastic approach, with its stress on ontology and analogical method, is valuable. Indeed, it would not seem unfair to remark that Mr. Mackinnon's emphasis is Thomist when he is discussing the doctrine of creation, and Barthian when he turns to the doctrine of redemption, and that in his view both are needed. The problem of the relation of nature and grace is fundamental, and it is the tension between them which makes effective Christian social witness possible. Natural theology can point to a Creator, and "natural law" is concerned with man as a being who possesses a determinate nature. But man does not act upon or live up to the character of his natural "humanity", for he is sinful. "The fact of human rebellion against God determines the whole character of specifically human life as we know it." (ibid. p.92.) Only by God's grace in redemption, therefore, can we begin to understand the meaning of creation or the significance of man. "We cannot hope to formulate the concept of a norm of manhood apart from an entrance of the Son of God within history that is wholly irruptive. Only by being brought face to face with him who entered from without can man tear himself free from the entail of history that so often makes of his life a mere moment in an impersonal process, and view himself as a
personal whole." The Christian Church discharges its task in social reconstruction by helping the ordinary man to accept a sense of tension between the realm of grace and the realm of his ordinary life. He must not make his fallen world his home, nor come to identify his earthly citizenship with his total obligations and privileges. To prevent man from doing this by effective spiritual action is the duty of the Church. The nature of such action is disclosed by the Incarnation and the Cross, and in them the Church, as a redeeming society, must ever find the pattern of redemption. "In this hour the Church, and the Church alone, is the guardian of manhood ... The primary prophetic mission of the Church in this present resides in the creation in the individual soul of an almost unendurable tension ... " (ibid. p.103). "The Incarnation is not the disclosing of certain universal cosmical principles; it is the manifestation of the divine word in the harsh particularities of an individual human existence." (p.105.)

The question concerning the Church's demand in the face of specific post-war problems (C.1.) was dealt with by Professor H.H. Hodges, but unfortunately his paper could not be included in the published volume.

Canon V.A. Demant urged that "Christian Strategy" (C.2.) must be concerned with long-term policies of guidance in the spheres of religion, politics and economics and their fruitful
interaction, rather than the attempt to secure immediate results by propaganda methods. Discussing the religious situation, he said that we cannot gain the insight and power needed to fashion a new society unless we can discern the judgment and corrective which God is disclosing through the present crisis. We are facing nothing less than the breakdown of Christendom, of which Europe has been the focus. Turning to religion and politics, he affirmed that the main source of our freedom, historically considered, was "the separation and consequent interaction of the spiritual and the secular authority, which is inherent in the supernatural and universal character of the Christian religion," (ibid. p.128.) and that freedom has been undermined by the relaxing of this tension in the development of modern society. On the religious side, this means that the Church will have to take both nature and grace seriously. On the political, it means that in a mass society political and economic freedom can only be achieved by separating the economic system from the political, and restoring the true purpose of economic activity. In his final section on the recovery of economic health, Canon Demant enunciated the main requirements of this restoration - the "dethronement of trader man", the abandonment of "full employment" as an economic goal, and the regaining of a new reverence for the natural resources of the earth.
Papers on the **practical questions** set out in Document B were read by Sir Richard Acland, M.P., and Mr. Kenneth Ingram, who may be said to represent the "left-wing" of Malvern. The former was mainly concerned to argue that the removal of opportunity for individuals to own income-producing property is the next step in Christian social advance. He felt the Archbishop's suggestions that (1) the rate of interest should be reduced, (2) representatives of the workers should be accorded a place on boards of directors, and (3) after a given term of years capital should lose a certain proportion of its nominal value, were "small proposals". So long as the great resources of our country are so distributed that power (which is sometimes irresponsible) as well as income accrues to their owners, "success" will be interpreted as coming to own, and life will be lived on the basis of self-regarding ambition.

"The judgment we must make of our society to-day is that the private ownability of the major resources of our country is indeed the stumbling-block which is making it harder for us to advance towards the Kingdom of God on earth." (ibid. p.161.)

Mr. Kenneth Ingram dealt with the question of the "planned society" and pleaded that the Christian Church should give direction to the socialism which will be the next phase of political and economic power. He argued that reconstruction will demand a planned economy, and that the power of the planning authority will extend beyond the confines of economics.
and in some measure will affect our personal and social liberties. In this situation the danger that a dictatorship will be established must be frankly recognised: that danger can only be mitigated if the central planning authority represents the social ownership of the means of production. "I do not, in fact, see how a planned order can preserve social freedom and avoid becoming a slave-state without achieving common ownership and a socialist system." (ibid. p.167.)

This is not to claim that socialism may not itself become a tyranny; it will be necessary for the community to control not only "the industrial machine", but also "the executive which it appoints". But there is a further question. These inevitable political and economic changes will require a modification of our social tradition and the formation of a new culture. "The building up of a socialist civilization can only be successful if it is undertaken deliberately. The creation of a socialist order, in fact, implies much more than a political or economic transformation. It requires the conscious realization, on the part of each of us, of a new relationship towards our fellow-men, a fuller attitude to life, a new culture, and a new way of living. The revolution has to begin in ourselves. Socialism requires personal conversion. It is nothing less than a religious process." (ibid. p.171.) The Church should accept the task of giving direction to these trends of the times. Many of the Christian
principles, such as the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man, can be expressed in a socialist polity, and if at this stage Christian leadership is not forthcoming the new civilization will be un-Christian in its methods and intention. Christianity, moreover, has the further responsibility of ensuring that individual liberty is enhanced and not impaired in the socialist regime.

In a penetrating analysis of the Leadership of the Church (E.I.) Mr. J. Middleton Murray quickly moved away from the contemporary demand for leadership interpreted as a request for detailed instructions on how to act in a given situation. Much of the Church's alleged failure to lead is little more than disappointment because such precise guidance is not forthcoming. The Church is failing to lead in a deeper and more important sense than this. It is caught up in a society whose basic structure, centres of power and pressures upon the ordinary man are entirely new; the Church's traditional conceptions are not applicable to it. "The Church has no relevant pattern of goodness to set before the contemporary man." (ibid. pp.184-5.) The accepted Christian ethic is primarily concerned with personal relationships; but in the typically modern society human relationships are depersonalized. "The early Christian could ignore the secular society; the mediaeval Christian could believe that the Church must and would control it; the modern Christian is devoured
by it." (ibid. p.187.) The Church's first task, if it is to recover its ability to lead, must be to define its attitude to this society: is it "favourable, or inimical, or neutral towards Christian living?" The basic question is whether man, "either in his natural or his redeemed condition" is "capable of controlling to humane or Christian ends this now universal society based on machine technology". There are three possible answers to this question, and upon the Church's conviction as to which of them is true will depend the kind of leadership it can give to the world. (1) If a decisive Christian influence can be brought to bear upon modern society, it must be exerted wholeheartedly. (2) If the techniques and pressures of modern society in their essence imply a threat to actual or potential Christian personality, the Church must plainly teach that believers are sojourners in an anti-Christian secularism, and seek to build a different kind of society. (3) But it may be too early yet to determine whether the modern society is or is not compatible with a Christian way of life; if so, the Church must accept the need for a long period of watchful inquiry. The one thing which cannot be avoided by a Church which acts responsibly is the recognition that the new society has powerfully invaded the traditional conception of the Christian person. At the present time a Christian society at the national or international level seems inconceivable, but a fruitful expression
of Christian leadership would be the encouragement of positive social experimentation within the existing framework of society. "Centres of autonomous living", endeavours in real community, should be encouraged, and of these the Church itself should be a pattern. "We have lost the clue to human living; it should be the main effort of Christianity to help us to find it." (ibid. p.195.)

To Mr. T.S. Eliot was entrusted discussion of "The Christian Conception of Education". (E.2.) His aim was to show the need for a Christian doctrine of education which is part of the Christian doctrine of man. If education is to be meaningful and not simply instruction in an increasing number of unrelated subjects, it must be guided by a philosophy. Humanism fails to achieve this; an adequate and purposeful view of life and its true ends is not possible apart from Christianity. To hold this view is not to suggest that the control of education should be handed over to the Church. "The task of the Church is to christianize the state and society, not to take over any of the functions either of the state or of private groups or foundations. And if it is to christianize education - which involves, as I have tried to say, not merely an insistence upon religious instruction, but the revolutionizing of educational ideals - some of its members must be prepared to give time to long and hard thought." (ibid. p.212.)
THE FINDINGS AND THE SIGNIFICANCE OF MALVERN.

Malvern aroused considerable popular interest; it was well reported in the press; and its agreed "findings" were published in pamphlet form in less than three weeks after the ending of the Conference. They stated that the disease and maladjustment in Western civilization (of which the war was a symptom) derives from loss of conviction concerning the reality and character of God, and the true nature and destiny of man. The Church, as the Body of Christ, has the duty to speak to the world concerning the true principles of human life, but in order to do so it must itself be the community which God intends it to be.

(1) The Church and the Social Order.

The only way to a more Christian way of life is through a wider and fuller acceptance of the Christian faith. No structural organisation of society can bring about the Kingdom of God, but the Church can, and must, point to existing features in society which make it harder for men to live Christian lives and are contrary to God's just will. Such a stumbling-block at present may be the vesting in the hands of private owners the ultimate ownership of the principal industrial resources of the community.

The Church, though primarily committed to the evangelistic task, has also a message to give concerning economic and social life. This is the implication of the Christian doctrine of man as created and redeemed by God for eternal fellowship with
Himself. But in our sinfulness we have perverted this true purpose of human life, and, "because we have neglected the true end of man, we have lost the controlling principle which allots to human activities their proper sphere and due relations to one another. Consequently, in the last period the economic activity of man, of which the product is the means to the good life rather than the good life itself, has become predominant, as though to produce material wealth were man's true end."

Men have a right to property as a means to fulness of personal life, but the rights of property must not impede social justice.

The proper purpose of work is the satisfaction of human needs, and in the work of production man should exercise a truly human activity. The existing social order, with its acquisitiveness, its reckless use of natural resources and its mechanisation, is largely responsible for depriving men of their spiritual and social status.

The Conference regarded the following matters as a serious challenge, and desired to submit consideration of them to expert opinion:-

(i) The predominance of the profit motive.

(ii) The tendency of industry, so based on financial gain, to become a source of unemployment at home, and a predisposing cause of war through dangerous competition for markets abroad.
(iii) The monetary system, which should be so administered that what the community can produce is made available to its members.

(iv) Industrial management, where the rights of labour must be recognised as in principle equal to those of capital.

(v) International trade, which must be a genuine interchange of mutually needed commodities.

Summing up, the report affirms that the Church should make two vital demands with a view to social reconstruction: "the restoration of man's economic activity to its proper place as the servant of his whole personal life; and the expression of his status in the natural world as a child of God for whom Christ died."

(2) Practical recommendations.

Concerning the Life of the Church the report urged the need of the Church of England to overhaul its own economic and administrative system; drew attention to the great value of local congregations of Christian people unitedly undertaking enterprises for the building up of community life in their own neighbourhoods; and pleaded for the formation of "cells", or groups of people consisting of believers and seekers, which by prayer, study and service would discuss what is the Christian way of life for them and society.

Concerning the Order of Society, the report made the following points: human status should be independent of the
changing demands of the economic process; men and functional groups should be constantly called to a sense of vocation by being reminded of God's purpose; all planning and proposed change in economic matters should have regard to the family as the divinely appointed basic social unit; natural resources must be treated with reverence; agriculture should be revived, and its restoration made the means of re-discovering true community; personal friendship between peoples of different countries should be encouraged; all children and adolescents should be afforded educational opportunities to develop their faculties, effective Christian teaching should be secured for all, Christian education for adults should be fostered, and the significance of the modern missionary period should always be included in religious teaching; the equipment of the clergy effectively to give the Christian message for society should be part of their training.

The report concluded with a note on the relevance to the needs of mankind of the worship which is at the heart of all the life and witness of the Church.

Malvern has a two-fold significance. It is an eloquent testimony to the awareness, on the part of an influential section of the Church of England, of the way in which the Christian faith illumines the problems, and the Christian
gospel meets the needs of to-day. Malvern represents the patient enquiry, the group thinking, and the discriminating judgment of a body of Christian opinion which has equipped itself to make a notable contribution to Christian Sociology. But in addition to this, Malvern is significant (as has been pointed out already) because it epitomises the trend of modern Christian Sociology. At C.O.P.E.C., the theological report was drawn up but not discussed; at Malvern, the Conference was primarily theological in character. Its basis, in the Archbishop's words, was the "belief that the evils of society arise from our desertion of an ascertainable order for society which springs from and coheres with Christian faith in God as Creator, Redeemer and Sanctifier." (p.220.)
IV. THE CORPORATE PRONOUNCEMENTS OF THE CHURCHES.

An important contribution to Christian social thought and witness in our period has been made within the Churches themselves. Societies - some of them designed to stimulate corporate thinking on social questions in general, others with a more specialised purpose - have sprung up. In the social service committees of the various denominations preparatory work has been done, and in the Assemblies and Conferences authoritative pronouncements have been made. From the Roman Catholic Church has come a great succession of great social encyclicals and addresses. The volume of this material is considerable. Much of it is scattered and not readily accessible, and in our review only selected illustrations can be given. But what is presented will be sufficient to show the trend of social concern and thought within the Churches, and to indicate that the modern contribution to Christian Sociology has not come wholly from prophetic thinkers and oecumenical conferences.

We must, therefore, consider:

(1) The Work of Christian Societies.

(2) Significant Pronouncements of the Churches.

(3) Relevant Papal Encyclicals and addresses.
(1) THE WORK OF CHRISTIAN SOCIETIES.

A brief account will be given of (i) the Christian Social Council, as representing the most important inter-denominational enterprise, (ii) the Industrial Christian Fellowship and the League of the Kingdom of God, as representing the moderate and Anglo-Catholic points of view in the Church of England, and (iii) the Catholic Social Guild, as representing the Roman Church.


The Christian Social Council can be said to have originated partly as an indirect outcome of C.O.P.E.C., and partly in response to a need revealed by the direct intervention of Christian leaders in the political field. After the Conference in 1924, C.O.P.E.C. set up a Continuation Committee to carry its message throughout the country. The Commissions remained in being, but apart from a certain amount of literary activity undertaken by the "Social Function of the Church" Commission, and a few regional conferences, the sequel to C.P.O.E.C. was inconclusive. (In 1926 two volumes were published, "Social Discipline in the Christian Community", edited by Malcolm Spencer, and "Christianity and the Present Unrest", edited by A.D. Lindsay. A report on "Rural Life" was also prepared.) But the influence of C.O.P.E.C. thus disseminated helped to open the way for a representative
council of the churches on social questions. In 1926 there came an opportunity for action which was boldly grasped by the Christian leaders in this country. The General Strike in May of that year was condemned by the Archbishop of Canterbury (Dr. Davidson) for its "unwisdom and mischievousness", but he recognised the injustice done to the miners and the threat to the living wage of the workers generally which occasioned the strike, and he made, after consultation with the bishops and leaders of other denominations, a powerful plea for conciliation. This Christian approach was rebuffed, but it led to further co-operation in the forming of the "Council of Christian Ministers upon Social Questions".

Thus the way was prepared for a permanent and official body. This came into being in January, 1929, and was known as "The Christian Social Council". Its object was "to apply the Christian Faith to Social, Industrial and Economic questions and as far as possible to co-ordinate all the various agencies existing for that purpose, and to promote and encourage the work of research relative thereto". Its members were Anglicans and Free Churchmen in approximately equal numbers, appointed by the executive bodies of the denominations. Its work was to be done through the agency of five standing committees: Social Research, International Co-operation, Local Co-operation, Social Education, and Youth.

By far the most important work was done by the Research Council. Under its "Director", V.A. Demant, it produced
well-informed and valuable guidance for Christian thought on topical social questions. Thus in 1929 booklets were published on "The Miners' Distress and the Coal Problem" and "The Just Price". "This Unemployment: Disaster or Opportunity?" (1931) was a careful examination of current trends in finance and industry and a plea for a reconsideration of the issues involved in the light of Christian teaching. "There are reasons for believing that the traditional Christian doctrines of God and man do not support the view that a less toil-determined society will prove the disruptive thing that the false philosophy of the last two centuries has led us to imagine. On the contrary, it is becoming evident that this philosophy is not in accordance with the fundamental nature of man and that its continued embodiment in social life is inimical to a stable civilisation" (p.157). The Council's desire to survey the whole field of Christian Sociology found expression in Demant's "God, Man and Society" (1933), which we have already reviewed. In addition to these volumes, the Research Council also distributed manifestoes, informative and signed by representative people, on such subjects as, War Debts and Reparations, the Means Test, and our Present Economic Distress. It is in this research that the characteristic activity of the Christian Social Council is to be found.
(ii) Church of England Societies.

(a) The Industrial Christian Fellowship.

At the beginning of our period the Industrial Christian Fellowship was a new organization. In 1919 the Christian Social Union (founded thirty years earlier under the inspiration of Westcott, Gore and Scott Holland) merged with the "Navvy Mission" to form the Industrial Christian Fellowship. The Hon. James Adderley in "The Commonwealth" (Feb. 1927) recounts the reasons for this step. "It was felt, especially during and after the war, that 'evangelization' had come to mean something different from what it used to mean. The 'hot gospel' had become chilly. The navvy and the workman generally, if they were to have a use for religion, must find it guiding their everyday social aspirations and providing them with a rule for everyday life ... What would be better than than to amalgamate the Navvy Mission, on the look-out for a social gospel, and the C.S.U. in despair about capturing the men? Hence the Industrial Christian Fellowship." The two strands of its origin are represented in the purposes which the Fellowship exists to promote: it is concerned both with evangelism and with the expression of the Christian ethic in industry and commerce. Its object is thus defined: "1. To present Christ as the living Lord and Master in every department of human life, and to proclaim the supreme authority of the Christian law of love. 2. To minister to all engaged
in the industrial world, seeking to win them to personal discipleship of Jesus Christ, and to unite all classes in a bond of Christian fellowship and prayer. 3. To study, under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, how to apply the moral truths and principles of Christianity to the social, economic and industrial systems of the world." Its mode of working is by means of "Crusades", usually in the larger centres of population, which are missions based on the Fellowship's syllabus, "Christ, the Lord of all Life". Its Study Department promotes research into the Christian attitude to current problems, often bringing clergy, industrialists and economists into fruitful collaboration. It organizes Clergy Schools and Conferences, and reaches a wider public through its books and pamphlets. It was responsible in its early days for the institution of "Industrial Sunday" which is now observed annually in churches of all communions and is given emphasis by the Religious Broadcasts Department of the B.B.C. The plea for the observance of "Industrial Sunday" with prayers and preaching relevant to the need for the Christian spirit in economic life is reinforced by appeals signed by Christian industrialists and employers, and trades unionists and labour leaders. It is a weakness that there should be two separate appeals, but illustrative quotations may be made from each of them. The former suggests that "the occasion of Industrial Sunday serves to emphasize the necessity for the co-operation
of all engaged in industry to bring nearer what we may call, without reserve, the Kingdom of God on earth. Unselfishness rather than self-interest, and the better service of mankind as the goal of industry, are surely the spiritual aims in which all men of goodwill can unite. It is the emphasis upon the Christian basis of business and industry that concerns us, and it is our conviction that it is the only basis which can endure." The appeal from the labour movement states: "There are two roads, and two only, along which our civilization may be guided. One is the struggle of self-interest which leads to disaster; the other is the way of life in all its fulness, the way in which the individual may find truest satisfaction and development in the social integration. Will the Churches interpret for us, in the life and world of to-day, the simple principles of Christianity as taught by its Founder. Who made the supreme sacrifice for mankind? ... It is well ... that one day in the year, and that a Sabbath day, should be set apart for calm reflection on our common human problems and to seek inspiration in the effort to work out their true solution."

The Industrial Christian Fellowship occupies a mediating position: it seeks to appeal to industrialists and workers alike and to evoke the support of all sections of the varied Anglican constituency. It is often criticized, for example by the Anglo-Catholic sociologists, because it fails to see that what is needed to remedy our social troubles is not the
animation of the prevailing system by the "Christian spirit", but the recasting of the system itself to serve Christian ends.

(b) **The League of the Kingdom of God, and the Church Union's "Summer School of Sociology".**

The Anglo-Catholics have done consistent and valuable work in the field of Christian Sociology. In the period under review we must note the emergence in 1923 of the "League of the Kingdom of God". This developed out of an older organisation, known as the Church Socialist League. Its founders were of the conviction that the social message of the Christian Church must be the outcome of assured theological thinking, and that in the Catholic philosophy and tradition, with its dogma and sacramentalism, can be discovered the clues we need to-day for a distinctively Christian Sociology. The accredited definition of the League's purpose may be quoted: "The League is a band of Churchmen and Churchwomen who believe that the Catholic Faith demands a challenge to the world by the repudiation of capitalism, plutocracy and the wage-system; and stands for a social order in which the means of life subserve the commonweal." Its objects are: "1. To insist on the regulative ideal of the Kingdom of God. 2. To restore lost social traditions of the Church. 3. To restore the Eucharist as the embodiment of Christian values. 4. To restore social discipline over churchmen. 5. To win those
who are hostile to the Faith. 6. To co-operate in the cause of social justice."

The pioneer work of the group which is at the heart of the League of the Kingdom of God was the publication, in 1922, of a volume of essays under the title "The Return of Christendom". Bishop Gore contributed an Introduction, and G.K. Chesterton an Epilogue. This work was concerned to urge that modern civilization is disintegrating for lack of a unifying principle, and this is to be found in the restoration (admittedly in new forms) of the Mediaeval idea of Christendom. It offers an admirable exposition of the Catholic faith, it has a marked bias towards mediaevalism, and it is weak (as Gore frankly admits) in its constructive proposals. The "Christendom Group", as they came to be designated, have exercised an important share in the direction of the Church Union (Anglo-Catholic) "Summer School of Sociology" which has been held annually since 1925. The quarterly journal "Christendom" incorporates the papers read at the Summer School and is a valuable medium for the corporate thinking of the group.

Our account of the work done by the Church of England Societies would be incomplete without a reference to a booklet which bears the title, "The Doctrinal Basis for the claim of the Church to concern itself with the Social Order." It is of interest because it is an agreed statement, arising out of
a concern that "the various Groups within the Church of England, at present working more or less in isolation, should arrive at some common mind about a Christian Sociology".

(From the Foreword by P.T.R. Kirk.) The "Groups" referred to are: the Anglican Evangelical Group Movement, the Church Union School of Sociology, the Industrial Christian Fellowship and the League of the Kingdom of God. The booklet unfortunately is not dated, but it was issued between 1935 and 1940. From the statement that the fundamental need of the world, today as always, is to understand and pursue the purpose of God for human life, it proceeds to outline the doctrines of Creation and Redemption. In the created world, both in its physical aspect and in the providential ordering of history, God's purpose is manifest, and men, as individuals and as communities, are called to live for it. "The purpose which demands this response is that the creation should be an expression of the glory of the Being of God Himself. We are concerned here to show that the demand is not upon men's private lives only, but upon their organized social and political lives also." (p.5.) Redemption is interpreted as the revelation of God's purpose which was made in the Incarnation. "Jesus, Incarnate Son of God, became Man, living His life with human faculties, and entering fully into the earthly order, and by so doing redeemed the whole range of human relationships." (p.6.) Social relationships are part of the Kingdom which Jesus came to establish: the fact
that the social system under which He lived sent Him to the Cross is to be taken as a proof that social redemption is necessary and that Jesus was prepared to go to Calvary to effect it. There follows an account of the teaching of Jesus, stressing "the Kingdom" - which "stood for the purpose of God; the vindication of His sovereignty in the world, and the establishment of a just social order in which the ancient hopes of God's people should find their satisfaction. It was, and had always been, a collective hope." (p.3.) Jesus purged the idea of the Kingdom from an exclusively nationalist apocalypticism and from violently revolutionary political Messianism, and saw the Kingdom emerging from a new humanity "inspired by a faith which would redeem the outward world of circumstances". The Church is the society meant to embody the life of the Kingdom: it is "the necessary instrument", almost "the working model" of the Kingdom. The section on the redemption of the world, which comes next, affirms that the spiritual problems of individual and social life are fundamentally the same, for in both man's sin hinders the realization of God's will. "The redemption of society is to be sought both for the sake of the individuals who compose it and also for its own sake, as the fulfilment of the divine purpose for human society." (p.12.) All that we believe to be necessary for the saving of the individual soul is equally applicable to society. Thus social redemption cannot be
secured without suffering: the Church must be prepared to tread the way of the Cross. Repentance, too, is essential. We must call men to "a real collective repentance for corporate sin, a real change of heart and mind in society as a whole." (p.13.) And finally, an experience of the New Life in Christ is possible: there will be a new social order whose aims and values will not be bounded within the limits of earth. The conception that all life is sacramental - i.e. "the spiritual is effective in this world only when it finds some material embodiment" - is elucidated with regard to the social significance of Baptism and the Eucharist. Turning to the practical implications for sociology of these doctrinal matters, the booklet reminds us of the need for scientific study of the social problems, and of the relevance of basic assumptions about life's meaning and opportunity. As guiding principles in Christian Sociology, it enumerates the sanctity of personality, the principle of human brotherhood, and the principle of God's overlordship in the corporate, as well as the personal, affairs of men. Under the last of these, a doctrine of the State is adumbrated. "Without the ordered life of the State, the individual would be unable to make his full God-given contribution to the life of his near fellows, still less to those separated from him in a world reduced to a mere geographical term. It is legitimate to challenge the way in which the State provides this ordered life; but to
challenge the State, as the expression of the ordered life of the community, is a sin against God." (p.18.) The function of the State is not to be dismissed as secular. At the foundations of its life are justice, freedom and fellowship, which are a religious concern, and it is the Church's duty to be the State's "remembrancer of this truth". The final section of this comprehensive booklet is on the social traditions of the Church. Three points are made. Christian Sociology must keep in mind: (1) The idea of Christendom as basic - "the idea of a universal Christian society, including both the natural and supernatural orders, the temporal and the eternal, or nature and grace" (p.19). (2) "The political principle of a Functional Order of Society that every natural human group should be given its own free opportunity of development, as well as being integrated into the larger whole. Society should be a Communitas communitatum." (p.19). (3) The economic principles of the Just Price (which implies that a man's work should normally be recompensed with an income which gives him a reasonable livelihood, and that in buying and selling there is an economic reality which all parties ought to seek) and of the Prohibition of Usury, which in these days implies "that money power is a dangerous thing and must not be permitted to dominate human interests" (p.20). The conclusion of the booklet is the reminder that social reform, though calling for sacrificial effort, will not banish
evil "until holiness of life, and righteousness of relationships between man and man, are living factors". "The Kingdom we seek is one in which men are set free to worship and serve in the Kingdom of God. Man's chief end is to glorify God and enjoy Him for ever."

(iii) The Catholic Social Guild.

The Catholic Social Guild came into existence in 1909, and has done effective work in bringing home to Roman Catholics the implications of the social encyclicals. It "(a) promotes the study of social questions. (b) Seeks to apply Catholic principles for solving social problems to-day. (c) Trains Catholics, men and women, for active leadership in public life." This it does by means of Study Circles (of which, according to M.B. Reckitt's information in "Faith and Society", it maintains 200 with 2,500 members), Correspondence Classes, Adult Examinations for diplomas, the preparation and distribution of literature and an annual Summer School which attracts a large working-class membership. It also seeks entrance into Catholic schools, where it endeavours to "displace class prejudice and antagonism" and to set free the minds of boys and girls from "the idea that Britain forms an admirably governed state and that the extremes of wealth and poverty to be
found therein are intended by God". But probably the most important outcome of the Guild is the Catholic Workers' College. This was established in Oxford in 1921, trains men and women students in Economics, History, Moral Philosophy and the fundamentals of Catholic Sociology, and is recognised by the Convocation of Oxford University.
(2) SIGNIFICANT PRONOUNCEMENTS OF THE CHURCHES.

We have already considered work done in the Church of England through the societies which are closely associated with it, although not officially sponsored by it. We may note, however, that an official report of the Church, published just before the beginning of our period, gave stimulus and information to Christian social witness. This was "Christianity and Industrial Problems" (1918) - the "Report of the Archbishops' Fifth Committee of Inquiry", which was notable for its plea for the principle of the "Living Wage". "The first charge upon every industry should be the payment of a sufficient wage to enable the worker to maintain himself and his family in health and honour, with such a margin of leisure as will permit reasonable recreation and the development of mind and spirit. Excessive hours of work should, therefore, be prevented, and overtime and Sunday labour should be reduced to a minimum." (Paragraph 170 in "Summary of Conclusions", p.105.) In 1923 the Church Assembly established a "Social and Industrial Commission" which did useful work, especially on unemployment, concerning which it made a report in 1935.

Free Church contributions (in England) have been chiefly made through the "Social Service Committees" of the various denominations, and need not, in general, be considered separately from the work of the Christian Social Council.
But as further illustrations of significant work of the British Churches we may review one or two particular pronouncements of (a) the Methodist Church, (b) the Society of Friends, and (c) the Church of Scotland.

(a) The Methodist Church.

The Methodist Church, which incorporates in its standards of doctrine Wesley's sermons on The Sermon on the Mount, and The Use of Money, has always shown a deep concern for social need. From time to time "declarations" on social doctrine are officially adopted by the Conference. Of these we may cite as examples (i) "The Declaration of the Methodist Church on a Christian View of Industry in Relation to the Social Order" (1934), and (ii) "The Declaration of the Methodist Church on Peace and War" (1933) together with "The Church and Peace" (1936).

(i) "A Christian View of Industry in relation to the Social Order."

The Christian view of industry depends fundamentally upon the recognition of man's nature and God's redeeming purpose. The Christian faith gives us a conception of society which affirms the unity of the human family in God, the eternal and equal worth of individuals, the possibility of reconciliation and redemption in human relationships, and the divine inspiration of the Holy Spirit in our earthly fellowship. The Christian view of industry is determined by
this conception of society. It is marked by an appreciation
of the dignity of labour, as seen in the light of the
Incarnation; the instrumental character of material things
to further human well-being and fellowship, as evidenced by
the Divine Providence; the true function of industry (where
work is regarded as a vocation, and service for the common
good becomes a dominant motive) as establishing the Kingdom
of God on earth; the need so to distribute goods that the
standards of life are raised, human requirements are met, and
men are freed for more ample spiritual interests; and the
need to seek and respond to the guidance of the Holy Spirit
in the application of human skill and inventive genius to
the resources of nature, and in all social re-adjustments.

The Declaration proceeds to a survey of modern industry.
It finds that modern industry holds many fruitful possibili-
ties of advance and development. These include:—a fellow-
ship of mankind in mutual service; a fellowship of industry
itself which is enriched by a great diversity of function and
effort; a higher standard of material well-being, education,
health and culture; the lessening of the burden of labour
and the promotion of the excellence of life through God's
gift in that mastery of nature by modern science. But as
we contemplate this potential plenty, we are confronted with
actual scarcity. This paradox "is a grim commentary on the
failure of human wisdom and the imperfect character of our
individual and corporate life and international relations."
("The Methodist Church: Declarations of Conference on Social
Questions", p.4.) It has to be recognised that the condi-
tions and arrangements of industry lie almost entirely within
human control, and therefore the world-wide industrial chaos
is a clear call from God to this generation that we should
examine our social and industrial life, and re-order it in
accordance with His purpose for the good of all mankind.
Defects which are patent to the Christian conscience are the
tendency to exploit human life and labour, the predominance
of the motive of gain, the persistence of conflict between
the partners of industry, the insecurity of the wage-earner's
status, the increasing concentration of economic power in the
hands of financial interests, and the glaring inequality in
the distribution of material wealth amongst the members of
society. The defects have spiritual consequences. Unem-
ployment occasions the undermining of character as well as
physical distress; economic necessity drives men to engage
in unworthy occupations, or to adopt methods and practices
against which their more generous self revolts, thus producing
"the torn conscience". The emphasis on money and possessions
subordinates the spiritual to the material values.

The next part of the Declaration outlines a Christian
Social and Industrial Order. "The true function of industry
can only be rightly discerned in the light of the whole social
order and the human ends it should serve. Since man is primarily a spiritual being, his social and industrial life must be ordered to serve the spiritual ends of his nature" (op.cit. p.8). The dynamic character of modern industry, which is constantly changing to meet new conditions, should encourage us to attempt its transformation by the Christian spirit and the enhancement of Christian values. In a new Christian social order our aim should be fulness of life for all. This will mean a social will determined upon the abolition of economic poverty; the just distribution of the fruits of industry; and the establishing of a sound standard of public health, secured by the abolition of slums, the prevention of overcrowding and the maintenance of a good physical environment. It will also call for adequate training - physical, mental, moral and spiritual - for life and its rational enjoyment. It will require the fostering of a sense of vocation, in spite of the difficulties which meet this conception under modern industrial conditions. "These enlarging social purposes, which industry is required to serve, call for adaptation of means of control and a new spirit of co-operation amongst all sections of the community" (op.cit. p.11). And there must be a new balance between work and leisure. The increased leisure which is economically possible and socially desirable under modern conditions can make possible a longer school life, shorter working hours and an earlier age
for retirement with adequate provision to enjoy it. But three major questions have to be faced. The Christian conscience must examine the "controlling power and influence increasingly exerted in the modern world by financial interests" (op. cit. p.12); the amassing of private property; and the international aspect of the industrial problem. "If the abolition of economic poverty, the establishment of economic security and the satisfying of the sense of justice in the realm of industry should be shown ... to be substantially furthered by the transfer of the ownership of the means of production from private to public hands, then a convincing claim would thereby be made on the Christian mind." "Economic inter-dependence is an inescapable necessity, and world co-operation in the development of economic resources is essential" (p.14).

The Declaration concludes with a call to Christian people. The primary need is for a regenerated Christian manhood, and with it the need for a new sense of social unity. "Two fundamental principles which the Christian offers will thus be kept together: first, the sacredness of individual personality, and, second, the principle that we are members one of another" (op. cit. p.15). For this transformation of the social and industrial order (which cannot be effected without discipline and renunciation and sacrifice) all the spiritual resources of the Christian faith are available.
(ii) "Peace and War" and "The Church and Peace".

The Declaration on "Peace and War" begins by affirming that war is contrary to the spirit, teaching and purpose of our Lord. "We believe that His teaching and example were intended to apply not only to individual relations, but to the social and corporate affairs of men, and to the intercourse of nations" (op.cit. p.17). The duty to promote peace and to prevent war is therefore part of the redemptive mission of the Church, which is the divinely appointed society for guarding, unfolding and expressing the mind of Christ. The world situation brings the Church face to face with grave urgency and imperative obligation in regard to peace. The Methodist Church therefore calls upon the nations to honour the pacific intentions which they have affirmed, for example, in the Covenant of the League of Nations and in the Pact of Paris. "It declares its resolve to withhold support from any Government which refuses to submit a cause of dispute with another Government to an appropriate international tribunal for peaceful settlement" (op.cit. p.18). Steps towards the promotion of peace, such as world-wide reduction of armaments, the removal of causes of friction like the oppression of minorities, economic rivalries and inequitable treaties, were advocated. The importance of creating an enlightened public opinion, which would discuss international issues in a pacific and judicial way, was urged. The Declaration recognised the responsibilities which rest upon the individual in his duty to manifest
the Christian spirit in all his personal relationships, and not least in his attitudes toward people of other races and cultures. But it urged that "it is in regard to individual participation in war that the application of the spirit and teaching of Christ may be most severely tested" (op.cit.p.19). The Christian must, therefore, be vigilant concerning the obligations and commitments made by his Government in the name of ordinary citizens and take his part in forming a Christian public opinion. If war should come, Christian conviction and loyalty will lead some Christians to support and some to oppose it. "The Methodist Church would recognise that, in present circumstances, both decisions may express true loyalty to personal spiritual conviction, and an earnest endeavour to do the will of God and serve the highest interests of mankind. In view of this recognition, the Methodist Church will uphold liberty of conscience and offer unceasing ministries to all her sons and daughters, in whichever direction loyalty to inward conviction may carry them" (op.cit.p.20). The Declaration concludes with an affirmation that it is the present and continuing task of the Christian Church to promote peace and to prevent war.

In 1936, the Conference of the Methodist Church appointed a group of ministers and laymen "to examine in fellowship those aspects of the subject concerning which united judgment has not yet been recorded by the Conference".
This led to a Report (approved unanimously by the Conference in 1937) in which agreement was reached in sections entitled "War and the Kingdom of God", "The Responsibility of the Church", "The Ordering of the Life of Mankind", and "Liberty of Conscience in time of war". But in the final section, "Individual participation in war", two accredited statements were presented, the one representing the pacifist, and the other the non-pacifist, position. As the first four paragraphs add nothing to the 1934 Declaration, we need only concern ourselves with the pacifist and non-pacifist statements. Both, it may be added, were recognised by the Conference.

The pacifist position.

Christian pacifism is thus defined. "It is a renunciation of the war-spirit and the war-method as contrary to the mind of Christ; it is an affirmation that the method of God in dealing with evil is that of the Cross; it is a way of life in which love, as the constructive principle in the Christian experience, becomes creative of fellowship between persons and between communities" (op.cit.p.23). Pacifists believe that the Church owes unique loyalty to Christ; this finds expression in overcoming evil with good as He did; it cannot be reconciled with the waging of war, for Christ "exalted human personality, gave His life for the redemption of all men, and bade His disciples love their enemies" (op.cit.
p. 25), and war destroys the lives of men, shatters the unity of mankind, and inflames hatred and lust. The refusal to participate in war or training for war involves the rejection of the State's policies and requirements: normally the Christian will respond willingly to the State's requests, but in this issue the principle of obeying God rather than men must be applied. It is recognised that such obedience may bring suffering, but that is to be accepted as involved in the way of the Cross. But more than refusal to take part in war, more than the abolition of war itself is required. "Peace is a quality of the spirit, and in its deeper sense requires regenerative changes in human affairs, alike in economic and in international relations. We believe that the Christian motive and message of love, published and practised in fulness of meaning and range, is the one adequate answer to the world's needs and the one release from the world's fears" (op. cit. p. 25).

The non-pacifist position.

The Christian who does not take the pacifist position nevertheless renounces the war spirit with all his heart. But he is convinced that "the attempt to secure from all Christians a declaration that in no circumstances would they bear arms to defend their country is a hindrance rather than a help towards the abolition of war" (op. cit. p. 26). It is admitted that the violence of modern warfare has increased
and that its effects are more devastating; but this does not alter the principles on which the Christian's attitude to war must be based. Many Christians at the dictate of conscience are called to take their share in the common travail of the nation in the event of war. And indeed, under conditions where there is no distinction between combatants and non-combatants, an attitude of isolation and detachment is impossible. It is not denied that the Christian must obey God rather than men. If his country embarks upon an unjust or aggressive war, his conscience should lead him to oppose it. But if his country is overtaken by war, after it has sought every legitimate means to avoid it, "it is our belief that he is not sinning against God if he stands side by side with his brothers and sisters in the attempt to defend home and friends and fatherland" (op. cit. p. 27). The New Testament has no word against the soldier's profession, nor has its teaching (including that of our Lord) any specific guidance for the individual in his attitude to this modern problem. The questions involved are difficult, and none more vexed than the problem, in case of great need, of using force to defend others, but every Christian man must through prayer and self-dedication find the answer for himself.

(b) The Society of Friends.

The "historic peace testimony" of the Quakers has been consistent in its repudiation of war since their origin in
the seventeenth century. It was not, however, until the early days of the first World War that the Society came to the conviction that war is not an isolated problem, but one that must be considered in relation to the Social Order as such. Accordingly the Friends' Yearly Meeting in 1915 appointed a "Committee on War and Social Order", which continued to function until 1928, when it was succeeded by the "Industrial and Social Order Council". Social thought in the Society of Friends has been especially sensitive to human distress caused by injustices in such industries as coal-mining, bad housing conditions and unemployment. It has reviewed, though not perhaps with great profundity, large questions such as the private ownership of land, private property and interest, the power of finance and the nationalisation of basic industries as well as questions concerned with education and the family. It has pleaded that industry should be "for service".

A definitive statement of the Friends' position is given in "Foundations of a True Social Order", approved by the Yearly Meeting in 1918. It is quoted in full.

"1. The Fatherhood of God, as revealed by Jesus Christ, should lead us towards a Brotherhood which knows no restriction of race, sex or social class.

2. This Brotherhood should express itself in a social order which is directed, beyond all material ends, to the growth of personality truly related to God and man."
3. The opportunity of full development, physical, moral and spiritual, should be assured to every member of the community, man, woman and child. The development of man's full personality should not be hampered by unjust conditions, nor crushed by economic pressure.

4. We should seek for a way of living that will free us from the bondage of material things and mere conventions, that will raise no barrier between man and man, and will put no excessive burden of labour upon any by reason of our superfluous demands.

5. The spiritual force of righteousness, loving-kindness and trust is mighty because of the appeal it makes to the best in every man, and when applied to industrial relations achieves great things.

6. Our rejection of the methods of outward domination, and of the appeal to force, applies not only to international affairs, but to the whole problem of industrial control. Not through antagonism but through co-operation and goodwill can the best be attained for each and all.

7. Mutual service should be the principle upon which life is organised. Service, not private gain, should be the motive of all work.

8. The ownership of material things, such as land and capital, should be so regulated as best to minister to the need and development of man."
This statement has been reproduced in full, because it provides the standard of reference for subsequent Quaker discussions. The trend of their thought in our period may be briefly illustrated.

The 1920 Yearly Meeting found that the industrial system is inconsistent at many points with the Christian ideal. Too often it denies to men and women their true status, and treats them as parts of the industrial machine. The possession of wealth and power, which present-day conditions tend to place in the hands of the few, often dulls the sense of social justice. A minute encourages Friends "to join in experiments of various kinds which are reaching out towards a better way, and to work for the time when service in free co-operation shall be the compelling motive of industry."

In November, 1921, a conference on industrial questions, arranged by the Yearly Meeting, reviewed methods of mitigating the worst effects of the industrial order, such as welfare work, educational schemes, works councils, and profit-sharing. Among the deliberations of this conference the following may be noted: a recognition of the community's responsibility to support the worker, even when there is no work for him: a plea for such educational facilities to be given to the worker as will enable him to assume a greater share of responsibility in his particular branch of industry:
and an affirmation that ownership of the means of production ought not to carry with it control over the lives of the workers.

In 1926, when much thought was given to the situation caused by unrest in the coal industry, the Society recorded its view that a Christian solution of social and industrial problems was imperative, because in them could be discerned the roots not only of civil, but also of international, strife.

In 1930, two statements were issued under the titles, "The True Purpose of Industry" and "Towards a New Order of Society". The former affirmed that the true purpose of industry can only be determined in the light of the wider purpose of life, and that is the full development of the whole man. Christian witness has often been restricted to arousing the public conscience against some particular evil or removing certain offences and errors. But "Christianity Corrective is not enough. It is of necessity inadequate because it does not attempt to touch the central purpose of industry, but devotes attention mainly to the elimination of the worst features of the present regime. We turn, therefore, to Christianity Creative, which sets out with a clearly defined purpose, the gradual adoption of which would change the very spirit of our industrial life, inspiring it with a new outlook, new conceptions, new ideals. In the light of these considerations we would state the purpose of industry as follows:-
The true purpose of industry is to create goods and to provide services of such kinds and in such measure as will not only meet the primary needs of the community, but will progressively enrich its life.

To this end, the processes of industry must be organised with the greatest possible regard to the welfare of those engaged and the product distributed in such a manner as will best serve the highest ends of the community as a whole.

The second statement dealt with the paradox of "poverty in the midst of plenty". The "plenty" is illustrated by the increasing goodwill, the growing sense of brotherhood, the progress of technical skill and scientific knowledge, and the actual and potential material resources for prosperity: the "poverty" is seen in unemployment, insecurity, tension and want. Once again, it is only against the true purpose of life that we can truly see the "new order of society".

The good society is determined by our conception of the good life. Here the primacy of human relationships is affirmed, and the duties of the social order towards children, mothers, citizens and workers are outlined. The statement concludes, "It is the duty of society considered as a fellowship to help every citizen to gain the best life because he is of value as a personality. It is the duty of each citizen to do his part to create, maintain and enrich that fellowship which is the basis of all true society. The full realisation of these two obligations will lead us into an ordered freedom.
in which domination shall be replaced by co-operation, compulsion will give way to willing service and all shall have opportunity to enter into that joy and fullness of life that God intended for them."

It is natural that in the second decade of our period Quaker thought reached out to international affairs and was increasingly concerned about the removal of the economic and other causes of friction and strife. The "historic peace testimony" was consistently given. Its characteristics are the appeal to "that of God in every man"; faith that the practice of justice and goodwill will promote the right relationships between men and nations; a readiness to extend to all man friendship, service and reconciliation; and an advocacy of the practical following of Jesus in the confidence that His Spirit will illumine the dark places of the human mind and banish the evils that lurk therein. But no one who studies the Quaker literature of the 1930's - the pamphlets and posters as well as the records of the Peace Committee and the Yearly Meeting - can fail to be impressed by its relevancy and incisiveness. Here was not simply naïve pacifism, but a consistent searching for a practical policy which would lay the foundation of enduring peace. Advocacy of disarmament was supported by an investigation and exposure of the menace of private manufacture and trading in armaments: the plea that the real needs of the "hungry" nations, Japan, Italy and
Germany, should be fairly considered was accompanied by practical suggestions for economic readjustment, such as tariff revision, the stabilization of world currencies, and the setting up of an international commission to organize the production and distribution of the elementary necessities of life on a world basis. The breakdown of the League of Nations and the abrogation of the Versailles Treaty evoked an appeal for new attempts at pacification to be made at the political level, such as the international control of crown colonies and protectorates, international jurisdiction over strategic waterways and the exploration of methods for the more effective union of peoples, rather than of sovereign states. This was the burden of the Quaker policy for the establishment of peace. It was the outcome of an attitude which is illustrated in a Statement made in the "Conference of all Friends" in 1920. "The fundamental ground of our opposition to war is religious and ethical. It attaches to the nature of God as revealed in Christ and to the nature of man as related to Him."

(c) The Church of Scotland.

Here again we shall be concerned with the two great problems of peace and the social order. The contribution to Christian judgment on these issues made by the thinking of the Church of Scotland can be illustrated by reference to (i) "The Church's Attitude to Peace and War", which was
published in 1937, and (ii) the Reports of the Commission appointed in 1940 for "the Interpretation of God's Will in the Present Crisis".

(i) "The Church's Attitude to Peace and War".

In 1935 the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland invited its "Church and Nation" Committee to arrange a conference wherein divergences of view as to the Church's peace witness could be faced and frankly discussed. It is the report of this investigation which we are now to consider. It is prefaced by a General Statement; it then outlines first the non-pacifist and secondly the pacifist position; its last main section is an indication of the tasks to be attempted by both; and it adds a number of valuable appendices which contribute a useful discussion on such relevant subjects as the teaching of Jesus, the Christian philosophy of the State, and the reform of the League of Nations.

The general statement records the agreement which is to be found among all Christians as to the hatefulness of war, its inadequacy to secure justice, the malignity of its effects and the conviction that the abolition of war is a supreme Christian duty. Pacifist and non-pacifist Christians are chiefly divided on the way in which the teaching of Jesus ought to be interpreted, and on the significance of His example. The following definition is suggested. "While there are many degrees of pacifism, pacifists are defined as those
who believe so absolutely in the use of the method of non-resistance combined, of course, with plans of active reconciliation, in which non-pacifists are equally engaged, that they refuse to participate in any use of weapons of war" (p.5).

The non-pacifist recognises that war is a consequence of the sin that is in the world. He firmly repudiates all wars of aggression, and affirms that so long as there is another possible approach to questions under dispute war is not justified. But defensive war may be thrust upon a nation in spite of its efforts to avert a conflict, and here the right to resist the acknowledged aggressor is maintained. "It is not contrary to human welfare that nations should try to defend that level of life and culture and liberty to which in the providence of God they have attained and which they regard, and have a right to regard, as their contribution to human welfare. What is open to challenge in any case is the piling up of armaments which may far exceed the necessities of defence. In a world which is not merely imperfect, but in parts definitely evil, to renounce all opposition to aggression would be to endanger spiritual values, the upholding of which is the greatest hope of the world's progress." (p.8.) But, when he is committed to genuinely defensive war as a dreadful duty, the non-pacifist does not allow ethical considerations to become irrelevant: "even when victory may seem at stake" the Church cannot
countenance military operations which are in the nature of reprisals, or have the bombing of civilians, including women and children, as their objective.

The statement of the non-pacifist position then discusses the teaching and example of Jesus. The passages in the Gospels which speak of non-resistance are to be taken (along with other passages not in dispute) as "regulative principles" to be applied "in the spirit and not in the letter". "Pacifists and non-pacifists alike must face the central issue of the implication of the example of Jesus on the Cross, when rather than resist His enemies or avoid the Cross by flight He endured it with love in His heart towards those who crucified Him. Non-pacifists believe that the way of sacrifice and of love is the most potent way of redemption and appeal, and that the Cross was the only way for Jesus." (p.12.) But they also note that Jesus did not go to the Cross until "His hour had come"; it may be that at some time in the future a nation will find that its hour has come for "crucifixion" in the interests of the world's well-being, but that time is not yet. Moreover, the uniqueness of Jesus and His saving work must be recognised: He alone could make the perfect sacrifice which redeems the world. The implications of Christ's death would seem to be, not that His followers can save mankind through a sacrificial death, but that the spirit of sacrifice
should run all through life. This does not deny that on occasion "sacrifice unto death" may be for the individual "the only means of achieving the ends of the Kingdom of God": but it suggests that to urge immolation as the duty of a nation is to "make unwarranted deductions from the presence of the Cross in the life of Jesus Christ". (p.14) Nor must the phrase "the redemptive way of the Cross" blind us to other aspects of God's total dealing with evil. "The judgments of God upon evil, for instance, also constitute an element in the Divine redemptive way, and within their measure justify human judgment upon and punishment of evildoers. To these judgments our Lord's own parables bear witness." (p.15.)

Non-pacifists do not fall behind pacifists in affirming the supremacy of the Christian conscience. Christians have two allegiances, the one as members of the Church and the other as members of the State, "and in the last resort Christian conscience holds an unchallengeable position if the State should demand that which God does not allow". (p.16.) But the State has its rights, including the right to wage defensive war, and if that task becomes necessary it will claim the service of Christians and non-Christians alike. If pacifists affirm that Christians ought not to obey the State in this particular, "the logical outcome of this position is the denial of the State and of the order and law
which the State creates and guards." (p.16.) With regard to conscientious objection to service in war, it is for the State, and not the Church, to determine "the degree to which pacifist thought and action can be permitted within the State." (p.17.) All pacifists can ask is that the rights of conscience shall be respected.

The question of Church and State is further elaborated. If we accept the theological position that man is called to co-operate with God in establishing His Kingdom on earth, we have to consider in what sense and to achieve what purpose the State exists in the providence of God. Christian anarchism is the only alternative to a Christian acceptance and interpretation of the State. But acceptance of the State is a recognition of the legitimacy of coercive power, for without coercive power the State could not maintain itself as a legal institution. The record of history shows that social progress and the increase of civil order have been made possible by the centralisation of coercive power. This suggests that there is a final step to be taken, the centralisation of coercive power in the international sphere. "In other words, the remaining task is the creation of an international authority, empowered as well as accredited, to maintain justice and peace." (p.19.) The League of Nations was intended to be such an authority; it needs to be strengthened by some form of collective security. These are practical considerations, but the fact of "Church"
and "State" still remains. Their interests do not coincide. The Church must retain the right to oppose the State, and to safeguard the rights of the individual conscience. But the State is also a divinely appointed institution with its own rights and duties, and it must be helped by the Church to a true understanding of them and to an increasingly Christian outlook. The Church is the only existing authority that transcends all national boundaries: "she must refuse to be influenced by any limited national interest ... and must take her stand on ultimate spiritual values and strive fearlessly to expose the root causes of the international tension, as of the national faults and failings." (p.24.) And "she must bring every problem at home or abroad to the bar of a reason higher than human, to the judgment of an ethic higher than the world's. In their light the Church must determine what actions and policies she can support in her endeavour to remove injustices and advance international order and goodwill." (p.25.)

The pacifist position is stated in a series of affirmations of belief. Pacifists believe that they are committed to their method of overcoming evil by acceptance of the Gospel. "The issue which is before the Church is not merely the rightness or wrongness of war, but the meaning of the Gospel." (p.25.) The Cross revealed Christ's way of dealing with wrongdoers. His purpose was always a redemptive
one, and the real question for the Christian is how the evil man is to be changed and brought into right relationship with his fellows. "He achieved the Salvation of the World by the strong way of unresisting, forgiving Love, and that Salvation, which consists in the reconciling of man to God and man to man, when it is accepted, brings in its train and makes secure those good things of God's gift and man's civilisation which have been so long jeopardised and vainly sought by the way of violence." (p.27.) The Christian is called to the way of the Cross. This does not imply any failure to acknowledge Christ as the unique Redeemer, nor is it a negative attitude. It is a deep self-committal to the Saviour Who out of weakness can bring forth strength. War is a denial of the way of the Cross.

"Whatever be the situation or object of the fighting, war is alike unhallowed. We cannot think that for the Christian, who must do all in the name of his Lord, it can ever be right in the name of Christ to let loose poison-gas and bombs on helpless women and children, which is a characteristic act of modern war." (p.29.) The special case for defensive war proves on examination to be misleading. Modern conditions make it impossible to define a purely defensive war; in a time of tension and crisis the information on which a true judgment could be made is lacking, and in any case a war might be "defensive" and yet be conducted in the defence
of an unjust state of affairs. But the important point is that war in itself is so great an evil that any religion or ethical system which condones it is self-condemned.

The ensuing affirmations concern the Church. Pacifists believe that the Church, which was created to continue Christ's redemptive work, is called to the way of the Cross. "The Church, informed by the mind of Christ, should develop her own thought on the major issues before the nation; it is to be expected that on many a question she will advocate measures of justice far in advance of any accepted by the general community." (p.31.) The way of the Cross is always open to the Church. The nation, if it has not seen Christ's redemptive way, has the duty of meeting evil by the best means known to it; but for the Church the choice is not merely between two evils, of which war is the lesser. The Church exists in order to testify to Christ's redemptive way and to follow the way of the Cross is her call and duty. This will sometimes involve conflict with the State. The possibility of such conflict must always remain so long as their spheres are separate and their methods different.

"To erect the State into a divine authority in the moral realm alongside of the Church, and in actual fact to obey Caesar's commands as being practical and relevant to the actual world, and to treat Christ's way as relevant only to some ideal world, seems to us to make the Cross of Christ of none effect." (p.34.) The Church is primarily concerned
with eternal values, her appeal is to the individual and is made in creative faith, and she is universal and supra-national in her fellowship: the State is mainly occupied with temporal values, it has sometimes to subordinate the individual to its own ends and it has recourse to the methods of compulsion and fear, and its primary concern is with the interests of one nation. Upon the tension between them the hope of the world's betterment depends.

It is through the obedience of the individual believer that God guides His Church into new truth. As a Church or as individual disciples, we have a vocation which to some extent separates us from our fellows. Our call is to accept it in faith, rather than to be assured beforehand of the results it will achieve. This truth has its application to the pacifist position. "We believe that a Church, which had entirely repudiated the way of war in all circumstances, which knew itself thrown back on the sole might of unarmed love, and which, with a passion and expenditure and organisation at all comparable with its great Foreign Mission work, wrought to allay the animosities among the nations and to find channels of brotherly service towards other peoples, would exert an incalculable influence for peace across all frontiers and within her own land would fashion a nation which could wield the undefeatable might of Christ." (pp.37-38.)
The affirmations conclude with a statement that the faith which the pacifists have sought to express is finally a faith in God, the revelation of Whose Nature and Purpose is given to us in the life, death and resurrection of Jesus Christ. When we speak of God's power we mean, in the last resort, His redemptive love, and it is this kind of power which the Church, relying on her Lord, is called to exercise in her encounter with evil in the world. "In the measure in which she obeys this call in faith and hope and love she will become God's instrument in making peace in the world and breaking the tyranny of evil." (p.38.)

The final section of the report outlines the tasks which non-pacifist and pacifist Christians must attempt together. The witness of the Universal Church must be strengthened and made more effective. The essential Christian position concerning war must be increasingly made known to men. The Christian Church must seek peace, not primarily because war is a dreadful experience with calamitous consequences, but because "it breaks up the international family of God, does despite to the human personality which Christ came to redeem, and is therefore contrary to the mind and spirit of Jesus Christ and to His way for the world." (p.40.) And with this must go a patient endeavour to remove the causes of war. These include economic difficulties, political injustices, the necessity to reduce and
limit armaments, and an inquiry into the question of colonies and access to raw materials. There must be, further, a development of International Law. The good work already done by the Permanent Court of International Justice must be strengthened. "If nations would increasingly hand over their cases for settlement by this Court, a body of international law would speedily develop." (p.45.)

(ii) "God's Will for Church and Nation."

The charge laid by the General Assembly of 1940 upon a specially appointed Commission was "to seek reverently to guide the Church in the interpretation of the Holy Will and Purpose of God in present-day events, and to examine how the testimony of the Church to the Gospel may become more effective in our own land, overseas, and in the international order". Sub-Commissions subsequently made Church Life and Organisation, Education, Marriage and the Family, and Social and Industrial Life their concern, and the parent Commission also devoted attention to basic theological problems and to the chief questions underlying international reconstruction. Reports were presented to the General Assembly in the years 1941 to 1945 inclusive; and a selection of the most significant parts of these has been published in the volume, "God's Will for Church and Nation" (1946).

It is not necessary here to do more than indicate the scope of the doctrinal sections of these reports. The first
part of "God's Will in our Time", the 1942 Report, discussed "The Presentation of the Christian Faith to the World of To-day". This was a thorough and competent theological analysis of the situation in which the Church has to live and proclaim the Gospel at the present time, and an enunciation of those fundamental principles which lie at the back of social action which is both effective and Christian. A corresponding section of sound teaching introduced the 1943 Report, "The Church Faces the Future": this was a statement of the doctrine of the Church's nature and mission.

The reports on Education (1943) and Marriage and the Family (1944) need not be outlined here. Their work is timely, but they do not break new ground. We must confine ourselves to a consideration of those parts of the reports which deal with social and industrial life. These are (a) The Nature and Extent of the Church's concern in the Civil Order (1942 Part II), and (b) Social and Industrial Life (1942 Part III and 1944 Part II).

(a) The Nature and Extent of the Church's Concern in the Civil Order.

Christian people are members, not only of the Kingdom of Heaven (for the realization of which they strive and pray) and the Church (which is the society of all believers), but also of a number of other communities. These include, for example, the family, the township, the trades union, university, nation, and the international order, and may be
comprehensively described as "the civil order". It is necessary to define clearly the relation of the Church to this civil order. The Church undoubtedly has a duty to penetrate it and witness within it, and the claims of the Gospel must be made upon it. But we cannot be content with a division of life into two spheres of action - that of the Church and that of politics. A more relevant distinction differentiates between two kinds of knowledge. "We have always to draw on our knowledge of moral and spiritual principles, and we have always to draw also on what we can only call our departmental knowledge in some particular and specialised field". (God's Will for Church and Nation, p.36.) In the latter the Church as such is not competent to give direct guidance, nor can it identify itself with any particular programme of action. But it must never be forgotten that the great moral and spiritual principles of Christianity always have a bearing upon the practical problems of politics and citizenship. Man's chief end is never irrelevant, and wherever justice and mercy are involved (as they are in all the social questions) there the Lordship of Jesus must be acknowledged.

A further difficulty emerges. It is rightly claimed that Christianity must dominate all human interests. Christ is to be the Lord of all life. But it is not possible or desirable to return to the state of affairs which characterized the Middle Ages when the Church controlled all the
disciplines of human enquiry. We admit that science, education and the like must be allowed a relative freedom to develop as their own inherent principles determine. Nor will the distinction between ends and means serve us here, for these provinces of culture have ends of their own. "The distinction we require is therefore rather a distinction between our ultimate end - the Chief End of Man - and a number of subsidiary ends ... The way of wisdom for our limited and finite minds must always include the humble acceptance of some unresolved tension between the sacred and the secular interests of life, as also between religious and scientific knowledge." (p.41.)

In the New Testament we have all the ruling principles we need for Christian action. But we also need "middle axioms", derived and more specialised principles which are related to particular fields of action. It must also be borne in mind that the Christian witness is made in a society which is composed of non-Christians as well as believers, and that the Church's sanction is always persuasion and never coercion. The idea of a "natural moral law" is too nebulous to be of much importance to our purpose: rather must we remember that the society in which we work, though not Christian, has been profoundly influenced by Christianity, and that there is therefore a common conscience to which we can appeal. These considerations are a necessary preliminary to an attempt to discover the bearing of the Gospel upon the
political and social life of to-day. This task is urgent because "there can be little doubt that it is to the failure of Christians to realize and act upon these social implications of the Gospel that the present weakness of the spiritual life of our land must in no small part be attributed." (p.49.)

(b) Social and Industrial Life.

The possibility of corporate Christian witness in experimental forms, such as the formation of separate communities, "the National Average Movement" and the setting up of specifically Christian factories and businesses, must not be overlooked. But while these ways of withdrawal are the vocation of some Christians, they cannot be the obligation of all. The Church must rather encourage individual Christian witness in the existing conditions, and at the same time test the existing structure by Christian standards. Thus there is a call, first to employers and managements, and secondly to foremen, shop stewards and employees. Employers and managements must remember the importance of right decisions in business polity. Much will depend upon their attitude to the coming changes in the structure of industry, for example, the greater measure of control. They should welcome and wisely encourage opportunities for joint consultation. And at all times they should regard the workers as persons, and feel a special sense of responsibility for the welfare of adolescents. "Relationships in industry can
never be at their best so long as they are based either on a benevolent autocracy or an irresponsible class domination (whether by capital or labour); but only when they are based on mutual confidence and respect." (p.55.) Foremen, shop-stewards and employees should be alive to the opportunities and dangers of the new balance of power, which is now turning in the workers' favour. They have a duty to make use of all the available machinery for improving relationships. "Whatever changed economic system may emerge from the present unsettlement, we seem permanently committed to an industrialised society - and one in which there will always be some who direct and some who are directed, so that the mutuality of responsibility which should pervade all sound human relationships has here a very great strain laid upon it and is of proportionately greater importance." (p.57.) Churches situated in industrial areas ought to make a study of the conditions of their own localities. Without this knowledge their witness will be ineffective.

The industrial organisation is one of the institutions which mould men's conduct and character, and therefore the Church has the right to be concerned with it. The present industrial order has many grave defects. Its structure and processes are such that they result from time to time in widespread unemployment; the dominance of the profit-motive leads to over-production of luxuries and under-production of necessities; its maintenance requires the periodic
destruction of goods which have been produced and are needed; the unequal sharing of the products of industry leads to the arbitrary power of some, the dependence of others, and therefore to class antagonisms; the irresponsibility, the sense of remote and uncontrolled forces determining human affairs, leads to frustration and helplessness; the attendant urbanisation results in depersonalization, social apathy, and decay in the sense of responsibility; and the subservience of political to economic power ultimately creates situations favourable to war.

The conceptions which ought to guide any organisation of industrial life are its ability to create the wealth needed for the development of man's life; its embodiment of justice, both in the production and the distribution of wealth; and its achievement of true community, which begins "in the sharing of bread and work and play". Our present industrial structure must recognise the need for an important change if any advance is to be made towards these ends. "Economic power must be made objectively responsible to the community as a whole. The possessors of economic power must be answerable for the use of that power, not only to their own consciences, but to the appropriate social organs - as the possessors of military or police power are already so answerable." (p.62.) This truth is an important and relevant "middle axiom". An implication of it is increased direction. This is not, however, a gain in itself, but only when the
greater control furthers the true purposes for which industry ought to exist. Moreover, it must be recognised that a new system might reduce the chaos of the present one without being more humane. The Church must, therefore, continue to require of any system that it mitigates extreme inequalities of wealth, secures the fullest educational opportunities for all children, and gives opportunity to all citizens to lead a useful social life.

The 1944 Report propounded another "middle axiom" with far-reaching consequences. It was the Commission's belief that "the present time and situation" is "such as to call forth the clear declaration that the common interest demands a far greater measure of public control of capital resources and means of production than our tradition has in the past envisaged." (p.157.) This report is probably the most radical Church pronouncement ever made upon the social order. It defined the evils for the perpetuation of which the continued private control of capital resources and the means of production is responsible, and urged the reasons why a greater measure of communal control is necessary. The rehabilitation of our social and industrial life requires it. The possibility of more rapid profits stimulates the production of certain commodities; the resultant artificial booming of trade is followed by slumps and unemployment, and this leads to a diminution of total purchasing power. Further,
the desire for greater profits prompts each competing group of producers to push their own products, with the result that there is conflict in internal trade. In the scramble for power, combines and amalgamations are made, which in their turn attempt to form international combines, with a consequent unsettlement of the relationships between peoples and the generation of an atmosphere conducive to war. This state of affairs has discouraged normal enterprise and investment. "We have, in fact, been faced with a continuous and apparently increasing failure of monopolistic industry to provide employment for the people." (p.162.) Communal control is also necessary for the conscientious discharge of our world responsibilities. This is true with regard to our responsibilities to other nations. Monopoly capitalism cannot continue its prosperity without expansion. In a world in which there are no longer new territories for its exploitation it can only lead to struggle and rivalry between the competing elements, and therefore to national bittermesses and suspicions. "Christians cannot but feel that the reality of the Oecumenical Church is brought to naught if after worshipping together and partaking together of the sacred meal at international gatherings, they are forced to return home to pursue, in the real business of living, their material rivalries." (p.163.) But we must also take account of our responsibilities to colonial and subject peoples. "We ought not to be open to the charge, in support of which
evidence can be adduced, that our economic prosperity depends upon the continuance of a low standard of living elsewhere in the world. Our claims to be concerned with raising the standard of living and promoting the cultural life of Native peoples must not be made ineffective because of the grip which monopoly capitalism undoubtedly has upon colonial economy. "If ... we have entered on an avenue of unlimited vistas for the total cultural and educational betterment of these peoples, nothing short of a far greater measure of communal control can safeguard the transition from the promise of sectional profits, which first opened up these regions to us, to the better promise of a full and responsible economy both for them and for ourselves." (p.164.) Finally, it is to be noted that communal control is necessary for the revitalisation of our democracy.

Under modern conditions politics and economics are inextricably interwoven. The question is less one of delineating spheres for these two interests than of determining which is to be subservient to the other. The denial of democracy in the economic realm will stultify the attempt to practise it in the political. "Failure to grapple with the issues of economic control will gradually result in national policy being decided outside the arena of political discussion, and in the consequent weakening of our democratic
institutions. It is this indissoluble nexus between political and economic affairs that seems to force a decision regarding the responsible public control of the means of production." (p.167.)

The Commission is clear as to the limitations as well as the possibilities of economic readjustment. The securing of communal control will not of itself solve any moral problem or release the Christian conscience from vigilance. Nor must another condition of sound social order be overlooked, namely that individual liberty must not be unduly restricted. But there is no necessary incompatibility between the two. "Communal control by no means involves the end of individual initiative and enterprise, nor its enslavement to a soulless bureaucracy." (p.169.) "The real problem before us is so to regulate control that individual initiative can find again its rightful standing-ground within an economy controlled for the common good." (p.170.) On the technical questions involved, such as whether the control is best achieved by State ownership, the creation of public corporations, or simply by increased direction, the Church is not competent to pronounce. Our concern is that both elements should be effective in "planning for freedom".
The document which sets the standard for modern Catholic social witness is the famous Encyclical of Pope Leo XIII, *Rerum Novarum*, which was published in 1891. This "is the Charter of social Catholicism, and stands to that movement in the same relation as the Communist Manifesto of Marx and Engels does to revolutionary Socialism" (Quoted by Hudson & Reckitt, "The Church and the World", Vol.3, p.141).

Since that date there has been a succession of encyclicals and addresses from the papal chair on all the chief topics of Christian sociology. Of those which fall within our period, four may be cited as examples: *Quadragesimo Anno* and *Divini Redemptoris* by Pope Pius XI, and *Summi Pontificatus* and *Sertium Laetitiae* by his successor Pope Pius XII.

(i) *Quadragesimo Anno*, 1931.

Pius XI chose to commemorate the fortieth anniversary of the publication of *Rerum Novarum* by issuing another Encyclical on the Social Order. Its chief concern was to vindicate and explain the earlier document, to reaffirm its general standpoint, and in certain respects to bring it up to date.

The Church's authority in the social and economic spheres is defined. It is not her office to lead men "to transient and perishable happiness only". "But she can
never relinquish her God-given task of interposing her authority, not indeed in matters of technique, for which she has neither the equipment nor the mission, but in all those that fall under the moral law.” (Eng.trans.1946, Catholic Truth Society, p.16.) If the moral law is obeyed, the particular economic ends, whether of individuals or societies, will fall into their natural place within the universal order of ends.

The structure of society which the document envisages is "corporative" in character. Society is conceived as an organism in which the various classes and occupational groups are necessary. Free competition between them will be harmful, for they are interdependent; it is only by fulfilling their own functions that they can serve the life and well-being of the whole. "If then the members of the social body be thus restored, and if a true directive principle of social and economic activity be re-established, it will be possible to say, in a sense, of this body what the Apostle said of the mystical body of Christ: 'From Him the whole body, welded and compacted together throughout every joint of the system, part working in harmony with part - (from him) the body deriveth its increase, unto the building up of itself in charity." (p.35.) There follows an appreciative reference to the economic arrangements of Fascism (which is described as "a special syndical and corporative organization" among whose advantages are
"peaceful collaboration of various classes, repression of socialist organizations and efforts, and the moderating influence of a special magistracy") with a rebuke and a warning against its totalitarian tendencies.

The document makes its most significant contribution in its examination of the modern economic regime and its discussion of socialism. It unhesitatingly points out the difficulty which the concentration of economic power places in the way of true social order. "It is patent that in our days not wealth alone is accumulated, but immense power and despotic economic domination are concentrated in the hands of a few, who for the most part are not the owners, but only the trustees and directors of invested funds which they administer at their own good pleasure." (p.36.) Those who exercise their financial control, through their ability to determine credit, supply "the life-blood to the entire economic body" and grasp in their hands "the very soul of production, so that no one can breathe against their will". This concentration of power has led to a struggle for economic supremacy itself, a battle to acquire control of the State, and it leads eventually to the clash between nations. Its root-cause is the "individualist spirit in economic life". (p.40.)

Socialism is proposed as a remedy for this state of affairs, either in its more violent form, which is Communism, or in its more moderate form, which is Socialism proper.
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Socialism is proposed as a remedy for this state of affairs, either in its more violent form, which is Communism, or in its more moderate form, which is Socialism proper.
The Catholic must reject Socialism, but in fairness to it he will not deny that "its opinions sometimes closely approach the just demands of Christian social reformers". (p.42.) And he will also recognise that "it is rightly contended that certain forms of property must be reserved to the State, since they carry with them a power too great to be left to private individuals without injury to the community at large". (p.43.) Socialism, however, is indicted because it makes material prosperity (and not the glory of God) the chief end of human society, and because it exercises excessive compulsion without recognising the divine origin of true social authority. Socialism is the offspring of liberalism and the progenitor of bolshevism.

It must be frankly admitted that the present social and economic conditions are such as "to create for vast multitudes of souls very serious obstacles in the pursuit of the one thing necessary, their eternal salvation". (p.49.) The temptations to the easy gain of wealth, the many factors which tend to weaken conscience, and the methods of modern advertising, help to foster false values. "A stern insistence on the moral law, enforced with vigour by civil authority, could have dispelled or even averted these enormous evils. This, however, was too often lamentably wanting. For at the time when the new economic order was beginning, the doctrines of rationalism had already taken firm hold of large numbers,
and an economic science alien to the true moral law quickly arose, and consequently free rein was given to man's inordinate desires." (p.51.) Hence men sought wealth by any means, employers treated their workmen as mere tools, and disgraceful housing conditions were tolerated.

The real remedy for this social disorder, which causes such ruin to souls, must be sought primarily through a renewal of the Christian spirit and then through economic arrangements which are consistent with natural law and the Christian ethic. "All those versed in social matters earnestly demand a rational reorganization in order to bring back economic life to sound and true order. But this order... will be quite faulty and imperfect, unless all man's activities harmoniously unite to imitate and, as far as it is humanly possible, attain the marvellous unity of the Divine plan." (p.52.) This implies the recognition of God as the supreme End, and the use of all created goods as instruments to further the attainment of His purpose. Further, the need for charity between the various classes in society must be accepted. The exercise of charity will dispel discontent and prompt people in their various callings to work "usefully and honourably for the common good, each according to his office and function". (p.54.)

The Encyclical concludes by appealing to all Catholics, priests and laity, to work, pray and make sacrifices for the Christian reconstruction of the Social Order.
(ii) Divini Redemptoris 1937.

In this Encyclical the Pope addressed himself to the evils of atheistic communism, the spread of which constitutes a growing danger to civilisation and Christianity.

Communism poses as the saviour of the poor. It holds before men the ideals of justice, equality and the brotherhood of the workers, and it has the power to inspire its adherents with "a counterfeit mysticism". The present extremes of wealth and poverty are conditions favourable to its growth. But it must be clearly recognised that Communism, in whatever guise it may present itself, is based on Marxist materialism. "Such a doctrine obviously leaves no room for the idea of an eternal God, for a distinction between spirit and matter or between body and soul, for the survival of the soul after death, or for any hope of a future life." (Eng.trans.1946, Catholic Truth Society, p.14.)

Moreover, the development of the "dialectical" side of this materialism leads to the accentuation of the difference between the classes in society and to the violence and bloodshed of the "class-war". Communists deprive man of his freedom and dignity: "they deny to individuals all the natural rights which derive from personality and ascribe them to the community." (p.14.) In their view, the first and only source of authority is the State, for they repudiate any divinely constituted authority, even that of parents. Marriage and the family are "a purely civil and artificial
institution, originating in a particular set of economic conditions". (p.15.) Society, on this theory, becomes godless and is based only upon economics. "The only moral code, the only law acknowledged in this society, is that which has its origin in the economic system of the time; earthly in origin, therefore, and subject to constant change. Briefly, the object is to introduce a new order and a new civilization, evolved from the hidden forces of nature, and culminating in a godless human society." (p.16.) When the classless utopia has been achieved, the State (the true nature of which is denied) will be "liquidated".

The spread of Communism is attributed to its extravagant promises; to its exploitation of the present economic crisis, international dissensions and political differences; and to its "diabolically efficient system of propaganda, probably unparalleled in history". (p.18.) But its impiety and its lawlessness will ultimately prevent it from achieving its purposes.

The document recapitulates social doctrine as it is promulgated by the Church, "the true notion of Civitas humana", "the concept of civil society as it is made known to us by reason and revelation". (p.23.) God is to be acknowledged as the sovereign Reality, and man must be credited with his true status as a spiritual and immortal being, and with the rights which follow from the Creator's purpose for him. "In consequence of this God has bestowed
upon him various prerogatives, such as the right to integrity of life and body; the right to acquire the necessities of life and duly pursue the end which God has appointed to him; the right of association, and the right to own and use private property." (p. 24.) The family is to be recognised as rooted in God's will, and not in the economic system. Civil society exists by divine institution. "In the Creator's plan society is the natural means which every citizen can and must use for the attainment of his appointed end; and therefore society exists for the sake of man, and not man for the sake of society. But this principle is not to be understood in the individualistic sense of the liberals, who subordinate the community to the selfish interests of each single citizen. What it means is that their organic union in society enables all citizens, through their mutual collaboration, to attain true earthly prosperity." (p. 24.) The reciprocal duties and rights of man and society are affirmed. Neither can repudiate the other's obligations nor set aside the other's rights.

This doctrine of the Church calls for a renewal of the Christian life, the inculcation of "a spirit of detachment" from worldly wealth on the part of rich and poor alike, the practice of charity, and the pursuit of justice. There is no true charity without justice: doles given out of pity will not exempt a man from his obligations of justice." (p. 38.) Christian employers and industrialists have a special
responsibility. "We know that your task is often a difficult one, burdened as you are with a legacy of error from an unjust economic system which has ruinously affected many generations." (p.39.) But their opportunities for influencing the trend of events, both individually and collectively, lay upon them definite duties.

Christian social action requires the widespread study of Catholic sociology, the taking of precautions against communistic tactics, and continued prayer for God's help in these difficult times. The letter appeals, not only to the Church in its varied missions, but also to the State. "But the Christian State too has its contribution to make to this task, and must aid the Church by all its available means, which, though they are external, cannot but have a primary influence upon the welfare of souls." (p.52.) The part of the State is to implement the principles of social justice, to set an example to citizens by its frugality in public administration, and to do all in its power to remove international economic barriers. But the problem remains basically a spiritual one. The evils of communism can only be countered, and true social order can only be established, by "spiritual re-armament". This requires the freedom of the Church. "We are confident that those who hold the fortunes of peoples in their hands, when once they have appreciated the seriousness of the danger which now threatens every nation, will become more and more convinced
that it is their duty not to hinder the Church in the performance of her task; the more so as the Church, while seeking to secure the everlasting happiness of men, strives also to promote their true welfare in this world." (p.55.)

(iii) Summi Pontificatus, 1939.

This was the first encyclical of Pius XII, and its burden was that "Darkness over the Earth" which has been made by the growth of secularism.

This age "has given birth to great improvements in mechanical science and in the outward comforts of life; but was there ever an age which suffered more from mental starvation, from a deeply-rooted impoverishment of the human soul?" ("The Pope Speaks", p.205.) The cause of our unsettlement and disasters, and the origin of the evils which affect the modern State is the rejection of natural law. "This natural law reposes, as upon its foundation, on the notion of God, the almighty Creator and Father of us all, the supreme and perfect law-giver, the wise and just rewarder of human conduct. When the willing acceptance of the eternal Will is withdrawn, such wilfulness undermines every principle of just action. The voice of nature, which instructs the uninstructed and even those to whom civilization has never penetrated, over the difference between right and wrong, becomes fainter and fainter till it dies away. Nothing is left to remind us that we shall one day have to give an
account of what we have done well or ill before a Judge from whom there is no appeal." (p.214.) This loss of faith in religion leads to the dethroning of Christ and the neglect of his commandments.

Two consequences from this secularism: the denial of human brotherhood, and the repudiation of the divine sanction for civil authority.

The unity of the human race derives from its creation by God: redemption makes possible its building up into one body. Individuals have need of one another, and so have nations. "The Church of Jesus Christ ... is too wise to discourage or belittle those peculiarities and differences which mark out one nation from another. It is quite legitimate for nations to treat those differences as a sacred inheritance and guard them at all costs." (p.219.) But the repudiation of this Christian bond, which aims at fellowship and not uniformity, opens the way to dissensions and strife. This is all too evident in the world to-day.

The other result of secularism is to dissociate civil authority from the Divine Being. "The divine authority, and the influence of its laws, thus set aside, it necessarily follows that the civil power usurps those absolute and irresponsible rights which belong to the Creator alone." (p.223.) The effect of this is seen in the weakening of family life, in the internal life of society and in the international order.
The remedy for this threatened breakdown of social life and of world peace must "stand firmly based on the immovable rock of natural law and divine revelation". (p.233) and this truth Catholic action must bring home to men.

(iv) Sertium Laetitiae, 1939.

This letter was addressed to American Catholicism. Its occasion was the celebration of the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the establishment of the Hierarchy in the United States. Its subject was "True and False Prosperity".

Once again the dangers of materialism are stressed. "Where God's commandments are despised, it does not only mean the loss of whatever happiness lies beyond this short span of mortal life. It means that our specious civilization rests on a tottering basis, and is destined to fall in lamentable ruin. The aspirations which point us to eternity are the sustaining force, the sure foundation, of our temporal happiness too." ("The Pope Speaks", p.253.) The institution of marriage and the social question are again reviewed, and the Catholic teaching concerning them is emphasized.

Note 1. "The Pope's Five Peace Points".

In an address (In Questo Giorno) to the Sacred College of Cardinals on Christmas Eve, 1939, the Pope outlined a plan in which he stipulated the following points as requisite for a just and honourable peace:
1. The assurance to all nations of their right to life and independence. The will of one nation to live must never mean the sentence of death passed upon another. When this equality of rights has been destroyed, attacked, or threatened order demands that reparations shall be made, and the measure and extent of that reparation is determined, not by the sword nor by the arbitrary decision of self-interest, but by the rules of justice and reciprocal equity.

2. This requires that the nations be delivered from the slavery imposed upon them by the race for armaments and from the danger that material force, instead of serving to protect the right, may become an overbearing and tyrannical master. The order thus established requires a mutually agreed organic progressive disarmament, spiritual as well as material, and security for the effective implementing of such an agreement.

3. Some juridical institution which shall guarantee the loyal and faithful fulfilment of conditions agreed upon and which shall in case of recognized need revise and correct them.

4. The real needs and just demands of nations and populations and racial minorities to be adjusted as occasion may require, even where no strictly legal right can be established, and a foundation of mutual confidence to be thus laid, whereby many incentives to violent action will be removed.
5. The development among peoples and their rulers of that sense of deep and keen responsibility which weighs human statutes according to the sacred and inviolable standards of the laws of God. They must hunger and thirst after justice and be guided by that universal love which is the compendium and most general expression of the Christian ideal.

The leaders of English Christianity (the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, the Archbishop of Westminster and the Moderator of the Free Church Federal Council) gave wide publicity to these proposals in a letter to "The Times" on December 21st, 1940, adding to them five further standards by which economic situations and proposals should be tested:

1. Extreme inequality in wealth and possessions should be abolished;

2. Every child, regardless of race or class, should have equal opportunities of education, suitable for the development of his peculiar capacities;

3. The family as a social unit must be safeguarded;

4. The sense of a Divine vocation must be restored to man's daily work;

5. The resources of the earth should be used as God's gifts to the whole human race, and used with due consideration for the needs of the present and future generations.
Note 2. **Roman Catholic and Protestant Co-operation in Christian social witness.**

At the beginning of the period we have reviewed a measure of Roman Catholic and Protestant co-operation in Christian social witness was possible. For example, Catholics were associated (certain conditions being stipulated) with C.O.P.E.C. at its inception, and they had representatives on its Commissions. But in 1928 an Encyclical (Mortalium Animos) forbade Catholic collaboration in "Pan-Christiant" enterprise. Since that date no official co-operation has been possible, although (as, for example, in the preparatory work of the Oxford Conference) there has been an interchange of thought between Protestant and Catholic scholars.
V. **SIGNIFICANT TRENDS IN CHRISTIAN SOCIOLOGY**

**AS SHOWN BY CHANGING ATTITUDES TO ABIDING PROBLEMS.**

We have finished our review of the chief contributions to Christian Sociology between the two wars. They have come, as we have seen, from the writings of individuals, the work of the great conferences and the corporate pronouncements of the churches. We must now try to see the direction in which Christian thought has moved. Four groups of problems have persistently engaged the attention of Christian thinkers, namely those associated with economics, education, politics and the international order. These we shall consider in turn; but our aim will be, not to enumerate particular problems or to discuss them in detail, but briefly to record significant changes in the approach of Christian thought to them. In this way the trend of sociological thinking will become evident.

We shall therefore endeavour to estimate the main changes in the Christian approach to:-

(i) Problems arising from the Economic Order.
(ii) Problems arising from the concern with Education.
(iii) Problems arising out of the relation between Church and State.
(iv) Problems arising out of the relation between the Church and the World of Nations.
(1) **Problems arising from the Economic Order.**

Throughout our period the fundamental Christian principles have been clearly seen and consistently advocated. That the Christian message has a social reference has been accepted as a starting-point. That truths derived from the Christian faith and teaching - the sanctity of the human personality, the membership of all men in the family of God, the primacy of the motive of service, the fact of mutual responsibility and the possibility of redeeming human relationships - must be incorporated into the economic structure is clear to the Christian conscience.

In at least two particulars a widening of the Christian vision can be noted. Christian people became increasingly aware of the geographical extent of the problems. C.O.P.E.C. stimulated British Christianity to a recognition that there are features in the existing economic order which must cause grave concern to the Christian mind and occasion searching perplexity in the Christian conscience. Stockholm performed a similar function for a large part of Continental Christianity. And the two missionary conferences, Jerusalem and Tambaram, brought home the fact that the issues which the Christian has to face are met, not only in the Western hemisphere, but throughout the modern world. But the Christian mind also came to a growing consciousness of the depth of the evils in the economic order. An attempt has
been made in all the responsible utterances in the period we have reviewed to state fairly the benefits given to men by the modern economic organisation, and to assess truly the potentialities for good which it holds. But the evils inherent in that system have been faced with deepening incisiveness. C.O.P.E.C. could begin its criticism of modern industrial conditions by pointing out the relatively high number of industrial accidents, the incidence of occupational diseases, and the destruction of much natural beauty; it could plead for such modifications of the industrial and economic system as would lessen the contrast between the extremes of wealth and poverty, and bring capital and labour into a more effective partnership. (And what was said at C.O.P.E.C. was necessary and relevant.)

Jerusalem could call men to repentance for the dominance of the profit motive. But at Oxford the Christian conscience was thoroughly aroused by the acquisitiveness, the inequalities, the irresponsible possession of economic power, and the frustration of the Christian sense of vocation which were then seen to be necessarily involved in the economic system we have known, and which could not be remedied without changing the system itself.

But the most significant trend of thought has yet to be stated. At the beginning of our period it was assumed to be sufficient that the pressure of Christianity should be brought
to bear upon the motives of the various groups of people within the economic system: by the end it was becoming evident that Christianity must define the purposes which any economic system must serve. This is a change which will have far-reaching consequences for Christian Sociology. It means that the Christian judgment can never again regard the present or any alternative economic system as existing in its own right, and needing only to be penetrated with goodwill and spiritually-minded individuals. The whole realm of economic activity must become subordinate to man's spiritual status and serve purposes compatible with his true destiny. This is a genuine illumination. How, under modern conditions, economics and industry can be so ordered as to give expression to this fundamental Christian requirement is difficult to determine. But a truth has emerged in the light of which further work can be done.

(ii) Problems arising from the concern with Education.

Here the trend of thought is from the optimism that education is a key placed in Christian hands so that the Gospel may be admitted into every human interest, to the realism that education is a microphone through which Christianity is sometimes allowed to speak a message to a human race already bewildered by the confusion of many voices.

In the optimistic phase the dominant view was that through education men and women can become integrated
personalities, rightly adjusted to society. Education will prevent men from making the mistakes which have marred the past: it will enable them to solve all their problems, including the difficult international ones. Christianity must therefore guide the educational process. This calls for the initiative of the Church in sending religiously minded teachers into the schools, and in providing education, generously interpreted, through its own activities. This optimism probably reached its climax at Jerusalem where it was stated that "evangelism denotes the Christian purpose; religious education describes the normal method of its fulfilment" (Jerusalem Report, Vol.2, p.59).

The change to realism had taken place by the time of the Oxford Conference. It was then recognised that both community and State have an interest in education, and that the State in particular makes a claim (sometimes an exclusive one) on its resources. Two significant developments have taken place in Christian awareness. One is a realisation of the extent to which the community itself is an educator. The values and purposes implicit in a community's life, in its homes, its economic life, its amusements, are transmitted to its children and its youth: if they conflict with the formal education given in its schools and churches it is the formal education which proves the weaker force. The other is a recognition of the way in which the State has demonstrated
its ability to take over many departments of human life which were formerly regarded as the province of the Church, and to use all the powerful modern techniques of education to fashion men and women after patterns of behaviour and culture of its own devising.

This realism has led to a profound change in the kind of question which is in the Christian mind. At the beginning of our period it was, "How can Christianity direct education, this mighty force for good?" At the end it was, "How can we secure a recognition of the Christian values in these mighty modern forces which, for good and ill, are educating men and women and the children entrusted to them?"

(iii) Problems arising out of the relation between the Church and State.

In the discussion of this wide range of problems over the years which saw the rise of the totalitarian regimes, one need has very clearly emerged. This is for the clarification of Christian thought in its conception of the State's function and powers. It is interesting to note that at C.O.P.E.C. one of the most animated discussions arose over a resolution which was originally phrased in the following terms: "The State is ordained by God for the purpose of binding men together in a justly ordered social life, and its authority ought to be loyally accepted by
Christians. The authority of the State is limited by its function, but ought only to be challenged in the name of God." The amendment which eventually secured the agreement of the Conference read: "The purpose of the State is to bind men together in a justly ordered social life and its authority is to be generally accepted by Christians ... The authority of the State is limited by its functions, and ought to be challenged by the Christian conscience only in the name of God." (Proceedings of C.O.P.E.C. pp.218-27 passim.) Ten years later Christian leaders were constrained to confer together on "The Church and the Modern Problem of the State" (Paris 1934), and at Oxford it was an obvious record of all-too-familiar experience to say: "One of the outstanding facts in the present world-situation is the increasing significance of the State in the total life of mankind."

Christian thought is not yet adjusted to the modern development of the State. The Catholic has a philosophy of the State which is based on the idea of Natural Law. This means both that there is a divine purpose for the State (to which existing States approximate in varying degrees) and that this divine purpose is fully disclosed in the revelation vouchsafed to the Church, which has the responsibility of seeing that it is fulfilled. The secular State is therefore the organ of the Church. The Church is prepared to give the State a free hand in matters of lesser
importance, but in all disputed questions it claims the higher authority. This is the Roman Catholic view. But it cannot be carried out under modern conditions. The State will not relinquish its autonomy and become subordinate to the Church. The Protestant does not fare any better in the contemporary world. In Protestant thought, the State exists alongside the Church. God has given to it powers and functions which are in general to be deduced from Romans 13. 1-7. These are succinctly described by Brunner in "The Divine Imperative". "The State is a divine order, instituted as a power of coercion on account of sin; its aim is the creation of order and the establishment of external justice; the Christian is therefore bound to yield obedience to it, even to a bad State and an unjust system of law, excepting when the State would try to force him to disobey God." (ch.36, note 7, p.681.) This is a workable conception, so long as the spheres of Church and State are separate and clearly defined. But the position has obviously to be re-thought when the modern State, even in its "welfare" forms, is prepared to assume complete responsibility for its citizens from the cradle to the grave, not only catering for their physical and mental health, their working life, their recreations and leisure, but also determining the standards and values by which they live. The position now is not simply that the State has a monopoly of physical force for
the restraint of evil: it can also assume a virtual monopoly of those beneficent activities and means of persuasion which can give it control over the entire temporal life of man. There are no longer two sharply defined spheres.

The formulation of an adequate Christian doctrine of the modern State will possibly be long delayed. But it would seem that Christians have at least five practical duties which, if they are faithfully discharged, will in the course of time point the way to an underlying theory:

(1) Even where the areas of co-operation between Church and State are wide, Christian loyalty must be critical. Christian teaching must constantly affirm the State's responsibility to God and the reality of His Sovereignty. The Christian mind must be informed of the State's "demonic" as well as of its "divine" potentialities.

(2) Christians must maintain an unceasing vigilance for the essential liberty of the human personality. It is the integrity of the individual which is threatened by every change in the social pattern and the constant shifting of power from one group to another. Often the threat is made in subtle and sometimes in unintentional ways. But the Church must be ready to discern what is happening to man, to safeguard his status as it is revealed in the Gospel and to affirm his eternal destiny.

(3) The Church must help to preserve a healthy tension between the community and the individual. The community needs to produce men and women who are at one with its
traditions, who share its purposes and further its aims. This the modern State effectively secures. But the individual needs to develop his own God-given potentialities and to live creatively. The Church must interpret individual and community to each other. (4) The Church must teach the individual that he is the real bearer of values. This implies that there is a point at which the individual for the sake of another loyalty must maintain his integrity against the claims of the State and protest certain values from its domination. This is "conscientious objection" more widely understood than the plea for exemption from military service. It includes the obligation of the artist, the philosopher and the scientist to regard beauty, truth and knowledge as ends in themselves, and never to allow the pursuit of them to become a matter of State-direction designed to secure results which simply conform with purposes already determined by the State. Finally, (5) the Church must, alike in its universal and its local manifestations, demonstrate (and not merely proclaim) the pattern of genuine community in which the various problems of human relations are solved in fellowship. Dr. C.H. Dodd remarked that "the Christian Church was the biggest attempt to create a real community within the amorphous society of the Roman world" ("The Meaning of Paul for To-day", p.153). So to-day, it is in the Church's achievement of community that its answer will be given to the modern State, for the modern State is a
searching after a real community in the broken society of the contemporary world.

If the Church performs these duties, it will ensure that totalitarian tendencies do not overstep their limits, and (where the government is not anti-Christian) it will achieve a modus vivendi with the modern State which is more important at the present time than the formulation of a correct doctrine.

(iv) Problems arising out of the relation between the Church and the World of Nations.

In this set of problems a development of thought is not easily discerned. Throughout the period there has been a recognition of the Christian duty to work for the peaceful co-operation of the nations. In the earlier years there was evidence of a sincere and widespread desire to support the League of Nations, and a not unwarranted optimism that war could be banished from the world. The Christian Church advocated the reduction of armaments by agreement, the speedy redress of legitimate grievances, recourse to the International Court of Justice for the settlement of disputes, measures to improve the economic relations between the nations, and other steps which would establish international confidence and peace. In the decade immediately after the first world war, the Christian Church had a record of work and witness for peace of which it needs not to be ashamed.
In this period, too, the foundations of "friendship between the Churches" were laid, on which a deeper ecumenicity could later be built.

But in looking back over these years the truth of V.A. Demant's words is brought home: "It is surprising and distressing that Christian thinkers have made so little use of the specific Christian understanding of human nature in expressing the Church's concern for the solution of the problem of war. This failure is twofold. First, Christians have been content to see war as a directly moral problem, the consequence of the conscious will of nations and peoples; they have been impressed with the terrible results of war, but they have not detected its tragic nature, the tragedy of its origin ... The second reason why there is so little distinctive Christian understanding of war is simply that there is little understanding of the specifically Christian Gospel. Christians have based their peace efforts on the assumption that war is within the sphere of conscious and moral ideals, whereas they should have known that war persists to-day in defiance of very widespread desires for 'no more war'. And Christians should have seen that this is the very kind of problem which the Christian Revelation has especially understood and met." He adds, after stressing the world's need for redemption, as distinct from moral ideals or good advice: "But the need for redemption in man as such should have put our Christian workers for peace on to a much surer
track than they have hitherto found." ("The Universal Church and the World of Nations", pp.171-2.)

In the years which saw a worsening international situation the churches were drawn closer together, and at Oxford a new note was sounded. Then, under the menace of war, it was affirmed that, in the event of actual hostilities between the nations, the Church's fellowship must not be broken. And it is well known that at Tambaram Christian members of belligerent nations found fellowship with each other in conference, worship and at the Communion of the Lord's Supper.

A comment must be made upon the pacifist issue. This is not the place to recapitulate the arguments put forward by both sides of the controversy; rather must we ask whether a synthesis of both insights can be found. For both the Christian pacifist and the Christian non-pacifist affirm truth, and neither point of view can be dismissed as irrelevant or unworthy. But it would be a misfortune and a mistake if the impression were left that Christianity offers a choice between two equally valid positions, and the individual is free to choose which he will adopt. The first step toward a synthesis is to take seriously the idea of vocation, which is deeply rooted in the Christian tradition and experience. This will mean that a Christian who becomes a pacifist ought to be as sure that God has called him to this witness as the minister or the missionary is of his calling, and by the same tokens of inward constraint: and it will
also mean that the Christian who actively engages in the awful tasks of war, if the occasion arises, ought to be able to say from his heart: "God help me; I can no other." The acceptance of vocation will ensure that Christ is not divided, nor His Church dishonoured, by this controversy, for Christians of different vocations can find fellowship together. But it will also enable the Christian Church to be used redemptively, for surely it is only as Christian people are obedient in that whereto they are called that God can use them to further His own purposes. But the more distant synthesis would seem to be in the growth of the oecumenical consciousness and the achievement of visible unity in the Church's universal fellowship. Even to-day, when our denominations are embarrassed by the division between pacifist and non-pacifist, our missionary societies are hardly aware of it.

The Church's problems are nowhere more acute and its practical tasks are nowhere more formidable than in the world of nations. The making and maintenance of peace, the work of healing and reconciliation, the commending of the Christian faith to all peoples - these are tasks of alarming magnitude. But it is by the Church's witness in the world of nations that the efficacy of Christianity as a religion of redemption will be proved and the supernatural resources of the Gospel be vindicated.
CONCLUSION. THE PLACE OF CHRISTIAN SOCIOLOGY
IN THE THEOLOGICAL DISCIPLINES.

In the period we have reviewed, the scope of Christian Sociology has been defined. The "Life and Work" part of the oecumenical movement has reached a common mind concerning the range of problems in which issues are raised for the Christian conscience; in the light of Christian judgment it has made an analysis of the world situation in which the Church is set; it has learnt to recognize the validity of the differing standpoints and approaches which derive from historic theological convictions and ecclesiastical traditions; and it has patiently discovered methods of fruitful co-operation. Certain broad features can be discerned in the development of the movement. Since C.O.P.E.C. optimism about an easy and rapid victory for the "Kingdom of God" has declined. It has yielded to a growing awareness of the complexity of our problems and the power of evil in the human heart. At the beginning of our period the Church regarded itself as somewhat detached from the society which was wrestling with political and economic problems, and was inclined to be didactic in its attitude; at the end of it, the Church knew itself to be deeply involved in the stress and agony of the world situation, and it was prepared to call its own members, no less than other men, to repentance and
to God. A further characteristic of the movement has been the serious attempt to form a Christian judgment on problems as they have arisen: the living wage, housing, unemployment, the establishment of peace, nationalism, to name but a few examples, have all in their turn claimed the serious attention of the Christian mind. Individual thinkers and Christian communions have been deeply concerned to discover the will of God in every phase of a constantly changing contemporary situation. But it has also to be observed that the oecumenical movement has so far been almost entirely a leaders' movement: it has not yet had any clearly discernible effect upon laymen in general or upon the local church. The ordinary church member is usually ignorant of the common Christian judgment which has been reached on major political and economic questions by the oecumenical leaders. Local churches are but dimly aware of their membership in "the World Church". These facts point to an obvious task which must be taken up by the oecumenical movement in its future development.

Our period has also seen Christian Sociology securing itself upon a theological basis; It was said of C.O.P.E.C. that "theologically ... this gathering was at its weakest ... The heart of the Conference was stronger than its head ... " (The "Commonwealth", May 1924). Such a comment could not justly be made upon Malvern. In the intervening years
there has been a growing realization that the teaching of Jesus cannot be isolated and offered as exhortation or legislation to men in general, nor can it be "applied" simpliciter to modern problems. The teaching of Jesus must be related both to theology and to the Church. Theological work has therefore been done upon the doctrines of man and redemption, and upon the place of the Church in the Providential Order. Against this background the Christian social judgment is discovered and the Christian social witness is made. Christian Sociology therefore becomes much more than ethical appeal; it takes its place among the theological disciplines.

This status of Christian Sociology can be regarded as established. But our period has brought to light indications of further theological work which requires to be done. It is true that the oecumenical movement will not be greatly furthered without the achievement of a common Christian mind on the questions raised by the "Faith and Order" emphasis; but on the "Life and Work" side, too, progress would seem to depend upon theological clarification. Three examples may be given of the type of question which is raised by our survey.

(a) The question of "nature" and "grace" continues to raise issues for Christian Sociology. Catholic theology builds an impressive edifice of social teaching upon the
foundation of "Natural Law": the modern Protestant reaction against liberalism, as exemplified in Karl Barth, rejects entirely the conception of Natural Law. On this latter view the term "Christian civilization" or "Christendom" can have little or no meaning. The central question raised by this divergence concerns the nature and extent of God's Revelation to mankind of His will and purpose.

(b) It seems that a theological status for "humanism" is required. Once again the question is whether the Christian revelation is a revelation only to Christians. Liberalism invited the reason and conscience of men to recognize in the life and teaching of Jesus a manifestation of God's activity. The most recent tendency in theology appears to regard the life of Jesus as a revelation of God only after it has been recognized as uniquely God's act, His "breaking in" upon the world. This raises the question whether the only valid Christian approach to the unevangelised world is the dogmatic exposition of orthodox faith. If it is, then the work done in education, leadership of youth and social service, even where it is Christian in intention, must in fact be denied the Christian name. But is it not legitimate to draw out for contemporary culture the implications of what "certain even of your own poets have said", as well as to expound "the faith which was once for all delivered unto the saints"?
(c) A matter which seems to require further consideration is the need for a theological authority by which we can appeal to the teaching of Jesus. One of the great achievements of liberalism was to recover the "Jesus of History" and to recognize the importance of His teaching. If it be true that we are now in a position, as a result of this scholarship, to know Jesus more directly than any generation has known Him since His original disciples, it is difficult to believe that this is other than in the providence of God. But the recent emphasis on Christ's Person and Work often excludes all reference to His teaching. It is one thing to see that the teaching of Jesus cannot be isolated and made into an ethical system; it is quite another virtually to ignore that teaching. If in Jesus "the Word became flesh and dwelt among us", we cannot regard His words as unimportant: and if we "glory in the Cross" and "preach Christ crucified", we cannot dismiss as irrelevant the moral choices which led Jesus to Calvary. What is needed is a theological investigation into the relation between the teaching of Jesus and the revelation which God gave to the world in Him. What is the part of Christ's uttered words in the saving act which God effected in Him?

These three questions are all concerned with Revelation. This is the doctrine upon which further theological work must chiefly be done in order that the ecumenical movement
may take its next step forward. The further underpinning of the Christian ethic (both individual and social) by theology will be made by clearer insight into the nature and method of God's revelation of Himself to men.

Christian Sociology has now an assured place in the theological disciplines. Its relation to theology is somewhat analogous to that of the philosophy of theism. Theism is an interpretation of the universe: it has its own presuppositions, problems and history. The philosophy of theism critically examines these presuppositions, endeavours to meet the problems, faces difficulties and objections, defends its position against opponents, and exposes the inadequacies of rival philosophies. Its task is to commend the Idea of God. Its purpose is to consolidate the position that men can reasonably believe in God. Its work is therefore prolegomena to theology. Theology derives from Christianity as a living and historical religion, and expounds and commends the accepted Christian faith. Its concern is with the content of belief. Christian Sociology similarly has its own presuppositions: it accepts the theological view of human life, the Christian revelation of the nature and purpose of God. It has its own range of problems; they arise from a constantly changing social structure. It has to defend the Christian ethic against the attacks of rival systems; these, too, change from
generation to generation. And it has its own history: from New Testament times until the present day the Christian Church has formulated its social teaching and made its social witness.

It has been our endeavour to review the material which forms the latest chapter in this history, and to record the main trends of Christian Sociology in the momentous years between the great World Wars. In these two decades God has assuredly spoken to His Church. Amid the vociferous declamation of ideologies, He has quietly called His people to deeper faith. In an epoch of change and upheaval, He has led them to firmer unity in their testimony to "the Kingdom that cannot be shaken". Once again, as has often happened in the past, the age which has seen the breaking down of accepted stabilities has also seen "the building up of the Body of Christ".