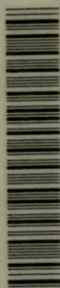

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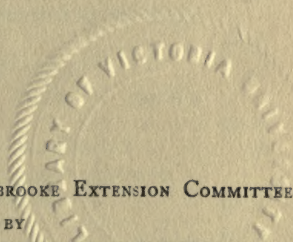
QUAKERISM

AND THE

FUTURE OF THE CHURCH

BY

HERBERT G. WOOD, M.A.



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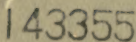

Synopsis of Contents

PAGE

Fears as to the future of organised Christianity - 7
Importance of distinction between the Church and the churches - - - - 8
Effects of economic strain and social change upon the churches - - - - 8-11
Dissatisfaction with the churches - - - 12
Dissatisfaction not confined to the churches - 13
The weaknesses of the Free Churches - - 15
1. Effects of class division - - - 16-17
2. Effects of Ecclesiastical division - - 17-18
3. The lack of a clear theology - - 19
The passing of Calvinism - - 20-30
4. The lack of ethical agreement - - 30
The Christian attitude in war - - 31-42
Christianity and resentment - - 33-41
Christian duty in relation to the Social Problem - - - - - 42-48
5. The lack of confidence and joy - - 48
Recognition of Quaker truth in modern theology - - - - - 49-55
Is the Society of Friends superfluous ? - 56
Continued need of its corporate witness to
1. Unity of religion and life - - - 57-59
2. Silence - - - - - - 59-61
3. Nature of Christian democracy - - 61-65
4. Peace and goodwill - - - - 65-69

Synopsis of Contents

	PAGE
Directions in which the churches supplement Quakerism - - - - - -	70-80
Decline of sectarian feeling, a sign of grace -	81-84
The prospects of genuine Catholic unity - -	84-86
Principal notes.	
The Wesleys and Calvinism - - -	87-89
The concept of Lordship - - -	89-90
Socialism - - - - - -	91
Church and State - - - - -	92-93
Quakerism and Womanhood - - -	93
Art and Inspiration - - - -	93-94
Infallibility - - - - - -	94-95

The numbers in the text of the lecture refer to notes at the end of the volume.

Preface

The Swarthmore Lectureship was established by the Woodbrooke Extension Committee, at a meeting held December 9th, 1907: the minute of the Committee providing for "an annual lecture on some subject relating to the message and work of the Society of Friends." The name "Swarthmore" was chosen in memory of the home of Margaret Fox, which was always open to the earnest seeker after Truth, and from which loving words of sympathy and substantial material help were sent to fellow-workers.

The Lectureship has a two-fold purpose: first, to interpret further to the members of the Society of Friends their Message and Mission; and, secondly, to bring before the public the spirit, the aims and the fundamental principles of the Friends.

The Lectures have been delivered on the evening preceding the assembly of the Friends' Yearly Meeting in each year.

A complete list of the Lectures, as published in book form, will be found at the beginning of this volume.

QUAKERISM AND THE FUTURE OF THE CHURCH.

At a time when all things are still reeling from the shock of war, it is natural that men's misgivings and forebodings should embrace the future of organised Christianity. Have the churches with which we are familiar any prospect of outriding the present storm? Have they outlived their usefulness, and will the stress of coming days bring with it the end of institutions which seem to continue rather in virtue of conventional respect than on the strength of real conviction?

Such questions are inevitable, and yet in approaching them, the distinction between the Church and the churches must not be forgotten. To doubt the future of the Church of Christ

NOTE.—The small figures in the text refer to numbered Notes printed at the end of the Lecture.

would be disloyalty. It may be that all our churches are doomed to dissolution, but the Christian fellowship will never be blotted out. Against Christ's Church, the gates of hell shall not prevail. Whatever the future holds in store for us, we cannot suppose that the name of Jesus will lose its power. Men and women will be drawn to one another as surely as they are drawn to Him. The Christian Fellowship will survive. If there should be a breach in its outward continuity, it will infallibly be recreated by its Lord. Ultimately fears for the future of the Church are faithless and if we indulge in them we shall merit the rebuke, "O ye of little faith, wherefore did ye doubt?"

In considering then the ways in which the churches are being sifted by the present crisis, we must entertain the hope that this time of testing will turn out rather to the furtherance of the Gospel. The most adverse circumstances will surely have a seed of goodness in them.

The most obvious and immediate consequence of the war on Church-life in this country is the economic strain to which all forms of religious work are subject. The difficulty is acute in the field of missionary enterprise, because of the position of the silver market. It is to be

hoped that this intensification of the crisis will not be prolonged, but no relief through a recovery of the exchange is to be expected for a few years at least. In general, the work of the churches is hampered by the rise in prices and the need of raising the salaries of paid workers in proportion to the cost of living. Meanwhile, though it is difficult to generalise, it is probable that the resources of those who support the ministry are not on the whole increasing. The economic future of the middle-classes on whom the churches largely depend is very uncertain. It is possible that we may have to face in this country as they must already be facing it on the Continent, a complete break-down of ecclesiastical finance. And if, as we hope, we stop short of social revolution, we are likely to see more or less drastic steps towards a more equal distribution of wealth. And just as a closer approximation to equality of income is likely to reduce the amount of capital available for industrial progress, so it may also reduce the revenues devoted to religious work. This economic pressure, which will probably increase in the near future, will in itself favour the church with an unpaid ministry as compared with the churches with a paid ministry, and the church

with a celibate priesthood as compared with the churches and ministry to which we are accustomed in this country. But this same economic pressure may call forth, in ministry and laity alike, the heroism and self-sacrifice which will largely discount it. It is also probable that our straitened circumstances will promote the cause of co-operation between churches. The churches will have to husband their resources, and this may have a healthy reaction on overlapping and other evils which spring from the dissociation of Christian churches. It is humiliating that fellowship among Christian people should wait for the spur of economic necessity, but even this necessity may yet be turned to glorious gain.

On the Continent, the effects of the war and revolution on the social and economic position of the churches have been more drastic than in England. In Russia, in Germany, and in Hungary the links between Church and State are severed. The churches are being forced to relinquish all their earthly props. The war tends to withdraw from the churches all the support they have hitherto derived from State-patronage, and social convention. Both religion and morality, so far as they rested on force of

habit, are being shaken. Respect for property, respect for the marriage-tie, respect for life, have lost their hold on many minds. "Thou shalt not steal, thou shalt not commit adultery, thou shalt not kill"—these commands no longer come home to many with the old authority. And so with religion—sabbath-observance, public worship, the practice of prayer, the profession of a creed, are all surrendered by those who previously adhered to them from convention or tradition. The secondary influences on which the churches so often relied are definitely weakened. There will be less of what Dr. Martineau called "Religion on false pretences," in the immediate future than there was before the war. This should automatically Puritanise the churches in the sense that they should contain a larger proportion of convinced members than heretofore.

It is not, however, the case that those who turn from the churches at the present time are mostly nominal or traditional Christians who have discovered the unreality of their professions. Were this the whole truth, we might welcome a diminution in numbers as the precursor of revival. But we have to recognise that many of the most ardent spirits of our time

stand aloof from the churches, perplexed and discouraged, or remain indifferent and even hostile to organised Christianity. One significant result elicited by the enquiry into the attitude of the army towards religion was this, that no one looked to the churches for any contribution to the solving of our social and international problems. That is to say, the churches seem to the great bulk of Englishmen irrelevant to the actual practical tasks of the day. In many instances this ignoring of the churches may be due to the fact that those who adopt this attitude have accepted programmes and ways of thinking which are definitely un-Christian and anti-Christian. For them, the wish may be father to the thought. They proclaim the churches an extinct volcano, because they fear a possible eruption. But in many other cases it is their very response to elements in Christianity which makes men dissatisfied with the churches. They look for leadership and behold, hesitation. The failure of the Papacy in the war reflects the failure of the whole Church. In many ways the conduct of the Papacy was irreproachable. It was cautious and dignified; it was charitable; it was on the side of peace. But in the long last,

men looked to the Vicar of Christ for prophecy and behold, diplomacy. And of the churches as a whole, the ecclesiastical trumpet gives an uncertain sound and men do not prepare themselves for the battle. They remain unrallied, or at least they do not rally round any Church standards.

Before we examine further the grounds for this dissatisfaction with the churches, it is worth while to note that the churches are not the only social institution to be viewed with disfavour and criticised with impatience. All existing forms of political and industrial organisation are being called in question. It is doubtful whether men are more tired of the churches to-day than they are of Parliament and the party-system. Since the time when President Wilson spoke of making the world safe for democracy, the question whether democracy itself be worth while has been raised on all sides, and a negative answer registered in many quarters. If our political institutions have lost prestige, the war has likewise accentuated the defects of the old industrial system. The experience of war-time has introduced some modifications of the old order, with its trust in private enterprise and private profit, and further transformations are

foreshadowed. The critics of existing institutions, political and economic, exhibit the impatience and one-sidedness of the war-weary, but the situation itself calls for bold development if revolution and disaster are to be averted. But should the worst happen, the State will be more rudely shaken than the Church, and the world of industry more seriously affected than the life of religion. Indeed, if the peril of violent revolution should overtake us, and European civilisation complete its self-destruction, then it is round Christian communities that a new world might form as in the dark ages.

There is some evidence that in Russia a new life is stirring among Christians, and if it is not exploited in the interests of reaction, it may transform the revolution. I for one cannot believe that the spirit of the Russian people as revealed in Tolstoi and Dostoieffsky will remain for long content with the materialism of Karl Marx. The hope is that a Christian communism will arise in Russia. But however events shape in that strange, unhappy country, I do not anticipate a violent revolution in our own land. We may be dissatisfied alike with Parliamentary government and with capitalism,

but we know that our dissatisfaction is one-sided, and that there are elements of strength in both which we do not mean to abandon. The British tradition which shrinks from attempting violent change is likely to be maintained. But if our political and economic systems prove capable of further modification and progressive adaptation to real human needs, then this will only take place in virtue of a courageous and patient faith which should be found pre-eminently in the churches.

We come back then to our main theme, how far are the churches individually and collectively ready either to inspire progress in society or to rebuild society if civilisation break down? How far does the widespread dissatisfaction with the churches point to real weakness and failure?

In examining this issue it is not necessary to traverse the many criticisms levelled at the churches from without. Nor need we be much concerned with a defensive attitude. What is most important is that those who belong to the churches, who know them from within, and who still believe in them, should take stock of the situation, should consider the gains and losses that have come with social and intellectual

change, and should seek to influence organised Christianity so as to make good its shortcomings. It is from this point of view that I approach the subject and I speak of the Free Churches, which I know best. What do we lack in the Free Churches? Where do we fail?

We may put first the tendency of the Free Churches to be too closely identified with the middle-classes. The strength of class-division which Karl Marx regarded as the supreme factor in history, is unhappily evidenced in our Church life. I do not mean that the spirit of class-war is reflected there, but that the separation and aloofness between classes generated in economic organisation is carried over into the Church and is only imperfectly overcome. In the Free Churches, the leadership is almost inevitably middle-class; in buildings and in arrangements for public worship and church business, the tastes and standards of the middle-class tend to predominate. This state of affairs is unconsciously evolved rather than deliberately desired, and the responsibility may often lie as much with the class-conscious worker as with the energetic business man. To some extent, the provision of special religious organisations to suit the needs and tastes of particular sections

of the people, from mission halls and institutional churches, to P.S.A.s and Adult Schools, is a confession that our churches proper do not realise their own ideal and do not make men aware that in Christ there is neither bourgeois nor proletariat. Fortunately, the struggle against the spirit of class-division has not been abandoned and the record of the churches is by no means one of complete failure. We can still witness the power of the gospel of Jesus Christ to bridge social gulfs. But we need more than ever to be on our guard against the subtly divisive influence of our economic environment and no doubt the only real safeguard is to modify that economic environment itself.

In the next place, we may notice the weakening effect of the divided state of the Church. In popular opinion, our divisions are wildly exaggerated, but they are a real hindrance to the work of the Church. They are associated with mistaken emphasis in the interpretation of Christianity and in the presentation of Christianity to the outside world. It is true that many Christians are still indifferent to our divisions. They hold that competition produces keenness in Christian work and that individual initiative can be preserved and variety of

temperament satisfied, only by maintaining a number of distinct and dissimilar organisations. That these considerations must be borne in mind in judging any proposals for reunion, I freely admit. But that they justify even our present state of separation is not clear. There may be room for friendly rivalry among Christian communities and it may be stimulating, but from the Christian point of view the friendship is more important than the rivalry, and from the historical point of view the rivalry is more apparent than the friendship. To the problem of reunion we may return towards the close of the lecture, but in the meantime never was it more desirable that the churches should bear a common testimony wherever possible ; never was it more desirable that they should become acquainted with one another, and manifest their friendship and esssential unity to the world. And I would venture to urge that Friends generally would do well to take more interest in other churches, especially in the Free Churches, than they usually do.

Behind these problems of social distinction and ecclesiastical division lie the more baffling problems of theological and ethical disagreement and uncertainty. The chief failure of

the churches lies here, that they do not offer to the people with any assurance a simple gospel, an intelligible view of God and the world, or clear guidance on the practical issues with which men are confronted. Another significant and disquieting result of the enquiry into the Army and Religion to which reference has already been made, was the disclosure of men's almost complete ignorance of the leading Christian doctrines. No very clear meanings are attached to the Incarnation and the Atonement. Where definite ideas are retained, they are apt to be limited in character, surviving remnants of outworn theological systems. This absence of clear-cut impressions of the leading ideas of Christianity means that the churches themselves are living more or less in a doctrinal haze. The war seems to have found us lamentably weak both in the doctrine of the Cross and in teaching on the subject of the future life. It is surprising how silent preachers were on both these themes before the war. Many were no longer able to preach what were regarded as the orthodox doctrines of Atonement and of the Hereafter, but they had no satisfying alternative doctrine to offer. Preaching lost much of its power through ceasing to dwell on central themes.

This hesitation is indeed but a momentary phase in a long development of religious thought in this country. What we have been witnessing is the passing of Calvinism, though no equally well-tempered and imposing theology has arisen to take its place. When my father went to college to be trained for the Baptist ministry in the fifties of the last century, the Principal could still assure his students that if they would not have Calvinism, the churches would not have them. To-day, the main outlines of Calvinism have faded from men's minds. Even in Baptist Churches there are few left who could tell you the five points in which Calvinism was popularly summed up. It is interesting to recall the main features of the old Puritan theology which with some modification became the doctrinal frame-work of the Evangelical revival. It was founded on the thought of the sovereignty of God, by whose word and for whose glory all things and all men were made. His inscrutable will decreed from all eternity the fate of man. His glory was revealed both in the salvation of some and the reprobation of others. All men had fallen in Adam, and were enslaved to sin. Original sin had distorted all men's powers, so that human nature was tainted and

depraved throughout. For the elect, Christ died, taking on Himself the punishment due for their sins and so justifying them. For the elect once justified, sanctification followed, a gradual growth in grace, which was never completed in this life, but in which the saints would persevere to the end. For the elect was reserved a heaven of perfect bliss, while for the reprobate there waited eternal torments. The whole of this scheme of salvation rested on the testimony of Scripture, which was the infallible and inerrant word of God.

This theology had great elements of strength as its endurance would suggest. Calvin made God and not man the centre of interest in religion, and that surely is right. Then he took no rose-water view of the goodness of human nature or of the problems of salvation. If Puritanism offered men but stern, cold comfort, at least it was prepared to face the darkest experiences of life, to find in them the mysterious will of God, and even in the darkness to seek God's glory. Moreover it was a compact comprehensible system, which gave quite humble folk a clear interpretation of the world and life. Yet with all its strength, it has crumbled to pieces, and its passing was inevitable. It is

impossible to recall all the influences that have helped to undermine it, but we may refer to some of the leading movements of thought to show how complete its ruin has been. We may mention first the influence of the Methodist Revival. The Wesleys rejected the Calvinist doctrine of predestination. This was the heart of the bitter controversy with Toplady, a controversy remarkable in that it called forth some of the finest hymns in the English language. Both "Rock of ages, cleft for me," and "Jesus, lover of my soul" have controversial associations. Curiously enough a good deal of the argument was presented in verse and Charles Wesley wrote poems in denunciation of the horrible decree in which the Calvinists believed.[1] The Wesleys not only questioned the doctrine of predestination, they also preached the possibility of present perfection—a criticism of Calvinist teaching which was subsequently elaborated in more than one Holiness movement. Keswick helped to break down the rigidity of Calvinism.

Methodism did not break with the great doctrines of the older theology on the Fall and Original Sin, on the substitutionary sacrifice of Christ, or on Eternal Punishment, but it did

preach that Christ died for all men, and it offered salvation for all. This was likewise the point at which the whole evangelical movement freed itself from the tendencies of the more rigid type of Calvinism. When William Carey became concerned for India, the strict Calvinists of his own church assured him that if God willed to save the heathen, He would do it without Carey's aid. The belief in the Sovereignty of God, in Divine Election, and in a limited Atonement had atrophied the missionary sense in Calvinistic Christianity. The evangelical revival was the reawakening of that missionary enthusiasm. In essentials, the Evangelicals stood by the old theology, but they recognised that the Gospel was meant for mankind.

The same thought was presented by Thomas Erskine and McLeod Campbell in a form which diverged more profoundly from the theology which prevailed in the Scotch Church in their day. Both asserted in effect the Universal Freeness of the Gospel. For both saving faith is the simple realisation that since Christ died for all, He died for me. And both went beyond the Evangelical school, in that they so conceived God's love and the nature of the Atonement that they abandoned the substitutionary view

as it was ordinarily understood and rejected the idea of vicarious punishment. This was an inroad on the old orthodoxy in which Evangelicalism was not prepared to follow them. But to-day we find ourselves less and less able to retain the idea of substitution and more and more inclined and compelled to find with McLeod Campbell, the redeeming power of Christ's death in its moral influence on men.

Another pillar of the old orthodoxy gave way when the traditional belief in eternal punishment became morally unsatisfying. Some sought to escape the intolerable burden of this creed by affirming conditional immortality with Edward White. Others found relief in the teaching of Dean Farrar and Samuel Cox on Eternal Hope. F. D. Maurice lost a professorship in London for refusing to teach the older doctrine. We have become almost silent and agnostic about human destiny and the future life, and yet we cannot in this matter advance by retracing our steps. We do not and we cannot preach again the old doctrines of hell fire and eternal punishment.

By far the severest shock to the old system of theology was administered unintentionally by Darwin. His scientific discoveries have

revolutionised our ideas of creation and of the history of mankind. They affected the old theology primarily in two ways. First, they made it obvious that the story of Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden was not literally true. Now Calvinism and Evangelical orthodoxy built much on the Biblical account of the Fall and on the doctrine of original sin. But the facts on which Darwin's theory of evolution rests are obviously incompatible with the story of man falling from a state of primitive innocence. In itself the surrender of the early chapters of Genesis involves no real loss for the Christian faith. But for scholastic Calvinism it was fatal. The whole plan of salvation as the Calvinist conceived it turned on the restoration to us in Christ of what we lost in Adam. In the work of redemption Calvinism was preoccupied with redemption from original sin rather than actual sin. But actual sin is after all the problem, and it is the problem with which our Lord was Himself concerned, for I do not remember that He anywhere asserts or implies the doctrine of original sin. So the discoveries of Darwin do not affect the essential religious problem of sin and salvation, but they do profoundly affect the popular theology as Calvin shaped it. In

the second place, Darwin, by forcing the recognition of the non-scientific, non-historical character of the Biblical account of creation, challenged the popular Evangelical conception of the authority of the Scriptures. It was then generally supposed that the inspiration and authority of the Scriptures could not be maintained, if they contained any errors in statement of fact, or any defects in moral insight. This whole position was inevitably giving way before the progress of literary and historical studies. A literary critic like Coleridge had found himself compelled to rethink the idea of inspiration, and he had suggested what is to my mind a truer and more religious view of inspiration than the traditional one in his "Confessions of an Enquiring Spirit." But it was Darwin, and the obvious discrepancy between Genesis and geology, which really shook the hold of the orthodox doctrine on the lay mind. Defenders of the old view of the Bible still imagine that they can indoctrinate the coming generation with the beliefs of our forefathers if only the type of teaching in our Sunday Schools is rigidly orthodox. Essentially both in temper and in hopefulness this policy reproduces the feeling of the Papacy towards Galileo. In their every-

day study of science, literature and history children are learning the facts and the habits of mind which make the old orthodoxy incredible and impossible. If an inerrant and infallible Bible is essential to the Christian faith, then without doubt Christianity is doomed to disappear. Fortunately it is not Christianity, but only the old Theology that is under sentence of death.

Limitations of space prevent me from even outlining the influence exerted on religious thought by the rise and progress of historical criticism and research, by the closer acquaintance with and appreciation of other faiths through the comparative study of religions, and by the still younger science of psychology. But in closing this survey of the influences which undermined Calvinism, I must include a reference to the renewed emphasis placed on the Fatherhood of God in Christian teaching. In the nineteenth century men came to question more and more the category of kingship. They began to perceive that God's sovereignty must be interpreted in terms of Fatherhood and not in terms of monarchy. The Calvinist found in his faith the courage to beard kings, but it is strange how often his conception of God's majesty

was formed on the false analogy of earthly potentates. To the Calvinist God's mercy was apt to be the graciousness of royalty rather than the love of a Father. And yet in the teaching of Jesus any analogy between the rulers of this world and the kingship of God is almost expressly denied. God's glory and majesty do not merely surpass the majesty and glory of earthly sovereigns; they differ in essential quality from all human forms of imperial greatness. It must not be forgotten that the wonder of God's mercy came home to the Calvinist the more strongly because it was set in the background of God's majesty. But it remains true that the Calvinist did not perceive that God's majesty is His mercy, and that we must construe sovereignty through mercy and not mercy through sovereignty.[2]

Looking back we can see that all the leading ideas of the older theology have broken down in the form in which they used to be presented. The idea of the sovereignty of God and of predestination and election have to be reshaped. The doctrines of the Fall and Original Sin, of a substitutionary Atonement and of Eternal Punishment are no longer believed and can no longer be preached. The popular conception

of the authority and inspiration of the Scriptures can no longer be maintained. Alike in its general spirit and in detail, Calvinism has passed. It would be misleading to suggest that the outcome of the movements of religious thought which appeared in the nineteenth century is essentially negative. Far from it. The older theology has yielded place to fresh vital apprehensions of Christian truth. We have the elements of a new and better theology in the work of teachers like Erskine and McLeod Campbell to mention no others. But we do still wait, as Dr. Oman says, for a theology that shines in its own light, for a master-mind to present to us a theology which has about it the clearness and the force which comes from a luminous regulative idea. One great weakness of the churches at the present time is that we are still groping after a theology which is at once simple and profound, loyal to the historic revelation and loyal to the manifestations of truth in modern science—a theology which would interpret life's meaning and purpose as clearly as Calvinism used to do or as Marxism does—a theology which will satisfy the mind and stir the heart—a theology that can be preached.

When Christians are not united in a clear understanding and presentation of their common faith, it is not surprising that they should differ in their views of the Christian character and in their judgments as to Christian duty. The question, what is a Christian? is constantly asked, but it is difficult to answer, and it is still more difficult to suggest an answer in which a majority of Christians would concur. And this is not merely a difficulty of verbal definition. It arises from a divergent valuation of various elements in the Christian ideal.

The subject is a large one, but we may concentrate on two points which seem to be of outstanding importance. The first is the cleavage of opinion in the Churches as to the Christian attitude in war-time. The second is our difficulty in arriving at a common Christian judgment as to the nature of the social problem and as to Christian duty in regard to it.

The most significant difference in Christian opinion disclosed by the war was not so much the practical decision which led one to feel that he must take part in the war, and another that he must not, but a less simple separation concerned with the place of resentment in the Christian character. This second and more

profound division does not directly coincide with the division into pacifist and non-pacifist. I have known pacifists whose practical decision was honestly based on Christian principles, but whose advocacy of their view seemed to give very free play to the instinct of pugnacity and was in my judgment distinguishable from the true Christian temper. On the other hand, I have known some who took part as combatants, and who, as I judge, in a genuine Christian spirit, gave no place unto wrath. But in saying this, I am prejudging the issue, which concerns precisely the duty of righteous indignation and the duty of embodying resentment in judicial severity. There is no doubt that on this question, whether through temperament or theology, Christians have been and are sharply divided. Towards the close of the war, I consulted some of the Free Church leaders on the possibility of holding an International Christian Conference, to help guide public opinion as to the peace. One reply was to the effect that such a conference would be of little use, because we are not agreed on the question of punishment. The truth of this has since become growingly apparent. During the past six years many, if not most, Christians

have felt it to be their duty to maintain a feeling of righteous indignation and an attitude of unbending severity towards our late enemies. The same body of Christian opinion has welcomed the punitive character of the Peace. They even regard this insistence on meeting out strict and terrible justice to a guilty but fallen nation as making a moral advance. It is suggested that had we failed to punish, the moral law itself would have been weakened. This point of view is akin to those doctrines of the Atonement which find in the death of Christ an objective satisfaction to the justice or holiness of God. In accordance with such doctrine, some formal recognition of justice through punishment is insisted upon. Christians who take this stand can only explain the divergence of fellow-Christians, by assuming that in them the instinct of resentment has been weakened by sentimentality or some defect of temperament. On the other hand those who find no place for anger in the Christian character are inclined to attribute their fellow-Christians' trust in moral indignation to the strength of primitive but unregenerate instincts and to the persistence of the imperfect morality of the Old Testament on into the realm of Christian ethic.

For the purpose of describing this serious divergence of Christian opinion, what has already been said might suffice. But though the issues involved are hard to unravel, I am tempted to offer some further observations on the subject. Perhaps the classical presentation of the case of those who plead for justice and severity is to be found in Bishop Butler's sermon on Resentment. The crucial paragraph runs as follows :

> " But notwithstanding all these abuses, is not just indignation against cruelty and wrong one of the instruments of death, which the Author of our nature hath provided ? Are not cruelty, injustice and wrong the natural objects of that indignation ? Surely then it may one way or other be innocently employed against them ? True. Since therefore it is necessary for the very subsistence of the world, that injury, injustice and cruelty should be punished : and since compassion which is so natural to mankind would render that execution of justice exceedingly difficult and uneasy, indignation against vice and wickedness is and may be allowed to be, a balance to that weakness of pity and also

to anything else which would prevent the necessary methods of severity. Those who have never thought upon these subjects may perhaps not see the weight of this; but let us suppose a person guilty of murder or any other action of cruelty and that mankind had naturally no indignation against such wickedness and the authors of it; but that everybody was affected towards such a criminal in the same way as towards an innocent man; compassion amongst other things would render the execution of justice exceedingly painful and difficult, and would often quite prevent it. And notwithstanding that the principle of benevolence is denied by some and is really in a very low degree, so that men are in great measure insensible to the happiness of their fellow-creatures, yet they are not insensible to their misery, but are very strongly moved with it; insomuch that there plainly is occasion for that feeling which is raised by guilt and demerit as a balance to that of compassion. Thus much may, I think, justly be allowed to resentment in the strictest way of moral consideration."[8]

Virtually the same valuation of indignation is adopted in Seeley's *Ecce Homo*. In a chapter on the Law of Resentment, he argues that the enthusiasm of humanity which Christ inspires does not root anger from the heart, but directs it into new channels.

> "Selfish hatred is indeed charmed away but a not less fiery passion takes its place. Dull serpentine malice dies, but a new unselfish anger begins to live. The bitter feelings which so easily spring up against those who thwart us, those who compete with us, those who surpass us, are destroyed by the Enthusiasm of Humanity; but it creates a new bitterness, which displays itself on occasions where before the mind had reposed in a benevolent calm. It creates an intolerant anger against all who do wrong to human beings, an impatience of selfish enjoyment, a vindictive enmity to tyrants and oppressors, a bitterness against sophistry, superstition, self-complacent heartless speculation, an irreconcilable hostility to every form of imposture, such as the uninspired, inhumane soul could never entertain."[4]

These two quotations will serve to open out the subject, and enable me at least to define the position which commends itself to my judgment.

Butler is surely right in regarding resentment as a natural God-given instinct, and as such serviceable to society. Seeley also is right in suggesting that Christianity does not so much repress this instinct as change its objects. But if one may venture to differ from so profound a moralist as Butler, I should say: (1) that he puts a confidence in punishment and in severity as a moral influence which facts on the whole do not warrant; and (2) that his opposition of resentment and compassion is at least unhappy. If compassion be narrowly interpreted as a shrinking from inflicting physical suffering—and Butler seems to take it in this sense—then it is true that there is such a conflict of feeling, and moral indignation at wrong-doing may clash with pity for physical misery. But in nine cases out of ten, compassion even in this limited sense has the right of way against resentment. I should have thought the real service of resentment was not so much as a counter-weight to pity, but as a spur to inertia and indifference, and as the corrective to cowardice. And it seems to me that for the

Christian there cannot be any ultimate opposition of resentment and compassion. From the Christian standpoint, indignation apart from compassion is always and necessarily sinful.

It is more important to recognise that Christianity changes the character of resentment than to observe that it changes the objects of resentment. For the spirit of Jesus transforms indignation by linking it with an infinite pity. This can be seen at once from the Gospels. Mark attributes anger to Jesus Himself, and if the evangelist had not explicitly recorded the resentment of Jesus, no one could fail to detect it in the denunciation of the Pharisees, or in the saying, How can Satan cast out Satan? And when Mark refers to the anger of Jesus, he does it in this way: "Jesus looked round on them with anger, being grieved for the unresponsiveness of their conscience." There is no anger in Jesus, apart from grief and pity. That Seeley was really in error in this matter, is manifest from his discussion of the prayer from the Cross, "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do." This prayer, he holds, was meant only for the ignorant Roman soldiers, and not for the malicious Jews. He concludes: "These passages seem to show that if no forgive-

ness of his real murderers was uttered by Christ it was not by chance, but because he continued to the last to think of them with anger." To me such an interpretation of the mind of Christ on the Cross is simply incredible. If there remained any trace of resentment in his last thought of the Pharisees, then I am certain it must have been shot through and through with the sorrow and compassion of an infinite love.

We may be glad that Mark did not hesitate to speak of Christ's anger. We may at the same time appreciate the wisdom of Luke in suppressing such references as still appear in Mark. In refraining from using words like "anger" and "indignation" in connection with Christ, Luke was probably not merely avoiding needless offence to Stoic sentiment, but also guarding against a moral danger to which Christians at all times are exposed. For the New Testament says very little about the duty of resentment and a great deal about its dangers. Righteous indignation is for most of us the most easy and most satisfying form of virtue. To associate resentment with compassion is for most of us exceedingly difficult. To be angry and sin not, is one of our hardest achievements. Behind the references to Christ's anger and the consequent

justification of resentment, all sorts of evil passions may shield themselves. Luke may well have thought that Christians would follow Christ more closely if they forgot that He were ever angry. For a moral indignation seldom if ever works the righteousness of God, and if in the midst of our resentment we forget that those with whom we are angry are men of like passions with ourselves, then our anger always betrays us into sin. It is curious to reflect how many Christian people in 1918 really supposed that the temptation we should have to resist in making peace was the temptation to let the Germans off too lightly. If we had been magnanimous to a fault, if we had strictly adhered to our professed principles and in all doubtful cases given our late enemies the benefit of the doubt, if we had abandoned altogether the punitive idea and the punitive provisions of the Treaty, the peace must still have been humiliating and hard enough. Our real peril never was on the side of leniency. The teaching of the New Testament and the facts of history combined to warn us that our serious temptations were all on the other side. It is difficult to point to any Peace Treaty which has erred in the direction of moderation. There are few

Peace Treaties which do not include deplorable injustices, which war-passion regarded as simply just. Speaking with reference to the treaty of Frankfort, Gladstone said: "The most fatal and in their sequel most gigantic errors of men are also frequently the most excusable and least gratuitous. They are committed when a strong impetus of right carries them up to a certain point and a residue of that impetus, drawn from contact with human passion and infirmity, pushes them beyond it. They vault into the saddle; they fall on the other side."[1] This was the true danger in making peace in 1919, and if in large measure we have succumbed to it, our failure is due in part to the ignorance of Christian people. Christians at least should have been fore-armed against such a danger. In this conflict with principalities and powers we took elaborate precautions against giving way to pity, which could hardly have led us seriously astray, while we stood defenceless against the temptation to anger, which has made good men the catspaws and defenders of a reactionary state-craft that is bankrupt intellectually and morally.

For the Christian, not the least peril of resentment is that it opens the door to self-righteous-

ness. In one of Mr. Frank Swinnerton's novels, a weaker character says to a morally stronger personality, " I can say things to you—anything I feel ; and know that even if you despise me, you do it not out of conceitedness . . . but out of a kind of well-wishingness." I venture to submit that a Christian may feel contempt and anger, may upbraid and punish, but only on condition that he does it not out of conceitedness but out of a kind of well-wishingness, that he considers himself lest he also be tempted, that he recognises frankly his kinship with those who are overtaken in a fault. Apart from this good-will and humility, indignation and punishment work evil rather than good. When then we recall the atmosphere in which peace was made, the careful segregation of the German delegates as representing a criminal nation, the refusal of direct oral negotiations, the moral parade by which all this was justified, the steady maintenance of the idea that the German nation is a kind of moral pariah, a people of different clay from ourselves—what is all this but sheer Pharisaism, a self-righteous goodness with no redemptive power in it, a moral conceitedness which does not move the sinner to anything but a justifiable contempt ? The moral defence

of the peace is that which makes me most suspicious of it. The punitive element in which so many of my fellow Christians see a moral achievement, seems to me a denial of Christianity. I understand better now why the prophet spoke of our righteousness as filthy rags, and I can see why General Smuts said to a friend, "You know, God is writing a very different treaty from this."

I must not pursue this question further. I hope what I have said may help some to a clearer judgment on the main issues involved. But in any case, we shall probably all admit that if the churches have not come to a united judgment on the peace, and if they have been unable to offer to the people any definite guidance, it is largely due to the fact that we Christians are not agreed as to our interpretation of the Christian character and in particular that we are not agreed in our view of the place of resentment in the Christian character.

The unresolved difference among Christians on the subject we have just been discussing has been accentuated if not disclosed by the war. Our lack of agreement as to Christian duty in face of the Social Problem is of longer standing and is more familiar. The after-effects of the war may be the more serious, because they

come on the top of a movement for social and industrial change and betterment. That movement was in a measure suspended on the outbreak of war. At the close of hostilities it is resumed with a tendency to precipitate violence. The question as to the merits or demerits of the old industrial order is thrust upon us once more, and we have to face the further question, if changes are needed, by what means are they to be effected?

In handling the older and larger issue, the Free Churches have in some respects exhibited the defects of their qualities. They are historically associated with the struggle for individual liberty and self-direction. They have fostered the idea of self-government and the morality with which they are most familiar is the morality of Smiles' "Self Help." Self-reverence, self-knowledge, self-control—on these virtues the teaching of the Free Churches has been clear and emphatic. I am persuaded that this is not a class-morality devised in the economic interests of a class. The now much-depreciated Dr. Smiles did emphasise qualities which belong to the good life in any class and under any conditions. But it is still true that the moral teaching of the Free Churches tends to be limited

to the accepted features of middle-class individualism. There is a frequent difference in valuation of moral qualities between suburbia and slumdom. Miss Loane has often drawn attention to this varying scale of moral values. The middle-class person is likely to put truthfulness, *i.e.*, avoidance of lying in actual statement, before generosity; whereas among the very poor, generosity will almost certainly come before truthfulness. It is the middle-class scale of values that is normally represented by the Free Churches. And this will in part account for Donald Hankey's discovery that the great bulk of the soldiers did not associate with Christianity the qualities they admired, broadly the qualities of a good pal, but did regard as pre-eminently Christian the qualities of thrift and self-control, which often they neither admired nor practised. The virtues of self-help and self-control are by no means superseded. Labour leaders know well that without these qualities the Labour movement is bound to fail. But it is of the essence of the Labour movement that it values the virtues of comradeship above the virtues of individual efficiency. At its best it is an attempt to unite the two. Now the churches have been slow to realise that the

virtues culminating in temperance on which they tend to lay most stress, do not of themselves constitute a satisfying Christian character. All these things, valuable though they are, may end in self-aggrandisement. The churches have not followed with any clear understanding, the way in which more thoughtful minds, especially among the workers, have turned from the idea of lifting one's self out of one's class to the idea of devoting one's self to raising the standard of life for one's class. Yet this second is much more fully Christian than the first.

Part of the failure of many churches has been this slow recognition that some elements of Christian morality are better represented in the newer co-operative virtues than in the old Puritan individualism. Divergence of opinion, both in the analysis of the social problem and in attempts at solving it is more natural and inevitable. Industrial and social questions involve statements of fact and points of economic theory on which Christians as such can claim no special illumination or authority. Consequently a large part of Christian duty in this field is not to embrace particular conclusions and advocate definite policies, but to try to get as unprejudiced and as well-informed a

judgment as possible. But there are certain claims of Labour which the Christian churches in virtue of their faith should investigate with peculiar sympathy and if valid champion with peculiar fearlessness. There is first the question of injustice—injustice to the workers in the building up of modern industry, and injustice in the actual working of modern industry. Both these elements of injustice may be exaggerated in Socialist theory, but they really exist. And while some notable Christian leaders have throughout the last hundred years raised their voices against oppression, this question of injustice is often overlooked, especially by those Christian teachers who stress the elements of selfishness and envy in the aspirations of the working-class. And it cannot be said of the churches generally that they are very much alive to the extent to which the spirit of oppression is apparent in the history and working of modern industry, nor do they recognise with John Woolman that "to labour for a perfect redemption from this spirit of oppression is the great business of the whole family of Christ Jesus in the world." Furthermore, I should have thought that the churches in virtue of their faith should broadly speaking support

Labour, in the desire to protect and raise the standard of living, especially of those workers who are poorly paid. The demand for a new status in industry, the status of partner rather than employee, has surely something in it which suits the Christian outlook. Indeed, it is difficult to see how the earlier Free Church ideal of self-government is to be realised at all for the mass of men except through the development of democracy in industry. Once more, the desire that public service should count for more and private profit for less as motives in industry seems to have a Christian ring about it. And it is strange that some of the most sceptical pronouncements about the danger of relying on motives other than self-seeking should come from Christian men and women. In these directions at least Labour might naturally look to Christ's professed followers for sympathy and support. But I doubt whether these questions are beirg at all widely canvassed in the churches, even at the present time. Particular churches are alive to them ; individual teachers and leaders speak about them ; special groups and associations are formed within the churches to study the issues and press forward particular policies. But there is no common mind

in the church of Christ on the subject of social duty, and no very strong desire to reach a common mind. It is thought that the proposal of a social Edinburgh Conference, parallel to the Missionary Edinburgh of 1910, would awake a very inadequate response. If this is true, it is evidence of serious weakness. The churches do not seem in a position to lead in this matter of social reconstruction, and yet a lead is urgently called for.[6]

Uncertainty in theology and ethics goes far to account for the absence of a note of confidence and joy from the life of the churches. The average Christian of to-day does not speak or act like one in the possession of a rare treasure. Our modern hymnology does not overflow with certainty and gladness. Religious poetry to-day is apt to be set in a minor key. This may be in part due to the tone of the age. The influence of education may have something to do with it. Certainly, education does tend to self-restraint and to the distrust of strong emotion, but a Christian fellowship which has no sense of joyous certainty about it, will have little or no attractive power. The churches do not impress as possessing the secret of joy and strength. But I am inclined to attribute this

weakness in large measure to our difficulty in interpreting and applying the Christian faith under modern conditions.

This difficulty need not be regarded as either permanent or insuperable. As has been already suggested, the outlines of a new theology are probably lying to our hand, and a fair approximation to a Christian judgment on the social question is to be found in existing literature. The urgency of the present crisis may hasten the process of decision, and lead us to embrace the truth which the time requires. It would be presumption for me to attempt in the latter part of this lecture to summarise the theology or the ethics suited to the Church of the future. I confine myself to the humble though still ambitious task of indicating those elements of Quakerism which the Church of the future will find of importance to its life and service. I also propose to touch on some of those elements in the life and traditions of other churches which will be needed to supplement Quakerism.

At the outset of this stage of our enquiry, it may be of interest to note how much that is vital in modern theology is essentially the reaffirmation of the Quaker faith in a universal inward saving light. There is, of course, no exact repetition

and there is a richness, a many-sidedness in the modern handling of this theme, for which we shall look in vain to the records of early Quakerism. But there is, both in Quakerism and in modern theology the same appeal from dogmatic notions to experience, the same distrust (some would say, the same over-distrust) of the intellect in the realm of religion, the same insistence that in religion in the last resort all rests on an inward witness, a personal appropriation of truth. There is hardly a significant movement in modern theology which does not in some way re-illumine and develop some aspect of this central Quaker contention. This kinship with the Quaker position may certainly be traced in the many attempts to get behind dogmas to the experience from which they sprang, to pass from the religions of authority to the religion of the spirit, to find the meaning of creeds in their significance for the life of prayer.

This emphasis on feeling and experience which constitute a revolution in theology really began with Schleiermacher. It has been truly said of him that he broke away not from particular orthodox doctrines, but from the whole orthodox attitude towards doctrines. He did

not deny individual items of scholastic Calvinism or of Lutheran orthodoxy. He denied the whole spirit in which the older theology held the faith. And anyone who has shared in any measure the insight of Schleiermacher can never go back to the old way of handling religious truth. The essential contrast between Schleiermacher and his immediate predecessors can be summed up in a sentence or two. "Orthodox dogmatists had held that the content of the Christian faith is a doctrine given in revelation. Schleiermacher held that it is a consciousness inspired primarily by the personality of Jesus." "The substance of the faith is the experience of renewal in Christ, of redemption through Christ. This inward experience is neither produced by pure thought nor dependent upon it. Like all other experience it is simply an object to be described and reckoned with."[7] The vital connection between thought and experience is manifestly not satisfactorily handled in such a summary, but the revolt from hard intellectual dogmatism in religion and the centring of theological interest on experience and the analysis of experience represent permanent gains for religious thought. They also incidentally establish what was valid in the Quaker protest against Puritan notions.

It would be interesting to trace the beginnings of the same revolution in English theology through the influence of Coleridge, or to show how Ritschl carried the same tendency further in Germany. But I must confine any further illustration to the work of Thomas Erskine of Linlathen. His very first book, "Remarks on the Internal Evidence for the Truth of Revealed Religion" (published in 1820) shows him championing an essential Quaker position. Principal Tulloch's account of Erskine's views makes this even more evident.

> "He was steeped to the heart in the essential flavour of Christian truth. But all divine truth must find its echo within himself—must have a definite relation to his own spiritual experience, and, as he believed, to all Christian experience. In this consisted its reasonableness. A religion of mere authority, coming to man from the outside and compelling faith and obedience, was unintelligible to him. It was not even of the nature of religion, which must be always self-evidencing, showing itself by its own light; proving itself what it professes to be by the essential relation between its doctrines and the spiritual

elevation, the moral culture of those who receive it."

Again, Dr. Tulloch says:

> "Erskine had no argumentative or historical turn. His genius was purely spiritual. If he was to receive Christianity at all, therefore, it must come to him as an internal light, flooding out his soul—conditioning his whole life. He saw that men believed in 'external evidences' and were attached to the Church as an institution, without being any better men or being inspired by a divine spirit. But Christianity must be all or nothing to him. He must see it as a divine truth. 'I must discern,' he said, 'in the history itself, a light and truth which will meet the demands both of my reason and conscience. In fact, however true the history may be, it cannot be of any moral and spiritual benefit to me, unless I apprehend its truth and meaning.' "[8]

Anyone who dips into Erskine's writings will find even in phrasing that which reminds him of Primitive Quakerism. But the kinship of spirit is the more striking because Erskine is really an independent religious teacher.

The universality and saving character of the inward light is to my mind represented by F. D. Maurice and his school. When, for example Arnold Toynbee began a leaflet to working-men in this fashion: "Religion is indestructible. It is not an invention of priests, to be torn up by force or withered by enlightenment; it is a gift of God. Elude it we may; neglect it, scorn it, deny it; escape its presence we cannot, any more than we can escape from the sky which overreaches us, and the air we breathe"—what was he doing but asserting with the Quaker that there is an inward witness for God in every heart?[9] Or consider the favourite doctrine of F. D. Maurice, that every man, whether he recognises or not, is in Christ. He expressed it with extraordinary warmth in a letter to his mother, who was at the time depressed with the conviction that she was not among the Elect.

> "Now, my dearest mother," he says, "You wish or long to believe yourself in Christ, but you are afraid to do so, because you think there is some experience that you are in Him necessary to warrant the belief. Now if any man or an angel from heaven preach this doctrine to you, let him be accursed. You have this warrant for

believing yourself in Christ, that you cannot do one loving act, you cannot obey one of God's commandments, you cannot pray, you cannot hope, you cannot love, if you are not in him. . . . The truth is that every man is in Christ; the condemnation of every man is that he will not own the truth—he will not act as if it were true that except he were joined to Christ he could not think, breathe, live a single hour."[10]

There is no coincidence of phrasing here and yet Maurice was pointing men to Christ their inward teacher as surely as ever George Fox did.

It would be easy to multiply illustrations of the ways in which modern theology has done justice to the main Quaker contentions. Indeed the material at our disposal is so rich as to prompt the question whether all that is good in Quakerism has not now been accepted and appreciated by the Church Catholic. Perhaps the religious progress of the last century has rendered the Society of Friends superfluous. This was the view entertained by some not unsympathetic though searching critics of Quakerism in the middle of the nineteenth century. Both F. D. Maurice in "The Kingdom of Christ," and Thomas Hancock, the author of

the "Peculium," considered that the Society was in the process of decay, and that on the whole the fact was not to be regretted since it had borne its testimony and done its work. The suggestion that the time has come for a particular church to sink its identity in the larger whole is not in itself to be resented. A love that is ready to die for the brethren is required of churches as well as of individual Christians. If I thought the separate existence of the Society of Friends now served no useful purpose, I should not hesitate to say so, since I look for the time when names and sects and parties fall. But while I recognise the extent to which other churches have appropriated the essential principles of Quakerism, it seems to me that there are important elements in Quaker experience and in Quaker witness to truth which are not yet understood and which need a corporate expression if they are to be preserved for the whole Church of Christ.

In singling out the elements of strength in Quakerism, I am largely relying on personal impressions formed during the fifteen years in which I have been privileged to be more or less closely associated with Friends. That association has laid me under a very great debt which

I am glad to acknowledge and can never discharge. But valuable as it has been and is to myself, the judgments based upon it must be regarded as the outcome of a limited experience.

The first thing which contact with Friends has impressed upon me is the measure of success that has been given to them in unifying religion and life. If one may borrow a phrase of F. Podmore, and give it a meaning he never intended, the life-task of every Christian is to "naturalise the supernatural." "Religion and life are one or neither is anything." This principle is as familiar as its realisation is difficult. One main aspect of the Protestant movement was the denial that the *vita religiosa* is a life apart and the insistence that true godliness must be realised in ordinary human relationships, in the relationships of husband and wife, master and man, buyer and seller. It would not be unfair to describe Quakerism as the culmination of this tendency in Protestantism. It was an intense laicisation in religion. This is manifest in the Quaker conception of the ministry, which is not the work of a professional class set apart for the purpose, but is rather a testimony to truth springing directly out of the life of the community. The doctrine of the inward light knit religion

and morality very closely together. Communion with God was to be known in the moral decisions of daily life. Though Quakerism stressed the spontaneous in religion, it is noteworthy that for the beginnings of communion with God it always directed men to the known good, not to any ecstatic experience, but to the normal and familiar assent of the conscience to simple requirements of righteousness. It taught men to look for God in daily life, to find Him in normal experience. This means a deep respect for man's inward life, and a real harmonising of religion and life. It is not without significance in this connection that by far the most characteristic and perhaps the most valuable form of religious literature among Friends, consists of journals, of day-to-day records of God's leadings. Very early William Penn discovered that true religion makes men more natural as well as more divine. The Quaker principle issued in a type of religious character which has not perished among Friends, if my observation goes for anything. I am not forgetting that the Quaker followed the Puritan in attempting to make life and religion one by limiting severely the contents and interests of life. It is also clear that in the Society of Friends as in other Christian

bodies, many have found it easier to bring down their faith to the level of their life than to raise their life to the level of their faith. Nor have Friends succeeded in overcoming the sense of opposition between the ideals of Christianity and much of the spirit and practice of modern commerce. Yet it does seem to me that among Friends, piety is less exotic and more natural than in some other churches. In association with them I have been less conscious than with some other Christians, of a divorce between work and worship, or of incongruity between play and devotion. Modern Christianity has in my judgment registered an advance on this side. The distinction between sacred and secular is less firmly drawn, and it has not meant secularising the sacred. But I think the very tradition of Quakerism renders easy the transition from daily occupations to the recollection of God. And a church is not superfluous which maintains a spirit of holiness so homely and unforced.

No one can be long in touch with Friends without being either repelled or attracted by their practice of silence. For myself I own to being attracted. I am convinced that in quietness there is a source of strength. And I find I am not alone in this. Other Free Churchmen,

who have shared my experience, discover the value of Quaker silence. They do not necessarily become convinced that worship after the manner of Friends is the best form of worship, much less that it is the only legitimate form of worship. But they come to feel that normal Free Church worship is apt to be hurried and in consequence shallow. Where people are unwilling to be still, religious impressions can seldom be deep. We often do not allow time for truth to sink in. Silence and reflection form a safeguard against spurious emotion, for they give the opportunity of weighing speech, of testing the spirits, whether they be of God. They form a safeguard too against wasted emotion, and it is surprising how much good honest effort in teaching and preaching is wasted in the Free Churches, just because hearers do not weigh in silence what has been said to them. And where the mind in quiet is led to close with truth, emotion itself becomes deeper and more fruitful, just because decision and appropriation of truth are personal and involve the effort of one's own mind. It is true that silence is not in itself a final protection from error, but it is a real help towards right thinking and right living. It makes for sobriety of judgment,

and if it does not compel men to go deep, at least enables them to do so. The habit of waiting before God while considering speech or action does help to arm one against those temptations which Henry Drummond described as swifts in "Baxter's Second Innings." There he suggests that the poorer self within us is nearer the surface and responds more readily to stimulus. The better self is harder to come at. We must often wait for its arrival. This is part of the psychological justification for Friends' use of silence. Beyond such elementary considerations, there is the rich experience of fellowship in silence—a subject that has been treated so well, so recently on this foundation. But all the churches would gain if they learnt something more of Friends' practice of silence. We might know more of God, if we were less afraid of being still.

Perhaps the most immediately important feature of Quakerism is its discovery in the realm of Christian democracy. Friends' method of arriving at corporate decisions may not seem very significant to Friends themselves, but I am persuaded that it is a discovery of vast importance for the State as well as the Church. The essence of the method is not the absence of

votes. It is the assumption that the right leading is to be expected from taking counsel together, from each one contributing his or her best. It takes it for granted that where men care for the common good and seek God's guidance, no majority will desire to coerce, and no minority to obstruct. It presupposes a teachable spirit in all, a shared conviction that the corporate decision may be and should be richer and truer than any individual judgment. That the pursuit of this ideal is difficult and often hazardous, Friends themselves will admit. But it does justice as no other method does to the Christian estimate of personal responsibility, and to the Christian hope of corporate guidance. Friends' method, which may be termed the method of Fellowship, is being more and more widely adopted and understood among Christians. It is, for example, followed by the Student Christian Movement, and I am persuaded it must eventually secure the allegiance of the whole Christian Church.

Its application to political and industrial democracy is more difficult, but hardly less necessary. For without it, democracy in the full, true sense of the word, will remain unrealised. It is customary to define democracy as government

by majority, and there is much justifiable dissatisfaction with this form of government. The creation of majorities in the modern democratic state is a precarious, costly and often farcical proceeding. Electoral majorities represent no genuine decisions on definite issues. Men are sick of the cant of democratic politics, and of the hypocrisy of parties. And the only radical remedy is to make democracy a reality by reshaping our political organisation so as to give free play to the personal responsibility of the individual citizen. Yet the reshaping of organisation does not come first in importance, though it may in time; it is changing the outlook of the average citizen that matters. In social theory, one of the most striking interpretations of this new spirit is to be found in Miss Follett's book, "The New State." The book is devoted more or less to the thesis that in politics we must appeal not to pugnacity, but to co-operation, that we must draw together the most diverse elements in groups based on neighbourhood, and synthesise the contributions that each can make to the common good. I notice that Mr. Sidney Webb when giving evidence before the Coal Commission, expressed the hope that on pit-committees things would not be decided by majorities

and that there would be less peremptory authority in future. This is an expression of the same spirit, a reaching out after democracy as Friends understand it. Even more striking is the experience of the British Peace Delegation in Paris. Our delegation was housed together, and in consequence men of different parties, of different experience and interests, men of thought and men of action, who had never even met in their own country, were thrown together for the first time. They were facing the same problems. They discussed among themselves the same first-hand information. And rather to their own surprise they found themselves uniting in common judgments—judgments which were better informed, saner, and more charitable than the previous convictions of either of them, and judgments which, alas! could not be embodied for the most part in the peace itself, since public opinion was not prepared for them.[11] This was a practical discovery of the value of the Fellowship method. If widely and sincerely followed this method would transform our politics and make democracy the only satisfying form of government. The Parliament of the Building Trades initiated by Malcolm Sparkes, is an experiment of the same kind.

This method can only succeed where men believe in goodwill, and where there is some recognised community of aim. It is possible among Christians. Is there sufficient community of aim in industry or in politics for men to be able to apply it throughout? If the Marxist analysis of industry be true, then the method of Fellowship must fail, though it might and should still be applied to the previous question, Is Marxism true? For Christians, the teaching of Marx can never be accepted as completely true, since it denies the existence of any common standards of justice, or even of truth, to which men who differ may refer their differences. But at the present time it is most necessary that we should follow with all men the methods of fellowship as far as we can. And just as the early Separatists, by practising democracy in the Church prepared men to take part in the imperfect democracy with which we are familiar, so the Society of Friends and those Christian groups who follow the lead of Friends in this matter are making possible the higher and truer type of democracy that must surely come.

Closely associated in my mind with this discovery and practice of Christian democracy is the testimony of the Society to peace and

goodwill. I am not thinking primarily of the testimony *against* all war. Isolate this negative protest and it becomes of doubtful validity. It is of value as the correlative of a more positive energy of faith working through love. It is of a piece with the advice which George Fox gave to Lady Claypole, not to look on her sin but on the light which showed her her sin, to dwell in thought not on evil but on positive goodness. Non-resistance to evil is natural and intelligible in those whose whole thought is taken up with what is lovely, honourable, and of good report, and whose whole energy is devoted to the absorbing practical tasks of goodwill. Seeley rightly saw in this side of Christ's teaching, a call to virtue to assume the offensive and to take all risks in carrying the war into the enemy's country. Some have come to see to-day that we are constantly tempted to waste in restraining evil the energy that might be bestowed in creating and stimulating good. Without then assuming that it is possible to dispense altogether with the coercive, restraining force of the State, and admitting the perplexing conflict of duties involved in the recognition that such coercion may still be necessary, it is clear to me that Friends are right in asserting that the pre-

occupations of the State can never be the preoccupations of the Church. It is in my judgment the present duty of the State to protect Armenians from Moslem violence by armed intervention.[12] It is the duty of the Church to be concerned with the conversion of the Moslems. It is very difficult for the same people to be effectively engaged in these two enterprises. To be engaged in the maintenance of order by force is not the best letter commendatory for an ambassador of Christ. Actual war directly conflicts with the spirit of good-will to which Christians are pledged. Again, the coercive activity of the State is at best a negative influence. The upbuilding of the true kingdom of God can only come through another power. Right conduct that is merely enforced cannot be trusted: it is no foundation for an ideal world. Progress depends on the goodness we evoke and not on the goodness we compel.

This principle may be applied to Statesmanship as well as to Churchmanship. Merely to rally the forces of order against Bolshevism at the present time is folly. There is no answer to Bolshevism save a policy which believes wholeheartedly in co-operation all round and cares positively and profoundly for the welfare of the suffering masses

of Europe. The proposal of the Allies to teach Germany the lessons of solidarity and humanity merely by punishing war-criminals, ignores at once psychology and Christianity. The only effective way for teaching any nation solidarity and humanity is for the would-be teachers to practise humanity and solidarity fearlessly themselves. Even now in the present development of States our preoccupation with restraint and punishment, with safeguards against possible dangers, is shortsighted. Even now statesmanship is wise in proportion as it is instinct with Christian daring, in proportion as it is concerned with the positive tasks of goodwill. Friends have been standing for essential Christianity throughout the war in the works of mercy they undertook, especially for our late enemies. No war-charity was more fully Christian than the work of the Emergency Committee in aid of enemy-aliens. And whether or no other Christians can go with Friends to the full length of their peace testimony, it is manifest that they have a surer hold of an essential Christian truth in this matter. For while thousands of Christians in other churches supported Friends, there was only one corporate Christian body that could take the initiative in befriending Germans during the

war. So long as this is the case, Christianity itself would suffer if the Society of Friends were merged unconditionally in a larger whole, or if Friends lowered their testimony on the subject of living at peace with all men. I cannot forbear adding that there is also in the Friends' position, a faith in the power of goodness to maintain itself. It is a witness to the spirit which Nayler felt, the spirit that hopes to outlast all wrath, cruelty and whatever is of a nature contrary to itself. Christians only too readily accept the world's estimate of the relative strength of the forces of good and the forces of evil, and forget that God has chosen the weak things of this world to confound the mighty.

I suggest then that though the central principle of Quakerism is more fully understood and appreciated to-day than it ever was, yet there are certain definite expressions and gains of the Quaker spirit which have not yet been appropriated by the Church Catholic. The whole Christian community still needs the witness of a corporate body like the Society of Friends, to the Quaker type of sainthood, to the value of silence, to the true nature of Christian democracy, and to the paramount claims of positive goodwill on Christian thought and

effort.[13] But if the churches need the Society of Friends, does the Society of Friends need the churches? Is the Society fitted, as it stands, to become the Church universal? Or must we recognise in Quakerism itself certain limitations and weaknesses, which can best be supplemented by the witness and experience of other Christian bodies?

The history of the Society in the nineteenth century, as many Friends are fully aware, has disclosed certain defects in the Quaker principle as originally formulated, and has even suggested that the principle itself may fail to inspire a fully Christian life and witness. It would now, I think, be very generally admitted that primitive Quakerism opposed too rigidly the spontaneous to the reasoned and ordered, the inward to the outward, and that it made too little of tradition and education. The weaknesses of Quakerism lay, and to some extent still lie, in the tendency to distrust the intellect, to suspect the outward, and to neglect the historical. These are all phases of one tendency, but they may be considered and illustrated separately.

The distrust of ordinary processes of reasoning in religion followed as a corollary from Friends' trust in immediate inspiration.[14] F. D. Maurice,

in his "Kingdom of Christ," goes so far as to urge that even such educational activities as Friends undertook were inconsistent with their theoretic dependence on divine guidance. Friends inclined to see God only in the spontaneous utterance. In consequence they made little or no provision for the ordered presentation of Christian truth. The lengths to which Friends went in confining themselves to the immediately given may be illustrated from the records of the proceedings of Hardshaw East Monthly Meeting, in connection with the Beacon controversy. At one point in the proceedings, some supporters of Isaac Crewdson desired to present to the meeting a considered written statement of their position. Permission to read the document was refused, precisely because it had been considered beforehand and drawn up outside of and before the meeting itself. This is, of course, an extreme instance of the tendency to exalt the spontaneous at the expense of the reasoned, and the matter is complicated by the controversial position. Nevertheless it illustrates a deficiency in Quakerism. It would have gone hard with the reasoned exposition, and defence of the Christian religion if other Christians had not valued connected study

and thought in religion more highly than Friends did. Until quite recent times the Society of Friends has not produced any theology comparable with Barclay's "Apology." And the stimulus to more searching and connected thought on Quakerism itself among Friends has largely come from intellectual developments arising in other churches or outside the churches altogether. It is no discredit to Friends to be dependent in no small measure on intellectual activity outside the borders of the Society. But the dependence must in justice be recognised and it is not entirely due to the limited size of the Society but also to a tradition which did not encourage any very profound theological study among Friends.

There is also some danger among Friends lest their faith in spontaneity lead to some inconsistency in thought and to some lack of continuity in practical enterprise. The doctrine of the inner light sometimes issues in an amiably hospitable frame of mind which presumes some measure of truth in any view sincerely held, and which is content to give an equal welcome to incompatible ideas. Friends are occasionally inclined to delight in theological haziness or religious novelties, and sometimes this suggests

lack of intellectual thoroughness rather than breadth of mind. But in this matter a very noteworthy development has taken place within the Society during the last generation. The Summer School movement and the establishment of Woodbrooke and other educational settlements have emphasised the value of ordered knowledge, and witness to a growing appreciation of regular teaching as a form of religious service. It is, however, manifestly of importance to the welfare of the Church that others have carried religious education and theological studies further than Friends have hitherto done.

The defects and dangers of the opposition between inward and outward may not be so obvious as the dangers of depreciating study. With the main drift of the Quaker emphasis on the inward, I find myself in hearty agreement. That it is in our consciousness we must look for God, in our feeling, thinking and willing we shall meet with Him, I firmly believe. The mystery of the soul's communion with God may never be completely in consciousness, but the reality of religion is in our conscious life. God speaks to us as men and bids us stand upon our feet and answer Him. To look for the decisive

religious influence in the subconscious or the unconscious seems to me a mistake. The suggestion that the seat of Divinity in Christ is to be found in His subliminal consciousness does not attract me. It is the manifestation of God in Christ's human consciousness, especially in His thought and in His will, that constitutes the Incarnation. Surely Friends were right in looking for the direct appeal of God to the fully conscious personality, and in asserting that this direct appeal was independent of any rite or ceremony or outward channel. And they seem to me to have been right also in rejecting the sacraments, in so far at least as to the sacraments was attributed a saving-power which worked subconsciously or mechanically. For the sacraments cannot help us at all save as they affect the tone of our feeling, the direction of our will, the character of our thought. Until the outward is appropriated and interpreted by the inward, it can have no real or permanent influence. So far I see with the early Friends. But, nevertheless, their hard and fast distinction of spirit and matter, soul and body, seems to me misleading. We never can have a true conception of the spiritual if we start by excluding from it all that

is material. The initial error of Christian Science, in my judgment, is in regarding the popular distinction between spirit and matter as an ultimate truth. And the language of Friends has often differed little from the language of Christian Science in this particular. The views of Elias Hicks, for example, on the Incarnation, are almost identical in principle with the philosophy of Mrs. Eddy.[15] Now I do not know why the mind has a body, nor do I know why God has chosen at once to veil Himself behind the material universe and to reveal Himself through it. But I do know that there is real kinship between soul and body, a divinely ordained correspondence between the inward and the outward. I know that the very life of poetry and art is somehow bound up with the sacramental character of nature. And if, then, we concentrate upon the inward to the exclusion of the outward, we leave undeveloped or undiscerned some of the influences that may and should most powerfully affect us.

To-day, the attitude of Friends towards art and literature is very different from their characteristic attitude in the first half of the nineteenth century. The secession from Friends of the author of "John Inglesant" is not without

its interest in this connection. J. H. Shorthouse was a great admirer of Matthew Arnold, and shared his reverence for culture. "John Inglesant" itself, we are told, was written to commend culture, to suggest to the younger generation that it was more important to *be* something than to do something; that to develop one's own soul, one's powers of appreciation and insight might be a finer service to one's fellows than a multiplicity of good works and religious activities. Shorthouse also shared Matthew Arnold's rather snobbish contempt for Dissent as lacking culture. Such depreciation of Dissent was the less fair in as much as the Universities for two centuries or more had been closed to Nonconformists. But for all that, the Puritan and Quaker traditions did tend to narrow down the interests of the larger number of those who came under their influence. And Shorthouse found no place in Quakerism for the interests that meant most to him, particularly for his interest in pictures. He felt, too, that in its concentration on the inward Quakerism did not appeal to human nature as a whole. It appealed to the mind, but not to the eye. He wanted, I think, not so much sacraments as a sacramental view of life. He took from

Friends, an intense faith in Divine Guidance, but he traced this guidance through outward circumstance rather than through immediate inspiration. It is curious that he surrendered apparently without any sense of loss the spontaneous element in worship. There were features in Quakerism which he failed to understand. But in so far as his action meant that Quakerism had not successfully mated culture and Christianity, and had not made the outward the vehicle and servant of the inward, his implied criticism is not without its validity even now.

It is part of the same concentration of Quakerism upon the spontaneous and the inward which led early Friends to speak sometimes depreciatingly of Scripture and of the whole Christian tradition, and rather to undervalue history, even the historical revelation of God in Jesus Christ. Hancock says, I think justly, of George Fox, that "he could not discern the universal working of the Word of God in the History of the World, with the same intensity, faithfulness and clearness with which he discerned His particular working in his own soul."[16] Somewhat similarly Dr. Tulloch says of Thomas Erskine, that his genius was spiritual, but not argumentative or *historical*. In this,

too, Erskine might represent the Quaker spirit. Their faith in the universality of the Saving Light inclined Friends to treat it as a constant in history. This was justifiable if by the inner light they meant the organ or the process by which men came to discover spiritual truth. But it was less justifiable when they consciously or unconsciously included in it a whole series of discoveries of truth. They confidently expected that if men would listen to their inward Teacher they would reach certain particular moral judgments and spiritual apprehensions. They failed to recognise that these moral judgments and spiritual apprehensions were themselves historically conditioned. The inner light does not shine in vacuo. It is related to a growing body of experience, to a line of moral and spiritual progress. The individual's trust in the inner light does not warrant him in ignoring what Mazzini called the tradition of humanity. Nor did Fox's principle succeed in doing justice to the historic revelation in Jesus Christ. There is a passage in Penn in which he speaks of the original bestowal of a saving light on men, a light which they ignored. And when men were thus outward and abroad, " God was pleased to meet them there in some external

manifestations": yet so as to bring men back again to their inward teacher. This is very true in itself, but Penn does not seem to realise what a tremendous thing it is that God should reach out to men in the outward and meet them there, that God did not leave them simply to their inward guide. One might almost say that the whole gospel lies in this, that God gave men an inward teacher, but when men refused to look within, God met them without. It has sometimes seemed to me that early Friends in proclaiming a universal saving light were treating a presupposition or implication of the gospel as if it were the gospel itself. The doctrine of the inner light is an evangelical truth and at times it may be the cutting edge of the gospel message; nevertheless it is not the whole gospel. And I am not sure whether the relation of Quakerism with Evangelisation does not bear this out. Edward Grubb has shown that Gurney and the Evangelical Friends failed to appreciate the original Quaker principle. F. D. Maurice saw this when he discussed Quakerism, and he refused to take Gurney as representative of the true spirit of the movement. But does not the influence of the Evangelical revival on Friends suggest that there was something

lacking in Quakerism itself which Evangelicalism possessed, a sense of urgency and missionary concern, and a sense of dependence on Jesus Christ, which the doctrine of the inner light did not create? And surely on this whole issue John Wilhelm Rowntree was right in dwelling, as he did, on the fact of Christ.

"None the less it appears to me that in insisting that Jesus was merely man, all the real beauty and significance of His life and our own is mixed. If I give up external authority I do not want to know only what man can be, but what God is, and want to see within the limits of human consciousness an identification or meeting-point between the soul of man and the unseen Spirit. If Jesus is that meeting-point of identification—a movement not merely of man towards a God who never answers, but of God towards man—then, *with Jesus as the Gospel, witnessed in the conscience of a civilisation infected by His Spirit, I see the balance wheel to the doctrine of the Inward Light.*"[17]

The defect which F. D. Maurice and T. Hancock charged home upon Friends in 1840 and 1850, and construed as an evident sign of decay, was the fact that Friends no longer regarded themselves as the one true church,

the peculiar people of God. That a growth in modesty is really a defect, is not at once obvious. Nor is it certain that the old claim has been entirely abandoned. Are not Friends inclined to accept too easily the position and reputation of a spiritual aristocracy, content to be few and select, and perhaps too conscious of what they have already attained and too little aware of the land that remains yet to be possessed? But in so far as the Society of Friends has declined, "especially in regard to its original claim of being the Peculiar People of God," this is a sign of growth rather than decay. It means that Friends share in the change of attitude that has come over the Free Churches. We no longer unchurch our fellow-Christians with the rigour which characterised many of the founders of the Free Churches. The Pilgrim Fathers regarded the Church of England as no true Church, no part of Christ's Church. The modern Congregationalist no longer maintains that judgment in its entirety. It is worth while to remember that High-Churchmanship is a Free Church product. It was the Puritan and Separatist challenge that called forth the High Church doctrine and attitude. I would even assert that it was the element of extravagance

in Separatism which elicited a corresponding extravagance in Anglicanism If, however, we no longer judge the Church of England or the Church of Rome as the first Free Churchmen did, it is not because we hold the Reformers and the Separatists to have been substantially in the wrong. Far from it. The fact is that circumstances have changed. The Church of England that we know is not exactly the Church of England from which the Pilgrim Fathers separated. There is at least this big difference, that attendance at its worship is not State-enforced, and membership in it is not a matter of course. Even now the Church of England seems to us seriously defective, judged by our standards of what constitutes the Church of Christ. But we could no longer take up exactly John Robinson's attitude to the Church of England, unless we were prepared to ignore the changes that have taken place during three centuries. Something similar has happened in regard to the controversy with Rome. Rome has changed in spite of her claim to be *semper eadem*, though, I confess, since Rome is unwilling or unable to repudiate either the Inquisition or the untruthfulness of some of her recognised teachers, the moral necessity of Protestantism remains unaffected.

If then as Free Churchmen or as Friends we no longer hold the language of our seventeenth century ancestors, it is not because we are ashamed of them, or because we have given up their main contentions. To us the things they stood for are still precious. At the same time we freely admit that they saw not all things and that they missed elements of good in those churches which they criticised most severely. The facts of the ecclesiastical situation are no longer what they were three hundred years ago, and we look at the old contentions with a different perspective. But this is not a weakening of religious conviction. It is or should be a growth in understanding and so a growth in grace.

When I was last in the United States, I remember reading an article in the *Atlantic Monthly* by the late Father Benson, in which he argued that since one by one the sects were dropping the claim to be *the* Church, and Rome alone had the courage to put forward this exclusive claim unabated, we should recognise that in the case of Rome alone was this confidence justified, and only by uniting with Rome should we enjoy the satisfaction of belonging to the unquestionably true Church. This line of argument is to me singularly unconvincing.

Why should it be a recommendation of any church that it has failed to learn the main lesson which the Spirit of Truth is impressing on all Christians through the advance of historical enquiry? It is this very claim to infallibility which makes me doubt whether as a church Rome is part of Christ's Church at all. Any group of Christians which is aware that it has made mistakes in the past and may make them in the future, seems to me more like the true Apostolic Church than a church which asserts infallibility. I am sure such a group might more justly believe itself to stand in the Petrine succession, for infallibility was not Peter's assured possession. If then, the Free Churches, and among them the Society of Friends, are more humble than they were, less sure than they were that they possess the whole truth, the more confident do I become that their work is not ended, that they are still being led and used of Christ.[18]

The first condition of any healthy advance towards reunion is the glad recognition of God's gifts to all who profess and call themselves Christians. And this involves the admission that the Church of Christ is not to be identified with any existing organisation, however venerable

and ancient it may be, or however close it may come to the primitive pattern of the Apostolic Church. The question, Which of our present churches is the true Catholic Church ? is a misleading one. It cannot be answered and ought not to be asked. We must recognise that all churches are imperfect and incomplete, that the one body of Christ is outwardly divided.

From this starting-point we can work towards a genuine Catholic unity. To this end, we need to examine each his own particular inheritance, to make very sure that those things which have been entrusted to us are not compromised or lost. We need also a growing interest in the inheritance of others, in the history and life of other communities than our own. It is perhaps more important to observe that the pooling of our several inheritances will not necessarily equip the one Church for the tasks of to-day. The present crisis may draw us together by diminishing for the time at least our interest in matters that meant much to our forebears, and may mean much to us again. To all the churches comes the question : Have you any sure guidance to offer men in creating a true international, in recreating our industrial order ?

If we are faithful we shall find ourselves asserting the same Christian values, preaching the same Gospel. We shall enter into a new comradeship of co-operation. Through the breakdown of the old order, Christ may reunite His Church and further the redemption of humanity.

Notes

1 The chief Wesleyan criticism of the Calvinist system is embodied in a caustic poem by John Wesley, some verses of which may be found in Tyerman's *Life and Times of Wesley*, vol. II., p. 191. The poem is entitled *An Answer to all which the Rev. Dr. Gill has printed on the Final Perseverance of the Saints*. 12mo., 12 pages.

It consists of thirty-seven stanzas of eight lines each, many of which are scorchingly sarcastic. The devil, addressing the elect, is made to say :—

"God is unchangeable,
And therefore so are you,
And therefore they can never fail,
Who once His goodness knew.

"In part perhaps you may,
You cannot wholly fall,
Cannot become a castaway,
Like non-elected Paul.

"Though you continue not,
Yet God remains the same,
Out of His book He cannot blot
Your everlasting name.

. . . . . .

"God's threatenings all are vain,
You fancy them sincere;
But spare yourself the needless pain,
And cast away your fear.

"He speaks with this intent,
To frighten you from ill,
With sufferings which He only meant
The reprobate to feel.

"He only cautions all
Who never came to God,
Not to depart from God, or fall
From grace, who never stood.

"'Gainst those that faithless prove
He shuts His mercy's door,
And whom He never once did love
Threatens to love no more.

"For them He doth revoke
The grace they did not share,
And blot the names out of His book
That ne'er were written there."

Charles Wesley's *Hymns on God's Everlasting Love*, contain a powerful polemic against the Calvinistic belief in God's eternal decree, by which some are elected to salvation and others reprobated. This decree Wesley speaks of as "the horrible decree," and regards it as the consummation of natural wickedness that he might believe it. I quote part of Hymn 6 of the second series:

"Jesu, my Hope, my Help, my Power,
On Thee I ever call;
O save me from temptation's hour,
Or into hell I fall.

. . . . . .

"I cannot trust my treacherous heart,
I shall myself betray,
I must be lost if Thou depart,
A final castaway.

. . . . . .

"My soul *could* yield to every vice
And passion in excess;
My soul to all the height *could* rise
Of daring wickedness.

"The blackest crime upon record
I freely *could* commit,
The sins by nature most abhorr'd
My nature *could* repeat.

"I *could* the devil's law receive,
Unless restrain'd by Thee;
I *could* (good God!) I *could* believe
The HORRIBLE DECREE.

"I *could* believe that God is hate
The God of love and grace
Did damn, pass by, and reprobate
The most of human race.

"Farther than this I cannot go,
Till Tophet take me in;
But O, forbid that I should know
This mystery of sin!

The hymn will be found in the poetical works of J. and C. Wesley, vol. III., p. 60.

2 The boldest rejection of the category of Lordship is found in T. E. Brown's poem *Respondet Demiourgos*.

"Yes, it is hard, but not for you alone.
You speak of cup and throne,
And all that separates Me from you.
It is not that you don't believe
It is but that you misconceive
The work I have to do.

"No throne, no cup,
Nor down, but likest up,
As from a deep black shaft, I look to see
The fabric of My own immensity.

. . . . .

I would have no single creature miss
One possible bliss.
And this
Is certain; never be afraid!
I love what I have made.
I know this is not wit,
This is not to be clever,
Or anything whatever.
You see, I am a servant, that is it;
You've hit
The mark—a servant: for the other word—
Why, you are Lord, if any one is Lord."

This idea of God the Creator as *servus servorum* is very bold, but is it out of keeping with the fact that Jesus manifested forth God's glory by taking upon Him the form of a slave, by coming not to be ministered unto, but to minister?

. . . . . .

On the divergent dangers of sentimentalising love and fatherhood on the one hand, and of opposing justice or holiness to love on the other, Dr. Oman says some very pertinent things in "Grace and Personality," esp. p. 127f. The safeguard against sentimentalism is not the revival of the Calvinistic idea of God's sovereignty.

3 Butler, *Sermons at the Rolls Chapel*, No. VIII., par. 13.

4 Seeley, *Ecce Homo.*, Ch. XXI. (3rd edition, pp. 278, 279).

5 Morley, *Life of Gladstone*, vol. II., p. 358. (Book VI., ch vi.)

6 I have not attempted more than a brief reference in the text to the problem of social reconstruction, partly because of the vastness of the subject, and partly

because some aspects of it have been handled recently and admirably in a Swarthmore Lecture, by Lucy F. Morland. I have never felt clear about orthodox Socialism, if there is such a thing. I am not convinced that the abolition of the private ownership of capital would solve either the economic or the moral problem of industry. I have never been able to see that the payment of interest on capital is economically unjustified or morally wrong. Popular Socialism seems to me erroneous in tracing all wealth to labour, and even the recognition given to brain-workers by the Labour party does not in the popular mind involve any understanding of the services conferred upon industry by those who direct it, or by those who bear risks. But the chief danger of the present time in my judgment lies not so much in the exaggerations and mistakes of much Socialist doctrine, dangerous as these are, but in the temptation of those whose economic interests are well served by the existing industrial order, to seize on these elements of excess as an excuse for ignoring or resisting what is really legitimate and desirable in the demands or aspirations of labour. In the text I have indicated some of these aspirations which call for sympathetic consideration and active support from Christian people.

7 E. C. Moore, *Christian Thought since Kant*, pp. 80, 81. This volume affords a brilliant survey of the development of Christian Thought in the 19th century. There is also an excellent account and estimate of Schleiermacher in a volume by Principal W. B. Selbie.

8 John Tulloch, *Movements of Religious Thought in Britain*, 1820-1860, pp. 129-145, esp. pp. 135, 138.

9 Arnold Toynbee, *The Industrial Revolution*, p. 259.

10 Tulloch, *op. cit.*, p. 269.

11 This impression of the British Delegation at Paris is based on a "Report of the Provisional Committee, appointed to prepare a Constitution, and select the original members of the British Branch of the Institute of International Affairs." The same body proposes to issue a history of the Peace Conference which should be of the highest importance.

12 The recognition here given to the present use of the coercive power of the State may involve the individual in a painful conflict of duties if he is both a citizen and a church member. I cannot see how this conflict is to be avoided until the State becomes the Church, until the kingdoms of this world become the kingdom of Jesus Christ. And I conceive that the Christian who throws himself into politics in the hope of Christianising the State, may feel himself honestly obliged to share in the coercive activities of the State, where and when, largely through the Church's failure, no other practical course seems to be open. On the other hand, Christianity does clearly qualify citizenship. The claims of the State on the Christian are not unlimited and its authority not absolute. I cannot resolve this problem of duty, but I add a few sentences from an article on Church and State, which I contributed to the *Free Catholic* for April, 1917, since they contain such light on the subject as I possess.

"There is a difference between Church and State, not in their aim, but in their methods and tempers. For admittedly, the State in the last resort appeals to force and employs physical coercion, whereas the Christian Church in her very nature is bound to rely only on moral suasion. . . . . The State-handling of moral problems seems at times merely to raise obstacles in the path of persuasion. Perhaps this is not inevitably so, but it is so often the case that individuals may be justified in refusing to share in the activities of the State, so far as

they are coercive, in order effectively to present the appeal of the Church. The presence of such individuals is necessary to the moral health of the Church herself. For the Church must witness to the supremacy and sufficiency of her line of appeal. After all, the Church as a voluntary fellowship is ultimate, and the State in so far as it is coercive, is subsidiary—destined as Dostoieffsky claims to be transformed into the Church. The methods of force must yield place to the methods of persuasion. And 'this blessed state which shall be brought forth in the general in God's season, must begin in particulars' (*i.e.* individuals). The Church must support its pioneers without condemning the State so long as its methods are needed."

13 I ought clearly to have included in this survey of the distinctive features of Quakerism, some tribute to Friends' magnificent testimony to the spiritual equality of the sexes. They have been ahead of most, if not of all, other Churches in this matter. And though there has been a great advance in recognising the claims of women both in Church and State, yet Friends' witness and experience are still of very great value.

14 "The antithesis of art and inspiration, though not meaningless, is often most misleading. Inspiration is surely not incompatible with considerate workmanship. The two may be severed, but they need not be so, and where a genuine poetic result is being produced, they cannot be so. The glow of a first conception must in some measure survive or rekindle itself in the work of planning and executing, and what is called a technical expedient may 'come' to a man with as sudden a glory as a splendid image. Verse may be easy and unpremeditated, as Milton says his was, and yet many

a word in it may be changed many a time and the last change be more 'inspired' than the original. The difference between poets in these matters is no doubt considerable, and sometimes important, but it can only be a difference of less and more."

This passage from Bradley's *Shakespearean Tragedy* (p. 68, second edition) describes in relation to literature the antithesis which misled early Friends.

15 See the extracts from Elias Hicks in *The Beacon*, pp. 30, 38, 56, and the discussion of his teaching in E. Grubb, *The Historic and Inward Christ*, p. 61f. and p. 94f.

16 T. Hancock, *The Peculium*, p. 79 (edition by Church Historical Society).

17 J. W. Rowntree, *Essays and Addresses*, p. 245.

18 Cf. this passage from Dr. Tulloch on Erskine (*op. cit.*, p. 132). "As for himself, Thomas Erskine was never all his life done with his spiritual education. . . He had no belief in finality of any kind. . . 'If we only could have an infallible church—an unerring guide!' it was once said in his hearing. The remark raised all such combative energy as he had. 'O no!' he said, 'such a thing, if it could be, would destroy all God's real purpose with man, *which is to educate him*, and to make him feel that he is being educated—to awaken perception in the man himself—a growing perception of what is true and right, which is of the very essence of all spiritual discipline. Any infallible authority would destroy this and so take away the meaning of a church altogether.'"

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