ABSTRACT OF THESIS

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Title of Thesis "A Critical Survey of the Ecclesiastical Pronouncements in the Economic and Industrial Field during the past Sixty-Five Years, (Rerum Novarum to Evanston)".

Introduction - the scope, method, and purpose of the thesis and acknowledgements.

PART I

A SURVEY OF THE PRONOUNCEMENTS

Chapter I. The Papal Pronouncements on Economic-Industrial Life: Background, summary and general reception of.

Chapter II. The Protestant Social Movement from 1848-1910: Social Christianity from Maurice to the first Church Pronouncements. Factors that led the Church into this field and a discussion of the authority of the statements.

Appendix A - Protestant Social Organizations to World War I and and Introductory Study of German and French Protestant Social Movements.

Appendix B - A Chronological Chart of Social Christianity.

Chapter III. The Protestant Church Pronouncements on Economic-Industrial Life: A survey with comments and some criticism of particular documents. Some discussion of reception and of the authority claimed for the statements.

PART II

A CRITICAL EVALUATION OF CHRISTIAN POSITIONS

Chapter IV. A Critical Analysis of the Positions of the Churches In Economic Life and Industrial Problems: The subject matter of the pronouncements is dicussed after an introduction. Areas of agreement are pointed up and two general areas are opened for discussion, property, and the structure of society. Within these broad areas other matters such as equality, rights, technics, etc. are evaluated both from Protestant and Roman viewpoints.

Chapter V. The Theological Basis for Christian Pronouncements: Three schools are considered: The ethics of law, The ethics of transcendence, and the ethics of approximation. Under these headings, Roman Catholic and Protestant Natural Law theories, Christian Sociology, Lutheran Dualism and Barthian ethics of analogy, and the relative positions of Brunner, Niebuhr, Temple, and Oldham. Guiding principles middle axioms, and casuistry considered. Oxford Conference seen as representing ethics of approximation.

Chapter VI. Christian Hope and The Responsible Church - A Conclusion: The idea of the Kingdom of God and eschatology and the relation of this to ethics. The marks of a Responsible Church working toward a Responsible Society. Concluding remarks.

Appendices - described above.

Bibliography

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A CRITICAL SURVEY OF THE ECCLESIASTICAL PRONOUNCEMENTS IN THE ECONOMIC AND INDUSTRIAL FIELD DURING THE PAST SIXTY-FIVE YEARS (RERUM NOVARUM TO EVANSTON)

A THESIS

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TO BRENDA

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INTRODUCTION

The title of this thesis clearly states the nature of our study. During the past sixty-five years, the Church has met the challenges of an industrial age by pronouncements covering a whole range of social and cultural subjects. To survey all that the Church has put forth would stagger the efforts of the most imaginative mind. It has been our choice to consider only those statements or parts of pronouncements which touch on the economic and industrial field. That leaves whole areas of life untouched: questions concerning education, the family, and politics, to mention a few. However, to study the pronouncements, even within a limited area, is to come into contact with the Church's thinking on matters of social justice ranging through all of life. Insofar as it is possible to compartmentalize life, by speaking of the political sphere or the cultural sphere or the economic sphere, we shall stay closely in the latter area, with the realization that it is an artificial distinction accepted only for the purposes of more intensive understanding of all human problems.

The terminus a quo is fixed by the promulgation of the most famous of papal encyclicals, Rerum Novarum, dated May, 1891. In order to place the Roman Catholic and Protestant pronouncements in their proper setting, we shall conduct a brief survey of the previous historical period, from about

1848 until 1891.

The terminus ad quem is set by the present time, or more particularly by the Second Assembly of the World Council of Churches in Evanston, August 1954.

Further limitation of scope is imposed by the impossibility of including all parts of the mass of material. In addition to the Papal Encyclicals, the Ecumenical statements will be surveyed, and also some of the denominational reports in Great Britain and America, or the 'Anglo-Saxon' West. The denominations included will be : Methodist, Presbyterian, Congregationalist, and Episcopalian (or Church of England under the Lambeth Conferences). These denominational groups will be referred to only when they have introduced something new or when they have expanded some important emphasis already made in an Ecumenical statement. The term 'Ecumenical' will be used broadly to cover national Church conferences and councils which include several denominations, and the World Council of Churches.

Not in any sense should this survey take the place of direct reference to the pronouncements themselves. On the other hand, reference to a survey may help to keep the teaching of the past in proper perspective. Because the social position of the Church constitutes part of her teaching ministry, and includes an important part of the proclamation

of the Gospel, it is important that we be aware of the great social teaching of the past.

A further purpose is to put these pronouncements under critical analysis, to see where the teaching has fallen short, where it can and must be strengthened, and to examine the theological basis for an ethic, to relate the ethical command with the promise we have in Christ, who gives us hope. From the purely historical viewpoint, we shall see that the Roman Catholic teaching follows a fairly consistent line of thought, yet with some amazing divergences which indicate not only that Rome is seeking desperately for solutions, but also that she is willing to accommodate herself and her thinking if conditions demand it. We shall see that Protestant social thinking, growing up over a century, reached a turning point at the Conference on Church, Community and State held at Oxford in 1937. That was the time when the Church realized more than ever what it means to be the Church. Amsterdam and Evanston, the First and Second Assemblies of the World Council of Churches, have been able to reach the heights they have because of Oxford.

Part of our thesis will be that the Church has effectively translated the command of Christ to love our neighbor into terms which we can understand, but that she has not related to this command a clear promise. We look for a hope, that the responsible social action will lead not only to abundant life for him who answers the command, but also that society will

reach some fulfillment as a result of our efforts, and moreover, by the transforming power which Christ will exercise in the consummation of His Kingdom. In line with the Church's continuing obligation to define and redefine the obligations placed upon the individual and upon society, future pronouncements must vitalize this element of Christian hope.

In pursuing our critical study, we will divide the work into two parts, one a survey and the other a critical analysis. In Part I, the encyclicals and pronouncements will be introduced by short historical treatments, into which we may set the tradition of Christian social teaching. It is important that we realize the significance of our small part, only sixty-five years, in the whole. The appendices to Chapter Two will help further to relate the social pronouncements to the main stream of thought within the Church.

Part II will hold up the subject matter of the pronouncements to critical analysis. Some criticism will be expressed in Part I with regard to particular pronouncements. To do anything more extensive would duplicate the kind of criticism found in the secular and religious press after many of the Church conferences. It would be repetitious to go over the same territory. In addition to the more sociological and economic analysis, we will make a short study of the theological and eschatological presuppositions and bases for making pronouncements. In the theological analysis,

we will feel free to draw in contemporary theologians to help illumine our discussion. In one case, we will review a position which we feel might undercut the making of pronouncements, if it were accepted by the Church. Thus it is that other material than the social statements will be introduced to help view the pronouncements from a perspective. To analyze or to criticize, we must stand someplace ourselves.

Acknowledgements: I am especially thankful for the use of the facilities provided by the New College Library, to the staff of the National Library of Scotland, and the Brown Ecumenical Library, Union Theological Seminary, and to Mademoiselle M.V. Weymarn for special favors extended in the use of the Library of the World Council of Churches, Geneva.

Many thanks are due also to Miss T.R. Leslie, who has been so faithful to set me a true course through all the administrative tangles and 'red tape' so necessary to the running of any modern institution; to the Very Reverend John Baillie for giving me opportunity to tap his wealth of knowledge in many conversations and lectures; to Dr. John A. Lamb who, as Librarian, has directed me through the mazes of the New College Library, and who, as my adviser, has spent long hours and has encouraged me in ways beyond his knowing; and to Professor William S. Tyndal, my professorial adviser, whose wise advice and incisive criticism have been an inspiration and a constant help.

Thanks are due to many unnamed individuals and groups

who have helped and inspired me in many ways: my teachers, my parishioners, my associates, my friends, and my family. Many of these questions have been discussed with great heat and animation in classrooms, in students' 'digs', on street corners, on shipboard, and, more than any other place, within my family; and it is to my parents that my greatest appreciation goes, for their example of 'social passion' grounded in a vitally deep Christian faith. Beyond all of these personal acknowledgements extends the gratitude and recognition expressed in the Dedication.

J.P.F.

PART I

A SURVEY OF THE PRONOUNCEMENTS

CHAPTER ONE

THE PAPAL PRONOUNCEMENTS ON ECONOMIC-INDUSTRIAL LIFE

> 'All who have their health and their eyes at service,
> And limbs with which to labor, and who live as lollers,
> Live against God's law and the law of the Holy Church.'[1]
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> * * * *
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> 'The Church works in two levels. She is never the state. She is not the police, nor a sanitary engineer, nor a bricklayer, nor a builder, nor a plumber. Marriage, having children, education, proper clothes, decent behaviour, the plumber - all these things are good things, but they are not religion. The essence of religion is the supernatural life.'[2]

GENERAL BACKGROUND

The Popes, as heads of the Roman Catholic Church, fulfil one of their most important functions when they take opportunity to exercise their teaching office. In social thinking, the Popes have reached an audience far greater than the number of their faithful adherents, since issues of social justice know no human divisions or artificial barriers. By addressing the faithful, but ultimately by being heard by the world, the Vatican deserves our attention for the sake of self-interest as well as of historical inquiry. We need to examine any statement which may effect solutions to economic and industrial problems, in the light of its

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1. William Langland, The Vision of Piers Plowman, trans. and ed. by Henry W.Wells with introduction by Nevil Coghill, (London: Sheed and Ward, 1938), Passus VII, p.93, ll. 127-129.
2. Friedrich (Baron) von Hugel, Letters from Baron Friedrich von Hugel to a Niece, ed. with introduction by Gwendolyn Green, (London: J.M.Dent & Sons Ltd., 1950), quoted from von Hugel in the introduction, pp. xxx-xxxi.

own origin, purpose, and practical possibilities. Our chapter survey proposes to blend into convenient form for study the economic-industrial teaching of the Popes which has appeared in their official pronouncements.

There are many ways for the Pope to publish his pronouncements. These pronouncements are called Papal Bulls, a name taken from the seal, or bulla, which is used for all official papal documents. Among the various kinds of bullae, including constitutions, encyclicals, decrees, decretals, rescripts, and privileges, we are interested mainly in the encyclicals. (Certain speeches on special occasions, though not carrying the impress of the official seal, are authoritative and will also be quoted.)[3]

An encyclical is a letter written by the Pope to all the bishops of the Roman Catholic Church throughout the world, or sometimes to the bishops of a particular country.[4] It is a 'circular letter' whose

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3. The Pope speaks in many ways in addition to those already mentioned. Certain 'allocutions' are addressed to the College of the Cardinals and are later made public. They are usually concerned with the relations of various states with the Holy See. Many times the Pope is called upon to address Catholic organizations. At other times, he may take the occasion of some Church anniversary or event in the ecclesiastical calendar to state his views. These sources are all considered authoritative for the believer, though they do not pretend to be infallible statements. In addition, there are indirect channels which reveal the Pope's mind. Osservatore Romano, the official Vatican newspaper, is one of these. Frequently, when a council of cardinals or bishops, or even a single cardinal or bishop, speaks, the message is assumed to be known to the Vatican. The present work will refer to some of these sources; for, although they seldom have the same authority as the encyclicals, they provide essential material for consideration.

4. Herbert Thurston, in the Catholic Encyclopedia, (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1908), Vol. V, p.413. Encyclicals are concerned with the welfare of the Church at large. They 'condemn error', 'point out dangers which threaten faith or morals', 'exhort the faithful to constancy', or 'prescribe remedies for evils foreseen or already existent'

contents become known to the world, as well as to the entire Church.

It is also of interest to note that the title of an encyclical is the first two or three words in the body of the letter. Rerum Novarum, the first two words of a letter by Leo XIII. in 1891, is known popularly in English as 'The Worker's Charter'. Most papal letters are designated by Latin titles, though some have names in other languages, depending upon the country addressed.

The Vatican Council of 1870 declared that the Pope, when he speaks ex cathedra, is infallible in all matters pertaining to faith and morals. This ruling can never be revoked: it is irreformabile. Thus the Pope cannot make a mistake or teach error when he speaks ex cathedra. By virtue of his office and apostolic authority as Supreme Shepherd, he intentionally and manifestly defines a doctrine of faith and morals which must be held by the whole Church.[5] The teaching of the Pope in this instance is called the 'extraordinary magisterial teaching of the Church' because it receives the 'grace of infallibility'. Such grace belongs also to the ecumenical councils whose pronouncements have the approval and authority of the Pope. 'The ordinary teaching of bishops of the Church, taken together, is infallible when in agreement with the accepted teachings of the Church...'[6]

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5. The National Catholic Almanac for 1953 (Paterson, N.J.: Saint Anthony's Guild, 1953), p. 227.
6. Ibid., p. 227-228.

An encyclical is the means by which the Pope exercised the 'ordinary' teaching of the Church. The contents of an encyclical do not necessarily bind the Church by the exercise of the infallible power and seal. 'The degree in which the infallible magisterium of the Holy See is committed must be judged from the circumstances, and from the language used in the particular case.' [7] When the infallible teachings of the Church are stated, to this extent, the encyclical letters are infallible. The teachings are not mere opinions which anyone is free to hold or reject at will.[8]

Pope Pius XII., in the recent encyclical Humani Generis, 'False Trends in Modern Teaching', defined the matter more clearly. Theologians, he suggested, may speculate over unsettled questions. But as soon as they are settled, dogma is fixed. Further, Pius XII. stated:

> 'Nor, is it to be supposed that a position advanced in an encyclical does not, ipso facto, claim assent. In writing them, it is true, the Pope does not exercise their teaching to the full. But such statements come under the day-to-day teaching of the Church....For the most part the positions advanced, the duties inculcated, by these encyclical letters are already bound up, under some other title, with the general body of Catholic teaching. And when the Roman Pontiffs go out of their way to pronounce on some subject which has hitherto been controverted, it must be clear to everybody that, in the mind and intention of the Pontiff concerned, this subject can no longer be regarded as a matter of free debate among theologians.' [9]

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7. The Catholic Encyclopedia, op.cit., p.414. In December, 1951, in Ireland, a Franciscan Monk told the writer that some Church circles consider that Pope Pius XI., in his encyclical on marriage Casti Connubii, doesin one place speak infallibly, or that his words are so strong as to have the same effect. It is interesting to see that at least one part of one encyclical may have the effect of a pronouncement ex cathedra.

8. Etienne Gilson in the introduction to The Church Speaks to the Modern World - (The Teachings of Leo XIII.) (Garden City, N.Y.: Image Books, Doubleday & Co. Inc.,1954), p.3-5 - has a very good discussion of this matter and the difference between the ordinary and extraordinary teaching of the Church.

9. Pope Pius XII., Humani Generis, trans. by Mgr.Ronald A.Knox.(London: Catholic Truth Society, 1950),p.11.

Many of the pronouncements coming from the Holy See are related to socio-economic life, in which area the Pope does not presume to speak finally. His desire is rather to state certain principles which should govern life in modern society. Leo XIII., for example, speaks in Rerum Novarum of the necessity of a 'just wage' as a recompense for honest work, but he does not define specifically what is a 'just wage'. When asked to speak more concretely, he refused to do so, feeling it to be the responsibility of men trained in the appropriate sciences of sociology and economics to decide the particular basis of an equitable wage. As far as the principles are concerned, the Pope has spoken, and 'this subject can no longer be regarded as a matter of free debate....'In other words, there shall be a just wage. That principle is established, whether defined specifically or not.

Before Rerum Novarum was written, to use an example of one of the most important encyclicals, there was almost a century, certainly one or two generations of historical preparation.[10] For this background, it will suffice to capture the atmosphere of the Nineteenth Century by means of a few general historical events and names: Adam Smith, The Wealth of Nations; the French Revolution; The Manchester School of Economics; Marx and Engels; The German 'Kulturkampf' (the fight between Church and state when the state took over education, marriage regulations, etc.); and the key words of liberalism, laissez-faire capitalism, socialism, communism, materialism, progress, evolution,

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10. An interesting example of the process of positive law exists here because de iure follows de facto. The comment of a French friend: 'It seems to me that the pronouncements of the Churches are characteristically a posteriori.' And then he added, 'What has become of the spirit of prophecy?'

liberty, equality, et al. Life, for the working man, was a poor risk because he was faced with frequent loss of work and with poverty. Dickens' novels witness to the sore conditions of that time.

The Church did very little to help relieve men of their suffering. Surely the Church saw the turmoil, and class warfare, and industrial upheaval around her. But preoccupation with her own survival as a temporal power demanded that the Church side with the status quo. Later, when the Pope was declared infallible by the Vatican Council of 1870, the Church gained a new spiritual authority out of the ruins of her earthly set-back. Even so, she had to fight a rear-guard action to maintain her independence, - even to keep intact, alive and whole.

The contest between the Church and temporal powers demanded almost all the Pope's energy. Some critics charge the Popes with lack of concern for the social order: but even though their attention was directed elsewhere for the first three quarters of the Nineteenth Century, they did not show a lack of concern. It may be true that little effective action was taken by any of the Popes. Nevertheless, their witness is clear. Pius IX. published the encyclical Quanta Cura in 1865. Naturalism and the idea of progress were denied as false, and communism and socialism were similarly branded erroneous for their attacks upon domestic society, the home, and the institution of education.[11] At the same time was issued a Syllabus, collectio errorum modernorum, originally written at the time of the proclamation of the Dogma of the Immaculate Conception. It contained a collection of errors:

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11. Henricus Denzinger, Enchiridion Symbolorum, (Definitionum et Declarationum De Rebus Fidei et Morum), compositum Iohannis Bapt. Umberg, S.J., (Friburgi: Herder & Co.,1937), Editio 21-23, para,1689,1694.

along with protestantism and secret societies (i.e. masonic orders), socialism and communism were denounced.[12]

In Rerum Novarum, Leo XIII. says of the condition of working men, 'It is a subject on which we have already touched more than once, incidentally,'[13](R.N.# 1) One biographer tells of the visit of Mgr. Pecci, later Leo XIII., to London in 1845 while Papal Nuncio to Belgium. The condition of London's poor particularly interested him. A Pastoral Letter of January 7, 1854, from Pecci, now Bishop of Perugia, admonished the faithful in the duty of giving to the poor, and of giving more than money so that the destitute may live as men 'because they bear the image of our Heavenly Father and their condition touches our brotherly hearts as if it were our own.[14] In the same year he established grain banks for the poor. Other pastoral letters were: The Temporal

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12. Ibid., p.485., 1718, listed under # 18 Prostestantismus, and # IV. SOCIALISMUS, COMMUNISMUS, SOCIETATES CLANDESTINAE, SOCIETATES BIBLICAE, SOCIETATES CLERICO-LIBERALES. c.f. also Trevor Gervase Jalland, The Church and the Papacy, (A Historical Study), (London: SPCK.,1944) p.503. He mentions that the Congress of Malines in 1863, and particularly the speeches of Montalembert which called for the accommodation of the Church's outlook to the dominant ideas of democracy, led to the publication of the Syllabus which had hung fire for over ten years.

13. Unless otherwise cited, the English translations of all but one of Leo's encyclicals will be taken from The Pope and the People, (London: Catholic Truth Society, 1950). Diuturnum (On Civil Government)will be taken from Social Wellsprings,ed.Joseph Husslein, (Milwaukee: The Bruce Publishing Co., 1949) Vol.1., which in turn is a translation from The Tablet for July, 16,1881. For Rerum Novarum and Quadragesimo Anno the paragraph numberings will follow Catholic Truth Society, London e.g. R.N.# I=Rerum Novarum Para.1. Q.A.= Quadragesimo Anno

The text of the present work will always include the English translation which is approved by Roman Catholic Authorities. Though the style is not always too readable, it is quite accurate.

The present citation is from The Pope and the People p.133. The Pope, speaking for the Church, always uses the first person plural in official communications.

14. Bernard O'Reilly, The Life of Leo XIII.,(London: Sampson Low, 1887), p.178. Much of the following material comes from the various biographies listed in the Bibliography.

Power of the Holy See (1860), A Letter on Modern Errors (1864)[15], The Catholic Church and the Nineteenth Century (1877), and The Church and Civilization (1878). Pecci, now a Cardinal, wrote the King of Italy on October 31, 1860 about civil marriage, and denounced 'Socialists, who aim at overturning from the foundations the entire social and religious orders.'[16] In 1869 he started a private relief fund in Perugia. 1878 saw the founding of the 'Garden of St.Philip Neri' by Pecci, patterned on the French workingmen's clubs. In the year he was elected Pope, encyclicals came forth: Inscrutabili (The Evils Affecting Modern Society) and Quod Apostolici Muneris (Concerning Modern Errors, Socialism, etc.); and these were followed by Diuturnum (On Civil Government, 1881), Immortale Dei (The Christian Constitution of States, 1885), Libertas Praestantissimum (Human Liberty, 1888), Sapientiae Christianae (The Chief Duties of Christians as Citizens, 1890). Count Soderini suggests that Leo was selected Pope partly on the basis of his known attitude toward society.[17] The College of Cardinals certainly were aware of social unrest and knew that Cardinal Pecci had strong beliefs on the matter. However, the conclave which elects the Pope meets in secret, and we are not in a position to determine the merits of Soderini's suggestion. Another biographer, O'Reilly, whose work was published in 1887, four years before the proclamation of Rerum

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15. Ibid., p.232. This letter may have accompanied the Syllabus and condemned another error. 'Religion does not enter into the sphere of external conduct or into the social order; the interests of our spiritual conduct or into the social order; the interests of those of our corporeal being.'
16. Ibid., p.226.
17. Eduardo (Count) Soderini, The Pontificate of Leo XIII, trans. by Barbara Barclay Carter, (London: Burns Oates & Washbourne Ltd., 1934), Vol. I, p.87.

Novarum, leaves the reader with a feeling that Leo is shortly to define the character of the social order desired by the Church. At lesst, the present-day reader of O'Reilly's account senses that many of the ideas which appeared in the encyclical of 1891 are in Leo's mind in 1887. It is clear beyond any doubt that Leo, from the time of his enthronement, desired 'to restore a Christian imprint to the whole social order then taking shape.'[18]

Until the inauguration of Leo XIII's reign, the Church and the Pope did very little to emphasize publicly the nature of a Christian society. The Church was either too preoccupied with her own existence or she was not alive to the seething unrest around her. On the other hand, we turn to an all-too-small minority movement in the Church, and we are heartened. Every large social body seems to have within it a minority which finally makes it meet new situations.[19] The Catholic Church gave birth to such individuals as Lamennais, Lacordaire, and Montalembert, who were active in France in the 1830's for social amelioration from the standpoint of the Christian conscience. Benedict XIV. curtailed their work because they were considered ultramontanists.[20] (It should be noted that ultramontanism, while treated as heresy by

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18. Soderini, op.cit., Vol.I, p.86.Cf. also by the same author, Leo XIII - Italy and France, p.256n., quoted from Acta Leonis Vol IX, Allocution of October 20, 1889. The Church 'provided for the material and religious needs of the workers, facilitated their work, took care of their savings, defended their rights, and supported them in due measure in their peaceful demands.'
19. The best summary of this material may be found in V.M.Crawford's 'Catholic Social Doctrine, 1891-1931'. The Catholic Social Yearbook, 1933, (Oxford: Catholic Social Guild, 1933), Chap.I.
20. Encyclical Marari Vos.

Benedict, was the movement that won the day at the Vatican Council in 1870 when the Pope, then Pius IX., was declared infallible) In Germany, Fr.Kloping started the Katholischer Gesellenvereine (Catholic Journeymen's Guilds). Near the middle of the century, Ketteler, one-time Archbishop of Mainz, and the 'giant' of the Catholic social movement, to whom Leo XIII. referred as 'my great precursor', was most concerned with social problems. His early sermons furnished outlines for Catholic social policy. He answered the Communist Manifesto in a sermon at the Dom in Mainz in 1848, and later criticized both liberalism and socialism. Ketteler, a friend of Lasalle, agreed with Lasalle's criticism of society but not with his doctrinaire answers. In 'Christianity and the Labor Question', Ketteler recommended craft unions, guilds, the right of state protection for workers; and in 1869, in a sermon to ten thousand working men, he took a stand for higher wages and shorter hours, a day of rest, and the exclusion of child labor. These suggestions for improvement became known as 'The Christian Labor Catechism.' The Conclave of Fulda established in the same year, on Ketteler's recommendation, diocesan social study and action groups. He, as much as anyone, paved the way for Rerum Novarum.

De Mun and du Pin, who became acquainted with the work of Ketteler while prisoners of war after the Franco-Prussian War, returned home to France and carried on a similar work, organizing workingmen's associations and action groups. Decurtins and Cardinal Mermillod in Switzerland, and Mgr.Jacobini, who was one of Leo's

advisers in the Vatican, were all pioneers in the Catholic social movement. In the Anglo-Saxon world, the work of both Cardinal Manning and Cardinal Gibbons is well known. Manning spoke to a group in Leeds 'On the Rights and Dignity of Labor' in 1887;[21] and produced many similar talks and writings. He helped to settle the London Dock Strike of 1889, and marched in a May Day parade next to the picture of Marx; or at least, so one source claims.[22] Strachey, in his rather bitter biography, writes that 'at least no philanthropic meeting at the Guildhall was considered complete without the presence of Cardinal Manning.'[23] Cardinal Gibbons, in

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21. Henry Edward Cardinal Manning, The Rights and Dignity of Labor, (London: Burns and Oates, 1887), a pamphlet. Here Manning shows the dignity of human labor and defends the right of property, and the right of liberty and freedom, and the right to protect oneself and one's labor by associations. He is quite outspoken in his position.
Francis McLauchlin, 'A Socialist Cardinal - Henry Edward Cardinal Manning, the Catholic Socialist', The Socialist Review, (Manchester: Independent Labor Party, 1910), Vol.V, pp.362-366. McLauchlin maintains that Manning is a socialist. Manning definitely is not, for he asserts at least two anti-socialist positions, - the right to property, and the position that equality is neither possible nor desirable in human society. Manning is a social reformer and criticizes supply and demand, but in one instance he says that he accepts neither socialism nor capitalism. Robert Blatchford insists that Manning is not a socialist.
22. Ibid., p.362. There is no verification of this claim, but it is of interest to show the desire of socialists to make anyone who is sympathetic, one of their number. It is not surprising or unlikely that Manning may have encouraged this close association.
23. Lytton Strachey, Eminent Victorians (Cardinal Manning et al.), (London: Chatto & Windus, 1918), p.99.

the Knights of Labor controversy in America, [24] developed much the same type of industrial outlook as Manning, who was his close friend.

Councils of Catholic Social Studies were growing everywhere, and their influence was felt in the very heart of the Vatican.[25] At the same time, more groups and individuals were turning to the Pope for guidance. Pius XI. in 1931, in the encyclical Quadragesimo Anno writes of these extra-clerical influences on Leo, but he also writes of the need for direction:

> 'To the feet of Christ's vicar on earth there came in unusual numbers of sociologists, employers, working-men themselves, begging with one voice that at last a safe road might be pointed out to them'.[26] (Q.A.#7)

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24. Cf. Soderini, Pont. of Leo., Chapter XVIII, p.174. He quotes Cardinal Gibbons: 'A new task is before us. The Church has no longer to deal with Parliaments and princes, but with the masses and the people'.
Also, James Cardinal Gibbons, A Retrospect of Fifty Years, (Baltimore: John Murphey Co., 1916), Vol.I; also, Allen S. Will, Life of James Cardinal Gibbons, (London: R.T.Washbourne Ltd.,1911), Chapter XI. Gibbons outlines his position in a strong letter to Cardinal Simeoni, the Prefect of Propaganda in 1887, in defence of the Knights of Labor. Because of his action the Knights of Labor were approved, 'Tolerari Posse' Cf. Soderini, Pont. of Leo, p.176.
25. Soderini, Pont of Leo., pp.158-190. A good outline of this material.
26. Pope Pius XI., Quadragesimo Anno, trans. (London: Catholic Truth Society, 1949); also Acta Apostolicae Sedis, (Commentarium Officiale), (Romae: Typis Polyglottis Vaticanus, MDCCCXXXI), Annus XXII, Vol.XXII, page 179. (First edition of A.A.S., 1909). 'Atque ad pedes Christi in terris Vicarii insueta quadam frequentia confluentes, et rerum socialum pariti, et operum conductores et opifices ipsi, uno ore efflagitabant ut tandem sibi tutum indicaretur iter.'

Leo approved the formation of workingmen's clubs and associations, and on many occasions he granted them an audience, both before and after the 'Charter'.[27] One example of his interest was his address in 1889 to over four thousand employers and workers who came on a pilgrimage from France. De Mun was the organizer and leader of this and other such pilgrimages. Leo spoke to them in faultless French in the Hall of Beatification:

> 'Around you, dear sons, thousands of other workers are agitating, who, led astray by false doctrines, think to find a remedy to their evils by overthrowing that which constitutes, as it were, the essence of political and civil society, by the destruction and abolition of property. Vain illusions!....(The remedy) lies wholly in the faithful fulfillment of the duties falling upon the various classes of society....It is the Church's mission to proclaim aloud and to inculcate these truths and these duties.'[28]

Leo reminded employees, members of upper classes, and employers of their responsibilities. The name for employers in Italian is padroni, and in French, patrons: and Leo reminded these leaders of society that the Latin word which is basic to the others is patronus, which means 'protector.' Their duty is to treat their employees as fathers would treat their sons.

William II (Kaiser Wilhelm), a young king with progressive ideas, wrote to Leo XIII. in 1890 about the forthcoming International Congress in Berlin, to consider means of crossing national boundaries with progressive legislation on working conditions. Leo XIII., who quite approved the meeting, sent an official representative and also wrote

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27. Quod Apostolici Muneris, (1878), in The Pope and the People: 'It seems expedient to encourage associations for handicraftsmen and working-men, which, placed under the sheltering care of religion, may render the members content with their lot and resigned to toil, inducing them to lead a peaceful and tranquil life.'
28. Soderini, Pont.of Leo., p.178.

the following to William:

> 'We cannot but highly support all the deliberations of the Conference aiming at improving the conditions of the workers; such as, for example, a distribution of labor better proportioned to the strength, age and sex of each, rest on the Lord's Day, and in general all that will prevent the worker from being exploited as a base instrument, without regard for his dignity as a man, for his morality, for his domestic hearth....Religion will thus teach the employer to respect the human dignity of the worker and to treat him with justice and equity.' 29

Add to the above considerations, the influence of secular movements for reform. If the Church in its official quarters remained silent, then would not secular ideas replace religious observance? Leo saw the danger of this and felt too the enormous craving among men for an answer to their suffering. In the first paragraph of Rerum Novarum, Leo wrote:

> 'The momentous gravity of the state of things now obtaining fills every mind with painful apprehension; wise men are discussing it; practical men are proposing schemes; popular meetings, legislatures, and rulers of nations are all busied with it - and actually there is no question which has taken a deeper hold on the public mind.' (R.N.#1.)

Rerum Novarum was the result of a generation of urging and social force and pressure. Its final proclamation shows the wise and judicious action of the Church over the ages in a most prudent, politic, and expedient manner.

A homely illustration may help to illustrate how the Church moves and how the great mass of Her members finally are moved by Her teaching. Who has not seena caterpillar crawling along a branch? Sometimes it comes to a point where it raises its head and waves

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29. Soderini, Pont. of Leo., p.178.

it about, seeming to consider the direction of its next advance while it keeps its hinder end firm on the branch. Finally, it seems to determine the direction it will take; and then the head leads on stretching out the body. The great hinder end follows the head to the head's former position in a slow inching process. So the head of the Church leads on only after long consideration; and a generation may pass before the remainder of the Church is persuaded, hinder end brought to the place where the head finally launched itself forth. That is how it was with Rerum Novarum. [30]

It has been suggested that most encyclicals pass through many hands and only after that does the Pope add the final touches and his seal. However, Leo's biographers say that he wrote most of his encyclicals himself, with only occasional help. Nevertheless, Count Soderini says that Rerum Novarum was first drafted by Cardinal Zigliara but it was 'too prolix and theoretical;' then Zigliara followed the plan proposed by Leo XIII.[31] However this encyclical

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30. One further analogy. In the same manner, the caterpillar in its metamorphosis becomes a butterfly and its wings carry it to new heights. In a way, Rerum Novarum represents such a great step that one can say the Church rose to new heights with it. But in all that has been said on this matter, it could not be said from a non-Roman position that every step or movement of the Roman Church was an indication of progress or a step forward.

31. A Code of Social Principles, (Oxford: Catholic Social Build,1954), The preface to The first edition of this code states that the Fribourg Union,(1884-1891)under Cardinal Mermillod,'had the credit of drawing up and making known the Principles of Social Action which the encyclical, Rerum Novarum afterwards ratified....' - We are not in a position to determine the merit of this claim. Surely the union would have been influential.

came to be, Leo certainly had a major share of the credit, for there is no doubt that he was one of the best informed men of his time. Soderini, who knew him personally, said that before he became Pope, Leo read widely among newspapers, magazines, etc., and he always questioned his many visitors very closely about conditions in their countries. He continued this practice when he became Pope; it was only modified when an assistant was appointed to clip and sort news so that the Pope would not have to spend so much time in the selection of material.

From our discussion of the general background of Rerum Novarum, we may gather that a similar process underlies many of the other encyclicals. Though it has become evident what forces were present in the formation of a social policy, we have made no mention of a Philosophy, of a fundament, for answering the needs which arose in the late 19th Century and which remains with us today. In 1879, Leo established in the encyclical, Aeterni Patris, the authority of the teaching of St. Thomas Aquinas for the Church. Leo had always admired the teachings of St. Thomas, and he considered that the medieval period of history produced the best social order. The guilds, representing both workingmen and employers, the corporateness of community life, and the unity of all society under the Mother Church appealed to him as the best ideal for society. This was no yearning for 'the good old days,' but it came in part from a result of careful historical study. Naturally, the desire to see life again centered in 'the faith' had much to do with his decision to favor the Middle Ages. St. Thomas had to meet the needs

of his day; and Leo XIII. felt that some of the same answers could still be given for the restoration of a Christian Society.

Hilaire Belloc calls the Thirteenth Century, the time of St.Thomas, the 'High Middle Ages', ('There were no potatoes; but then, also, there were no suicides.') He presents a picture of the Thirteenth Century which may well have been in Leo's mind, and which is interesting not because it is necessarily the most accurate picture of the time, but because it tends to show how Catholics view that period and why they look to it as the best pattern for modern society.

> 'All society arranged by status, every man in his place and honoring his place, wealth rendered less odious and even noble by stability and long succession, the well divided property of the now almost free peasantry and the fully free craftsman of the towns guaranteed by guild and village custom, a hierarchy of functions strictly bound in one feudal scheme satisfactory to the political conscience of man, and all that ordered social body guaranteed by the vigorous faith whose officials, the clergy, came from every source of society, enjoyed a moral authority they were not later to know, and performed their might function adequately and in full order.' 32

No doubt, Leo pictured a similar society. The philosophy of this

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32. J.Hilaire P.Belloc., The Crisis of Our Civilization,(London: Cassell & Co., 1937), p.91. Others have held the view that feudal society was ideal. There are too many modern exponents of the idea to mention. Belloc develops his main thesis that the Reformation 'exploded' the seeds of weakness which were planted in the later 'low' Middle Ages(i.e. 14th, 15th Cent.) so that the Reformation caused the rise of capitalism and the consequent rise of communism by the exaggeration of the weakness already present. One might question, in the first place, whether any 'ideal' of society under conditions of transitoriness and envolvement would not degenerate; and therefore, in the second place, might not a 'feudal order' give rise to complications in any period of history of a similar nature to those found in the Renaissance and the Reformation?

'High' medieval society, the philosophy of St.Thomas,[33] was the basis for Leo's answer, when modified by the passage of time and new techniques.

The Church views society as a bond holding together its citizens in a collective unity. Domestica societas, the family, is the foundation of society; Family groups form the civilis societas. Then, there is the civitas, the politically organized community, 'the body politic' which, under the State, exercises authority, in the maintenance of law, the promotion of the common welfare and public order and the administration of public affairs. Authority and power are wielded by the principes (princes) or in the respublica (commonwealth) by a magistratus (magistrate or civil officer of the law). All the authority comes from God, and is based on the divine law.

Positive law rests upon natural law, or the law which comes from God, and which we know by the use and extension of our reason. Since the State assures to its members justice and well-being, it must not misuse its power. When religion is removed there is not a proper check on the exercises of the State's divinely rooted

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33. Paul Tillich, Systematic Theology, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1951), Vol. I, p.59. In explanation of his system, Tillich defines a summa (Thomas' work). 'The summa deals explicitly with all actual and many potential problems.' He then writes that a summa, which is an attempt to cover life in one comprehensive compass, while quite common in the Middle Ages, is not possible today because of the 'brokenness' of our culture, or, to quote Tillich, because of 'the chaos of our spiritual life.'

authority, nor is there kindled on the part of the subjects a proper respect for civil society.

> 'The relations of the State and of Religion are so bound together as that whatever is withdrawn from religion impairs by so much the dutiful submission of the subject and the dignity of authority.' 34.

In this ,the Church, by the suasion of the clergy in faith and morals, holds society together in justice and tranquillity.[35] Order, the external linking up of society, is achieved by a synthesis of justice and love made possible through and by the Church, the Mediator of divine peace.

Almost all of the encyclicals, except those which define dogma, are primarily concerned with the relation of Church and State. Their secondary concern is for the respect of authority in all its forms. Along with these matters, the position of the family has received great attention. Because the State rests upon the strength of the family, which is anterior to the State in a social organism, the family must be kept strong. Marriage, which is the bond between husband and wife of freely contracted mutual obligations, gives the family permanence. Therefore, God has created marriage monogamous and irrevocable. Because God has created marriage, no State is to have anything to do with it. It is a sacrament because it is holy, and only the Church can create and protect it in its very essence (sua vi), its very nature (sua natura) and of

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34. The Pope and the People, Quod Apostolici Muneris, p.20.
35. Opus Justitiae Pax (The Rights of Man), The Christmas Eve Allocution of 1942, Pius XII.

itself (sua sponte). Further, 'domestic society is older than political society, and because there has been marriage at a time when there was not yet any State, it is irrational to conceive marriage as a social institution controlled by the State.... The very notion of "civil marriage" is a contradiction in terms'. 36

Education too must be furnished by the Church, since she alone can give the moral training and background that will benefit the State.

This rather brief sketch of the ideal Christian society will give us an outline to which can be added those economic factors which help to complete the picture. Study of the encyclicals will provide us with those factors. We shall begin with a review of the encyclicals which precede Rerum Novarum, but it is this latter document which will help us the most to fill the form with content.

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36. Gilson, op.cit., p.18-20. Quote from p.19.

A SHORT SUMMARY OF THE PAPAL PRONOUNCEMENTS

THE ENCYCLICALS PRIOR TO 1891.

Inscrutabili, 'On the Evils Affecting Modern Society' - XIII., April 21, 1878.

This first encyclical of Leo is a summary of the evils to be found in 1878. It is concerned about the 'contempt' of law as a result of contempt for the name of God and the authority of the Church. He links up the Church with peace and the maintenance of civil society under the 'infallible guidance' of the 'Apostolic See'.

Quod Apostolici Muneris, 'Concerning Modern Errors' - Leo XIII., December 28, 1878.

Leo gives an exposition of the errors of 'Socialists, Communists and Nihilists' who 'attack the right of property', 'the natural union of man and woman', and 'divine law'. He traces their conduct to the teaching of the Reformers and 'the enthronement of unaided reason', as well as to the concept of positive law originating 'not from God but from the mass of the people'. In the light of divine and natural law, he attacks Socialism for the doctrine of 'equality' and defends the place of the State in the divine order, the 'indissoluble union of husband and wife', and the ownership of private property.

Diuturnum, 'Civil Government' - Leo XIII., June 29, 1881.

Following the assassination of Alexander II. of Russia, this document affirms strongly the basis upon which governments rest.

While denying the theories that grew up in the 18th Century, of rule by the consent of the governed, this letter affirms that all political power comes from God. It is true that the ruler may be chosen by the people, but 'the rights of ruling are not thereby conferred'. Evidence from the Scriptures, the Church Fathers, and reason is cited to undergird the argument. When rulers are opposed to the will and laws of God, their authority is invalid and null. One commentator has written that 'an unjust law is no law'.[37] Even when Christians lived under pagan emperors, they conducted themselves submissively and obediently.

Any unwillingness to attribute the right of ruling to God destroys the force of political power. The Reformation and the Peasant's Revolt, are cited as examples of the heresy which strikes at the foundation of religious and civil authority. 18th Century philosophy grew in that soil and has nurtured the horrors of Communism, Socialism, and Nihilism. The Roman Church upholds the civil power in those matters which the Church acknowledges and declares to be under the power and authority of the ruler. Yet 'the Church has always detested a tyrant's rule'. Christians are enjoined to be loyal to their governments, and rulers are reminded to look above for a confirmation of their authority.

This encyclical is the foundation and the foreshadowing of the whole structure which is to be erected by the encyclicals that follow, especially those dealing with civil and political matters.

Immortale Dei, 'The Christian Constitution of States' - Leo XIII., November 1, 1885.

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37. Husslein, op.cit., Vol. I. p.55 f.n.

'All public power must proceed from God' and so all who rule, do so not as 'masters, but rather as fathers', justly, and for the well-being of the citizens. It is a 'sin in the State not to have a care for religion', the only true religion being the one established by Jesus Christ 'which He committed to His Church to protect and propagate'. But there are two powers, 'the ecclesiastical and the civil', under God who 'has marked out the course of each in right correlation to the other'. After developing this relationship, Leo condemns the 'new jurisprudence', of the 'equality of men in society', in passing with 'silence' over the authority of God, and in referring all questions of religion 'to private judgment'. The harmful effects to the Church are obvious. This new concept is a form of 'atheism, however it may differ in name'; and it is denounced by the Church as false. To exclude the Church is to exclude 'God Himself, from the business of life', Him who is the 'origin of public power'.[38] In this respect, no particular form of government is condemned.

Catholics are bound, in both private and public life, to fulfil their duty to the Gospel and the Church. In some extreme cases a Catholic may find it expedient to withdraw from an active part in politics; but usually, he is obliged to take part in public affairs for the proper instruction of youth in religion, 'for the advancement of truth and righteousness, (and).... to endeavour to bring back

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38. Denzinger, op.cit., p. 525. 'Verum si quaeratur de rationibus mere politicis, de optimo genere reipublicae, de ordinandis alia vel alia ratione civitatibus, utque de his rebus potest honesta esse dissensio'.

all civil society to the pattern and form of Christianity'.

Libertas Praestantissimum, 'Human Liberty' - Leo XIII. June 20, 1888.

This encyclical develops the basis for liberty already considered in Immortale Dei. 'Natural liberty', belonging only to man, among greated beings, is generated in man's soul, which is 'immortal and endowed with reason', and which provides a basis for intelligible and rational action. Since a defect in our mind and will leads us astray in our freedom, we need law. God has given us 'eternal law' which underlies the 'natural law, which is written and engraved in the mind of every man'. 'Human law', or positive law, is based on natural law, and furnishes the same restraint to evil action in society, as does natural law in all of man's life. So, individual liberty is limited by the demands for law and order. Even rulers are bound in the exercise of their free rule, by the eternal law. God, with and through the Church, 'protects and perfects' liberty.

The philosophies of naturalism and rationalism and the child of this match, liberalism, foster only harm. Unbridled liberty, the supremacy of human reason, 'independent morality', and rule by the masses contradict reason and natural law. Along with these, Leo condemns unlimited freedom of speech and the press, and unlimited 'liberty of teaching' anything, whether true or false. Liberty of thought is freely encouraged, in so far as it does not admit 'every perversity of opinion', and so long as it limits its investigation to objective truth made clear by revelation and nature. Liberty of

conscience, which admits the 'just domain of God over man' and freely accepts His commands, is encouraged and indeed nurtured by the Church. In short, liberty 'consists in submission to God and in subjection to His will'. Even the Liberalism which accepts natural law as a limit on freedom, but which rejects 'laws of faith and morals', is in error because eternal law 'perfects the natural law'. Such an error leads to separation of Church and State. The Church, the mediator of eternal law, is thereby rendered unnecessary, not only to society, but also to all of life.

Three views of the separation of Church and State are recorded in order and rejected with disapproval. The first : that some hold the Church in contempt, and openly disavow contact with Her; the second : that others, more neutral, say the Church is unnecessary to the State while those who consent to Her rule by free consent may do so; and the third : a few who do not approve separation do say the Church should accommodate Herself to change. Leo writes that this last is essential if it means 'adjustment consistent with truth and justice'; but it is not good if a perversion of morals is introduced. He goes on to say that a change of government may be necessary where oppression of the people or the Church exists.[39] The encyclical, before drawing to its conclusion,

39. '_Lib. Praest_'. _The Pope and the People_, p. 93. 'Wherever there exists, or there is reason to fear, an unjust oppression of the people on one hand, or a deprivation of the liberty of the Church on the other, it is lawful to seek for such change of government as will bring about due liberty for action'. Pius XI. sets forth the basis for revolt against civil authority in _Nos Es Muy_ (Encyclical to Mexico, March 28, 193 The Church will always promote peace even at great sacrifice to herself. The only basis for revolt is where 'civil power should so trample on justice and truth as to destroy even the very foundations of authority'. Revolt is only a 'means', not an 'end', and therefore revolution cannot include any acts which would be considered as intrinsically evil. Also, if greater harm is brought to the community because of such a revolt it is not justified.

advises that 'it is not of itself wrong to prefer a democratic form of government'.

Sapientiae Christianae, 'On the Chief Duties of Christians as Citizens' - Leo XIII., January, 19,1890.

Leo often takes one point from a former encyclical and develops it more fully as the basis for a new encyclical. Thus Libertas Praestantissimum mentions the duties of citizens, and now, after a few preliminary paragraphs, Leo defines the Catholic's duty to the Church and to the State.

Two powers, the Church and the State, deserve our love. There should be no conflict between these loves. But where a State does not recognise that its authority comes from God, and there is conflict with the Church, it will be an act of 'consummate wickedness to break the laws of Jesus Christ, in order to yield obedience to earthly rulers'. Thus, Catholics must defend the faith and do their part in propagating Christian truth. If there is unanimity in faith and action in the Church under the Pope, both the Church and the State are strengthened. The Church must not be partisan, but she 'cannot stand by indifferent as to the import and significance of laws enacted by the State'.

The last part of the letter considers particularly, ways in which the faithful Catholic can shoulder his responsibility to the Church and to the State. This need not concern us at this point in our survey.

THE ENCYCLICAL RERUM NOVARUM

Rerum Novarum, 'The Condition of the Working Classes' - Leo XIII., May, 15, 1891.

The condition of the working man in 1891 in Western Europe, England, and America was so miserable that it remains to this day a condemnation of the system known as laissez-faire capitalism. Actually, conditions in 1891 were better than they were a generation or two before, when wretched working conditions, low wages, and cycles of depression were common plagues with aftermaths of discontent and insecurity. The philosophy of laissez-faire capitalism, also referred to in the encyclicals as Liberalism, and often characterized today as 19th Century Liberalism,[40] led to a great reaction with resulting new philosophies of socialism and communism. Working men began to organize for protection against economic exploitation. Leo XIII wrote Rerum Novarum, mindful of these facts.

Rerum Novarum begins with a description of the turmoil in the industrial world leading to apprehension and great concern in all circles. Leo remarks about the slavery of the working classes who are isolated

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40. As used in this paper, Liberalism represents the Nineteenth Century economic school of Laissez-faire capitalism. Leo XIII., in his encyclical Libertas Praestantissimum, writes that Liberalism carries into human life the principles of the philosophies of Naturalism and Rationalism. 'Hence the followers of Liberalism deny the existence of any divine authority to which obedience is due, and proclaim that every man is a law unto himself'. Thus Liberalism becomes a rejection of divine law, which entails a rejection of natural law.

and helpless, oppressed by the hard-heartedness of employers, and victims of the greed which accompanies unchecked competition. He is afraid the workers will accept socialism as a remedy, which would only bring a greater hardship upon them; for it holds to unfettered State control and a common distribution of goods, and denies the right of private property.[41]

The right to private property is defended as a natural right. Man is distinguished from the animals by his reason, a power for self-direction stimulating him to action. On this account, man must have things of permanent possession beyond present usefulness, that 'continue to further use in after time'. Because natural man depends for his future existence upon the produce of the earth, he must be assured not only of the fruits of the earth, but also of the possession of the very soil, guaranteeing a stable condition of things. Since man precedes the State, and God has given the earth to all, there can be no bar to the owning of property. Those who do not own soil contribute their labor and yield a return, so that all the land benefits human subsistence. No man can use the land as he wills, for he is limited by his own industry, but even more by the laws of human races. In working the land, man leaves the impress of his individuality, so it would be unjust to take from a

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41. Many Catholic commentators are quick to point out that socialism as condemned by Leo, is not the kind of evolutionary socialism present in Great Britain at the turn of the 20th Century. It is true that Leo lacked a complete understanding of socialism. The brand about which he was concerned is that which denies the right of private property.

person what is his very own. Civil, natural, and divine law confirms and enforces this right to private property. The benefits are threefold: 1) all property will be equitably divided; 2) since men work harder for what is their own, there will be a greater abundance of goods produced; 3) men will cling to the country where they are born, for there they will have assurance of a living.

Further arguments upholding the right to property are supplied from the needs of the family, which is to be fruitful and to multiply. The State must protect and safeguard the family in these rights, but not so as to unsurp or abolish the paternal authority of the family itself. Thus is the State limited. Socialists, by setting up State supervision and setting aside the parent, act against the family.

Central to Socialist doctrine is the belief in the community of goods. This tenet, Leo rejects. Only by asserting the inviolability of private property can we alleviate the conditions of the masses. Similarly, the Socialist dream of equality is opposed, for it will'be in reality the levelling of all to a like condition of misery and degradation'. Inequalities are inevitable, and so Socialists strive against nature.

It is evident and natural that there are different degrees in society, but class war is wrong. Capital and Labor need each other. 'Capital cannot do without Labor, nor Labor without Capital'. Each has unique duties to perform. The worker must carry out his task honestly, and never injure property or his employer, never use

violence, nor 'encite foolish hopes'. Work, a result of man's fallen state, leads to certain hardships; but it is man's lot to suffer and to endure. 'Christ's labors and sufferings, accepted of His own free will, have marvelously sweetened all suffering and all labor'. Thus we are strengthened in labor, and pain is made easier to endure. Christ was a carpenter - there is nothing to be ashamed of in earning our bread by labor.

For his part, the employer must see 'the worker has time for his religious duties'; the employer must not 'tax his work-people beyond their strength or employ them in work unsuited to their sex and age'. A just wage must be paid. Since labor is an effort chiefly for self-preservation, it must be rewarded with a living wage. It would be a crime if a laborer either freely accepted wages less than necessary to preserve life, or an employer imposed them. By free agreement between the working man and employer, a just wage shall be reached. 'Wages ought not to be insufficient to support a frugal and well-behaved wage-earner'. Should conditions be entirely favorable, and a man support his wife and family and practice thrift, then he is encouraged to become a property owner. This will have the effect of a greater distribution of property. In this respect, heavy taxation will tend to discourage the resources needed for private ownership. The State should not be unjust in the name of taxation.

Workmen are to join together in associations, these societies to provide mutual help in times of sudden calamity. 'The consciousness of his own weakness urges man to call in aid

'from without'. Most important of these organizations are the workingmen's unions. Quod Apostolici Muneris already suggested the advisability of working-men's associations. Rerum Novarum expands this view. The State shall protect the right to organize except where such societies constitute a danger to the State. Leo mentions that some groups are led by men opposed to Christianity and public well-being. Christian working-men may either join associations where their religion will be exposed to peril or they shall form associations among themselves. Since the latter course of action is urged, the growth of Catholic Labor Unions and Catholic Action can be seen to have received encouragement from the Pope. The associations shall help the individual to better his condition, shall pay special duties to religion and morality, and shall work for social betterment. Rather than accept State interference, these workers' societies shall enter into free agreements with employers for setting hours of labor, sanitary working conditions, etc. Wages will be settled entirely between the laborer and his employer according to the dictates of natural justice. Leo suggests that unions will only assist where injustice exists with regards to wages. Instructions are given about the proper conduct of these associations, i.e., administration of funds, appointment of office-bearers, etc. Employers, too, are encouraged to form associations, which should do much to improve conditions and, it is hoped, will draw the two classes of men together.

Those who have wealth, whether they are employers or not, are enjoined to almsgiving. 'It is a duty, not of justice (save in extreme cases), but of Christian Charity - a duty not enforced by law'.

After outlining the work of the Church in the care of the poverty-stricken, Leo inquires into the part which the 'State should play in the work of remedy and relief'. Laws in the interest of the common good and protection of the weak, insuring distributive justice 'towards each and every class alike are demanded'. That is, the State shall recognise that the interests of all are equal, even in the face of evident social inequality. There shall be no inequality of interest or care. Justice shall be distributed equally.

In Rerum Novarum, the principle of State interference is defended again 'whenever the general interest or any particular class suffers, or is threatened with harm, which can in no other way be met or prevented'....'the law must not undertake more, nor proceed further, than is required for the remedy of the evil or the removal of the mischief'.

Strikes point to the necessity for effective legislation. If there is a strike 'it is frequently because the hours of the labor are too long, or the work too hard, or because they (the workers) consider their wages insufficient'. Since a strike is a 'grave inconvenience', a 'public remedial measures' should be taken to 'prevent such troubles from arising'.

Further, the State must protect the 'soul' of the working man - his religious life. Sundays and holy days provide necessary days of rest from labor. Not only in religious observance but also in work itself, the State can see that 'it is neither just nor human so to grind men down with excessive labor as to stupefy their minds and wear out their bodies'. Children should not work until

'their minds and bodies are sufficiently developed'. Women may not do certain kinds of work. The State must give guidance and enforcement where necessary, along these lines. And 'as a general principle it may be laid down that a workman ought to have leisure and rest proportionate to the wear and tear of his strength'. Also the government should intervene where 'just wages' are not paid, although we have already seen that Leo does not specify what is a just wage.

Rerum Novarum is important because it does represent the beginning of a definite approach to economic and industrial problems. Before 1891, the encyclicals dealt in brief with matters which are thoroughly examined in Rerum Novarum. All that comes after Rerum Novarum is patterned upon it. Later encyclicals, while following the line laid down in 1891, either expand in part or furnish additional commentary on an age which Rerum Novarum heralded but could never completely foresee.

The place of Rerum Novarum in Catholic social thinking may be clarified by the following analogy. Various ideas and solutions presented by Catholic scholars and groups are like parallel rays of light, for which Rerum Novarum provides a focusing lens. There come as many separate rays: the Aristotelian ethics and politics, the Gospel of Jesus Christ, the Summa of St. Thomas, the medieval world view and the emerging Roman Catholic view of society, the work and ideas of social reformers and groups in the Nineteenth Century, and the contributions of secular forces. These rays are now focused by a lens which sharpens and blends them,

bringing forth a new and brilliant beam. Thus Pope Leo XIII's Rerum Novarum gathers rays from past and present to direct them upon a future where new light from later pronouncements and the work of Catholic Action will produce more illumination.

THE ENCYCLICALS AFTER RERUM NOVARUM

Graves De Communi, 'On Christian Democracy' - Leo XIII., January 18, 1901.

Leo lays down the basis for Christian Democracy, including Christian Socialism as opposed to secular forms of socialism or of Social Democracy. Christian Democracy does not repudiate lawful authority. It sees every social question and economic problem solved 'mainly from moral law and the pronouncements of religion'. Consequently, the Christian Democrat tries to help the working classes in the Christian spirit of charity, or love. Often almsgiving is necessary, but it is better to 'establish permanent means of help', by assisting in projects to train workers in 'habits of savings and self-help'. Our obligation to society 'is in proportion to the amount of riches received; the larger it is, the stricter must be the account we shall have to render to God, who gave it to us'.

The Pope calls for concerted, united effort of all Catholics under one head. In Italy, for example, an Institution of Catholic Congresses will control common action subject to the guidance and direction of the bishop. In this enterprise of Christian

action (or Catholic Action as it is known today), the clergy are enjoined to enter and be active, thereby showing their 'loving care of the people'.

Fin Dalla Prima, 'Christian Social Action', Motu Proprio[42] of Pius X., December 18, 1903.

Pius X., regretting the disagreement shown at the 19th Catholic Congress held at Bologna, calls for union in Catholic Action. He refers to the rules laid down by Leo XIII. for such action.[43] In Quod Apostolici Muneris, Immortale Dei, Sapientiae Christianae, Rerum Novarum and Graves De Communi, Leo called for unity of Christian action. He defined the basis for political action; he condemned false prudence and false courage, the two excesses of those who take part in public affairs; he insisted upon virtue in social action; he declared that regulation to and subjection in the Church was essential; and he urged the Christian practice of charity, proper home life, and adequate education of youth.

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42. A.A. MacErlean, 'Motu Proprio', The Catholic Encyclopedia, Vol.X., p. 602. A motu proprio is a papal rescript written by the Pope 'on his own accord'. The decisions are made by him personally without the advice of cardinals or others for reasons which he deems sufficient. It is not sealed (as a bulla) nor countersigned (as a brief). Usually it states why the Pope took action. A motu proprio has force, in some cases which makes its action valid even when counter to ecclesiastical law or to decisions made by the Pope humself. Canonists call the term 'the mother of repose'.

43. A good work on the program and work of Catholic action is: A.M. Crofts, 'Catholic Social Action' (London: Alexander Oussley Ltd., 1936).

There is no reference in the encyclicals to Leo's having called this 'Catholic Action', its present name; it seems rather that he preferred 'Christian Action', but he used the term 'Christian Democracy' because of its popular appeal. In the encyclical, Exuento Jam Anno, 'The Right Ordering of Christian Life', (December 25, 1888), Leo sought a Christian rule of life which would condemn sin and particularly discourage the printing of bad books, the production of immoral plays, etc. Obedience to moral principles and 'right living' in one's private life are also parts of Catholic Action.

Finally, all of this would be incomplete without prayer exercise, which is an absolute necessity, a habit 'sacred to all'.

Pius collects all Leo's statements and abridges them, putting them in outline form, somewhat as follows:

The Regulation of Christian Action for People

I. The Status of Man

- A. Men are not equal in everything.
- B. Men are equal only as they are 'judged, rewarded, or, punished by God'.
- C. Inequalities in society exist for the good of society. (a society of Status)

II. The Right of Ownership is Upheld

III. Everyone has Obligations Dictated by Justice and Charity

IV. The Aims of Christian Action or Christian Democracy

- A. It should help solve the labor questions and protect the right of private property.
- B. It should keep free from party politics but should work for national welfare.
- C. It should submit to ecclesiastical authority.
- D. Christian Democratic writers should submit all matters of religion, ethics and morality to 'preliminary censorship', and write in the spirit of harmony, not seeking to stir up class hatred.

Pius X., in June, 1905, followed the Motu Proprio with an encyclical 'On Christian Social Action' (Il Fermo Proposito) to the Bishops of Italy. In the outline above, the essence of what Pius said is adequately summed up.

After 1905, there was no significant encyclical on economic or industrial life until Quadragesimo Anno by Pope Pius XI., in 1931. Pius X. was to see the shadow of war cast upon most of his pontificate. It is said that he died of a 'broken heart' upon the immediate onslaught of the war. His concern for peace and also his concentration upon more parochial matters took his attention from the economic field. One must not suppose that he lacked interest in such affairs, as some would assert, though his general attitude has been characterized as 'reactionary' by many historians. After Leo XIII., what was needed was consolidation and action, not mere words. In meeting this need, Pius X. was not too successful. Benedict XV. was almost exclusively concerned with problems of war and peace and with the solution of post-war dislocation. He wrote nothing that adds materially to our general knowledge of the Roman Catholic position on economic life. Pius XI. was busied by the same concerns for post-war dislocation. His encyclical Ubi Arcano Dei, issued in 1922, 'On the Troubles Left by the European War', recites many errors: class warfare, strikes, political strife, breaking up of families, and disruption of industry and arts. The cause for these evils can be traced to the godless 'plague spot of materialism'. For a remedy, he pleads that men embrace the Church and work for a Christian order of society. He commends 'Catholic Action' and insists

that the teaching and precepts of Leo XIII., Pius X., and Benedict XV. are not obsolete.

Quadragesimo Anno, 'The Social Order', Pius XI., May 15, 1931.

The occasion for writing this encyclical came to Pius on the fortieth anniversary of Rerum Novarum, when he set down thoughts that had occupied him for a long time. Evidently Rerum Novarum needed to be read by a new generation, which had fallen into many errors. Quadragesimo Anno, patterned after Leo's 'Immortal Encyclical', enlightened this new generation. It re-emphasized teachings of the Church about the social order in the light of change, a new explanation for a new day.

The encyclical begins with a summation of Rerum Novarum; Leo's defence of the working man; his rejection of both capitalism and socialism; and the Pontiff's confidence that the Church might restore a proper order. Pius shows the benefits to the Church and human society which came from the encyclical of Leo XIII. At the same time, he asserts that it is the Church's right and duty 'to deal authoritatively with social and economic problems'. The ownership or the right of property is again proclaimed. It is the duty of the State to define the obligation which follows from ownership when 'natural law does not do so'. Wealth must be justly distributed, for 'one class is forbidden to exclude the other from a share of the benefits. 'Social justice' or the 'common good' demands 'the distribution of created goods'.

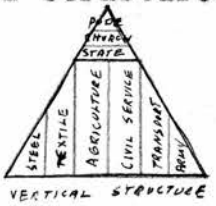
'Fair shares' and not 'equal shares' are in Pius' prescription.

Quite an important section calls for the 'emancipation of the proletariat'. A reference is made to industrial and agricultural workers. Particular mention is made of the 'groans' of down-trodden peoples in the Far East. Just distribution of created goods is one method towards alleviating proletarian conditions, as is a just wage.

Next, Pius turns to the reform of institutions for a reconstructed social order. Individualism has broken the 'organic form of social life'. Since the State is involved in any reconstruction, it must know when to interfere and when not. Small groups should be free to settle matters under their jurisdiction. For a strong social structure, he suggests that there should be a 'graded hierarchical order' with each layer performing its function under the overall aegis of the State. When disputes arise, the State must mediate and otherwise do all in its power 'to create and foster harmony'. Pius even goes so far as to suggest that horizontal layers or vertical parallel structures,[44] (he seems to



HORIZONTAL STRUCTURE



VERTICAL STRUCTURE

44. In horizontal structures, there would be various local units representing each vocational group. These would have a representative on the local council. The local council would be represented at the state or national level. Over the State would be the Church and the Pope. In a vertical structure, association of all factors in industry (employers and employees) would be formed across a whole nation. (In Italy, there were anywhere from ten to twenty-two corporations provided for in the different constitutions from 1919 to 1936. All areas of life were included in one of these corporations). A corporation might include the textile industry, or the steel industry, or the transport industry. Each corporation had a national board which would have representatives in the national council or legislature. See diagrams for a picture of these structures.

leave room for both forms), should be comprised by 'vocational groups' into what is known technically as a type of 'corporatism'. Each group shall have 'powers of self-government', and will also have 'some of the features of a monopoly'. Supposedly, each group would be represented in the government which would be a representative association of associations. A changed society will result from an interaction of two forces. Individual souls transformed by the Church will act as leaven in this structure to raise it up to newer heights of charity and justice. And from above, God and the Church will act to change the society by pulling it into a cohesive whole. Thus by pushing from below and pulling above, a reconstructed society will find order and justice.

Free competition cannot be the soul of any new order. True, competition will exist within 'certain limits' but the soul of any new social order will have to be charity and justice.

Neither socialism nor communism can give an adequate form or content to the new order. Indeed socialism and catholicism are contradictory terms. Under socialism, apostasy leads to the ruin of men's souls and the disruption of moral law. The only basis for tranqility and order is a middle economic way inspired by Christian principles of charity and justice.

Divini Redemptoris, 'Atheistic Communism' Pius XI., March 19, 1937.

Pius defines communism citing examples of communist atrocities. The doctrine of the Church is contrasted with communism and remedies are suggested similar to those offered in previous encyclicals. Nothing of new interest is advanced except a renewed plea for Catholic Action to bring about a Christian society.

Summi Pontificatus, 'Darkness Over the Earth' - Pius XII., October, 20, 1939.[45]

Again, this encyclical offers little new material. Its purpose is to show the urgency of faith and action in the perilous times of war. Pius XII. warns of the growth of a secularism which denies natural law and a 'universal standard of morality' and which raises in their stead 'laicism' and a concept of a secular state totally foreign to Christian ideals. All modern errors which 'neglect' and repudiate religion stem from a denial of the universal 'brotherhood of man' and the Kingship of Christ. Civil authority is disregarded on the one hand, and on the other, family life, education and private industry are brought under a state power unlimited in its control, thus leading to 'state worship'. The duties of Catholics in war time are defined and Catholic Action is called upon to shoulder its responsibilities.

In the many available addresses and messages of Pope Pius XII., nothing radically new is put forth, though they furnish

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45. Selected Letters and Addresses of Pius XII., (London : Catholic Truth Society, 1949).

important commentaries on the previous pronouncements. Most of the famous Christmas Eve Allocuations, which are heard with increasing interest, are particularly good modern statements of Catholic Social theory. The encyclical Sertum Laetitae, 'To the Church in the United States', 1939, includes a section on social justice, but it only sums up teachings already illustrated.

THE RECEPTION OF RERUM NOVARUM

We return to Rerum Novarum , one of the most important encyclicals, in order to consider its reception. In Quadragesimo Anno, the other significant pronouncement, parallels may be assumed. There is not enough material concerning the other encyclicals to make any generalizations except that they seem to be little known. It is not our intention to undertake any exhaustive study but only to show what was in fact the reaction to a significant statement by the Church on social justice.

Rerum Novarum was greeted with applause in many Roman circles. While some business men disagreed with Pope Leo XIII., there was little that they could do. Workers were overjoyed by the protection offered by the Church. Pius XI. has summed up in a very

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general way the mixed reaction.

> 'Nor was the apostolic voice raised in vain. It was listened to with admiration and greeted with profound sympathy not only by the loyal children of the Church, but by many also who were wandering far from the truth or from the unity of faith....With particular enthusiasm was the Pontifical Letter welcomed by Christian working-men, who felt themselves vindicated and defended by the highest authority on earth....(and by others devoted to the cause of labor)....however, some minds were not a little disturbed, with the result that the noble and exalted teaching of Leo XIII., quite novel to wordly ears, was looked upon with suspicion by some, even amongst Catholics, and gave offence to others. For it boldly attacked and overthrew the idols of liberalism, swept aside inveterate prejudices, and was so unexpectedly in advance of its time, that the slow of heart scorned the study of this new social philosophy, and the timid feared to scale its lofty heights. Nor were there wanting those, who, while professing their admiration for this message of light, regarded it as a utopian ideal, desirable rather than attainable in practice'. (Parenthesis mine - Q.A.# 12-14).

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46. In addition we include some other comments.

Conrad Bonacina, 'The Catholic Church and Modern Democracy', in Cross Currents, a quarterly, (New York: Waldon Press) No. 5, Fall 1951 p.p. 1ff. In this Liberal Roman Catholic magazine, the author says that 'Rerum Novarum met everywhere with such stubborn opposition from influential Roman opinion, both clerical and lay, that little was done to put it into action for a generation and more; so much so, that when Pius XI. reaffirmed its principles in Quadragesimo Anno forty years later, the latter encyclical was greeted almost like a new revolution'. While Bonacina overstates his case, his comment is generally quite valid.

Maurice B. Reckitt, Faith and Society, (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1932). Reckitt points out that the Catholic Social Union formed in 1893 as a direct result of Rerum Novarum (also as a result of the Christian Social Union), did not last long, p. 102 - two reasons : 1) Roman Catholics felt charity was enough to fulfil Christian duty and 2) they had a disposition to make a 'bugbear of Socialism'. Finally the Catholic Social Guild formed in 1909 did advance the cause of Rerum Novarum. In America, there was little done until 1919 when the American hierarchy made a progressive statement and formed the National Catholic Welfare Conference. Walter Rauschenbusch, Christianizing the Social Order, (Boston: The Pilgrim Press, 1912), p. 26 saw Cardinal Gibbons, the leader of the American hierarchy, to be the epitome of conservatism, and yet pointed out that many priests were very progressive following the lead of Leo.

Robert Blatchford, a Social Radical leader, was outspoken in his condemnation of the encyclical, asserting that it was not really Christian, and that it did not show an understanding of socialism, and that it offered no effective alternative program.[47] The moderate socialists,[48] though mixed in their reactions, were willingto praise the encyclical, feeling that it was a step in the right direction, for the Church to ally herself with the working class. The important fact is that Rerum Novarum was read. Protestants of every generation since have turned to it. It is almost prescribed reading in courses

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47. Robert Blatchford, Socialism - A reply to the Encyclical of The Pope, (London: Reprinted from the 'Clarion', 1893), a pamphlet.

48. John Wheatley, 'Catholics and Socialism', The Socialist Review, (London: Independent Labor Party), Vol. III., September-February, 1908-1909, p. 742: 'Socialists will find in some Catholic pronouncements made recently in very high places an amount of understanding, not unsympathetic which should go some distance to allay the angry feeling aroused by scurrilous attacks to which they have been subjected'. But also Robert Dell, in 'The Roman Church on Social Democracy', The Socialist Review, Vol. I., p.p. 465-480, tells how he thought Leo was a friend of socialists, but now (1908) he sees Rerum Novarum as 'reactionary' and 'a glorified feudal system'.
G.P. Gooch, 'Christian Socialist Movement' in The Reformer's Year Book (formerly the Labor Annual), (London: 'The Echo', 1903), p.39: 'The growth of friendly relations between the Roman Church and Labor is reflected and has been to some extent caused by the attitude of +Leo XIII. Before his accession to the Pontifical throne, the Pope spoke very sharply on various occasions, contrasting Christianity and Socialism as light and darkness. He has, of course, never adopted Economic Socialism in its entirety; but a steady growth to sympathy with Labor is to be traced to his official utterances, culminating in the famous encyclical on Labor issued in 1891. The chord struck at Rome has been echoed in almost every part of the Roman Catholic world except Italy and Spain. In many countries the Catholic-Social movement had already begun'.

of Christian Ethics in many Protestant Theological Schools. A study of Protestant Pronouncements would show many references to the encyclical and also to Quadragesimo Anno. Newspapers commented upon it and sociologists discussed it. Professional economists argued about the full meaning of a 'just wage'. All the conflicting opinions could not be recorded; but if one's imagination plays upon the feelings of economic liberals who wanted to keep the status quo; upon socialists, many of whom wanted revolutionary changes; upon Romans obedient to every Papal syllable; upon those who damned every breath the Pope breathed, the the resulting emotional reaction so varied and strong acquires a human aspect.

The main result of Rerum Novarum was to make universally clear the social policy of the Church. No one pretends that it is adhered to by all Roman Catholics to this day, though many stand under its judgment.

Catholic Action, though started under another name and active in only a few countries before 1891, received a big boost from Rerum Novarum, so that today its efforts and effectiveness in the social field can be attributed almost directly to the encyclical and to the restatement of Catholic social policy in Quadragesimo Anno. Since 1891, study groups have had something to talk about and to act upon. Catholic Working Associations are confident that their powerful Church supports them as they try to put Roman Catholic principles into effect in industry and society. The clergy has experimented with new ways to minister (a fine example has been the worker-priest movement in France which is

now in a state of flux)[49] The crowning effect of Rerum Novarum is that Leo XIII. has become known as 'The Worker's Pope'. Whether a result of propaganda or of public acclamation, or perhaps of both, Leo is the saint of Roman Catholic workers today, and Rerum Novarum is the 'Worker's Charter'.

The encyclicals of the Popes have had an incalculable effect on the lives of Roman Catholics, and in society, as laymen and priests have tried to make of them the pattern for a new society. The 'man in the street' knows little about what the Pope writes or says, and he would probably say that these pronouncements have had no effect at all. Even so, if one queried an active Roman Catholic, who is at work or business, or in a labor union, he would tell you what the Popes have said.[50]

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49. Howard Schomer, 'Worker-Priests - One Year Later' in The Christian Century, (Chicago: Christian Century Foundation) a weekly, Vol. LXXII, No. 11, March 16, 1955, p.p. 329-331: states that two thirds of the priests remain at their work in defiance of the papal decree of a year ago.

50. 'The Government's Strike' Time Magazine, (New York: Time Inc.) a weekly, August, 14, 1952, p.21: An article on the American Labor Leader Philip Murray, since deceased, makes an interesting comment on the influence of Leo XIII. on one very important Roman Catholic labor leader. Through Murray, it would seem, the encyclicals have had some effect. 'He keeps Pope Leo XIII's encyclical, Rerum Novarum at hand in his Pittsburgh office, and he often makes a most significant comment on this Catholic outline for industrial justice....Like Pope Pius XI (who brought Leo XIII. up to date in 1931) Murray accepts the social and spiritual importance of the worker's vocation, his job'. (Murray is also quotes as saying: 'My grandparents had these ideas before Leo wrote them'.)

John Cort, 'Dynamic Redhead', in The Sign, (Union City, N.J.) a monthly, August, 1953, p. 32. This National Catholic Magazine writes about Walter Reuther, Murray's successor and a Protestant: 'Reuther has been forthright in support of Philip Murray's Industrial Council Plan, an idea whose genealogy Murray traced in a direct line from the papal encyclicals'. That does not mean that Reuther makes the same connection.

These two popular magazines, one secular, the other religious, witness to the fact that the encyclicals are known and have made a mark.

CHAPTER II.

THE PROTESTANT SOCIAL MOVEMENT FROM 1878-1910.

'Every great movement begins in the hearts of a few.'
Walter Rauschenbusch.

'We are surely not sent into the world to get credit and reputations, but to speak such words as are given us to speak; to do such acts as are given us to do; not heeding much, nor expecting to know whether they have affected anything or nothing. Therefore, friends, be of good courage.'
Charles Kingsley.

A fascinating history lies behind the social thinking of The Protestant Churches. No modern study of Church History is complete that does not consider the attitude of Christian bodies towards social affairs.[1] Most recent histories include chapters or whole sections on the Church and Social Order.

When the World Council of Churches meets in solemn assembly, one of the main areas of concern is 'The Responsible Society.' Twice within the past decade, this section has produced comprehensive statements that have received wide public attention. We shall discuss these pronouncements later. For the present, it is necessary to have some acquaintance with the way in which the Church was led into this area of thinking.

It is difficult to decide when the concern of the Church was first awakened in the modern era. Almost all Churchmen would agree

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1. Walter Rauschenbusch, Christianizing the Social Order, (Boston: The Pilgrim Press, 1912). p.29. 'Those who come after us will judge how well or ill we played our part, but whenever men hereafter write the story of how Christendom became Christian, they will have to begin a new chapter at the years in which we are now living.'

that the Christian Socialists of Great Britain represent the first concrete step in the direction of social thinking and action.[2] It is certainly true that Christian social leaders look to Maurice, Kingsley and Ludlow as their spiritual forefathers. Their work has been looked upon as the basis for a Christian social philosophy and as the awakening of the Christian community. There were, however, different individuals interested in this subject before this time, Coleridge and Southey, Robert Owen, Lord Shaftesbury and others. The Christian Socialists represent the first successful attempt to organize efforts for a reconciliation of society and the Church.[3] To mention the above names alone, is to do great injustice to the unnamed and unknown as well as to the known saints and prophets who were active in ministering to the needs of men.

The Puritans, both in Britain and America, are held in disrepute in some circles today because of recognizable faults and weaknesses. Nevertheless, the Puritans never forgot that society stands under God and His judgment. Christians must therefore be responsible for all aspects of social life.

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2. The general reader is referred to Appendix A, for information on the organizations mentioned below, for an outline of the early movement in Protestant Germany and France, and to Appendix B, for a chart placing these movements in relation to each other chronologically.

3. The following quotation will show that 'success' is not too strong a word, as will the rest of this chapter. Philip Taft, Movements For Economic Reform, (New York: Rinehart & Co. Inc., 1950). p.202 'Christian Socialism....showed that religion is not hostile to social change. Christian Socialism helped to modify "all future forms of socialism in accordance with the English temperment, by insuring in the ranks of future socialists the infusion of a number of earnest men who regarded socialism as a fundamental part of their religion." ' (Latter part quoted from Brougham Villiers, The Socialist Movement in England, (London: Y. Fisher Unwin, 1908). p.60.

Although they often failed to shoulder their responsibilities, and showed abysmal lack of insight into the social condition of their times, yet their descendants of the 19th Century took seriously the problems of everyday life.[4] In Great Britain, members of the Non-conformist and Free Church traditions gave ample evidence of action upon society. What began with a fight to abolish slavery soon found itself on other frontiers fighting the battles of the temperance movement. These movements in both Britain and America were the precursors of a later social concern. Indeed, one finds that the temperance movement connects early and late efforts for Christian action in society and includes both conservative and liberal social thinkers.[5]

The pre-Civil War era in the United States was marked by the increasing interest of clergymen in issues before the Republic. Brauer describes the 1830's and 1840's as a 'Golden Age of Reform,'

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4. John R.Bodo, The Protestant Clergy and Public Issues 1812-1848, (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton Un.Press, 1954). p.256, claims that the 'theocrats' exercised great influence and import in America. They bore witness to God's concern for the affairs of human society though in application their principles were narrow and naive.
5. Reports from the Social Commissions of the Churches even to the present day frequently spend more time on the problem of alcohol than on more basic questions. Many feel this is the Church's only concern. In the 19th Century, men began to feel that the Church's main concern was to keep the working man from drinking and smoking. Some churchmen said that drunkenness led to poverty and so temperance would bring about a change in men. William Morris saw a much deeper reason: 'If I were to work ten hours a day at work I despised and hated I should spend my leisure, I hope, in political action, but I fear in drinking.' (Christian Social Reformers of the 19th Century, ed.Hugh Martin., (London: S.C.M. Press, 1927). p.174.) While both attitudes are partially true, an even deeper understanding should bring a healthy perspective today with the Yale Studies on Alcohol, and with the realization that alcoholism is a sickness which may, in part, reflect the sickness of society.

when Christians, who were 'unofficial arms of Protestant Churches,'[6] acted to lift up the community. Churchmen were active in the temperance movement and many leading clergymen were strong abolitionists. Preoccupation with the Civil War, the possible dissolution of a young nation, and later the problems of the Reconstruction Period kept the Church's attention diverted from the basic problems of society that continue to exist despite wars, national tensions, and periods of readjustment. Most of the Churches, especially in the North, were so busy exuding patriotism and thereby manifesting an inherently uncritical attitude toward the social order, that the great upheaval of the late 1870's caught the Church completely unawares. Temperance and abolition were the great, though not the only areas of Christian social propaganda and action.

In Scotland, the Free Church, under the leadership of James Begg, worked actively on behalf of the 'lapsed masses,'[7] the working men who were no longer active in the Church. He fought for shorter hours and associated himself with the Early Closing and Half-Day Saturday Movements. Much was done to draw attention to the poor housing both of urban and rural workers. The General

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6. Jerald C. Brauer, Protestantism in America, (Philadelphia: Westminister Press, 1953). pp. 148, 149, 194.
7. By the 1860's the term 'lapsed masses' had entered into wide usage by churchmen in Scotland.

Assembly of the Free Church appointed a committee, of which Begg was a member, to consider whether the Church might undertake an enquiry into the chief social events of the country. Reporting in 1873, this committee insisted that 'the interests of religion are so deeply intertwined with the social condition of the people that the Church must ever feel a lively interest in all that concerns their social welfare.'[8] By the 1870's the Established Church had recovered from the shock of the Disruption, and was becoming anxious about social evils. The Life and Work Committee, formed in 1869 under the leadership of A.H.Charteris, concentrated for its first few years upon deepening the spiritual life of the Church itself. Yet this committee started to send 'queries' to the Church on matters affecting the life of the Church. These investigations, or 'queries', may have been undertaken first by the Free Church Committee on Religion and Morals, and then used later by the Established Church to canvass social problems.[9]

Many historians of this period in Britain have jumped rather impulsively from Christian Socialism to the first unofficial Church of England social guild, - from 1854 to 1877, - as if nothing notable had happened in the interval . The Christian Socialists, though no

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8. From the Report of the Committee on the State of Religion and morals, 1873, p.19. quoted in Donald M.Bishop, Church and Society - A Study of The Social Work and Thought of James Begg, D.D.(1808-1883), A.H.Charteris D.D., LLD. (1838-1908), and David Watson, D.D.(1859-1943), New College University of Edinburgh Ph.D. Thesis, 1953, p.88.
9. Ibid., This paragraph is condensed from Bishop's thesis. The 'queries' have today become a standard sociological technique, but were at that time quite new and so represented the use of an advanced technique on the part of the Church.

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longer meeting on an organized basis, maintained the Working Men's College. Some of the group stimulated the growth of Co-operatives, and others directed their efforts into the Labor Movement. It might be said that most of the Christian Socialists became active in projects for social reform. At the same time, individual clergymen, stimulated by Maurice, were thinking and working toward social betterment. One example was Westbrooke, who later organized groups in this field. The Church Congress, started in 1861, soon became a platform for social questions. But, for the most part,

> '" The years between 1854 and 1877 witnessed an attempt on the part of the socially-minded churchmen to cure the ills of society by voluntary action. Reform was to be accomplished by stimulating either the benevolent sentiments of the powerful or the disposition of the poor to help themselves...."' 10

Thus, two movements may be discerned. On the one hand there were secular movements whose leadership was largely provided from among the Christian Socialists, and there was the clerical movement which received inspiration from, but which was for the most part unassociated with, Christian Socialism. The Settlement House Movement, which spread rapidly after 1868 - the time of its organization -, probably represents a meeting of these two elements.

It should be remembered that this period, the second quarter of the 19th Century, was one of relative calm. The Church was not forced by circumstance to face the facts of life. After all, were the times not improving?

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10. Maurice B. Reckitt, Maurice to Temple, (London: Faber & Faber, Ltd., 1947), p.110, quoted from Dr. Donald Wagner.

> 'There was motion, and with that, as all the signs suggest, the average industrial wage-earner, down to the trade collapse of the 'seventies,' and perhaps after, was reasonably content. A natural revolutionary he had never been. Chartists had always found London politically apathetic-because too well paid, they thought. Radical reformers, during the thirty years after 1848, must have noticed the same apathy in the whole country. There is little doubt that Karl Marx did, whatever his opinion of the pay.'[11]

What began with Christian Socialism, fell away and the Church became apathetic. Those few hardy souls fighting on the frontier seemed to stand alone in their quest for social justice. But even in the midst of evident calm in the Church, there was motion and development, as Reckitt puts it, - of a 'seed growing secretly'.

1875 - 1900

A resounding crash jarred the even temper of the times as depression and industrial crisis broke over the first fifteen years of the last quarter of the century.[12] The heroic temper which historians have observed rising up in all times of stress, was not absent then. There appeared prophets, men willing to witness to a social passion, rising up out of man's inhumanity to man. The slumbering giant, The Church, began to stir. Not yet

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11. J.H.Clapham, An Economic History of Modern Britain (Cambridge at the University Press, 1932), Vol. II, p.481.
12. R.H.Tawney, 'The Bearing of Christianity on Social and Industrial Questions' an address given at a Meeting of the International Missionary Conference in Jerusalem, printed in Christianity and the Growth of Industrialism in Asia, Africa and South America, (London: Oxford University Press, 1928), Vol.V of series on Jerusalem,p.160. Tawney draws attention to the fact that historical necessity led economic mobilization in the 1870's to an outburst of economic imperialism of forty years before 1914 and World War I.

awake, the Church's 'unofficial arms' began to stretch forth. The Guild of St.Matthew began its work in 1877 under the leadership of Stewart Headlam. Its task was to restore to the Church her rightful position of leadership in society. A guild within the Church, never very strong and yet exerting influence out of proportion to the size of its membership, it claimed to combine Tractarianism in its 'high' sacramentalism with Christian Socialism's purpose of transforming society. The Guild of St.Matthew (G.S.M.) is a prototype of the kind of organization which grew up throughout the whole Church in the next seventy-five years.

Circumstances finally forced the Church to take some official notice of the world situation. The Church was late in acting but, one must say hopefully, not too late.[13] Socialism provided the background for the study and consequent report of the Lambeth Conference (1888). Lambeth 1897 was also a step forward in Christian Social thinking. We shall discuss these two conferences in chapter III.

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13. Rauschenbusch, Christianizing the Social Order, pp.28-29. 'No fair-minded man should demand that a great composite body like the Christian Church shall be wide awake and intelligent at the dawn of a new era, while political parties, the Law, the Press, the Colleges, and the working class itself are just beginning to rub the sleep from their eyes.'

The Christian Social Union (1889) emerged, a result of the Lambeth Conference of 1888, as a powerful element within the life of the Church.[14] Scott-Holland was one of the chief organizers of the Christian Social Union (C.S.U.). Gore, also an early leader, contributed to the social conscience of the Church for over forty years. Lux Mundi, which appeared the year that C.S.U. was organized, contained a deeply ethical and social message under a profound Sacramental and Incarnational theology. C.S.U. and Lux Mundi represented the complete merging of the two strains which had grown up earlier, Tractarianism and Christian Socialism.

American Episcopalianism, following the lead of the 'Mother

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14. The Lambeth Conferences of 1867, 1878, and 1888, ed. by Randall T.Davidson, (London: S.P.C.K., 1889), p.267. From the Encyclical Letter of 1888: 'To study schemes proposed for redressing the social balance, to welcome the good which may be found in the aims or operations of any, and to devise methods, whether by legislation or by social combinations, or in any other way, for a peaceful solution of the problems without violence or injustice, is one of the noblest pursuits which can engage the thoughta of those who strive to follow in the footsteps of Christ.' P.309. from the Report on Socialism received by the conference. 'The clergy may enter into friendly relations with Socialists, attending, when possible, their club meetings, and trying to understand their aims and methods.'
Both of these statements were taken literally and led on one hand to the C.S.U. and on the other to meetings of churchmen and socialists. This indicates, perhaps, the authoritative position of Lambeth. Maurice B.Reckitt, Faith and Society (Longmans Gree & Co. 1932) pp.88 N. quotes Miss Lucy Gardner, C.O.P.E.C. Conference Handbook 1924 - 'I wonder if it is true to say that C.O.P.E.C. was born on the day that Canon Scott-Holland and other members of the Anglican Church formed Christian Social Union, for in the Christian Social Union was the germ of most of the things for which C.O.P.E.C. stands - personal service, knowledge, co-operative study, all in relation to the central thought of Christianity.'

Church', formed a Christian Social Union in 1891, later renamed the Church Social Union. Yet four years earlier, in 1887, the Church Association for the Advancement of the Interests of Labor (C.A.I.L.) had been founded as an unofficial group of the Protestant Episcopal Church. 1889 saw a very significant Pastoral Letter written by the Bishops of the Church which will be summarized later.[15]

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15. A footnote is not an appropriate place to discuss the great leadership of the Anglican Communion in social matters. It deserves an exhaustive study, yet space does not permit. A few reasons may be put forth to account for this leadership. The first rather points to the slowness of other traditions. 1) Those of the Puritan tradition were not as likely to overthrow an order reflecting 300 years of their effort. While both Nonconformist and Established Churches were associated with the political ideology of the day, the former with the Liberal Party, and the latter with the Conservative Party, yet even so, elements in the Established Church remained freer to criticize society. In this respect, the Tractarians prepared for a break within the Church, first beginning in ecclesiastical matters which allowed for a break from the Church's whole position in society and particularly in political life. The descendents of the Tractarians to this day remain some of the most alert about questions of social justice. 2) The Christian Socialists propounded a philosophy which allowed for the change or transformation of Society. While this was not original with them, it created a group who never let the idea die. Even in the Established Church, this led to a realization that perhaps the basic character of the Church must change. As late as Malvern (1941), a reorganization of the Church was called for as well as of society. 3) The Church, though established, was free to act. Thus, unlike that part of German Christianity which was also Erastian but Lutheran, British Christians were able to keep some perspective in judgment on the society which they were supposed to represent <u>par excellence</u>. 4) In America, the leadership of the Protestant Episcopal Church looked to the Church of England for inspiration and direction, while at the same time remaining independent and free to go its own way. Because the Episcopal Church avoided a split over the Civil War which hurt the other denominations in a period when a united social witness was called for, she was in a strong position. Rauschenbusch found Episcopalian interest

(Continued on page 57).

Apart from individual activity there is no indication of any effective groups meeting within the Nonconformist tradition during this period, though there were groups active in social service. One exception is the Christian Socialist League formed in 1894, in the Church of Scotland. Most of those alert to the

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(Continued from page 56) - surprising because the Church failed to lead in either the abolition or temperance movement. Certainly, the influence of English Christian Socialism made the difference.
5) Henry F.May, Protestant Churches and Industrial America, (New York: Harper & Bros., 1949). p.186. The suggestion is made that 'Episcopalianism had never lost touch completely with the medieval dream of society guided and led by the Church.' Going back to point (1), we see another reason why Anglicans were never completely identified with present society for they were yearning for an organic society. It was natural that they should desire to assume their old status. Their position allowed them great freedom yet they yearned for closer ties or even a spiritual control over the society in which they lived. We can be thankful that the latter motive was greatly sublimated by the greater desire for organic unity, a new Christendom. To this day, the 'Christendom Group' gives witness to some desire for a 'whole' society though not necessarily the medieval system. M.Reckitt, op.cit., pp.203-204, with characteristic brilliance warns those who criticize this policy of appealing to the past for authority that they 'must be cautious in appealing to the"most enlightened thought" of the present for an authority which can be conceded to the modern outlook by those who share in full measure its most characteristic assumptions.'
6) Then May suggests on the same page, p.186, that the status of an Anglican Clergyman as a priest gives him a certain authority. Thus laymen were more ready to accept the Church's words when she spoke and perhaps for their part the clergy were not filled with such temerity in speaking. J.P.Morgan, who disagreed with his rector and often tried to block his efforts, 'yielded not to Rainsford's arguments but to his priestly authority. (May, op.cit., p.187).

conditions of external life, worked through the Life and Work Committee in concrete acts of social service much as it is carried on in the various churches through Home Mission Boards. Apart from the 'queries' there seemed to be no organized effort by members of the Scottish Kirk similar to the C.S.U. or C.A.I.L. A special report was presented to the General Assembly in 1887 on the 'Lapsed Classes' but there is no indication of positive effort to correct the situation. Even a special report on the Church and the Working Classes presented to the Assembly in 1892 only suggests four superficial remedies which reveal a greater concern with the breaking of the Sabbath than the crushing of man. Legislation was advocated 'prohibiting certain kinds of Sunday work,' and the Church was called to bear a 'more fruitful testimony....of the value of Sabbath keeping to men's physical, moral, social, and spiritual well-being.'[16] To the Church's credit, she was greatly concerned, but her wisdom was lacking, or rather her knowledge, for she failed to get down to the root of the problem. The Church Congress started by the General Assembly in 1889, like its Anglican counterpart, also presented social issues on its platform.

Much has been written about the American Protestant Scene in this period of the 'rise of the Social Gospel.' Aside from the C.A.I.L. and the C.S.U., all of the other groups formed are of an interdenominational character, with the possible exception of Walter Rauschenbusch's Brotherhood of the Kingdom which started with a

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16. Bishop, op.cit., p.162.

fellowship of young Baptists, (but this later drew in adherents of other confessions.) Hopkins, in a very comprehensive study, describes the last decade of the 19th Century as a time which 'brought the sobering realization that good intentions were not sufficiently powerful to reform an unchristian civilization.'[17] American Social Christianity 'was coming of age but had not yet reached maturity.'[18]

1900 to 1910.

A new century filled with promises of unending progress raised great hopes. Inventions of a past century became realities, and in Britain and America, technological advance lifted spirits high in anticipation. The 'Gay-Nineties' were to be only a prelude to a gayer century. But industrial dislocations soon came to light. Perhaps the term 'cultural lag' was not used in this period, but there was such a lag between technological advance and the progress of the human spirit.

The Church was just awaking from sleep, but found herself, she knew not where. First, she shook herself, as if shaking off the last drowsiness, and then, the first thoughts came tumbling forth. What thoughts she must have had! 'I won't have anything

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17. Charles Howard Hopkins, The Rise of the Social Gospel in American Protestantism 1865-1915, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1940). p.21. See also May, op.cit., for a study of 19th Century Protestant Social Christianity. cf. Appendix A for other materials.
18. Hopkins, op.cit., p.122.

to do with all this; it's none of my business;' or 'surely, it's my business, so I'll just follow the lead of the people who know what they are doing.' Some in this stage became socialists and others more ardent apologists for the status quo. And finally, the Church in these waking hours was all at once alert to her responsibility. 'I have a distinctive message but what will it be?' The Church sat up and stretched her arms. The little advance groups and pioneers, who first had seen their responsibility in the social sphere, framed resolutions, took action, distributed literature, etc. But then the time came when the Church had to stand upon her own feet. That happened in the first decade of the 20th Century. The Church spoke, and finally took a few strides forward. The sleepy giant, now more like a Gulliver, was really awake with senses keen. Only a few parts of the body remained inactive, and some of the muscles so long slack were to remain piteously weak for lack of proper exercise.

Britain found in these ten years the Free Churches stirring themselves to action. The Scottish Social Union was formed in 1901, and the Wesleyan Social Union in 1905, both patterned on the English C.S.U., and the Church Congresses now allowed more time for social questions. The Pan-Anglican Congress of 1908 started a whole bustle of activity and thinking and discussion. More of the Churches started their own social service unions,

and they began to examine ways in which they could come together to discuss common problems. 1911 saw the first interdenominational Social Service Union in Britain including both Established and Free Churches, and also the Roman Catholic Social Guild which was founded in 1909.

In America too, a great burst of action indicated full life. The Episcopal Church began, in 1901, to issue statements apropos of the social order, as did the Congregational Church. In 1908, The Methodist Episcopal Church prepared a social creed which was the basis for the Creed of the Churches adopted by the Federal Council of Churches. The Federal Council was a living witness to the fact that social concern led the Churches into co-operative endeavor. Rooted in the Evangelical Alliance which carried on 'three of the most significant conferences ever held in the United States in the interest of Social Christianity'[19] in 1887, 1889, and 1893, the founders of the Federal Council met in 1905 at the Inter-Church Conference to proclaim their friendliness to labor. By 1910, most of the denominations affiliated with the Federal Council, adopted the Social Creed as their own. It was a period when 'the sweep of the social gospel was carried to

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19. Hopkins, op.cit., pp.113-114. Also pp.203-204, where Hopkins draws together various strands of American Social Christianity showing awakening as a result of the quest for the historical Jesus and his teachings, of socialism, of developing techniques of sociology, and of a social gospel philosophy formulated by Rauschenbusch. 'The confluence of these streams resulted in the formal recognition of social Christianity by Protestant denominations and by their representative association the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, which latter was brought into being largely as the result of social-gospel influences.'

the climax of its development.'[20]

The first decade of the 20th Century was the beginning of an all-out effort by the Church to relate itself to the Society in which it lived. Up to this time, with few exceptions, most of the efforts in this direction were made by a few small groups and by some hardy pioneers.[21] Many of the groups, which before this time carried such a heavy burden, suspended their tasks when the Church took over the responsibility of study committees and social action federations. Other groups started up feeling they had a special witness which the Church could not accept, and remained to be gad-flies, ever reminding the Church of its whole message. The most notable outcome of the movement of Social Christianity was the increasing amount of co-operative endeavor of the sort already mentioned which led to the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. It became an ecumenical force when the Life and Work Movement, meeting first in Stockholm, was finally

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20. Ibid., p.203.
21. 'Christianity and Politics', W.J.H.Campion, Lux Mundi, ed. by Charles Gore, (London: Jon Murray, 1889). p.440. 'Those Christian bodies which float, more or less closely knit together, around the central core of the Church, have often rendered great service in advancing in special points the standard of social and personal morality, and they are more flexible, and able rapidly to throw themselves into new crusades; but it may well be doubted if their work could have been done at all without the more rigid and stable body behind them, with its slow movements, but greater Catholicity of aim and sympathy....'Of also Appendix A, quote by Rauschenbusch.

to become one of the cohesive forces in the whole Ecumenical Movement.[22]

We have a picture, then, of isolated groups beating upon the door of the Church until the door is opened to them and they are welcomed inside. Because of them, the Church raised up official agencies to complete acts of Christian service and to initiate study into schemes of social justice. Soon the Word of God thundered forth with new fullness and vitality, because the Word no longer spoke just to individual souls but to all of corporate humanity. It spoke, not of a God completely transcendent, but of One who is Holy, Loving, and Just, indeed, God the Father of all men everywhere in this world.

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22. A study should be made of the part Social Christianity made toward Inter-Church Co-operation and Church Union. Donald H.Yoder hardly mentions it in his chapter on 'Christian Unity in 19th Century America' in A History of the Ecumenical Movement 1517-1948, ed. by R.Rouse, and S.C.Neill(London: S.P.C.K., 1954). Ruth Rouse, in her chapter, however makes up for this in part, pp.313-315.
P.313 - 'attack on social evils - concern in the Lord's name for the bodies as well as the souls of men - was no less characteristic of the early leaders of the Evangelical Awakening than their missionary zeal, and like that zeal it brought Christians of different Churches and nations together.' Also the chapter by Nils Karlström on the Life and Work Movement, pp.510ff.P.510. 'The Christian social action which developed in the 19th Century....broke through both denominational and national barriers.' Cf.J.F.Laun, Social Christianity in England, (London:S.C.M.Press, 1929). p.89. Also cf.James Mackinnon, The Social and Industrial History of Scotland(London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1921). pp.224-225. 'A powerful influence in fostering the spirit of union has been the growing sense of the importance for the Churches of social, compared with ecclesiastical problems. In the presence of rampant social vice, industrial unrest, slum life, bad housing, the growing popular indifference or alienation, which such evils tend to nurture, the Churches are learning to see ecclesiastical contentions in a truer perspective, and are more and more realising the paramount obligation of uniting their energies in the cause of social betterment.' Within forty years after the Disruption this was true in many quarters, and it was certainly a factor leading the Re-union of the Scottish Churches in 1929.

Factors That Led the Church Into The Social Realms.

We have alluded to some of the economic conditions which awakened the Church from her slumber. Periods of depression, unemployment, poor housing, and work on the Sabbath forced the Church to sit up and take notice. Looking about, she realized that there was a strange, unaccounted-for gap in congregations. Working people were not to be seen in the pews on Sunday. At first, it seemed that high pew rents might have kept some out, so there was an attempt to be rid of this system; but soon everyone saw the Church in a precarious position without any means of financial support. Others thought that work on the Sabbath was the real cause. Then the growth of the cities, with the migration of workers to towns, was blamed. People cut off from their life long friends, their families and the village Kirk, did not build up new relationships of the same nature in the new environment. At this point, the Church began to face the growth of the city. Cities had assumed a new character. All of these factors brought the Church to realize that there were indeed 'lapsed masses'.

Looking at phenomena born of time and change, the Church also saw what she had taken so long to see, that now one or two, or more generations had grown up with no Church contact. These were not 'lapsed' people, backsliders, they had <u>never</u> known the Church, heard of the Gospel, or considered the meaning of a Christian Society.

Because the Church was such an integral part of society, and therby blinded to society's weakness, she was slow, but no slower than secular institutions to diagnose the strange malady. When the Church saw society crumbling, when she realized that the idea of a Christian Civilization was out of date, (Rauschenbusch called it a 'semi-christian' society), she knew her life was at stake. Realizing that she would fall if society fell, she took positive steps to correct the situation. At the same time, the Roman Catholic Church took even stronger action, advocating obedience to authority in almost any form.

The strategic position of the Church was realized not only by some rulers who sought ecclesiastical backing, (especially of the Church of Rome), but also by industrialists who believed that the Church could bring peace to the disorder and havoc which threatened industry itself. Labor leaders also turned to the Church but were not given as much solace, not even the sanctuary, that peasants had known in a day gone by.

Up to this point the Church had much to overcome to render her witness effective. The Church was quite preoccupied with her own life. It is not often that one puts internal and external pressures side by side. A careful study shows this to be a stormy time for the Church. There were new theological trends, and movements within the Church seeking either tighter or looser orders, The Church was going through a period when she had to define her own position, and this was obviously affected in many instances by political events. (The Church in Civil War America is a cogent example of this.)

But even more than her own problems, the Church had to overcome the indifference of her clergy and members, the conservatism of influential social classes, the power of financial and political forces to preserve the status quo, the weakness of men in face of economic rewards, the class differences, the 'physiological conservatism of age,' and the powers of institutionalized tradition.[23]

Dumbrowski sums up the growth of the social gospel as a result of many factors which apply almost equally to Britain as to America. The Social gospel was a result of: American activism, reconsideration of New Testament ethics, continuation of interest in social matters after slavery, the rebirth of the Christian Socialist movements in Great Britain, 18th Century humanitarianism, liberal tendencies in the theology of Maurice, Bushnell, Munger, and Gladden, an inherent concern for social justice, gains made in social psychology and sociology by such men as Ward, Small, Giddings, James and Dewey, the influence of a group of political economists and journalists originating with religious presuppositions, Colwell, Ely, Lloyd, and Bellamy. Finally the social gospel was to some extent a defense mechanism called forth by the attack upon religion of labor leaders, socialists, and reformers, Robert Owen, Saint-Simon, Karl Marx and Henry George.[24]

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23. Rauschenbusch, Christianizing the Social Order, Chapt 3, pp.30ff.
24. James Dumbrowski, The Early Days of Christian Socialism in America, (New York: Columbia Un.Press, 1936) The paragraph above is a summary of p.3.

The Church had to come to terms with pietists who would postpone efforts for social regeneration until the inauguration of the reign of Christ.[25] There were battles on other theological fronts also. A new theology was the result. The theological concept basic to early pronouncements of the Church was the Kingdom of God. From Maurice's book, The Kingdom of Christ, to Ritschl, to Rauschenbusch, and then from the Tractarian sacramental view of the universe to the profound incarnational theology of Lux Mundi, we see at least two theological trends, both of which included a view of human personality never quite reached before, of man who is a child of God the Father and therefore who is brother to every man. At this point the democratic idea is projected into the Kingdom of God with the doctrine of equality. In this world, men have promise of a kingdom realized either in fellowship in a universal society, or through the sacraments of the Church, or in acts of Christian charity. Christ is Lord not only of the past and the future, but also of the present.

The following passage from Maurice does not sum up this theological concept but rather indicates its beginning, for from it there has developed a more sophisticated theology.

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25. Walter Rauschenbusch, Christianity and the Social Crisis, (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1915.) p.346. R.says the element of postponement means lack of faith in the present power of Christ.

> 'For that men are not to gain a kingdom hereafter, but are put in possession of it now, and that through their chastisements and the oppositions of their evil nature they are to learn its character and enter into its privileges, is surely taught in every verse of the one; and that love has been manifested unto men, that they have been brought into fellowship with it, that by that fellowship they may rise to the fruition of it, and that this fellowship is for us as members of a family, so that he who loveth God must love his brother also, is affirmed again and again in express words of the other.' 26

A dynamic theology broke with static orthodoxy, long out of date and out of character with Him of whom it was to speak. This was a theological reformation in Protestantism which restored Jesus to history, which freed the Bible from the fetters of plenary inspiration, the Church from individualism, the Sacraments from meaningless symbolism, and human society from sterile interpersonal relations. For social justice ('love operating at a distance'), to find its relation to love, is a compelling task which continues to face the Church in the 20th Century.

The Authority of the Protestant Pronouncements.

We assume, for the sake of this discussion, that the Church does have an authority given her by Jesus Christ. It is not our task to determine the nature and extent of that authority. Rather, we want to determine how much authority is claimed by the Church for her pronouncements. The weakness which inhabits all human institutions is admitted by the Protestant Church; therefore, her declarations are not infallible. Yet, they may

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26. Frederick Denison Maurice, The Kindgom of Christ, (London: Macmillan & Co., 1883) 3rd ed. Vol.I.p.293.

reflect the light of truth, to give guidance, strength and comfort. Truth has an authority of its own, which is not given to it, but which may be witnessed to, in good faith, by the Church. The Protestant Church, in her pronouncements on social justice, has rarely if ever spoken ex cathedra. For example, the Lambeth Conferences do not presume to enact canons or doctrines, but only to discuss matters of importance and to make resolutions as guides for future action.[27] Our discussion of each document will deal with its own conception of its authority.

The ultimate relevance and truth of Protestant pronouncements may depend upon the extent to which they have been instructed by the Word of God, both as the Word is incarnate in Jesus Christ

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27. The Lambeth Conferences (1867-1930), (London: S.P.C.K.,1948) page 9 quotes Archbishop Longley in his opening address at the first gathering on Tuesday, 24 September, 1867: 'It has never been contemplated that we should assume the functions of a general synod of all the Churches in full communion with the Church of England, and take upon ourselves to enact canons that should be binding upon those here represented. We merely propose to discuss matters of practical interest, and pronounce what we deem expedient in resolutions which may serve as safe guides to future action.' Also, Spencer Miller, Jr. and Joseph F. Fletcher, The Church and Industry,(New York: Longmans, Green & Co.,1930), p.44: 'While the Lambeth Conference, which meets for purposes of consultation at ten-year intervals, is not a legislative body of the bishops of the Anglican Church, its pronouncements may be regarded as the authentic and deliberate expressions of the mind of the Church on matters with which it deals.'

and made manifest in the Bible; but there is a further criterion; that is, the understanding which these statements show of the human situations to which they are addressed. What is not directed to man and his needs, does not command his obedience or respect. Surely these two factors coincide, for it is not conceivable that the Word of God could be in any way irrelevant to the needs of men.

Those pronouncements which are accepted by the Church generally as having some authority will be presented here. Also those which have made an advance, or a new departure from the social statements of the past, will be discussed. For example, Malvern, which was a demand for a social revolution, was a consultation held to prescribe cures for the disease of the time. While Malvern was called together by the then Archbishop of York, it did not presume to have authority for the Church. Rather, the findings reflected a majority opinion at the conference. After Malvern, however, there had to be a new dimension in other Church pronouncements.

Since our main concern will be the ecumenical documents, these reflecting better the feeling of the Church at large, we must not forget that these documents do no more than claim to represent those actually present at conferences, unless the Churches themselves confirm the statements made there. Church Assemblies or Convocations actually claim to speak for the Churches or for denominations themselves. Such pronouncements will have to

be left to a separate study of each denominational social development.[28] Where such denominational documents serve to enlighten the ecumenical pronouncements, or where they tend to act as commentaries upon them, we will refer to them.

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28. Bishop op.cit., has already been mentioned as one example. Another conclusive survey has been made of the Protestant Episcopal Church in America. More studies of this sort are being made. e.g. M.Moran Weston., Social Policy of the Episcopal Church in the Twentieth Century, an unpublished thesis presented to Columbia University in 1954 for a Ph.D., to be found in Union Theological Seminary Library, New York.

CHAPTER III.

PROTESTANT CHURCH PRONOUNCEMENTS IN THE ECONOMIC AND INDUSTRIAL FIELD*

'Because Jesus Christ is Lord in earth and heaven, the call to responsible social action which God addresses to His Church does not present us with an impossible task. We are not called upon to shoulder the burden of this world, but to seek justice, freedom and peace to the best of our ability in the social order. The Church knows that in obedience and prayer our efforts will bear fruit. For God has called us unto liberty to serve one another by love. "Faithful is he that calleth you, who also will do it". (From Evanston Assembly report, World Council of Churches 1954).

FROM 1888 TO 1900.

The Lambeth Conference of 1888.

Preoccupied, as the Lambeth Conferences of 1867 and 1878 were with matters of Church life, social issues never found an entry on the docket. In 1888, the realization that there might be no Church life at all, unless the Church grappled with everyday problems, prompted Lambeth to include a report on Socialism, the ideology which most threatened the Church from outside. While Lambeth was not responsible for anything except the encyclical letter and the resolutions adopted by vote - in 1888, the Conference commended the Committee's Report on Socialism, 'received' it, making it in effect, the report of the Conference itself.[1] A synopsis follows.

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1. The Lambeth Conferences of 1867, 1878 and 1888, ed. Randall T. Davidson (London: S.P.C.K., 1889), Report on Socialism pp. 303-311.

'Any scheme of social reconstruction may be called Socialism which aims at uniting labor and the instruments of labor (land and capital), whether by means of the State, or of the help of the rich, or of the voluntary co-operation of the poor'.[2] There is no necessary contradiction between Christianity and Socialism in this understanding of Socialism. The questions that must be asked are: will this union of labor and the instruments of labor improve the mental, moral and material condition of men, and which is the wisest way to do this ? Either the State can take possession of the instruments of production or, as the committee suggests, laborers, by thrift, can acquire land, or shares in societies for co-operative production.

As the report points out, 'there is no surer cause of failure in practical affairs, than the effort to act on an ideal which has not yet been realized. If the Church is to act safely as well as sublimely, she must take the self-regarding motives with her on the long path by which she advances towards the perfect life of love'.[3] Self-regard is a necessary part of self-preservation. Competition is injurious only when it is 'unrestricted, when it takes no counsel of the dictates of brotherly love'.[4]

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2. The Lambeth Conferences of 1867, 1878 and 1888, ed Randall T. Davidson (London: S.P.C.K., 1889). Report on Socialism p. 304.

3. Ibid., p. 307.

4. Ibid.

The government can do much to protect the proletariat from unchecked competition, by establishing boards of arbitration, encouraging 'a wider distribution of property by the abolition of entail', and erecting a system of taxation favorable to workers. Capitalists might be induced to enter profit-sharing schemes and artisans taught to make co-operative production successful. Through all these means, feeling between classes would be diminished.

The Pastoral Letter of the Bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church in America (1889). [5]

The Bishops, speaking for the Church,[6] have provided a notable document, evidence of a deep understanding of social, political and economic issues. After discussing the question of Christians in the State, the problem of industrial classes is approached.

In spite of past failures the continuing purpose of the Church is to seek justice for all in recognition of the brotherhood of all, which rests 'on the dignity and sacredness of humanity taken into the Godhead by the Word made

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5. 'Protestant Episcopal Church and Social Reform', New Encyclopedia of Social Reform, ed. Bliss. Extract of the Pastoral Letter on pp. 994-995.

6. M. Moran Weston, op.cit., unpublished thesis at Union Theo. Sem. p. 198. 'The pastoral letters issued by the House of Bishops from time to time have a unique value both as indications of the mind of the Church on certain issues, and secondly, as instruments for shaping and forming the common mind. While they do not have the force of General Convention legislation or Church laws, in some respects they have the higher authority of moral weight and persuasion'.

flesh, and by Him redeemed unto the liberty of the children of God'. Many say that there is no solution for the anxieties of an uneasy world. Not that the Church can claim to have any swift cure, yet some fallacy must account for a system which allows labor to be sold like a 'commercial commodity'.

For the Worker's part, he is called upon to recognise the legitimate interest of his employer. Unreasonable demands, if fulfilled, would bring disaster. Employers must respect in return the spiritual needs of man.

One day, a Holy day, a day of worship and rest must be preserved. 'To rob it of its character at the demand of greed; to make labor so dreary under its daily burden that it is tempted and almost forced to change its day of high and holy refreshment into a day of reckless indulgence or soulless apathy, is grievous sin'.

The Lambeth Conference of 1897[7]

Again, as in 1888, the report of the committee, this time entitled the Committee on Industrial Problems, is received

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7. Conference of the Bishops of the Anglican Communion, Lambeth 1897. (London: S.P.C.K., 1897). A pamphlet. Not much can be said about the reception of the Lambeth reports up to this point for lack of information. It is supposed that they were read among Anglican churchmen and some others but little or no reference is found in other sources.

by resolution of the Conference. The encyclical letter suggests that the solution to social problems is the application of the principle of the Brotherhood of Man, and advocates further aid and encouragement to those helping to raise themselves out of weakness.

Since economic science does not claim to influence the development of character, while the Church does, moral guidance is summoned to help the individual, especially at the point where social conditions affect his personality. The Church should not take sides nor 'identify Christian duty with the acceptance of systems based on collective or individual ownership of the means of production'.[8]

Christian duty operates in two directions. First, Christian principles must be applied, the principles of brotherhood, labor, justice, and public responsibility. Secondly, Christian opinion should 'repudiate open breaches of social justice'. 'It ought to condemn the belief that economic conditions are to be left to the action of material causes and mechanical laws, uncontrolled by any moral responsibility'.[9]

Section two of this Lambeth report deals with particular issues, e.g. unemployment (those who are unemployed being made up of the unfit, the unwilling, the unfortunate, and the morally weak), sweating labor, housing of the poor, temperance

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8. Ibid., p. 138.

9. Ibid., pp. 139-40.

provisions for old age, etc. Labor bureaus and boards of conciliation and arbitration are recommended to minimize fluctuations and the dislocations of workers'. Public works might ease the stress of trying times. Co-operatives are commended, though these may degenerate into 'a vast system of joint-stock shopkeeping or industry, conducted on selfish principles, with no dominant moral purpose....Such a system is only selfish competition decked out in new garments, and bearing a new name'.[10] Faithful following of their true moral and spiritual purposes will earn for co-operatives the sympathy of the Church.

FROM 1900 TO WORLD WAR I.

Other Churches before 1900 made scattered statements but none so thorough as those above. Sunday work was a great concern,[11] as were the long hours of labor and working conditions. Concern for these questions comes up again in Home Mission Board reports and studies on the religious

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10. Ibid., p. 144.

11. Schemes of the Church of Scotland, 1892 (Edinburgh: William Blackwood & Sons). Queries made on Sunday Labor, p. 576, called for legislation by which certain forms of Sunday work would be prohibited or diminished. Also, the General Assembly was asked to address a letter to employers and employed on this matter.

condition of the people.[12] Yet before 1900, the words, 'labor', 'industrial', and 'social' hardly appear in the index of Church journals and convention reports.[13] The Congregational Church in the United Stated meeting tri-annually, appointed a Committee of Five on Capital and Labor in 1895 which finally got around to making a report in 1901, three years late. In the Churdh of Scotland, it is true, these questions aroused concern in committees on Life and Work (from 1869), on the Lapsed Classes(1886) etc. By 1901, the Protestant Episcopal Church in America established a Commission on Capital and Labor and passed several resolutions, one asserting that the Church was the friend of all men, 'rich and poor alike'. Another resolution was worded: '....the Christian Church would be untrue to her Master - the Carpenter of Nazareth - if she were not the friend of the laboring man, and did not hold his welfare as dear to her heart as that of his

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12. Ibid., p. 996. The Committee 'has been reminded that the religious condition of the people cannot be dissociated from the issues which relate to social and personal well-being.'

13. A check was made of the reports of the Church of Scotland, and in America of the Methodist Episcopal, the Congregational, the Protestant Episcopal and the Presbyterian USA Churches.

employer....'[14]. In 1904, the Committee pointed out the dangers of blacklists, boycotts, lockouts and strikes, and yet pointed to the necessity for the organization of labor. The Convention of 1907 condemned the exploitation of children.

The Presbyterian Church, U.S.A. started a Department of Church and Labor in 1903 which became the first effective organ of the Churches. Yet the same year, the General Assembly did not deem it 'expedient' to act on overtures about the Church and labor. By 1905, the Assembly affirmed that the 'labor question is fundamentally a moral and religious question....it will never be settled upon any other basis'.[15]

The Inter-Church Conference on Federation (1905), the assembly meeting to organize the Federal Council of Churches, included the question of Capital and Labor on its agenda. These resolutions were passed:

> 'In the divine order of things there can be no discord between labor and the accumulated results of labor.... (and) private capital in every instance ought to be administered as a sacred trust for the common weal - this is not merely in the distribution of surplus wealth, but also in all the active productive uses of capital, the law of God requiring not only beneficence instead of corrupting extravagance, but also instead of greedy production, productive activities on lines most considerate of the ultimate well-being of the whole community and the immediate welfare of the immediate worker'[16]

14. Journal of the Proceedings of the Bishops and Clergy and Laity OF THE Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America 1901, p. 126. (Triennial Conventions)
15. 'The Presbyterian Church and Social Reform', C.L. Thompson and Charles Stelzle, New Encyc. of Soc. Reform ed. Bliss, p.942-3.
16. Bliss, op. cit., p. 223.

During the period up to 1908, none of the Churches made anything that could be called a pronouncement in the full sense of the word, except those already summarized.

'To the Methodist Episcopal Church belongs the honor of making the first ringing declaration on social questions in a national convention!'[17] The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ adopted this with little change after which most of the Church conventions amended and accepted as their own the 'Social Creed of the Churches'.

In 1908, all the major denominations except the Lutherans and Southern Baptists, gathered to form the Federal Council of Churches. One of the Council's purposes was 'to secure a larger combined influence of the Churches of Christ in all matters affecting the moral and social conditions of the people, so as to promote the application of the law of Christ in every relation of human life'.[18] Time was given at the very first meeting for a report on 'The Church and Modern Industry'.[19]

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17. Halford E. Luccock and Paul Hutchison, The Story of Methodism, (N.Y.: The Methodist Book Concern, 1926). p.476. The declaration is to be found in the Journal of the 25th. Delegated General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, (N.Y. Eaton & Main) pp. 546-549. From that time to the present the Methodist Church has remained a leader in the social real as Bauschenbusch predicted, Christianizing the Social Order, 1912, p.23. 'The Methodists are likely to play a very important part in the social awakening of the American Churches'.

18. Report of the First Meeting of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, ed. Elias Sanford, (N.Y. : The Revell Press 1909). From the statement of purpose in the constitution.

19. Ibid., pp. 226-243.

The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ

In America

1908.

Christ came to save society, not to reform it. The whole idea of 'classes' is abhorrent to the Christian ideal of life. Industrial progress has caught the Church unawares and workers have been enstranged from the Church. Now the Church will act. 'It is not content with announcing abstract principles, but means to work definitely and steadily toward the translation of these into concrete conduct'.[20] Then follow statements and resolutions. The problem of modern industry can be interpreted and solved only by the teachings of Jesus Christ. Christian practices and principles have not always harmonized. Patience and mutual confidence are necessary to solve the problem of our complex industrial order. 'While we assert the natural right of men - Capitalists and working-men alike - to organize for common ends, we hold that the organization of Capital or the organization of labor cannot make wrong right, or right wrong....'[21] The fundamental purpose of the labor movement is ethical. It is the duty of all Christian people to be concerned directly with practical industrial problems.

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20. Ibid., p. 235.

21. Ibid., p. 237.

A concrete program, the Social Creed of the Churches (adapted from the Methodist Episcopal Church) is laid out.

> 'To us it seems that the Churches must stand-
> For equal rights and complete justice for all men in all stations of life.
> For the right of all men to the opportunity for self-maintenance, a right ever to be wisely and strongly safeguarded against encroachment of every kind.
> For the right of workers to some protection against the hardships often resulting from the swift crises of industrial change.
> For the principle of conciliation and arbitration in industrial dissensions.
> For the protection of the worker from dangerous machinery, occupational disease, injuries and mortality.
> For the abolition of child labor.
> For such regulation of the conditions of the toil of women as shall safeguard the physical and moral health of the community.
> For the suppression of the 'sweating system'.
> For the gradual and reasonable reduction of the hours of labor to the lowest practicable point, and for that degree of leisure for all which is a condition of the highest human life.
> For the release from employment one day in seven.
> For a minimum wage as a minimum in every industry and for the highest wage that each industry can afford.
> For the most equitable division of the products of industry that can ultimately be devised.
> For a suitable provision for the old age of the workers and for those incapacitated by injury. 22
> For the abatement of poverty,

22. Ibid.,pp.238-239. Also p. 513, Art. 4 in the Plan of Federation states: 'This Federal Council shall have no authority over the constituent bodies adhering to it; but its province shall be limited to the expression of its counsel and the recommending of a course of action in matters of common interest to the churches, local councils and individual Christians'. The Creed has its own authority as truth addressing itself to human need.

As to the reception of the Creed, it was influential through all the Church and quite widely outside. At the time there was great optimism as to its effect, though these ideals were held widely in secular circles of the time also. Dr. William Adams Brown in a letter to Sharpe dated June 7 1941 (quoted by Dores Robinson Sharpe, Walter Rauschenbusch, (New York:Macmillan Co., 1942)p.355 reassessed the mood of the day. 'One may feel that Dr. Rauschenbusch underestimated the influences which were working against the social Gospel, and took too reassuring a view of the extent to which the new ideal of which he was the prophet had laid hold upon the conscience of the Church'. The greatest effect of the Creed was the commitment

Ending with the words: 'Nothing that concerns human life can be alien to the Church of Christ', this creed stands for all time, a monument to the ecumenical fellowship of the Church builded on love and a desire for justice for all.

Cont. from previous page.

22. Ibid., pp.238-239.

of the Church to Social Concern in a most concrete way. It had the further effect to lessen any antagonism and estrangement the workers may have felt towards the Church.

The Lambeth Conference of 1908

The Pan-Anglican Congress

By resolution, Lambeth 1908, states that property is like all our gifts of power and time , a trust to be used for the benefit of the community. Its right use is a religious duty. Moral responsibility is involved in all investments to extend to -

> 'a) The character and general social effect of any business or enterprise in which their money is invested;
> b) The treatment of the persons employed in that business or enterprise;
> c) The due observance of the requirements of the law relating thereto;
> d) The payment of a just wage to those who are employed therein'. 23

The Convocation of Canterbury appended a report on 'The Moral Witness of the Church in Economic Life' to that of the Committee on the Moral Witness of the Church. In this section the important principle of the 'living wage' is declared. Because the owner of property or the means of production is not the absolute owner, he is responsible for the way his business is carried on, and one of his first cares is to remunerate labor fairly with 'a living wage'.

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23. Conference of the Bishops of the Anglican Communion 1908, (London: S.P.C.K., 1908). p. 57. Resolution 49/ Lambeth 1908 made a great impact because of its advocacy of the 'living wage'. Later pronouncements refer to it and the I.C.F. found in it, as it did in Lambeth 1920, a charter for action and thought. As to its impact on the secular world, it is hard to judge.

Consumers, too, must not demand commodities at a price 'to be incompatible with the adequate remuneration of the workers'.

Since the capitalistic system itself poses difficulties for individuals in the pursuit of these goals, the Christian is called to the final principle of sacrifice.

> 'When "the system" makes it necessary for him to do what his conscience condemns, he can of course, with whatever difficulty, refuse to do it, and suffer the financial loss or ruin involved. We have almost dropped out of our current Christian teaching the idea that a Christian may be called upon to make any great financial or other sacrifice for conscience' sake'. [24]

FROM WORLD WAR I TO C.O.P.E.C.

Nothing particularly new came during the War. Attention was paid to the causes and effects of the War and economic factors were given prominence. During the post-War period, statements on reconstruction were the order of the day.

The 'Fifth Report' [25]

The 'Fifth Report' of the Archbishop of Canterbury

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24. Ibid., p. 161.
25. Christianity and Industrial Problems, preface by E.S. Talbot, (London: S.P.C.K., 1918, 1927)). The question of authority is covered on p.xiv. 'They are not official documents but whether we accept the conclusions or not they have the high authority which belongs to the opinion of specially qualified men and women who have devoted long months to their elaboration'. Reckitt, Maurice to Temple, p. 162. 'Mr. R.H. Tawney....(is) credibly rumoured to have written a major part of the Report'. -A second edition was necessary for this Report after the first edition of abou 30,000 copies sold out. Again this too served as a charter for the I.C.F. It received wide publicity in Britain and was well received in most quarters as an indication of progressive thinking by the Church.

was a notable study of Christianity and Industrial Problems. Starting in 1916 as a 'National Mission of Repentance and Hope' in five areas of life, this report was to consider 'ways in which the Church (might) best commend the teaching of Christ to those who (sought) to solve problems of industrial life'.[26] One section dealt with Christian thought in social relationships. Later sections dealt with more practical problems, urban life and industry, the motive of self-interest, the coexistence of poverty and riches, the establishment of a living wage etc. We shall study some excerpts to discern an advance over previous thinking.

Men who suggest that it is impossible to change economic systems are rebuked with the assertion that both individuals and 'the spirit of a system' can be modified. The present order is defective in many ways. Individuals who justify the best bargain for themselves act in variance with the traditional ethics of Christianity. Profit, competition, and even combination toward monopolies may be good and neceasary but there are dangers in each. 'Economic motives are good servants but bad masters, and the danger of a society which exhalts them unduly is that it may evoke a spirit which it cannot control.'[27] A fine exposition

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26. Ibid., (Fifth Report) p. xxiv.

27. Ibid., p.88.

of the danger of the extremes of capitalism with its fierce competitions, and combinations either of labor or industry to limit production or to fix prices, finally condemns both. The true principle of industry is not competition but co-operation for public service.

Enlarging upon Lambeth 1908, this report defines the living wage.

> 'By a living wage we mean not merely a wage which is sufficient for physical existence, but a wage adequate to maintain the worker, his wife and family, in health and honor, and to enable him to dispense with the subsidiary earnings of his children up to the age of sixteen years. By reasonable hours we mean hours sufficiently short not merely to leave him unexhausted, but to allow him sufficient leisure and energy for home life, for recreation, for the development through study of his mind and spirit, and for participation in the affairs of the community'.[28]

The principle of the living wage includes also 'the continuity of employment', 'to offer him (man) doles is an insult'.[29] Christians must seek the adoption of measures

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28, Ibid., p. 116, Also p. 117 '....it is not true that low wages or excessive hours necessarily, or even probably, imply a low cost production, or that the cost of production, which depends on numerous factors of organization, machinery, and human efficiency, is necessarily raised when wages are increased or hours are reduced.

29. Ibid., p.130.

which will diminish unemployment, and provide an adequate means of maintenance for all workers.

Fair profits are also subject to certain principles:

> '....there is no moral justification for profits which exceed the amount needed to pay for adequate salaries to the management, a fair rate of interest on the capital invested, and such reserves as are needed to ensure and maintain the highest efficiency of production and the development and growth of industry'. [30]

In conclusion, the co-operative system is advocated because 'the absence of responsibility on the part of those employed for the permanent results of their industry and human interest in the work which they do',[31] leads them to seek their own advantage at the expense of the community as well as to cause mutual antagonism between the different parties of industry, to say nothing of man being treated as 'hands' and being denied security.

The Church of Scotland Commission on the War put out a study entitled, Social Evils and Problems.[32] This directed attention to the moral disorders which tainted the life of the nation. Into the sphere of moral evils and moral problems

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30. Ibid., p. 147.
31. Ibid., p. 163.
32. ed. W.P. Paterson and David Watson, (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1918). This is a book with chapters on several topics, represrnting the views not of the Church but of individuals who are bringing before the Church problems for her consideration. It was the Committee's hope to direct the attention of the Church to certain problems for the Church's action. There is no indication to show that this 'report' or book had a very widespread effect. It indicates however, the first real action of the Church of Scotland in this field.

are projected: the problems of the economic life which begin with production and end with the consumption of wealth; the substitution of 'cashnexus' for personal relations; and the lack of the dignity of labor when man is hardly distinguishable from the machine he operates. In commerce there is the voice of avarice which 'growing byt what it feeds on, can reduce the soul to a helpless and degrading bondage'.[33] There is a 'wide margin of sharp practices shading off from shrewdness towards dishonesty, which can only be condoned by the immoral expedient of a man developing two consciences and working with a double standard of morality'.[34]

Gross injustice is revealed in the distribution and consumption of wealth. Men gain advantage not because they deserve it but because they can effectively demand it. We justify our system because it works satisfactorily even though it entails apparent injustice.[35]

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33. Ibid., p. 13.

34. Ibid.

35. The terms in which wealth is condemned are reminiscent of the words used by Thorstein Veblen (Theory of the Lesire Class). Veblen used the term 'conspicuous consumption' a very apt term. It is doubtful if he would have justified the use of wealth for aesthetic purposes as does the report because of his utilitarian views. The words of the report condemning the consumption of wealth also include 'under this head....such expenditures of the rich as cannot be defended on moral or aesthetic grounds, and the untutored wastefulness of the poor'. (Social Evils and Problems, p.14).

By 1919, the Church of Scotland Commission on the War in Relation to Its Spiritual and Moral Issues reported to the General Assembly.[36] Conferring with the Committee of the United Free Church, they called for the Christianizing of the social and industrial order though specific means of accomplishing this were not given. Generally the report was weak and disappointing. The same assembly redeemed the situation by appointing a Committee on Church and Nation to watch over the moral and spiritual tone of the nation. A subcommittee on Social and Industrial Life was chosen to decide 'how best to recommend the teaching of our Lord Jesus Christ to those who are seeking to solve the problems of Industrial Life'.[37]

The subcommittee's report in 1920,[38] insisted that it was not the duty of the Church to advocate particular schemes of industrial organization, 'but only to declare the principles which should govern all industrial relationships and to urge their application'.[39] Certain Christian principles were annunciated by which the industrial system was to be tested and judged. Full recognition was given to the demands of the workers who desired four things :

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36. Schemes of the Church of Scotland - 1919. Report pp.634-635
37. Schemes of the Church of Scotland - 1920, pp. 495ff.
38. Ibid., Appendix III to the Report on Church and Nation, pp. 525-528.
39. Ibid., p. 525.

'1. A fuller recognition of personality, higher status as producers, some voice in the control of industry.
2. Improved conditions of life and labor, better housing, and greater security of employment.
3. A larger share, than has in the past been customary, of the wealth which is jointly produced by Capital and Labor.
4. More leisure for family life, for self-culture, and social relaxation'. [40]

'The vast majority of the nation are neither revolutionary nor reactionary, but sanely progressive and peace-loving'. [41]

The National Industrial Conference of Christian Representatives - Interchurch World Movement of North America - 1919.

This movement advocated the application of six methods for industrial readjustment :

'1. The representation of the various parties in the government of industry.
2. The right of the workers to organize themselves for the development of just and democratic methods of collective bargaining....
3. The rational extension of co-operative movements in both the production and distribution of goods.
4. In relation to the industrial status of women, freedom of choice of occupation, the assurance of equal opportunities with men in technical and vocational training, the determination of wages on the basis of occupation and service and not upon the basis of sex, the establishment of healthful condition of employment and an equal voice with men in the democratic control and management of society.
5. The recognition of the right of over twelve million Negro fellow Americans to economic justice and the freedom from economic exploitation.

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40. Ibid., pp. 526-527.

41. Ibid., p. 528.

6. The recognition of the right of foreign-born laborers to equal opportunities in their condition of labor; the application of democratic principles to native and foreign-born alike in all relationships.[42]

The Church and Industrial Reconstruction
Federal Council of Churches
-1919-

The Federal Council of Churches in America made a post-war study worthy of its position as a leader in Social Christianity. The 'Social Creed' still stood, after being expanded slightly in 1912, ratified in 1916, and re-affirmed in 1919. It was finally revised again in 1932.

The statement on the Church and Industrial Reconstruction was issued in 1919, a report of the Committee on the War and the religious Outlook[43] was paralleled by statements of religious bodies in the United States. The most significant note of that time was the use of the term, which had become popular, 'industrial democracy'. 'Democracy must be applied to the government of industry as well as to the government of the nation, as rapidly and as far as the workers shall become able and willing to accept such responsibility'.[44]

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42. National Industrial Conference of Christian Representatives, Interchurch World Movement of North America, 1919. Report of the Findings Committee. A pamphlet.
43. The Churches Allied for Common Tasks, ed. S. McCrea Cavert, (N.Y.: Federal Council, 1921). pp. 104-125. The report had an equally wide distribution and effect comparable with the Fifth Report of the Archbishop in Britain.
44. Ibid., p. 110.

A combination of ownership and control by co-operative production is the method advocated.

> 'As the worker tends to receive approximately what he produces, it must become apparent that what he has for himself and family, and the social surplus upon which depend the great common undertakings of society, are directly related to the productivity of his own labor, as well as finally to the length of the working day'.[45]

Four factors are affirmed: 1) democracy is consistent with the teachings of Jesus; 2) 'democracy in industry is as necessary as political democracy', and collective bargaining and the 'sharing of shop control' are to be expected in the course of development; 3) '....the first charge upon industry should be that of a wage sufficient to support an American standard of living. To that end we advocate the guarantee of a minimum wage, the control of unemployment through government labor exchanges, public works, land settlement, social insurance and experimentation in profit sharing and co-operative ownership'.[46] 4) The equality of women at work with an equal wage, an eight-hour day, and the abolition of child labor.

The Committee report was followed by the publication of a full study which had a wider distribution.[47] A Christian

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45. Ibid.
46. Ibid., p. 114.
47. The Church and Industrial Reconstruction, (New York: Association Press, 1921). This is the better known form of the Federal Council post-War study. It was read and attended to in many circles.

ideal for society is described and contrasted with un-christian aspects of the present order. Paternalism is condemned in particular. 'Benevolent despotism is as un-christian as it is undemocratic, and not even the most well-intentioned philanthropy with its model factories and paternalism and generous bequests can justify the false relationship which is involved'.[48] Kindly autocracy is still autocracy'.

What is the Christian attitude concerning property ? Property must be judged for its effects on human life. Property used for power is to be condemned; 'property for use' is acceptable. What of wages ? The wage system allows freedom that previous orders of society denied, but the worker's freedom is curtailed at a point, because he does not own the tools of production, thus the feeling of economic insecurity overcomes the more basic need for liberty. Wages are determined by economic strength and not by justice and so labor unites to create a force. Conflict results when capital attempts to buy cheap, and labor tries to sell dear. Further, the wage system hinders individuality and self-expression because all planning and control are out of the workers' hands. Actually, the cash nexus is not only under moral judgment, but is also found by many to be insufficient since it fails to provide 'sufficient incentive to call forth the best efforts of the workers'.

48. Ibid., pp.62-63.n. quoted from a report by the Society of Friends. One notices in reading these reports that what is undemocratic is often seen to be unchristian. Thinking was confused at this point and still is in some circles today.

Competition, too, is scrutinized. There is some kind of rivalry in all human relationships. How much competition is legitimate? How much does 'brotherhood' preclude competition? 'The desire to have a better status than the lowest would be inseparable from the desire to be worthy of a better status than the lowest - which would be entirely commendable. If this is what we mean by competition then it would not be self-seeking in any unworthy sense....'[49] Co-operation and a motive of serving will change the spirit of the day.

Several practical steps are outlined to help develop and protect personality. The book ends with an appendix, a short discussion of the historical attitude of the Church to economic questions. In 1923, the Federal Council decided to work to 'educate' legislative committees to take action on child labor. Since that time the council has been very active in representing the Christian witness before both state and national legislatures. Today, when Congress wishes to know the Protestant position on matters of common concern, the Council, now the National Council, is called upon to present its position. At other times it takes the initiative itself in such action. Its work in this direction has been most effective.

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49. Ibid., p.99.

The Lambeth Conference of 1920[50]

As was the case with earlier conferences, the total impact of Lambeth 1908 meets the outsider in three ways, through the Encyclical Letter, the Resolutions, and the Committee Reports. The first two express the judgment of the Conference,[51] but the Reports have as much authority as do the 'opinions of specially qualified men'.

The theme of the Encyclical letter, fellowship, is shown to be necessary in the industrial order. 'Industry is not a conflict but a fellowship'. Service is re-emphasized, good-will and co-operation. But 'in the technical side of economics, which is a science for experts, the Church has no authority'.[52] At the same time,

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50. Lambeth Conferences 1867-1930, (London: S.P.C.K., 1948).
51. Ibid., p.33-34, n. 'The Judgment of the Conference is expressed in the Resolutions, eighty in number appended to this letter. These and these alone, are affirmed by the Conference. The Reports which are also printed herewith, have been received by the Conference; and the Conference has directed that they should be published; but the responsibility for the statements and opinions which they contain rests with the several Committees by whom they were prepared'.
By this time Lambeth is being attended to in many quarters with increasing respect. Some know Lambeth for its position in the Anglican Communion but others for its social concern alone. This latter knowledge indicates a new place for Lambeth in the world.
52. Ibid., p. 30. Such a statement leads to confusion for the scope of economic science is not well-defined. The Church must be careful that she does not abrogate her responsibility but insist that these boundaries she imposes on herself are defined. It is now realised that this 'science' is so confused with human nature and personality, that the part of it which is 'un-science' must be scrutinized and subject to judgment.

the Church will insist that 'the human character of every worker is more sacred than his work'.[53] At this point the letter fails in expressing the possibility that work may be an extension of peronality and that work becomes a means to endowing personality with its sacred character. The Resolutions echo the sentiments of the letter ending with a call to the Church to reform Her own abuses and announcing the fact that 'if Christian witness is to be fully effective it must be borne by nothing short of the whole body of Christian people'.[54]

This report reaches a high level, for it exhibits more freedom and a broader understanding. Not only has there been a war between nations but there is also a 'war spirit' in industry. Only the 'supremacy of the spiritual' will bring fellowship in society. And the 'Gospel of the Kingdom includes a social message'. The findings of Lambeth 1897 are re-affirmed: economic conditions are not to be left to mechanical causes and laws. 'It will frequently be found that scientific economics require reinforcement by Christian ethics'.[55] The great need for increased production is pointed out.

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53. Ibid., pp.30-31.

54. Ibid., p. 52.

55. Ibid., p. 68.

> 'If the workman is asked to sacrifice the interests of his class to the interests of the whole community, he needs to be convinced that the whole community is really going to reap the benefit of his labor. It is clear that bare economics will not take us to the goal....something like a spiritual revival is required if the industrial problem of production is to be solved'. [56]

Concerning the nature and function of capital:

> '....it is an unreal abstraction which treats capital as possessing laws and movements of its own apart from the people who control it. For the use of capital, persons are responsible....' [57]

Christian principles will do much to endow the system with balance. Human value must be appreciated and growth of personality allowed. While discipline is needed in any system, so is freedom, the freedom where a man learns to express his own ideals and not to ape the ideals of others.

> 'Whether or not the demand for the full 'democratizing of industry' is practicable or even reasonable, it is at least clear that the workers in an industry ought to have an adequate share in the control of the conditions under which their work - a large portion of their life - is carried on'. [58]

A fine impetus is given to the meaning of brotherhood by emphasis on the true meaning of the Incarnation

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56. Ibid., p. 69.

57. Ibid., Contrast this with Reinhold Niebuhr, Moral Man and Immoral Society, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons). p. xx. 'What is lacking among all these moralists, whether religious or rational, is an understanding of the brutal character of the behavior of all human collectives, and the power of self-interest and collective egoism in all intergroup relations'.

58. Ibid., (Lambeth 1920) , p. 69. Lambeth exercises more restraint than the Federal Council report calling for Industrial democracy. Lambeth, here, shows more understanding of the tension between the ideal and the practical. The Federal Council never seems to stop and ask 'Will it work?' With true American vigor, the goal is seen; now only the conquest awaits its fulfillment.

where ancient barriers are broken, race, class and sex, where we are one man in Christ Jesus.

Again the sagacity of Lambeth shines forth. Instead of calling for outright abolition of the wage system, rather certain reforms are suggested 'so long as the present wage system lasts'. They are: security against unemployment, reasonable leisure, a living wage (reaffirming 1908), and safeguards to life and health.

Then, a crucial question is raised: is the present system compatible with the law of Christ? Two characteristics, the pursuit of self-interest and the prevalence of unrestricted competition, seem to be contrary to that law.

> 'But as Christians we cannot accept the assumption that men will only be induced to work by the incentive of large gain or by the stimulus of imminent personal want. It was a higher motive that led men and women to offer their devoted service often at the cost of sacrificing life itself, during years of war. Is it wholly incredible that such motives may be forthcoming in time of peace?' [59]

'Co-operation for the common good is the goal towards which the industrial journey of society should be directed'.[60] With some feeling of restraint, the suggestion is made that industrial parliaments might produce this effect, 'where employers and employed meet in absolutely equal terms, of which the English trade affords a notable example'.[61]

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59. Ibid., p. 71.

60. Ibid., p. 72.

61. Ibid.

Other problems are touched upon which had been discussed before at Lambeth. Definite suggestions are made on fulfilling the duty of the Christian to the order of society. The place of the Church is viewed as a 'reservoir of social service'. At the end of the report, comes this refreshing note: 'no outward adjustments can, by themselves, bring us near to the Kingdom of God. World War I has had its effect, and in some quarters at least, progress on and up to the Kingdom of God is no longer seen to be a possibility for man to achieve. Man does have an eternal destiny, but the Son of God came to manifest it, to show man his duty, not to shrink in the security of another world, but to see that 'the other world offers) the only hope of redemption for the individual and for society'.

C.O.P.E.C.[62]

1924.

The Conference on Christian Politics, Economics and

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62. Abbr. for Conference on Christian Politics, Economics and Citizenship held in Birmingham. Sources: C.O.P.E.C. Commission Reports. (London: Longmans, Green & So., 1924). The twelve volumes include preparatory material and discussions. Vol.IX. Industry and Property is of special interest to us. The source for the actual findings of the Conference is found in The Proceedings of C.O.P.E.C. (Longmans, Green & Co., 1924). Miss Lucy Gardner said that the Reports are what the Conference stands for (p.7). Yet because the Findings represent the action of COPEC and the Reports do not we shall discuss here only the Findings.

(Cont. next page).

Citizenship was projected in 1920. Planning by various commissions continued until 1924, when the Conference itself was held. Arising out of the Interdenominational Social Union of 1911, COPEC represented a unique step forward. It was also the British preparation for Stockholm. All denominations were represented. There were even Roman Catholic observers. These, however, withdrew from the Conference three months prior to its meeting because of agitation by the Roman Catholic Church. A Jesuit, Father Plater, was quite an active observer all the same, as were some others from the Catholic Social Guild. 'The very ambitious and representative effort was significant as marking the clear conviction of the majority of British Christians that their fiath had a message for the whole of human life. It is doubtful if this conviction could ever have been said to exist before the war'.[63]

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62. (Cont.)
A conversation with Canon Charles Raven in the Winter of 1952 when he was giving the first series of the Gifford Lectures revealed that Miss Gardner did not get enough of the credit for COPEC'S success, and Wm. Temple, perhaps too much. However, Temple's capable chairmanship accounted for the fine direction of the Conference. Let us distribute the credit this way. Raven wrote many of the reports; Miss Gardner kept COPEC alive during its years of preparation and activity; and Temple directed the success of the whole achievement in its final stages.

63. Cyril E. Hudson and Maurice B. Reckitt, The Church and the World, (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1940). Vol. III. p. 179. This commentary on COPEC is enough to indicate its far-reaching effect. It received attention by the press also. COPEC could be considered a success.

'The basis of this Conference is the conviction that the Christian faith, rightly interpreted and consistently followed, gives the vision and the power essential for solving the problems of today....'[64] It was pointed out to those assembled that there were at least 'two irresistible motives for discipleship - the mistakes of the past and the opportunities for the future'. In the future lay the hopes fostered by the promise of the Life and Work Conference, anticipated by COPEC. From the past, COPEC drew inspiration from Rerum Novarum, the Archbishop's Fifth Report, and the Federal Council Report on 'Christianity and Industrial Reconstruction'.

Resolutions on Industry and Property which were passed by the Conference were :

> '1) The aim of Christians with regard to industry, commerce and finance should be to produce the predominance of the motive of service over the motive of gain.
> 2) Industry should be a co-operative effort.... This does not involve one particular type of organization universally applied. It does involve a perpetual effort to find the organization best suited to each industry.
> 3) Industry should be so organized that all those engaged in it have an increasingly effective voice in determining the conditions of their work and lives.
> 4) The first charge on industry should be a remuneration sufficient to maintain the worker and his family in health and dignity.
> 5) The evils of unemployment are intolerable to the moral sense. The causes must be sought and removed.

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64. Proceedings of COPEC, p. xi.

6) Extremes of wealth and poverty are likewise intolerable. A Christian order involves a juster distribution.
7) The moral justification of the various rights which constitute property depends on the degree to which they contribute to the development of personality and to the good of the whole community....
8) The duty of service is equally obligatory upon all.
9) ....(unemployment is seen as the gravest immediate problem. The government is invited to search for causes). The enquiry to aim at recommending the changes, if any, in our financial, economic and industrial system which are desirable and practicable'.[65]

FROM STOCKHOLM TO OXFORD

THE LIFE AND WORK MOVEMENT

In Pre-World War I Europe, the first efforts were made to assemble at what was later to become the meeting of the Churches in the Stockholm Conference of Life and Work in 1925.[66] Its aim was put in these terms :

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65. Ibid., p. 289. For discussion see pp.194-213. Many felt the resolutions stated problems better than they gave solutions. COPEC ended with a call for action. Groups did meet afterwards but their efforts were rather ineffectual and lacked the spirit which previously had thrust COPEC so prominently on the British scene. As to the Reports, they were widely read, but today they would seem to be a little dry and uninspired.
66. The Stockholm Conference 1925, ed., G.K.A. Bell (London: Oxford Un. Press, 1926). For the complete history of Life and Work from its beginning to Amsterdam see A History of the Ecumenical Movement, Chapters 11 and 12.

> 'The Conference on Life and Work, without entering into questions of Faith and Order, aims t 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'.[67]

By way of declaration, Stockholm produced only a brief message, passed with an overwhelming vote, only four dissenting.

> '6. Thus in the sphere of economics we have declared that the soul is of supreme value, that it must not be subordinated to the rights of property or to the mechanism of industry, and that it may claim as its first right the right of salvation. Therefore we contend for the free and full development of the human personality. In the name of the Gospel we have affirmed that industry should not be based solely on the desire for individual profit, but that it should be conducted for the service of the community. Property should be regarded as a stewardship for which an account must be given to God. Co-operation between capital and labor should take the place of conflict, so that employers and employed alike may be enabled to regard their part in industry as the fulfillment of a vocation. Thus alone can we obey our Lord's command, to do unto others as we would that they should do unto us'.[68]

In a way, the report is disappointing, but one must realize that Stockholm represents for some a great step ahead. When the Church met together at Stockholm, and when it spoke, it represented the social thinking of the time, both conservative and progressive. More progressive

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67. Ibid., p. 1.

68. Ibid., p. 712.

thinkers must have been satisfied that Stockholm took the stand that it did, yet remaining impatient for the Church to take yet another step.[69] So much was gained at Stockholm that one has a sense of the Church meeting in counsel gathering to herself the best of the past, and now at the ready to launch forth into new waters. It is not too much to say that Oxford was that step forward. Stockholm 'did not attempt to offer precise solutions',[70] but left to individuals the task of applying the principles expressed with 'charity, wisdom and courage'.

A message was sent to the workers of the world:

> 'We thankfully record the fact that at present even under difficult conditions a multitude of workers in the different countires are acting in accordance with these principles....We share their aspiration after a just and fraternal social order....'[71]

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69. Adolph Keller, Christian Europe Today, (London: The Epworth Press, 1942) p. 277. Keller mentions the impatience of continental religious socialists who expected quick social reform to follow Stockholm.. He says, 'It is doubtful whether such action can ever be started by an inspirational centre and clearing-house of social and religious suggestions from all over the world. Practical application of the fundamental principles of a Christian ethos will always have to be sought by the Churches themselves in their respective countries, according to their special situation and doctrine'. - Stockholm was the beginning of what is now a very effective part of the Church's witness, its ecumenical fellowship in action.
70. Ibid., p. 713. Resolution 9.
71. Ibid., p. 715.

The most important step Stockholm took was to form a continuation committee to meet at regular intervals. As a result, in 1930, the Universal Christian Council of Life and Work was formed and we have its mind recorded in several conferances leading to Oxford.

The Jerusalem Conference of 1928
The International Missionary Council

Perhaps one would not expect a meeting of the International Missionary Council (formed as a result of the Edinburgh Conference of 1910) to produce any studies on the question of economics or industrialization. Yet there comes to mind the thought of problems introduced into Asia and Africa by Western industrialization. Then the thought becomes one of crucial concern because history shows that these advances by the West have often been initiated on the heels of, or even by the direct action of missionary activity. As a result, Christian Missions have been related in the minds of many to Western Culture, and particularly to Capitalism, that form of economic activity associated with the West. A special responsibility fell on the Christian Church to make its position clear with reference to these issues. Jerusalem did this by including on its agenda a discussion of the issues and making a pronouncement to express the view of the Conference. There came also as a result of the Conference

the establishment of a Department of Social and Economic Research and Counsel which made many thorough investigations of the economic situation in various countries, with their relation to missions there.

Volume V of the Jerusalem Reports[72] is a detailed study of many of these questions with regard to particular issues. Other social pronouncements are summarized, e.g. COPEC, post-War studies etc. The Findings of the National Christian Council of China meeting in 1927 are particularly interesting. Freedom of workers to combine is endorsed, as is payment of a minimum wage,

> 'in determination of amount of wages above the minimum wage, the Conference advocate the principle that, after a just return has been made for the use and risk of capital, for the services of management, and allowing for legitimate activities of the business, all that remains of the net product of the industrial unit shall be at the disposal of the workers either as wages or for re-investment in the business'.[73]

The statement of the Missionary Council itself was adopted by a formal vote. As usual certain broad principles

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72. Christianity and the Growth of Industrialism in Asia, Africa and South Africa, (London: Oxford University Press, 1928), Vol. V. Report of the Jerusalem Meeting of the International Missionary Conference. One may honestly wonder if this report affected the course or the policies of industrialism in lands of the Younger Churches. It placed the Missionary Enterprise in its right perspective for after this any condemnation of Missions as Capitalism in disguise should have withered away. But, alas, what should be is not always what is.

73. Ibid., p. 54.

are presented: the sanctity of personality, brotherhood and corporate responsibility. 'The task of the Christian Church....is both to carry the message of Christ to the individual soul, and to create a Christian civilization withingwhich all human beings can grow to their full spiritual stature'.[74] Perhaps the greatest hindrance to the missionary enterprise has been its failure in the light of the Christian message, 'to mitigate the evils which advancing industrialization brought in its train'.

Certain problems and their solutions are presented. 1) The investment of capital in undeveloped areas - In order that this may be done in terms compatible with the welfare of indigenous peoples, three solutions are made: a) public loans with the knowledge and approval of the League of Nations; b) private loans not containing any attempt to control the political life of the country in which the investment is made with particular attention paid to create understanding of a public utility character, and then mainly with social considerations in mind and not economic gain. 2) Protection against economic and social injustice by a) stopping forced labor, b) ensuring that primitive folk understand any labor contract agreed upon, c) introducing legislation necessary to maintain and advance the standard of living, d) establishment of freedom of combination,

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74. Ibid., p. 184.

e) developing social service, and f) by removing all restrictions which subvert indigenous workers to the economic advantage of others, and which thereby restrict the freedom of these peoples.

Jerusalem warns against the type of economic rivalry which secures preferential treatment and establishes its new imperialism in the world, especially in underdeveloped areas. Control by an international authority such as the League of Nations and the International Labor Organization and creation by them of a code should be sought. Going beyond some earlier statements, the International Missionary Council believe it essential not only to state principles 'but to make clear their application to the problems of human life which arise in the mission field'.[75]

The Lambeth Conference of 1930.[76]

Economic questions are discussed in the context of the problems associated with race, peace and war. With regard to race problems, 'history teaches that no civilization has survived on a serf basis'.[77] We know

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75. Ibid., p. 194.

76. Lambeth Conference 1930, (London: S.P.C.K., n.d.)

77. Ibid., p. 97. It would be hard to show the permanence of any economic institution. True, the feudal syatem has not lasted though in Russia, Japan, the serf system lasted to the present day, a long, long time. One must ask; 'Will other institutions last any longer? Is history always the best judge to prove the moral rightness of these things?'

now that the interdependence of men decrees a more abiding relationship, one of co-operation, which is not only 'sound Christianity, but sound political science and social economy'.[78]

With regard to war, certainly one of the causes is economic competition. Again, recognition of interdependence, the knowledge that 'economic unrest in any part of the world affects the whole', will do much to correct the situation, but this will never in itself prevent war; for, 'only a spiritual renaissance can ensure the peace of the world'. Unemployment illustrates the hazard of economic maladjustment across a world front and while technical remedies must come from other sources than the Church, she must arouse 'dull consciences' to attend to the situation. Further, 'it is a strange paradox that the capacity of the world to produce more than it needs of almost everything should co-exist with extreme poverty in large areas of population and the 'discordance between consuming and producing power'' call for hard thinking and courageous action'.[79]

Other Church Documents In This Period
Stockholm to Oxford

We must now refer to some of the other denominational thinking of this period which preceeds an era of world

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78. Ibid., p. 97.

79. Ibid., p. 105.

economic catastrophe, depression and unemployment. The Church and Nation Committee of the Church of Scotland passed different resolutions on housing, gambling and temperance. Sympathy was expressed for the unemployed in 1928.[80] By 1932, a more realistic place was given to the Church's part in helping solve problems of unemployment. 'The Church may, in a limited measure, co-operate with the State in discovering ways and means of stimulating employment....'[81] It is seen that unemployment differs from what it was in previous days because of its widespread character. Causes are explored, and solutions sought. 'The principle that laissez-faire, that self-interest and free competition are suffident guides in industry, has disintegrated for the present, and the logical alternative is conscious direction, planning and control'.[82] Nor will good will compensate for poor distribution. Two areas of special reform are advocated: 1) monetary reform with an adequate, stable,

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80. Schemes of the Church of Scotland, 1928. p1312. 'It is not our province as churchmen to discuss the economics of the situation; but we are under obligation to keep in the foreground the human relations and flesh and blood factors of the problem'.

81. Reports of the General Assembly of 1932. (so entitled after Church Union), Committee on Church and Nation, pp. 504-5.ff. (Full report on pp. 505-518).

82. Ibid., p. 608.

'transfused'[83] and safeguarded currency. 2) better planning and direction of industry through national boards. Subsidiary remedies are suggested, new systems of marketing, control of migration, labor exchange service, unemployment insurance, etc.

Later reports of the Committee on Church and Nation condemned stock speculation as gambling (1936) and in 1938 a committee investigated 'share-pushing' advocating that all brokers belong to at least one of the five established exchanges.[84]

Another progressive Church in this period was the Methodist Church of Great Britain. In 1934, the Conference of the Methodist Church adopted a pronouncement on the industrial order which includes some elements not discussed heretofore in this chapter.[85] The spiritual consequences of the defects of industrial life are described. We now know that all talk of the relation of religion to common life and to industrial problems in particular must be understood at the point where 'the fierce competitive struggle may prove withering in its effect on the finer

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83. A 'transfused' currency is one with national credits established on a 'scientific' basis to bridge the gap between purchasing power and producing power. Today the World Bank fulfills this function.
84. Reports to the General Assembly of 1938, pp. 530. ff.
85. Declarations of Conference on Social Questions, The Methodist Church. (London: The Methodist Church, n.d.).

spiritual impulse of regard for others and mutual service. Its worst results are seen when men give up the struggle to carry high principles into economic life, and resign themselves to the false belief that religion and industry are divorced from each other'.[86]

John Wesley's injunction about the use of money is a source of inspiration for further thought. Money detached from its real purpose in the realm of human relations 'comes to be regarded as a commodity in itself or as an instrument of power over others and so it ceases to fulfil its legitimate function as a medium of exchange'.[87] Thus, the control of finance is of great importance, where matters of credit, interest, and the value of money set in motion certain actions affecting millions of lives. Finance must be subordinate to the communal good.

An aphorism appears in the report : 'Nothing that is economically unsound will permanently endure, but what is morally right must be made economically possible'.[88]

In America social creeds were re-affirmed with yearly, or triennial or quadrennial emendations depending on intervals between Church meetings. The Church's concern for society showed itself in many forms, mostly by the re-iteration of principles long recognized by Christian bodies.

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86. Ibid., p. 29.
87. Ibid., p. 35
88. Ibid., p. 36.

The Congregational Church in 1925 made a complete revision of its creed.[89] By 1934, they condemned the competitive, profit-seeking economy of the day and resolved to work toward 'the abolition of the system responsible for these destructive elements in our common life, by eliminating the system of incentives and habits, the legal forms which sustain it, and the moral ideals which justify it'.[90] A co-operative social economy, 'democratically planned to adjust production to consumption requirements, to modify or eliminate private ownership of the means of production or distribution wherever such ownership interferes with the social good',[91] is advocated.

The Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., in the same spirit, resolved:

> 'Christians have a mandate from the Christian conscience to question an economic order where the only answer to our industrial problems is charity drives, bread-lines and apple venders. As Christians we need to affirm that if the present order will not and cannot adopt itself to the social conscience, based on Christian ideals, then it must give way to some more just and righteous social order that will answer our problems'.[92]

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89. Minutes of the National Council of the Congregational Churches of the United States 1925, pp.156-158.
90. Minutes of the General Council of the Congregational and Christian Churches. pp. 107-108. (note change of name after union in 1930 of the Congregational and the Christian Churches).
91. Ibid., p. 108.
92. Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church USA 1933 p. 167.

The Methodist Church (USA) affirmed a Social Creed at its last Quadrennial meeting in 1952. It appears in the Methodist discipline.

The Federal Council of Churches, often reflecting the thoughts of its members and at other times leading, was always to the fore on the national scene.[93] Also, the Council participated in the Life and Work Movement making some major contributions. The Commission on the Church and Social Service reporting in 1932, sounds much like the reports included above, where a planned economic system to produce social values is sought. Industrial democracy is consistent with political democracy. Responsibility is placed on industry to pay for the problem it creates. 'Industry must clearly provide a reserve for the support of wage earners and their families in periods of unemployment. A notion that social insurance would saddle an impossible

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93. While the Baptist Church is not included here, a rapid perusal of their meetings shows a progressive outlook on social matters. From 1924, the United Lutheran Church is listed as a 'consultative body of the Federal Council'. Prior to that no American Lutheran body had made any significant contribution to social thought. And after that, a study of social pronouncements published in 1930 shows only one significant statement by a Lutheran Church and that is on international relations and the need for law by the 4th Biennial Convention of the United Lutheran Church in 1924. (The Social Work of the Churches, ed. F. Ernest Johnson, (N.Y. Federal Council of Churches, 1930) p. 169). This Lutheran denomination did not actually commit itself to Federal Council positions on economic questions (though it is technically true that none of the member Churches does) until 1950 when it became a full member of the National Council of Church, the body which combined into one several inter-denominational bodies and the Federal Council.

(Cont. next. page).

burden upon industry is not true....'[94] There is another statement of what the Churches stand for, and to this platform is added some new planks. The Churches stand for: social planning, control of credit and monetary systems, social insurance and economic justice for the farmer.

As changes came upon the world wrought by economic distress, there came also a change in the character of the Church's pronouncements. Her denunciations of the economic order were more severe. Moral indignation was more stern. Less idealism appeared. In its place there was a whole new study of the economic facts of life, a closer scrutiny of economic cause and effect.

There is also a noticeable step forward now the Church has committed herself to some form of a planned economy. Previous programs for reform, and the almost universal advocacy by the Church of the co-operative system, are replaced more and more by declarations about social insurance, planned economies, and scientifically organized industries. In a word, what is now sought is a gradual change on a system already present rather than its replacement by a completely revolutionary change, and this alongside a deeper,

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93. (Continued from p.115). Two of the many reasons why Lutherans were slow are: 1) Because of the traditional Lutheran position, and 2) because Lutheran Churches were not assimilated into American culture until more recently when some of the Churches departed from more orthodox position.

94. Federal Council of Churches Quadrennial Report 1932. p.64.

more penetrating condemnation of the present system. The Church hesitated before taking the step which circumstance forced upon her. While it would have been preferable to build a whole new order, yet the only hope of the time was to construct some means of livelihood out of the existing social structure. With lives at stake, there was no time to gamble with untried solutions; it was necessary to use the best there was and direct it into the most profitable channels. Planning became the new answer, and more State interference or direction. Capitalism's strength, the ability to produce and create wealth, was to be harnessed for the benefit of all. Capitalism's weakness, a poor distribution of the good things of life, in this new era was to be overcome by a more equitable distribution of goods. This was the key to the problem; for more wealth,(a relative term), in more hands, meant higher consumer prosperity, and in turn higher levels of production and employment.

The Church was not an innovator, nor the only herald of these ideas, nor was she uncritically attached to them, as we shall see shortly. Yet when one thinks back to the general reaction against planning and increased control, the Church can be proud of her forward look.

Looking back, we see that almost every nation instituted some form of direction in that period. There was the New Deal in America, the middle way in Scandinavia, the corporate State of fascist Italy and National Socialism in Germany. In another direction, the

economy of Soviet Russia was adjusted to specific time tables. It was in that total economy that industry, agriculture, and foreign trade fell into narrowly directed patterns of production. Depression and unemployment forced most of the nations to seek solutions in some kind of a planned economy.

In 1927, the League of Nations assembled at Geneva a World Economic Conference which recommended that 'Governments, public institutions, professional and industrial organizations, and the general public should influence producers to direct their efforts along the channels described....and diffuse in every quarter a clear understanding of the advantages and obligations involved by Rationalization and Scientific Management, and of the possibilities of their gradual application.'[95] A post-war economy had forced Germany to adopt a rationalized economy[96] which was technologically successful but failed to realize its full purpose. Too late, it was realized that if such plans were to work, they would have to be inaugurated with their full social effect considered on both national and international scales. They were ultimately irrational or anti-

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95. L.Urwick, The Meaning of Rationalisation, (London: Nesbet & Co. Ltd., 1929).p.V. See also Appendix A for details of resolution

96. It has been defined by the World Economic Conference, Ibid.p.154. 'Rationalization, by which we understand the methods of technique and organization, designed to secure the minimum waste of either effort or material. They include the scientific organization of labor, standardization of both materials and products, simplification of processes, and improvements in the system of transport and marketing.'

rational because they had been conceived within the framework of nationalism, which idea hardly can be considered rational when it is fixed by 'artificial' rather than 'natural' boundaries and barriers.

Study Conferences of the Life and Work Movement.

When considering the question of unemployment, the Conference of Christian Social Workers, meeting in London in 1930, asked several questions about rationalization. Though the meeting was only a study conference, and only had a semi-official status as the Continuation Committee of Stockholm, yet its findings are of significance for our study.[97] (The meeting reconstituted itself as the Universal Council for Life and Work.)

The following questions were asked about rationalization: 1) Does rationalization help or hinder the solution of social problems? 2) To what extent do National Boards of Industry allow for effective control of trusts and industry? 3) to what extent should labor be given a share in the control of industry? 4) Is not 'industrial patriarchism,' forcing the allegience of the worker to impersonal industry, an anomaly of our time? 5) Is not ration-

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97. Source - Ecumenical Documents on Church and Society 1925-1953, (Geneva: World Council of Churches, 1954). pp.19ff. The report on Christian Sociology will be discussed in a later chapter. It would be very revealing to see the minutes of the Universal Council for Life and Work between Stockholm and Oxford referred to in Chapter 12 of the History of the Ecumenical Movement, Rouse and Neil. During this period there were some burning controversies.

alization incomplete and a failure if it limits itself to technical problems, not seeking a balance between production and consumption, and then only on a national rather than an international basis?

Reporting on unemployment, the conference raises more particular issues and hints at the answer. Because rationalization operates as a large scheme, the ideal being at least industry wide, there is unemployment when fluctuations do occur, and conditions become worse than ever. At the same time control seems vested in ever fewer hands. 'We have to consider further whether it rests in the hands of financiers, and whether financiers at present have either the knowledge or the ability to guide industry to its maximum service to mankind - or whether they even regard that to be their function.'[98] Contraction of foreign markets and high tariff walls contribute to the threat of depression. So it is asked, does not the policy of a permanent excess of exports, or what is called a favorable balance of trade, accounting for enormous debts, leave in doubt the fact that 'the prosperity of the industrial countries depends on industrial expansion and growing foreign markets for visible and invisible exports?'[99]

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98. Ecumen.Doc.,p.25. This is a similar analysis to the social credit school. (C.H.Douglas, Social Credit, (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode,1935).) Today a similar problem is faced in the realms of finance with the growth of investment trusts and the entry of insurance companies into the market. One must ask: who is responsible for monies invested by groups such as these?

99. Ecumen Doc., p.26.

This leads to another point: is the question not one of the poor distribution of 'the products of industry within industrialized countries themselves?'[100] The worker has insufficient purchasing power and is unable to consume what he has produced. 'If this analysis is right the problem of the world's prosperity is primarily a problem of distribution,[101] and it is solvable though it represents a highly technical problem. 'It is the belief of those who propose these measures that the requisite additional wealth can all be provided by the better utilization of our productive capacities and need not involve the transfer of wealth from the rich to the poor.'[102] Thus it is that the council seems to end by leaving the complete efficacy of rationalization in doubt, while advocating some form of distributionism. Distributionist theories of many kinds were advocated prior to this time, but new techniques were suggested which aimed not only at a better distribution of income and property but also of that previous quality, opportunity.

Again the International Labor Organization was praised and the ratification of the Labor Conventions was supported. A study conference of the Life and Work Committee was held in Basle in 1932, [103] concerned with unemployment, that produced little more than

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100. Ibid.
101. Ibid., p.27
102. Ibid., Cf.J.A.Hobson, Rationalization and Unemployment, (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd. 1930), who showed the dangers and inadequacy of rationalization theories because unemployment continued just the same. He advocated an improvement in the distribution and utilization of income. The real question of distribution is the means, which involves some 'rationalization' and planning. Presently, we have found 'taxes' a partial,and for some a most painful method, to bring about equal distribution of goods.
103. Ecumen Doc. pp.33-40.

a stronger condemnation of 'protectionist' policies, and a stand for international economic cooperation, treating in addition the problem of world indebtedness.

Debts of three kinds are discussed: interallied debts, reparation obligations and internal debts. Government, as guardian of law and order, must recognize its debts or it will destroy the good faith which is necessary for its operation, both within the area of its own jurisdiction and without, in its relation to other governments. It is not as simple for nations to become bankrupt as it is for individuals, or for business organizations since confidence is essential for the working of all a nation's operations. It has been said that the size of a national debt is not as important as the confidence of the people in the government, that is of those who hold the 'I.O.U'S.' The Council called on states to alleviate internal debt by voluntary conversion, which would allow healthier assumptions of international obligations. At the same time, international relations would improve, for they had already been strained by an increase in the value of money as had also the states' obligations. If confidence was necessary at home, even more was good faith needed between nations. This was broken when nations repudiated their debts or when creditor nations issued a general recall of short term credits. Creditor nations had to take into account the full economic and social significance of their actions and extend short term credits into long term securities. Debtor nations had to assume full responsibility for their liabilities.

With regard to both good faith and indebtedness, a reduction in armaments was called for.[104] The Geneva meeting of the Council, later in 1932, gave full assent to these findings of the study conference.

At the study conference at Rengsdorf in 1933,[105] important theological and sociological discussions took place which will enter our discussion in a later chapter. Several attitudes are expressed there which indicate the course of future ecumenical pronouncements. One is the realization that Christianity can no longer think in doctrinaire and general terms. Some of these principles were not realized until Evanston, when the Church ceased to think in strict terms of Socialism vs.Capitalism vs.Communism as general systems, but came to terms with actual problems.

> 'We have no attitude of unbroken affirmation to adopt with regard to the world, mankind and its power over order, because we realize their need for redemption. Therefore we are faced in the social order only with the question of better or worse. We reject every attempt and line of thought which suggest that it lies in the hands of men to realize the perfect order ....(and) We are quite willing to examine in each individual case where we meet practical aims which are also acceptable to Christians.' 106

> '....a true order, even in all its imperfection, can only be created where man feels himself inwardly to be bound to the definite task of the Church, together with the aim of maintaining and forming society, of the proclaiming of the message of the will and mercy of God.' 107

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104. Ibid. This paragraph a summary of pp.36-39.
105. Ibid.,pp.42-46.
106. Ibid., pp.45-46. Italics mine.
107. Ibid., p.46.

OXFORD TO AMSTERDAM.

1937 - 1948.

Section III of the Oxford Conference on Church, State and Community reported on the economic order.[108] The relevance of the Christian gospel to this order is defined in terms of the pursuit of justice which includes the complete understanding of loving our neighbor as ourselves. God's purpose is challenged by the acquisitive spirit, inequalities of opportunity, the formation of centers of economic power, and the frustration of Christian vocation. Some, in reacting to these injustices have repudiated their religious faith as well. Christians have a double duty to bear witness to their faith in the ecomonic sphere and to bring to bear God's judgment upon all economic institutions.

In this last matter, the greatest problem is that Christians differ in the execution of their social obligations. Some feel their faith can be fulfilled in the framework of private enterprise, and others only in a system which recognizesthe 'social ownership of the means of production.' These differences are partly differences of judgment and background, elements which must make Christians mitigate their own extremism. They must realize that many of the questions are technical about which Christians as Christians cannot claim a moral obligation. Such questions as the practice of governmental control, to a greater or lesser degree, the

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108. Source. The Churches Survey Their Task, intro. J.H.Oldham, (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd.)Report on the Oxford Conference Section III,pp.87-129. See also vol.IV.of the Oxford Series, The Christian Faith and the Common Life for preparatory papers.

social ownership of property by one means or another, and the establishment of cooperatives, lead to such questions as: What means shall we use to accomplish these things? What is the relation of money and credit to property? Can cooperatives affect the problems of heavy industry? Not only are these technical questions, but <u>any</u> proposals for change incur the 'possibility that new institutions will reinproduce ancient evils in a new form, or substitute new evils for those which have been abolished.'[109] Of course, the relation of technical questions to moral ones is admitted inherently, but the report fails to come to terms with this point. What is admitted is that Christians of both camps(Capitalists or Socialists) are sinners. Neither can be wholly right, and a realization of this should moderate the bitterness on each side perhaps leading to some alleviation of the struggle between social groups.

Our interest is directed to a most important section of the report, that of Christian teaching in relation to the economic order. More than any previous paper, this one emphasizes the place of laymen on consultative Church bodies, laymen from all economic groups. Reports should not come from the clergy only, but they should represent the full mind of the Church. (This is a strong judgment on earlier and some later Protestant pronouncements and on papal encyclicals.)

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109. <u>The Churches Survey Their Task</u>, p.113.

The Life and Work Committee after Stockholm found that trained economists, for example, shed more light on questions than did theologians untrained to think about economics.

As to this Christian teaching, it should deal with ends and not means, propounding principles to test every concrete situation. Five standards are put forth: 1) fellowship between men as a condition of fellowship with God, 2) equal opportunities regardless of race or class, 3) 'persons disabled from economic activity, whether by sickness, infirmity or age, should not be economically penalized on account of their disability,'[110] and 4) labor has intrinsic worth and value, and its duty and right are to be emphasized, and 5) the resources of the earth are the gifts of God to the whole race.

Property is used as an example of an economic institution needing Christian perspective. All property rights are 'relative and contingent,' dependent upon God, demanding of man stewardship and an examination of the accumulation of property in light of its social consequence. As it is, property rights and property distribution must be criticized for the 'non-moral' process by which they have been developed. Individual property rights never have precedence over their social consequences. Distinction should be made between 'the property which consists in personal possessions for use, such as the home, (which) has behind it clearer moral justification than property in the means of production

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110. Ibid., p.116

and in land which gives the owners power over other persons. All property which represents social power stands in special need of moral scrutiny....[111] Small freehold agricultural land stands in a unique category because there is an organic relation between the owner and the property and it represents the freedom to perform a social function without the interference of outside power or without exercising power over others.

> 'Yet there is always the danger that small-scale productive property, whether in land, industry or trade, may tempt the owner, in his competition with more powerful productive units, to exploit his own family and the other workers employed, especially since in any given case the latter may be too few to organize effectively.' 112

Christian teaching should also throw light upon the facts, the actual facts of the existing situation. 'It is this which saves statements of principles from being platitudes.' Too often the Church has been ready to praise or condemn without the facts, impetuous in her desire to stand for the 'right', yet finding after all that she has made a fool of herself over the 'half-right'. Further, the Church can expose the condition of the human heart which creates obstacles to economic justice, and especially in the hearts of Church people.

> 'What is needed is the kind of self-knowledge which will help Christians to understand how far their attitudes are moulded by the position which they hold in the economic order. Self-knowledge is no less important than knowledge of external conditions. 113

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111. Ibid., p.118.
112. Ibid., p.119.
113. Ibid., p.121.

The report ends with a call for immediate Christian action. The Churches are called upon to set their own houses in order by a reform of their own institutional life. How can the Church convince the world if she 'allows (her) economic and social organization to remain sub-worldly?' Other suggestions are: the development of new machinery for research and action; the integration of work and worship; action in the existing order; groups' experiments to witness in the community for change; and efforts to change the economic order by reconstruction or transformation even to the point where Christians shall have to sacrifice. The report ends with these words:

> 'If men will put themselves unreservedly and humbly at the service of God He is able to overrule their stupidity and sin, and to use them to set forward His purpose for mankind, which is a society better than their deserving as it is beyond their desires.' 114

Tambaram
International Missionary Council
Madras - 1938

This report attempts to see how social and economic forces surround and influence the Church, a topic which is vastly important but too broad for present consideration. The report also deals with specific programs, rural reconstruction, cooperatives and

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114. Ibid., p.129.

cottage industries. Section VII of the meeting, the Economic Basis of the Church, dealt more particularly with the Churches' own administrative problems. Yet there was involved study of how to raise the economic level of impoverished Christians and of Christian communities. To understand the basic problems of the economic plight of the mission field and the younger churches is to see the more drastic need for a reform of the Church itself as it is advocated in several conferences, but particularly at Oxford and later at Malvern, in addition to Lambeth 1920.

The findings of Section VIII [115] portray a fine understanding of the confusions and changes of that time, an analysis penetrating and complete. The Kingdom of God is seen to be the answer to the world's ills, and the Church's responsibility is to interpret to the world the nature of divine society. Tambaram reflects the tension seen all through the ecumenical movement from Stockholm to Evanston, a tension about the understanding of the Kingdom of God, whether it is present or future of both, within or beyond history, or both. It is resolved by the both/and answer. As

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115. The Economic Basis of the Church, compiled by J.Merle Davis, (London: Oxford University Press, 1939). Vol V.of the Tambaram Madras Series of the International Missionary Conference. The findings of Section VII are to be found on pp.591-608. Altogether there were 470 delegates from 70 nations. Tambaram was quite well known through most of Protestant Christendom, but one wonders if the findings about economic and industrial life were as well known as other matters of a more ecclesiastical nature.

to the proportion of emphasis: again it is both upon individual conversion and social change, the latter with the realization that the social order has great power to affect the individual. It is not enough to say that changing the individual will change society.

> '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 of necessity change the social order unless you organize 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.' 116.

Further discussion on this matter follows in the report.

About economic questions, the view of the meeting is summarized in these words:

> 'Since economic means can purchase opportunity there can be no equality of opportunity without a redistribution of the world's economic goods. We therefore stand for a just distribution of those goods among, and within each nation, so that every man may have enough to promote his full growth as a child of God and not too much to stifle it.' 117

Pointing to the Japanese Christian movement of Christian Cooperatives as an attempt towards a complete economy of life compatible with Christian faith, which is advocated by the Conference,

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116. Ibid., pp. 595-596.
117. Ibid., p.598.

there is a call for similar experiments in other places.

> 'While it is not the rightful function of the Church to commend any particular type of co-operative organization for universal adoption, yet it becomes ever more clear that the essential principle of co-operation will alone answer the collective problems of our national and international life, if that life is to be Christian and it is to that essential principle that we are all pledged.' 118.

By 'co-operation' is meant the whole range of economic activity from production to distribution and consumption.

Other Church Documents in this Period From Oxford to Amsterdam

The Federal Council of Churches

The Federal Council of Churches in America kept its same forward view, issuing as usual many pronouncements. Reporting at its biennial meeting in 1944, [119] the Council supported legislation on a Federal Employment Fair Practices Commission which sought to abolish discrimination in employment. In 1947, the Federal Council also supported at its executive meeting, the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Program, an act to promote international trade co-operation. Further, the Council said that 'the possession of....natural resources should not be looked upon as an opportunity

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118. Ibid., p.608. The German delegation made definite exceptions to the interpretation of the Kindgom of God and more particularly to a Christian social program. The Authority of the Faith, Vol I Tambaram Series, p.185. '....being between the times the Church has not to bring into force a social program for a renewed world order, or even a Christian State.'

119. Federal Council Report of 1944, Biennial Report, Report of the Industrial Division of the Commission for Social Service.

to promote national advantage or to enhance the prosperity of some at the expense of others. Rather such possession is a trust to be discharged in the general interest. This calls for more than an offer to sell to all on equal terms.'[120] The Federal Council also affirmed its agreement with labor's request for a 'guaranteed annual wage.'

In 1947, the Federal Council called a study conference on The Church and Economic Life, which, following the suggestion of Oxford, was composed of laymen from all parts of the economic life plus some of the clergy. Indeed two thirds of those present were laymen, a new and refreshing departure from many previous Church meetings. Many questions were asked which were to be put to the Churches and to Church people for answers. Then, certain affirmations were given by the Conference itself, not to serve as blue prints but only as 'perspectives.'

> 'It is profoundly dedicated to economic justice and order, but not to any form of achieving these. Every system is to be judged by Christian standards which transcend it, and the judgment is likely to issue in commendation of some aspects of the system, condemnation of others, and indifference to still others.' 121

These general principles are: 'Production exists to serve necessary and desirable consumption; 'property is a trusteeship; Christians must be actuated more largely by service than by a profit motive.

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120. Federal Council Report of 1946, Biennial Report.
121. Report of the National Study Conference on the Church and Economic Life, (New York: Federal Council of Churches, n.d.) A pamphlet, p.12.

'It is desirable to work toward an economy which provides an assured adequate annual income for every family.'[122] This Conference, held at Pittsburgh, showed an awareness of issues at a deeper level than many previous meetings.

The Churches in America also continued their earlier trend of thought, which is reflected in the utterances of the Federal Council. In 1946, the Protestant Episcopal Church issued a book which had a wide distribution, Christianity Takes a Stand, which while not a Church Pronouncement, drew attention to Christian social standards. Another book followed in 1949, The Christian Demand for Social Justice. Both of these books were written by several outstanding Christians who presented their own position. These became study books of the Church.

One further question was discussed, as is shown by the statement of the Presbyterian Church USA in 1944. By this time, the closed shop was a big issue in industrial circles. Sides were taken quickly. The Presbyterians had this to say: 'We believe there is nothing in Christian faith and principle that either supports or denies the closed shop, as such, on ethical grounds.'[123] It was recognized that the closed shop might in some cases work for justice and brotherhood in industrial relations. In other cases, it might stand in the way. Further the Church said, when a closed shop is instituted, it should be adopted voluntarily by an industry as well as by the workers. In the same year the Presbyterian Church called attention to the obligation of Christians to join a union.

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123. Pronouncements of Religion and Economic Life, (New York: The Federal Council, 1947). A pamphlet. p.22. Quoted from General Assembly Minutes of 1944.

'We believe the Christian Church must confront its members who are employees with their obligation to consider their relation to a labor union in the light of the Christian principle of social responsibility. We believe industrial relations generally stand a stronger possibility of improvement when management and labor are organized. The good that follows upon such organization works for the benefit of those who assume neither the obligations nor the responsibilities of union membership, which gives the labor movement social value and ethical validity.'

Malvern

1941

In Britain, during this period, we have some very important studies to report of which the Malvern Conference is probably the best known. Called by the Archbishop of York, William Temple, it met in January 1941. Papers were prepared prior to the Conference, and almost all were written by members of the Christendom Group. Temple wrote that this was his intention, for he felt them best prepared to present statements. Also, all discussion could start from the same general perspective. The papers were assembled in a book.[124] Archbishop Temple says in the Introduction to that work, that he hoped the papers would be read in preference to the findings of Malvern. 'The object of this volume is to let a wider circle share the thoughts actually presented at Malvern; in other minds

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124. Malvern, 1941, (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1941). The Sponsors of Malvern complained of lack of newspaper space (ILICO's Column, The British Weekly, Feb.12, 1942, No.2885, Vol.CXI, p.217.). Yet Malvern was well known both in America and on the Continent. Almost all Church Journals refer to it. Yet there was not an great amount of space devoted to it in the secular press. One must remember that war news received most of the rather meager space at the time. Malvern did reach a wide audience. As to its effect, we shall not attempt to gauge that here. However there was in some quarters a strong reaction to its findings.

they may lead to other conclusions, or to a different balance of conclusions.'[125] The findings, which were not reprinted in this volume, (Malvern,1941), are our main interest. These are described more as a convergence of findings than as conclusions worked out by the Conference.

As with every conference, all that has gone before is re-examined and much is re-affirmed. (In order to avoid much tiresome repetition, we have attempted, wherever possible, not to repeat these earlier affirmations. Rather our task has been to find the new elements in each succeeding pronouncement.) Let us now turn to those matters for which Malvern is particularly noted.

The most controversial part was the question of The ownership of property.[126] Prior to the resolution on property, Malvern said that no structural organization of society could bring the Kingdom of God on earth and so the Church could not commit herself to any change of society as 'being a self-sufficient means of salvation.'

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125. Ibid., p.viii.
126. Sir Richard Ackland proposed an amendment condemning the present form of private ownership. The Bishop of Chichester challenged the totalitarian implications of any opposite position. The proposition adopted was somewhat of a compromise. It was adopted by vote, nemine contradicente. Later A.Vidler and T.S.Eliot repudiated the findings in a letter to the London Times (Jan.14, 1941, p.5). Joseph F.Fletcher, 'The Meaning of the Malvern Declaration', Christendom: An Ecumenical Review (New York), Vol VI., Summer 1941, No.3, pp.339-351. says that Malvern may have been 'strong meat' for such relative newcomers to the social field.

> 'But the Church can point to those features of our existing society which, while they can never prevent individual men and women from becoming Christian, are contrary to divine justice, and act as stumbling-blocks, making it harder for men to live Christian lives.' 127

Next, it was suggested that one of those stumbling-blocks might be the vesting of the 'ultimate ownership of the principle resources of the community....in the hands of private owners.'[128] Thus, some society must be sought which would preserve the essential value of the individual. 'Where the rights of property conflict with the establishment of social justice or the general social welfare, those rights should be over-ridden, modified, or, if need be, abolished.'[129] The Church of England was called upon to reform its internal financial position as the first step to modify present arrangements.

Two demands are made for 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.' With regard to these demands, it must be recognized that work is for the satisfaction of man's needs, and so production exists for consumption. 'Human status ought not to depend upon the changing demands of the economic process.'

The Commission of the Churches for International Friendship and Social Responsibility.

When the World War II broke out, the Commission of the

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127. The Malvern Conference - The Life of the Church and the Order of Society, (London: Industrial Christian Fellowship, 1941). A Pamphlet. p.8.
128. Ibid.
129. Ibid., p.9

Churches for International Friendship and Social Responsibility was formed, later becoming a part of the British Council of Churches which was formed in 1942. Just prior to that latter event, the Commission filed a report on Social Justice and Economic Reconstruction,[130] representing an interdenominational effort. It includes an economic charter. Every individual should have an opportunity for work, leisure, and retirement 'to a degree according with the wealth producing capacity of his day.' He should be given a place in industry to which he is fitted; he should hot be given arbitrary dismissal nor suffer an arbitrary reduction of work or standard of living; and 'every man should have an effective share in the determination of the policy of industry.'[131]

Industry, too, is given a charter. It is called upon to co-ordinate its service to the greatest benefit of the community. It is recommended that each industry set up an authority to co-ordinate the affairs of that industry. (This is similar to the co-operate system advocated by Pope Pius XI.) Each unit of industry should be safeguarded from vicious forms of competition. As a whole, industry should be able to conduct an orderly transfer of labor from one segment to another. Each industry must develop means to determine

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130. Social Justice and Economic Reconstruction, (London: S.C.M. Press, n.d.). A pamphlet. Prior to this time, Church Congresses, Interdenominational Social Service Unions, COPEC, and the Evangelical Free Congress(Still active) published certain statements and furnished a platform for the discussion of social issues.
131. Ibid., p.15.

the real need for its products, and maintain fair prices and labor practices. (Some of this industrial co-ordination would be prosecuted under present laws in the United States, for such efforts could be interpreted as actions in combination to restrain or regulate trade.) Rather than subordinate industry to finance, the national credit and financial policy should be planned to enable industry to fulfill its functions by serving human and community needs. In some cases industry might have to be taken over by the nation, or transformed into a Public Utility Trust.[132] Other industries might work voluntarily to co-operate with the government, or even submit to governmental direction, as necessary.

Then follows a charter for a world economy, calling for freer trade. Every country should be safeguarded against economic exploitation, and, in this, exchange rates should not be artifically disturbed. No nation should have its economy threatened by financial or political action by any other. The possibility of an international authority to act in such cases is mentioned. The right of access to the raw materials of the world should be available on equal terms to all with due respect to the rights of others. Poorer nations should be assisted to a higher standard of living and fuller economic activity. Where necessary, trade and finance might have to be controlled by an international authority. Where the merchants of any country must sell more abroad than their country is willing to

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132. Ibid., p.16.

purchase abroad, the economic harmony of nations might be disturbed.

The report continues with certain principles stated in the same idealistic terms, found throughout the rest of the report: justice, security, freedom and responsibility. Governments are urged to maintain post-war employment policies in line with the charter outlined above. Also Treasuries must be prepared to assist industries, by loans and credits, to expand when it is in the national interest.

God's Will For Church and Nation
Church of Scotland
1940-1945

The Church of Scotland, through its Commission for the Interpretation of God's Will in the Present Crisis, issued a study, the result of discussions which took place from 1940 to 1945,[133] this report is best known for its advocacy of 'middle axioms' - 'those subordinate maxims which connect the ultimate principles with the complexities of the actual historical situations in which action

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133. God's Will for Church and Nation, (London: S.C.M. Press, 1946). On p.174 the committee speaks of its embarrassment by the wide notice the report has received in Scotland, England, the Mission-fields, and in other lands(there was a French translation of part of the earlier reports), because now that the Church has accepted with valiance such principles it would be most damaging if the Church should not accept the application of the same. - This is a healthy attitude. Yet one fears the Commission must have remained embarrassed.
The membership of the Commission was heavily loaded with clergy 3 to 1. This is interpreted as a weakness in the method of approach. More laity should have been represented.

has to be taken![134] To be advocates of a new casuistry in Protestantism indicates great bravery, a virtue greatly needed today. The report begins with a fine exposition of the faith which must undergird any Christian ethical assumption. Among other things, the spirit of community, which was returning after the long reign of individualism, was heralded.

Two spheres emerge with relation to the Church and civilization. One deals with moral and spiritual principles about which the Church must be concerned, and the other deals with matters of 'departmental knowledge' or technical knowledge in some special area of life, about which religion cannot instruct us. For this reason, the Church can never completely identify herself with any special economic or political program. Yet there is no social problem where the spiritual question does not enter, where mercy and justice are not involved. We recognize that 'our Christian faith claims in the last resort to dominate the whole of life instead of being one department of it alongside others.'[135] So the distinction arises between the ends, our ultimate end and our subsidiary ends. Our ultimate allegiance is to God, and so in the human realm there can be no ultimate principles, that is in politics, economic, etc.

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134. William Temple, Opening Address, Malvern, 1941, p.10. Also Introduction, p.vii. "middle axioms" - maxims for conduct which mediate between the fundamental principles and the tangle of particular problems.' - Dr. J.H. Oldham seems to have introduced this term - W.A. Visser, 'T. Hooft and J.H. Oldham, The Church and its Function in Society, Oxford Series, (London: Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1937) p.210.

135. God's Will for Ch. and Nation, p.40.

The Church lacks final answers to moral and technical problems, but there are certain principles which guide and judge any solutions. No new principles are required. There is only a new application of those principles already laid down in the dominical and apostolic teaching. We return to 'Middle Axioms' which make ruling principles relevant in particular fields of action. 'They are not such as to be appropriate to every time and place and situation, but they are offered as legitimate and necessary applications of the Christian rule of faith and life to the special circumstances in which we now stand.'[136]

Social and industrial reconstruction cannot adequately be discussed except in relation to the problems of international reconstruction. No pretense is made to cover this broad field as Oxford did.

Certain defects in the industrial order are pointed out. Concerning these, we must legislate in view of our sin. At the root of our social maladjustment, there is both ignorance and sin, 'but there is more sin than ignorance; and there would be less ignorance if there were less sin, since it is certain that there is much more we could know if we cared to know it.'[137] 'In seeking to improve social institutions we must keep in mind the restraint of evil as well as the promotion of possible Good.'[138].

Guiding conceptions for a sounder order include a concept of the production of wealth, 'but our conception of wealth must be a sufficiently comprehensive one, embracing all the natural aspiration

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136. Ibid., p.45.
137. Ibid., p.42.
138. Ibid., p.60.

of man for the necessities and amenities of life....[139] Inequalities in possession of wealth are condemned and the right of all to lead a social life and to have a living wage is asserted. It is shown that conditions for healthy social relations are justice and community. The democratic test is laid down as the test of the economy which shall be of, by, and for the people. The 1942 report comes to an end with a promise to make a more detailed application of the principles outlined with relation to concrete problems in Scotland.

In 1943, the Commission studied the place of the Church and then discussed her concern for education. 1944 saw a report on marriage and the family and social and industrial life. With reference to the latter, and recalling the issues which led to the formulation of relevant 'middle axioms,' the General Assembly was reminded of one such axiom:

> ' 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 appropriate society organs.' (Italics) 140

More direction might be necessary on the part of the community. But the new report goes further; it calls for a clear declaration that 'the common interest demands a far greater measure of public control of capital resources and means of production than our tradition in the past envisaged.'[141] (Italics) Thus the Church of Scotland adds its voice to the call of so many Churches for increased direction by the community and in some cases to public ownership of the means of production. It is necessary because of

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139. Ibid.
140. Ibid., p.62, 156.
141. Ibid., p.157.

the 'tyranny of private interests' which perpetuate three evils that

> 'a)..will prevent the rehabilitation of our social and industrial life; b)..will prevent our meeting our world responsibilities in a way more consonant with the Gospel; and c)..will prevent our democracy from again becoming vital'. 142

The concentration of power in the hands of so few people leads to a concentration for which those individuals themselves cannot take full and adequate responsibility. Communal control is necessary for a rehabilitation of social and industrial life, for a conscientious discharge of world responsibilities and for the revitalization of democracy. A detailed economic analysis is given to substantiate the thesis. The analysis is in line with the Commission's desire not to allow moral principles to play a part in technical questions, yet the argument would have been stronger had moral suasion been applied where principle was involved.

The report fails to show that community control or ownership will provide what private initiative lacked. The assumption is made, that power in the hands of the community will do what power in the hands of a few would not do. 143.

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142. Ibid., p. 158.
143. The Commission seemed to sense danger in State ownership and control. A reference was made to Russia as 'an economic democracy controlled by a political dictatorship'. The danger was understood. They feared almost equally that Britain might be a 'political democracy controlled by an economic dictatorship'. (Ibid., p. 167) Lest economic issues be settled outside of democratic institutions, they desired that economic forces be controlled by the community, that is by political powers.

(cont. next page)

It is shown that such control will not, of itself, insure a solution to 'any moral problem or in any degree release us from vigilance as to the methods and motives of its implementation'.[144] So the disease of society may not be cured and yet economic chaos will surely result if some more democratic control is not envisaged. Community control will place a limitation over against the interest of the few, assuring a fair chance to more folk. Against this communal control there must also be put an ideal, a force; communal control is not end in itself. That other force which conditions communal regulation and order is individual liberty. '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'.[145]

'Planning for freedom'[146] emerges as the slogan of the report. As to the method of administration, or the nature and extent of control, the pronouncement does not care to say, for the Committee does not feel it is able to speak on this point. Whether there shall be common ownership and that by the State, public corporations or worker's co-operative societies, or whether

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143. (cont. from previous page).
It is shown above that the Commission was careful to strike a balance between order and freedom. Yet, they did not show that State control promises a more stable and just economy on technical grounds. This shows how interrelated are technical and moral questions. On other grounds, their argument is sound, though, we shall see that the Church of Scotland report of 1947 shows some disillusionment with the working out of nationalization schemes.

144. Ibid., p. 168.

145. Ibid., p. 170.

146. Ibid., (Italics mine)

increased control will be enough, and whether that shall be accomplished by legally imposed restrictions or by supervision of Government Departments - 'these questions involve for their settlement a variety of political and technical judgements in areas where the Church as such is not competent to move'.[147]

Reportingin 1945, the Committee drew its work to a close with a summary and a conclusion seeking the translation of the report into action. The promised study of detailed economic questions in Scotland was not forthcoming. The 1944 report of the Commission already reneged at this point, feeling it would make the report unmanageable and also because it saw that the economic life of Scotland was so interlocked with interests outside that such a study would not give any conclusions applicable to Scotland alone. Also, the 1945 Report is addressed more to the Church itself than to those outside the Church. A more effective witness could have been made here. With the 1945 Report, the Commission brought its work to a close.

A report on Industrial and Economic Interests to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, in 1947, pointed out that the new dangers which nationalization brought. (The old criticisms against capitalism were also recited).

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147. Ibid., p. 171.

'The nationalization of the means of production may well secure a more equal distribution of wealth, but there is considerable ground for apprehension that its tendency to bureaucratic forms of control may increase, rather than diminish, the impersonal and dehumanized structure of much of modern industry, while it may present in a new form an even greater menace to political freedom. The temptation to misuse power is inseparable from the possession of power. Large-scale organizations easily mistake their own interests for the interests of the community which they exist to serve. The issue arises not from the intentions of those who support such schemes; it develops rather from the logic of events. Schemes of nationalization must therefore be accompanied by large measures of devolution and decentralization of control if they are not seriously [148] to imperil the attainment of a genuine democracy'.

The Lambeth Conference of 1948 [149]

One other report before Amsterdam required our attention. Lambeth 1948 had as its theme, the doctrine of man, and in this a full discussion was given to the repudiation of Communism. A discussion of rights resulted in the encyclical stating that the 'Church must not insist only on rights. For rights imply duties, and duties to-day are often forgotten in the assertion of rights. To insist only on rights turns them to wrongs...' [150] A new gospel of work is sought. Work must be thought of 'in terms relevant to modern working conditions....all Church members (are) to find their incentive to work, not only in security and gain, but chiefly in service and good workmanship, as an offering to the

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148. Reports to the General Assembly of 1947, p. 312.
149. The Lambeth Conference 1948, (London: S.P.C.K., 1948).
150. Ibid., p. 20. (Part I).

glory of God'.[151] Work ought to be a vocation. Incentives are discussed. While Lambeth welcomes the State into the area of human welfare, 'the Church must not allow the State to disregard or throw away the experience and the good will which are found in voluntary social service'.[152] Further, 'the invasion by the State of spheres of life which hitherto have been the preserve of religious and philanthropic organizations is yet another incentive to the Churches to work more closely together and to heal their divisions'.[153]

Amsterdam to Evanston. 1948-1954.

The First Assembly of the World Council of Churches

Amsterdam represents the coming together of all prior Church pronouncements, even as it gathers into itself the Life and Work Movement, standing for over twenty years of Protestant thinking and action. Meeting to form the World Council of Churches, and representing 147 Churches from 44 countries, this assembly directed its attention to four areas of discussion. The third area, The Church and the Disorder of Society, directly relates to our subject. Two years before the Assembly, the Study Department started its long process of preparing subjects and assigning them to Commissions. These Commissions made drafts, produced volumes for preparatory study and then went through the intensive work of re-drafting, criticizing, and re-writing. After

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151. Ibid., p. 32. (Part I).
152. Ibid., p. 18. (Part II).
153. Ibid., p. 19. (Part II).

submitting the report of the final draft Section III, the Assembly 'received' the report and commended it to the Churches for 'serious consideration and appropiate action'.[154]

Part I of the report defined the disorder of society. Two factors are : the concentration of power (both in capitalism and communism), and the domination of society by 'technics'. Technical developments have relieved men of much drudgery and they can help men to a fuller personal life, and yet they have gathered a momentum more destructive of men and society than in previous times. Churches are reminded that they share a responsibility for the contemporary disorder. Proceeding, the Commision points to the need in our day 'for stability in the value of money, for creation of capital and for incentives in production....Justice, however, demands that economic activities

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154. The First Assembly of the World Council of Churches - The Official Report, ed. W.A. Visser 't Hooft, (London: S.C.M. Press, 1949). Section III - pp. 72-87. See pp.82-87 for discussion of the report on the Assembly floor.

The authority of these documents is defined by the Rules of the W.C.C., p. 210. No. ix., Public Statements, 2. '....their authority will consist only in the weight which they carry by their own truth and wisdom and the publishing of such statements shall not be held to imply that the World Council as such has, or can have, any constitutional authority over the constituent churches or right to speak for them'.

Amsterdam was the subject of long discussion throughout the Church. It received wide public notice in the press. Its stand on laissez-faire capitalism and communism received publicity and aroused some controversy. It marks a definite step forward in the attention paid to such pronouncements of the Church, both by Christians and by those outside the Church.

be subordinated to social ends'.[155] Christians cannot resolve the debate between socialists and those who oppose this type of productive control; yet the report draws attention to the fact that 'in the light of the Christian understanding of man, we must say to the advocates of socialization that the institution of property is not the root of the corruption of human nature',[156] and to the others that property is not an 'unconditional right'. Because persons are supreme over technical considerations, all economic processes must be subordinated to the 'needs of the community as a whole', at the same time preserving full place for the 'little man'. In order to safeguard against over-strong control in one center, for the purposeful ordering of society, a large measure of decentralized local control is advocated, both in government and in other economic and political institutions.

A responsible society is defined:

> 'A responsible society is one where freedom is the freedom of men who acknowledge responsibility to justice and public order, and where those who hold political authority or economic power are responsible for its exercise to God and the people whose welfare is affected by it'.[157]

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155. Ibid., p. 76.
156. Ibid.
157. Ibid., p. 77.

Attempts to limit the freedom of the Church, to deny men opportunities to shape society, and to prevent men from learning and spreading truth, are condemned.

A whole section of the report is devoted to Communism and Capitalism. Five points of conflict between Christianity and Communism are cited.[158] Communism believes, 1) in man's redemption in history, 2) that a particular class is free from sin and thus able to bear a new order, and 3) in materialism and determinism. Two more points are noted, 4) the ruthlessness of Communism to its opponents and 5) the demand of a loyalty to the party, which replaces loyalty to God. Conflicts between Christianity and Capitalism include the fact that Capitalism tends to subordinate human need to economic advantage, and to produce serious inequalities. Capitalism also has developed a form of materialism where degrees of success are determined by the ability to make money. Capitalism has tended to create social catastrophes such as mass unemployment.[159] 'The Christian churches should reject the ideologies of both Communism and laissez-faire capitalism, and should seek to draw men away from the false assumption that these extremes are the only alternatives'.[160]

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158. Ibid., p. 79.

159. Ibid., p. 80.

160. Ibid.; Also, further: 'Communist ideology puts the emphasis upon economic justice, and promises that freedom will come automatically after the completion of the revolution. Capitalism puts the emphasis upon freedom, and promises that justice will follow as a by-product of free enterprise; that too, is an ideology which has been proved false'.

Churches can make the greatest contribution to society by renewing their own lives. This would be true especially of racial discrimination. Nor should Churches identify themselves with political parties. The social influence of the Church must come primarily in her teaching and preaching of Christian truths. There are occasions when the Church should declare what she sees to be the will of God, for the needs of the time. Then follows a general guide for such pronouncements: 'Such guidance will often take the form of warnings against concrete forms of injustice or oppression or social idolatry. They should also point to the main objective towards which a particular society should move.'[161] In the latter instance, many of the pronouncements have been weak, even Amsterdam. Much more time is spent on the ills of society than on defining a 'responsible society' and pointing out ways to accomplish that society.

Other Church Documents in this Period

Amsterdam to Evanston

In the short span of years between Amsterdam and Evanston we have such a mass of material that it defies easy summation. We may review this material briefly and then move on to Evanston which provides a fine climax and conclusion to all that has heretofore transpired.

Britain found the British Council of Churches introducing some fine studies for discussion by Christians on The Christian's

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161. Ibid., p. 81.

Responsibility in Industry. In 1951, a statement was issued on strikes and lockouts.[162] Unions were defended as necessary because of the worker's disadvantageous bargaining position. Adjustments in wages would be necessary so long as there was full employment. There would be no simple rule in the matter. It is really a question of the price of labor. The 'just price' ideal does not provide any standards to determine wage realities. Yet in seeking an adequate wage, the right to strike is defended, even though abuse is always possible in the exercise of this right. Each strike decision asks two questions of the Christian: 1) Is the proposed strike justified? 2) If there is a decision to strike should the Christian join in? Of the second question, 'the Christian should set a standard of loyalty at this point, and recognise that it is a serious decision to be disloyal to the collective decision of his fellows,'[163] '....a man has a poor case for dissenting from union action unless he has taken his full share in the life and discussion of the union prior to the decision.'[164] Union shops are discussed and the problems of minorities who remain out of unions for conscience' sake also are touched upon.

The Church of Scotland (1950) under the leadership of its Committee on Church and Nation reported on incentives in industry.[165]

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162. Strikes and Lockouts - The Ethics of Christian Action (London: The British Council of Churches, n.d.). A pamphlet.
163. Ibid., p. 14.
164. Ibid., p. 15.
165. Reports to the General Assembly 1950.

Special attention was paid to the worker who has a dull and tiresome task. Removal of injustice was seen as the first step to better workmanship. Other suggestions include the realization that freedom carries with it responsibility. 'In the second place, there must be a considerable growth in the sense that all useful work is a service to the community'.[166] Christians have a further incentive when service to God and their fellows is seen as their goal. The Christian works in a wider perspective than does a non-Christian.

In the United States, the Federal Council of Churches and then the National Council of the Churches of Christ in America, constituted in 1950, lead in their continued studies on economic life. The denominations also issued pronouncements, but none so forthright nor so complete as those of the Council. Basic Christian Principles and Assumptions were published by the Executive Committee of the Council in 1948,[167] condemning paternalism: at its highest, love expressing itself in terms of benevolent power; because power in any form is subject to judgement. Justice and freedom are seen as the basic needs of society. Motives for economic security are to be used constructively and yet are to be subservient to a concern for the welfare of the whole community and to one's own sense of Christian vocation. Certain

166. Ibid., p. 342.
167. Basic Christian Principles and Assumptions - A Statement adopted by the Executive Committee of the Federal Council of Churches, September, 1948. A pamphlet.

inequalities of status 'can be justified because of differences of function.'[168] Yet there is an unresolved dilemma between the emphasis on equality and 'the experience that indicates that society cannot dispense with the incentive for initiative and productivity that is provided when income varies with contribution'. The Executive Committee in 1949[169] stated its position on compulsory union membership after discussing critical and favorable views'. '....we believe that compulsory union membership should be neither required nor forbidden by law (italics)'.[170] Decisions on the matter should be entered into voluntarily by management and labor and any agreement must safeguard the interests of consumers and the general public against abuses. Also the rights and welfare of individual members should be safeguarded. Certain safeguards are recommended: periodic review of agreement, free union elections, open membership without discrimination to the union, and the right of appeal beyond union machinery to the courts, especially in cases of expulsion from the union. Jurisdictional strikes are not justified.

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168. Ibid., p.7.
169. The Church Looks At Industrial Relations - A Statement adopted by Exec. Comm. Fed. Council of Churches, May 1949. A pamphlet.
170. Ibid., p.7. At the present time, Jewish, Roman Catholic, and Protestant Church bodies are opposing 'right to work' legislation which is aimed at making union and closed shops illegal. It is on the level of legislative action that Churches have most been effective. Their pronouncements have acted as pointers on the way. Their action, added to that of organized labor, has brought effective action to 'kill' these bills in some states, and repeal in others.

A Conference on The Responsibility of Christians in an Interdependent Economic World was held under the auspices of the Federal Council at Detroit in 1950.[171] More technical matters are approached. Freedom and planning again dominate the arena and a plea is made for the freedom of private enterprise to plan its own activities under the protection of democratic processes, wherein the government also plans in certain other spheres, education, health, conservation, foreign policy etc. Certain motives are affirmed and defined :

> 'A more Christian economic society calls for the extension into economic life of the ethical principles of freedom, justice, and brotherhood, as well as the democratic principles of liberty, equality, and fraternity, through the promotion of the common welfare in the form of great opportunity, security, and fellowship for all'.[172]

The Conference sought a free, orderly, just, fraternal and productive society. In pursuit of this ideal two positions have been taken in extreme. One, of an 'unregulated price system', and the other, of planning by public authorities for setting prices and production goals. A medium position is taken recognizing that certain controls are necessary. 'But we should scrutinize every proposal for greater control and judge whether it serves one value - such as order or justice to a denial of other important values such as freedom'.[173]

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171. The Responsibility of Christians in an Interdependent Economic World, (N.Y.: Federal Council of Churches, 1950). A pamphlet.
172. Ibid., p. 13.
173. Ibid., p. 17.

Three areas demand working out: '1) economic stabilization; 2) income distribution; 3) monopoly and power group control'.[174] In the first area, times of inflation are said to require higher taxes and other measures to increase the amount of money in the economy. Deflation will demand reduction of taxes and increased expenditures for goods and services. Tax policy can also work effectively, as it has been shown, to bring about a more equitable income distribution. Social security assures extension to other groups not covered otherwise. Of social control, 'Industry Councils' are advocated where, in some cases, there will be co-equal participation of labor and management; and in others, representation of consumers and the professions. Insofar as economic power exercises self-restraint, higher orders of freedom will be reached.

A whole section is devoted to the American economy and world trade. On a broader plain, it amounts to certain principles. One country should apprise the effect of its policies upon others. More fortunate countries must help to mitigate severe economic fluctuations by keeping a sound internal economy, by importing and providing a market for foreign exports, by participating in technical assistance

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174. Ibid.

programs, by sharing surpluses,[175] and by encouraging foreign investment to the advantage of both parties, by not forcing its economic patterns upon other nations and by co-operating with the United Nations and its several agencies.

Cleveland was the scene of the next conference in 1953, on Christian Faith and International Responsibility.[176] World trade again assumes a large place in the discussions. Increased trade, and less aid (TRADE NOT AID) is seen as the most wholesome policy. In order to increase imports, the government is called upon to reconsider its protectionist policies of the past, including tariffs, quotas, processing taxes, customs regulations and other restrictions. While certain industries may suffer from a low tariff policy, the whole economy must be considered. 'A greater volume of imports will necessitate adjustments within certain industries, but these are likely to be insignificant compared to the benefit our economy and the rest of the world will receive'.[177]

175. The sharing of surpluses should be a simple problem. But in fact it is found to be complicated because of both economic and political effects. e.g. If surplus butter is sold below the market rate or even given away, it affects the home markets of butter. Also local merchants cannot help but see the distribution of surplus products as a bid for permanent markets by the distributor nation. Generally it can be said to affect world prices and market.

176. Christian Faith and International Responsibility, (N.Y. : The National Council of Churches, 1953). A pamphlet. As the Fed. Council reconstituted itself the National Council in 1950, it was held under the auspices of the latter group. The findings of both this Conference and the Detroit Conference represented only the Conferences themselves, but they were later affirmed by the Council.

177. Ibid., p. 27.

In changing tariff laws, these changes must be gradual and elective. The World Bank's support of debtor nations is praised, and the participation of creditor nations is urged. Point IV is praised as being 'profoundly right'. Many other means are advocated. A detailed study of these reports would reward the reader.

The Executive Committee's Statement on Christian Principles and Assumptions for Economic Life of 1954, maintains a continuing concern for questions of freedom and order in society.

> 'To-day we have enough knowledge of what happens under a thoroughgoing collectivism to realize that uncritical recourse to the state to remedy every evil creates its own evils. It may easily become a threat to freedom as well as to efficiency. The union of political and economic power is a dangerous road, whether it leads toward complete state control of economic life or toward control of the state by private centers of economic power. A wide distribution of centers of power and decision is important to the preservation of democratic freedom'. [178]

Ecumenical Study Conference for East Asia

Lucknow
1952

Lucknow was the scene of an important discussion preceding the Evanston Assembly for it allowed the members of Asian Churches to add their views about the Church's concern. [179] Social justice was the main concern of the section on a responsible society. Land reform was the first main topic con-

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178. Printed by the National Council of Churches, A pamphlet.
179. Ecumenical Doc., op. cit., pp.143-152.

sidered. Social and legal conditions should be created to make such a development succeed. It was felt than no moral justification existed for compensating landlords, for justice requires that a peasant 'should not be burdened with new indebtedness due to compensation'.[180] All unutilized lands should be used and enough should be given to men for appropiate subsistence. The problem of overpopulation and industrialization consumes a large part of the report. It is felt that both state iniative and private resources should be tapped. Where technical assistance is provided it should be done without any strings attached. A responsible society is further defined. In the final analysis, the Churches in East Asia must provide a 'social doctrine which will provide right criteria for making political judgment and decision.... on the basis of the Christian faith'.[181] Again there is a call for 'middle axioms' on the part of the Church; but when the crucial questions are asked, no real criteria are provided.

SECOND ASSEMBLY OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES EVANSTON 1954[182]

The theme of the Assembly was 'Christ - The Hope of the

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180. Ibid., p. 145.

181. Ibid., p. 151.

182. Evanston Speaks - Reports of the 2nd. Assembly of the W.C.S. (Geneva: World Council of Churches, 1954). It is too early to tell the effects of Evanston but it received wide notice in the press. Yet the actual contents of the reports, one might surmise, have not reached a wide audience.

World'. From the start it was asserted that this hope does not provide for technical answers or specific solutions. In this sense, a responsible society is not an alternative to any social or political system but is the criterion by which all systems are judged. Family, state, and economic institutions provide the basis for discussion. Certain aspects of a responsible society should be embodied in any political institution, allowing certain freedoms, among these the freedom of association. 'The state is not the source of social justice, but it must be its guardian'.[183] Thus a warning is given against the union of economic and political power. Non-governmental sectors of the economic life must be the guardians of responsible action in society. These groups too, are the servants and not the lords of freedom and welfare. 'When necessary in the public interest, the state must intervene to prevent any center of economic or social power which represents partial interest from becoming stronger than itself, for the state alone has the power and the authority under God to act as trustee for society as a whole'.[184] A new emphasis is laid upon the need for the relative freedom of enterprise and the regulating role of the price system alongside the new element of state initiative.

> 'These developments suggest that disputes about 'capitalism' and 'socialism' disguise the more important issues in the filed of economic and social policy. Each word is applied to many different

183. Ibid., p. 29.
184. Ibid.

> social forms and economic systems....Private enterprise takes many shapes in different countries at different stages and in different parts of one economy and is profoundly affected by the forms of government regulation....There are also various types of co-operative organization. In some countries the 'welfare state' or the 'mixed economy' suggests a new pattern of economic life....The concrete issues in all countries concern the newly-evolving forms of economic organization, and the relative roles of the state, organized groups and private enterprises'.[185]

Thus, there is no black or white, only shades of color, not one system or another, but degrees of government initiative, a little more or a little less. The Church cannot support uncritically any form, but must concern herself with the moral implications of economic life. State action in recent years has done much that private industry cannot do, such as urban development, conservation, and some types of large scale industrial and agricultural research. But this state action needs 'to be decentralized, limited and adaptable'.

We have noted that Church pronouncements in the period since World War II have been far less idealistic. Now the word 'efficiency' has come to the fore; for unless a system is efficient, no matter how moral it may be, there can be no meeting of the community needs. Thus, 'efficient production' and 'fair distribution' must be laid side by side and given great stress. Also, by condemning monopoly and trusts in the past, one has condemned the monopolist without seeing his

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185. Ibid., p. 30.

place in society as a 'skilled executive'. 'At its best the business system has provided incentives for the responsible initiative and hard work which produces economic progress, and has embodied the wisdom of decentralized decisions and widely distributed power. These are virtues needed in any system'.[186]

While we have not given much space to the needs and questions of agriculture, we must see its important place in our economy. The farmer, who has now the same status as a producer, must have a measure of security. For his part, he must resist the tendency to exploit the soil, those who work for him, and the consumer.

Biblical warnings against rich men are recalled. 'In our day these warnings must be applied to the temptations facing everyone in a rich society. The tendencies to create unlimited wants, to overemphasize material values and to appeal to motives of social pride, envy and lust, stimulated by irresponsible salesmanship and advertising, are dangerous and need curbing'.[187]

The responsibility of the smaller groups to the rest of society is stressed over and over again. Unions, associations of employers, farmers, and professional people are soberly reminded to bear these responsibilities.

Christians have a special duty to draw attention to

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186. Ibid., p. 31.
187. Ibid., p. 31.

those policies of their government which affect peoples in other lands. 'Excessive barriers to trade can create economic crises elsewhere. The greater the economic power, the larger is the responsibility in this field. The richer countries particularly must remember that one test of their policies is their effect on the underdeveloped areas of the world'.[188]

A large part of the report is devoted to the question of Communism. We will refer the reader back to our treatment of Amsterdam on this problem.

'In all these fields the real dangers are complacency, lack of imagination, and the dull sense of hopelessness that settles upon those of little faith'.[189] With these words, Evanston draws the report for Section III to an end, and we bring this section of the chapter to a close. They summarize the development of Church thinking in social matters during our period. The greatest problem which plagued the Church in the early years was complacency, which saw her drifting along with the current of society toward chaos and destruction. Lack of imagination was the cause of this malady, and lack of a vital faith. When the Church awoke from her slumbering sickness, she found her long recuperation had left her senses dull. But as the Church has become more engrossed with the questions of everyday life, she has showed an awakened sensitivity

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188. Ibid., p. 32.
189. Ibid., p. 36.

and imagination, and a knowledge of technical matters which has brought admiration from others struggling to solve some of those same problems. Never has the Church had a 'dull sense of hopelessness'. She has never been without vision, for she has moved with a hope grounded in Jesus Christ, who gives meaning to the meaningless things of life. It was this hope and this vision, and ultimately this faith, which saved the Church when she might easily have retreated before the complexity of social questions.

When the Church of Scotland ended her report at the close of World War II, she mentioned her embarrassment and her misgivings 'concerning the translation of speech into action'. The Commission was not unhappy about the content of its report, but it was afraid that the Church was 'going to allow too much of it to remain merely on paper'. We may be entering into an era when the faith of the Church will show itself in a fuller hope which leads to action. When that is done, a real conclusion to this chapter can be written.

A Chapter Postscript

The early statements, both practical and idealistic, have assumed that simple moral effort would accomplish great changes for the better. Later Church pronouncements began to understand the demonic nature of evil and also the fact that men cannot will a new order into being. Recognizing sin, they saw the evil which exists in every human system. The Kingdom of God was no longer to be accomplished on earth. Thus the eschatological implications of the Gospel tempered the Christian ethic and set it upon a new foundation.

Evanston has been critized by some as a capitulation to private enterprise. If this is so, then the Protestant statements have gone a half circle from outright enndemnation of capitalism to luke-warm approval, to say the least. But that is not fair. Though Evanston did indicate a greater appreciation of the virtues of capitalism than did earlier assemblies, yet it was only following the line laid out by the Universal Christian Council for Life and Work over twenty years before.[190] We must judge all systems by the same criterion by praising all that is good and condemning all that

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190. Ecumen. Doc. p. 45-6. See above p. 43. 'We have no attitude of unbroken affirmation to adopt with regard to the world, mankind and its power over order, because we realize their need for redemption. Therefore we are faced in the social order only with the question of better or worse.(italics mine) We reject every attempt and line of thought which suggest that it lies in the hands of men to realize the perfect order....(and) We are quite willing to examine in each individual case where we meet practical aims which are also acceptable to Christians'. See also Pittsburgh Conference Statement, p. 51. above.

is had. Evanston was concerned with the relation of freedom to order, whether it be in a capitalist, socialist, co-operative or communist economy.

As a result of the early pronouncements, labor was ready to praise the action of the Church, finding in her a much needed ally. Labor was too involved in the social matrix to realize that the Church's stand had resulted from a sense of guilt for past sins and from fear for her own life. In 1905, The American Federation of Labor (A.F.L.) passed a resolution citing the work of the Presbyterian Church U.S.A., in the field of labor.[191] At the same time, the Social Creed was early attacked by powerful business interests.[192] From that time, there was a struggle in the Church between these two elements, business and labor, sometimes with an intensity not unlike their struggle in the secular world. Although many remained prophets of the status quo, the Churches in general and the clergy in particular showed a growing favor towards the interests of labor. Reaction to this by business was often bitter and unchristian.[193] Conservative

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191. New.Encycl. of Soc. Ref.,Bliss, p. 943.
192. William Adams Brown, The Church In America, (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1922). p. 89.
193. Roy, Apostles of Discord, (Boston: The Beacon Press, 1953). The story is told here of the attack on the Social Action groups in the Methodist, Congregational, and Presbyterian Churches and also of other attacks on the Churches and the Federal Council of Churches, and the World Council of Churches. In 1954, the Congregational Church held an enquiry into the status of their Action Committee as did the Methodist Church two years earlier and the Presbyterian Church in 1950. In each case, the official agencies of the Church were 'cleared', declared sound, and sent about their business but not without a few years of effective action crippled by efforts spent in their own defense. These bitter attacks on the social witness of the Church only show the effectiveness of such action.

groups, in the name of private enterprise, attacked Social Action Committees, denounced social pronouncements, and put blocks in the way of effective Christian Action in the community. Some in the Church felt that business would win the day, whereas now we know otherwise. For that matter, labor has not been the victor either. Both labor and business will win, if in the end their remaining tension, which has by now greatly diminished, is resolved in favor of the Christian perspective, with no preconceptions or prejudices.[194]

W.A. Visser 't Hooft is reported to have reminded the Evanston Assembly of its social responsibility in framing statements on social and economic questions because of the attention paid them by business and labor. They were often referred to in meetings and over bargaining tables. Such a reminder points to the effectiveness of Church pronouncements. In the early years of the Christian Social Movement, when the ferocity between the various elements in society was greater than now, peaceful means of persuasion and education used by the Churches were not always effective. Prohibition, and later the defeat of Universal Military Training, were clear victories for the Church.

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194. The Pittsburgh, Detroit and Cleveland Conferences on Economic Life are evidence of the willingness of leaders of all groups to meet together in the name of Christ to find solutions to common problems. In the summer of 1954, The Philip Murray Memorial Foundation gave a gift of $200,000 to the National Council of Churches 'on behalf of the practical application of religious principles to the everyday world of economic life'. (The Christian Century, July 28, 1954, p.892). This gift from labor indicates that Labor feels the Church has something vital to contribute. The fact that it is given in the name of an outstanding Roman Catholic labor leader is of great significance.

Of late, the voice of the Church has won greater attention before legislative committees on economic and industrial questions. This can be attributed to the success of the Church in educating its own middle class members. This is the place where the Church has made some mark, though one would not be willing to say how deep a mark.

According to a poll taken at the General Convention of Protestant Episcopal Church, results showed

> 'a widespread lack of interest on the part of the clergy and laity in a number of social issues about which the General Convention of the Church had formulated a body of social policy over a period of years. Generally speaking, there was little awareness that the national legislative and policy-making body of the Church had ever had more than a casual interest in social policy'. 195

The poll also showed that many had views inconsistent with those of the Church. Weston attributes this to the fact that the Church had not made its social policy readily accessible. If it is true, that a large percentage of the Church lacks interest and knowledge, and all indications are that it is true, then the task which remains is one of a full, comprehensive education.

We shall see, that Oldham's words would still call the Church, away from overmuch time with pronouncements, to action, for that is our final goal.

> 'Those who have prepared these statements deserve our gratitude. They have helped us to find our bearings by formulating the convictions, principles and aims which should govern the Christian approach

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195. Weston, op. cit., p i.

> to the problems of society. They have provided us with serviceable maps. But to make a journey, we need more than maps. We also need petrol and, having supplied ourselves with petrol and maps, we want to be getting along the road....Having been given good maps, let us be thankful and not spend a disapportionate amount of our energy in trying to improve them. Above all let us avoid the snare of supposing that when we have laid down principles, and affirmed our belief in them, we have also secured action'. 196

Now that we have the material before us, it may act as a chart of our journey toward a just and responsible society.

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196. J.H. Oldham, The Christian News-Letter, February 4, 1942, N.119.

PART II.

A CRITICAL EVALUATION OF CHRISTIAN POSITIONS.

CHAPTER IV.

A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF THE POSITION OF THE CHURCHES IN ECONOMIC LIFE AND INDUSTRIAL PROBLEMS

> 'If for the sake of realizing the pure form of moral life we strive for a perfect social and political order in which perfect freedom is to be realized in a new way, we come into conflict with the very essence of human liberty and may deprive moral life of all meaning. In the utopias of the perfect social order man's moral experience and his free moral efforts prove impossible and unnecessary. The perfect man is automatically created by the perfect social order in which no moral acts are either admissable or possible.... But in the perfect social order, in which there will be no violence or compulsion of any kind and it will be impossible for man to do evil, man's moral activity will be unnecessary and impossible. Such is the paradox of freedom. Man must be free and struggle for his liberation. But freedom needs resistance and presupposes struggle. [1]

We shall limit the present discussion to areas of agreement and differences as they appear in the views of the Churches. No attempt will be made to search out the origin of these views, their history or their interpretation by secular thinkers, except where the ideas demand such explication. Where the Churches agree in their answers to questions of social justice, criticism will be made where it is applicable. Where the opinions of the Churches vary, these opinions will be allowed to come into direct controversy, to assess, or to criticize one

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1. Nicholas Berdyaev, The Destiny of Man, (London: Geoffrey Bles: The Centenary Press, 1937). pp.203-204.

another. The survey in part one presented some explicit and implicit criticisms of the pronouncements themselves. We shall not analyze these further at this point. It is more important to examine the subjects of these pronouncements, to determine wherein the Churches agree and where they differ, and in the latter case to point to factors that are reconcilable or irreconcilable.

As we have seen the Church was led to its concern for social problems by the pressure of the times, by fear for her own existence and by a new realization of the command of Christ to preach the Gospel. Also, we know that the Church was not much more or less alert to issues than were other institutions, though there was a lag in the application of her official positions. The Church seemed to have lost her former power to change the practices and the minds of men and society.[2] Thus, when seeking answers to social questions, she found the process difficult. Either she turned to the past and adapted a picture of the social order that once was or she accepted

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2. Liston Pope, Millhands and Preachers - A Study of Gastonia, (New Haven : Yale University Press, 1942). This study of religion in a textile center of the American South revealed many things but it showed most clearly that (p.332) 'the Churches have tended to pass from a dynamic force for social change to a static sanction of the change effected'. Weber's thesis and Tawney's revision of Weber's position are important because they show how much the Church may affect social and economic life. We may be too close to judge the 19th and 20th Centuries, but there is little evidence to support a view that the Church is presently an effective force to change society, however much we might wish the contrary to be true.

uncritically the status quo. In reaction to these rather barren alternatives, many in the Church turned to secular programs and ideas for inspiration. For if the Church did not lag behind other institutions in her perception of the signs of the times, she yet/had few thinkers who could present ideas original or radical enough to meet the needs of new generations. Fortunately the search for answers continued. At least a few Christians were not satisfied. At this time, historical studies and literary criticism of the Bible re-discovered the Jesus of history. This Jesus of history must have given answers to social questions. At the very core of His Gospel was the Cross and a commandment, a commandment to love. The social Gospel was derived from this. But the story did not end there. Part of the Church reacted to this critical approach and to this social concern by retreating to a stronghold of pious millenialism. This was an escape from the whole effort to find answers and may have been due to revulsion against the too simple answers found; others worked out concrete principles as the expression of the commandment of love, principles universally applicable. As a result, love was replaced by legalism and lost its power to judge all the manifest embodiments of itself in human laws. Another reaction came from within this group and was due to a book written by Albert Schweitzer, The Quest of The Historical Jesus. But the pendulum went too far again and the ethic of the Gospel became the Kingdom ethic, the ethic of a Kingdom

not yet here, an absolute ethic which tended to remove the Church from the real tensions and compromises of historical existence. There was a gulf, absolute and fixed, between the commandment of God and its realization in human history. And again, there was in some quarters of the Church, either retreat to the past, acceptance of the present order, or complete denial of the relation of the Church and the World. All of these views acting within the flux of Christian social thinking cross each other in the matrix of the design produced by the pronouncements of the Church.

Oxford, and later Amsterdam and Evanston, realizing the tension within the Church, and the tension inherent in a Christian ethic, steered a course between a complete acceptance and rejection of the secular world and its dreams and plans, and accepted an ethic which recognized the distance between the love commandment and all earthly attempts to fulfill it. At the same time the distance was bridged, because love as it is shown forth upon the Cross becomes the standard for judging all human schemes. The result of this position is the absolute and complete rejection of any social order preceded by the adjective, Christian. Evanston Assembly, summing up the position of the World Council of Churches, made this very plain: 'Our hope in Christ enables us to know that there are limitations set upon every human idea and achievement, so that we never make an idol out of any social cause,

institution, or system'. In this chapter, we shall accept this position as that representing the Protestant Church.

One may feel that this is the most realistic, pragmatic and safe approach to make, although it is known that the Church is handicapped when faced with a fait accompli. That is, once the direction of economic affairs is indicated, the Church may not be able to effect any changes if her role simply becomes a negative one. It may not even make any difference if the Church speaks, unless she becomes an active force in the political life of the community, initiating changes by political and social action. It is not our duty here to indicate strategy, but to point to basic weaknesses, to show that Protestantism must be careful lest her role become purely negative.

Roman Catholicism has accepted two rather different views about society represented in seeming harmony by Rerum Novarum and Quadragesimo Anno. Both accept a Christian ideal and both may be charged with accepting secular ideas. One points to the Middles Ages and the other to a Corporative Society in a more modern setting. At first sight, the Corporative ideal which is patterned after the guild system seems to reflect a modern version of medieval guilds; but further study reveals a concept more vitalistic and less static, a pattern which attempts to achieve a synthesis built upon a hierarchy with the Church at the top, in the role of synthesist not in a medieval era, but

in a new period of history where there can be no return to what once was. Leo XIII. looks back; Pius XI., and Pius XII., look ahead. Later in the chapter we will give more attention to the corporative ideal, but it will suffice to say that Roman Catholicism and Protestantism have their first encounter right on the ground floor of social life, one asserting and the other rejecting the possibility of a Christian social order. The conflict is further complicated by the fact that Rome shows two minds and not the one mind in which the doctrine of Papal Infallibility makes us expect. Secondly it is not too difficult to trace these two positions of Rome back to secular antecedents. Pius XI., did not invent corporatism; it was a hybrid variety of the feudal guild, distributionism, syndicalism, and fascism. The Italy surrounding the Papal See in 1931, the date of Quadragesimo Anno, was a corporate State. It may be that Pius XI. did not accept the system as practiced in Italy, but he could not help being influenced by the experiment there. There were other elements in Fascism, far less commendable, to which Pius XI. gave his papal blessing.

In the medieval ideal of Leo XIII. one returns to the 13th Century, and the question arises: was society Christianized or was the Church secularized? St. Thomas belonged to the 13th Century, and he represents in his person the medieval synthesis. H. Richard Niebuhr has pointed out that St. Thomas does not achieve a synthesis but that his works reflect

the synthesis that already existed between Christ and culture.[3] Ideally, in this synthesis, Christ has reconciled the world to Himself. One must ask: was there not a danger of Christ being reconciled to the world, or satisfied with the world? If so, then Christ would be compromised. Yet we take away from truth if we do not recognize the heights that were reached in the Middle Ages, the heights of justice and order, and the recognition of authority. But justice, while it may aspire to fullness, never reaches the completeness of the love commandment.

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3. H.Richard Niebuhr, Christ and Culture, (New York : Harper & Bros., 1951). Chapter 4.

The Roman Catholic Church professes a hope that the Medieval Synthesis, which once took place with herself as synthesizing agent, will come again so that the end of history which once has taken place in her, might recur, at which time the Kingdom of Christ which is now in the Church will be in the whole world. Granted, there is no assurance that a synthesis would not happen again; but even to imply that there can be a synthesizing agent is to deny that the agent herself may be acted upon by the dialectical process, or that there might arise in opposition to her any antithetical elements which would cause the agent to be synthesized. (Hegel and Marx made the same errors. For Hegel, the State, and for Marx, the withering away of the State, were ends. Both neglected to provide for a philosophical explanation of how the dialectical process could be ended within the rationale of their system). While the Church was to some extent a free agent responsible for some of the heights of the Middle Ages, still she was synthesized by forces of history and changed in the process. Close examination shows that both elements were present in the Medieval Synthesis, free action on the part of the Church and action upon the Church which to some extent determined her nature and her future.

The medieval synthesis itself depended upon the temporal power of the Church as she began to assume power that once belonged to an Empire, and where the pretentions of the Pope could only be realized because there was a niche to be fulled, once occupied by an Emperor. It would not be a simple matter fo discern which ideas grew up in the Church or under the stimulus of the Church, but many of the questions of economic life came forth in the practice of the people, in the growth of the guilds, and in the extension of commerce. Other factors will suffice to raise a question whether at the height of the Middle Ages, the Church tended to sanction practices unfavorable to herself. Was the Church in the Middle Ages creative of social order or was she created in the image of an order? The Reformation came on the heels of the Middle Ages showing that the Church had been captured by a worldly order. The Church lived in the belief that her authority was supreme when it was really subservient to the world. Troeltsch shows that even before the Reformation there was a revolt within Christianity by the reappearance of the sect-movement.[4] Growing up at the same time, and alongside Thomism in opposition to modification of moral law and to compromises with the world order, the sects witness to the fact that the Church had become secularized and that her synthesis was incomplete and thus a failure; for the

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4. Ernst. Troeltsch, The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches, translated by Olive Wyon, (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1950). Vol. I., pp. 328-378.

sects represented 'that element which could not be completely expressed within the ecclesiastical unity of civilization and of Society....'[5]

Turning to the proposals of Leo XIII., we must ask whether a synthesis which represented admirable ideals but which was not completely successful can be meaningful to-day. It is not enough to point out that modern society is not feudal society. It is not enough to show that there were tensions and strains in a past synthesis which finally led to a counter movement. What must be decided is whether conditions exist to-day which would allow such a process. At least two prerequisites are lacking according to H. Richard Niebuhr: 'the presence of a widespread and profoundly serious radical Christianity protesting against the attenuation of the gospel by cultural religious institutions, and a cultural church great enough to accept and maintain in union with itself this loyal opposition'.[6]

With the Protestant and Roman Catholic views and their criticisms before us, we must study areas of agreement and tension with regard to particular issues. But first, it is important to remind ourselves how much the Church has depended upon the world for her insights and programs. The Church has not created change so much as she has been created in a new

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5. Ibid., p. 330.
6. H. Richard Niebuhr, op. cit., p. 130.

image by the changes of a modern era.[7] Social and economic forces have shaped and governed the course of the Christian movement.[8] Further, it can be said that the Church has

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7. Harold J. Laski, Faith, Reason and Civilization (New York: The Viking Press, 1944), p. 81. '....with the possible exception of the Roman Catholic Church, religious influences for the most part follow, rather than lead, a secular pattern of behaviour, the design of which is shaped by the historic development of an acquisitive society which, though its standards be higher than those of the old world, repeats its problems and begets its habits'. What Laski writes here must be tempered by a realization of his prejudices. But what he says can never be 'written off'.

8. According to a study made by the International Missionary Council, this is true also of the Younger Churches, an indication that Churches are still shaped by external forces. The study: J. Merle Davis, The Economic and Social Environment of the Younger Churches, Report at Tambaram 1938, (London: Home Press, 1939) p. 205.

Liston Pope's study of Gastonia reveals the same phenomenon, which was cited earlier in this chapter.

not proposed any new ideas about society in the modern era,[9] although it is true that many secular ideas of the present world could not have grown up in a culture not greatly affected and shaped by the Christian Faith. Marxian apocalyptic, the Socialist view of man, and the Capitalist idea of the individual and freedom, to mention some, came from the Christian seed bed, but they are no longer truly Christian in character. They have been secularized. One may safely assume that no radically new views of society have been proposed by the Church in the last sixty-five years. There has been a process of critical adaptation or rejection. More than anything else, the Churches now realize how difficult it is to propose creative programs for reform and for regeneration of society. The Church knows that she has fallen far short in

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9. One exception to this might be the concept of a responsible society proposed at Amsterdam. 'A Responsible society is one where freedom is the freedom of men who acknowledge responsibility to justice and public order, and where those who hold political authority or economic power are responsible for its exercise to God and the people whose welfare is affected by it'. (Amsterdam Report, op.cit., p. 77). Careful reading of this statement shows that it is not an original idea but a cautious blending of Christian and secular ideas, though one would find it difficult to categorize and describe the genesis of each word or concept.

In the latter part of the chapter some space will be given to a discussion of this concept. In too many circles it is seen as a kind of middle way between opposite political and economic alternatives, when it is a basis to be used to interpret and evaluate all systems. For that reason, and in fear that the concept entitled a 'responsible society' would appear as an alternative ordering of society, it is to be discussed apart from the preceding analysis.

making pronouncements and in implementing them, but where the Church has made great steps forward it has been in the development of a social ethic based on sound theology. Oxford, Amsterdam and Evanston, point to the new direction. We have yet to see if the Church will move from an ethic to new programs and to effective action.

The foregoing analysis has shown the confusion of the Church as to her position with regard to social order. Fortunately the Church is awake to her true situation, and light is beginning to penetrate the darkness. Many of the Churches have accepted some suggestions for future consideration, several of which will be noticed later in this chapter. These suggestions are: 1 - The Church must recognize secular ideas for what they are, and credit must be given where it is due. There will be no illusion about plans and programs when their true source is known. It will be possible once this is known to accept critically some of these and to give them a more Christian content. 2 - The Church must join with other forces in society which advocate progressive and positive social reform. While these reforms may not have a distinctively Christian character, where they will appear to benefit man and society, support must be given. Because the Church must also help to conserve healthy elements of society, critical judgment must be exercised to determine which schemes are worthy of her blessing. 3. - The Church must undertake a dynamic strategy, a program of action to meet

the world at every point with a total Christian witness. Christians will be trained and motivated to responsible action. 4. - The Church must make a more positive contribution to the solution of social questions, to show the relevance of the Gospel to every sphere of life and point to the possibilities of approximate fulfillment of the commandment of love. 5. - The Church must have an understanding of technical problems to know when certain questions depend upon a 'departmental' knowledge and when they are moral issues. The true character of a social problem must be studied to determine what the facts are by the use of the God-given gifts of 'delicate discernment and sensibility! Further it must be decided if the problems which emerge can be solved.[10] 6. - The Church must work to reform her own structure, for the Church 'is not likely to convince men in an economic-minded age that it is a supernatural society if it allows its economic and social organization to remain sub-worldly'.[11]

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10. Liston Pope, 'Can Social Problems Be Solved?', Christian Faith and Social Action ed. by John A. Hutchison, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1953). pp. 223-224. 'There is no support from history or from scrutiny of human nature for the hope that all social problems will ultimately be solved, in the sense that a society without problems will emerge. But there are adequate grounds for belief that particular social problems can be solved once and for all. Society is a fluid, ever-changing realm; new problems generally resemble former ones but they are never quite the same. To lose heart about an immediate problem is defeatist; to suppose that it will have no successor is fatuous. ' - Pope makes a plea for the distinction between social problems and sin; the former may be solved or disposed of.
11. Oxford Report, op. cit., pp. 125-126.

A. Areas of Agreement on Practical Schemes

The second proposal above, that the Church must join with other forces in society that advocate social reform has been implemented to an amazing degree. 'The Social Creed of the Churches'[12] was a practical statement pointing to the reform of certain social and economic conditions. An impressive list can be compiled to show the Church's support for social views well in advance of the day. It would show, for example,[13] that most of the Churches called for :

1. Reduction of work hours to an eight hour day, or to the lowest practicable point.
2. One day's rest in seven. Some Churches declare that this shall be the Sunday or that where it is possible it shall be the Lord's Day.
3. A living wage.[14]
4. Abolition of child labor and care for child welfare.
5. Regulation of, or care of the conditions of employment for women. Some advocated equal wages for men and women.
6. The right of labor to organize and a demand for collective bargaining.
7. Obligation for unions to accept their responsibilities.
8. Mediation, conciliation, or arbitration in industrial disputes.
9. Co-operation of labor and capital.
10. Measures to prevent unemployment and to protect the worker's right to work.
11. Some kind of industial representation or industrial democracy.
12. Social insurance.

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12. See chapter III., pp. 82f. above.
13. Reference is made here to F.Ernest Johnson's The Social Work of the Churches, op. cit., Chapter VI.
14. In addition to a living wage the Churches have also supported demands for a just wage, a minimum wage and more recently for a guaranteed annual wage. These are somewhat different but we shall not take time to discuss the matter. It is our purpose to show that the Church has supported demands for adequate wages.

The Churches have also demonstrated a great concern for questions relating to profits, monopoly, competition, distribution of wealth, poverty and unemployment, stewardship, brotherhood and co-operation.

In 1919, the Roman Catholic Hierarchy in the United States published a 'Program of Social Reconstruction' that was hailed as a progressive document.[15] Its proposals, parallel to those above, were formed in the spirit of Rerum Novarum and were applied to problems in America. The recommendations were :

1. Minumum wage legislation.
2. Insurance against unemployment, sickness, old age.
3. A sixteen year minimum age limit for working children.
4. The legal enforcement of the right of labor to organize.
5. Continuation of the National War Labor Board (after World War I) which set up machinery to settle industrial strife.
6. A national employment service.
7. Public housing for the working class.
8. No general reduction of war time wages in order to continue prosperity by providing for a wide purchasing power.
9. Prevention of excess profits and incomes by the regulations of rates, limiting returns on investments, and by progressive taxes on inheritance, income, and excess profits.
10. Participation of labor in management and a wider distribution of ownership through co-operative enterprise and worker ownership in the stock of corporations.
11. Effective control of monopolies, even by government competition when necessary.

These measures are to be found in one form or another both in

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15. Bishop's Program of Social Reconstruction, (Washington, D.C.: National Catholic Welfare Conference, 1950, 10th. ed.).

Britain and in America and in ecumenical pronouncements. These two summaries provide a convenient basis for our present study.

More recently, the Churches have been faced with questions about closed or open or union shops within union organizations, but few of them have cared to take sides. An appreciation has been shown for the pros and cons without entering the dispute. All the Churches have defended the right of labor to organize, to bargain and to strike. At the same time, the Church has been of one mind concerning her desire for industrial peace. Later pronouncements support some kind of democratic control of industry, though there are differences about the best means to accomplish this end. As to economic maladjustment, the Church is one again in condemning anarchically competitive systems where profit is the only aim of economic service and success. Co-operation and service are urged, not as replacements, but as correctives to an unbalanced emphasis on either competition or profit. Yet the place of competition and the need for the incentive of profits are recognized as economically valid factors, however much the Church may despise them from a purely moralistic position. The Protestant and Roman Catholic Churches advocate rather similar criticisms of laissez-faire capitalism, though they often start from different bases. It is enough for our purpose to say that the Church has recognized some great social and economic evils and is united in condemnation of them.

B. The Property Question.

The institution of property, our most basic economic institution, upon which all else isbuilt, is the key to many major and minor differneces. The Church agrees upon the right to private ownership of property, but there is some difference between Roman Catholic and Protestant views as to the meaning and application of this idea. It might be feared that in Protestantism there would be a great difference of opinion. Yet, in looking over the pronouncements, one finds a unity of emphasis in Protestantism on the view that the right to hold property is dependent on its use. In Roman Catholicism, the right to property is derived from natural and divine law. Property ownership based upon use is a conditional right; property ownership based upon natural law becomes an unconditional right. Thus, there exists here a true antithesis between the Roman Church and the Protestant Churches. This becomes clear when we compare Roman Catholic and Protestant pronouncements on this point.

Protestant Churches do not have as fully developed a view of property as do the Papal Encyclicals. As a result, we find ourselves placing a bit here and a bit there, as in a jig-saw puzzle, until we have a full scale picture which shows some form and content. For that matter, Papal Encyclicals have not always shown a consistent pattern. In Rerum Novarum, it is suggested that Leo XIII. has spoken for all time. But Quadragesimo Anno states that important changes have taken place since Leo's time. The inadequacies of the former

encyclical are tacitly admitted. 'But the latter was not simply addressed to a specific situation: it claimed to lay down permanent and universal principles for the control of society'.[16] It would seem that here there is some confusion. But in spite of internal variations, the Roman Catholic and Protestant positions balance or weigh against one another so that each side seems to display a distinctive pattern.

1. The Right to Property: According to Rerum Novarum, property belongs to all men by the provision of natural and divine law, in that God has given the Earth to all. Man, who differs from the animals by virtue of his reason, is shown to be higher than animals by this right to possess property.

> 'it must be within his right to possess things not merely for temporary and momentary use, as other living things do, but to have and to hold them in stable and permanent possession; he must have not only things that perish in the use, but those also which, though they have been reduced into use, continue for further use in after time'. (R.N. #5)

For Protestantism, property rights are conditioned by

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16. Papal Encyclicals 1891-1945, report of Oxford Study-Group in Studies on Christian Action and Society for the World Council of Churches. (Study 51 E/328, June 1951). p.2 The paragraph continues: 'The modifications in those principles made by 'Quad.Anno' are therefore a confession of the inadequacy of a detailed system of concepts based on Natural Law'. - One might ask if, as is stated earlier in the chapter, Rome has more than one mind, is not the doctrine of Papal Infallibility called into question?

man's need and his use. Man needs property in order to meet his personal needs and the needs of his family. Certain duties which men are to perform towards God and towards other men seem to predicate 'certain rights without the enjoyment of which he cannot freely perform those duties'. (Lambeth 1948 - Res. # 6). Since all rights, however, are dependent upon duties performed, then unless proper use is made of property, man loses his rights. The right use of property is a religious duty. (Lambeth 1908). In none of the pronouncements by Protestant bodies were property rights based upon natural law.

From the very beginning, the views of need and use as bases for property are most fundamental, for they involve different conceptions of man and his reason, of nature and of the relation of rights and duties. The weakness of a natural law foundation for property is that the right becomes divorced from the law and therefore autonomous. We shall disclose these differences in the next chapter when we discuss the question of natural law.

2. To whom does property belong? A word which recurs over and over throughout the Protestant position is the word 'stewardship' or 'trust'. Since property belongs to God, and not to man as the Pope assumes, property is held in trust, and account must be given to God. Some have confused this issue and have assumed that account for

property must be given to the community or to society. (Lambeth 1908). This is a corruption of the meaning of stewardship. In the Biblical sense of the word, prior responsibilities to God never free men from responsibilities to mankind in general; yet, ultimate stewardship is to God. Possession is an answer to some function performed. (Lambeth 1920). We shall see that in the encyclicals the social responsibility of property is emphasized, but the idea of stewardship is strangely absent. It would seem that one may do with one's property as one pleases.

3. The Means of Acquisition: There has been little concern until recently in Protestantism as to how property is acquired. 'But there are fundamental moral differences between the ways of acquiring property as well as between the ways of using it'. (Nat'l Council of Ch. USA, 1954 # 8).

> 'The existing system of property rights and the existing distribution of property must be criticized in the light of the largely non-moral processes by which they have been developed....' (Oxford Report, p. 118).

Leo XIII. states that property may be acquired by title of lawful inheritance, through intellectual or manual labor or by economy of living. (Quod. Apost. Muneris, Pope and People, p. 13). The actual moral implications are not drawn because both groups would leave to the State the means of fixing property limits and qualifications. Since human values are stressed rather than property rights,

moral means become very important. One feels that Protestantism has not emphasized this enough. There is a lacuna in Roman Moral Philosophy which may parallel other weaknesses in that system with regards to 'means and ends'. So much space is given to support the sanctity of private property that other important matters receive little or no attention. There is a great concern about the unequal distribution of property. It may very well be that this is more intimately related to the means of acquisition than has been understood. Here is an idea that needs re-thinking: the means of the acquisition of private property.

4. Property-Individual and Social: About this matter there is a great degree of unanimity among the Churches. Property is to meet the individuals' needs, which includes the needs of families and future generations. Therefore, one must use one's land for the benefit of one's person and immediate family. Farmers are not to exploit their families nor are the needs of future generations to be forgotten by the misuse of the land. A heavy burden is placed upon all to preserve, to replenish, and to use wisely the resources of the earth.

Social needs also are to be met in ways which will temper and check ruthless individual desires. At this point, the Roman ideal, while not stating explicitly the idea of stewardship, includes it implicitly. But again,

it is a social trust and not a trust held from God.

5. Property - Justified: The Popes say that man is justified in holding what he works. Indeed, that 'men always work harder and more readily when they work that which belongs to them'. (R.N. # 35). Yet they do not subscribe to all of the results which such a view would imply under modern conditions. That would mean that the laborer will own a share of the plant in which he works. Pius XII. has supported a contract of co-ownership between business and labor.[17] But with Leo XIII. and Pius XI. we are still in a simple society, and their encyclicals do not distinguish between personal property and mass-production capital, or between a more fixed land capital and fluid money capital. Surely, man is justified in holding private property, but is he justified in holding property which cannot be considered personal, that is, belonging to him as a person for his personal use? That is a question that remains unanswered, except that Pius XII. has put Rome in support of some kind of ownership of production by the worker. We shall return to this question.

Later Protestant statements point out that the ownership of property is not essential to man. There

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17. Pius XII. Radio Broadcast, September 1, 1944. John F. Cronin, Catholic Social Principles, (Milwaukee: The Bruce Publishing Co., 1950). p. 471.

is some question if men are justified in holding what they work. If they are paid by money in return for their labor, this institutes a mystical, intangible kind of property which may be converted to other kinds of property, e.g. land property. Roman Catholic social thinking has not taken this factor into account. It is this which makes Rome particularly susceptible to the charge that she does not understand the modern productive system and the place of money in our society.

Lambeth 1948, goes even further. While admitting that the holding of property may be justified, it points out that life consisteth not in the abundance of things a man possesses. Some other end must be sought in return for man's work. Man is never content with material possession, no matter how much he has. Thus, while proper physical needs must be met and labor remunerated, not always are material goals the highest, nor do they constitute the greatest incentive to effective and efficient labor. We must conclude that property holding is justified but that it is not essential, even if it is desirable.

6. The Distribution of Property: Both Roman and Protestant Churches are agreed that property is not justly distributed and there is some agreement about methods for better distribution. State law should favor private ownership and induce as many as possible to become owners. Tambaram calls for a re-distribution of the world's economic

goods. 'We therefore stand for a just distribution of those goods among the nations, and within each nation, so that every man may have enough to promote his full growth as a child of God and not too much to stifle it'. No method is advocated. But as early as 1888, Lambeth rejected, as did Rerum Novarum three years later, the action of the State in re-distribution. Lambeth 1888 did not feel that the State should take over all land because this would restrict freedom, nor should the State take property without compensating those in present ownership, because such a scheme would be impractical. It is unfortunate that none of the Churches have commented on land re-distribution schemes such as those outlined by some of the political parties in Italy and by the government of India. Perhaps land re-distribution becomes too technical a problem for the Church.

The increase of industrial proficiency was advocated so there would be more wealth in the community. But more specifically, there must be wages adequate to sustain a man and his family; and by thus sharing the fruits of production, men would be able to share the resources, the land of a nation. A secondary effect is that a greater share to each individual of the wealth of a land increases the circulation of money and the health of the economy.

Taxation policies come under severe criticism.

Taxation may be used to spread the economic base broader and make for greater wealth in more hands, thus facilitating wider land distribution. Because stringent tax measures might do much to harm this, the State must do all in its power to see that its policies encourage land ownership for all.

These last two measures, larger wage shares and proportionate tax rates based upon earning power, have actually proved in the United States to create a remarkably wide economic base and high standard of living, where a great proportion of the population have become land and home owners. Other factors have played a part there also, but in at least one country these measures have proved economically sound.

Just distribution is still a matter of urgent action. The Church may not have raised her voice loudly enough, but we may be thankful that she has spoken clearly.

7. Consequences and Effects of Wide Property Ownership: Leo XIII. asserted that ownership is good because it leads to equitable distribution and a greater abundance of the fruits of the earth. (R.N. # 35). Protestantism does not observe that such an automatic good comes from ownership, per se. The facts cannot be denied that economic prosperity does assure those things Leo has asserted. Rather, Protestant groups tend to judge the right to property by its use. Economic institutions are judged by their effect upon other institutions of society, notably the family. Ownership of property may also be used as a lever,

a power over other men's lives. This idea of property for use and property for power was suggested by Hobhouse's treatment.[18]

8. Property - Use and Right of: 'The right of property must be distinguished from its use'. (Q.A. # 47). Because this right, according to the Popes, belongs to commutative justice and not to distributive justice, because it is based on the relation of the rights of individuals in relation to other individuals and not in relation to the community, it is only in that relation that any restriction is placed on the property right. Proper use of property then, is not required in all circumstances. Yet Leo XIII. quotes St. Thomas, "Man should not consider his material possessions as his own, but as common to all, so as to share them without hesitation when others are in need". (R.N. # 19). Wrongful use of one's property is prohibited in certain ill-defined limits, but not by commutative justice. (R.N. #19).

> 'It belongs to what is called commutative justice, faithfully to respect private ownership, and not to encroach on the rights of another by exceeding the limits of one's own right of property. The prohibition of wrongful use of one's own possessions, however, does not fall under this form of justice, but under certain other virtues, the obligations of which are "not enforced by courts of justice". Hence it is a mistake to contend that the right of ownership and its proper use are bounded by the same limits; and it is even less true that the right of property is destroyed or lost by its mere non-use or abuse'. (Q.A. # 47).

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18. L.T. Hobhouse, 'The Historical Evolution of Property, in Fact and in Idea', Property: Its Duties and Rights, ed. Charles Gore, (London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd., 1913).

How different this sounds from Protestant pronouncements, where property is contingent upon man's stewardship to God, and where no artificial distinctions are made between the demands of justice, either to individuals or to society. 'Economic power must be made objectively responsible to the community as a whole'. (Church of Scotland, God's Will for Ch. and Nation, p. 156).

> 'The moral justification of the various rights which constitute property depends on the degree to which they contribute to the development of personality and to the good of the whole community. If such rights subserve those purposes they deserve the approval of Christians: if not, they should be modified or abolished'. (Proceed. of COPEC, pp.289-290).
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> '....ownership is not an unconditional right; it must, therefore, be preserved, curtailed or distributed in accordance with the requirements of justice'. (Amsterdam, p. 77).
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> 'For rights imply duties, and duties to-day are often forgotten in the assertion of rights. To insist only on rights turns them to wrongs....' (Lambeth, 1948 Encyclical p. 20).

Justice demands that property be used properly. There is such a thing as an unnatural use of property which one might expect to cancel out any rights, whether bestowed by nature or some other agent. The Popes allow that the State will have to interfere, to use restraint to 'protect lawful owners from spoliation'. (R.N. # 30). Thus rights within Roman Catholicism are limited by the rights of other men but not by their proper or 'natural' use. Such a right can hardly be called a natural right.

9. Almsgiving - An Act of Charity or an Act of Justice?

The principle that lies behind almsgiving is often a most direct indication of the doctrine of property.[19] For the Roman Church, the giving of alms is an act not of justice, or of duty, but of love or charity. The actual alms may be distributed from one's surplus or out of one's abundance. 'It is a duty, not of justice (save in extreme cases), but of Christian charity - a duty not enforced by human law'. (R.N./≠ 19). Leo XIII. quotes Luke XI.41 to support the view that charity proceeds from our abundance[20] - 'of that which remaineth, give alms'. There are three factors: almsgiving is not an act of justice; it is an act of charity or mercy; and is given from what is left after one's own needs are met.[21] An added element is that the Roman Church seems all too ready to spiritualize the state of poverty, a state of which one is not to be ashamed.[22] There is no distinction made between

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19. A.J. Carlyle, 'The Theory of Property in Medieval Theology', Property, ed. by Gore, op.cit., p. 123. 'This principle, that almsgiving is an act of justice rather than of mercy, is very significant, and forms a very important element in the patristic conception of the nature of property'.
20. Compare this with the King James V. - 'But rather give alms of such things as ye have'. Also the R.S.V. - 'But give for alms those things which are within'. Greek - πλὴν τὰ ἐνόντα δότε ἐλεημοσύνην, καὶ ἰδοὺ πάντα καθαρὰ ὑμῖν ἐστίν
There is no Biblical support for such a view as Leo's.
21. Q.A./≠ 50. 'We speak of that portion of his income which he does not need in order to live fittingly and becomingly'.
22. H. Scott Holland, (Property and Personality', Property, ed. Gore, op.cit., p. 180. 'Ths appeal to charity, whenever it is greatly in evidence is a sure signal that things have got wrong'.

those who have chosen the vocation of poverty and those upon whom poverty is forced. One feels that the Roman Church has allowed herself to rationalize some meagre and ugly conditions for the sake of a spiritual discipline voluntarily undertaken.

Protestant statements see almsgiving to be an act of justice, of giving to men what properly is theirs. In this they follow a tradition set by the Church Fathers,[23] who in like manner also based the right of property upon one's use of it, though they would not have expressed it as a right. The Biblical injunction that a man is his brother's keeper suggests to some a kind of patronizing philanthropy. May Jesus really mean that one must be his 'brother's brother'.[24] And what does this mean?

> 'To leave the unemployed workman to struggle unaided with his misery is unchristian: to offer him doles is an insult. We submit that it is the evident duty of Christians to press upon the community, first, the adoption of such measures as are likely to diminish unemployment, and second, the provision of adequate and honorable means of maintenance for all workers, who, in spite of such preventive measures, may be from time to time unemployed'.
> (Archbishop's 5th. Report, p. 130).

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23. Edward Rochie Hardy Jnr., 'The Way of the Early Church', Chapter 3, Christianity and Property, ed. Joseph F. Fletcher, (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1947). This chapter is a fine exposition of early Church thinking. Gregory the Great is quoted and what he writes stands in opposition to the Church which claims to be in his tradition..p.70 "For when we administer necessaries of any kind to the indigent we do not bestow our own, but render them what is theirs; we rather pay a debt of justice than accomplish works of mercy".

24. Liston Pope, Millhands and Preachers, p.161. Pope suggests this at the moment when he sees paternalism is a perversion of fraternalism.

One could not accuse the Popes of not desiring a re-ordering of society and yet they are vulnerable when they suggest what seems to be acquiescence and contentment in one's state in the face of poverty.[25] Christians, it is true, learn to be content in whatever state they find themselves, but that does not mean that others should be asked to be happy under conditions of misery. It is not easy to explain the spiritual benefits of their state to the poor, especially if their souls become degraded and atrophied by continual buffeting. The example of the Cross, the meaning of Christ's words: 'Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends', (Jn.15,13) is that acts of charity demand sacrifice. Alms may come from our abundance. To give under those conditions, is an act of justice. Or, alms

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25. Pius XII. Sertum Laetitiae, op.cit., no. 35-36 'God, Who provides for all with counsels of supreme bounty, has ordained that for the exercise of virtues and for the testing of one's worth there be in the world rich and poor; but He does not wish that some have exaggerated riches while others are in such straits that they lack the bare necessities of life. But a kindly mother of virtue is honest poverty which gains its living by daily labor in accordance with the scriptural saying: 'Give me neither beggary, nor riches: give me only the necessaries of life'. (Proverbs xxx:8).

'#36. Now if the rich and prosperous are obliged out of ordinary motives of pity to act generously towards the poor their obligation is all the greater to do them justice. The salaries of workers, as is just, are to be such that they are sufficient to maintain them and their families'.

This is a blending of pious charitableness and acceptance of things as they are, overlain with paternalism and social concern.

may come from our scarcity; and then we may have exceeded the demand of justice by the flowing of love. What the Popes have written becomes a reminder that charity may in some cases be an act of mercy; for most of us it is an act of justice.

If property is dependent upon its use, one must give of one's own to alleviate the temporary needs of the poverty-stricken. Then, great effort must be exerted to strive for an order where none will have to undergo poverty, except those who choose that state.

Paternalism is a subject worthy of separate analysis, but it may be easily associated with almsgiving considering their similar attitude towards property. When almsgiving is truly practiced there is no spirit of condescension or pretence of superiority, those feelings often well disguised but common to paternalism and acts of charity, because a man gives to another what properly belongs to that man. In paternalism, however, where one man becomes the father of another, whether benevolent or malevolent, he does what he pleases and bestows gifts or rewards as he wills. If the paternalist is just, then another factor enters, for in the last analysis he decides what is just, whence comes tyranny. Tyranny exists where freedom is lacking to the recipient of paternalistic bounty, a fact, of course, which often threatens almsgiving. The supreme

danger facing the paternalist is loss of humility if he comes to consider his possessions and property as signs of virtue. Or, if his use of property becomes an instrument of power, he becomes a tyrant. The Protestant Churches reject paternalism in all its forms. Almost every pronouncement adduces reasons for condemning it. 'But the Christian has one other ground for rejecting paternalistic practices toward others - he knows that he cannot himself be trusted with unchecked and uncriticized power over them'.[26]

Leo XIII. advocates a patriarchal society where the patron will take care of his workers. Pius. XI. does not free himself from this idea, though his corporate society would tend to move away from such a practice. In his speeches, Pius XII. seems farthest from paternalism. Yet, as long as the Papal See remains a patriarchy, the concept of paternalism cannot very well disappear. At any rate, the encyclicals do not reject paternalism.

10. Types of Property Ownership: The Popes leave the definition of property ownership to the state. As to types of property, Rome seems to think in terms of small land holdings in an agricultural economy. Pius XI. and Pius XII. understand the demands of modern economy better than Leo XIII., who scarcely was able to free himself from

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26. John C. Bennett, Christian Ethics and Social Policy (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1946), p. 71.

a feudal picture of society. The present Pope recognizes that the State will have to own certain resources and properties. He also advocates a partnership of wage-earners and employers in the ownership or management of productive properties. The American Hierarchy in 1919 recognized the place of co-operative productive societies, and Pius XII. has praised them in certain addresses.[27] It would seem, then, that what is known as a mixed economy has in fact been accepted by the Roman Church even though the corporative society is still the official ideal.

Evanston, representing the ecumenical fellowship, is not bound by any definite standard of property ownership. 'In all types of economy there is to be found a variety of forms; there is no one pattern that is universally valid'. (Evanston Reports, p. 30).

> 'Property represents a trusteeship under God, and should be held subject to the needs of the community. Under Christian perspectives, no single current system of ownership meets the test. In fields where the present forms of ownership are difficult to regulate for the common welfare, encouragement should be given to further experimentation in the forms of private, co-operative and public ownership'. (Pittsburgh Conf. Fed. Council, USA, p. 14).

Here is another area of agreement between the Protestants and Rome. At this point the Roman Church has shown a flexibility one would not expect after Leo's rather

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27. Cronin, op.cit., pp.649ff. Also other citations in Cronin's work.

rigid defence of private property. Rome continually shows an ability to adapt. Now other forms of ownerships are accepted. Actually there was no other course but to accept, and yet Rome's position as a great property owner remains itself an anomaly, particularly in Italy, where the Church has so much land that it represents a block to effective land reform.

Agricultural land holding has received some attention by both Roman and Protestant Churches of late, but the Church yet must speak decisively in this area of the primary economic function.[28]

Before turning to other matters, one system which must receive attention is that of co-operative ownership. It has been mentioned in passing. Evanston, while not endorsing any system, commends with the others further experimentation in co-operative ownership. Many Protestant pronouncements have given co-operatives their blessing. Love and co-operation are identified over against competition as ideals which can be perfected in society by co-operative ownership. Thus, it has to be shown that co-operatives can really present an alternative to competitive systems, that they are in fact different not only in form but in substance from private ownership. As early as 1897, Lambeth pointed out that :

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28. It is important that the whole agricultural question be studied. Since that is a whole problem in itself we shall not enter upon the subject. One should not thereby conclude that it does not have an intimate relation with modern industrial life, cf. The Land, The People and the Churches, published for the British Council of Churches. (London : S.C.M. Press Ltd., 1945).

co-operatives may degenerate'into a vast system of joint-stock shopkeeping or industry, conducted on selfish principles, with no dominant moral purpose....Such a system is only selfish competition decked out in new garments, and bearing a new name'. When co-operatives appeal for members, they appeal to motives of economic advantage and not for implementation of higher motives of co-operation. It can be saidthat this is a corruption of the ideal, and so it is. But, perhaps the ideal does not reckon with the fact that in a sinful society both the elements of profit and competition, while admittedly not ideally desirable, still are necessary. In fact, part of their sinful character may be shown by our recognition that they are necessary, though not in unrestricted form, by the conditions of economic life. Co-operatives, then, must prove that they are in fact an alternative form of property ownership.

The real question is whether co-operatives can make any definite contributions to the problems of modern productivity, and this is a technical question. One student of modern organizational life made this judgment upon co-operatives which is perhaps too harsh; but at least the economic value of co-operatives is questioned:

> 'The co-operative movement claims that the co-operative form of organization is ethically superior to other forms. Its enthusiasts claim that it is also economically superior. The claim

> to economic superiority is not difficult to assert. In certain times and places the co-operative form of organization has made a good deal of sense, especially where it has tapped hitherto unused sources of human energy and ability. It has, however, no intrinsic superiority to other forms of organization as a means of making people richer. Indeed, the circumstances under which it is likely to be most successful are rather special, and it cannot claim any general superiority over other forms. Furthermore, the co-operative movement makes only a small contribution to the solution of the major economic problems of our day. If all co-operative enterprise were to expand to cover a large part of the economy, all our major economic problems would remain - instability, lack of economic development, and so on. The extension of co-operative enterprise may have a desirable effect in equalizing incomes. The social conditions which would permit this, however, are likely to give rise to more equal incomes under any form of business organization'.
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> 28b

Oxford declared that any proposals which involve unsolved technical issues cannot claim full moral support. So, while co-operatives provide an important witness against oppressive competition and unchecked profits and provide as well, a more democratically controlled institution of ownership, yet they remain with other forms of property ownership under ultimate judgment.

11. Socialism: Early Protestant social statements demonstrate a great sympathy for socialism, some even identifying their position as both Christian and Socialist. On the part of Rome, there is a rigid rejection of it. Pius XI. admits that Leo's view of socialism is

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28b. Kenneth E. Boulding, The Organizational Revolution, (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1953), p. 156.

not in accord with modern interpretations.[29] Pius XI. recognized the need for some state ownership, (Q.A. #114) but even he does not recognize the true character of socialism for he refused to think of it apart from communism, materialism, collectivism, or State compulsion. The Australian Hierarchy in 1948 made a statement about socialization accepting State ownership in some instances but private property was urged as the prevailing pattern. 'The state should encourage decentralization and organize research bureaus for small producers. This, generally speaking, is far better than nationalization in the attempt to better the worker's status'.[30] In the past half-century

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29. Q.A. #111-#117. Leo thought that socialism rejected the right to private property. Not even communism does that. cf. 'The Constitution of the U.S.S.R'. 1936, Michael Oakeshott, The Social and Political Doctrines of Contemporary Europe, (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1939). pp. 154-155. Art. 10. 'The right of personal property of citizens in their income from work and in their savings, in their dwellinghouses and auxiliary husbandry, in household articles and utensils and articles for personal use and comfort, as well as the right of the inheritance of personal property of citizens, is protected by law'. In Communist Poland, the regime has made a move to strengthen its relation to the peasant in certain areas by granting decrees confirming property rights over the land, although in reality this is only a right to till State lands. The regime realizes what value the peasant places in this 'scrap of paper'. (The Scotsman, Friday June 17th. 1955, p. 8, col. 3.)

30. Socialisation, Published with the Authority of the Archbishops and Bishops of the Catholic Church in Australia.

papal criticism of certain aspects of capitalism has been interpreted as an endorsement for socialism. But this is a mis-reading and mis-understanding of the Roman position. We shall see later that the Church of Rome favors a society based on vocational groups, a corporative society. At times, it is hard to see the difference between corporatism and socialism, although a distinction does in fact exist.

The Church of Scotland's Commission during World War II, recommended '....a far greater measure of public control of capital resources and means of production than our tradition has in the past envisaged'. (Italics - God's Will for Ch. and Nation, p. 157) Public control will prevent economic chaos, yet 'not even a democracy built around the idea of common control...has any inherent certainty of curing our disease'. (Ibid. p.168f). The report ends without resolving whether this shall be by common ownership of the means of production or by increased control. Malvern recognized that private ownership of property might be a stumbling block to pursuance of Christian life. The sum of it all is that none of the pronouncements bless capitalism. Some of the Churches made the mistake of identifying themselves with what seemed at the time to be the only alternative, some form of socialism, without at the same time perceiving the imperfections of a socialist society. Yet Malvern said specifically, 'The Church as such can never commit itself to any proposed change in the

structure of society as being a self-sufficient means of salvation'. A course is run between the alternatives of capitalist exploitation or monopoly and State ownership of the means of production. The Church of Scotland Committees on Church and Nation in 1947 pointed to the dangers of nationalization.[31] Lambeth 1948, accepted the welfare State as an inevitable pattern under present conditions but it also indicated the dangers inherent in a welfare State.

Our discussion at this point is completed by a further word going beyond what has been said. 'In the light of the Christian understanding of man, we must, however, say to the advocates of socialization that the institution of property is not the root of the corruption of human nature'. (Amsterdam Report, p.76). Nor is ownership an unconditional right. Thus Protestantism rejects all systems, communism, capitalism, socialism, and ideal Roman Catholic views. We do not intend to discuss communism which was included in Part I, Chapter III under Amsterdam, but it might be fair to sum up the Roman position. Rome also rejects all systems, but she does so by placing in their stead a 'Christian idea of property' or a 'Christian ideal for society'. Protestantism rejects this as the embodiment of another secular position even as it does not accept the authority of the

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31. See Chapter III p.146. The dangers were bureaucracy, restriction of freedom, the temptation to misuse power, etc.

Church of Rome to speak solely or infallibly in the name of Christ.

12. The Place of the State in Economic Life : It may seem strange that under the subject of property we should find ourselves involved in the relation of the State to economic life, but the fact that it recurs through all our discussion proves how basic is the relationship of property to the State.

Already it has been shown that the Popes leave the actual definition of property ownership to the State. They have reserved to the State the right to exercise control over it, and to hold ownership in certain cases. In the realm of economic life, as in others, the State is subject to natural law as it seeks to promote the well-being of its peoples through its institutions and regulations. By its laws it is to encourage property ownership, and under the provisions of distributive justice to assure just treatment to every man without regard for class. If one class suffers, the State may interfere, 'the principle being that the law must not undertake more, nor proceed further, than is required for the remedy of the evil or the removal of the mischief'. (R.N. #29). The poor, and those who cannot protect themselves should expect social care from the State. Property owners may expect protection from spoliation. At the same time, State intervention to supervise the life of the citizen acts against natural justice. (R.N. #11).

Since the right to property is granted by the law of nature, the State may not violate it. Civil government may only adjust ownership to meet the needs of the public good'. (O.A. #49).

The Oxford Conference defined the function of the State: 'The concern of the State is to provide men with justice, order, and security in a world of sin and change'. (Oxford Reports p.81). Evanston warning against the wedding of political and economic power quoted Oxford further and pointed out the position of the State.

> 'Since we believe in the Holy God as the source of justice, we do not consider the state as the ultimate source of law, but rather its guarantor. It is not the Lord but the servant of justice. There can be for the Christian no ultimate authority but very God'.
> (Oxford Reports p.79. Evanston Speaks p.28).

As guardian of social justice, the State 'alone has the power and the authority under God to act as trustee for society as a whole'. (Evanston p.29). Therefore, the State acts with force or restraint for the common welfare, but only insofar as that common welfare is in accordance with the will of God. For if the community is responsible only to itself for the exercise of justice, if the property owner is steward only to the community, and not to God, then we have a corruption both of property ownership and State authority. At this point, property easily may degenerate into an instrument of power paralleling the power of the State. When possible, non-governmental sectors of the

community are urged to exercise restraint on economic life and assertions to power. Where such action is ineffective, the State must act 'to prevent any center of economic or social power which represents partial interest from becoming stronger than itself'. (Evanston,p.29) The State will 'accept responsibility to counteract depression or inflation and to relieve the impact of unemployment, industrial injury, low wages, and unfavorable working conditions, sickness and old age'. (Evanston p.29)

The Church of Scotland accepted a slogan which expressed its opinion on the question of planning: 'planning for freedom'. Evanston stated specific areas where the State could plan effectively.

> 'The state must do those things for the economy that private industry cannot do properly, such as planning for urban development, stimulating industrial expansion and soil conservation, some types of large-scale industrial and agricultural research, and guidance of the distribution of industry. But state action needs to be decentralized, limited and adaptable'. (Italics mine. Evanston p.30).

A Roman Catholic Social Study Group makes even more specific statements.

> '171(156). It belongs to the State to give a general direction to the national economy....
> '172(156). Special reasons may urge the State to take over the entire management, as a State concern, of certain industrial, commercial, or agricultural undertakings. But, in general, it should avoid absorbing the country's economic life in this way....private initiative may take a suitable share with the public authority, and under its supervision, in the management of services or undertakings of public interest, such, for instance, as railways'. 32

32. A Code of Social Principles, Prepared by the International Union of Social Studies, (Oxford: Catholic Social Guild, 1954). p. 71.

These statements taken together make some sense following the socialist experiment in Great Britain.

In summation, it can hardly be shown that there is much difference between Roman and Protestant views of State action. The basic difference lies with the function of the State, whether defined as under God or under the Church. For our purposes, that does not greatly affect the similar attitudes of the Churches towards State action in limiting or expanding the economic movement of the community, in preserving some factors and changing others.

13. Property for Production: With the exception of Pius XII., one may wonder whether the Popes understand a mass-production economy. The encyclicals argue that private property is necessary to personal integrity.

> 'But the encyclicals make no distinction between personal property (consumer goods) and socialized mass-production capital. They are thus trapped into an ambiguity, taking the illogical and unrealistic position that, since both capital and labor are essential to production, then capitalists and laborers are also necessary, and that they should continue to exist as separate social classes (although more amicable than heretofore!) ....But in modern industry the owners of capital cannot use their property; the workers (of head and hand) can and do use it. The owners of modern capital do not possess productive property, and they do not use it. They do not 'mix themselves' with it. In what possible sense can Henry Ford's River Rouge plant be said to be necessary to his personality, to his personal integrity, in the way the his home and books and personal motorcar are unquestionably his 'own' things?'. 33.

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33. Joseph F. Fletcher, op. cit., p.p. 197-198.

At this point the Roman Church is vulnerable, for she does not see that all large productive properties, whether invested as land or as capital, are socialized either by the fact of mass social ownership or by State control. Fletcher goes further to show that economic individualism is a thing of the past. Capital is either socially controlled or socially owned, that is by a vast number of private investors, so that there is only a margin of difference between a mixed economy, a welfare State, a planned society, or even British Socialism which was virtually a mixed economy. Until Evanston , there was a tendency to see things in terms black and white, socialism or capitalism or ,communism. It is hard for men to change their preconceived notions about political and economic questions even though they are shown the falsity of forcing differences into either/or categories. Individualists say that social ownership of the means of production will lead to corruption when in fact these very individualists participate in a social ownership in a modern society.

Rather than ruling positively on certain kinds of property ownership, Evanston expresses a concern for the moral implications of economic life. It is natural, if property, productive property as well as other types, is based on use and on the fulfillment of certain duties, that the Church will want to set up criteria for proper use.

All through the Protestant pronouncements one finds these principles based on the personality of the individual, the brotherhood of man, the fatherhood of God, and correlated principles of justice, equality, liberty and love. Earlier statements showed little concern for questions of economic judgment. Their criteria were mainly moral goals. They did not realize that efficiency and productivity must also be included in well rounded judgments on all productive property. Evanston accepts many of the moral principles though basing them upon a sounder theology; but also certain economic principles are accepted such as efficient production and fair distribution. The business-man and the worker are both thrown into proper perspective, as those who manage production and those who co-operate in productive efforts.

The term, industrial democracy, came into usage during and after World War I. It indicated a desire for the ownership and control of production by the workers though its implications were for a more representative ownership. Many plans have been proposed, but in only a few cases have the Churches committed themselves to particulars. The industrial council plan has received wide support in some circles. It is conceived as part of the corporative system by many Roman Catholic sociologists. The idea of most plans, by whatever name, is to place industry under more representative control. It is not our task to comment on

these separate plans. The principle, either of greater workers' voice or more democratic control of industry, is upheld by the Churches. In some cases, what is meant by this term is greater union participation in management decision, in others outright ownership, and in others continuing creative encounters in collective bargaining. Surely, no one proposal will work for each and every industry. William Temple even went so far as to suggest that labor hire capital, 'because capital can exist without capitalists but labor cannot exist without laborers'.[34]

This suggestion of Temple is not so far-fetched as it might first appear. There are at least three different factors operating in modern industry which make the idea creditable. The first, is that no longer is industry managed by those who own it. The managers are a new class of people standing between the workers and the capitalists as specialists. Often they find themselves caught between the demands of labor and the commands of absentee owners. It is their task to represent these two parties to each other though in fact it is often made clear that they exist only at the pleasure of Boards of Directors. Yet, they must receive from labor and the public the burden of any criticism. They act as buffers in this case for capital and remove the relationship of capital and labor to yet another and more distant dimension. The second, in

34. William Temple, 'What Must Christians Do Now?', The Christian Century, October 9, 1940. Quoted by Fletcher, op.cit., p. 198.

apparent contradiction to the first factor is that, managers gather to themselves an independent power by virtue of their roles as policy makers. The freedom which they must have to remain effective also places in their hands greater possibilities of control and power over industry, so that they often may act independently. The danger here is also manifest in many areas of modern political life with the growth of the bureaucrat. The third, is that in fact, even where there is capital control over management, this capital control is representative of a surprisingly small minority of industry owners, or stock-holders, often representing less than one percent of the total stock. Some financial centers are advocating a broader base of stock ownership by small investors. It must be said that such a program is 'smart' economically, but it does not assure a more democratic control of industry. It will be recalled that the American Hierarchy in their Program of Social Reconstruction of 1919 suggested that one means to effective control of industry by the workers was that 'they own a substantial part of the corporate stock and exercise a reasonable share in the management'. (**op.cit.**, p.28) But in fact, where there is a wide ownership of stock in a company there is often less real control of that industry by the owners because of the dispersal of effective voting power, so that boards of directors perpetuate themselves in

power by control of proxy votes and the disorganization of the mass of owners.

Our discussion shows that democratic control, while a fine ideal, must be subject to much thought. The Churches must find what are the economic possibilities before committing themselves to attractive inventions. Evanston recognized the service that the 'skilled executive has to make to society' and in this age of specialization full provision must be made for managers who are able to contribute more to the well-being of the community. At the same time, checks on their newly gained power must be sought. Only as the Church recognizes the technical as well as ethical questions involved in an industrial democracy can the idea be realized in the reorganization of industry.

14. The Church and The Church's Property: We now come to a very crucial question. What has been the attitude of the Church to her own right to own property and to her use of it? Some would even ask : How much of the Church's writings on property is aimed at preservation of her own rights? The encyclicals do not say a word about Church property. But the Church, an institution which owns property, is a person before the law who must exercise the same responsibilities as others. The Protestant statements refer to this matter, but often with only very vague references or admonitions, e.g. Malvern recommended that the Church 'bring about a complete change in (Her) internal

financial position'; Oxford, that it was 'within the power of the Churches to set their own houses in order....'. Particulars are missing. Yet in East Germany, the present regime has been able to place the Church in embarrassment over the question of property because so much Church land has not been put to 'productive' use. In modern society, where value is determined by 'use', whether we accept this valuation or not, it becomes important that Church property be 'used', that it produce. It rests with the Church to prove that her ministry is useful, spiritually useful, as it is necessary to show that may other intangible elements such as cultural and social components serve pragmatic ends by contributing to the development of the people. Further, of course, other bases for value judgments will have to be introduced than utility. But in the meantime, the Church will have to decide what is to be done with her lands so that they will not become a stumbling-block to an effective ministry by causing either suspicion or derision in society. Property will be needed for worship, and for the Church to carry on her other activities. But what of the property which is used by tenants, or which brings money to the Church for support? In East Germany, where the Church has lost the income from land, in the spiritual revival there support has come from increased giving by the people. To place the Church in a position of faith, of financial dependence of the faithful may be the genesis

of a new spiritual movement. Where Church lands stand in the way of projects for land reform or wider distribution, where the Church does not act the State soon may, to the embarrassment of all the believers. It may be that where the Church frees herself from too close involvement with the social order there will come the necessary spiritual independence for the body of the faithful to carry on her true ministry. Both Protestant and Roman statements must reckon with this issue in the future.

At the same time, the taxation of Church property must be accepted. Once the principle of land taxation is admitted, then every legal person is liable, even the Church. No exemption should be claimed for fulfilling what is her task. The Body of Christ is not made worthy by exemptions, which in the end tend to her subservience and dependence.

> 'The churches can become effective implements of economic regulation only if they achieve larger structural independence and cultural transcendence of the economic institutions of the (country). They may be able to achieve greater structural independence by recognition of their subservient status at present, and by willingness to sacrifice status in favor of autonomy'. 35

Gaining freedom by full acceptance of social and legal

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35. Liston Pope, Millhands and Preachers, op.cit., p. 334.

responsibility places the Church in a position where her pronouncements will affect the decisions that are to be made in society. Thus, criticism is particularly valid here, for what has been written heretofore may be nothing more than verbiage, unless the Church applies to herself all declarations about the correction of social evils.

The Church of Rome will find difficulty with these assertions. It may well be that the Roman doctrine of the Church will prove a greater barrier to her contributions to solid social and economic judgment and reform with regard to property than will her view of natural law, because need for such a reformation in the Church cannot be accepted. There hardly can be land reform, submission to taxation, or admission of complexity or involvement in ethical and economic evils by a body which claims a degree of infallibility in certain areas of life, a doctrine which itself, paradoxically, must be defined, limited and hedged about by all kinds of assertions and counter-assertions. And the reference to natural law above, applies because whether one accepts it or not, within Roman Catholicism it continually shelters its weakness under the cover of the Church. For now, to anticipate, we maintain, that if one basic weakness appears in the foundation of Roman social thinking, it is the Papal conception of the Church and her authority. In Chapters V. and VI. we shall return to this question.

The key phrase of Oxford comes to the heart of all that has been said: 'Let the Church be the Church'.

C. The Structure of Society

The word, structure, may appear to be a word charged with technical implications placing it beyond the concern of the Church. Reinhold Niebuhr must receive credit for showing that there reside in social structures powers which place them beyond ordinary human effort, brutal powers which betray the coercive aspirations of self-interest and collective egoism.[36] There has been in ecclesiastical pronouncements too little realization of these structures of power which defy simple moral effort. On one hand, some have said that all one needs to do is to convert individuals and society will be better. This view does not recognize two facts: one, that justified sinners are still sinners; and two, that society has protected itself from 'conversion' by means of these structures which resist progressive aspirations, to be changed or reformed. On the other hand, those who are theological sophisticates, 'spiritualize' the question in another direction, by declaring that sound theology and spiritual love if truly expressed will be enough, and that organization will conform to all pious expectations and hopes. These latter voices are heard in the life of the Church, in World Council of Churches circles, with regard to the structure of the Church herself. These two groups must be reminded of the tremendous resistance to the Spirit by the world, and by the Church, that it took the Cross to break all the pretensions to power, that 'the veil of the temple

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36. Reinhold Niebuhr; Moral Man and Immoral Society, op. cit.

was rent in twain from the top to the bottom; and the earth did quake, and the rocks rent.' (Mt.27.51) The power inherent in the world could only be met by the power of the Cross.

Another weakness, antithetical to the above, appears in some pronouncements. It is represented by the belief that the reform of these structures is enough, and by reform or regeneration or perhaps in some cases by revolution, a truly Christian society (and Church) will emerge. It would be as wrong to claim that structural or organizational reform will make men good, will change the temper of the world radically, as it is to suggest that spiritual reform will necessarily change 'collective power'. Thus we must live in a tension between these two foci, working for changes in society and yet realizing that salvation will not follow automatically on the heels of the change. A fourth position, which has been centered for the most part in Lutheran groups, strikes an utterly pessimistic note, which has led to a dualism between the realm of the world and the realm of the spirit. Since all structures of this world are inherently evil, and man is completely depraved, it does not make any great difference what order exists in the world. Order is necessary, and the State and society, while closely in league with the 'devil', yet are used by God to provide this order; but it is not the Order of God. In German Lutheranism where this spirit has been widespread, it is interesting to note that most acts of social concern have spread from the pietism

which infused Lutheranism from the 17th century. Only in the 20th Century has a theological revival, allied to a movement for Christian socialism, been able to challenge this social pessimism which for so long cut the nerve of Christian action.

Oxford thrust itself into the midst of this controversy, Representatives of all the above opinions were present. From the time of Stockholm,[37] there had been a tension between the various elements, which may not have been resolved at Oxford but which led to a most realistic and tenable position.

> 'The commandment of love therefore always presents possibilities for individuals beyond the requirements of economic and social institutions....
> 'The love which is the fulfillment of the law is, however, no substitute for law, for institutions, or for systems. Individual acts of charity within a given system of government or economics may mitigate its injustices and increase its justice. But they do not absolve the Christian from seeking the best possible institutional arrangement and social structure for the ordering of human life....
> 'The relation of the commandment of love to the justice of political and economic systems is twofold. It is an ideal which reaches beyond any possible achievements in a field of political relations, but it is nevertheless also a standard by which various schemes of justice may be judged. In attempting to deal with political and economic problems, the Christian must therefore be specially on his guard against two errors.
> 'The one is to regard the realities of social justice incorporated in given systems and orders as so inferior to the law of love that the latter cannot be a principle of discrimination between them but only a principle of

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37. Ruth Kenyon, 'Notes and Comments', Christendom, September 1947, Vol. VII, No.27, p.170. '"Stockholm," like Lambeth 1920, was in line with the post-war enthusiasm for social betterment generally. It said to the Churches that they must realize the social implications of Christianity on pain of seeing Christianity submerged by movements with a clearer vision of earthly realities. But "Oxford" represents an authentic reaction of the Churches in view of the social and political movements of the present day. It has set out to declare with emphasis the spiritual truths which they are ignoring and the penalties of such ignorance or self-will.'

> indiscriminate judgment upon them all....it tempts Christians to make no decisions at all, and such efforts to reserve decision become in practice decisions in favor of the status quo.
> 'The other error is to identify some particular social system with the will of God or to equate it with the Kingdom of God....
> 'As a criterion of judgment upon the relative merits of economic arrangements and social structures, the law of love gives positive guidance, in terms of justice, even though it transcends the realities of all possible social structures.' (Oxford Reports, pp. 94-97).

Another witness is presented with a further development and commentary on this Oxford statement.

> '....from the Christian standpoint at least, we cannot regard as evil the structures, systems, laws, and conventions by which partly selfish and partly unselfish men are held together in large-scale co-operation. The order and justice which they achieve must be regarded as an approximation of a loving community. It is of course not the loving and just community. It is merely an approximation under the conditions of sin. So long as men are selfish these hard shells of community must be preserved.' 38

Under the commandment of love private property is condemned for its tendency to irresponsible power and inequality, and social ownership, for its tendency to deny minorities an adequate voice in what are meant to be democratic decisions. 'All these proposals involve technical issues upon which technical evidence varies, and it is therefore impossible to claim a moral obligation in support of any of them.' (Oxford Reports p.113) Included in this judgment is also co-operative ownership whose shortcomings have been pointed out above. As to the re-organization of the whole community along co-operative lines, we must admit the appeal of such a suggestion but at the same time point out that a co-operative society may not be a radical enough change to move society any closer to the

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38. Reinhold Niebuhr, 'Coercion, Self-interest, and Love,' commentary to Kenneth E. Boulding, The Organizational Revolution, op. cit., p. 244.

approximation of the loving community. The technical question as to the ultimate productivity of such a system under all conditions leaves in doubt the possibility of such a scheme. It may be, as Evanston suggests, that experimentation with these three forms of property, private, public, and co-operative, may lead to a balance and correction of the abuses or short-comings of each of the others. In Scandinavia, the 'middle way' has proved a noble and somewhat successful experiment, and while there is a high standard of living and an amazing degree of equality, one finds there all the bourgeois pretensions, weaknesses of personal and spiritual depth found in any other society. What has proved technically successful in one place has not necessarily proved to be morally successful. Other factors in another society might bring a higher degree of moral substance, but the number of elements involved even in thinking about this matter show that a system which has many commendable attractions, which may progress toward a higher form of community than laissez-faire capitalism, is still not the end which we are seeking, for in truth the search for the 'approximation' of a 'loving community' is never ended; it continues until there breaks upon us the New Creation. One must conclude that Evanston chose the right direction when there was acceptance of a 'mixed economy'; for a co-operative system has involved within it the subtle pretension to be the end of all systems, an illusion which may lead to idolatry and ultimately to despair.

But even the acceptance of a 'mixed economy' becomes vicious if it is accepted as an end in itself, if it is accepted in fact as an economic system rather than an enquiring state of mind in search for a 'responsible society'.

Another scheme which has been suggested for the re-organization of society is the corporative or vocational society. In Chapter I under Quadramesimo Anno, this plan was referred to. We shall proceed to a critical analysis of this suggested structural change by breaking our treatment into two categories. The first section will consider the general view of society within which it is hoped to place the corporative scheme, a society that is 'organic', built upon a concept of 'status', and reflecting in particular the hope to re-create what once appeared to be the visible concretion of this ideal, medieval society. In the second part of our consideration, the corporative ideal will be analyzed in itself, on its own merits.

Is it proper to conceive of society as organic? This concept is more than an analogy with biological organism, it is a concrete view of society with all the parts fitting together while having their different functions, just as in an organism, and having the Church as its head. We do not know what the constitution of the Kingdom of God will be, but one may wonder if it will follow this organic ideal. There is lacking in the ideal a concept of freedom adequate enough to express what one hopes would be the dynamic relationship between the citizen and his Eternal

King, and between citizen and citizen. Even in this world, one man is not to manipulate another as one would a finger, but there is vital relationship between them where they are to meet each other in creative encounters as morally free agents, as 'I' and 'Thou'. One is not subordinate to the other as is one part of the organism to another part. While there is a great degree of mutual dependencein society, as the organic view emphasizes, yet dependence that does not destroy personality cannot be forced as nature forces the interdependence of her parts; it must be recognized, resisted, and accepted but never finally acquiesced in. The view of society as an organism does violence to the Christian concept of personality and of inter-personal relations, because it rests on a false doctrine of man based on a simple voluntarism and not on a true conception of freedom. Further, the organic ideal in so far as it is a scheme, is subject to the criticism made above about all systems.

Further, there is here an assumption that there shall be within this system, inequalities. It is true that there are inequalities in any human system and that there always will be under the conditions of human sinful existence. That is why no system is to be identified with the Kingdom of God. But it is completely reprehensible to give religious sanction to a condition in society which exists by virtue of sin, to say that in this organic society there will be inequalities and that therefore this is the 'natural' situation. Upon this is built a hierarchy of

status, where each man is to perform a certain function. At this point voluntarism is turned to determinism. How often Leo XIII. tells men to accept their places in society as unequals.

> 'Just, then, as the Almighty willed that, in the heavenly kingdom itself, the choirs of angels should be of differing ranks, subordinated the one to the other; again, just as in the Church God has established different grades of orders with diversity of functions, so that all should not be "Apostles, all not Prophets, all not Doctors"; so also has He established in Civil Society many orders of varying dignity, right, and power. And this to the end that the State, like the Church, should form one body comprising many members, some excelling others in rank and importance, but all alike necessary to one another and solicitous for the common welfare.'
>
> (Quod.Apost.Muneris, Pope and People, pp.16-17)
>
> 'It must be first of all recognized that the condition of things inherent in human affairs must be borne with, for it is impossible to reduce civil society to one dead level. Socialists may in that intent do their utmost, but all striving against nature is in vain. There naturally exist among mankind manifold differences of the most important kind; people differ in capacity, skill, health, strength; and unequal fortune is a necessary result of unequal condition.' (R.N.# 14)

Again, these statements are countered by a declaration of Oxford:

> 'It is not part of the teaching of Christianity that all men are equally endowed by nature, or that identical provision should be made for all, irrespective of difference of capacity and need. What it does assert is that all men are children of one Father, and that, compared with that primary and overwhelming fact, the differences between the races, nationalities, and classes of men, though important on their own plane, are external and trivial.' (Oxford Reports, pp.105-106).

To this is added the statement by the National Council of Churches in 1954.

> 'Some inequalities of wealth and income are necessitated, in our society, both because of differences in service or function, and because of the great danger to freedom in trying to eliminate them completely. Christians should disapprove inequalities beyond the limits set by a broad view of justice and of the well-being of society.

> 'There is an unresolved dilemma here. On the one hand, there is the Christian concern about injustice that may be involved in inequalities. On the other hand, there is the need of the incentive to initiative and productivity that is provided when income varies with contribution. Christian scrutiny should accept the validity of this experience but may well question many conventional appraisals of the value of a particular kind of contribution.' (Christian Principles # 9)

One hopes that the Church will eventually make clear and unequivocal her definition and support of a Christian principle of equality. She will always be working in a world of inequities, but the Church can never be satisfied with less than justice in its highest form. To say that there is in fact inequality, does not absolve the Church from denouncing quite explicity all attempts to rationalize and to accept inequalities. This may be a mainly negative witness, but a witness vital to the promotion of justice. Justice and equality are more completely related to each other than is commonly recognized. If justice means to give to each man his due, suum cuique, then it means to treat all men equally as brothers, pointing finally beyond both justice and equality to Christian love.

Equality before God does not mean that every man's face should be like his neighbor's, but that his features should in fact be distinctive, the one never to become hidden by the face of another who stands in front as his superior. We can agree with the Popes when they speak of men in society as unequal because of differing functions, but we cannot agree that there is a hierarchy

in heaven. We cannot agree with the Popes when they seemingly acquiesce and accept in society this inequality as the order of man: it is only in a sinful, disorderly world that equality is not possible. Christian love and Christian justice must resist every effort to initiate or accept inequalities, all the while admitting that it will be impossible in this fallen creation to realize fully the principle of equality.

The principle of freedom comes in frequent conflict with principle of equality. As the National Council of Churches declared, freedom is put in great danger when we force the realization of equality into every sphere of life. The recognition of the tension between these two ideals is to recognize that in fact they will not be completely realized and that there will neither be perfect freedom nor an egalitarian society. Where hierarchy does exist, there persists always the reminder that human schemes may in the end be frustrated and overthrown; for Christ proclaimed that the first would be the last and the last first. In Him, all earthly hierarchies might be turned upside down; in Christ, all men are equal.

A hierarchy of status, such as the Roman Church supports, accommodates itself to a sinful world. The need for accommodation, in itself denies that there is any organic structure of society. It is an attempt to impose a 'rational' order in a world which defies rationality. Nor will hierarchy among sinful men make them satisfied with their status in society. There will be

striving for increased status, aspiration to social prestige and desire for power, or, on the other hand negation of responsibility and denial of one's place in the ascending social scale. Therefore, to recognize the hierarchical structure of society may be realistic social analysis. But, any attempt to impose a fixed hierarchy of status is to acquiesce in a sinful though not organic order. Further, imposition of a hierarchical structure is as much a denial of freedom as would be the establishment of an egalitarian society. The Roman desire for hierarchy, therefore, is opposed by the concept of 'free and equal! For Christianity, to define what it means to be 'free and equal', is to fill with meaning both freedom and equality in the fulfillment of the highest justice. Freedom must be saved from anarchy and directed towards a certain balance in society, while equality must be saved from destruction by a Christian ordering of relations between men in a dynamic society.

Since so many references to the so-called organic ideal point back to medieval society as at least a partial incarnation of that ideal, it is necessary to see whether in fact this has ever been realized; and if it has, could it be realized again today? There are many historians who question whether medieval society was so nearly ideal, whether in fact there was not suffering, oppression, and corruption, and whether rising nationalism and the power of city states did not mar the harmonious functioning of the social organism. We leave the dispute to historians and admit on the other hand that something wonderful did exist which has never been recaptured, a something which remains the source of an understandable

nostalgia. If this society did indeed exist, as many claim, then it might live again. But we must point to a further truth, so simple that it must be repeated endlessly: times have changed. Some conditions are so different from yesterday's that what once may have been moderately successful no longer applies. Yet other conditions are not so different today and this accounts for the fact that the medieval synthetic society never succeeded. As long as men have lived there has been a conflict between freedom and necessity, unity and disunity, meaning and lack of meaning. The world has always been a place of hostility, disunity and meaninglessness. Evenso where the concept of organism fitted more closely in the Middle Ages, the concept of organization fits today. We know that the writings of Kafka and Heidegger reflect the condition of modern life with its brokenness. It might be argued that brokenness is the result of a turning away from the medieval organism, that all we need to do is to inaugurate the ideal and unity will be achieved. Against this, it is to be noted that a synthesis was only possible because of the degree of unity which existed. A synthesis followed rather than created what semblance of unity there was. Underlying apparent unity was the brokenness that affects all human aspirations to complete unity, the separation which comes between man and man, between man and God, the result of sin. We conclude that there was not and cannot be a truly harmonious or Christian society.

> 'Only the Kingdom of God, the realm of the Spirit, can be perfect and harmonious, not the realm of Caesar. Such a perfect realm is conceivable only eschatologically. A perfect and harmonious order

> in the realm of Caesar would annihilate freedom, which means that such an order is not attainable in this world.' 39

The corporative ideal is claimed by many to be choice of Rome for an ideal. Earlier, the difference between the corporative ideal and the organic ideal was indicated, although actually, the difference is not clear. In Quadragesimo Anno, Pius XI, praises Leo's thought about the social order in apparent agreement. 'To this latter, however, Our Predecessor Leo XIII., devoted every thought and care, in his efforts to reconstruct it according to the principles of sound philosophy, and to perfect it according to the sublime precepts of the Gospel.' (Q.A.#76). Three paragraphs later, Pius writes: 'It is indeed true, as history clearly proves, that owing to changed circumstances much that was formerly done by small groups can nowadays only be done by large associations.' (Q.A.#79). Pius' occupational groups are larger organizations and these have an entirely different character from small groups. Thus a qualitative difference proceeds from the thinking of the two men. In Rerum Novarum, Leo thinks in terms of medieval associations or guilds, though he attempts to orient them to modern conditions. Yet he is not able to because he falls back to St.Thomas for a definition of the organization of these groups which are to be private societies. '"Now a private society," says St.Thomas again,

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39. Nicholas Berdyaev, The Realm of Spirit and The Realm of Caesar, Trans. Donald A.Lowrie, (London: Victor Gollancz Ltd. 1952) p.177.

"is one which is formed for the purpose of carrying out private objects; as when two or three enter into partnership with the view of trading in common."' (c.f. R.N.#36-#38). In Rerum Novarum, then, there are societies which are smaller and somewhat different in character from those in Quadragesimo Anno, and which, while playing a rather distinctive role, would not assume the status which groups are to assume in a corporative society. In a corporative society, the vocational groups become a core around which society is to be reorganized and perfected. It could hardly be said that the medieval guild promoted the synthesis of medieval society. They may even have been a factor in breaking apart that synthesis in their later development. It will have to be assumed that Pius ardently desired to orient his ideal to that of Leo, but that without wishing and perhaps without knowing it, what Pius did was to put Rome in support of another ideal. If Pius' desire to synthesize these two ideals had been successful, then he would still be faced by the questions which have been raised about the organic view of society. Now seeing that we have found a separate ideal, let us turn to that.

The analysis breaks down into two parts: one, the corporative ideal as an ideal; and two, the corporative idea as it has been embodied in history. To proceed with the first, we shall turn to Quadragesimo Anno.

> 'When we speak of the reform of institutions, it is principally the State that comes to mind....78
> 'The State therefore should leave to small groups the settlement of business of minor improtance,

> which otherwise would greatly distract it; it will thus carry out with greater freedom, power and success the tasks belonging to it alone, because it alone can effectively accomplish these: directing, watching, stimulating, restraining, as circumstances suggest and necessity demands. Let those in power, therefore, be convinced that the more faithfully this principle of subsidiary function be followed, and a graded hierarchical order exist between various associations, the greater will be both social authority and social efficiency, and the happier and more prosperous the condition of the commonwealth.' (80)

From this we can see that the concept of status remains with Pius XI.

> 'The aim of social policy must therefore be the reestablishment of vocational groups....(82)
> 'For it is natural that just as those who dwell in close proximity constitute townships, so those who practice the same trade or profession, in the economic field or any other, form corporate groups. These groups, with powers of self-government, are considered by many to be, if not essential to civil society, at least natural to it. (83)

There follows a description of these groups.

> 'The State here grants juridical personality to the union, and thereby confers on it some of the features of a monopoly; for in virtue of this grant, it alone can uphold the rights of the workers or employers (according to the kind of union), and it alone can negotiate wage-terms and make labor agreements....(92)
> 'The corporations are composed of delegates of the unions of workers and employers of the same trade or profession, and, as true and genuine organs and institutions of the State, they direct and coordinate the activities of the unions in all matters of common interest'. (93)
> '....We feel bound to say that to Our knowledge there are some who fear that the State is substituting itself in the place of private initiative, instead of limiting itself to necessary and sufficient assistance. It is feared that the new syndical and corporative organization tends to have an excessively bureaucratic and political character, and that, notwithstanding the general advantages referred to above, it ends in serving particular political aims rather than in contributing to the initiation and promotion of a better social order.' (95)

> 'We believe that to attain this last named lofty purpose, for the true and permanent advantage of the commonwealth, there is need before and above all else of the blessing of God, and in the second place on the co-operation of all men of good will....(And in the third place, the practical application of Catholic principles)....(96) (parenthesis a paraphrase)
> 'However, all that We have taught about reconstructing and perfecting the social order will be of no avail without a reform of conduct....' (97)

The Australian Hierarchy, using the term 'industrial councils' for these groups, recognized that they could perform many functions, among them: the determination of wages and working conditions, the control of prices, the fixing of dividends to plan the amount and quality of production and the marketing of the product, the arrangement of social benefits, the exercise of complete control over policy and the development of the industry.[40] In the Code of Social Principles prepared by the International Union of Social Studies, further proposals are suggested. These groups are to operate under a supreme authority: 'the social order, therefore, requires inter-professional organization on regional, national and even international lines.' (82(62)) Since all groups are exposed to the danger of 'group selfishness' whereby they forget their chief responsibility to the welfare of the country, there must therefore be a relation of dependence between State and vocational groups. Yet vocational groups are not bound up with any one view of the State:

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40. Australian Hierarchy, 'Patterns for Peace', Cronin, op.cit.,p.208.

they must in fact adapt themselves to national situations and to different national temperaments. Perfect realization of this ideal will come when these groups are moved by principles of social justice and charity.

> 'The Catholic ideal is that the entire adult population of a country would be organized each in one or more of these guilds. For example, one particular farmer may work exclusively at tillage, whereas another, who not merely tills but is a dairy-farmer and a rancher as well, would belong to three guilds if three were devoted to farming. At the present time, every person who has the right to vote in a parliamentary election is registered as belonging to a particular constituency, according to his place. Similarly, he will be registered and given a vote or votes according to the occupation or occupations he follows.' 41

With all this material before us, it is not hard to imagine how much of this is subject to radical analysis from a technical point of view. A few questions that occur are: how is this system to be inaugurated? How will the system which aims at being a view of society apart from the State, keep from becoming identified with the State, or allied to it, in a virtual wedding of political and economic powers? Since it is admitted that 'group egoism' will lead to 'group rivalries', who will decide between two guilds who both want access to the same resources,

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41. George Clune, Christian Social Organization, (Dublin: Brown & Nolan Ltd., 1940). p.461. This rather prejudiced and un-scientific book may not represent the highest efforts of Roman scholarship but, published with ecclesiastical approbation, it may indicate that Irish Roman Catholics think of this system pretty much in political terms. And they are right, for it is hard to conceive of this system not evolving into a political organization of the State. Ideally it could evolve into some democratic form, but the discussion which follows intends to indicate that it may ultimately fall prey to State manipulation.

for example, except it be the State; and will not this place many like decisions under the direction of the State so that in fact it will gather to itself virtual control in economic and social life? If the corporations are to fix prices, wages etc., what critera will they use? If they are to plan the amount and quality of production, does this not constitute a planned society, which leads to further technical problems? There are other questions: for our purposes we must say it is not possible to make ethical judgments until these issues are faced. Pius admits that the place of the State is not fixed, but he states that the corporations are 'true and genuine organs and institutions of the State.' Surely, the example of a corporate State that was at hand in Italy must have influenced his whole concept, yet in Q.A. #95 quoted above he points to the danger of its' serving particular political aims'. (This has been interpreted as a repudiation of the Fascist corporatism. We shall consider the corporative State under Mussolini, in a little.) Having raised above the question of fixing prices, it is necessary to draw attention to a system which depends upon certain free conditions not planned for in a corporative economy. 'The monetary system and the price system are one of mankind's greatest inventions, like all great inventions capable of being perverted to the most untoward uses, but none the less a great invention.' [42] There is a 'fresh recognition of the importance of relative freedom in enterprise and

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42. Denis F.Munby, 'A Plea for Economics', Cross Currents, Spring 1953, No.3. op.cit. (from The Frontier, March 1951).

of the regulating role of the price system.' (Evanston Speaks, p.30). Such a crucial matter as a 'price system' may prove basic to any economy in the modern world. Corporatism must work this out in more detail. One other matter which must be raised, the same question facing schemes for industrial democracy and productive co-operatives, is that if labor participates in management decisions, does this not challenge specialization and the division of labor? These are not sacrosanct practices, but they have proved in the modern world to be economically advantageous. If they are replaced, then we must be assured that it is by something better.

Other questions are raised about this scheme as it is to be embodied in the Industry Council Plan, which is the term used now by most Roman Catholic social thinkers. These difficulties are grouped by Howard R.Bowen in Social Responsibilities of the Businessman, into four possible objections:[43]

> 'First, the industry council scheme, if fully developed, might lead to an enormous proliferation of organizational activity involving endless meetings and debates and requiring a tremendous secretariat....
> 'Second, the industry council plan would be difficult to inaugurate in that it would run counter to so many vested interests in present organized groups. This, of course, is not an argument against the plan, as such, but against its practicability....

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43. Howard R.Bowen, Social Responsibilities of the Businessman, (New York: Harpers & Bros., 1953). pp.171-172.

> 'Third, even assuming the successful organization of a comprehensive structure of industry councils, it is not clear that this would greatly reduce the amount of conflict between powerful economic groups - unless this conflict were suppressed in the totalitarian manner....
> 'Fourth, the industry council plan as proposed would be composed primarily of business, labor and agriculture - i.e., producer interests - and would not necessarily provide effective expression of the general public interest or of the consumer interest.'

One or two of these difficulties about an industrial council plan were raised in a more general way in our discussion of the corporative ideal. Bowen submitted as his personal conclusion that the industrial council plan might not prove to be the final answer to all the problems of economic life, but he admitted that it offered 'prospective advantages sufficient to warrant modest and tentative experimentation with it.'[44]

A modified adaption of the industrial council scheme has been introduced into many modern industries with 'works councils'. In Sheffield, where there are many of these councils in the large steel mills, each section of the plant elects representatives to the 'works council.' On this body, which is usually chaired by a labor representative, there are representatives of management. Also, in each of the shops are found 'production councils' so that there are representative groups meeting with management at every level of the industry. Up to the present itme, these councils have been used mainly to expose grievances. Management claims

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44. Ibid., P.174.

that labor refuses to take any real responsibility for making decisions and that all its interest is in bringing petty complaints to the attention of management. Therefore, it is very difficult to determine just where the councils in fact differ from the workings of a union. Some make an artificial distinction by saying that unions deal with wage questions while these councils deal with working conditions; but one must say that this strikes at part of the union's function and makes the 'works council' become in fact a complaint apparatus. The council may serve a valid function in allowing management to sound out the feelings of its workers, but one might ask whether effective unionism does not do the same thing. Labor criticizes the council because they are put in a position where they are sometimes treated as 'children'. They bring their grievances and management has the final say or the veto power over any action the council may take. Management refuses to effect what might be the first real step towards some kind of industrial democracy in allowing power to labor's representative voice. Thus the council fails because labor is preoccupied by petty matters but also because management does not believe strongly enough in the idea to make it meaningful. Industrial council plans, and the 'works council' idea, in particular, only will work, other factors being equal, if labor is willing to assume some of the responsibility and risk involved in an industrial undertaking, and if management is willing to trust labor with these undertakings. At present, labor, generally, does not wish to assume either the responsibility

for the risk; and management lacks sufficient trust in the democratic processes in general to make the councils effective in industry.

Corporatism, envisioning a more thorough structural change of industry than either the industrial or 'works council' idea, must, therefore, come to terms with the practical objections which have been raised against these plans which have in fact some possibility of realization. If the objections to these councils cannot be answered, then there is an even greater unlikelihood of the corporate ideal becoming a workable solution to social and industrial problems. A study of one corporate society exposes further weaknesses.

The best known experiment in corporatism was in Mussolini's Fascist Italy. Carl T.Schmidt reported on this in a fine study.[45] He indicated that in fact the vocational groups where not elected from below but were 'guided' from above by the State leaders. It has been suggested that Pius could not help but lean on this experiment for some of his ideas. That may account for the confused relation which appears in his encyclical between the State and the Guilds. Corporatism as we know it in practice in one country ended up as pure collectivism. Schmidt also pointed out that the structure of this society was not very stable because

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45. Carl T.Schmidt, The Corporate State in Action, (London: Victor Gollancz Ltd., 1939).

boundaries were continually changing between vocational organizations. It would not be clear in which group to include certain professions. At one time, they attempted to bind all of the elements of one industry, both employees and employers into one union, or guild; later developments led to two parallel groups, workers and patrons being separated. Often as a result, the groups rather than being formed naturally, were made up of those who were forced, rather arbitrarily, into certain categories. As a result, some rather 'unnatural' groupings resulted. Thus further doubts are raised about the workability of this ideal.

Quadragesimo Anno admits that a proper social order will not of itself make men good; it may only help them to be better than they are. In the last analysis, 'the fundamental cause of this defection from the Christian law in social and economic matters, and of the apostasy of many working men from the Catholic faith which has resulted from it, lies in the disorderly affections of the soul, a sad consequence of original sin.' (Q.A.# 132) ''And if society is to be healed now, in no other way can it be healed save by a return to Christian life and Christian institutions.'(R.N.# 22) Pius XI. also quotes this (Q.A.#129) It is interesting to point out that 'institutions' are given a high place in the perfecting of society. If all other criticism were answered, there would still be the judgment which is placed upon all systems and institutions which presume to save society. But the greatest sin here is not social or economic, it is theological, based on the pretension to know the ultimate answers.

The Church of Rome is faced with a 'tactical blunder' in the encyclical, Quadragesimo Anno. When Pius XI. committed the Church to a vocational society so closely parallel to an actual corporative State, the usually broad outlook of the Roman Church was narrowed to a particular system. In the addresses, letters and encyclicals of Pius XII. which are at hand, there is an almost studious avoidance of mention of the corporative ideal. In two instances where he mentions professional or corporative organizations, it is in letters to Semaines Sociales, a Roman Catholic study and action group. [16] In the letter dated 1946, he writes,

> 'In our judgment the establishment of associations or corporate groups in all the branches of the national economy would be much more conducive both to the realization of the end which you pursue and at the same time to the greater success of the enterprises. At any rate, this was certainly true wherever, as it was up to this time, the concentration of enterprises and the disappearance of small independent producers were working only in favor of capital and not in favor of the public economy. There is no doubt, besides, that, in the present circumstances, the corporative form of social, and especially of economic, life, is, in practice, favorable to the Christian doctrines regarding the person, the community, labor, and private property.'
> (Italics mine)

His approval is qualified. The corporative ideal will apply to certain circumstances where there is a 'concentration of enterprises and the disappearance of small independent producers' and where these work in favor of capital and not in favor of public economy. Further, since these circumstances exist, the corporative

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46. 'Pius XII. Letter to Semaines Sociales, 1947', 'Pius XII. Letter to Semaines Sociales, 1946'. Cronin, op.cit., p.203, 204.

form is 'favorable' to Christian doctrines; it is not urged as the answer but as one which is not in opposition to Christian practice. And where these circumstances do not occur, one feels, it may be that another system will also be 'favorable', not advocated but not condemned. As he writes in the encyclical, La Solennita della Pentecoste, [47]

> 'It is, on the other hand, the indisputable competence of the Church, on that side of the social order where it meets and enters into contact with the moral order, to decide whether the bases of a given social system are in accord with the unchangeable order which God, our Creator and Redeemer, has shown us through the natural law and Revelation, that twofold manifestation to which Leo XIII. appeals in his Encyclical.' (1676).

In the letter to Semaines Sociales in 1947 he refers to 'conflicting interpretations in public disputes' as to his position regarding corporative organization.

> 'Here also Our position is identically that of the Encyclical Quadragesimo Anno, safely above all reproach of interference in the purely political affairs of our times. But this social doctrine may well provide our generation with a highly pertinent object lesson and orientation.' (Italics mine)

First, he qualifies this to approval for 'our generation' and not for all time. Second, he sees it as an object lesson which, as the letter continues, points to the distinction between employer and employee, threatening a 'Pitiless separation'. Further it points to the place of human labor as vital and personal. 'It lies in the very nature of labor, understood in this sense, to draw men together in a genuine and intimate union, and to restore form and

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47. Dated June 1, 1941 and this portion appearing in Cronin, op.cit., p.36.

structure to a society which has become shapeless and unstable.' The temper of the letter, is that the vocational ideal points to truths which must be embodied in modern society but not necessarily, one must conclude, by the establishment of the corporative organization. Because Semaines Sociales had committed itself to Pius XI.? ideal, as have most Roman Social Groups, Pius XII. in writing to them must come to terms with the ideal, but he ends by applauding the idea as a possibility only, not as the Roman Catholic ideal, only as one system among others as a possible solution to the evils of our age. Its competence to accomplish these results is not assured. It will come under the same judgment that other social orders must face through Natural law and Revelation.

In one other place where Pius XII. refers to the 'occupational organization' recommended by Quadregesimo Anno he said,

> 'Nothing, indeed, appeared to him (Pius XI.)more suited to bring economic Liberalism under control than the enactment, for the social economy, of a public-law statute based precisely on the common responsibility which is shared by all those who take part in production.' 48.

This sentence is followed by mention of a 'host of objections' to the idea because it appeared to be 'a concession to modern political trends, while for others it meant a return to the Middle Ages.' Then he said that it would have been more sensible 'to get down to work' to make the proposals a living reality. But all that has been said, is followed in the address by this sentence:

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48. 'Pius XII, Address to Catholic Employers, May 7, 1949', Cronin, op.cit., p.205.

> 'The owner of the means of production, whoever he be - individual owner, workers' association, or corporation - must always - within the limits of public economic law - retain control of his economic decisions.'

The sum of his address is this: Pius XI. proposed this idea which was criticized, but more time should have been given to making it work. That having been said, the owner of the means of production must control his economic decisions, 'whoever he be'. It should have been tried, but since it was not Pius XII. lays down a principle about the ultimate responsibility for economic decisions.

We shall draw together our argument now that these factors have been presented, One, there is an unaccountable silence in Pius XII's public utterances and writings about the corporative ideal. In other places reference is made to Rerum Novarum and Quadragesimo Anno, but in none to this ideal. Especially in his encyclicals, where one would look for the most authoritative thoughts of Pius XII., no reference to a vocational society has been encountered. In the famous Christmas Address of 1943, which has received almost the status of an encyclical, The Rights of Man, [49] and in Sertum Laetitiae, [50] and in other places, Pius XII. [51] speaks about social and world reconstruction, but not a word about this form of organization. In

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49. Pius XII., The Rights of Man, (London, Catholic Truth Society, 1950).
50, Encyclical letter to the Church in the United States, 1939. op.cit.
51. Reference to collections of Pius XII. works, radio addresses, etc.

fact, where Pius XI. quotes Rerum Novarum extensively in Quadragesimo Anno, Pius XII. is content with references to them noting only a few particular sections or sentences. They are mentioned, for the most part, just in passing. Two, where Pius XII. has mentioned corporate groups, as we have studied them above, there is a mixture of reluctance and embarrassment, a rapid passing over. Certainly, these letters to Semaines Sociales, do not have a wide distribution, nor would an address to Catholic Employers receive a world wide hearing. He chose to discuss this question within a small radius. When encyclicals were written and radio addresses given reaching throughout the world, no reference was made. Three, where Pius refers to a vocational structure of society, he does not commend it as a universal possibility, but as an object lesson. Insofar as it is taken seriously, it would be better to try to make it work than to spend over much time in disputation. Four, when this program is applied it must be subject to perusal by natural law and Revelation. Pius also recognizes the need for meeting certain technical questions.'....every social reform is strictly bound up with the question of a prudent organization of production.' [52] Five, in one place Pius XII. returns to an organic conception of society as 'the only vital conception'. Thus he moves back to a broader social ideal in which there shall be a synthesis of love

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52. 'Pius XII, Allocution to Sacred College if Cardinals, June 2, 1948.' Cronin, op.cit.,p.205.

and justice.[53] In other places, his reference to natural law exhibits a much broader picture following the principles of St. Thomas but applied within a modern context. Sixth, we must therefore conclude, that we have in fact returned to the general picture of society more in accord with the thinking of Leo XIII. Yet it would seem that Pius XII. is closer to Evanston in that all social structures are to be put under the surveillance of both moral and scientific judgments. He has moved a long way toward agreement with Protestantism but there is still a chasm between the two groups which appears in the Roman acceptance of natural law. Pius XII., who declares that natural law is the basis for discrimination, also uses it as the foundation for certain principles of society. 'The ultimate deep-rooted, lapidary principles which lie at the foundation of society cannot be abolished by any effort of human ingenuity.' (Rights of Man p.8.) In contrast to this, Protestantism generally accepts the view that the love commandment must judge all human inventions, even the concrete embodiments of this commandment in principles and law. We shall return to this whole question in the next chapter.

It will take time for Roman Catholic Social philosopphers and sociologists to adjust themselves to the change which has taken place in the Vatican. Most of these groups have worked out detailed apologia for the corporative system. Protestants must

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53. Pius XII., The Rights of Man, op.cit., p.9f.

be careful not to raise this question in too provoking a manner, lest Rome in self-defense be forced into a more hardened position. If that were to happen, Christian social thinking would suffer severely, for the Roman Catholic contributions have been important. While our criticism at times has been rather severe, yet underlying it all is a tremendous respect for the feeling for social concern which moves within this great Church. It is to be hoped that active and personal interchange in this realm between Protestantism and Roman Catholicism, will broaden the whole frontier of ecumenical encounter. We may be accused of wishful thinking when we remind ourselves that part of the credit for the success of the ecumenical movement lies in the movement of social Christianity which brought together the Churches at Stockholm and Oxford. We also remember with some sorrow that the ecumenical movement is not truly ecumenical until the Church of Rome accepts an invitation to participate in it. For the moment we shall have to be content with informal and unofficial contacts; and it is in the social field where these have been the most creative, both in thinking and in fellowship.

Up to this point we have been concerned with proposed plans for a structural change of society. Now we must turn to forces which have arisen in the modern day and which have actually effected changes in society.

The first of these forces has been collectivism. Both Protestant and Roman Catholic statements reject this idea. A statement which best sums this up is made by the National Council of Churches in America.

> 'Today we have enough knowledge of what happens under a thoroughgoing collectivism to realize that uncritical recourse to the state to remedy every evil creates its own evils. It may easily become a threat to freedom as well as to efficiency. The union of political and economic power is a dangerous road, whether it leads toward complete state control of economic life or toward control of the state by private centers of economic power. A wide distribution of centers of power and decision is important to the preservation of democratic freedom.'
> (Christian Principles and Assump. for Economic Life, 1954)

The second factor is the growth of technical development and the enthronement of efficiency as the goal of modern production. Pius XII., speaking to the Sacred College of Cardinals in 1948, pointed out that it was not 'a question today of merely distributing the products of the social economy more equitably in closer correspondence with the labor and needs of individuals....every social reform is strictly bound up with the question of a prudent organization of production....for it is clear that there can never be sufficient distribution where there is not sufficient production.'[54] Evanston placed equal emphasis upon efficient production and fair distribution. These statements, side by side, correct what in the past has been a preoccupation with moral questions without facing economic facts. Greater appreciation is now accorded the specialist who brings a 'scientific' training to the solution of purely economic puzzles.

Quite correctly, there has been much talk about the mass man, the faceless man, the man made in the image of the machine. At the same time, this has led to a tremendous romanticism, a return to Rousseau; except that where he saw social institutions

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54. Cronin, op.cit., pp.204-205.

to be the agent of corruption, today it is 'technics'. The Church has protested against the subordination of the man to the machine and against the fact that men have become lost in our mass society. Technological progress, like all changes in history, not only holds within it possibilities for evil, but also creates new potentialities for good. The Popes have said this, but Amsterdam has said it best.

> 'The second factor is that society, as a whole dominated as it is by technics, is likewise more controlled by a momentum of its own than in previous periods. While it enables men the better to use nature, it has possibilities of destruction, both through war and through the undermining of the natural foundations of society in family, neighborhood and craft....
> 'On the other hand, technical developments have relieved men and women of much drudgery and poverty, and are still capable of doing more. There is a limit to what they can do in this direction....
> 'There is no inescapable necessity for society to succumb to undirected developments of technology, and the Christian Church has an urgent responsibility today to help men to achieve fuller personal life within the technical society.'
> (Amsterdam Reports - p.75)

In addition to the realization of the place of increased production and efficiency in economic institutions, where there is less romanticizing about the machine as a destroyer of souls, the real factors will be faced that while man may be de-humanized, yet sin is what brings death to him. The subordinate position of the machine is emphasized. Man is not to be the slave of the machine; the machine is for man's use. A greater degree of freedom over nature and necessity is achieved where there exists the

correct relationship. This in turn provides possibilities of achieving a more fully developed personality. The dangers must never be passed over lightly, but when greater potentiality for freedom has been created, then it will be admitted that technics does not in itself constitute an evil.

Now that the Churches recognize that there are areas in which they must temper their judgment by recognition of the place of economics, the pronouncements are becoming more relevant and more attention is being paid them as creative contributions to the solution of social problems. The Church of Scotland pointed out that 'our religion cannot instruct us as to the technical ways and means by which a just ordering of our social life, a proper distribution of wealth and an equitable use of our national resources can best be attained.' (God's Will for Ch.& Nat.p.36). Not only because of this, but also because the Christian faith places one in an objective position where one can assess and evaluate a situation, the Church will help to keep the scientist or economist free of his own unconscious predisposed judgments and prejudices, and remind him that whole truth is never his. That is what Oxford was pointing out when it declared that 'the message of Christianity should throw a searchlight on the actual facts of the existing situation and in particular reveal the human consequences of present forms of economic behavior.' (Italics - Oxford Reports p.119). The economist, then, is reminded that economics is not an exact science, indeed that he will never be able to provide the certitude which is sometimes available to the physical sciences becauseof human factors.'....economics is a kind of

philosophizing about how mankind gets its worldly goods, rather than a science.'[55] A balance is struck: the Church keeps social scientists or philosophers from prejudice and presumption, from the objectification of human experience; and economics keeps the Church from proclaiming platitudinous pronouncements based on pious hopes and moralistic wishes.

The third factor which has played a part in the structural change of modern life is the growth of organized groups, the labor unions, farm associations, manufacturers and professional groups, and all the separate bodies that have reasoned themselves into existence on national, political, religious, or pseudo-religious bases. Boulding's analysis of the growth of these groups is a brilliant contribution to the whole realm of social theory.[56] He argues that these organizations have come into being more because a 'supply' has been created by increased skills of organizing than it has been due to the conditions of modern life building up a pressure of 'demand' for them. 'Most organizations are not a result of a spontaneous coming together of their members; they are organized by organizers.'[57] It is again, that side of technics which involves the group relations of men, which has developed skills that have played a tremendous part in the kind and extent

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55. John S.Gambs, Man,Money and Goods, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1952). p.ix.
56. Kenneth Boulding, The Organizational Revolution, op.cit.
57. Ibid., p.207.

of modern organization. One may feel that Boulding has overstated his case, and that he, because of his training in economics, tends to force relationships into categories to which he is accustomed. Just as it is not a simple matter to determine which is the major factor, 'supply' or 'demand' in purely economic matters, so it is even more difficult within the realm of sociology, to place causal elements in a set order of cause and effect. Many social scientists, (philosophers), feel that the conditions of modern social life have pushed men together into organizations where they can receive recognition and perhaps more intimate social relations. Perhaps a more judicious view is that both factors plus many others play parts in a moving dynamic, reciprocating interpenetration of forces. The Church must consider more deeply than she has this whole matter, so that she can speak intelligently and preach with discrimination. In some cases these organizations can be a threat to the Church, e.g., the masons, women's groups, unions etc. Of course, that has been most true where the Church has become in fact just another social group and not the 'heavenly commonwealth', so that these groups could triumph over the Church because they have proved to be more vital as social organizations than has the Church. But it is not only the Church which is faced by these organizations; society as a whole is too. And to see them as a threat is to see only a small part of the picture, because when they are a threat to the Church it is because the Church has

ceased to be the Church. And so with society, where it has ceased to be truly 'social', these groups have provided social intercourse. What has happened is that within these organizations, there has sprung up a state of mind which might well be described as provincial. Where, at one time, men were faithful to their country or their province or their state or their town, now their allegiance is given to their new society, the association. The strangest anomaly is the patriotic organization, for while it seems to effuse patriotism, yet it demands the undivided allegiance of its members, binding them to its own standards of patriotic observance and fealty.

Labor unions come within our special consideration because of their relation to economic and industrial life. The charges of irresponsibility against workers' associations are too well chronicled in what has been called the 'capitalist press' to have escaped the average citizen's notice. On the other side, books could be published by the dozen to show the contributions which unions have made to society. They have provided a voice for the working man whose grumblings and suppressed feelings have broken over other societies like a volcano bringing destruction and class warfare. Unions at one time may be said to have accented class differentials by playing on the feelings of their own members to rationalize the existence of unions. It can be shown, today, that unions have been an effective force in smoothing over class

hatred and in building within their own groups a more stable element in society. Without unions, industrial strife would have been greater, so that it is doubtful if the present degree of productivity could have been reached without their criticism and their co-operation. These sentences are admittedly generalizations which would be suspect in particular instances, but they are intended to add a more positive note than appeared in the preceding paragraph on the position of organizations. Our purpose in these two paragraphs has been to enter very generally into the kind of discussion into which the Church must go more deeply if it is to assist society and these organizations in reaching a genuinely harmonious and creative relationship. We feel that the Church's pronouncements of the future must face this problem squarely.

That is not to suggest that the Churches have been silent. They have spoken about this matter many times, The Evanston Assembly provides the most concise summation of the best of this thinking:

> 'Serious problems arise from the great importance or organized groups, such as trade unions and associations of employers, farmers, or professional people. Christians can bear witness that these groups must be responsible to the whole of society, that their leadership must be responsible to their members, and that the members must participate responsibly in the organization.' (Evanston Speaks - p.32)

The kind of study which has been produced by Boulding, referred to above in the book, The Organizational Revolution, is a step in the right direction on the part of the Church as it was published in

co-operation with a study committee of the National Council of Churches in the 'Series on the Ethics and Economics of Society.' Independent studies of this nature under Church sponsorship show that the Church is moving forward whether one does or does not agree with the assumptions and conclusions of particular studies. The Roman Catholic Church through its Social Studies groups and guilds and universities is doing a like work, in a less organized way.

The fourth factor which we shall consider in the changes of structure in society is economic planning. It would be most difficult to determine whether 'planning' is a result of structural change or whether it has not in fact created changes which have effected the systematic organization of society. Again, one has to admit that both elements are true. We shall not attempt to say which is the more dominant factor, but our immediate inquiry will center more on the effect of planning upon structure. Most simply this is seen where more direction today replaces what once appeared as chaos in the organization of economic life. During the economic crises which followed World War I and the unprecedented slump which led to a world-wide depression and unemployment, 'rationalization' or 'planning' became the evident way to bring order in the midst of confusion and turmoil. With certain reservations, and to varying degrees, the Roman Catholic and Protestant Churches accepted this remedy. To some extent we discussed this under the section on

property, the State in economic life. We shall not reproduce that discussion, but shall proceed on the assumption that the Churches agree to a certain amount of State control, direction and planning. From that point we enter into the nature and method of economic planning as well as the goals of such rationalization. We shall not recapitulate the discussion about rationalization reported in Chapter III. under the Universal Christian Council for Life and Working which met in the 1930's.

Our interest centers on a chapter by Clark C.Bloom entitled, 'Is a Consistent Governmental Economic Policy Possible?' [58] The basic questions which Bloom raises are these. Planning assumes: that it is possible to know the goals to which the economy will be directed; that 'there is a single means or pattern of measures best adapted for its attainment, and that all important segments of the population are certain therefore to support the indicated governmental activity.'[59] 'The underlying thesis is that any government will respond simultaneously to various groups urging ends upon it, that it will employ many means for the attainment of its multiple goals, and that it will at no time fully satisfy any important group.'[60] Bloom shows that even in a dictatorship, the

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58. Clark C.Bloom, 'Is a Consistent Governmental Economic Policy Possible?', Goals of Economic Life, ed. A.Dudley Ward, (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1953). This is another book published by the study group of the National Council of Churches on The Ethics and Economics of Society.
59. Ibid., p.231
60. Ibid.

dictator must operate within a certain margin of tolerance else the majority rise up against him. He must always be very sensitive to the desires of his people. In a democratic form of government, legislative bodies must be much more sensitive. So, there will prove to be many goals and there will be many acceptable means. There will never be one consistent pattern. The major goals and means are likely to be determined by the group with the most power. These conclusions are made, once Bloom's point of view is accepted:[61]

> 'First, it casts doubt upon the ability of any group, no matter how learned or how powerful, to either educate, propagandize, cajole, or force its program on a heterogeneous society without important qualifications and modifications. This means that the efficacy of a suggested program of action cannot adequately be assessed purely in terms of that program itself. It must instead be evaluated in terms of its impact on the existing structure and of internal modifications necessitated in order to gain acceptance....
> 'Second, while it is undoubtedly true that contradictions and tensions inevitable in governmental policy vary inversely with homogeneity in the views of the populace, such contradictions and tensions are inevitable except in a completely stratified society where every individual is satisfied with his assigned role.... [62]
> 'Third, acceptance of the view presented in this paper points up the difficulties in the way of defining usefully what it is that constitutes a "satisfactory" economy....On this score it is well to remark that what these groups <u>think</u> is actually the case is important- what in fact exists is of only secondary significance in the short run. Actual "progress" - in the sense of

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61. <u>Ibid.</u>, pp.246-247.
62. <u>Ibid.</u>, p.246. In continuation of this second point Bloom writes: 'On the other hand, in democratic societies where neither reason nor ideology has been adequate to the attainment of some considerable homogeneity of view, such conflicts may make virtually impossible any effective government action of any kind. Such a result seems close to the situation in France and Italy today.'

> movement toward a well-defined goal - is therefore not essential to a "satisfactory" economy.
> 'Finally, of course, the thesis here expounded makes it impossible to take seriously statements to the effect that governmental policy has been oriented to any single end or to the use of any single technique.'

Bloom's very practical approach to this question shows that 'planning' within a purely technological framework is neither very simple nor clear. Thus to make ethical assumptions on the basis that planning will accomplish long range results may be illusory. Bloom does not intend to show that because of his position, there can be no planning, but that it will not be consistent. Perhaps we can assume that planning will accomplish great improvements and a greater semblance of order in the short run but there is no surety of its overall good effects, because it may be directed ultimately to poor economic and/or ethical ends. When the Church of Scotland proposed the slogan 'Planning for Freedom' there was full realization of the technical matters involved, but there may have been at the same time a rather optimistic outlook as to the promised results. 'Planning' to many has come to be what 'socialism' or 'free enterprise' has been to others, a kind of political or social creed. As a scheme for the final solution of social problems it is completely denied by the Church; as a solution to many particular problems and working within bounds of a recognized Christian ethic it is not only acceptable but highly desirable. If freedom is the final goal of planning then,

> 'the freedom that enables private enterprise itself to plan must be preserved; but the freedom must be maintained that is essential to democratic decisions in which the people through their government, plan, for example, for public education and health, conservation of natural resources, fiscal and foreign policy, national defense, co-operation in international bodies, as well as control of monopolies and restraint of anti-social individuals and groups.'
> (Detroit Conf., Fed.Council of Churches USA, p.8)

In concluding our remarks on the structure of society, we recognize three factors elementary to the Protestant Christian position as they are gathered from the thinking which has come to us from the ecumenical fellowship. One,

> 'As a criterion of judgment upon the relative merits of economic arrangements and social structures, the law of love gives positive guidance, in terms of justice, even though it transcends the realities of all possible social structures.' (Oxford Reports p.97)

Two,

> 'The best, most equitable, and just social structure and economic system that may be devised could not continue in existence if the persons composing such a society were not possessed of those qualities of character which we accept as Christian.'
> (Pittsburgh Conf., Federal Council of Ch. USA, p.19)

And, three -

> 'Men are often disillusioned by finding that changes of particular systems do not bring unqualified good, but fresh evils. New temptations to greed and power arise even in systems more just than those they have replaced because sin is ever present in the human heart....The Christian faith leaves no room for such despair, being based on the fact that the Kingdom of God is firmly established in Christ and will come by God's act despite all human failure.'
> (Amsterdam Reports pp.74-75)

These three statements must be placed next to each other. If they are read together, a balance is reached. But there is still something missing which would be an actual guide for judgment and

action. This was attempted at Oxford, and Amsterdam. Even at Evanston, Dr.C.L.Patjin addressing The Assembly called on the Church not to speak just in negative tones, but to give positive help.[63] In looking back over this chapter, one may feel that it has been more negative than positive. We now place at the end of the chapter that positive element, the idea of the 'responsible society.'

> 'A responsible society is one where freedom is the freedom of men who acknowledge responsibility to justice and public order, and where those who hold public authority or economic power are responsible for its exercise to God and the people whose welfare is affected by it.'
> (Amsterdam reports p.77)

It is a principle which attempts to give positive guidance in terms of justice under the law of love. It does not presume to be the final principle, only an axiom designed to make final principles relevant. As Evanston pointed out, '"Responsible Society" is not an alternative social or political system, but a criterion by which we judge all existing social orders and at the same time a standard to guide us in the specific choices we have to make.' (Evanston Speaks, p.27) If, as we fear, too much emphasis has been placed on the first part of the sentence, where responsible society has been used for a criterion of judgment, we should be reminded

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63. C.P.Patjin, 'Ecumenical Social Thinking: Yesterday and Today,' made available through the World Council of Churches. 'We may be able to make a statement which serves the purpose(of making a truly relevant statement)if we succeed in speaking in positive and not in negative terms....The freedom, which is the key-word in the Amsterdam definition of a responsible society is no negative concept....(It is)a God-given opportunity for responsible action.'

that a most important and positive part is the second, that responsible society is 'a standard to guide us in the specific choices we have to make'. Social progress, in the last analysis, does not come by sweeping programs, but it comes in every moment in every decision made by every citizen and every organization and every part of society. It is at this point that Christian action becomes effective, and what the Church proclaims becomes relevant, for at last we are freed from utopian illusions about ideal social orders and social planning, and we are faced with actual decisions and choices. It is these choices which will determine the real future course of society.

CHAPTER V.

THE THEOLOGICAL BASIS FOR CHRISTIAN PRONOUNCEMENTS

'Our inability to prove quite forbids dogmatism. Our instinct for truth quite forbids scepticism.'
BLAISE PASCAL

'The Protestant principle cannot admit an absolute form of social ethics. But, on the other hand, it need not surrender its development to the state.... or to society.... Protestantism can and must have a social ethics determined by the experience of the kairos in the light of the Protestant principle.... Ethics out of kairos is ethics out of love, for love unites the ultimate criterion with the adaption to the concrete situation.' PAUL TILLICH 1

In the course of our study we have seen that the pronouncements depend upon other than exclusively social and economic components. Looking closely, we perceive that questions of property, the structure of society, and general problems of economic life, while involving some special technical questions, rest eventually upon a theological basis. There is a theology beneath every ethical system. The ethical basis of a man's life reveals something of his attitude toward God, and the nature of his faith. In recognition of this, the Churches often have made efforts to outline a theology as an introduction to their social pronouncements. Following this lead, we shall survey some theological positions to analyze the theological assumptions which underlie a Christian ethic.

In addition to general references from the ecclesiastical pronouncements, we shall pay some attention to the writings of

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1. Paul Tillich, The Protestant Era, trans. James Luther Adams, (Chicago: The University Press, 1948). p. xxv.

some Church theologians. Reference to them will enable us to fill out the bare outline of theology sketched in the social statements. The theologians themselves have often been given the responsibility of drafting the theological statements. Their own works, therefore, help to illuminate what has become the Church's more or less official affirmation.

There are three general positions which we have classified by these titles: the ethics of law, the ethics of transcendence, and the ethics of approximation. In the second, the ethics of transcendence, we will make no specific reference to any Church pronouncements. We have included it in our discussion because it is representative of one trend of thought in the Church; and it has been the reason in at least one instance, in German Lutheranism, why there have been so few Lutheran Church social pronouncements. In the other branch of the school, with the followers of Karl Barth, we detect an attitude which, if accepted by the majority of the Church, might indicate that pronouncements really have little value. We must allow this school a chance to present its claims for a Christian ethic in order to come to grips with what they are saying.

1. The Roman Catholic Doctrine of Natural Law: Since Leo XIII. established in the encyclical Aeterni Patris the authority of the teaching of St. Thomas Aquinas for the Roman Church, we must ask what St. Thomas said about natural law.

> 'Therefore, since all things subject to divine providence are ruled and measured by eternal law, as was stated above, it is evident that all things partake in some way in the eternal law, in so far as, namely, from its being imprinted on them, they derive their respective inclinations to their proper acts and ends. Now among all others, the rational creature is subject to divine providence, by being provident both for itself and for others. Therefore it has a share of the eternal reason, whereby it has a natural inclination to its proper act and end; and this participation of the eternal law in the rational creature is called the natural law.' (Sum.Theol. Q.91,Art.2) 2

It is by the light of natural reason that we participate in this law.

> '(The individual) has intellect and reason, and hence is able to perceive the different ways in which a certain thing is good or evil in relation to various persons, times and places. Therefore the rational creature alone is directed by God to its actions, not only in accord with what befits the species, but also in accord with what befits the individual.'
> (Sum.Contra Gentiles,Chapt.CXIII)

St. Thomas makes provision for the fact that in the fall, there is a certain corruption of man's nature. 'But in the state of corrupted nature man cannot fulfill all the divine commandments without healing grace.' (Sum.Theol. Q.109,Art.4)

Jacques Maritain, who is considered to be the outstanding exponent of the theology of St. Thomas, has described natural law in this manner:

> 'The only practical knowledge all men have naturally and infallibly in common is that we must do good and avoid evil. This is the preamble and the principle of natural law; it is not the law itself. Natural law is the ensemble of things to do and not to do which follow therefrom in necessary fashion, and from the simple fact that man is man, nothing else being

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2. The translations of St. Thomas are from The Basic Writings of Saint Thomas Aquinas, ed. Anton C. Pegis, (New York: Random House, 1944). 2 vols.

'taken into account.' 3

This is an unwritten law which human reason can discover and upon which 'human will must act in order to attune itself to the necessary ends of the human being.' 4

Troeltsch is quite right when he points to Thomism as the fusion of Stoicism and Aristotelianism, though he does not sufficiently emphasize that in the process, both of these elements have also been transformed. From the side of God there is the impartation of the law of reason, while from the side of man, reason striving for law becomes virtue. 5 There is a process of ascending and descending reason. Divine reason descends from eternal and divine law into natural law, and human reason ascends to goodness through obedience to natural law. St. Thomas has superimposed on these descending and ascending movements the action of grace, so that there is no interruption in this ascent and descent, because superimposed on the process is the descent of Divine grace, so that supernature breaks into nature; and superadded to reason, grace allows man to ascend from nature to supernature. Rickaby, using an illustration, writes that Eternal Law is the stencil and natural law is the copy. 6 Or he

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3. Jacques Maritain, The Rights of Man, (London: Geoffrey Bles, The Centenary Press, 1945), p.36. We must question whether Maritain does not in fact represent more of a blend between personalism and Thomism and whether, in the light of this, he is a true Thomist.
4. Ibid. p. 35.
5. Troeltsch, op.cit., Vol. I. p. 260ff.
6. Joseph Rickaby, Moral Philosophy, (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1918), p. 147.

uses yet another, better illustration which helps us to understand: '....the Natural Law is one with the Eternal Law.... The Eternal Law is as the sun in the heavens, the Natural Law is like the reflection in the sea. But it is one light.' 7

One of the great contributions on this subject is made by Troeltsch, who explains the difference between relative and absolute natural law. In Thomism, he shows that in fact the tension between these two concepts, one applying to 'original nature' and the other to 'fallen nature',is lost. No longer does one find the two levels of law but the absolute natural law disappears and in its place appears only the one natural law of the fallen state of man and nature. This is realized in the practice of the law by the interposition of the principle of synderesis. 'Synderesis is the name given to the group of primary moral principles which belong naturally to the human mind.' 8 These self-evident moral principles come to the mind by reasoning; they are not innate to man. There is, then, no evolution in ethics because these principles are primary to law, and when these are perceived the mind moves toward goodness. It is just at this point that conscience, which is the act of practical judgment in application of these principles of law, corrupts and leads individuals astray. For the medieval Church, Grace became the power which could close this gap between the clear conception of principles and the corrupt application of them. In this process, the true meaning of Free Grace was

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7. Ibid., p. 134.
8. Michael Cronin, The Science of Ethics, (Dublin: M.H. Gill & Son, Ltd., 1920), 2 Vols., Vol. I. p. 537.

corrupted by becoming allied to the power of the Church, because the Church became the channel of the operative power of the Divine Will, the instrument of Grace.

We are at this point now: that natural law is a reflection of Divine law; it is not the reflection of the absolute law of Nature. Therefore natural law has become absolutized into a static and pure law which if obeyed will lead man from nature to supernature. Yet because conscience or will is corrupt, while man may reason himself to law, yet in the application of the law he is led astray. Therefore, the Church becomes the agent of Grace which closes the gap caused by man's sinful will so that he may once again continue his ascent. Acts of penance, the sacraments, the ministries of the Church all become means by which the individual appropriates this Grace.

But then, a further development came which must be understood for a full comprehension of Roman Catholic Natural Law. During the post-Reformation period and the growth of the Jesuit Order, the power of the Church was broadened not only to assume the place of the conscience in guiding practical judgments but also to assume the place of synderesis which was discarded. From that time, the place of the spiritual adviser speaking in the name of the Church stands in the place of law for the individual. The law, which had hitherto been the bridge between man and God, is such no more, and therefore the relation between man and God, which St. Thomas was anxious to create, is broken; and from that time to this, it is only through the Church that the

ascent to supernature from nature is possible. Thus, it becomes the duty of the Church to define the content of natural law, a situation which would have caused St. Thomas to shudder. It is one thing to affirm that there is a natural law, and another to speak authoritatively as to its content. Leo XIII. must have realized this when he recalled the Church to St. Thomas, but he himself was too involved in what the process had been in the Church to free himself from it. Therefore, in his encyclicals, we find a more detailed account of the content of natural law in the social and political sphere than in the letters of any previous Pope.

We must not be too quick to condemn Leo on this account. We must be willing to recognize that as he drew the Church back to the authority of St. Thomas, to a purer teaching, certain errors had crept into the Church which needed correction. There had grown up in the Church the doctrine of probabilism, which, however, Leo did not revoke. This doctrine states that '<u>a law binds not till it is promulgated</u>.' 9 Therefore, what is not explicitly forbidden by law is permissible. Such a doctrine, allowing for more than one authority possible to be chosen by spiritual advisers, meant an incompleteness of authoritative interpretation of natural law by the Church, and that any opinion fraught with probability might be left in doubt. Leo XIII., while accepting this doctrine, at the same time must have seen that it needed to be corrected by more authoritative statements

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9. Rickaby, <u>op. cit.</u>, p. 156.

on the part of the Church. Thus while his encyclicals do not have the status of law, they do have an authority which binds the Church to certain interpretations of natural law, so that some positive assertion has been made which binds men, in certain areas of social and economic life. It is still true that what is not explicit does not bind. Again, the advice of a spiritual counselor gives direction in the face of uncertainty. Tillich, commenting on Roman Catholic Moral Law, states that 'heteronomy and probabilism destroy the autonomous, self-assured conscience.' 10

This lengthy and rather involved discussion has been necessary so that full understanding might be reached before proceeding to any critical analysis. We might attend to one doctrine which is to be found throughout this whole development from the time of St. Thomas, that is the doctrine of the authority of the Church. What started with St. Thomas and his predecessors, eventually led to the doctrine of Papal Infallibility. St. Thomas realized the danger of a completely heteronomous system and envisaged a theonomous authority in the Church, built upon the mystical interpenetration of Grace. But in fact the Church, at a time when her temporal strength and power were at their lowest, boldly asserted a doctrine which gave her full authority in the spiritual sphere. It is unfortunate that the Church could not be content with re-asserting her spiritual authority, but almost in compensation for loss of authority in

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10. Tillich, Protestant Era, op. cit., p. 141.

other spheres of life she claimed to be the final authority on earthly matters. And today, her doctrine of natural law rests more upon the power of the Church than it does upon the reason of the individual. And so, while official Roman Catholic doctrine asserts the supremacy of reason, actually there is placed above this reason the power and the will of the Roman Catholic Church. Rationalism has descended to volitionalism, and in this process law becomes probabilism, and authority heteronomy.

A process of progressive deterioration has been shown. Troeltsch pointed out the deterioration in the development from the early Church to the medieval Church, of the concept of natural law. The tension between the absolute and the relative having been lost, the absolute was then swallowed by the relative, whence the end of the present process could be seen from the beginning as the enthronement of the relative over the absolute. St. Thomas, in attempting to overcome a philosophical difficulty, regarded natural law as the link in the 'relation of the necessary to the contingent',[11] or of the divine to the human.

Almost all of the criticisms of natural law declare that its dependence upon reason does not take into account the fact that reason is corrupted by the fall. Therefore reason is unable to apprehend the content of this law. St. Thomas, in considering this point, admitted that man needs grace in order to fulfill the divine commandments but not in order to overcome the weakness or aberration of reason itself. Almost to correct what he had

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11. Joseph Dalby, The Catholic Conception of the Law of Nature, (London: S.P.C.K., n.d. (1943?), p.38.

overlooked, he suspended natural law lower into the order of man than had the early Church, so that man could more readily grasp the content of the law. 12 This was the effect of his neglect of any concept of absolute natural law, and of making relative natural law absolute. It was an implicit admission that reason could not aspire high enough, and so the law, the reflection of divine law, must be brought closer to the human reason.

Not only does St. Thomas have a false optimism with regard to the power of reason, but he also lacks, in the final analysis, a truly Christian concept of revelation. Under the influence of Aristotle, he regarded revelation as the means by which certain supernatural truths, not within the reach of reason, are made accessible. And when he says, gratia non tollit sed perficit naturam, he overcomes the gap which he felt existed between nature and supernature. So revelation becomes a supplement to the insufficiency of reason, and not the way in which a personal God confronts men in a vitally personal way. Revelation does not lead to perfection, but to forgiveness: revelation is not knowledge, but it is confrontation. And God does not confront us with the insufficiency of our reason but with the sin inherent in reason, in ourselves. St. Thomas, then, has made a false antithesis between nature and supernature, or between reason and

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12. Cf.

'Mortals that would follow me,
Love virtue; she alone is free,
She can teach ye how to climb
Higher than the sphery chime:
Or, if Virtue feeble were,
Heaven itself would stoop to her.'

Milton, 'Comus'

grace, for the true gap is between grace and sin. Revelation comes to sin and not to reason, breaking through to us where we cannot possibly break through to God. This is not intellectual or rational: it is an encounter which becomes intelligible because God is in Christ Jesus. The final religious or theological criticism of St. Thomas is, then, an attack upon his doctrines of revelation, of grace, and of sin.

Any system which takes natural law seriously must come to grips with the question of how one participates in this law. Corruption on one hand leads to the bland assertion that all positive law is natural law (e.g. Nazism); or corruption, in another direction, leads to the conclusion that there is no divine or natural basis for positive law, and this is positivism. The former position, the converting of positive law into natural law, has occurred in the Roman Catholic Church. She has accepted the idea of property common to one period of history, namely the feudal agricultural Middle Ages, and has stressed it as the absolute standard for all times and places. St. Thomas even accepted the institution of slavery. 'Here surely is a case of a very clear thinker being conditioned disastrously by the social structure of the society around him.' 13 The content of natural law, then, is conditioned not by reason but by our own prejudices and presuppositions, tendencies from which we cannot completely free ourselves.

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13. Dalby, op. cit., p. 45.

We have an example of this in an event narrated in the Old Testament. After the People entered into their land they were ruled over by judges. The law itself was the supreme power which symbolized a vital relationship between the People and their God. And then the People clamored for a king to be placed between them and the law, to remove God from such close scrutiny of their affairs. God gave them a king, and the king became an obstruction to this free,flowing covenant relationship when the People turned to the king for law, and he turned his back on God. The king gave them laws, at first in the name of God and later in his own name, but he was careful always to suggest that his will was God's will. There is a direct parallel between this Old Testament history and the evolution of law within the Church of Rome in the last centuries. The Church has become an obstruction, so that when she speaks on matters of faith and morals, it is assumed that God has spoken; and when the people want to speak to God, they speak through the Church. The ultimate corruption of natural law has taken place not only in heteronomy and probabilism, but also in relativism and ecclesiolatry.

2. Protestant Natural Law Theories: Natural law theories have laid upon men the necessity to recognize the demand for justice in social life. In some Christian circles it has been denied that the absolute commandment of love has any relation to the decisions which must be made in the fabric of modern, organized life. Love may operate between two people but not within the compound structures of social institutions. Justice and

love are cut off completely from each other so that justice is regarded as being merely obedience to laws of the State. But justice operates beyond these positive laws. It was the greatness of the Roman Catholic Church and thinkers in early Protestant Social Christianity that they were not content with this denial of the place of justice, both in relation to the absolute commandment of love and to the decisions made in the social matrix. The Lambeth Conferences, as they felt the pressure of social concern, turned to implicit doctrines of natural law upon which to ground their social position. This was true also of most of the social creeds which were inspired by the Social Gospel. It is not always possible to find explicit theological bases for these early statements because it was not always assumed that there was a theological basis at all. There were some rather abstract principles, such as those of the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man, the virtue of service and cooperation. It is reported that the American delegation came to Stockholm with a full program outlining the demands of social justice. C.O.P.E.C., a massive study conference, was able to range broadly over a wide area and to suggest Christian answers to particular problems. The basis for C.O.P.E.C. really duplicates a Protestant natural law statement:

> 'The basis of this conference is the conviction that the Christian faith, rightly interpreted and consistently followed, gives the vision and the power essential for solving the problems of to-day, that the social ethics of Christianity have been greatly neglected by Christians with disastrous consequences to the individual and to society, and that this is of the first importance that these should be given a clearer

> 'and more persistent emphasis. In the teaching and work of Jesus Christ there are certain fundamental principles - such as the universal Fatherhood of God with its corollary that mankind is God's family, and the law "that whosoever loseth his life, findeth it"- which, if accepted, not only condemn much in the present organisation of society, but show the way of regeneration. Christianity has proved itself to possess also a motive power for the transformation of the individual, without which no change of policy or method can succeed. In the light of its principles the constitution of society, the conduct of industry, the upbringing of children, national and international politics, the personal relations of men and women, in fact all human relationships, must be tested. It is hoped that through this Conference the Church may win a fuller understanding of its Gospel, and hearing a clearer call to practical action may find courage to obey.' 14

In opening C.O.P.E.C., the Bishop of Manchester said, 'The fundamental aim of this Conference is that we may receive a new realization of God, especially in relation to those phases of life ffom which any direct reference to God has usually of late been excluded.' 15

It is true that some of these groups would not necessarily claim to stand in the natural law school, but they affirm the place of law by assurance that there is a moral order, a term much preferred in Protestant circles to the term natural order, and they would say further that certain principles are known about this order. The third step would be the application of these principles to actual situations with the force of law. Thus, after World War I, Churches could say that all Christians must support the League of Nations, or some economic scheme or social strategy. Religious and moral sanction was claimed for particular schemes. At times it is hard to determine when the

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14. The Proceedings of C.O.P.E.C., op.cit., p. xi.
15. Ibid., p. 1.

affirmation of moral order does or does not break into pure legalism as it did in the temperance movement.. What is just or right or proper becomes in practice dangerously close to obedience to the love commandment, so that love becomes law. The ethic of the Social Gospel was one of clearly defined ends, where the new law replaces the Gospel. Knowledge of what Christ commands is put before the relationship and confrontation of Christ Himself. The tension between relative and absolute, between justice and love, is blurred by over-enthusiasm to answer the difficult problems which face all mankind.

In defence of the Social Gospel movement, it must be recalled that many individuals were able to keep this tension, as did for example that great giant of the movement, Walter Rauschenbusch. He knew very well that justice and love were easily merged to the ruination of both, that what resulted was sentimentality in the place of justice and law in the place of love. He also recognized the corruption of the mind and will by sin. He did not accept a doctrine of automatic progress in history. His weakness was that if he saw the danger of merging love and justice to the detriment of both, he also gave love a greater power to transform society than it could possibly have had, considering the corruption of human sin. In placing too much emphasis upon the social character of sin, an emphasis that was needed to some extent, Rauschenbusch often neglected the deeply indwelling individual character of sin which may pervert reason to the ends of the will, and conscience to desire. It becomes

impossible to apply categorical 'Christian principles' to particular problems because it is unlikely that the will can follow those principles.

In Protestantism, the acceptance of natural law really can be traced to Calvin, for whom natural law is identical with moral law 'as the norm to which all social and individual behavior must conform and which rest, in the last resort, on the will of God, as revealed to man's reason and conscience.' 16 Calvin, writing in the Institutes of the Christian Religion, states his position explicitly.

> '....as man is naturally a creature inclined to society, he has also by nature an instinctive propensity to cherish and preserve that society; and therefore we perceive in the minds of all men general impressions of civil probity and order. Hence it is that not a person can be found who does not understand that all associations of men ought to be governed by laws, or who does not conceive in his mind the principles of those laws.... Yet it is certainly true that some seeds of political order are sown in the minds of all. And this is a powerful argument, that in the constitution of this life no man is destitute of the light of reason.'
> (Inst.,Book II, Chapt. II, 13.)

Such a strong statement as this must be set into the context of Calvin's other writings, for example in his exposition of moral law:

> 'But man, involved as he is in a cloud of errors, scarcely obtains from this law of nature the smallest idea of what worship is accepted by God; but it is certainly at an immense distance from a right understanding of it. Besides, he is so elated with arrogance and ambition, and so blinded with self-love, that he cannot yet take a view of himself, and as it were retire within, that he may learn to submit and humble himself, and to confess his misery. Since it was necessary, therefore,

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16. Christopher Dawson, The Judgment of the Nations,(New York: Sheed and Ward, 1942), pp. 51-52.

> 'both for dulness and obstinacy, the Lord gave us a written law; to declare with greater certainty what in the law of nature was too obscure, and by arousing our indolence, to make a deeper impression on our understanding and memory.'
> (Inst.,Book II, Chapt. VIII, 1.)

Further study of his works would show that Calvin believes that saving knowledge comes only through Jesus Christ. Thus there is no possibility of an ascent from nature to supernature through adherence to moral law.

Emil Brunner, the modern Protestant exponent of natural law in the adoption of the concept of 'orders of creation', maintains that God does not completely withdraw Himself from His creation. Indeed, God has established orders which are basic to nature or creation. Brunner found in these orders the order of marriage, for example, an ordinance established before the fall, in the creation of man and woman. He has gone further and found there the institution of monogamous marriage. Barth has criticised this whole position, and the order of marriage in particular, by asserting that what God created was not marriage but sex differentiation where man and woman live in a relationship, an analogia relationis, corresponding to the I and Thou in God. 17 When Barth thus criticises the substance of the 'orders of creation', as when the substance of natural law is rejected, he is on solid ground. It may be that he went too far in an outright rejection of natural law. For Brunner, in protecting his concept of natural law, did not believe that all men could perceive the 'orders of

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17. Otto Weber, Karl Barth's Church Dogmatics, op.cit.,pp.125-126. Cf. also p. 220. There Barth says that monogamous marriage is not a command but a gift.

creation' because in man the *justitia originalis* is destroyed. 'Only the Christian, i.e. the man who stands within the revelation in Christ, has the true knowledge of God.' 18 Without entering further into this controversy, we may assert that Barth is wrong not to recognize more fully the claims of the doctrine of natural law or moral order. Brunner is wrong in trying to establish what is the content of the law, or of the orders of creation. 19

3. 'Christian Sociology' and Natural Law: This position, which has been represented by the 'Christendom' group, whose essays were the basis for discussion at *Malvern*, comes between the distinctively Roman Catholic and the peculiarly Protestant positions with regard to natural law. They stated their position through Canon V.A. Demant and Miss Ruth Kenyon in the early days of the Life and Work Study Committees. A statement made by them to the Conference of Christian Social Workers, London, 1930, was preceded, in a report on Christian Sociology, by several questions which asked whether or not the idea of Christian Sociology 'as implying the progressive ordering of industrial and social life in accordance with Christian principles' (20) would be useful,

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18. Emil Brunner and Karl Barth, *Natural Theology*, trans. Peter Fraenkel, intro. John Baillie, (London: Geoffrey Bles: The Centenary Press, 1946), p. 27. Cf. Reinhold Niebuhr, *The Nature and Destiny of Man*, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1945), Vol.II, p. 64 n: 'In this debate Brunner seems to me to be right and Barth wrong; but Barth seems to win the debate because Brunner accepts too many of Barth's presuppositions....Barth is able to prove Brunner inconsistent, but that does not necessarily prove him to be wrong.'

19. In both *Justice and the Social Order* (London: Lutterworth Press, 1949) and *Christianity and Civilisation*, (London: Nisbet & Co.,Ltd., 1948,1949) 2 Vols., Brunner works out a developed social order from the basis of the 'orders of creation'.

20. *Ecumenical Documents on Church and Society*, *op.cit.*, p. 22.

and whether the concept of natural law would not be helpful in this attempt:

> 'In what follows we have given main prominence to the question of Capital and to the Capitalist system, because it is upon the handling, and use of, and distribution of Capital that the existing social order is based; and if a right attitude towards Capital could be determined right action would follow over the whole field of industrial and social concerns.
> 'Further, in our opinion, the Christian virtues such as love, brotherhood, and service could be far more effectively implemented upon the basis of the theory of justice as treated in Natural Law.
> .....
> 'The main principles are-
> 'The spiritual value of all material things, and supremely the value of human personality: self-sacrifice: work as service: the ownership of property as stewardship: and brotherhood.
> 'These principles are implicit in God's purpose for the world interpreted to Man in Natural Law and are more clearly made evident to Christians by the Incarnation, and by the example, teaching, and work of Jesus Christ, in whom the wider justice which is foreshadowed in Natural Law finds its perfect fulfilment.
> 'Viewed in light of Natural Law and, supremely, of the Law of God in Christ the present social order - in which is included a particular economic and financial policy - stands condemned as godless, and as militating against true progress. Any system which runs contrary to the will of God is ultimately self-destructive, for only that which conforms to His will can be rational and can contain enduring life....' 21

Canon Demant in another place speaks of 'Christendom' as an historic possibility built around 'a strong nucleus of people who are learning through the ministry of saving grace what the Kingdom of God means.' 22 Not all members of Christendom will be Christian but all will have an awareness of a natural order of society. This society will be not the redeemed society, for

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21. Ibid., p. 23.
22. V.A. Demant, 'The Idea of a Natural Order', Prospect for Christendom, ed. Maurice B. Reckitt, (London: Faber & Faber, Ltd., 1946), p. 27.

Salvation can come only by Grace. But this society, because it follows a natural ordering according to the will of God, will be more susceptible to the working of Divine Grace. This means that the individual may be in a better position to respond to the commandments of God. Society has its place in creation, and when it conforms to its true position within the ordered and redeemed creation, men and nature will enter into harmony and unity. Christ, entering the world to take on flesh, entered both into Nature and into Society. The world is saved through the Incarnation and so the sociology which expresses the aims for the proper ordering of society and of nature, becomes a Christian sociology. The structure of this society will not last for all time, as it is natural to seek change. 'The phrase "towards a Christian Society" means, therefore, "towards a society" where the problems which call for the exercise of human effort are predominantly the problems that inhere in man's essentially spiritual nature.' 23 Thus this society is a place where men may move toward a more natural life. It is not fixed natural law, but based upon a dynamic concept of nature by which all social structures are measured.

One feels that so far the 'Christendom' group has has a rather negative concept of natural law, that is 'if we look at the historical expressions of the Natural Law we see them as formulations or embodiments of custom, dealing with certain problems which arise out of frequent violations of it.' 24

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23. V.A. Demant, God Man and Society,(London:SCM Press,1933),pp.48-49.
24. V.A. Demant, Theology of Society,(London:Faber & Faber,1947) p.83.

They are better able to describe what is not natural, than what is natural. In this, they are honest because then they have not forced anything into the natural law theory either arbitrarily or artificially (unnaturally).

The main criticism of the position of the 'Christendom' group is, it would seem, that in their natural law theory, instead of arriving at definitions by the extension of reason, they look at 'nature' itself, to define what is 'natural', what is 'unnatural'. Following 17th and 18th Century views on natural law, their thinking is more vitalistic and romantic than Stoic. In falling back to observation of primordial nature, they have not preserved the breadth of the Stoic view of nature, the cosmos inhabited by Eternal Reason. Even in Roman Catholic rationalism, something of the sufficiency of the Stoic Reason is lost. Thus, the school of Christian Sociology, in looking at nature, recognize that men live unnatural lives in a technical industrial order that has dug into the very stuff of life, and defaced the earth and covered the green acres with unsightly factories.

Incarnational theology saves this position from being completely identified with 'naturalistic' law theories. In taking flesh to Himself, Christ has entered nature, and nature is hallowed. Therefore, to abuse the natural resources of the earth is to sin against the Incarnation. The 'Christendom' group should receive great credit, more than any other group within the Church, for their protest against the absolute waste of the goods of the earth, and the disfigurement of nature. One may feel at the

same time that they overstated their case. Surely God has redeemed fallen nature as He has redeemed fallen man; but even as man yet lives in sin, so nature still participates in the fallen state. Therefore, as Whitehead observed, 'the "voice of nature" is a faint echo when we are dealing with it.' 25 We may look at man's use of the earth and condemn it as unnatural. That is possible. But nature has not revealed to us what the true order of society is.

Sociology itself is such a broad science that one wonders about the use of the term in itself. It is a necessary discipline, because by observation certain social and human factors are better understood when subjected to the processes of description, classification, and experimentation. It is, however, the most inexact of the sciences and it only serves its true purpose when this is realized, especially in a day when even the physical sciences, which are relatively 'exact', have abandoned the word law in favor of hypothesis. Too many elements combine to make sociology more than a continuing study of the function, form, and evolution of social groups, more than an identification of problems, with some indications of partial solutions. Whether we speak from either sociology or natural law, no statements can be final; they can only be relative descriptions and judgments allowing for only the most general prognosis. We do not thereby depreciate the need for sociological discipline and study: we point only to its relative value.

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25. Alfred North Whitehead, Adventures of Ideas, (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1933), p. 80.

To speak of a Christian sociology would seem to indicate that Christians differ in their method from other sociologists. It would be almost as absurd to speak of Christian chemistry or Christian economics. Christians have no special revelations in these fields. Christians, in studying sociology, are given one big advantage - the realization that any good which has been achieved is not the absolute good of the Kingdom of God. But the term Christian Sociology claims more than it ought. To press for a Christian Sociology or for 'Christendom' may lead to dangerous disillusionment not only with regard to social schemes but also with regard to the Christian faith upon which such schemes are to be grounded.

The 'Christendom' group is to be commended for its essentially optimistic outlook. Its members have perceived a certain note of pessimism and despair in the thinking of other Christians about social questions, and they have brought into the midst of 'gloomy' thinking the note of hope which is characteristic of the Christian Gospel. They have based their hope in the Incarnation of Christ who has made all things subject to Himself. From a theological perspective they have tended to place too much emphasis on the present realization of the Kingdom of Christ, thus vitiating the hope which all Christians have in the future fulfillment which comes in Christ Jesus. But gratitude is due this group also for their contribution to much of the social thinking of the Church. They have been pioneers. When William Temple depended upon them at Malvern, tribute was paid to the most

elementary spade work they have done in their search for a Christian ethic for society.

4. Natural law - a summary: Let us draw together our conclusions about natural law.

a. There is moral order in the universe to which the concept of natural law points. God does not withdraw Himself from His creation: He has established order in it. The term 'natural law' itself is not a good term because the very words 'nature' and 'law' lead to confusion and misconceptions. 'Nature' in its Stoic use as 'Universal Reason', or in its more naturalistic use as bare nature, or even in its romantic setting of beauteous elementalism and vitalism, limits the perception of order too narrowly in the great cosmos and in the personal soul of man. 26 'Law' as such is limited because the broad lines of order are narrowed down by it to legalism, and the lines between positive law and absolute divine law are hardened.

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26. This confusion is to be found as well in Roman Catholic concepts of natural law. We did not touch on this matter because it comes out more clearly in other Roman positions not as close to our subject. Yet it is a part of modern Roman doctrine, for example on questions related to sex and more particularly to birth control. Birth control is forbidden not because it is irrational but because it is contrary to nature, per se. In this instance law is tied to fate and mechanistic determination. Cf. Joseph Fletcher, Morals and Medicine, (Princeton,N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1954),p. 95. He shows statistically that over the child-bearing years of a woman there are more infertile than fertile periods, and so it would appear that nature's purpose contrives intercourse more than conception. He shows how this is just a reductio ad absurdum.p. 94: 'The irony is that Catholic moralists have themselves fallen into the trap by trying to set up standards of right and wrong in life, health, and death, with what happens in biology or physiology as the true and right thing ethically, regardless of human freedom and aspiration. This is the final vulgarization of a classical principle. It is a form of Ruskin's pathetic fallacy, attributing will, if not feeling to sub-personal phenomena.'

'Orders of creation' is hardly acceptable, though the term carries more appeal than some others, and is supported by use in Christian tradition. Whatever phrase we use - moral order, natural order, natural law, or orders of creation, we realize that they all point beyond their purely semantic limitations to some order in the universe which comes from God the Creator and Redeemer. This law was established not in the original creation but in a fallen creation wherein we behold God the Redeemer who sustains what He has created.

b. There is no universal knowledge of what this order or law is. Yet there is a wide-spread recognition of law and order. Almost every culture falls back upon law. Paul speaks of a law written even on the hearts of the Gentiles. John Baillie has proposed a symbol to explain this, the Noachic Covenant. No man knows God, but only those to whom He chooses to reveal Himself. In the Fall, the covenant made with Adam on behalf of all men in all times was broken. A new covenant, a new revelation was given to Noah, the representative man in the fallen world. In this revelation God was revealed to all men for all times and a covenant was made. Even following the fall of the Tower of Babel, after the perversion of the covenant which was symbolized by the erection of the Tower, God is still faithful, he will never cut off all flesh again from before Him. So there remains in the subconscious reality of all humanity the perception of the order which is God's.

c. The revelation of God in Jesus Christ has created a new element, a new covenant, a new relationship which is personal, whereas order alone is de-personalized and mechanized. St. Thomas attested to this, saying that grace was superadded to reason, but in his view grace was intellectualized. Brunner, in his 'orders of creation', speaks of the new creation in Christ based on the mediatorial role of Christ in the Crucifixion and the Resurrection. The 'Christendom' group points to a vital element by emphasizing the doctrine of the Incarnation. While each of these attempts fails to express the whole truth of this matter, they point to the fact that indeed something is added by Christ who gives to the moral order cohesion in love. Where the Christian faith has been a vital factor in society, there has been a great awareness of order. Because God directs the order there is a constant reminder that neither the Church nor the State can assume on behalf of God this direction, ultimately or absolutely. The Revelation of God in Jesus Christ saves us from autonomy, and 17th and 18th Century natural law theories, and from heteronomy, and from Roman Catholic authoritarianism over rationality, and directs us towards theonomy. Thus in Christ, order and law are more firmly grounded in God the Creator and Redeemer.

d. Corrupt as man is, there remains in him some semblance of righteousness, of <u>justitia originalis</u>, whereby he is able to perceive some order and recognize some law. When the soul of man is turned towards God, His Image, the <u>Imago Dei</u>, is reflected

and mirrored in that man; but when the soul is turned away from God, the demonic is mirrored in a dark, broken and disjointed image. Turning to God, the soul reflects the glory of God and His order: turning from God, the soul reflects chaos and disorder. In Christ, then, our attention is turned away from darkness to light so that we recognize what is visible, that God has not withdrawn Himself from His creation. We see more clearly the reflection of God's glory reflected in His creation. We understand what once we did not comprehend, when we saw in a glass only darkly. By conversation, confrontation with God, man perceives what this order is; and so we cannot say whether it is by reason or by will or by an 'inner light', but that all of man's being responds to the order of God.

e. There is a gap not only in our obedience to the law; there is also a lacuna in our knowledge of it. By our personal effort to respond to this order, by our intelligence, by the cumulative experience of mankind, we have a dim awareness of the content of the law; but the moment that we say specifically that something is or is not according to natural law or moral order, we pass into a danger zone which is full of all kinds of hazards, where we may land in arrogance or despair, in idolatry or positivism, unless we return chastened and humbled in the knowledge that we have no right to codify the law of God and to define His order

The moment we define the character of the good order or of values in society we may be betrayed by our ethical striving and

may turn away from God, if we replace obedience to God by the creation of certain principles and values. 'The policy of adding law to law cannot solve the essential weakness of law as the disclosure of the divine purpose in history.' 27 All attempts to construct natural law are in danger of leading to idolatry by demanding of us ultimate allegiance and surrender when in fact our highest religious and ethical act is surrender to God. In the end all criticism of a fixed theory of natural law becomes more than a philosophical and ethical question: it becomes a religious question.

f. Because there is a moral order, both Christians and non-Christians may work together in the world to some common end for society, where some common axioms may be found in the pursuit of love. We are not completely cut off from moral guidance by the chasm which separates man from God. Since every principle or axiom is in danger of absolutizing itself, it must in the end come under the judgment of love, thus restoring in part the relative natural law which was to be found in the early Christian Church, but at the same time pointing beyond all law to God Himself.

B. The Ethics of Transcendence

Two schools belong to this category, one a further development of the other. Their position is essentially dualistic,

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27. Reinhold Niebuhr, The Nature and Destiny of Man, op.cit., Vol. II, p. 39.

separating and uniting the necessary and the contingent, not by law, but by faith. The first is the classical Lutheran ethic, and the second also may be classified by a man's name, that of Karl Barth, who is a Reformed theologian, yet in correcting and modifying Lutheranism, has adopted the principle of analogia fidei.

1. The ethics of dualism: Classical Lutheranism has been the foremost representative of this school within Christianity, following the lead of St. Paul and St. Augustine. Parallel to the division between the Kingdom of God and the Kingdom of the World, is the separation between love and law, and between grace and reason. There is a radical discontinuity between the two realms, and between these and other essential constituents. There is a breach between love and justice. Luther could not accept the attempts of St. Thomas to close this gap. He could not accept the authority of Rome, nor a doctrine of works, nor a penitential system where grace is appropriated in the ascent from nature to supernature. In place of these elements, Luther saw justification by faith alone/not to be only the basis for salvation but also the criterion for all moral action and ethical behavior. There are no principles or laws, no axioms to guide us. We are guided by faith alone or by the love which God pours out through us in sanctification. In loving our neighbor, we love God, although we are given no clue as to how we shall treat our neighbor justly. All we know of law is to be found in adherence to the Decalogue and in obedience to the State. When adherence to this

law was inspired by a spiritual power, then obedience to the law was merged into some kind of unity with Christian love. Luther realized the tension between love and law, and between grace and reason, but he was never able to close the gap. He was so fearful of any pretense to final answers that he was content to leave undisturbed this philosophical and theological dilemma. Niebuhr's exposition of the Lutheran position is well summed up by this paragraph:

> 'He places a perfectionist private ethic in juxtaposition to a realistic, not to say cynical official ethic. He demands that the state maintain order without too scrupulous a regard for justice; yet he asks suffering and nonresistant love of the individual without allowing him to participate in the claims and counter-claims which constitute the stuff of justice.'28

In actual practice, the strong pietistic strain in Luther's make-up emancipated him so that love moves from the realm of theological impossibility to that of real possibility for men of faith. This pietistic strain returned to Lutheranism in the 17th Century, after a long period of stultifying orthodoxy, and led Lutherans to great works of social service in the 19th and early 20th Centuries. From the standpoint of constructive theology, however, the demands of love give no concrete guidance in helping us to make daily decisions. The nerve of ethical action is cut and justice is relegated to a realm purely under the cognizance and control of the State.

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28. Ibid., pp. 194-195.

2. The ethics of analogy: Karl Barth, if one figure is to be named, did more than anyone else to free Lutheranism from the grip of a frozen ethic. In reaction to National Socialism, and Hitlerism, Barth saw clearly that all governments are under the ultimate Lordship of Christ and are therefore judged by Him. The two realms cannot be separated finally, because Christ reigns over all. Ultimate dualism is rejected by the Kingship of Christ. Thus when Barth resisted Nazism for the sake of the Resurrection, it was because the Resurrection shows that Christ is King: He is risen; and He reigns. Our final allegiance is not to law but to Jesus Christ. This is what he meant in his letter to Britain when he said 'all arguments based on Natural Law are Janus headed'29, because he saw that Hitler could call upon law to justify his actions. One principle cannot be used against another principle, nor one moral law set against another. We can only act under the direct command of Christ which comes to the man of faith in the moment of decision.

Since most of Barth's writings relevant to our discussion are in the political field, we shall have to discuss his positions in that area to illustrate his ethic. We have to make judgments at the same time upon his decisions, because an ethic has to be tried by the decisions made in the light of it.

> 'The Christian's decisions which have to be made in the political sphere have no idea, system, or programme to refer to but a direction and a line that must

29. Karl Barth, A Letter to Great Britain from Switzerland, (London: The Sheldon Press, 1941), p. 17.

> 'be recognized and adhered to in all circumstances. This line cannot be defined by appealing to the so-called "natural law"....the norm by which it (the Christian community) should be guided is anything but natural: it is the only norm which it can believe in and accept as a spiritual norm, and is derived from the clear law of its own faith, not from the obscure workings of a system outside itself: it is from knowledge of this norm that it will make its decisions in the political sphere.' 30

Standing under the command of Christ coming to faith, Barth resisted Nazism because he had to resist 'active anarchism' which existed by creating the delusion of order. Hitler's order was not order. This was the delusion of the devil where anarchy appears to be order; and this is the work of the anti-Christ. We are under the direct command of Christ to resist this evil, this perversion perpetuated by the fraud of human presumption on the divine; and when peace comes, then a new command will come to us from Christ.

What Barth pointed out was that Luther, in not closing the gap between love and law from above, from the standpoint of Almighty God, allowed the powers and principalities of this world to rush in and close it from below. Barth also, in standing against rigid moral laws and principles, sought to free men from their bondage to them. We are in constant conversation with our Lord who speaks to us in every time and in every situation. Barth received one command with regard to Nazism, and now with regard to communism he has another order. We are like men in an army who receive new orders, standing ready to obey promptly.

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30. Karl Barth, Against the Stream, (London: SCM Press,1954), pp. 27-29.

We must find how Christ proposes to exercise His Lordship over us in each moment.

Barth asks whether 'in obedience to God's commandment, man is not dependent, from moment to moment as it were, upon ever new individual revelations'. In reply, he states that there is a constant factor in God's commanding, however, where the vertical and the horizontal meet. The vertical can only be vertical because it intersects a horizontal and this 'horizontal is not to be recognized anywhere else than once again in God's Word'. The particular spheres and conditions along the horizontal, that is the actual happenings in the world, 'become "visible" in the encounter between God and man'. The commandment comes as grace to reveal to man his true condition. Thus, 'since ethics begins with God, even it begins with freedom'. 31 There is a tension between this freedom and continuity in Barth's ethics, which he seems to resolve in favor of freedom. That is, he separates God's command and his decision about the response to Nazism, on one hand, from his response to communism, on the other. He sees, quite properly, that a new and free decision must be made in response to a different world force. But in making a decision that is different with regard to communism, he has defied the casual observer to find any continuity between one action and the other. Reinhold Niebuhr, reviewing Against the Stream,

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31. The sentences above are a summary of Otto Weber's Karl Barth's Church Dogmatics, op.cit., pp. 206- 213.

reacts strongly to Barth's decision made in the assertion of freedom:

> 'In short these essays reveal political naiveté, posing in the guise of theological sophistication, together with a consequent incapacity to make any prudent or sensible political or moral judgments. The whole performance prompts revulsion against every pretension to derive detailed political judgments from ultimate theological propositions. When a man lacks ordinary common sense in reacting against evil, no theological sophistication will help him. He may even, as Barth, think that the distinction of moment for Christians is that the Nazi tried to corrupt Christianity while communism only tries to kill it.' 32

In making actual decisions, Barth drives men away from the position upon which he is trying to build. Barth has constructed a new casuistry which is based on freedom, where freedom becomes a principle, a general rule. There is no continuous attitude, for example, with regard to resistance against tyranny, whatever form it takes. God's commandments are sure; but to insist on the freedom of decision which rests upon ever new revelations is to replace continuity with anarchy.

J.H.Oldham sees how impossible this position is, that in fact to think that we exercise such complete freedom is an illusion.

> 'The assertion that the spring of Christian action is response to the call of the living God needs to be guarded against misunderstanding. There are those who conceive of the individual as standing in stark isolation in the presence of God listening to His command in the here and now and acting in obedience to it. Any attempt to seek shelter and refuge in a general principle or universal of any kind, they would maintain, would be an evasion of the responsibility of concrete decision. But the truth is that every concrete situation is shot through with laws, connections, meanings. The individual takes into it his past experience, the influences of the tradition in which he has been brought

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32. Reinhold Niebuhr, 'The Peril of Sophistication',(Book Review), Christianity and Society, Autumn 1954, Vol. 19, No. 3, p. 29.

> 'up and a conscience moulded by the ideas and standards of the society to which he belongs. He brings to his decision what he already is - his previous experiences, the lessons of faith he has already learned, the limitations which are the result of past slackness and failure; an insight deepened, a conscience made sensitive, by steeping of the mind in the profound truths of the Bible, or, on the other hand, a mind incapable by nature or by training or past neglect, of perceiving what God could reveal to one more sensitive to spiritual things. God is not bound by man's past, but neither does He act in disregard of it. A right decision is not the outcome of the moment when it is made but it is the fruit of many preceding acts of faith and obedience.... The Christian, whether he is fully aware of it or not, makes his decisions as a member of the Church. In making up his mind what conduct is required of him as a Christian the individual is guided by the tradition of the Christian community of which he is a member.... There is an element of immediacy and originality in all true Christian discipleship. But this is always combined with dependence on the wider experience and deeper insights of the Christian society.' (Italics mine) 33

In Barth's own decisions, although he feels himself free to make ethical decisions, really he is not. His decision about Nazism was conditioned by the fact that he lived under it. It may be that his decision about communism was made because he has not had to live under it. In another place Barth favors a kind of universal military training, maintaining that it is the civic responsibility of all,(although he does not mention whether women should be included). 34 Surely his experience as a Swiss lies behind that judgment. Also, Barth's socialist inclinations have led him to judge all other social and political systems from that perspective. Barth has fallen into twin errors in that

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33. Visser 't Hooft and J.H. Oldham, The Church and Its Function in Society, op.cit., pp. 246-247.
34. Weber, op.cit. (Dogmatics), p. 238.

freedom has been made a principle and that he seems to feel that he is truly free both from principles and from the factors which limit one's freedom in practice.

Barth is too great a theologian not to realize the inconsistency of his position and of its danger, and so he has proposed a principle of analogy by which we are guided more directly in our decisions. Between man and man, and man and God there is an analogia relationis, not an analogia entis as in Roman Catholicism. The 'I' and 'thou' relationship between men is the same as the 'I' and 'Thou' relationship in God. There is an analogia relationis between the Creator and the creature. But there is also an analogia fidei, which is essentially the same, whereby men in their obedience to Divine commands act in the analogy of the faith.

> 'The translation of the Kingdom of God into political terms demands Christian spiritual and prophetic knowledge on every side.... we are concerned to illuminate the analogical but extremely concrete relationship between the Christian gospel and certain political decisions and modes of behavior. The only more concrete way of discussing the relationship would be to refer to individual historical decisions.... the translations and transitions from one sphere to the other will always be open to discussion as far as the details are concerned....The more one studies the problems of translation from one sphere to the other, the more one will realize that it is not possible to deal with every problem in this way. But the clarity of the message of the Bible will guarantee that all the explications and applications of the Christian approach will move in one unswerving direction and one continuous line. What we were concerned to show was the possibility and the necessity of comparisons and analogies between the two spheres and of the decisions which have to be made in the transition from one to the other.' 35

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35. Karl Barth, Against the Stream, op. cit., pp. 42-43.

In our application of the Gospel we make an analogy to our situation in the world. An example is that Christ came to save the lost and so the Church must concentrate first on the lower and lowest levels of human society. The order of knowing is, then, based not on being but on grace, for it is through the analogia gratiae that the corresponding analogia fidei has reality.

Visser 't Hooft also follows this approach, as he showed in his book, The Kingship of Christ.

> 'The actions and decisions of the Church in the secular realm seek to express by analogy what the Church is and what it confesses. The incarnation finds its analogy in the concern with individual men; justification in concern with justice; the liberty of God's children in civil liberty; the ecumenical character of the Church in international understanding.' 36

Again, Visser 't Hooft writes that

> 'The Bible does not give a ready-made answer to the question, What is God's Will for us today ? But it does show us what road the army of the King has travelled and where it is going. Or to change the image: The Bible gives us the general image of the region in which we have to operate as soldiers of the King. But we do not know the precise place where He will use us at any given moment, unless He marks that spot Himself on the map. That is why the Biblical social ethic has no place for casuistry. But also why it has a place for serious study and reflection. We need all the help of our faculties of imagination, reason and observation in order to understand the structure of inner cohesion and purposefulness of God's design for ourselves and for the world and in order to find our own definite place in that plan.' 37

Thus a social ethic is only a 'prolongation of the Gospel itself'.

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36. A. Visser 't Hooft, The Kingship of Christ, (London: SCM Press, 1948), pp.99-100.
37. Ibid., p. 98.

All this is not without attractiveness and appeal. But there are at least two dangers in such a position. The first is that, if one sincerely believes that his position is an extension of the Gospel, then all kinds of pretensions may lead to an unbearable arrogance. One might be led to think that one can in fact find answers to all questions in the Gospel, which may lead to an assurance of complete truth, resulting in many cases, too, in fanaticism. Some of Barth's followers, indeed, have shown some arrogance in their use of this principle.

A second criticism is that the principle of analogy runs all the dangers of allegorical interpretation of Scripture; and Barth is consistent in his use of these two parallel principles. The consequence may be fantasy, because, as we know, analogy and allegory are often rejected as educational methods because they are subject to misuse. Often we are left with neither the Gospel nor the truth, but with an allegory, or with an analogy. While these two words represent different techniques, yet we see their parallel aberrations. In fact, one can draw almost any analogy or similarity to the Gospel that one wishes. In the struggle about abolition, for example, Scripture could be cited on both sides, as in the temperance controversy as well. The principle of analogy throws us back into the realm of proof texts and hurried searchings of the Scripture in order to rationalize a position. Emil Brunner, in reaction to this system of analogy, asks how, for example, we can derive a legal system from 'norms based on the message of the Cross'. 38

38. Emil Brunner, The Christian Doctrine of Creation and Redemption, trans. Olive Wyon, (London: Lutterworth Press, 1952), Vol. II, pp. 320-321.

We will have to reject this attempt at closing the gap between the transcendent command of Christ to love and the existent human strivings toward justice. The gap is not closed and we are not given any direction for actual decisions. We are still left with commands and with such direction as may be derived from 'ultimate theological propositions'.

Anyone who says that Barth is not concerned about ethics is quite wrong. Many of Barth's occasional writings have been greatly involved in such a concern, and his recent writings show an effort to close up the weakness which he must know exists. We are all at one with him in a desire to find an answer, but we are reminded by him that we cannot accept just any answer, and that any concept of law has this three-fold danger: that the law becomes an end in itself; that it removes us from direct relationship to our personal Creator and Redeemer God; and that systems and programs result which agitate against truly creative action. Barth has realized and brought to our attention the need for freedom in every decision, and yet he also knows that this would be chaotic were there not some direction that must be adhered to in every circumstance. We are under orders from our Lord Jesus Christ: thus Barth grounds his ethic in a strong optimism rooted in the Lordship of Christ over all principalities and powers, which sets us free from systems and laws and programs.

It is at this very point that Barth has regressed to Luther, for while he is personally concerned that we make decisions that will lead us to the greatest measure of social justice, yet we

have been set outside the particular claims of justice because we have no way to judge the conflicting claims but by the voice which calls to us from across the chasm. We hope that Barth will find some way to give us confidence that the voice we hear is not actually an echo of our own voice, lest all that we do, in the illusion that we are under Divine orders, really reflects our own social preconceptions.

Although we have not referred to any pronouncements that contain these views in particular, we should remember that at every ecumenical council they are represented. The discussion on the main theme at Evanston was very much related to this whole subject. When the most influential living theologian, Karl Barth, and the most influential churchman, Visser 't Hooft, hold such views, then we must know and understand what they are saying. Such positions are not without attraction, because they point to to factors which are essential to a Christian ethic; but if taken exclusively, they would eventually contradict the need for social teaching in the Church. Oldham stressed, above, the fact that Christian decision has an element not only of immediacy and originality, but it also depends on the wider experience of the Christian society. If the Church took over Barth's view, and followed it consistently, the need for social pronouncements would eventually be negated, and an important part of the Church's teaching function would be eliminated. Barth, by his constant reference, even today, to the Barmen Declaration, maintains by personal example that at least one pronouncement has validity, but it

would seem to contradict the element of immediacy for which he speaks so strongly. If he confirms the efficacy of the pronouncements by his support of one of them(39), then he must show a basis for making further ones; for he could not consistently claim that one pronouncement made twenty years ago could cover all future exigencies. We venture to assert that Barth's position, as we understand it, is a threat to the Church's teaching by pronouncement.

C. The Ethics of Approximation

There is a middle group which represents a via media between the ethics of law and the ethics of transcendence. We have called this the ethics of approximation. It does not attempt to resolve the tension between love and justice by law, nor does it allow a dualism where the tension is never resolved. This position has been the ethic which has been identified, more or less, with the official or majority opinion of the World Council of Churches. It dates back to Oxford, where it was described

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39. Barth has made this declaration into a kind of confession. In that moment the Confessing Church becomes a Confessional Church. The fifth thesis is here reproduced from Against the Stream, p. 50: 'The Bible tells us, that, in accordance with a divine ordinance, the State has the task of providing for law and peace in the world that still awaits redemption, in which the Church stands, according to the measure of human insight and human capacity, and upheld by the threat of human force. The Church acknowledges the benefaction of this divine ordinance with a thankful, reverent heart. It reminds men of God's Kingdom, God's commandment and justice, and thereby of the responsibility of governors and governed alike. It trusts and obeys the power of the Word by which God sustains all things.'

and defended. The ethics of approximation is best defined by referring to three representative thinkers in the Church who may be identified with this position, William Temple, J.H. Oldham, and Reinhold Niebuhr.

William Temple, in his opening address to the Malvern Conference, recognizes the place of sin on one hand but on the other hand tries to affirm the need to work out principles for the departments of life in proper relation to the natural order.[40] He feels that a new approach to natural law will hold in combination the two aspects of truth, the ideal and the practical. 'We tend to follow one or the other of two lines: either we start from a purely ideal conception, and then we bleat fatuously about Love; or else we start from the world as it is with the hope of remedying an abuse here and there, and then we have no general direction or criterion of progress.' [41] Rather than develop any theory of natural law, Temple proposes the use of a principle: 'The aim of a Christian social order is the fullest possible development of individual personality in the widest and deepest possible fellowship.' [42] Thus, while Temple is attracted to natural law, he settles for certain objectives and principles which become in fact 'subordinate maxims'. His concern for love and justice does not allow him to blur distinctions between the two, nor to assume that the natural order which is discerned, really approaches love. For example, he says that co-operation 'which is the essential nature of all industry and commerce is

40. Malvern, 1941, op. cit., pp. 9-15.
41. William Temple, Christianity and Social Order, (New York: Penguin Books, Inc., 1942), p. 60.
42. Ibid., p. 62

'not the same thing as that love of which the Gospel speaks'. 43 It could not be more than justice and there is little hope that man will be consistently just. 'Justice, in short, is the true form of love at this level of human activity, and the form will only become actual if the substance of love is present and active.'44 Concerning the necessity for compromise between ultimate principles and practices of the world, we must be led in our common practices to 'a closer approximation to that of the Kingdom of God'. 'The true Christian will judge all he does or attempts by the highest standards, and will pronounce sinful his best achievements, but he will not on that account commit the additional sin of injuring other people for the sake of a conscience which is sensitive about his own consistency but not about their sufferings.' 45 Law, Temple would feel, tends to become absolutized, and to demand loyalty of a kind which should be given only to God. Yet love demands of us not less than justice, so we are led 'to a closer approximation to that of the Kingdom of God'.

J.H. Oldham, as we pointed out in Chapter III, in preparation for the Oxford Conference advocated the use of 'middle axioms to bridge the ideal and the concrete. Yet Oldham reminds us that our primary concern is with faith and obedience, not with the knowledge of purposes or programs. The revelation

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43. Nils Ehrenstrom, et al., The Christian Faith and the Common Life, Oxford Series Vol. IV, (London: George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 1938), p.55.
44. Ibid., p. 55.
45. Ibid., p. 59.

we have is 'not truth concerning God but the living God Himself'.46 We stand directly under God's commands, which should assure independence and purity, and give us a focus beyond ourselves by which to criticize society and our own decisions.

Reinhold Niebuhr, who reveals the sinful pretensions of human reason to establish natural law, has often been represented as denying the efficacy of reason and of natural law. He is so aware of the character of human sin, that he declares there must be a radical critisism of all systems and principles and laws. The transcendence of the love commandment provides a perspective under which all of these are kept in their proper places. There can be no social ethic without 'the contribution of reason' but 'reason can do no more than synthesize the given forces of a human situation into some kind of harmony'. 47 Love is both the criterion for all judgment and also the law of life, but ultimately love ceases to be love if it is law, if it is obligation. Love presupposes a soul which is sinless, but because sin is a factor in all human existence, there comes the love commandment, 'Thou shalt love....' Yet no one lives by the law of love. 'The love commandment is not only an ultimate criterion of judgment upon all human actions which fall short of love. It is also a guide for the approximations of justice and love which make up the woof and warp of everyday existence.'48 Since 'men do have

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46. Visser 't Hooft and Oldham, Function of the Church, op.cit., pp.236-237. Oldham borrows this phrase from Temple.
47. Christian Faith and Common Life, op.cit., Ox.Ser., Vol.IV, pp.92-93.
48. Ibid., pp. 78-79.

'a residual capacity for justice', therefore in fulfillment of the requirements of justice there is always an approximation of love. The regulative principle which Niebuhr proposes, is the principle of equality, by which the partial achievements of justice are judged because 'a higher justice always means a more equal justice'. 49

> 'Equality may be the approximation in the realm of law of the principle of love. It is such an approximation because the principle of the equal affirmation of all life is closest to the ideal of sacrificial love, in which each life is subjected to the necessities of life as such. Yet equality is only an approximation of love. The ideal of love fulfils and transcends all law.' 50

We are shown in the process of being judged that we have not even met the demands and requirements of justice. In achieving such partial fulfillment of the requirements of justice, we only approximate the demands of love. That is not to say that in personal relations we may not pass beyond justice and approach the sacrificial character of love itself.

The relation between love and justice is a dialectical one. 'Love is both the fulfillment and the negation of all achievements of justice in history.' 51 Justice is not excluded from the domain of love as it is in Luther and Barth, nor does obedience to concrete social obligation become the manifestation of love as we see it in early Protestant pronouncements in the Social Gospel tradition.

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49. Ibid., p. 85.
50. Ibid., pp.94-95.
51. Reinhold Niebuhr, Nature and Destiny of Man, op.cit., Vol II, p. 256.

> 'The complex character of all historical conceptions of justice thus refutes both the relativists who see no possibility of finding valid principles of justice, and the rationalists and optimists who imagine it possible to arrive at completely valid principles, free of every taint of special interest and historical passion.' 52

Drawing all this together, Niebuhr sums up his stand:

> 'But to know both the law of love as the final standard and the law of self-love as a persistent force is to enable Christians to have a foundation for a pragmatic ethic in which power and self-interest are used, beguiled, harnessed and deflected for the ultimate end of establishing the highest and most inclusive possible community of justice and order.' 53

In this discussion of the relative positions of Temple, Oldham, and Niebuhr, we have desired to show some of the thinking of men who represent the ethic of approximation. These men probably played the largest part at Oxford in leading the ecumenical movement to an acceptance of this ethic (54), which is both relevant and transcendent. It takes into account the pervasiveness of sin and the autonomous power which social structures gather to themselves. Natural law is not repudiated completely, and the transcendent nature of God's will is ever taken into account. The ethics of approximation incorporates the acceptable features of the ethic of law and the ethic of transcendence, while weeding out inconsistent and weak elements. There is stressed the immediacy of God's command, which sets us free in creative acts of

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52. Ibid., p. 256.
53. Reinhold Niebuhr, 'Christian Faith and Social Action', Christian Faith and Social Action, ed. Hutchison, op.cit.,p.241.
54. For Oxford statement see pages 224-225 above in Chapt. IV.

justice, as well as the relevance of justice moving towards love in response to Divine command.

There is room for genuine difference of opinion about the wisdom and efficacy of using further principles and axioms than those already accepted in the concepts of justice and equality. The Oxford Conference suggested some 'guiding principles' which are even more specific than the general principles used up to this point.

> '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...(Italics) We suggest five such ends or standards....
> '(1) Right fellowship between man and man being a condition of man's fellowship with God....
> '(2) Regardless of race or class every child and youth must have opportunities of education suitable for the full development of his particular capacities....
> '(3) Persons disabled from economic activity, whether by sickness, infirmity or age, should not be economically penalized on account of their disability, but, on the contrary should be the subject of particular care....
> '(4) Labor has intrinsic worth and dignity, as being designed by God for man's welfare. The duty and the right of men to work should therefore alike be emphasized. In the industrial process labor should never be considered as a mere commodity....etc.
> '(5) The resources of the earth, such as the soil and mineral wealth, should be recognized as gifts of God to the whole human race, and used with due and balanced consideration for the needs of the present and future generations.' (Oxford Reports, pp. 115-117)

These principles have a wide range of applicability and would be helpful in most places over a long extension of time. They represent the explication of the meaning of justice; they are the proximate norms by which we are guided in making decisions.

There is another level of even more proximate guides which have been called 'middle axioms'. These axioms are only provisional descriptions of the kind of action that will be required of us, in the light of the principles, in a specific place and time. The Church of Scotland enunciated 'middle axioms' which they thought would make the Christian witness more relevant to wartime Britain. The Commission on God's Will for Church and Nation put forth one such axiom in 1942. It was a fairly general principle:

> '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 appropriate social organs.' (Italics)
> (God's Will for Church & Nation)(p. 62)

Then in 1944, an even more tentative axiom was proposed in support of a particular economic method:

> '....that the common interest demands a far greater measure of public control of capital resources and means of production than our tradition had in the past envisaged.' (Italics) (Ibid., p. 157)

There is one more step which may be taken as we move from general principles to concrete applications, from generality to contingency. That is the support of an actual program or scheme by the Church. For example, some of the American Churches, as long ago as 1944, supported the demand for labor of a Guaranteed Annual Wage. In the support of a specific demand, the Church acted on the principle that industry should be held responsible for the full employment and welfare of its workers; and behind this principle was another, that 'economic power must be made

'objectively responsible to the community as a whole'; and furthermore that economic power is responsible in its exercise not only to the people whose welfare is affected by it, but also to God. When the Church decided to support one scheme she derived this decision from a middle axiom, and in turn the middle axiom was based on a more general principle.

Even if one accepts the ethic of approximation, one must face the further question of how far one is willing to go, or willing for the Church to go in these three steps: 1) guiding principles, 2) middle axioms, and 3) support of particular programs. 'Christians must move from one to three or to some equivalent of three, but as they do so the degree of authority that can be claimed in the name of Christian ethics becomes weaker with each step.' 55 Every Christian must always be prepared to follow these steps, and it seems to us that what the Church expects of her members, she too must do. There are also different levels of action that will be taken at different levels in the Church. For example, we are of the opinion that the World Council of Churches should not propose middle axioms, except in unusual circumstances. The Council, in direct heritage from Oxford, and by action at Amsterdam on the Responsible Society, has given guiding principles which are most necessary and legitimate. But since the definition of middle axioms is narrowed down to a more specific time and place, it would be wiser in most

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55. Bennet, Christian Ethics and Social Policy, op.cit., p. 79.

cases if only Churches whose jurisdiction covers such specifications were to make that move. The Church of Scotland is in a particularly advantageous position, where the decisions made with regard to Scotland do not bind other Churches.. The 1944 statement calling for greater public control of capital resources and the means of production would not have applied to Russia at that time, nor would it necessarily be applicable to Britain at the present time, 1955. The decreasing degree of authority involved in the third step, in support of a program, means that greater reluctance must be exercised by the Church to do anything that might give to certain projects a religious sanction. We believe that the Church, after deep consideration of all the issues involved, must run this risk, and that the Church may be able to act at different levels. The World Council of Churches might support the United Nations, but it would not be wise for the Council to give its blessing to a Guaranteed Annual Wage, which is not yet an issue over a wide enough area. In defining the Responsible Society, a principle has been evolved that might cover the demand for such a wage policy in one country but perhaps not in another. National Churches and denominational bodies are better able to implement and apply the principles agreed upon at their own local and national levels. As a guide to action, denominational groups should attempt to act in co-operation with other Church bodies wherever possible, not only to bring greater pressure, but also to commit the Church, acting from a broader base, to principles, axioms, and programs.

Federations and councils of Churches serve as effective agencies to further and implement this co-operation.

Having committed ourselves to support these three steps taken by the Church, not only by pronouncement but also by action, we must consider the charges brought against this position by some critics who feel that when the Church moves to step number two, the promulgation of 'middle axioms', she is tying her hands with a casuistical system. Reinhold Niebuhr has warned of the dangers inherent in such action. He feels that certain traditions in the moral, social and economic field would be built up that it would be hard to cast aside. 'The Christian faith is most creative when this is done not formally by the mere preaching of precept, but by the force of a genuine piety which emancipates the self from narrower loyalties and at the same time makes it conscious of their persistence and force.' 56 Niebuhr feels that axioms would be hardened and the creative force of the spirit restricted. Against all attempts to construct a casuistry, the Church must balance primarily the judgment which comes from love on all human principles and programs, and secondarily, the creative force of the spirit which works through men in ways that they know not, to break through rigid stratification of laws, prejudices and predispositions. It may be just as necessary to run the risk of constructing such a casuistry in order to give to people, both within and without the Church, more direction than they have had in the past. It may be also that Niebuhr,

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56. Reinhold Niebuhr, 'The Christian Faith and the Economic Life of Liberal Society', Goals of Economic Life, ed. Ward, op.cit., p.450

having observed the implicit casuistry which has grown up in Lutheranism, has seen that the only effective force to break through such a structure is the earnest piety which emancipates the believer. But we feel that this 'genuine piety' has not been effective enough and that it is far better for the Church to take a conscious step and to build up a fragmentary casuistry which is flexible and which does not presume to answer all problems forever.

The case for casuistry has been argued most persuasively by one of Niebuhr's students, Edward L. Long, who shows that where there is no explicit casuistry there indeed appears to be a concealed one. 57 He points to the tragedy which follows from lack of direction when men are faced with compromises. The tragedy is often that we do not know we have been involved in compromise by adjusting ourselves to the demands of the world. We feel justified in taking a certain course of action, not realizing that we have fallen short of the radical demands of Christian love. If the Church actually compounds a developed casuistry, a word which Long tries to free from the connotations which have adhered to it from past misuse, then Christians will be guided in the compromises which they all have to make. Never being able to fulfill the total demands of justice and love, we are still called to perform a reasonable service. The Church will always keep before us the uncompromising claims of love.

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57. Edward LeRoy Long, Jr., Conscience and Compromise, An Approach to Protestant Casuistry,(Philadelphia: The Westminster Press,1954).

Long describes the case for casuistry in this way:

> 'Protestant casuistry in particular will tend to shy from detailed prescriptions, preferring to err on the side of flexibility and uncertainty rather than that of legalism and absurdity. Protestantism will never produce precise codes by which sin and virtue can be uncontentedly separated and degrees of penance be balanced against the relative seriousness of particular sins. But it can produce a basic set of understandings that makes the ethics of evangelical faith more than a hit-or-miss affair. It can develop a basic pattern for relating the norms of faith to concrete ethical decisions. Such a pattern is casuistry in the best sense of the term. No escape is possible from this process. Casuistry is like faith itself: even if one denies that he has it, he has the conviction of his denial. It is like a liturgy: if one rejects a formal type, he will find a substitute, perhaps no less rigid. Because of the ultimate character of its ethical norm, and also because of its genuine concern for the actual conditions of the world, Christian ethics will always be involved in casuistry in the broad moral sense. In reality (if not in name), casuistry is an inescapable part of the Christian life. Only through acknowledgement of this fact can we be sure of seeking to apply the norms of faith to problems that confront us in the world.' 58 (Italics mine)

The survey of the ecclesiastical pronouncements in the economic and industrial field has displayed such a pattern 'for relating the norms of faith to concrete ethical decisions', one which has evolved with additions made here and there until the teachingof the Christian Church has been given specific and yet flexible direction. Because of the response of the Church to ever new conditions, there has been no hard setting down of axioms. In the Church of Rome, where one Pope has been inflexible, his successor has brought the Church away from too measured an identification with rigid social structures. Even so, there

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58. Ibid., pp. 21-22.

is a fixity about the Roman position which rests upon a static conception of law and authority, which is overcome by the Protestant emphasis on the transcendence of the faith and the sin of man. Sin becomes a reason for subjecting the status quo to severe criticism and for supporting social policies which depart from old patterns. Love, the transcendent factor, remains to judge and temper all the judgments and policies that are made.

One purpose of this thesis has been to draw together a mass of Christian teaching so that Christians might find in one place a guide, a pattern for them and for the Church for present and future decisions. By looking beyond just one or two decisions and pronouncements, we gain a wider perspective and a clearer direction. We believe that the Church has been right to develop casuistical teaching in the economic and industrial field because she has therein a unique opportunity, not available to any other teaching institutions, to bring a perspective that points hopefully to some future for modern society. The Protestant Church has an understandable dislike for the use of the term casuistry, but that should not detract from her teaching. Christians, as never before, facing the complexities of modern industrial society, feeling so unable to extricate themselves long enough to stand above the mass as it were and gain perspective, need this kind of teaching that draws them up and allows them to take a breath, to see what the facts are, and then to return and to struggle with forces that will only be broken by the power of the Spirit working through men and the Church.

No where can we see, in the main body of the pronouncements, the kind of narrowness which Niebuhr fears, although it would always be well to keep in mind his warnings, because there are minority forces in the Church who would do anything either to withdraw the Church completely from involvement in social reform, thus tacitly supporting the status quo, or who would throw the Church's support wholly in favor of the status quo, giving religious sanction to it. Down to the present time, the Church has been able to keep a remarkably flexible approach, because she has lived through the kind of dialectical conversation which has not allowed her to fall on one side into an ethic of law or on the other into an ethic of transcendence. She lives in tension, knowing that everything she does must come from love and point to love, and yet be always subject to the perspective of love which judges and saves.

The Church must strengthen her teaching by showing how she has arrived at her principles and axioms, and by showing why she supports a certain program. The pronouncements often give a vague indication of the process involved, and of the basis for making decisions; but this vagueness detracts from the vitality and power of the total witness of the Church in society. Often the language is rather obscure theological jargon, or it is made up of slogans. Almost more important than the decisions reached, is this very process, because the Church cannot possibly hope to find principles and axioms to cover every situation. When the individual learns to think and evaluate and make decisions

in the light of his own reasoning under the teaching of the Church, he will make the kind of creative ethical decisions that transcend promulgations of pronouncements and the development of a casuistical pattern. A personal example illustrates what we mean. In studying physics, we were taught by the formula method. That is, we were taught what formulas would help us to solve certain kinds of problems. During an examination, there were always some problems which did not fall into any of the categories which we had identified previously, because some factors were altered which made complete identification impossible. We maintain that this was a poor teaching method. It would have been far better to be taught how to derive the formulas, and then when faced by a problem, no matter how good or bad our memory was, we could start with the problem itself and work to an answer. We are saying that the Church cannot depend upon the formulas she has created, that while these principles and axioms are essential, yet the Church must find ways to point beyond these to help individuals find solutions to their own problems. Even those for which there are no pat answers, or problems which may not be solved by formula. It is not enough to define the Responsible Society. The Church must help men to make responsible decisions in an irresponsible or only partially responsible society.

We would not have the Church try to anticipate every problem and provide an answer for each in her pronouncements, and we are satisfied that this has not been done; but part of the teaching process requires the kind of inductive thinking that wins through

to responsible decisions, sometimes following from genuine piety, sometimes from intuition, but more often from a calculated balancing of the demands and counter-demands of justice. Casuistry points to its own inadequacy because it admits that it must be set aside when the Church or the Christian answers the command of God in a moment of crisis. Even casuistry, when properly used, directs us back, or above itself, to the creative striving demanded from us by the claims of justice and love. In the time of decision we return face to face with Christ.

CHAPTER VI.

CHRISTIAN HOPE AND THE RESPONSIBLE CHURCH

- A CONCLUSION -

> 'The nearness of the Kingdom of Heaven, viewed both as promise and as menace, is the dominant sanction for righteousness.
> 'The dominant eschatological sanction is, however, a formal sanction only, secondary to, if closely related to, the essential sanction.
> 'The essential sanction for righteousness is the nature of God.'
>
> Amos Wilder [1]

What views do the pronouncements have with regard to the Kingdom of God? It may seem strange that a survey of ecclesiastical pronouncements in the economic and industrial field should end with eschatology, yet it is not inappropriate that the 'last things' should come at the end of a survey. In another sense, we are analyzing not the last things but the first. Visser't Hooft said, 'Tell me what your eschatology is and I will tell you what your attitude is in relation to Church, state and society.'[2] In our critical analysis, we peel away another layer as we approach the core, or heart of the matter, for if we once know something of the nature, the constitution, and the state of the Kingdom of God we may know more about the society in which we live, what should be its goals and the means of reaching them. To know what is a man's attitude toward 'last things' is to know what he thinks about 'present things'. When we turn to the pronouncements we find an abundance of material with numerous references to the Kingdom of God or the Kingdom of Heaven.

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1. Amos N.Wilder, Eschatology and Ethics in the Teaching of Jesus, (New York: Harper & Bros. Publishers, 1950). p.113.
2. Visser't Hooft, The Kingship of Christ, op.cit., p.57.

Where there are no explicit statements about the Kingdom, we may find indirect suggestions, as through ideas about the nature of the Church.

At the Stockholm conference there was an attempt to steer clear of the kind of theological argumentation that might divide the members. Even through this studious avoidance of theology and eschatology following the motto, that 'Doctrine divides, but service unites', the term Kingdom of God appears. Ethic follows Divine command, and in doing God's will on earth we are 'working for God's kingdom.' In another place, a call is given to enlist youth 'in the service of the Kingdom of God and humanity.' There is no explanation of what the Kingdom of God is. We are told that our hope lies in the Crucified and Risen Lord alone but we are not told what is His relation to this Kingdom. Stockholm had to start the way it did, otherwise the Life and Work Movement would have 'died-a-borning'. There is much truth in the motto that 'Doctrine divides, but service unites'; still in being driven together in service, in working for God's Kingdom, men soon enough entered a time when doctrine would become a common topic for discussion.

At the Ecumenical Study Conference on the Church and the Problem of Social Order, the continuation committee of the Life and Work Movement in preparation for Oxford, meeting at Rengsdorf 1933, the issue would no longer be avoided. The Conference wrote in conclusion: 'In the deliberations of our conference the great importance of certain fundamental dogmatic questions (doctrine of

man, sin, Scripture, reason and revelation, Kingdom of God) for the above mentioned problems has become evident.' (Ecumen.Doc. pp.44-45) They did not go further, but Oxford did.

Before turning to Oxford, let us review the Protestant Pronouncements prior to Stockholm to see more about the theological and eschatological background in Protestant Social Christianity. Roughly there were two main camps: European and Anglo-Saxon, the latter term referring to the English speaking Churches. Often British Churchmanship played a middle and mediating role between German theology and the American Social gospel thinking. But more often than not the British and the Americans entertained hopes, where, the emphasis was put upon present possession of the Kingdom in that Christ had already come, while Continental thinking pointed to a future realization of the Kingdom in the Second Coming of Christ. These are over-simplifications and do not do justice to the complexities and subtleties of the two positions and the variations in the different schools of experience and thought.

Where our study is centered more upon the Anglo-Saxon contributions to social thinking, it is in order to delve more deeply there. Any attempt to generalize may miss some of the finer distinctions, and tends to place all pronouncements in the same category. Yet, we often must think in generalities, and so having pointed to the dangers of such a method, we will consider a pattern of thought which is represented in general by most of the early Protestant pronouncements before Stockholm. In America, this thinking still persists in many quarters.

a. The Kingdom of God will be realized in this world. As late as 1950, the Chairman of the Federal Council of Churches Conference on the Church and Economic Life held at Detroit could say: 'Because we are followers of the Christ, we are determined to join forces in an effort to do everything within our power to really bring His Kingdom to pass on earth.' (Detroit Reports, p.iv.)

b. Tied in with the coming of the Kingdom, is its realization by fulfillment of the law of love, moral effort, the power of man, or in some places by education. One part of Our Lord's Prayer was referred to continuously, 'Thy Kingdom come, thy will be done', but these two phrases were inverted in the minds of many so that it almost became unnecessary to pray for the coming of the Kingdom because it was expected to grow up out of doing God's will. By the creation of a Christian social order a new society would spring up where Christ would reign indeed.

c. Often, the Kingdom of God is identified with an ideal social order as in the report by the Federal Council of Churches on the Church and Industrial Reconstruction 1921, (chapter 1). The Federal Council was so influenced by secular thinking that it permitted utopian illusions to creep into Christianity. In America it was the day of the humanistic idealist who believed perfect society to be possible, founded on co-operation, service, the brotherhood of men, within a democratic political system. H.Richard Niebuhr has noted that the

dominant idea in American Christianity has been a doctrine of the Kingdom of God grounded on the sovereignty of God and visible in the reign of Christ. This doctrine continued its dominance even in social gospel thinking. The social gospel built on this foundation which was already laid, but it gave it a new emphasis by applying it to social and economic life. When the idea of the Kingdom of God was taken over there was a tendency to deny the presuppositions upon which the doctrine rested: the sovereignty of God and the reign of Christ. The next step was to identify man's interests with God's interest, or to move to an implicit doctrine of the Kingdom of God resting on the sovereignty of man. Yet at the same time the kingdom idea was too closely associated with God's power, so that finally the absolute sovereignty of man was challenged,[3] or, as Martin Buber stated:

> 'For eschatology the decisive act happens from above, even when the elemental or prophetic form of it gives men a significant and active share in the coming redemption, for Utopia everything is subordinated to conscious human will, indeed we can characterize it outright as a picture of society designed as though there were no other factors at work than conscious human will.' [4]

Another word must be said with regard to (b) and (c): when man strives for a perfect society, i.e. the Kingdom of God,[5] he strives for a state where he expects no more striving because goodness will have

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3. H.Richard Niebuhr, The Kingdom of God in America, (Chicago: Willett, Clark & Co., 1937). The thesis is developed in the book.
4. Martin Buber, Paths in Utopia, (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1949). p.8.
5. cf. Lux Mundi, ed.Gore, op.cit., p.477. 'Christ Himself points our thought to this ideal region by presenting to us as the Highest Good, as the ultimate object of moral effort, the Kingdom of God.'

been achieved; but in such an order there would be no freedom and personality would thereby be denied. Where the kingdom is associated with an ideal order, there is the further danger that complacency will follow with regard to the new order that the social critic depreciates in the old. Also, to strive for a perfect society, rather than to seek to do the will of God, is to place moral effor before obedience to Him. When man assumes he can save himself by 'works', he forgets the deep-rootedness of sin and forgets also that by placing before the Kingdom of God the highest values which he has created, he has committed himself to idolatry. 'We cannot know in advance whether we shall achieve a stable and just social order for mankind in any way that we now have in view. The peace and the justice that we seek among men are still not God's perfect peace and God's holy righteousness.'[6] There is one further element to be considered in this critique, which is that good works done for the salvation of the soul may not be good at all because in seeking an end in goodness they often are deprived of love, thereby taking to themselves a certain ruthlessness. It may be also, as we have pointed out, that this goodness is not the ultimate good, because the Gospel is not only opposed to evil but to the sufficiency of the good which men accept. It was to this that Berdyaev pointed when he quoted Gogol: 'It is sad not to see any good in goodness.'[7]

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6. Report of the Advisory Commission on the Main Theme for the Second Assembly of the World Council of Churches - 'Christ our Hope', The Ecumenical Review, a quarterly published by The World Council of Churches, July 1954, Vol VI, no.4, pp.431. - 465. p.462. cited.
7. Berdyaev, The Destiny of Man, op.cit., p.23.

d. Further, there is the idea of development or process. Walter Rauschenbusch, who saw that the Kingdom was not an ideal but a Divine force in conflict with evil, stated that the Kingdom would come not by catastrophe but by development.[8] The idea of development grew up because it was necessary to show that the efforts of men to improve society would not be in vain, otherwise striving for social betterment would not be toward any ultimate end. Also, the idea of development points beyond the Church as the only embodiment of the Kingdom to a Kingdom greater than the Church.

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8. Walter Rauschenbusch, A Theology for The Social Gospel, (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1918). pp.225f. Rauschenbusch made the Social Gospel movement theologically conscious and brought into it a higher and more Christian concept of the Kingdom. He, more than any, heightened the idea of the Kingdom, giving substance to Richard Niebuhr's position that the Kingdom of God was the dominant idea in American Christianity. Rauschenbusch was one of the founders of the Brotherhood of the Kingdom and wrote in one of its pamphlets: 'We desire to see the Kingdom of God once more the great object of Christian preaching; the inspiration of Christian hymnology; the foundation of systematic theology; the enduring motive of evangelistic and missionary work; the religious inspiration of social work and the social outcome of religious inspiration; the object to which a Christian man surrenders his life, and in that surrender saves it to eternal life; the common object in which all religious bodies find their unity; the great synthesis in which the regeneration of the spirit, the enlightenment of the intellect, the development of the body, the reform of political life, the sanctification of industrial life, and all that concerns the redemption of humanity shall be embraced.' (Cited. Hopkins, op.cit., pp.132 - 133). Rauschenbusch held views at once more theologically sophisticated and Christian than the views of the main stream Social Gospel. Yet he expected the Kingdom to come on earth, to be achieved by God, yet with our co-operation, and to realize fully the salvation of society and the individual. In the Theol. of the Soc.Gospel, p.224, he wrote: 'An outlook toward the future in which the 'spiritual life' is saved and the economic life is left unsaved is both unchristian and stupid.'

'The Church is one social institution alongside of the family, the industrial organization of society, and the State. The Kingdom of God is in all these, and realizes itself through them all.'[9] The danger of the'development' notion is that some scheme of 'automatic progress' is easily imposed upon it, so that what is social betterment and improvement is interpreted as movement towards perfection. Too easily, the part played by man is emphasized without an understanding that even when God uses man to perfect his intentions, man is a poor and corrupt instrument of the Divine will.

e. In order to correct these broad generalizations about British and American presuppositions in Social Christianity, we must remember that many individuals and Churches did not move quite so far away from the central teaching of Christianity about the Kingdom. C.O.P.E.C. stressed the reign of God over all life and directed man's central puspose to doing His will. Yet C.O.P.E.C. pointed also to an earthly Kingdom. The Kingdom served as a pattern for the Christian society, so that in seeking the Kingdom of God and in doing God's will we look for the transformation of society. This is wrought not by a 'sudden violent change, but by a gradual process....But we may not flatter ourselves that even if the change is gradual it will be smooth and painless.' [10] C.O.P.E.C. does not claim that the industrial society made over into the likeness of the Kingdom is in fact the Kingdom, although one is not prevented from drawing such a conclusion.

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9. Ibid., p.145.
10. Industry and Property, C.O.P.E.C. Commission Report Vo. IX, (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1924). pp.196-197. Cf also introduction.

Lambeth 1920 affirmed 'that no outward adjustments can, by themselves, bring us near to the Kingdom of God.' (Lambeth Conf.1867-1930, p.75). It comes from above as does the love which conquers selfishness. We are uplifted and redeemed by the Son of God. Lambeth, at the same time, rejected a narrow otherworldliness in affirming that both the individual and society are redeemed.

f. The otherworld eschatology which German Churchmen might have brought to Stockholm, Rengsdorf, and Oxford, was modified by the work of Schweitzer and his followers. Schweitzer laid the ground work through an emphasis on the eschatological character of the Gospel; and to him the credit must be given when continental thinking and Anglo-Saxon thinking finally met at Oxford, each correcting the other,

> 'The emphasis on this eschatological character of the Gospel, as Albert Schweitzer had discovered before us, had a visible effect on the moral and social attitude of the conferences. Christianity is no longer simply loyalty to Christ, a final moral effort to do good and to transform the world, an optimistic missionary propaganda, but first of all an act of God, an annunciation of grace, then an obedience and a final surrender to His will. 11.

At the same time, emphasis on the social character of the Kingdom of God not only led to a view which had to push beyond individual salvation, but which also required a social ethic. Emphasis on the concept of development toward the Kingdom acted as a corrective to the type of eschatology which thought of the end as an arbitrary imposition of God into the life of man. The place of man's obedience and 'seeking for the kingdom' was preserved.

11.Adolph Keller, Five Minutes to Twelve, (London: SCM Press, 1938). p.55.

Oxford not only had to take seriously these Protestant positions but also had to consider the Roman Catholic eschatology. A danger of any natural law system is that frequently, the human institution which promulgates the law is identified with the Kingdom. Where Protestantism tends to identify the Kingdom with society, Roman Catholicism tends to equate it with the Church. For some of the Anglo-Catholic social thinkers who have accepted a natural law position, the Body of Christ, the Church, which is the present prolongation of the Incarnation, has a tendency to become identified with the Kingdom in a way which leaves the Church in a too uncritical position. Most consistent thinkers in the Anglo-Catholic movement, however, maintain a severe criticism of the Church, separating her from any aspirations to be identified with the Kingdom.

Roman Catholic Eschatology:

(a) In line with the consistent hierarchical thinking of the Church of Rome, we must learn also to understand her eschatological thought within a pattern based on different levels each penetrating the other. In the first level there are two orders, the temporal and the spiritual. When the temporal order is directed toward the enthronement and absolutization of its own ends, it becomes part of the kingdom of the world and of the devil. Where the State recognizes that its authority is not of itself and that it is limited to seek as an end the welfare of mankind, and where the rulers of the State come to an understanding with the Pope pointing to a harmony between the temporal and spiritual orders, in that state Christ reigns. (Immortale Dei) The State is a perfect society but not a divine society, which in the moment of attaining to perfection points beyond itself to the higher or the spiritual realm.

(b) The next level, then, is the spiritual level which is ruled over by the Church, which is the perfect and divine society. It is the society of those redeemed from the world. It is the 'one source of salvation'....in fulfilling the task committed to her by God of teaching, ruling, and guiding to eternal bliss those who belong to the kingdom of Christ, she cannot be subject to any external power.'[12] The Church works for the establishment of the Kingdom of Christ over all the world.

(c) Pius XI. expressed his idea of the Kingdom of Christ in the encyclical Ubi Arcano Dei:

> 'The Kingdom of Christ. Jesus Christ reigns in the minds of individuals through His teachings; He reigns in hearts through charity; He reigns in the whole life of man through obedience to His law and imitation of His example. He reigns in the family when that family, formed by the Sacrament of Christian matrimony, keeps inviolate its sacred character, where the authority of the parents is modelled on the Divine fatherhood whence it gets its origin and name, where the Children emulate the example of the Child Jesus and all of life is redolent of the holiness of the Family of Nazareth. Lastly, the Lord Jesus reigns in civil society when the highest honor is given in it to God....when the Church itself is raised to that degree of dignity in which it was constituted by its Creator, a perfect society, teacher and head of all other societies, in such a way, of course, as not to diminish their power - for all in their own order are legitimate - but opportunely to perfect them as grace perfects nature, so that in very truth those societies may be a great help to man for the attainment of his supreme end, eternal happiness, and bring happiness, too, and prosperity in this mortal life.'
> (Italics mine).

(d) The Kingdom of Christ points beyond itself to the Kingdom of Heaven. One is an earthly and the other a heavenly Kingdom. When God rules in our hearts by the grace we have received from the Church

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12. Pius XI. The Kingship of Christ, Encyclical 'Quas Primas' 1925 (London: Catholic Truth Society, 1953), a pamphlet. p.21.

as the agent of Christ, 'we win that ultimate kingdom of God where He reigns without end in "the holy city, the New Jerusalem...."[13] This is the eternal Kingdom whose keys were entrusted to the Apostle Peter and where certain saints are enshrined and souls do live in eternal peace.[14]

e. The Roman Hierarchy recognizes two synthetic vessels, of grace and aspiration. The vessel of grace coming from above consists of the one Kingdom of God which embraces both the Kingdom of Christ and the Kingdom of Heaven, so that in man's gaining citizenship in the terrestrial Kingdom, one's citizenship is ensured in the celestial. Christ, who became man, rules over the Kingdom of men; Christ who is God reigns in heaven. The rule of God is over both Kingdoms. In asserting the hypostatic union which was in Christ Jesus between man and God, between nature and supernature, there is a great danger that the two Kingdoms become one in very substance and that there remains no longer any distinction between the earthly and the heavenly except as 'geographical' locations. The Kingdom

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13. Hugh Pope, 'The Kingdom of God'(Heaven), The Catholic Encyclopedia, (New York: Robert Appleton Co. 1910). Vol.VIII.p.647.
14. It would seem that Christ is to reign over the earthly Kingdom while St.Peter is given charge over heaven. It is one more step to Mary, who has become 'The Queen of Heaven'. (cf.Pius XII.Mary, Queen of All Creation, Encyclical, 'Ad Caeli Reginam', 1954(London: Catholic Truth Society, 1955). Cf.also. 'The Marian Cult', statement of the Presbyterian Church USA, The Christian Century, Vol.LXXII, No.26, June 29, 1955, p.758. 'The glory of Christ's headship in his church, his undying concern for the members of his Body and for all human beings, is both tarnished and challenged by the new status accorded to the Virgin. The meaning of Christ's Kingship for life and history become emptied of all true significance. What is more serious still, the Holy Spirit recedes into the background and the Virgin becomes virtually the Paraclete, the Holy Ghost incarnate.'

of Christ provides for the salvation of society, but the Kingdom of Heaven seems only to allow for the salvation of the individual and of the 'spiritual'. Nature, in being perfected by grace, no longer remains nature. Society and the State, which belong to nature, aspire only to a degree of salvation but not to final salvation. Thus it is that in the end nature, instead of being redeemed in Roman soteriology, is negated. Even in the doctrine of the bodily Assumption of Mary into heaven real nature is not affirmed because she was born without sin. In denying her true nature, the Church made a place for her in heaven. By the same token, the Roman doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, ends in Docetism because of the denial of Christ's true human nature. To build a doctrine of natural law on the perfection of nature by grace may be justified; but to build such an ethic on theologically sandy foundation, where in the end nature slides away as its cohesion in grace disappears, means a virtual collapse of the Roman ethic. Such a result was to be expected, because no ethic can stand for long between a 'double morality' without falling either to one side or the other. In the eschatology which has evolved from the doctrines of the Immaculate Conception and the Assumption of Mary, the ascetic morality of Rome draws Mary further away from world affirmation to world denial, until at the door of heaven, grace does abrogate nature, gratia tollit naturam.

The other synthetic vessel, coming from below is the vessel of aspiration, that is the Church, specifically the Roman Catholic Church. In one place only do we find that the Kingdom of Christ is to be identified with the Church. In the encyclical Quas Primas, 'The Kingship of Christ' Pius XI. used this phrase: 'the catholic Church,

which is the Kingdom of Christ on earth....' In the encyclicals of Leo this identification is never stated so boldly, but even there one finds oneself making a simple identification because of the consanguinity of the two. While affirming the reign of Christ, the Church removes Christ further from the world by denying direct intercourse between men and their Savior, and inserting a rigid ecclesiasticism. In accordance with the demand of the Grand Inquisitor of Dostoievski's The Brother's Karamazov, Christ, having completed his redemptive work on the Cross, removed Himself from history.[15] The Church has now become the Redeemer. Pius XII. has stated that 'the "immediate and all-embracing norm of truth" for everyone is the living teaching authority of the Church.' (Ad. Caeli Reginam ¶ 33). The words of Christ now have been appropriated by the Church: 'I am the Way, the Truth, and the Life.' We see, again, as in chapter V, that the Roman ethic rests squarely on the authority of the Church. If we are in the Roman Church we are in the Kingdom of Christ, and we may be sure of winning 'the ultimate kingdom of God.'

Ethic, in the last analysis, follows from the command of God in Christ who is the ground of life and our final hope. Only when this is so can ethics follow from the command and promise of Christ. There are certainly times when the command comes to us through the Church, but there is never a time when the command of God comes exclusively through the Church. When that command comes through the exclusive authority of the Church, then our promise rests also with the Church.

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15. 'The Marian Cult', op. cit., This article suggested the illustration.

Where our faith is, there is our hope. If the reign of Christ is established in the Church there is no need to hope, for the object of our hope is attained. But if, as we assert, the reign of Christ or the Kingdom of Christ is not to be identified with the Church, then to hope in the Church is to suffer moral confusion leading to ultimate disillusionment and despair and to the disavowal of religion. The Roman Church, herself, again is shown to have slid back into ecclesiolatry.

In the papal encyclicals, we hear one note sounded repeatedly, a pleading for the recognition of the authority of the Church. In the face of social and economic evils, of autonomous reason, of autocratic state power, the Church pleads, threatens, and cajoles, much in the manner of a parent talking to a recalcitrant youth who no longer respects parental authority. It is pathetic to hear such cries coming from such a great Church which has been separated more and more by her own aspiration to autonomous power from the authority invested in her by God in Jesus Christ. We do not say that God has withdrawn Himself from the Church of Rome, because even though many of the marks of the Christian Church seem presently to be hid, yet God still uses this fragile vessel in ways that we know not. Yet we cannot ignore the difference between these piteous human cries addressed to a lost world, and the sure voice of God who has spoken so firmly in judgment and love through the law and the prophets and through the Word who humbled Himself and took flesh. The voice of Jesus the Christ spoke in the agony of cruel suffering words at once compelling and hopeful: 'Today,

shalt thou be with me in paradise.' We have no other, hope but in Him.

Roman Catholic eschatology seems to end by negating the basis for ethics in natural law. But if the authority of law is replaced by the authority of the Church, her eschatology cannot give the hope in the command and promise of Christ which is essential for true ethics.

There are many in the Roman Church who do find hope, and that is why we must end by affirming that even the Church cannot entirely escape from God's intention for Her. Also there are many mystics who have been able to by-pass the ecclesiastical structure within the communion of the Church and to hear the direct voice of God. Pious souls have, in the acts of worship and adoration in daily prayers, and attendance at mass, been confronted with the Glory of God.

Having affirmed that God has not withdrawn Himself from the Roman Church, we must also affirm the positive truth we have found here. By belief in the present reign of Christ, the actual victory of Christ is attested:[16] this was the root of the doctrine of the Kingship of Christ. God does rule over the world, and all principalities and powers are under His dominion. Also, the Church is the place where the glory of God is revealed, where Ghrist does reign, though in the

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16. One difference between Roman Catholicism and Protestantism occurs here. Prot. says that the battle is won once and for all in the death and resurrection in Jesus Christ. The sacrament is the mark of the Church and a sign of this victory by which we enter into communion with Christ. The Mass is the place where the battle of Christ is fought over every time it is celebrated in every Roman Church and chapel. The Mass is a sign of Christ's presence in the Church; but His victory is not won and He has not overcome the world. His Kingdom is at the point of continually breaking into the world through the Mass; but then if Christ's presence is affirmed in the Church it is also restricted to the Roman Church.

Church His reign is incomplete. The Church is God's means for carrying His purpose into effect. That does not make the Church the only source of salvation nor does it mean that anybody outside of the visible Church will not enter into God's glorious Kingdom. Roman Catholicism, however, denies the Protestant distinction between the visible and the invisible Church. Yet in claiming sole authority from Christ, she is pointing to another truth, namely that only through Christ can men enter into the Kingdom of God. We have shown how in effect the Church has abrogated this authority, although in claiming power from Christ she points beyond herself to the true source of all power.

Protestant Eschatology, from Oxford to Evanston:

Many of the delegates to the Evanston Assembly in preparing the report for Section three on the responsible society realized that a valuable theological basis had been laid at Oxford and Amsterdam. They realized that it was not necessary to go over the same field again; and Amsterdam in providing criteria for social judgments in the 'Responsible Society' provided a standard for judging all social and economic institutions. Some may have been disappointed that Evanston did not enter more fully into the theological realm except in its Introduction to Section III, where social responsibility is grounded in 'the mighty acts of God'. They drew attention to the promise and the commandment. 'The promise is the gift of abundant life as children of God for those who hear and follow the divine call. The commandment is that men should love God and their neighbors....The call to social righteousness is sustained by the sure hope that the victory is with God, Who in Christ has vanquished the powers of evil

and in His own day will make this victory fully manifest in Christ.' (Evanston Speaks p.26).

In Chapter V we showed the theological basis for an ethic which was accepted at Oxford, and in this chapter we have pointed to the awareness of Oxford of the significance of eschatology for ethics. Because of this awareness, social ethics was transformed from simple moral effort to an obedience of faith responding to the command of God who reigns in the world through His Son. All through the Oxford report this awareness is implicit, but in one paragraph a distinct view of the Kingdom of God is given.

> 'The Kingdom of God, as proclaimed in the Gospel, is the reign of God which both has come and is coming. It is an established reality in the coming of Christ and in the presence of His Spirit in the world. It is however still in conflict with a sinful world, which crucified its Lord, and its ultimate triumph is still to come. In so far as it has come, the will of God as revealed in Christ(that is,the commandment of love) is the ultimate standard of Christian conduct. Standards drawn from the observation of human behavior or prompted by immediate necessities are not only less complete than the commandment of love but frequently contain elements that contradict it. In so far as the Kingdom of God is in conflict with the world, and is therefore still to come, the Christian finds himself under the necessity of discovering the best available means of checking human sinfulness and of increasing the possibilities and opportunities of love within a sinful world.'
> (Oxford Reports, pp.92-93)

While at Oxford there was a tremendous advance beyond all previous conferences, there was still lacking an explicit and clear eschatology. Christian Hope was placed firmly in the hands of God reconciling the world unto Himself in Jesus Christ, but even Oxford failed to give consideration to the meaning of social ethics. It is true we are given a commandment to love, but a commandment without a promise is not enough. The promise is given to us individually, that we shall have

a more abundant life, but since full personality development also includes a social aspect, part of our personality is neglected by lack of a promise for our social life. Is the only promise we have from God with regard to society that in checking sinfulness we increase possibilities and opportunities for love? Men must be saved in social relationships, and so ultimately some hope must be given that social structures will be transformed in the new Age. In chapter V. we gave great credit to Oxford for establishing an ethic in the command of God both for personal and social living, but what we now assert is that Oxford failed to give the hope, which is necessary to the vitality and ultimate meaning of any ethical act, if it is to be more than a personal fulfillment of the commandments of God.

This is where Evanston, too, failed. In the Introduction to the report for section III, the promise we are given with regard to fulfillment of the love commandment in social relationships, is that we will not be frustrated. 'Our hope in Christ enables us to know that there are limitations set upon every human cause and achievement, so that we never make an idol of any social cause, institution, or system. Moreover, because our hope is in Christ, we are saved from frustration where our efforts to influence public opinion or social activities are seemingly in vain and we are saved from despair when all human hopes collapse.' (Evanston Speaks, p.26). This is tantamount to saying that because Christ reigns we must continue our efforts even though we have no hope of any fruition from them. Men demand to see an end to the work they do, even when it is done in God's name. It was the need for social fulfillment that drove the early members of the Social Gospel movement to visualize the end in an earthly kingdom largely

brought about by their own efforts. All secular planners tend toward utopian illusions because men need some hope that their planning and working is to some meaningful end. The Church must have a word to speak to these who with such courage have literally spent their lives in social service serving their God in loving their fellow men. Seeking justice and doing the will of God are high ends in themselves but more must be said than the words which ended the Report of section III - 'The Church knows that in obedience and prayer our efforts will bear fruit.'

The statement of the main theme drawn up by the Advisory Commission for Evanston on 'Christ Our Hope', included just the affirmation we looked for from the Report on section III:

> 'Confidence in this terrible and glorious consummation of all things in Christ means neither that the history of the world will be swept aside as irrelevant, nor that our efforts will be finally drowned with success. The long history of this world which God created and sustains from day to day, and for the sake of which He sent His Son, is not rendered meaningless by the coming of His Kingdom. Nor, on the other hand, is His Kingdom simply the final outcome to this world's history. There is no straight line from the labors of men to the Kingdom of God. He rejects that history of which man fancies himself to be the center, creator, and lord; He accepts that history whose beginning, middle and end He Himself fixes and determines.' 17

We can say, then, that because God is the Lord of history, Christians must hope not in their own achievements or in an automatic progress of history but in God.

> 'There can be no identification of any human act or institution with God and His righteousness. Yet we have been given the assurance that God's grace works in and through and all about us, that He grants us the gift of sharing in His Kingdom even now, and that continually repentant and continually forgiven, we can

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17. Report on Main Theme, Ecumen.Review, op.cit., p.439.

> go forward in hope towards the consummation of all things in Christ. That will be both the judgment and the transformation of history, and also its redemption and fulfillment.' 18

We know that all we do may die and be transformed in the day of judgment and that what we do is, in the end, of little consequence; what is important is God's action through history and in us.

> 'Our calling lays upon us responsibilities for seeking a better social and political life. Our own day has furnished another terrible demonstration of suffering that follows the breakdown of stable social order. The misery of vast multitudes of hungry, homeless, and hopeless people is not only a challenge to Christian compassion and brotherly love; it is a reminder to every Christian that he is responsible before God for his due share of political and social action to secure for all men justice, freedom, and peace. For God who in His loving-kindness preserves this world which He has redeemed, sustaining life even in those who rebel against Him, wills that there shall be order, justice, and freedom among men. He has taught us to seek earthly justice, freedom, and peace, and to set our faces against injustice, oppression, and tyranny as evils which He abhors. Obedience to His will requires of us much more than the proclaiming of general ethical principles. It requires us to enter fully into the duties of the common life, understand to the best of our ability the economic, political, and social problems of our time, participate actively in the effort to solve them. We are to seek in all ways the just ordering of society, to promote wise legislation, and to share in responsible planning for the future. And we are to act in no light-hearted or half-hearted spirit, but counting the cost and being ready to pay it.' 19.

Finally, the word comes to us:

> 'Nevertheless, because God has not abandoned this world, because He rules and overrules its tangled history, and because we have been given a share in the power of His Spirit, we can with confidence hope and expect that what is built upon the foundations which He has laid will stand.' 20.
> (Italics mine)

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18. Ibid., p.449.
19. Ibid., pp.459-460.
20. Ibid., p.462.

We can build with the hope that God will not destroy the society which is raised on the foundations He has laid. The hope for society, as for the individual, is part of the one hope which is in Christ Jesus. It is an element of hope which leads to utopian illusions when it is emphasized, so that it appears to be the main and only hope. Early Social Christianity tended to elevate this element of hope to an ultimate place; and in reaction to this, the Churches have tended to disregard the legitimacy of the social element in Christian hope. Men work for more than a tolerable and a just society: they work until the day that the New Heaven and the New Earth break in upon them to the transformation of social structures built upon the eternal foundation. God may use what we have built. As in the symbolism of a gigantic cathedral pointing to the heavens on high, the structures erected in society are built not for ourselves but for the glory of God. It may well be that some of these structures will fall, but we have hope that what is built on the Eternal Rock will be renewed by Jesus the Christ, who makes all things new. We work in faith: we leave the future in God's hands.

A Responsible Church - A Conclusion

We call this a conclusion because it may not be the conclusion. The end of all things is in God's hands and as has been said: 'It is a good thing to seek for the Kingdom of God on earth; but it is very dubious to claim to have found it'.[21] We do not claim to know the final answers to all the questions that have been raised.

In this present work, we judge that by all rational standards, we have approached our subject backwards. Reason demands the laying of a foundation first and then building upon it. We started with a survey and ended with some pointers to the foundation that must be laid. We chose this method because it seemed to be in line with history. How often history contradicts logic by its paradoxical course. The Church began with pronouncements and only in recent times has built a foundation for them.

The Church has been as slow as secular institutions in making pronouncements and attempting to stem the tide of social evil which swept over the world with the coming of an 'Industrial Age'. Sometimes the Church has taken amazingly progressive stands on social issues in line with the most enlightened thinking of the day. There does not seem to be any case where the Church proposed answers more radical or more constructive than secular social philosophers. At

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21. Reinhold Niebuhr, Nat. and Dest. of Man, op.cit. Vol II., p. 178.

times, her criticism may have been more incisive, following the enlightenment she was able to bring from the Gospel to actual problems. We must not expect, because we are Christians, that everything the Church does will be successful in a wordly sense, any more than Christians can be assured that as individuals they will be a 'success'. There were times when the message of the Church was vague, or when it lacked true Christian perspective, when her pronouncements may not have attained the hights reached by non-Christian idealist reformers. Because the Church is so deeply entangled in the web of society, she is better able to meet the practical needs of men. Yet this involvement means that she must also fall into mistakes and insufficiencies, and that her witness will at best be only fragmentary.

We find it difficult to discover where, in the last sixty-five years, any new changes have been wrought in economic and industrial life by the Church, either directly or indirectly. We do not thereby deny the bases for society laid by the Church through the centuries. At the same time, we admit that it is too soon to make any conclusive judgment on this matter. We do not thereby say that the Church has had no effect in the modern world. It may be that her task has been the conservation of civilization and culture in the midst of rapid change. This has been a necessary task,

because no revolution however radical or far-reaching, can ever tear itself completely away from that against which it is in revolt. The danger of conservatism is often very great however, because there is a tendency to become content and to fall into static unconcern for the emergence of new considerations. In becoming more deeply enmeshed in the structure of society, the Church is tempted to identification with the status quo. We used as one example, Her own practices with regard to the ownership of Church properties.

It may well be that the social pronouncements have not affected society as much as they have affected the Church. In becoming critical of social forms and institutions the Church has taken the first steps to disentangle herself from the web woven about her through her participation in history. Some of the strands which tie the Church to history and more particularly to the status quo have been loosened. These strands existed before the Middle Ages but they tightened their grip in the Medieval world when the Church in subjecting everything to her authority became subject to the world.

After the Reformation, at least one branch of Protestantism, Lutheranism, became identified with authoritarian forms of political structure because of a dualistic position which led to world denial. The other branch, Calvanism, has been accused of a simple identification with social structures and secular aims because of a world affirmation.

The names of Weber and Tawney are best known for their studies in this latter area though this is not a restatement of their special thesis. Whether by a policy of affirmation or denial, the Church has insinuated Herself into the world, or has perhaps become so entrenched there that she represents a 'special interest'. She forgot that her 'special interest' in the world was to witness to God and not to her own complicity in social forms and structures. The Church had to be called back to her primary task to witness to the Kingdom of God in history.

What follows is a description of just one of the factors that acted to call the Church back to her essential task. If it seems that undue emphasis is placed on this one factor then we must remember that this is not a comprehensive history of the Church but rather a study of one aspect of the Church's witness.

When the Industrial Revolution broke through all the bounds of the old society, it became a threat to every institution that survived the revolution. By the 1840's all remnants of the old order were under great strain; and all through the West this decade is recognized for its destructive nature. A few individuals in the Church realized that something new was actually happening. From this time, we date the Christian Social Movement starting with men like Maurice, Wichern, Ketteler and others. Was it too late? That was the question that haunted these men. Already part of a generation had grown up outside the Church and men no longer turned to her

for help. They felt the Church did not understand them, that she was too closely identified with the old order of things to be of present help.

The Church of Rome reacted to this upheaval in the world by an assertion of her unqualified authority in the spiritual realm. At the same time, the supremacy of the spiritual in certain areas of life was defined. We have spoken of the piteous voice calling out of the chaos. The voice would have had the same effect, if some proper parliamentarian had shouted to the republicans during the Revolution, 'Order, Order'. It was the cry of 'authority, authority', when there was no authority. It was a necessary call, but men were not in any mood for order when all the order of the past had brought them misery and poverty. They could not but conclude that this was a call to the order of the past which, indeed, it too closely resembled. When Leo XIII. could give a new content to the meaning of order and authority under more modern conditions, his voice was listened to, where men were prepared to listen calmly, but even then his words did not carry a radical enough answer to the world's needs. He seemed to pitch the 'tune' a little higher but it still sounded too much like the old 'tune' sung by the Church since her days of glory in the late Middle Ages. And when men turned to the Church of Rome expecting to find Divine Authority, those who were

faithful saw it, but others concluded that what they saw was the bare assertion of power by a secularized Church. Men who recognized a need for authority in their lives either submitted themselves for the sake of order of some kind, or rejected this authority outright. In claiming that her power was the power which comes from on high, the Church of Rome fell into great error. As a result, the witness which should have been hers as a divine society was in danger of being weakened. She was not able to give radical enough answers to meet the radical needs of men because her moral philosophy, her ethical system, no longer rested in direct commandment from God. In such circumstances, the hope which inspires ethical and moral effort to higher levels, is shattered. Those who still live under the illusion of the unique authority of Rome have not been freed from sinful pretension, nor have they been freed to the kind of creative ethical achievements which are required in the world today. It is only in moving against her own system of moral law that Rome has been able to show the leadership which she has given at times. We have mentioned that this is a sign that God still uses the Church of Rome for his purposes. When the Pope speaks a word which exhibits positive hope, we conclude that these words show positive intuition and a revived understanding of the needs of the time.

In Protestantism a pragmatic program constructed to meet

the needs of the time was formed in response to the first crises of the Industrial Age. Drawing on the resources of the re-awakening in theology and in the historical-critical study of the Bible, the Protestant Churches made a few pronouncements without at the same time grounding them in any serious way upon a developed theology or comprehensive reconsideration of the demands of the Gospel. The Church responded to need, as she must always do, but she did it without troubling to ground her answers in the rock-bed of the faith. The first social pronouncements, show only a partial comprehension of the elements which make up modern society. The answers often were aimed at scattered problems. The Churches began to realize that it was no longer enough to sew patches on the tattered fabric of the world. New ideals for the entire society were proposed and new goals defined. It was not long before these ideals were identified with that hoped-for Kingdom which God would some day bring among men. But there were more than dreams, ideals and vague goals; there were also practical suggestions and schemes. In all of these, the Churches seemed to put forth programs closely resembling, or in support of, the highest humanitarian aspirations of the day. The Church did not depend enough on her peculiar resources. In truth, she could not bring a unique message until she realized what it meant for her to be the Church. Too often, in Protestantism, the Churches thought of themselves more within the sectarian

tradition, a sort of loose-knit fellowship of saints who were moved by the Spirit.

One of the elements which drew the Church together was social concern. The Churches were pushed by a common desire to seek common answers and united action, concentrating their unified energy to bring the forces of social evil under submission. We saw how the Federal Council of Churches in America, the Interdenominational Social Service Union in Britain, C.O.P.E.C. and others were a proof of this. The concern for social issues drove beyond national Church councils to an international movement, the Life and Work Movement. Twelve years after the first meeting of this Movement at Stockholm, a second conference met at Oxford which was the climax of the process which we have been describing. It was there that matters were settled which brought the Church to a new height. At least five matters which came under consideration at Oxford point to the climax of our period.

One, the Church realized what it meant to be the Church. It meant that the Church was a witness to what God had done and would do, that She was an instrument of God's purpose, and that there was revealed in Her the glory of God if only in a fragmentary way. The Church is described as a fellowship of Free Persons under Law to Christ, a Redemptive fellowship, a Supra-national Fellowship, a Super-racial Fellowship, a Supra-class fellowship and an Eternal

fellowship. Actually the concept of the Church was given more meaning in Amsterdam and Evanston but Oxford pointed to the fellowship which actually was present in these two later conferences. Oxford was one of the big turning-points in recognition of the Church as One Body, the Body of Christ.

Two, a theological basis was laid for a Christian ethic in the love commandment of God.

Three, there was a partially conscious realization that no ethic could have meaning unless it was built on a hope in the future fulfillment of God's Kingdom.

Four, principles were proposed which were to guide the Christian in making decisions in the concrete situation relative to the love commandment. In addition, as in no previous pronouncement, there was stressed the need for departmental knowledge, and an appreciation of the technical factors that should be taken in account in seeking to reach decisions on specific matters. Thus any pronouncements after Oxford have a more realistic appreciation of the true social and economic factors.

Five, there were actual decisions made at Oxford, in the light of the principles based on a realistic appraisal of the facts of the situation, that in themselves were of a better quality than previous pronouncements. Oxford gave a full recognition to the action of the Churches previous to the Conference. The Conference then took a definite step

forward by making the statements more concrete than previous pronouncements. From that time men began to listen more readily to pronouncements of the Church because of all the foregoing factors. Furthermore, it was because the Church spoke as the Church, freed from total involvement in society, properly critical of herself and of her pronouncements, that men found the Church speaking with a new commanding voice. In being pushed into co-operation and some cases unity, but in any analysis united in fellowship, particular Churches were freed from their own social and political involvements. Oxford therefore could speak to the Churches in Russia and Germany, and Evanston could take a stand on race that would bring under judgment the action of Churches in America and South Africa. The Church could criticize herself and purge from her own body the signs which marked her so clearly as of the world and not of God. Now the Church could say that Christ reigns in the world because his reign is seen, even if vaguely, in the Church, and that history moves to the realization of the Kingdom of God, but that God's judgment is upon every new realization.

Amsterdam and Evanston went a long way beyond Oxford, but all that they did was built on the foundation laid at Oxford.[22] At Amsterdam, the idea of the 'Responsible Society' was defined. Also, the great systems of capitalism and

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22. We do not mean to leave out the place of the International Missionary Movement, or the Faith and Order Movement; we are showing just one main element in the total picture.

communism were appraised and criticized, and both were rejected as not the Christian solution. Indeed all systems were laid under judgment.

Evanston represented a meeting of Churched more solidly split into camps, pressure and lobby groups, and into more sectional interests than ever before. Out of this meeting there came a statement by Section III, accepted by all, which was unique in that it did not become involved with general slogans and systems per se, but which gave direct consideration to specific economic questions. Some of the broad questions having been settled at Oxford and Amsterdam, Evanston went on to particulars.

We have shown that we think the Evanston Assembly failed, as did the previous conferences, to make a clear statement of hope in relation to the goal of social ethics. Such a statement was made by the Advisory Commiss ion on the Main Theme but the whole report was not accepted because it lacked the joyous affirmation which was expected in any statement on hope, and for other reasons.

When this period of the growth of Social Christianity into a 'whole' Gospel which includes a social message, is evaluated, it may well be referred to as the time when the Church has again become the Church. One large factor would have been that in actually facing world problems, and particularly in responding to economic factors and to the new demands of an industrial age, the Church was brought to an

era of co-operation and recognition of the essential unity of the Body of Christ, which until a decade previously had appeared to be a body broken and separated. The Church realized that she had the same message to men everywhere - Jesus Christ is the Hope of the World. The moment the Church becomes thus aware of her true status, her position under God and therefore in society, there is hope that she can renew her ministry to men in society, and not just to men as isolated individuals. We have shown how the Church has actually done something in pointing to a 'Responsible Society'. There are signs that the world is more willing than ever to heed the message of the Church. As long as the Church remains critical of her own involvement in the social fabric and of her social judgments, attention will be given to her unique message, original because her witness will come out of love and not out of self-concern nor from a spirit of omniscience.

We do not deny that other factors have played their part in this process, but it is our intent to show how important the social aspect has been. Particularly, the Church has gained a greater degree of freedom to look beyond earthly existence. At the same time she has recognized that there are no bounds set upon her concern for the world. The Church is the instrument of God's purpose in history and the first realization of the inauguration of His Kingdom on earth. In becoming free from complicity in history by proclaiming the coming of the Kingdom in fullness and glory, the Church

is better able to be more deeply involved in history. In finding her place in relation to society, the Church has found her proper relationship to the Kingdom of God. We see that the reverse is also true, that in finding her place in God's Kingdom she has found her place in society. Acting in the light of the total revelation, the Church has defined the goals of a 'Responsible Society' and in that moment she has become more conscious of what it is and what is means to be a 'Responsible Church'.

The Church is 'responsible' when Her witness includes these features:

1. The Responsible Church must have received a gift, a promise, and a command. The gift is grace which is received by faith; and it is the forgiving love of Christ, who by setting us free, gives us the power to love. The promise is abundant and eternal life, a new dimension which has been added to life in the 'now' and which will be full in the 'not yet'. The command is to be His witnesses, to proclaim His Gospel, to participate in the work of God between the coming of Jesus Christ to inaugurate the Kingdom of God on earth and His coming again in glory to bring that Kingdom to consummation; and this is summed up in the great commandment: 'Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all they soul, and with all thy mind. This the first and great commandment. And the second is like unto it : Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself'. In

receiving the gift, the promise, and the commandment, the Church reflects the glory of God. Having received, she must proclaim that what He has done is a sign of what He will do. Thus the Church's task is to carry into effect God's purpose, and to preach His Gospel to all generations and in every place in the earth.

2. The Responsible Church must help the Faith to understand itself by the acceptance of a theology which will interpret the faith to the needs of every generation. That means that there is no once-and-for-all theology, because the words about God will differ in meaning in different times and places; but, there will be one unified reality behind the constant task of theology to re-interpret this fact: Jesus Christ who lived and died and was raised into Eternal Glory, is Very God and Very Man. Any theology which does not include in its structure an ethic, fails completely to witness to this fact. The ethic cannot be separated from the Incarnation, the Atonement, and the Resurrection of Jesus the Christ who showed forth the love of God. In pointing to the absolute command of God to love, we learn that we love because he first loved us and that he/who does not love his brother whom he hath seen cannot love God whom he hath not seen, and that 'inasmuch as ye have not done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have not done it unto me (Christ)'.

It is the task of theology to relate the absolute demands

of love to the compromises involved in every decision we make in the world. Men often approach to the height of this love, this agape, in interpersonal relations, when they have sacrificed all that they are out of love. But even in the most simple relations within the structure of society there is an element of calculation which removes uncalculating love from the midst of social and personal relations. The sinfulness of man is also a fact that must be considered in every attempt to relate the absolute demand to everyday life. Certain proximate norms have been established in the fulfillment of which we approximate to the demands of love. These are justice and equality. Equality is the highest achievement of justice for it claims equal consideration for all. Justice points beyond itself to the approximation of love. Yet in the same instant love judges all the various schemes of justice.

One error which we must correct by the acceptance of an 'ethic of approximation' is the tendency to talk about the difference between an 'ethics of redemption' and 'ethics of creativeness'. These terms are used by Berdyaev, and each points to a facet of truth, but when separated, as they are in the thinking of many, theology is pushed into a dualism.[23]

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23. Berdyaev, The Destiny of Man, op.cit., In his book, Berdyaev makes a distinction between an ethic of law, of redemption and of creativeness but in the distinction between the latter two he drives towards a dualism which in his other works has also weakened his otherwise fine thinking. It is true that he ends with an ultimately monistic position.

In the first place ethics does not drive beyond itself to redemption; we can love, we can be just only because we have been forgiven and salvation is ours, even if only in a partial sense. To differentiate between an ethics of redemption which is related to the morality of the Gospel, and an ethics of creativeness, which referred to the action of men in creative encounter with the world, is to make our encounter with the world less creative. That is not to say that man cannot be creative without the knowledge of the love of God, but in driving toward the justice which is transcended by the adievement of it, we are reminded that 'everyone that doeth righteousness is born of him'. (I John 2:29) Thus the creative element in justice is love 'and creative justice is the form of reuniting love'.[24] Or, as Tillich also wrote:

> 'Love does not do more than justice demands, but love is the ultimate principle of justice. Love reunites; justice preserves what is to be united. It is the form in which and through which love performs its work. Justice in its ultimate meaning is creative justice, and creative justice is the form of reuniting love'.[25]

With this ethic, the Church becomes an agent of reconciliation between the demands of the world and the demands

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24. Paul Tillich, Love, Power and Justice, (London: Oxford University Press, 1954), p.66.
25. Ibid., p. 71.

of God. For it shows that society directed to the highest level of justice is moving toward the purposes of God. If forgiveness and not righteousness is the basis for an ethic then the result of moral effort moves toward a goal, a reconciliation. God does not destroy these works of justice but unites them to his creative purposes. The evil forms of this society may be shattered in the new age because 'love must destroy what is against love, but not him who is the bearer of that which is against love'.[26] Only where the institutions of the world can be considered to bear such elements of creative justice may they be preserved. Amsterdam, in putting forth the claims of a 'responsible society' tried to show this. 'The responsible society of which we have spoken represents, however, the goal for which the churches in all lands must work, to the glory of the one God and Father of all, and looking for the day of God and a new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness'. (Amsterdam Reports, p.82). What has been built upon the foundations laid by God will stand. But even in the New Age, in the New Creation, these will also be transformed so they will not be what they now are.

3. The Responsible Church must be a teaching Church. In pointing to proximate and ultimate demands, she must make pronouncements which will guide the individual Christian in making decisions. She must pronounce judgment upon all systems,

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26. Ibid., p. 114.

all structures, and upon every concrete problem where she is able; and these must include full understanding of the technical, economic, and sociological factors which color the judgment of a situation, as well as the human, personal factors. In our survey, we have tried to show how the Church has lived up to this part of her ministry and that she has reached the point where her pronouncements have been more relevant. In defining the goals of a responsible society, and in giving other general principles she has given the Christian something to guide him.

Where the Church has failed has been in not using all of the educational techniques available in proclaiming this part of her ministry. Too few Churchmen and too few of the men in the world are aware of what the Church has said. Therefore, every means has to be used to publicize and to teach these principles through the Church, through the organs of the popular press and by whatever other means the Church feels she can conscientiously use. Pope Pius XI. in his Encyclical, 'The Kingship of Christ', wrote that 'such pronouncements usually reach only a few and the more learned among the faithful; feasts reach them all; the former speak but once, the latter speak every year - in fact, for ever'. (Quas Primas) We must see to it that the pronouncements have not spoken just once but that they speak for all times though we realize that many of the pronouncements are only for a specific time and place. That calls for even more concentrated use of every

acceptable means of mass communication.

4. The Responsible Church will often find that guiding will have to be supplemented by 'middle axioms', which will define provisional behavior in a given period and in given circumstances. It is better that these axioms should be proposed only by the parts of the Church within certain national and confessional settings. It must be shown that these do not follow from any general laws or rules but from the command of Christ. Therefore, in responding to the axioms, the Church interprets to herself and to her members what she feels is the actual command of Christ in a special situation. 'Middle axioms' should not have the force of law, because they cannot claim as high a degree of authority as can the 'guiding principles'. At this moment, ethics may be weakened because there is removed from ethical decision some of the creativeness which one must use in meeting issues. The Church must be vigilant lest she stifle the commands which may come to a particular individual under unusual circumstances, and which would rob him of the intuitive resources he may have at his disposal.

5. The Responsible Church will also, on occasion, support specific programs for betterment and change. As the degree of authority lessens in the moment of support for a special program, the Church must be all the more wary of committing herself to something which may in the end vitiate the Church's role as a responsible agent for God and His Kingdom. The

question must always be asked: does support of this plan or this institution make the Church less responsible to God? There are many times when the Church could answer this in the negative and, by applying this negative test, come out for specific proposals. For example, to support the United Nations does not lessen the responsibility of the Church to God. There are times when the Church will also introduce legislation, will lobby for it, and will bring all of the moral pressure she can muster in support of certain acts; for it does not lessen the responsibility of the Church to use every effective and legitimate means not only to support a specific piece of legislation but to use what power she has to bring it to successful action. There will be times when for the Church not to support certain legislation is an abrogation of responsibility, e.g. bills for sending surplus food to starving people, or laws which allow displaced persons a new home. In the economic life of men, there will be times when a certain measure may not bring any great change but it will be a matter of a little better or a little worse, for example in supporting claims for a Guaranteed Annual Wage. The Church may support the principle that industry has responsibility for the employment and welfare of its employees, but at the same time such a provision in a labor contract will demand greater responsibility, on the part of labor. The Church must show this. In supporting demands for higher wages, and this the Church must be prepared to do in certain

cases, the Church is compromising with materialism but it may be that such a material improvement is indicated. The Church may also have to say to industry, that industry has not discharged its responsibility to labor by meeting such a demand, and to labor that it must seek for more than material ends if trade unions are to continue to do service to their members and to the community.

Then there arises the question of discipline. J.H. Oldham, writing in preparation for Oxford, raised the issue of heresy in the Church with regard to social decisions.[27] How far should the Church go to enforce her judgment on such matters? We have said that a lesser degree of authority can be claimed for the sanctity of 'middle axioms' and for support of concrete programs, backed by the knowledge that general principles are always narrowed and restricted in the moment of concretion. We now maintain, in contrast to this position, that there may be times when the Church must take action by general consent of her members through her representative government, about racial relations for example, or more particularly, in full support of the Supreme Court Decision in America on Desegregation in Public Schools. It may be that Church members of a particular denomination will work actively to incite opposition to this. What shall the Church

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27. Visser't Hooft and Oldham, op.cit., pp.225-229.

do? In this particular case, the persons who oppose the majority opinion may need the continuing ministry of the Church. Indeed their action shows that they need it. Yet it is the same thing when an individual acts against the faith and discipline of the Church in other matters. We do not propose any answers but we feel that the Church should face this question more squarely in order to condemn vocal individuals and minorities who, in the name of Christ proclaim what is contrary to the Church's teaching. The Popes have not resolved this issue, as we showed in our discussion of the authority of the encyclicals in chapter I, but in practical matters when it can be shown that an overt act against society is against the Church, then discipline is exercised, for example in the case of the Italian Communists. We must see that certain kinds of conduct may be contrary to membership in the Body of Christ and to participation in His Kingdom.

> 'If there is no specific Christian programme for social action, there are many forms of practice and action that are plainly incompatible with the Christian insight into the meaning of life. Just as in the early centuries the creeds of the Church took their shape largely through the repudiation of particular heresies as incompatible with the Christian faith, so in our time the path towards a clearer perception of the obligations of Christians in society may lie through the rejection of certain types of social conduct, social practice, or social organization as intolerable for the Christian conscience'. [28]

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28. Ibid., p. 26.

Another aspect of the same question is whether or not the World Council of Churches should take issue directly with any of her members about unchristian practices. The answer to this question involves the fact that the World Council does not have the authority to do this. For example, on the issue of the support by the Dutch Reformed Church in South Africa of apartheid, the Assembly took a wise and prudent course not to cause any splits or diversions in her young life by stating its opposition to the position taken by the Dutch Reformed Church, though the specific denomination was not named, and encouragement and support were offered to her in repudiation of segregation policies. Churches must be cautious in declaring that other Churches are heretical either in the faith or in social practice. But one denomination may say that certain practices in another denomination are unchristian and call upon that Church to cleanse Herself. The Church may do the same with Her own members. We fear heresy trials and witch hunts, and we realize that reactionary Church bodies might abuse this same discipline in support of unchristian policies, and so we are faced with a dilemma where we are sure the Church must exercise discipline but it may be best for her to be very cautious. We cannot have Christians facing in every direction when an issue is clear but we must leave room for honest doubts and differences of opinion so that a minority in the right will be able to exercise chastening power upon the majority.

6. The Responsible Church must be willing to be crucified for the sake of the Kingdom of God. Sacrifice is a virtue the Church has extolled for her members and which she must take to her own heart. Laymen are reminded that Christians sacrifice their jobs when faced with certain compromised. Christians cannot expect any less of the Church herself. We have seen the hardy Church survive persecution in the first centuries. We have the example of the Waldensians, and of the Church under Hitler and now under Communism. In the day of glory, God may destroy the Church as we know her in order to raise up the body of Christ in new splendour. We can not hasten this day, for it will come in a time we know not, but we shall not be afraid for we have hope in God who has set Jesus Christ to be the Head over His Church. The Church will have to decide when she is to sacrifice herself for a social idea and when sacrifice for a social idea is in fact necessary for the Kingdom of God. Only in the moment of decision can this be known. But, we add, there will be many decisions which, when they are made properly by the Church for Social programs and ideas, will be to God's eternal glory.

Christ has broken into history and instituted His Reign. The Kingdom of Christ is already active in the world and in the Church. Because the Church carries the marks of the eschatological event which has happened but carries also the hope of future consummation, her task is to make visible the Lordship of Christ to all men. In the sacraments, we participate in the 'event' in which we die to Christ, we are brought to life in Christ, we are incorporated into His Body by the Holy Spirit, we renew our obedience in Him, we receive the assurance of His Presence, and we look with hope to His Coming in the consummation of the Kingdom of God. In the proclamation of the Word, the sign is given of the end, for there is revealed the Creation, the Redemption, and the Final Consummation of all things. The Gospel that is preached under the present Lordship of Christ and by the Power of the Holy Spirit is the preaching of the Good News that God has broken into the world and is reconciling the world to Himself in Jesus Christ, and that all who call on His Name will be gathered in at the end of the present age. 'The Kingdom of Christ is indeed already present; in it both areas, The Church and the world, are placed under Christ; nevertheless they are distinguished, since they will merge into one only in the Kingdom of God, when at the end Christ's mediatorial role has been fulfilled (I Cor 15:28).[29] We do not know when this will be except that the Gospel must first be preached to all nations.

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29. Oscar Cullman, Christ and Time, trans. Floyd.V.Filson, (London: SCM Press, Ltd., 1951). p.199.

We live 'between the time'. An integral part of the preaching of the Gospel in these times is the commandment of Christ, of Him who has been so gracious as to redeem us. What can the Church do between the times? Her Gospel is not a whole Gospel unless it includes a message both to individual men and to society. But to say this, is to make an artificial distinction, because there is only one Gospel, the Total Gospel of Christ, which is preached whenever the Church makes a pronouncement in the social, or in the economic and industrial sphere. It is preached obliquely, to a greater or less degree depending upon the nature of the pronouncement and the circumstance to which it is preached. A word which has gathered to itself rather adverse connotations of late has been the word 'conversion'. Yet when the Church preaches, she preaches for conversion. Does she in her preaching to society preach for conversion also? We must answer, yes! But there is no conversion in the simple cataclysmic way that comes into individual lives; there is more of a gradual process, a spiritual growth as happens in the majority of men's lives.

Society in the midst of crisis turns to the source of all power, but it may in another crisis repudiate wholly the same Divine power. The structures and forms have a 'staying' power which resists change and reform. Only the power of God will be able to break through them and restore what is left of them to act in moral and rational ways. Christ weeping over Jerusalem could see destruction, and in looking at the buildings of the Temple could say: 'There shall not be left here one stone upon another, that shall not be thrown down'

(Mt.24:2). In the Lucan version (19:41-48), after writing this Jesus returned to the Temple and drove out the moneychangers; it is written that he also taught daily in the temple. He used the very structure which would eventually collapse in utter destruction, for his work. It is reported that he said: 'I am able to destroy the temple of God, and to build it in three days.'[30] And the temple of God, the body of Christ, the Church of the New Covenant was raised up in three days. Would Christ destroy this Church of His? If in it He has already shown forth His Kingdom, surely He will bring it into His Kingdom. God will bring to the promised climax what is to be done in the renewal and final transformation of the Church. History cannot be rendered meaningless by less than the fulfillment of society wherein Christ has shown forth his present Lordship. We cannot say the Church will be renewed unless we say that Society will also be renewed. Those structures which resist renewal in the New Age will be broken down so that not one stone will remain, but the forms built on the foundation laid in God will stand. The words and action of Christ are a reminder of how sternly he deals with the institutions of men. In the tearing of the curtain in the Temple, the Old Covenant was repudiated and God departed from that place in the descending darkness, and the earth did quake and rocks were rent, all nature groaned at the sight of the

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30. Mt.26:61. cf.John 2:19. It seems that John has 'spiritualized' this and says that this temple is the body in the sense that Paul uses the term in I Cor. 6:19. This only shows how Paul did influence John. It does not seem to be what Jesus meant by the temple. He was referring to the actual Temple. Both Matthew and Luke indicate that much, and to <u>His</u> Body which is the New Fellowship.

wrath of God. Christ, in the New Age and the New Creation, will raise up a New Society wherein God will be all things to all men. There will in the last day be judgment and transformation, redemption and fulfillment of what now is.

Between the times, the Church preaches the present Kingship of Christ over all things and remains as a living witness to the Kingdom which has broken in. She must show society by word, by pronouncement, and by action that this is so, that society too has a hope, but a hope which chastens and judges all the pretensions of society; for it may be that God will not leave a stone standing at the latter day in the upbuilding of the New Society. For the present, the Church works for the change of society into one which is more tolerable, more just and more responsible, 'wherein dwelleth righteousness.' That which is now visible in the Church, may become visible in the world when the Kingship of Christ is acknowledged in every heart, by every class, nation, and race, and in all places in the earth.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A.

Protestant Social Organizations: Background and Statements of Principles

One cannot understand the true historical perspective of the ecclesiastical pronouncements unless one has before him some of the first unofficial statements. The declarations of purpose of early Christian social organizations within, and on the fringe of the Church, were not only their own social pronouncements, but were also the basis upon which the Church later made her own official social position clear. A comparison between the wording of earlier unofficial works and later official papers, would bear witness to this truth.

These ideas did not represent the mind of the Church of that day. Canon Raven wrongly states that the placard addressed to the workingmen of England by the Christian Socialists was the first social manifesto of the Church of England, 'her first public act of atonement for a half century of apostasy, class-prejudice and political sycophancy.'[1] Not by any stretch of the imagination could the Church of England be thought to support Maurice and his associates; a majority were strongly opposed to him. When Walter Rauschenbusch tells of the days before 1900, the days of the 'solitary pioneer,' when a few lonely men were taking stands that friends warned them

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1. Charles Raven, Christian Socialism 1848-54, (London: Macmillan & Co. Ltd., 1920). p.107-108.

would jeopardize their careers,[2] he was describing the exact situation of socially conscious Christians within the fellowship of the faithful. These men represented a part of the Church which turned out to be an important, articulate, and aggressive part. They memorialized their official Church meetings seeking action and positive programs of relief. When they were not heard, they hired halls near official assemblies and conferences so that their voices might be heard by official delegates passing by. Every General Convention of the Methodist Episcopal Church, from 1892 on, was memorialized by some group within the Church. Under this pressure, as well as through external factors which forced the Church to reckon with reality, the Church had inevitably to accept the social implications of the Gospel. Again, Rauschenbusch describes the situation when he suggests that they knew the Social Gospel had finally arrived when old men and timid men began to fall in line.

Because many of the leaders in the social sphere were of such high calibre, and because men of courage became leaders, a number of them became central figures in the general ecclesiastical life of

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2. Walter Rauschenbusch, Christianizing the Social Order, (Boston: The Pilgrim Press, 1912). p.9. and elsewhere in his works. He quotes a rather incorrect statement that indicates a feeling. It was a statement by Terrence V.Powderly Grand Master Workman of the Knights of Labor made in 1892. '"You can count on the ends of your fingers all the clergymen who take any interest in the labor problem."' Certainly laborers felt interested ministers were all too few.

the Church.[3] Bishop Gore was an outstanding example, as was William Temple in another generation. Numerous examples could be given, in almost all of the Churches, of men who pioneered in the field of social justice reaching positions of leadership.

Further, there are countless cases of groups without the main body of the Church submitting social programs for approval. Since we have already referred to the Methodist Episcopal Church, it might be interesting to indicate the outcome of all attempts to bring the General Convention alive. In 1908, The Methodist Federation for Social Service, patterned on the Weslyan Social Union of England, submitted a program to the Convention which was adopted, and became the Social Creed of the Church. The same year, the Federal Council of Churches adapted the Creed, made minor changes, and accepted it as its own. Within a few years, all of the members of the Federal Council made pronouncements on social questions, some adopting the 'Creed' with only small changes. For forty years, the Methodist Federation, though never an official organ of the Church, spoke and acted for the Church.[4] On the other

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3. Maurice B.Reckitt, Maurice to Temple, (London: Faber and Faber Ltd. 1947). p.138. Out of 53 episcopal appointments made in the Church of England between 1889 and 1913, 16 went to members of the C.S.U.
4. The Methodist Federation, later called the Meth.Fed.for Social Action, was repudiated by the Church in 1952 after a thorough investigation. It was found to be acting as a communist front. To read an interesting story of how the communists tried to use the Church, Ralph Lord Roy, Apostles of Discord, (Boston: The Beacon Press, 1953). Chapter 13. On page 309 he quotes the words of the Methodist Convention of 1908. '"We note with satisfaction the organization of the Methodist Federation for Social Service, composed of members and friends of our church and the Methodist brotherhood."' Four years later, the Convention recommended that the Federation act as '"the executive agency to rally the forces of the church" in support of the denomination's social objectives.' This indicates how official an unofficial organization can be.

hand, the C.S.U. of the Protestant Episcopal Church disbanded when the Commission for Social Service was appointed by the Convention recognizing that the Church had now assumed its proper responsibility. The same thing took place in other churches.

Some social groups were a direct result of action by the Church. We have already seen how the Christian Social Union was founded as a result of Lambeth 1888. But to understand the dynamics of group interaction, and the intricacy of historical study, it is important to realize that the C.S.U.acted in such a way that later Lambeth Conferences were changed.[5] The parent matured with the child. How often this is true with family life as well!

UNOFFICIAL PROTESTANT PRONOUNCEMENTS.[6]

Great Britain.

We start with words which first appeared on a placard, more aimed at propaganda than setting forth social ideals. Nevertheless, an era of social consciousness is begun with a tone which might well have been more common in the utterances of later Christian leaders. It is addressed to the people; it is a popular placard, warm and human.

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5. Walter Rauschenbusch, A Theology For The Social Gospel, (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1918). p.29. It was because of the C.S.U. that Rauschenbusch could say, somewhat impetuously and incorrectly, that at 'The Anglican Congress of 1908 Christian Socialism was in possession of the platform and only Lord Cecil made a stand against it.'
6. No attempt is made to gather the material after 1910 because by that time most of the Churches picked up the baton for the great race which continues in the present day.

The Charter of Christian Socialism.

This placard, posted all over London on April 11, 1848, was written by Charles Kingsley.[7] It was the day after Chartism failed.

'Workmen of England: you say that you are wronged. Many of you are wronged; and many besides yourselves know it. Almost all men who have heads and hearts know it - above all, the working clergy know it. They go into your houses; they see the shameful filth and darkness in which you are forced to live crowded together; they see your children growing up in ignorance and temptation for want of fit education; they see intelligent and well-read men among you shut out from a Freeman's just right of voting, and they see, too, the noble patience and self-control with which you have as yet borne with these evils. They see it and God sees it,.

'Working men of England: you have more friends than you think for. Friends who expect nothing from you, but who love you because you are their brothers; and who fear God and therefore dare not neglect you, His children; men who are drudging and sacrificing themselves to get you your rights; men who know what your rights are better than you know yourselves, who are trying to get for you something nobler than charters and dozens of Acts of Parliaments, more useful than this "fifty-thousandth share in a talker in the National Palaver at Westminster" can give you. You may disbelieve them, insult them - you cannot stop their working for you, beseeching you, as you love yourselves, to turn back from the precipice of riot which ends in the gulf of universal distrust, stagnation, starvation. You think the Charter would make you free - would to God it would! The Charter is not bad, if the men who use it are not bad! But will the Charter make you free? Will it free you from the slavery of ten-pound bribes? Slavery to gin and beer? Slavery to every spouter who flatters your self-conceit, and stirs up bitterness and headlong rage in you? That, I guess, is real slavery: to be slave to one's own stomach, one's own pocket, one's own temper. Will the Charter cure that? Friends you want more than an Act of Parliament can give.

'Englishmen! Saxons! Workers of the great, cool-headed, strong-handed nation of England, the workshop of the world, the leaders of freedom for seven hundred years, men say you have common sense', then do not humbug yourselves into meaning "license" when you cry for "liberty". Who would dare refuse you freedom? For the Almighty God, and Jesus Christ, the poor man who dies for poor men, will bring it about for you, though all the Mammonites of the earth were against you. A nobler day is dawning for England, a day of freedom, science, industry! But there will be no true freedom without virtue, no true science without religion, no true industry without the fear of God, and love to your fellow citizens.

'Workers of England, be wise, and then you must be free, for you will be fit to be free.'

'A WORKING PARSON"

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7. Arthur V.Woodworth, Christian Socialism in England, (London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co.Ltd.,1903). pp.7-10.

The Guild of St.Matthew.

Formed in 1877 by Headlam as a parish guild, it built on the foundation of Christian Socialism and Tractarianism. It tended to reflect the mind of its founder to such an extent that it lost the flexibility necessary to be effective. By the first decade of the 20th Century it ceased to be active until in 1909 its members were absorbed in the Christian Social Union.[8]

The basis of the Guild of St.Matthew:
'1. To get rid, by every possible means of the existing prejudices, especially on the part of "secularists" against the Church, her sacraments and doctrines, and to endeavour to justify God to the people.
'2. To promote frequent and reverent worship in the Holy Communion, and a better observance of the teachings of the Church of England as set forth in the Book of Common Prayer.
'3. To promote the study of social and political questions in the light of the Incarnation.'

In 1884 the Guild of St.Matthew adopted this frmula:[9]

'Whereas the present contrast between the great body of the workers who produce much and consume little, and of the classes who produce little and consume much is contrary to the Christian doctrines of brotherhood and justice, this meeting urges on all Churchmen the duty of supporting such measures as will tend - a) To restore to the people the value which they give to the land; b) To bring about a better distribution of wealth created by labor; c) To give the whole body of the people a voice in their own government; d) To abolish false standards of worth and dignity.'

The Christian Socialist Society formed in 1886.[10]

'The ideal of Christian Socialism is to be found in Jesus Christ, and all its operations will be based in the spirit of His Life....The Society, then, is independent of all theological views, and welcomes as members all....to work as brothers one of

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8. Ibid., p.104. The following material is from this source.
9. Gilbert Clive Binyon, The Christian Socialist Movement in England, (London, S.P.C.K., 1931). p.143.
10. Ibid., pp.152, 153.

another, who are bound to subordinate their private advantage to the good of the commonwealth and of mankind.' The aims of the society can be summarized; union of all men without class distinction, education for all, production for use and not for profit, society organized on basis of moral worth and not on basis of wealth, public control of the means of production, etc.

The Christian Social Union.

The C.S.U. was founded in 1889. In 1919 it merged with the Navvy Mission to become the Industrial Christian Fellowship which is still active today. The I.C.F. uses the Archbishop's Fifth Report and the Lambeth Conference 1920 Report on Industry as its charter and it remains a worthy successor to the C.S.U.

Basis: (of C.S.U.)
'1. To claim for the Christian Law the ultimate authority to rule social practice.
'2. To study in common how to apply the moral truths and principles of the present time.
'3. To present Christ in practical life as the Living Master and King, the enemy of wrong and selfishness, the power of righteousness and love.' 11

The Christian Socialist League founded in 1894 by pastors in England. 12

'To assist in the reconstruction of society upon the principles of Jesus....'
Declaration: 'This country cannot accurately be called Christian so long as the people in their collective capacity, by their social, industrial, and commercial arrangements, practically deny the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. The members of the Christian Socialist League believe that the principles of Jesus Christ are directly applicable to all social

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11. Woodworth, op.cit., pp.140-141.
12. W.D.P.Bliss, The Encyclopedia of Social Reform, (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1897) p.260.

and economic questions and that such application to the conditions of our time demands the reconstruction of society upon the basis of association and fraternity.'

The Labor Church(British) - first church in Manchester 1891.[13]

'1. That the labor movement is a religious movement.
'2. That the religion of the labor movement is not a class religion, but unites members of all classes in working for the abolition of commercial slavery.
'3. That the religion of the labor movement is not sectarian or dogmatic, but free religion, leaving each man free to develop his own relations with the power that brought him into being.
'4. That the emancipation of labor can only be realized so far as men learn both the economic and moral laws of God, and heartily endeavor to obey them.
'5. That the development of personal character and the improvement of social conditions are both essential to man's emancipation from moral and social bondage.'

The Scottish Christian Social Union founded in 1901 and patterned after the English C.S.U. was active for a short period, until before the World War I. While its basis is a little different from the C.S.U. there is nothing radically new.[14]

The Church Socialist League formed in 1906 ceased to exist by 1916, though it was inactive by 1912. Composed of members of the Church of England, its ideals were revived in the League of the Kingdom of God, in 1923. Its American counterpart was organized in 1911 but disbanded in 1919.[15]

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13. Ibid., p.780. This sounds more like a labor pronouncement on religion.
14. David Watson, The Scottish Christian Social Union And How It Came To Be Formed, (Glasgow: David J.Clark, 1901), a pamphlet, p.15.
15. Binyon, op.cit., p.190. For principles of the League of the Kingdom of God see back copies of 'Christendom' or Spencer Miller and Joseph F.Fletcher, The Church and Industry, (New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1930) p.29f.

'The Church Socialist League consist of Church people who accept the principles of Socialism, viz:

'The political, economic, and social emancipation of the whole people, men and women, by the establishment of a democratic commonwealth in which the community shall own the land and capital collectively, and use them co-operatively for the good of all.

'Principles - 1) The Church has to do with the whole of human life, social and industrial, material and spiritual. 2) The Church can best fulfill this mission in its corporate capacity. 3) The Church and the State each in its proper sphere, have essentially the same aim, viz, the attainment of the fullness of life for all.

'Methods - 1) To cultivate the life of brotherhood by the use of prayer and sacrament to make manifest the social implications of our faith and worship....3) To help the advance of Socialism by every just means. 4) To Convert Church people to the principles of Socialism and to promote a better understanding between Church people who are not Socialist and Socialists who are not Church people.'

Groups of Social Christianity in America

The earliest known group belonging to the Christian Social movement in America was the Christian Labor Union organized by Christian reformers in Boston in 1872. Its work lasted for six years, but the influence of its leaders was felt in other early organizations.[16]

'1. Do not the teachings, example and spirit of Jesus require of his churches to-day, that there should be mutual care in sickness, and such systematic provision for the help of those who have need, that the degrading sense of pauperism which now too often embitters their hard lot may be removed? 2. Do they

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16. James Dumbrowski, The Early Days of Christian Socialism in America, (New York: Columbia Un.Press, 1936) p.78. See also Hopkins, Rise of the Social Gospel, pp.42-49.

not now require the church to establish labor partnerships and other industrial co-operative organizations, as a part of its Christian duty to its members? 3. Do they not also require that the principles of labor service of each other as exemplified by the Master in washing the feet of the disciples, should constitute the law of Industry and Exchange, and inasmuch as this requires concert of action, is it not the duty of the Church to sustain those who abandon the present maxims of trade, and endeavor to act upon the principle which is inspired by Philosophy and Religion, that Cost is the Just limit of Price.'

The American Economics Association was founded in 1885 with Richard T. Ely as its guiding light.[17]

'We hold that the doctrine of laissez-faire is unsafe in politics and unsafe in morals; and that it suggests an inadequate explanation of the relations between the state and the citizens....We hold that the conflict of labor and capital has brought to the front a vast number of social problems whose solution is impossible without the united efforts of the Church, state and science.'

'In other words(Ely interpreted)we who have resolved to form an American Economics Association hope to do something toward the developing of a system of ethics. We wish to accomplish certain practical results in the social and financial worlds, and believing our work lies in the direction of practical Christianity, we appeal to the Church, the chief of the social forces in this country, to help us, to support us, and to make our work a complete success, which it can by no possibility be without her assistance.'

The Church Association for The Advancement of the Interests of Labor was founded in 1887 by members of the Protestant Episcopal Church. It was disbanded in 1926 when its members felt its work

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17. Dumbrowski, op.cit., p.51, see also Hopkins, op.cit.,pp.116-117.

was now being done by the Industrial Relations Commission of the Department of Christian Social Service of the Protestant Episcopal Church.[18]

The C.A.I.L. 'believing that the clergy and laity of the Church should become personally interested in the social questions now being agitated, should inform themselves of the nature of the issues presented and should be prepared to act as the necessities of the day may demand, sets forth the following principles and methods of work for its members.

Principles.

'1. It is the essence of the teachings of Jesus that God is the Father of all men and that all men are brothers.

'2. God is the sole possessor of the Earth and its fullness; Man is but the steward of God's bounties.

'3. Labor being the exercise of body, mind and spirit in the broadening and elevating of human life, it is the duty of every man to labor diligently.

'4. Labor, as thus defined, should be the standard of social worth.

'5. When the divinely-intended opportunity to labor is given to all men, one great cause of the present widespread suffering and destitution will be removed.'

The Society of Christian Socialists was founded in 1889 under the direct efforts of W.D.P.Bliss, and when he went to the Church Social Union in 1896, it ceased to be.[19]

'To exalt the principles that all rights and powers are gifts of God, not for the receiver's use only, but for the benefit of all; to magnify the one-sideness of the human family, and to lift mankind to the highest plane of privilege, we band ourselves together under the name of Christian Socialists. (Then follows a long recitation of the evils of society against which Christians must protest).....Our objects, therefore....(is) To show that the aim of Socialism is embraced in the aim of Christianity.'

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18. Miller and Fletcher, op.cit.,p.52.
19. Dumbrowski, op.cit., pp.99-100.

The Episcopal Christian Social Union organized in 1891 and patterned after the English C.S.U. changed its name in 1894 to the Church Social Union. In 1911 it gave over its work to the newly formed Commission on Social Service appointed by the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church. (Its basis being much the same as the C.S.U. in England, there is no need to print it here.)[20]

The Brotherhood of the Kingdom, started in 1892, by Leighton Williams, Walter Rauschenbusch and others, consisted mainly of Baptists but later included others also. It met annually until 1915. It was a small but very influential group.[21]

'1. Every member shall by his personal life exemplify obedience to the ethics of Jesus. 2....3.He shall lay special stress on the social aims of Christianity, and shall endeavor to make Christ's teaching concerning wealth operative in the Church. 4. On the other hand, he shall take pains to keep in contact with the common people, and to infuse the religious spirit into the efforts of social amelioration. 5-8....(this also being a discipline there are suggestions for prayer, reports, fellowship, action, etc.)'

Four groups of some interest but with nothing really new are: The American Institute of Christian Sociology founded in 1893 by George D.Herron a radical Christian reformer;[22] (Its objects read pretty much the same as those of the C.S.U.); the Christian Workingmen's Institute started prior to 1894;[23] the Labor Church which, like its British predecessor, became more a faith in labor than in religion,

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20. Ibid., p.99.
21. Ibid., p.107. See also Hopkins, op.cit., pp.132-133.
22. Bliss, op.cit.,(1897), pp.45-46.
23. Hopkins, op.cit., p.153.

was begun in Lynn, Mass., but it was inactive after 1900 with some exceptions;[24] and the Christian Commonwealth Community in Georgia from 1895-1900.[25]

The Christian Socialist Fellowship organized in 1906 declined after 1910 because of internal dissension.[26] It later adopted resolutions accepting the principles of Socialism and endorsing the Socialist Party of America. The flame of Christian Socialism was kept alive for a short while by this group to be rekindled in 1930 by The Fellowship of Socialist Christians under the leadership of Reinhold Niebuhr.[27]

'Purpose: to permeate churches, denominations and other religious institutions with the social message of Jesus; to show that Socialism is the necessary expression of the Christian life; to end the class struggle by establishing industrial democracy, and to hasten the reign of justice and brotherhood upon earth.'

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24. Ibid., p.87.
25. Dumbrowski, op.cit., p.130.
26. Hopkins, op.cit., p.235.
27. For more about this last group see John Hutchison, Christian Faith and Social Action, (New York; Charles Scribners & Sons, 1953). This illustrates the growth and dynamics of other groups of a similar nature over the same period. In 1947 the name of the group was changed to Frontier Fellowship with a much less socialist solution to problems and in 1951 to Christian Action which rejected 'absolute identification of capitalism, socialism, or any economic and political system with the will of God.' Christian Action remains today one of the most effective organisations in American Protestantism, yet its sphere of influence is rather restricted to an intellectual few.

GERMAN AND FRENCH PROTESTANT SOCIAL GROUPS.

In order that some perspective may be gained when we discuss the Ecumenical statements, it is important to recognize that there have been social movements in churches of other nations. The purpose of this part of the Appendix is to indicate two of these, to show how these have their part in the later Life and Work Movement.

German Social Christianity traces its origin to Wichern who called for some changes but none quite so radical as did the Christian Socialists. Under his inspiration and by his tremendous efforts, the Innere Mission was founded in the 1840's. Huber, also an early pioneer, presented a philosophy which affected later thinking in the German Churches. His schemes also made a deep impression on the life and work of the Christian people. Lutherans have always been noted for their works of charity, usually administered on a more or less individualistic basis. Because of this, we notice a different phenomenon in Germany from that in Britain and America, during the last half of the 19th Century, where many Christian social agencies grew up without the Church. They were founded, sponsored and financed by Christians but were never under the control or direction of the Church. These private mission societies, following the plan of Wichern and the philosophy of Huber, greatly affected the whole life of Germany.[28]

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28. A particularly fine study has been made of Social Christianity in Germany by William O. Shanahan, German Protestants Face the Social Question (Notre Dame: Un. of Notre Dame Press, 1954), Vol. I. 'The Conservative Phase 1815-1875.' The second volume which has not been published, will bring the study up to date.

In this early period there is little record of a Protestant Social Movement in France. Individuals began works of social relief, and the McCall Missions in the 1870's inaugurated a fine social evangelistic emphasis which changed the character of later efforts.

1875-1900.

In 1878, Stöcker, a court preacher, and Todt began the Central Union for Social Reform in Berlin. Ostensibly this was a Christian social action group but it quickly showed itself to be an ultra-nationalist organization acting along very conservative lines, advocating a patriarchal society under the Kaiser. This became the Christian Social Labor Party, but Bliss states that their politics was a 'mucker socialismus', a sham socialism.[29] In reality it was the Church wing of the government's paternal State Socialism. In 1882, as if to pacify the proletariat, Stöcker and Todt founded the Evangelical Workmen's Unions. These probably grew up as much in opposition to the Roman Catholic Unions as to reach the group not touched by the Christian Social Labor Party which was composed mostly of middle class shop-keepers and well-to-do merchants.

Perhaps the biggest step forward was the organizing of the

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29. 'Christian Socialism', The New Encyclopedia of Social Reform, ed. W.D.P.Bliss, (New York: Funk and Wagnalls Company, 1908). p.201.

Evangelisch-Sozialer Kongress in 1890 by Stöker, Harnack and others. Göhre, writing in the early nineties, foresaw a split between the conservative and more liberal elements, or those whom he described as siding with patriarchy and those who sided with proletarians. Göhre belonged to the second group.[30] The former group, under the leadership of Stöcker formed the Freie Kirchlich-Soziale Konferenz in 1896. Stöcker followed a course which became increasingly conservative and which in his political party led directly to a fervent anti-semitism.[31] In the same year, Naumann founded a party called the National-Sozialer Verein. It is to be presumed that Göhre found himself with this group, for Bliss tells us that he ended in straight socialism.[32]

Yet for all this, the Congress remained strong, surviving these right and left wing revolts. It is sad that only academic and Church circles were reached; yet the Congress was able to touch the life of the Church itself in a vital way,[33] becoming for

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30. Paul Göhre, The Evangelical Social Movement in Germany - Its History and Aims, abridged trans. by Janet E.K.Shuttleworth,(London: Ideal Publishing Union Ltd., 1898) p.191.
31. Philip Taft, Movements For Economic Reform, (New York: Rinehart & Co.Inc., 1950), p.456. Taft speaks of Stöcker's Christian Social Party combining 'a superficially radical social program with Jewish hatred.'
32. Bliss, op.cit., Ernst.Troeltsch, The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches, trans.by Olive Wyon, (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1950), Vol.I.p.33, n.7, appearing on p.36. 'Friedrich Naumann....by his Christian Socialism was thrown more and more upon the State, through a realistic knowledge of the actual situation, until he came to regard the social problem almost entirely from the point of view of the State; the Church, and Christianity in general, he relgates to the sphere of the purely personal and ethical life.'
33. A History of the Ecumenical Movement, ed.R.Rouse and S.C.Neill, (London: S.P.C.K., 1954). p.510. There is mention that Söderblom attended one of the meetings of the social movement and he described Christian social movements as a powerful factor making for unity amongst the Protestant Churches.

35 years the center of social study.

The Association protestante pour l'étude pratique des questions sociales started in 1887, and its publication which was later called the Christianisme Social, still influences the French Protestant pastorate. The early leaders were Fallot, Gouth, Charles Gide, Wilfred Monod and others. The Church herself did not take a position on social questions, one main reason being that she was in a minority, leaving her too preoccupied with her own existence to think about an aggressive social approach. Elie Gounelle founded in 1898 the Movement des Solidarités et des Fraternités.[34] These groups accepted responsibility for social strategy for the Church.[35]

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34. Other examples of social leaders who became active in co-operative Church movements were Gounelle, Monod and later Boegner, all who owed a spiritual heritage on both counts to Follot. cf. Hist of Ec. Movement, p.333.

35. Evangelism in France, Ecumenical Studies Book (Geneva: World Council of Churches, 1951). p.9 describes the movement of social evangelism, especially the McCall Mission, in words that might well apply to the Church's concern in the whole social field. (though the groups mentioned stand as exceptions). 'Just before the XXth century opened, a decline set in which continued for almost forty years. This recession is often called "a period of stablisation and concentration."....With regard to this period it was said, "It seems sometimes that the whole of our work consists in defending the Church against her own death."'

A letter dated 13 November 1954 from Prof. Giovanni Miegge, Facolta Valdese de Teologia, Rome, and addressed to the author in response to a request for pronouncements of the Waldensian Church shows a similar reaction. 'The Waldensian Church is a little minority Church, mainly occupied with the struggle for its own freedom, and in the above mentioned period it conceived its work chiefly as a preaching of the Gospel to catholic and indifferent people, on the background of an individualistic and pietistic christianity.'

One wonders if a more aggressive and active faith related to all of life would not have achieved a greater hearing, especially in these two countries where social conditions are generally poor, and mostly so among industrial workers.

1900 to Stockholm

'The German Church Council in its meeting of 1905 was most hospitable to a thoroughgoing social program for the Church, and advocated the creation of social pastorates and special social service within the Church.[36] Begun in 1905,[37] the Federation of French Protestant Churches was finally completed by 1914, France took the lead in the formation of La Fédération Internationale des Chrétiens Sociaux at Besançon in 1910. Delegates from the Western European Churches were present and over the objections of the Germans who 'considered it a mistake at the same time to lay down Christian principles and to tie the movement to a particular program of action,[38] a program was adopted which took a stand on a number of questions.[39]

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36. Adolf Keller and George Stewart, Protestant Europe: Its Crisis and Outlook, (London: Hodder and Stoughton Ltd., 1927) p.221.
37. Separation of Church and State also took place at this time, and this partially accounts for the need for federation.
38. Hist.of the Ecumenical Movement, p.511.
39. Keller and Stewart, op.cit.,p.127. There is no record of the German Church taking official action in this area but that is accounted for by the Lutheran position that it is not the Church's task to initiate matters of social reform.

As far as it is known, the French Reformed Church has not taken any official stand in the economic or industrial field either. A conversation with M.le Pasteur Conord, Secrétaire Général de l'Eglise Réformée de France, on the 27th of January, 1955, confirms this fact. He said that the Reformed Church only spoke on such issues with regard to particular events or incidents, but that as far as he knows there is no social creed or statement of principles. For example, they spoke on the question of the separation of Church and State after 1905, and in 1945 of the status of the Church after the occupation, and more recently on conscription, alcoholism, and other questions.

Scheduled to meet in 1914, these groups were separated by war until their members came together next in the preparation for the Stockholm Conference.

The rest of the story is told in great detail in The History of the Ecumenical Movement. We are not obliged to carry this discussion any further, except to note that the groups listed furnished leaders for the French and German Churches, in the Life and Work Movement. The French Reformed Church, so far as can be ascertained, did not make any pronouncements for reasons given above. There is record of the German Church Federation making a statement at Bethel in 1924 after the manner of COPEC, though not so technical nor so well thought out.[40] Though it has not been possible to find this statement, and only one reference is given for it, already noted, one would suppose that this was the first Western European Church to have made an official pronouncement and having received a boost by the efforts of COPEC and by the desire to have something on the record in preparation for Stockholm.

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40. Keller and Stewart, op.cit., p.130. The authors, commenting on this, state that before COPEC there were just individuals and groups in Europe concerned about social questions; but after COPEC the whole Church became concerned.
Commenting on the German Church Federation statement at Bethel, Keller and Stewart wrote, 'care was taken not to enter too deeply into technical questions and to recognize that the economic and industrial system has its own laws which must be respected.

Groups in German Protestantism

Attention is drawn to the more patriotic spirit of the German statement[41] compared with British and American ones. A Lutheran view of society underlies the thinking of the German Church represented here.

The Central Union for Social Reform on a Religious Constitutional, Monarchial Basis. This was the original movement founded by Stöcker and Todt in 1878 which broke into the Central Union for Social Reform and the Christian Social Workingmen's Party, the latter group to appeal to the laboring groups.[42]

Two principles, one for the State and one for the Church.
'1. That thorough reforms have become necessary in order to inspire the enfranchised masses with confidence toward the Government.
'2. That the solution of the social question is impossible without the co-operation of the moral and religious factors, and the Church's recognition of the just demands of the fourth estate (the working men).

The Christian Social Labor (Workingmen's) Party started by Stöcker after 1878.[43]

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41. William O.Shanahan, op.cit., p.301. 'At a decisive moment, German Protestantism had cast its lot with the authoritarian and the agrarian tradition of European life, openly scorning the urban-industrial and liberal world that was coming into being. German Protestantism thereby risked the loss of the common man's allegience, for by committing itself to monarchical authority, Protestantism could not take the side of the people.'
42. Bliss, op.cit.,(1897) p.255.
43. Paul Göhre, The Evangelical Social Movement in Germany, abridged translation by J.E.K.Shuttleworth, (London: Ideal Publ.Union Ltd., 1898). P.58.

General Principles

'1. The Christian-social labor-party stands on the foundation of the Christian faith, and of love to King and Fatherland.

'2. It rejects the social-democracy of the present day as unpractical, unchristian and unpatriotic.

'3. It aims at a peaceful organization of workmen, for the purpose of preparing necessary practical reforms in concert with members of other classes of our national life.

'4. It seeks to diminish the chasm between rich and poor, and to bring about greater economical activity.'

Evangelical Workmen's Unions grew up in opposition to Roman Catholic Unions. Started in Westphalia in 1882.[44]

Purpose:

'1. To arouse and promote evangelical consciousness among its fellow-believers.

'2. To strive for the moral improvements and general culture of its members.

'3. To preserve and foster peaceful relations between employers and employed.

'4. To assist its members in cases of sickness and death.

'5. To maintain fidelity towards the Emperor and the Empire.'

The Evangelisch-Sozialer Kongress was formed in 1890. Göhre suggested that the following, while not an official program, would represent the majority views of the group.[45] (This would be before the splintering off of 1896.) See Appendix D.

'1. Christian religion and industrial life are in themselves separate spheres. The former relates to the eternal life of God, the latter to the suitable satisfaction of temporal needs.

'2. Christianity is independent of the economical organization of society, and can co-exist with any form of industrial life. The latter again is governed by laws of its own, independent of Christianity.

'3. Christian religion and industrial work naturally come into inward contact with each other and mutually influence each other in the sphere of ethics. As Christianity understands

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44. Ibid., p.120.
45. Ibid., p.181.

it, there can be no eternal life in God without moral education and moral activity, while the regulations of industrial life demand moral conduct as a necessity of their being, and are in turn necessitated by morality.

'4. It is therefore a Christian duty to cause industrial life to be ordered in such a manner that it may become a foundation for the nurture of the ethical ideals of Christianity.

'5. With regard to the existing order of industrial life, this duty leads as well to the defense of its essential fundamental ideas against subversive desires, as to incisive demands for its transformation.'

A French Protestant Movement.

The Association Protestante pour l'étude pratique des questions Sociales was founded in 1887 by Gouth and Fallot.[46] (See Appendix B.)

'....2. It appeals without distinction of opinion to all Protestants, men and women, who comprehend their responsibilities and their duties in view of the sufferings and the dangers of existing society, and who are resolved to thoroughly apply to the organization of society, as well as to the life of the individual, the principles of love and justice proclaimed by Jesus Christ.

'....4. Placing itself above all on moral and religious grounds, the association will apply itself to the investigation and publication of everything in the existing order which is contrary to justice and solidarity, everything of a nature to hinder the moral and religious development of the individual, and consequently his salvation.

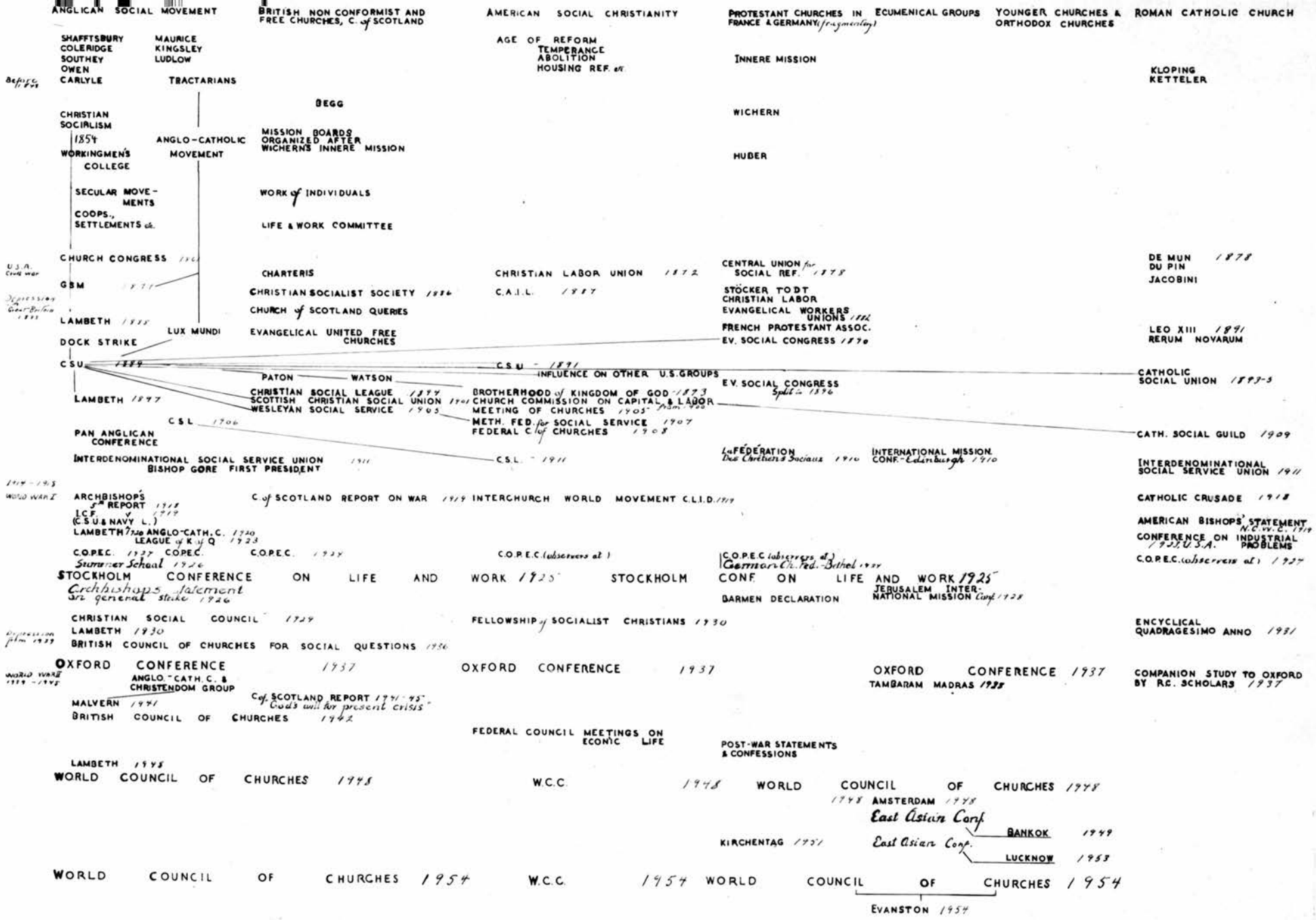
'5. The aim of the association is to labor to repair the evils from which we suffer, by pointing out to Christians their social duties, by suggesting to them the initiative in works of brotherhood and relief, and by acting upon public opinion and the established powers to bring about necessary reforms.'

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46. Bliss, op.cit., (1897). p.257.

APPENDIX B

A CHRONOLOGICAL CHART
OF
SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY


ANGLICAN SOCIAL MOVEMENT
BRITISH NON CONFORMIST AND FREE CHURCHES, C. of SCOTLAND
AMERICAN SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY
PROTESTANT CHURCHES IN FRANCE & GERMANY (fragmentary)
ECUMENICAL GROUPS
YOUNGER CHURCHES & ORTHODOX CHURCHES
ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH
SHAFTSBURY
COLERIDGE
SOUTHEY
OWEN
CARLYLE
MAURICE
KINGSLEY
LUDLOW
TRACTARIANS
AGE OF REFORM
TEMPERANCE
ABOLITION
HOUSING REF. etc
INNERE MISSION
KLOPING
KETTELER
Before 1848
BEGG
CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM
1854
WORKINGMEN'S COLLEGE
ANGLO-CATHOLIC MOVEMENT
MISSION BOARDS ORGANIZED AFTER WICHERNS INNERE MISSION
WICHERN
HUBER
SECULAR MOVEMENTS
COOPS., SETTLEMENTS etc.
WORK of INDIVIDUALS
LIFE & WORK COMMITTEE
CHURCH CONGRESS 1861
U.S.A. Civil war
GBM 1871
CHARTERIS
CHRISTIAN SOCIALIST SOCIETY 1886
CHURCH of SCOTLAND QUERIES
CHRISTIAN LABOR UNION 1872
C.A.I.L. 1887
CENTRAL UNION for SOCIAL REF. 1878
STÖCKER TODT
CHRISTIAN LABOR
EVANGELICAL WORKERS UNIONS 1882
FRENCH PROTESTANT ASSOC.
EV. SOCIAL CONGRESS 1890
DE MUN 1878
DU PIN
JACOBINI
Depression in Great Britain 1883
LAMBETH 1888
LUX MUNDI
EVANGELICAL UNITED FREE CHURCHES
LEO XIII 1891
RERUM NOVARUM
DOCK STRIKE
CSU 1889
C.S.U. - 1891
INFLUENCE ON OTHER U.S. GROUPS
EV. SOCIAL CONGRESS Split in 1896
CATHOLIC SOCIAL UNION 1893-5
PATON
WATSON
CHRISTIAN SOCIAL LEAGUE 1897
SCOTTISH CHRISTIAN SOCIAL UNION 1901
WESLEYAN SOCIAL SERVICE 1903
BROTHERHOOD of KINGDOM of GOD 1873
CHURCH COMMISSION ON CAPITAL & LABOR
MEETING OF CHURCHES 1905 Pittsburgh
METH. FED. for SOCIAL SERVICE 1907
FEDERAL C of CHURCHES 1908
LAMBETH 1897
C.S.L. 1906
PAN ANGLICAN CONFERENCE
CATH. SOCIAL GUILD 1909
INTERDENOMINATIONAL SOCIAL SERVICE UNION 1911
BISHOP GORE FIRST PRESIDENT
C.S.L. - 1911
La FÉDÉRATION Des Chrétiens Sociaux 1910
INTERNATIONAL MISSION CONF. - Edinburgh 1910
INTERDENOMINATIONAL SOCIAL SERVICE UNION 1911
1914 - 1918
WORLD WAR I
ARCHBISHOPS' 5th REPORT 1918
C of SCOTLAND REPORT ON WAR 1919
INTERCHURCH WORLD MOVEMENT C.L.I.D. 1919
CATHOLIC CRUSADE 1918
I.C.F. 1919
(C.S.U. & NAVY L.)
AMERICAN BISHOPS' STATEMENT N.C. vs. C. 1919
LAMBETH 1920
ANGLO-CATH. C. 1920
LEAGUE of K. of Q. 1923
CONFERENCE ON INDUSTRIAL PROBLEMS U.S.A. 1925
C.O.P.E.C. 1924
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