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PAULI MURRAY ANTI-BLACKNESS AND THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH

By Angel Nalubega



PAULI MURRAY, ANTI-BLACKNESS, & TEC

I first discovered Pauli Murray in the stacks of a Housing Works in New York City. Her autobiography, *Song in a Weary Throat*, was tucked under a dog eared copy of a red Marx-Engels Reader. I didn't know it yet, but both of those books would serve as a compass towards not only great political development in my life but also help me navigate questions around Blackness in the Episcopal tradition that I've called home within the last two years.

I grew up as a Roman Catholic black child, who went to catholic schools with black and white students, but I was often the only black and catholic student attending. I was raised by a very devout Catholic grandmother who, in addition to naming all of her 12 children after saints, raised me with a daily discipline of prayer. Novenas and twice-weekly Mass was the norm in my household of my mother, grandmother, and me. I was exposed to the wonder of the Sacraments at an early age. I didn't understand why, but I had many questions and a love for the Eucharist. I loved knowing exactly what to expect at Mass: the standing, kneeling, crossing oneself; the bodily movements anchored me in this knowing of something larger than myself was occurring in this strange space. The large crucifix of a man who I did not yet know would keep me thinking of what it exactly meant to be human. Above all, receiving the Eucharist felt like I was in two worlds -- one of God

and one of bread and wine and childhood dreams.

I would often attend services with my family at either my local Catholic school or a parish that had a primarily African (specifically Ugandan and Kenyan) congregation. The differences between the restrained smiles, lackluster attempts at passing the peace, and the short 10-minute homilies at the former and the bright, joyous, gospel-esque forms of African worship spaces were massive. Sometimes I couldn't understand the dissonance.

As I grew up, I became acutely aware of my uniqueness within the church. As a girl, I was often discouraged from asking too many questions about theology, and I was often chided for my precociousness. As a teenager, I became disillusioned with the limited roles for women in the church and grew frustrated after realizing that women could not become priests. After times of devastating loss, namely the death of my grandmother, I drifted away from the church.

Which brings me back to the dog-eared copy of the Marx-Engels Reader, and *Song in a Weary Throat*, in its original edition. I was grabbing a cup of coffee when I passed a Housing Works in Manhattan. I stepped inside to peruse the books. I stumbled across that bright red

PAULI MURRAY, ANTI-BLACKNESS, & TEC

Marx-Engels Reader and marveled at the bold lettering and the size of the thing. I decided to pick it up, and beneath it was *Song in a Weary Throat: An American Pilgrimage*. It was written posthumously. I decided to purchase both.

I devoured Pauli Murray's autobiography on the subway ride home. I resonated with Pauli's life experiences, especially her childhood -- it was very chaotic, being raised by her Aunt Pauline, her namesake and her grandparents. I myself was raised by my grandmother, and extended family had a major part to play in my upbringing. Pauli and I are quite similar, both very weak children, but very stubborn and shared a love of books. Pauli read everything and threw herself into activities. She always wanted to be the head of things. She describes herself as follows:

"I was an all-around athlete, I was the editor in chief of the high school newspaper, I was a member of the debating club, I was involved in most of the things that kids are involved in. I enjoyed doing these things, but underneath I hated segregation so that all I wanted to do was to get away from segregation."

I grew up in poor Black working-class neighborhoods, and I insisted on doing well in school because I saw that as my way out into a better, more stable life. The more I read, the more I started to identify

with this woman, person, being, saint -- in a way I couldn't identify with others.

Pauli was raised in the Episcopal Church, whereas I found it in my early 20s. I found the Church at a time in my life where I thought God didn't love me. I was burnt out from organizing and it felt like the Episcopal tradition was what I needed.

Pauli Murray's early twenties and beyond ended up being taken up by social justice work. Pauli committed herself to the labor of social justice, becoming a community organizer for the case of Odell Walker, a project that pushed her into the fold of the civil rights struggle for years to come. I myself became politically active after the murder of Michael Brown by Ferguson police. Our paths are different, yet similar.

Pauli Murray is one of those public figures that truly inspire the world. She described, years before the term "intersectionality" was coined by Kimberle Crenshaw, the unique experience of "Jane Crow." Black women have historically been discriminated against not just for their race, but also for their gender. Pauli knew this intimately and articulated it while in attendance at Howard University Law School.

As a Black woman in the Episcopal Church, I have experienced many microaggressions, frequently racist

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remarks, and isolation. Our Church is known for its inclusivity but it is only to a point. We use the LEVAS Hymnal only during Black History Month. We mention Black saints only during the month of February. Our churches tend to cater to the white, rich, and elderly. At times it feels as if there is no place for me. I love this tradition. I love the prayer book. I dislike the discrimination that I and others from marginalized backgrounds have had to undergo. It is hard to speak truth to power, and it is even harder to pattern your life as one who fights for justice even when it is difficult.

I mentioned the Marx-Engels Reader earlier. The words of Marx and the words of Murray don't actually differ all that much. They both discuss inequities in society, and provide a lens through which to encounter the world. I identify as a Black, Marxist-Leninist Christian because I am committed to the struggle for justice and freedom for all peoples. I see the Gospel and dialectical materialism as lenses through which we encounter something larger than ourselves, which propels us towards a place of freedom.

Black people have constantly had to fight to be recognized and valued by society. We have had to organize ourselves, boycott, start movements in order for us to get even a modicum of rights. Our leaders have been assassinated and harassed

and even jailed. We work for revolution knowing that we might not live to see it. Pauli Murray worked diligently throughout her life for a justice that she did not live to see. I recognize that although Pauli and I disagree on methods of social change, we both understand that the journey towards justice is long and filled with obstacles. And yet, we believe in a God that accompanies us on that journey.

Black people are part of the Church because we are a creation of God. We deserve to be loved and respected as fellow children of God. Our God, as James Cone writes, is a "God of the Oppressed." Through the struggles that Black people in this country and in the African diaspora have undergone, our God stays with us. At times it feels like the Church only wants us around when it's convenient. Even though we have a Presiding Bishop, Michael Curry, who is Black, representation isn't enough. Black people who live their lives at the margins are prayerful witnesses to the Gospel, not tokenized symbols of an "inclusive" church. It is a matter of how do we value the Black people in our parishes? How do we treat them as our neighbors, friends, the beloved family of God?

The Episcopal Church has a history that has historically been aligned with power. It's the Church of presidents and slaveowners, but it is also the Church of

PAULI MURRAY, ANTI-BLACKNESS, & TEC

laborers, immigrants, and working class people. It's a place where experiences and identities converge. It is a place where many historically black congregations are closing, while white parishes have millions in endowments. It is a place where some people are perfectly content with the status quo, and where some people are prayerfully fighting for justice in an unjust world. We cannot have a beloved community if we cannot reckon with the reality of the Church, and the inequities present.

The organizer, the lawyer, Saint Pauli Murray was one who challenged the status quo in favor of a more equitable future for Black people and women of all backgrounds. She tirelessly fought back against the system. Even though later in life, she became more mainstream and not as radical as I suppose I think myself to be, she never forgot the work she did, and why she did it.

The thing I love about Pauli Murray is that her sermons really touch on the key parts of the Christian life but in very direct ways. She wasn't beating around the bush. Pauli preached often on the necessity of loving one's neighbor. The golden rule, encompassed in Matthew 7:12, says "In everything do to others as you would have them do to you; for this is the law and the prophets." and yet we, being sinners, continuously struggle to do this in our

daily lives. It's not easy, and I struggle with it myself. But our predominantly white parishes don't seem to do this. Racial reconciliation is more than just "doing community outreach when it is beneficial" or "reading Ta-Nehisi Coates *Between the World and Me* for a book club and yet not talking to the two Black parishioners in your church." It isn't enough to be anti-racist, but we must be accomplices in the struggle against racism. I wonder what our churches would be like if they confronted the anti-blackness that they perpetuate in favor of living into the Gospel of Jesus Christ and the greatest commandment.

Even Pauli Murray, as accomplished as she was, who got sainted rather recently is still the subject of controversy over her sainthood in the Episcopal Church. Some clergy believe that she shouldn't be included on account of the 50 year moratorium on the addition of people to the sanctoral calendar -- which automatically seriously lessens the pool of saints and blessed people to a mostly white, male, heterosexual pool of people. Even after the grave, Black people still are not valued in the church.

I've gotten to a point where I'm learning that I need to value myself and what I bring to the Church despite the continuous struggles I've gone through in the past two years in the Episcopal

PAULI MURRAY, ANTI-BLACKNESS, & TEC

Church. I must have faith that even here, where I'm often isolated, God is still present in me as much as He is present in others.

One of my favorite sermons by Pauli Murray is titled "The Second Great Commandment." She gave this commandment at the Epiphany Parish in Winchester, MA on November 21, 1976. This passage articulates her theology quite well. "Pivotal to my relatedness to God, on the one hand, and to my neighbor, on the other, is my relationship to myself. Unless I love and accept myself, I am not free to love and accept my neighbor." Loving myself in this context simply means self-respect, a self-regard born of the realization that I am the object of God's limitless love and mercy, part of God's creation. Self-acceptance does not mean uncritical self-approval, but self-understanding, awareness of my strengths and weaknesses, and the blessed assurance that God-in-Christ is working in me and through me toward the perfection of my life. When I can believe, as St. Paul did, that "neither death nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor things present, nor things to come, nor powers, nor height, nor depth, nor anything else in creation, will be able to separate us from the love of God in Christ Jesus our Lord." I am liberated from self-preoccupation that blocks my capacity to care for others.

That passage speaks to why I am still in the church. Despite the pain, the anti-blackness, and the struggle of isolation, I must love and nourish myself, and understand my role as God's own. God is working in me, and God is working in every church, no matter the congregation. The love of God is deep and broad and my prayer is that we can prayerfully work towards a radically loving and united church.

Over the past few months of Black death and mourning and the rise of uprisings against police violence, I have been praying on Romans 8: 12-39. This verse keeps me steadfast in faith despite a capitalistic, anti-black society that would rather see me and those I hold dear dead. St. Paul writes, "If God is for us, who is against us? He who did not withhold his own Son, but gave him up for all of us, will he not with him also give us everything else?" Even as our world falls apart, I pray that any forces of evil, hatred, and works of oppression fall before the mighty love of God found in Christ Jesus.

Angel Nalubega
Philadelphia, PA

ANGLICAN GUIDE

*To the
Holy
Rosary*



No one expects the anglo-catholic inquisition. Yet not long after starting a magazine working from that tradition we began receiving emails and messages asking about things like apostolic succession and praying the rosary. The truth of the matter is, I am not a very good Anglo-Catholic with respect to piety. I was a Pentecostal before I became Episcopalian and I intentionally sought out the most evangelical parish in the city when I finally did switch teams. This diocese as a whole is comfortably broad and low in churchmanship and while a few heady places make occasional use of incense, Minnesota is not known for elaborate ceremony or widespread marian devotion. I don't think I've seen more than two candlesticks on an altar around here. You can surmise that I am not a reliable person to ask for advice on praying the Rosary. And yet enough people have asked about it that it almost felt cruel to

continually shrug and confess my ignorance. There is a perceived need for such resources, and by gosh, our DIY spirit was roused to action. But if I was going to put my hand to the plow, I was going to find a way to integrate our aids with Anglicanism.

Now there is no "Anglican way" to pray the rosary. The so-called "Anglican Rosary" maybe a helpful way for some people to pray, but it is not the same thing as the traditional rosary. So we will not cover that here.

But it is not uncommon for people to use Scripture or additional prayers to aid in praying the rosary. I wondered to myself: What if I were to design a booklet that used collects from the (1979) Book of Common Prayer, and thematically organized scriptural passages to help? Roman Catholic resources, while

INTRO TO THE ROSARY

exceptionally helpful, often use a hodgepodge of translations, few of which are standard in Anglican contexts; and the syntactical registers often fluctuate wildly from contemporary to jacobean. What I felt was needed was conformity across the board. Utilizing scriptural passages shared with me by Jayan Koshy, I decided on three rules.

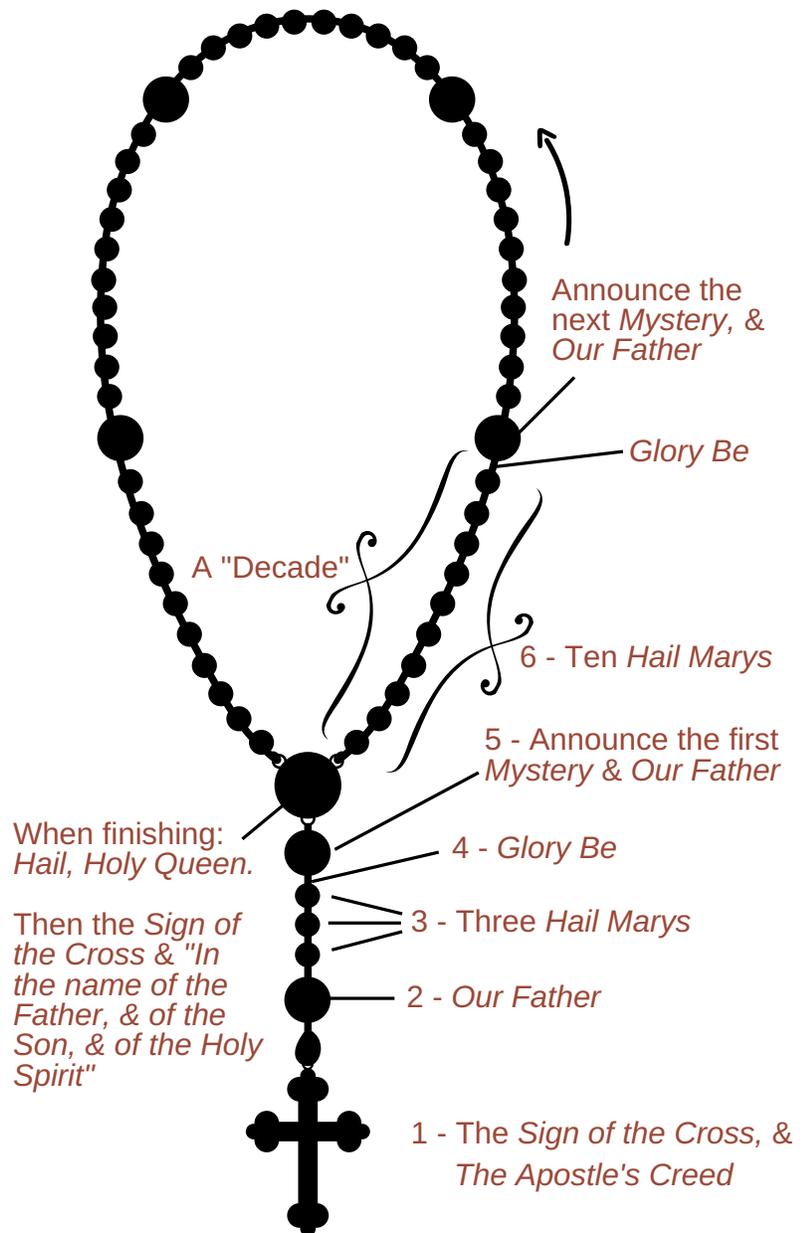
- 1) Whenever possible, use collects straight from the prayer book.
- 2) For Rite I language use only the Authorized Version; for Rite II, the NRSV.
- 3) Where there was overlap between rule 1 and 2, always prioritize the BCP translation.

My reasoning behind the third rule was the recognition that if an Anglican has the *Magnificat* memorized, they will have it from praying the Daily Office in the BCP. It's a simple matter of giving first position to memorization over absolute translational consistency.

Anglicans deserve our own kitschy devotional material. To that end we will include images, but give them The Hour twist. The scope of the project has quickly gotten out of hand. With the full force of the semester upon me, my "free time" has dried up. Thus I have only been able to finish the Joyful Mysteries in Rite I, along

with formatting an introductory essay by Jayan Koshy, a member of the *Sodality of Mary*, which is included below. I hope that this project will help people enter more fully into contemplation on the life of Christ, told by way of his Holy Mother.

Nota Bene: Read the squares top left to top right; bottom left, then bottom right.



INTRODUCTION

TO THE

HOLY ROSARY



Prayed by Roman Catholics and many Anglicans/Episcopalians, the Rosary is a non-liturgical devotion that meditates on the life of Christ through the eyes of his mother, the Blessed Virgin Mary. It makes use of three main prayers (***Our Father***, ***Hail Mary***, and ***Glory Be***) as aids to meditation.

The Rosary is structured around "Mysteries," which are moments in the life of Christ/Mary that reveal deep spiritual truths. There are 4 sets of 5 Mysteries (for a total of 20):

THE JOYFUL MYSTERIES

- *The Annunciation*: When the Angel Gabriel told Mary she would give birth to Jesus
- *The Visitation*: When Mary visited her cousin Elizabeth (John the Baptist's Mother)
- *The Nativity*: Christmas! When Mary gave birth to Jesus
- *The Presentation*: When Mary and Joseph brought Jesus to the temple to dedicate him
- *The Finding of Jesus in the Temple*: When Mary and Joseph lost Jesus but found him in the temple teaching the elders

THE LUMINOUS MYSTERIES

- *The Baptism of the Lord*: When Jesus was baptized by John and revealed as God's Son
- *The Wedding at Cana*: When Jesus turned the water into wine
- *The Proclamation of the Kingdom*: When Jesus first proclaimed that the Kingdom of God was at hand
- *The Transfiguration*: When Jesus was revealed to three disciples in his divine majesty
- *The Last Supper*: When Jesus instituted the Holy Eucharist

THE SORROWFUL MYSTERIES

- *The Agony in the Garden*: When Jesus wept in the Garden of Gethsemane
- *The Scourging at the Pillar*: When Jesus was whipped by the Roman guards
- *The Coronation with Thorns*: When Jesus was crowned with a wreath of thorns
- *The Way of the Cross*: When Jesus carried his cross to Golgotha
- *The Crucifixion of our Lord*: When Jesus was killed on the Cross

THE GLORIOUS MYSTERIES

- *The Resurrection of our Lord*: Easter!
When Jesus rose from the dead
- *The Ascension of our Lord*: When
Jesus returned bodily to the Father
in Heaven
- *The Descent of the Holy Spirit*: When
God sent the Holy Spirit to the
Church at Pentecost
- **The Assumption of the Blessed
Virgin**: When Mary was taken up
bodily into Heaven
- *The Coronation of the Queen of
Heaven*: When Mary, representing
the Church, is crowned as the
Queen of heaven, the pinnacle of
God's creation

*not all Episcopalians believe in this, but most Anglo-Catholics do. The Episcopal Church does, at any rate, maintain the feast day as *St. Mary the Virgin*.



Each of these mysteries is contemplated as you pray a "decade" of the Rosary. A decade is the basic unit of the Rosary; it consists of:

- 1 - ***Our Father***
- 10 - ***Hail Marys***
- 1 - ***Glory Be***

You will find these prayers in this pamphlet.

You can pray one decade (for one Mystery) or even 20 (for all of them), but usually, people pray a different set of Mysteries each day. Typically they follow this pattern, but you're not bound to it:

Sunday:	Glorious Mysteries
Monday:	Joyful Mysteries
Tuesday:	Sorrowful Mysteries
Wednesday:	Glorious Mysteries
Thursday:	Luminous Mysteries
Friday:	Sorrowful Mysteries
Saturday:	Joyful Mysteries



Sometimes it's helpful (especially when starting out) to use Scripture verses to help you focus on the Mysteries at hand. A "Scriptural Rosary" is included in this pamphlet.

To start the Rosary:

- ***Sign of the Cross*** (*"In the name of..."*)
- ***Apostles Creed*** (*"I believe in God..."*)
- ***Our Father*** (x1) (*"Our Father in..."*)
- ***Hail Mary*** (x3) (*"Hail Mary, full of..."*)
- ***Glory Be*** (x1) (*"Glory be to the ..."*)

Then pray however many decades of the Rosary you want or have time for. Announce the Mystery and spend some time thinking about it & what God is saying to you in it before you start the ***Hail Marys***. When you've finished praying the decade(s) you intend to, you resolve with a hymn to Mary called the ***Salve Regina*** or ***Hail Holy Queen***.

Close with the ***Sign of the Cross*** in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit.

WHY THE ROSARY? WHY MARY?

For some who come from Protestant backgrounds, praying the Rosary may seem strange, confusing, or even troubling. Are we praying to Mary instead of God? Why does Mary feature so prominently in a devotion that's about Jesus?

While most Protestants tend to think of Mary as an ordinary Christian after the Reformation, since the earliest days of the Church, Mary has been given a particularly high seat of honor because of her unique role in the Incarnation. There's a staggering variety of images and metaphors used to talk about her, but they all revolve around once central truth: Mary, in saying *"Be it unto me according to your will,"* became the vehicle for God to become human flesh in this world.

For this reason, Mary has been seen as a key participant in the Incarnation—without her the Word would not have become flesh; and she's been seen as a type, or image, of the Church. This has led the Church to see her as particularly meriting devotion: as we come closer to Mary, she points us more powerfully and more intimately

to her Son, the object of our worship.

The Rosary builds on this idea that Mary is a helper or aid in strengthening our relationship with Christ. Just as the Church gives us a framework for understanding the wonder of the Incarnation, the Rosary invites us to take Mary's vantage point as a spiritual aid in understanding God's saving work in Christ. Mary is not the object of our worship but rather the most brilliant signpost pointing us to the object of all worship.

JAYAN KOSHY
MINNEAPOLIS, MN



THE APOSTLES CREED



I believe in God, the Father almighty,
maker of heaven and earth;

And in Jesus Christ his only Son our Lord; who was conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary, suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead, and buried. He descended into hell. The third day he rose again from the dead. He ascended into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of God the Father almighty. From thence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead.

I believe in the Holy Ghost, the holy catholic Church, the communion of saints, the forgiveness of sins, the resurrection of the body, and the life everlasting. Amen



who art in heaven,
hallowed be thy Name,
thy kingdom come,
thy will be done,
on earth as it is in heaven.
Give us this day our daily bread.
And forgive us our trespasses,
as we forgive those who
trespass against us.
And lead us not into temptation,
but deliver us from evil.

HAIL MARY

Hail Mary, full of grace,
the Lord is with thee.
Blessed art thou among women,
and blessed is the fruit of thy
womb, Jesus.

*Holy Mary, Mother of God,
pray for us sinners,
now and at the hour of our death.
Amen*



GLORY BE

Glory be to the Father, and to the Son,
and to the Holy Ghost: as it was in the
beginning, is now, and ever shall be,
world without end. Amen



HAIL! HOLY QUEEN

Hail! Holy Queen, Mother of mercy, our life,
our sweetness, & our hope. To thee do we
cry, poor banished children of Eve. To thee
do we send up our sighs, mourning and
weeping in this vale of tears. Turn, then,
most gracious advocate, thine eyes of
mercy toward us. And after this, our exile,
show unto us the blessed fruit of thy womb,
Jesus. O clement, O loving, O sweet Virgin
Mary.

Pray for us, O holy Mother of God,
*That we may be made worthy of the
promises of Christ.*

O God, whose only begotten Son by his life,
death, and resurrection has purchased for
us the rewards of eternal life; grant, we
beseech thee, that by meditating upon
these mysteries of the Most Holy Rosary of
the Blessed Virgin Mary, we may imitate
what they contain and obtain what they
promise, through the same Christ our Lord.
Amen

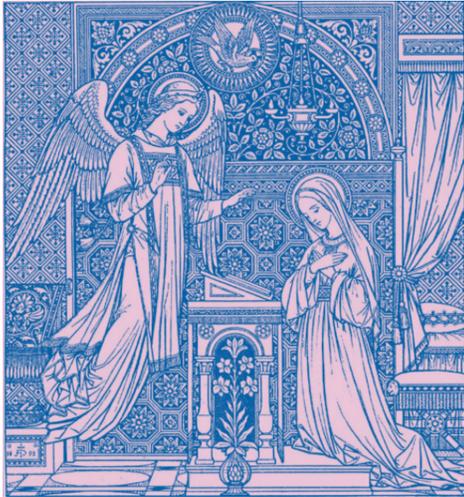
SCRIPTURAL ROSARY

The following collects and
Scripture passages are provided
as aids to meditation. You may
pray the collect when you
announce the mystery; then set an
intention, if you have one, for the
decade before you proceed. You
may read a verse with each of the
ten *Hail Marys* in a decade.



JOYFUL MYSTERIES

FIRST JOYFUL MYSTERY: THE ANNUNCIATION



We beseech thee, O Lord, pour thy grace into our hearts, that we who have known the incarnation of thy Son Jesus Christ, announced by an angel to the Virgin Mary, may by his cross and passion be brought unto the glory of his resurrection; who liveth and reigneth with thee, in the unity of the Holy Spirit, one God, now and for ever. Amen.



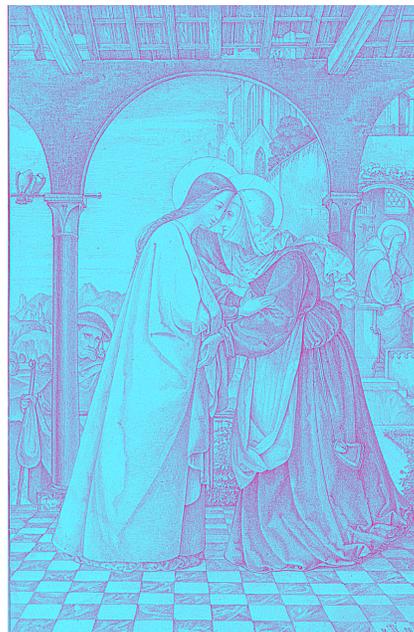
LUKE 1:26-38

1. "The angel Gabriel was sent from God to a virgin; and the virgin's name was Mary"
2. "Hail, thou that art highly favored. Blessed art thou among women"
3. "When she saw him, she was troubled at his saying, and cast in her mind what manner of salutation this should be"

4. "And the angel said unto her, Fear not, Mary: For thou hast found favor with God"
5. "Behold, thou shalt conceive in thy womb, & bring forth a son, and shalt call his name Jesus"
6. "He shall be great, and shall be called the Son of the Highest: and of his kingdom there shall be no end"
7. "Then said Mary unto the angel, 'How shall this be, seeing I know not a man?'"
8. "The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee"
9. "Therefore also that holy thing which shall be born of thee shall be called the Son of God"
10. "Behold the handmaid of the Lord; be it unto me according to thy word"

JOYFUL MYSTERIES

SECOND JOYFUL MYSTERY: THE VISITATION



Father in heaven, by whose grace the virgin mother of thy incarnate Son was blessed in bearing him, but still more blessed in keeping thy word: Grant us who honor the exaltation of her lowliness to follow the example of her devotion to thy will; through the same Jesus Christ our Lord, who liveth and reigneth with thee and the Holy Spirit, one God, for ever and ever. *Amen*



LUKE 1:39-55

1. "Mary arose in those days, and went into the hill country...and entered into the house of Zacharias, and saluted Elizabeth"
2. "When Elisabeth heard the salutation of Mary, the babe leaped in her womb; and Elisabeth was filled with the Holy Ghost"
3. "And she spake out with a loud

voice, and said, Blessed art thou among women, and blessed is the fruit of thy womb"

4. "And blessed is she that believed: for there shall be a performance of those things which were told her from the Lord"

5. "And Mary said, My soul doth magnify the Lord, and my spirit hath rejoiced in God my Savior. For he hath regarded the lowliness of his handmaiden"

6. "For behold from henceforth all generations shall call me blessed. For he that is mighty hath magnified me, and holy is his Name"

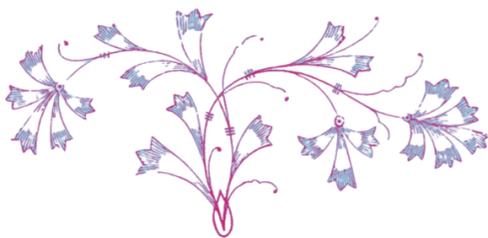
7. "And his mercy is on them that fear him throughout all generations"

8. "He hath showed strength with his arm; he hath scattered the proud in the imagination of their hearts"

9. "He hath put down the mighty from their seat, and hath exalted the humble

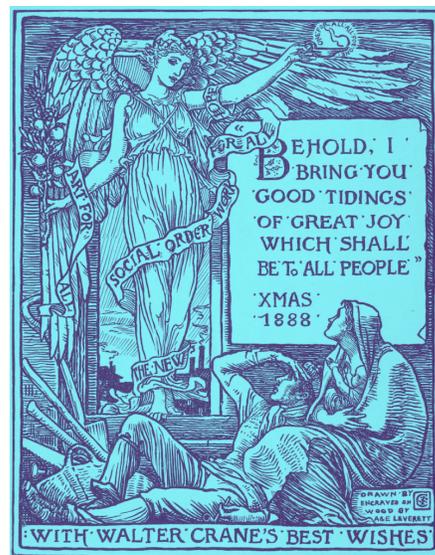
and meek"

10. "He hath filled the hungry with good things, and the rich he hath sent empty away. He remembering his mercy hath holpen his servant Israel, as he promised to our forefathers, Abraham and his seed for ever"



JOYFUL MYSTERIES

THIRD JOYFUL MYSTERY:
THE NATIVITY



Almighty God, who has given us thy only-begotten Son to take our nature upon him, and as at this time to be born of a pure virgin: Grant that we, being regenerate and made thy children by adoption and grace, may daily be renewed by thy Holy Spirit; through the same our Lord Jesus Christ, who liveth and reigneth with thee and the same Spirit ever, one God, world without end. *Amen.*



LUKE 2.6-19; MATTHEW 2.1, 11

1. "And so it was, that, while they were there, the days were accomplished that she should be delivered"
2. "And she brought forth her firstborn son, and wrapped him in swaddling clothes and laid him in a manger; because there was no room for them in the inn"

3. "And there were in the same country shepherds abiding in the field, keeping watch over their flocks by night"

4. "And, lo, the angel of the Lord came upon them, and the glory of the Lord shone round about them: and they were sore afraid"

5. "And the angel said unto them, Fear not: for, behold, I bring you good tidings of great joy, which shall be to all people"

6 "For unto you is born this day in the city of David a Savior, which is Christ the Lord"

7. "Glory be to God on high, and on earth peace, good will towards men"

8. "There came wise men from the east...and when they were come into the house, they saw the young child with Mary his mother" (Matt 2.1;11)

9. "and they fell down, and worshipped him: they presented unto him gifts;

gold, and frankincense, and myrrh" (Matt 2.11)

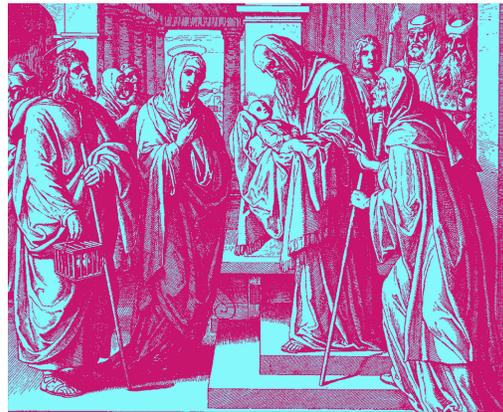
10. "But Mary kept all these things, and pondered them in her heart"



On the Morning of Christ's Nativity

JOYFUL MYSTERIES

FOURTH JOYFUL MYSTERY:
CANDLEMAS, OR THE PRESENTATION



Amighty and everliving God, we humbly beseech thee that, as thy only-begotten Son was this day presented in the temple, so we may be presented unto thee with pure and clean hearts by the same thy Son Jesus Christ our Lord; who liveth and reigneth with thee and the Holy Spirit, one God, now and forever. Amen.



LUKE 2.22-40

1. "They brought him up to Jerusalem, to present him to the Lord; as it is written in the law of the Lord"
2. "And, behold, there was a man in Jerusalem, whose name was Simeon; and the same man was just and devout, waiting for the consolation of Israel: and the Holy Ghost was upon him"

3. "And it was revealed unto him by the Holy Ghost, that he should not see death, before he had seen the Lord's Christ"

4. "And when the parents brought in the child Jesus...then took he him up in his arms, and blessed God"

5. "Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, according to thy word"

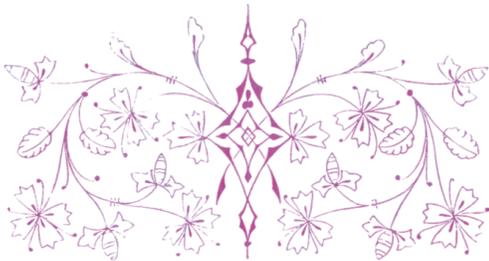
6 "For mine eyes have seen thy salvation, which thou hast prepared before the face of all people"

7. "To be a light to lighten the Gentiles, and to be the glory of thy people Israel"

8. "And Simeon blessed them, and said unto Mary his mother, Behold, this child is set for the fall and rising again of many in Israel; and for a sign which shall be spoken against"

9. "(Yea, a sword shall pierce through thy own soul also,) that the thoughts of many hearts may be revealed"

10. "They returned into Galilee, to their own city Nazareth. And the child grew, and waxed strong in spirit, filled with wisdom: and the grace of God was upon him"



JOYFUL MYSTERIES

FIFTH JOYFUL MYSTERY:
FINDING IN THE TEMPLE



Blessed Lord, who has caused all holy Scriptures to be written for our learning: Grant that we may in such wise hear them, read, mark, learn, and inwardly digest them, that, by patience and comfort of thy holy Word, we may embrace and ever hold fast the blessed hope of everlasting life, which thou hast given us in our Savior Jesus Christ; who liveth and reigneth with thee and the Holy Spirit, one God, forever and ever. *Amen.*



LUKE 2.42-51

1. "When Jesus was twelve years old, they went up to Jerusalem after the custom of the feast"
 2. "And when they had fulfilled the days, as they returned, the child Jesus tarried behind in Jerusalem; and Joseph and his mother knew not of it"

3. "And when they found him not, they turned back again to Jerusalem, seeking him. "

4. "And it came to pass, that after three days they found him in the temple, sitting in the midst of the doctors, both hearing them, and asking them questions"

5. "And all that heard him were astonished at his understanding and answers. And when they saw him, they were amazed:"

6 "And his mother said unto him, Son, why hast thou thus dealt with us? Behold, thy father and I have sought thee sorrowing"

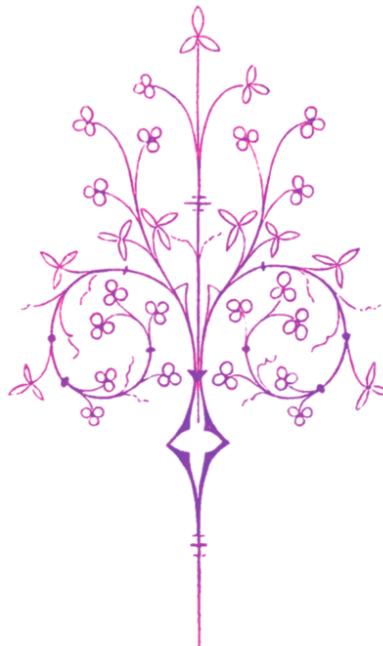
7. "How is it that ye sought me? Wist ye not that I must be about my Father's business?"

8. "And they understood not the saying which he spake unto them"

9. "And he went down with them, and came to Nazareth, and was subject

unto them...And Jesus increased in wisdom and stature, and in favor with God and man

10. "But his mother kept all these sayings in her heart"



SAINT JAMES THE JUST





NOTES ON THE AESTHETIC OF THE HOUR

BY CALEB ROBERTS

But because these things have been shifted, because the natural continuities within which they normally exist have been broken, and because they have now been arranged to transmit an unexpected message, we are made conscious of the arbitrariness of their continuous normal message. Their ideological covering or disguise, which fits them so well when they are in their proper place that it becomes indistinguishable from their appearances, is abruptly revealed for what it is. Appearances themselves are suddenly showing us how they deceive us.

-- John Berger, "The Political Uses of Photo-Montage."

"...the only sure fact is ceaseless flux...." -- Vida Dutton Scudder.

THE AESTHETIC of this magazine, no less than its content, was of crucial importance from the very first conversations Tony and I had about it. At the start, we knew that we didn't want to produce yet another "church blog" and this meant that we would have to resist not only the predictable sermonizing of which we had grown so tired, but also the familiar stock images of cathedrals and sacred wares that typically adorned such

publications. What's more, since we established our editorial trajectory in the tradition of the Anglican Left as developed in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, we were well aware of how easy it would be for our stylistic choices to suggest a boutique and reactionary nostalgia that would undermine our criticism. And so we drew visual inspiration from sources as wide-ranging as Art Nouveau, the DIY punk zines of the 80s and 90s, obscure

film posters from Eastern Europe in the 60s, the Vienna Secession, and the impeccable austerity of the midcentury book covers put out by McGraw-Hill. Our intent was that all of these references would converge in order to present a conscious modernism in the best sense of the word.

But the modernist aesthetic that pervades our pages is not so separable from the content as to be merely a “style” that we happen to like (though we do have a shameless affection for it). Our whole project is one of *recovery* -- both of aesthetics and of thought. The figures that we consider our greatest influences were thoroughly modernist in their methods -- this much is clear. But most are at least a century in the past and can seem distantly removed from our present context. Their books are long out of print and contemporary secondary literature is scarce to non-existent. Between us and them, there is something like a chasm, and not just in history, but in the very consciousness of our church. They are, for all intents and purposes, irrelevant -- and the fact that we acquire so much of their material from random pdf scans in the public domain proves the point. Again, our project is one of recovery.

But what does it mean to *recover* modernism? The mere suggestion of such a project is at risk of a basic contradiction. If, as Marshall Berman wrote, “to be

modern is to be part of a universe in which, as Marx said, ‘all that is solid melts into air,’” [1] then we are very much still in modernity. Where then is this vantage point supposed to be located from which modernism could be recovered? Granted, the artistic movement of modernism is generally considered to be something that has already run its course, having since been succeeded by something else. And, as already mentioned, the intellectual movement we draw from most directly is likewise mostly consigned to the past. There is thus an added risk of indulging in mere antiquarianism; a presumption of indifference that allows one to look back on the past with nostalgic curiosity.

Fredric Jameson describes this risk with penetrating insight in his distinction between pastiche and parody. He says:

Pastiche is, like parody, the imitation of a peculiar or unique style, the wearing of a stylistic mask, speech, in a dead language: but it is a neutral practice of such mimicry, without parody’s ulterior motive, without the satirical impulse, without laughter, without that still latent feeling that there exists something *normal* compared with which what is being imitated is rather comic. (emphasis his) [2]

That last line is key: pastiche presupposes that what it imitates is no

longer a present reality, and thus that it makes no contribution to the construction of the present reality as it is or as it could be. The detachment from the past ironically obscures the contingency of the present, which is why pastiche is so indicative of both the culture of late capitalism and, oddly enough, the aesthetics of reaction. Change depends upon contingency, and "...in a world in which stylistic innovation is no longer possible, all that is left is to imitate dead styles, to speak through the masks and with the voices of the styles in the imaginary museum." [3] Any project of recovery such as ours must somehow overcome this challenge.

When I think about the present reality of the Episcopal Church, what stands out in particular is exactly this kind of pastiche. We are at our own End of History, it seems, and I'm not just talking about our terminal decline. Consider the various "church parties" that historically determined the local idiosyncrasies of liturgy and devotion that were radically neutralized by the 1979 Book of Common Prayer. One can see an analogy between the sincerity of the old rivalries between Anglo-Catholics and the Low-Church crowd and the "ulterior motive" that Jameson identifies in parody: not only did each side satirize the other, but they did so out of the "latent feeling that...something *normal*" existed against which both they and their rivals could be

defined. But now, long after the revolution of the Liturgical Movement, that "latent feeling" is all but gone. The impressive minimalism of our current Prayer Book, however commendable, has inadvertently produced a kind of stasis in the consciousness of our church; and with it, a corresponding "disappearance of a sense of history" [4] that, for Jameson, defines the late capitalist condition. And this holds for both the aesthetics of our liturgy and the state of our intellectual life. After all, what is Weird Anglican Twitter if not an ironic celebration of this pastiche? We don't so much inhabit an identifiable present as what is rather a supposedly neutral realm that is beyond history itself. And, to be clear, this is just as much the case for those who fetishize the return to some imagined Real Anglicanism™ as it is for those who would endlessly improvise the liturgy to keep up with their solipsism. Both presuppose an evacuated present in which we are fundamentally disinterested spectators who only become invested by an act of preference.

In spite of these challenges, I would suggest that *what* we are recovering at *The Hour* is itself part of the reason that this magazine is capable of overcoming these challenges. We are out to recover a specific kind of modernism -- the modernism of the Anglican Left -- and the fact that we have to recover it at all says more about the false presumptions of our present moment than it does about its

supposed loss to the past. Those we consider our heroes -- Vida Dutton Scudder, Percy Dearmer, Stewart Headlam, et al -- looked out on a world in which all that was solid was melting into air... and it's still melting. *That* world, the world imposed by capitalism, is the "something normal" with which we can compare ourselves. And with regard to our aesthetic, it's far from being an exercise in pastiche simply because it references the past. Which brings us back to the quote from the inimitable John Berger at the beginning of this essay.

In context, Berger is analyzing the work of the German artist John Heartfield, known for his use of photo-montage to make visual art that was explicitly anti-fascist. But Berger proceeds to describe the way in which the political statement of his work was somehow embedded in the very medium of photo-montage itself. Like our intent with *The Hour*, the form in which Heartfield presented his message was not separable from the message, as though merely incidental, but rather preceded it and made it possible. By "shifting" things around, by breaking the supposedly "natural continuities" between things as we normally experience them, photo-montage forfeits its claim to realism and representation in order to depict a *truer* realism altogether. It embraces the arbitrary in order to reveal the arbitrary. And in this sense, photo-montage is inconceivable except under capitalism and

within Walter Benjamin's "age of mechanical reproduction." In short, when all that is solid melts into air, art can only proceed by demonstrating that such is the case.

Coincidentally enough, Berger was writing elsewhere about Benjamin when he said that "the antiquarian and the revolutionary can have two things in common: their rejection of the present as given and their awareness that history has allotted them a task." [5] To the extent that it's possible to be both antiquarian and revolutionary, I'd like to think that these words, along with Berger's analysis of Heartfield's photo-montage, get at something important in our project of recovery at *The Hour*. There is obviously "the rejection of the present as given" which inspired Heartfield's anti-fascist art and also inspires us to produce this magazine in the manner that we do. But a mere rejection of the present is not enough; by itself, it lacks a sense of history and the task that accompanies it. Our heroes never ascended to the pretenses of universal significance in the eyes of those who came after them. They soon became inescapably confined to the particular times and places in which they lived and thought -- and thus to obscurity. The same can be said for many of the inspirations behind the aesthetic of *The Hour*. But it is precisely their obscurity that affords us with the possibility of a fresh and radical recovery. Because who let them become obscure in the first place?

When we cropped that picture of Vida Dutton Scudder and placed it alongside disparate text and colors, we were effectively displaying our whole project in a visual depiction: we can only access someone like her through the fragmented and arbitrary means of digital reproduction, so we might as well be honest about it. But once we re-publish her likeness and work in *The Hour*, we find that it is presented anew. Contra Jameson's pastiche, innovation all of the sudden *is* possible, because the people and the styles that we are imitating are *no longer dead*. They speak again, in whatever way is possible in this haphazard little operation, with a voice that is now confined, inescapably, to *our* particular time and place, as well as theirs. Which is true of every voice. With them as our comrades, the continuities that were thought to have been broken have been restored, but for the specific task that has been allotted to us: the task of recovery and revolution.

Caleb Roberts

Ponca City, Oklahoma

[1] Marshall Berman. *All That is Solid Melts into Air: The Experience of Modernity*, 15.

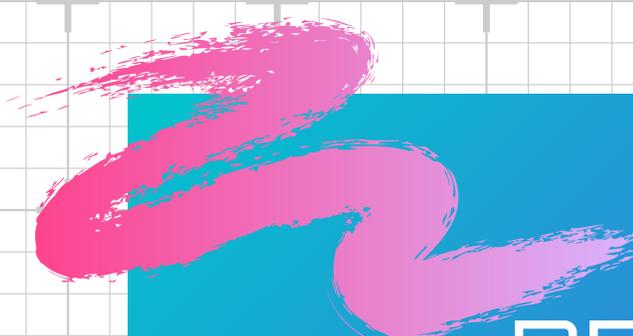
[2] Fredric Jameson. *The Cultural Turn: Selected Writings on the Postmodern, 1983-1998*, 5.

[3] *Ibid.*, 7.

[4] *Ibid.*, 20.

[5] John Berger. *Landscapes: John Berger on Art*, 56.

stanley evans



PROPHET OF
THE SOCIAL HOPE
OF THE CHRISTIAN
CHURCH

By Will Levanway



STANLEY EVANS (1912-1965) appears today as a rather marginal figure even to many with an interest in Christian Socialism. To mention his name to many in those circles is to bring forth either a knowing smile or a confession of ignorance. Evans, like Alan Ecclestone, worked at a time of transition between the marching optimism of John Groser and the grassroots organizing of Ken Leech. Groser's association with Socialists and Communists helped him find an appointment in the East End while Evans was among a number of clergy blacklisted by Lambeth in the 1950s for the same reason. Evans had trained at Mirfield with the Community of the Resurrection before coming to London to serve a succession of curacies where he quickly became disillusioned with the politics of his fellow clergy. His politics during the 1940s meant that he was able to report on the trial of Cardinal Mindszenty for the Communist Party of Great Britain's *Daily Worker*, but was unable to secure an appointment as an incumbent in the Church of England. Even if he was not a member of the Party, he was enmeshed in its political scene. His sermon at a requiem for Stalin at St. George's, Queen Square in 1953 speaks both to his refusal to discount the Communist project at that time as well as to his ambivalence about some of his strange comrades. In the intervening years, Evans appears to have become disillusioned by the state of the Soviet Union and in 1965 could describe Stalin's

“sub-human ruthlessness.” The failure was partly an infidelity to Marx, a lack of awareness of humanity, and a “crudity of thought” leading to “a cruelty in action.”

Out of this time of disillusion, Evans eventually emerged as a successful parish priest who took services out into the streets and saw the need to train working people for the priesthood. He became a canon of Southwark Cathedral as Southbank Religion was emerging. He helped develop a model of theological training for people unable to leave behind work to go to a college of any sort. Evans remained radical throughout this time even as he shed some of his earlier sympathies. He saw, following Jack Putterill, the need to closely link the worship, prayer, and devotion of a parish with its own internal economy of sharing. He took so many attempts to stop Christians from pursuing the discipline of sharing as so many refusals of genuine discipleship. For him, the only division in the Church was between those who knew the Kingdom of God demanded the transformation of the world and those who did not. His great work, *The Social Hope of the Christian Church*, forcefully argues for the need for this transformation. *The Social Hope* was published the year of his death and stands as a testament of his thought.

In this work, he takes up at length arguments made earlier in *The Church in*

the Back Streets, Return to Reality, and Christian Socialism: a Study Outline and Bibliography. In it he provides a dialectical account of what he describes as the “social tradition” in Christianity beginning with Jesus and ending in his present. Influenced by his time among Communists, Evans does not take a Romantic view of Church history. He does not valorize or glamorize the Middle Ages, viewing them as only marginally better than the Reformation. The time when Christian life was properly shared, when its unity was manifest, when the faith was truly preached, was the Apostolic age. The social tradition is the faith of the Apostles. To preach the social implications of the Gospel is not to add anything to it. The long sections of the book on Church history are a dialectical account of the emerging, submerging, and rediscovery of this fact of the gospel. Evans' goal in *The Social Hope of the Christian Church* was to show how this fact of the Gospel might once again be recovered, how we might return once again to the Apostolic faith. However disillusioned he became with some forms of Communism, Evans remained faithful and hopeful to the coming of God's Kingdom among us. The true faith remained.

In what follows, I am going to try to restate the heart of Evans' vision in *The Social Hope*. Putting to the side his account of Church history, I will concentrate on the

Kingdom of God in the preaching of the Prophets, Jesus, and Paul. Jesus makes a decisive intervention into previous prophetic work. Paul establishes the strategy and tactics of the new situation following Christ's ascension. The longer historical sections of the book detail the attempts of various Christians to avoid or to engage in their contemporary situation. The heart of the work calls us to that engagement now.

THE ORIGIN OF THE KINGDOM OF GOD

Evans builds *The Social Hope* of the Christian Church around the idea of the Kingdom: what it is; how it has been pursued; how we strive for it today. He does not take up the concept out of an ideal curiosity or an academic desire to generate research. Repeatedly throughout the book, Evans returns to the fact -- and he believes it to be a fact -- that the Kingdom is essential to what Christianity is. As he puts it towards the end of the book: “It is important to grasp the fact that this is not something added to Christianity by those who think a particular kind of way, it is of its essence.” (245) The “social” tradition of Christianity does not come late to the scene but is precisely how Christianity initially appears.

The source of this view is, of course, the Bible. By “Bible,” Evans does not mean the text drawn through any number of contemporary interpretive schemes or

secured in fundamentalist bulwarks. The Bible we have received conveys a coherent message of God's self-revelation to humanity and the wending of humanity's response to that self-revelation. The human response to God's self-revelation is a way of living together. The composition of the Bible by different human people is evidence of the coherence of this self-revelation across time. Evans sketches his view of the Bible to show that his reading is faithful but also to show his readers that they too can engage with the Bible as a source of life. He sees parallels between the minute parsing of Origen and later historical-critical scholars but insists that the primary thing is to read the Bible seriously as a whole. He, therefore, places Jesus within the twists, turns, and contradictions of the Bible as a whole.

The social hope pursued by Christians is the Kingdom of God. The phrase, announced powerfully by Jesus in Mark 1:15 -- "The time is fulfilled, and the kingdom of God is at hand: repent ye, and believe the gospel," is a phrase with a history. The basic structure of the kingdom exists already in the Old Testament: 

The law comes about as the Israelites become a people in the desert. It enshrines the form of their unity. The unity and freedom of this people requires an egalitarian way of life wherein things are shared. The law begins with the idea that the land belongs to God rather than being owned as private property. "Behold, the heaven and the heaven of heavens is the Lord's thy God, the earth also, with all that therein is." (Deuteronomy 10.14) Evans is aware, of course, that this egalitarian approach has often failed. It is unclear, for instance, if the envisioned regular erasure of debt was ever practiced. Nevertheless, some form of life together based upon sharing was practiced that was capable of generating this law. Even if it was never fully practiced, the law still announces this vision for a society that can be pursued where such erasure could be a regular if not constant practice.

The law points to an ideal pursued in the progressive discovery of the life and morality God has intended for God's free people. The discovery of the law of the Kingdom of God is an ongoing process in the Bible. The prophets again and again call people back to the unity of life announced in the law. More than this

"THIS STORY IS, IN A SENSE, THE KEY TO THE WHOLE OF HEBREW HISTORY. MOSES IS THE LIBERATOR, THE INSPIRED LEADER WHO FOUND THE WAY TO FREEDOM, AND THE LAW ENSHRINES THE WAY OF LIVING OF THOSE WHO WERE SLAVES BUT HAVE BECOME FREE. IT WAS NOT A CHAIN THAT BOUND BUT A SWORD THAT RELEASED." (15)

recollection, though, they continually press the implications of God's will for a truly equal society. Evans explains this critical function in two ways.

First, the prophets resist the impulse to move the relationship of human beings to God into a separate "religious" sphere. The attempt to sequester God into a religious sphere, to cordon off worship from life, is moral choice and dereliction of the law.

Bring no more vain oblations; incense is an abomination unto me; the new moons and sabbaths, the calling of assemblies, I cannot away with; it is iniquity, even the solemn meeting. Your new moons and your appointed feasts my soul hateth: they are a trouble unto me; I am weary to bear them. And when ye spread forth your hands, I will hide mine eyes from you: yea, when ye make many prayers, I will not hear: your hands are full of blood. (Isaiah 1:13-15)

Second, the prophets recall their hearers back to this integrated version of life. They knew that to abandon this way of the law was to court destruction. "For they have sown the wind, and they shall reap the whirlwind." (Hosea 8:7) God's concern is with the morality of the community as a whole, and so they must be recalled as a whole or they will fall as a unit. Evans goes on at length to show how this

concern manifested itself in the prophets as a concern for the very concrete machinations of empires, armies, and politicians at the time.

Evans sees two emerging elements in this theology that prefigure the coming of Jesus of Nazareth.

First, in books like Jonah and in the Wisdom literature, one can see an emerging internationalism wherein the pursuit of the unity desired by God by a specific community is tied up with the life of all. The internationalism inherent in the life of the church finds its roots in these moments. The good life is only possible on the basis of justice and equality, and this equality will eventually extend to all.

Second, Apocalyptic literature points to the coming Kingdom of God as the return of the law:

"For them as for the prophets the great consuming interest of life and of its future was the Kingdom of God and the Messiah comes into the picture only in connection with the Advent of the Kingdom. That the coming of the Kingdom involved struggle they never doubted and the real point of division between the general aspirations of the people and the Pharisees was the latter's rejection of struggle and growing view that the Kingdom could only come by the miraculous intervention of God." (33)

Announcing the coming Kingdom of God in its fullness, rather than its religious sequestration, meant announcing the suppression of all empires and dominions. The suppression and destruction of the oppressing empires happens in, through, and with the coming dominion of the Son of Man: "I saw in the night visions, and, behold, one like the Son of man came with the clouds of heaven, and came to the Ancient of days, and they brought him near before him."

And there was given him dominion, and glory, and a kingdom, that all people, nations, and languages, should serve him: his dominion is an everlasting dominion, which shall not pass away, and his kingdom that which shall not be destroyed. (Daniel 7.13-14) Kingdoms are falling in the coming of the Kingdom of all peoples, all nations, and all languages. The one who is going to do this is a specific person.

JESUS AND THE KINGDOM

Jesus of Nazareth takes up the prophetic work of preaching the Kingdom of God. Evans' exploration of Jesus' place in the coming of the Kingdom can at times seem theologically thin. It would be a mistake, though, to assume he is not taking Jesus or the dogmatic tradition seriously. Evans does not dwell at length on these issues simply because he assumes them as will be clear when his theology of worship is

considered. He emphasizes in *The Social Hope* the practical work Jesus undertakes to preach the Kingdom as well as to begin the process of concretely bringing it about. The model for his work are previous religious figures like Moses and the prophets who help form the community into the unity that God desires. Jesus "discussed the method of its achievement; he came to inaugurate it." (37)

As Evans describes the actual work of Jesus on earth, he makes a point with ramifications for his own theory of Christian practice. Jesus worked to fulfill the purpose and desire of the law, "its aspirations," even as he changed the methods for pursuing the Kingdom. Jesus remains committed to the fundamentals of the Kingdom, he accepts entirely its strategy, but he acts tactically with freedom from previous pursuits of the Kingdom. The break becomes clear, for Evans, when we see the way Jesus does not simply accept the authority of inherited traditions. He sees himself as competent to judge their applicability to the Kingdom in terms of their practical value. The society that would follow from Jesus Christ would, like him, take practice rather than profession as its standard.

What standard of practice did Jesus propose for these judgments? "It was one of the coming of an actual corporate society upon earth in which all men should be adjudged of equal value, in which there

should be no exploitation or oppression, but complete justice between man and man." (37) As from the very beginning, God's desire is for complete justice through equality between all people. The Kingdom was and is the place where this justice through equality comes to dwell even if only in a fleeting way. Jesus undertakes to effect the Kingdom in such a way that it actually transforms those he is in contact with at this time. Evans describes how the initial temptation of Jesus is a temptation to accept shortcuts to the Kingdom.

Evans divides Jesus' mission into two parts. The first part of the mission is the calling and sending of the Twelve – preaching, healing, and confessing that Jesus is the Christ. This organizing work began to show people that there was a way of unity and equality in the law; and such cooperation let them live at least briefly under this law. Jesus was beginning to create a new society where justice, liberation, health, and life were possible. He was healing, feeding, and setting people free to be together. This campaign was leading to the moment when Peter would confess him as the Christ acknowledging what was tacit until now. As the prophets knew, the Kingdom would arrive as the assertion of God's total sovereignty on the earth. Jesus was and is the way of God's sovereignty over the earth: here is the Son of Man who is God ruling. Evans sees Jesus as God's

act, defining what it is to be with God in this world. Jesus sets up the Kingdom, something we cannot do, but does so in such a way that we can become fellow-workers in that Kingdom. Divine sovereignty is whatever way Jesus acts. Evans is not, therefore, taking away from God's activity when he describes Jesus' teaching:

"In germ, he taught, the Kingdom had actually come, it was among men, but in its fullness its coming depended upon its acceptance by men. It was a Kingdom of righteousness and peace and active unwearied forgiveness. The gospel meant a new community with new standards and the equality it produced included a full equality between men and women." (46)

The second part of Jesus' campaign is the move to Jerusalem and his assault on the authorities there, "where he deliberately ran his head into the noose that was to kill." (44) The cleansing of the temple is a key moment in Evans' account of Jesus' mission. The move against the temple was not a solitary act by Jesus but one where he led a mob to overturn the tables. "It was a violent act: it was a usurpation of properly constituted authority, and for it he gave his reason, a reason which history must judge to be adequate: 'My Father's House is a house of prayer, but ye have made it a den of thieves.'" (45-46) Evans views Jesus as violent here because the

turning over of the tables is a proclamation of divine sovereignty and power against another power. To declare Jesus and a mob in power will look revolutionary to those currently in power. Evans continues to exegete Jesus' trial so that the people did not abandon Jesus. The trial takes place at night in secret when the crowds and pilgrims were distant from Jesus. It is the Chief Priests and the Sanhedrin who shout for Barabbas. Once he is condemned the people do not simply abandon him. "And there followed him a great company of people, and of women, which also bewailed and lamented him." (Luke 23.27) Later, as Jesus dies upon the cross, "all the people that came together to that sight, beholding the things which were done, smote their breasts, and returned." (Luke 23.48) The people, the crowd, the mob, do not abandon Jesus at the cross. The struggle ending in the cross was not with the people but with the authorities. His solidarity with the poor could not be brought to an end.

The crucifixion is the overcoming of the authorities through the practice of sacrifice: "the only sure and final way to overthrow an evil domination was to place over against it a community bound together by love and prepared to sacrifice." (49) The domination was to be defeated through unwearied forgiveness and sacrificial love. The resurrection was "the sign of the triumph of his Kingdom." (55)

It is possible at this point to take up this kind of sacrificial love, with accompanying dramatics, as a call to what is effectively political quietism. Evans takes this in another direction entirely. He endorses neither a quietism, nor a busy activism. He knows that Christians cannot simply bring the Kingdom, "And he said unto them, It is not for you to know the times or the seasons, which the Father hath put in his own power." (Acts 1.7) They are not, however, meant to be idle: "But ye shall receive power, after that the Holy Ghost is come upon you: and ye shall be witnesses unto me both in Jerusalem, and in all Judaea, and in Samaria, and unto the uttermost part of the earth." (Acts 1.8) The followers of Christ do not know when the Kingdom will be restored in fullness, nevertheless, they possess the power appropriate to their task. When they go out to Judaea, Samaria, and the ends of the earth, they will go out with powerful good news. "Not good news which bypassed their real problems. This it did because it proclaimed the advent of a real kingdom of justice and denounced the false kingdom in which they eked out an inferior existence." (54)



THE CHURCH AND THE KINGDOM

Following the Ascension, we are faced with the question of how to be duly commissioned fellow-workers in the Kingdom inaugurated by Jesus Christ. We are set free from the strictures of the world to live from the love given to us in Jesus Christ. The basic structure of prophetic action reappears in the church who now call all people to the unity made known in the Kingdom of God by Jesus Christ freeing them from worldly respectability. The dynamic of struggle in Christ's life, his powerful embodiment of the laws of the Kingdom against its enemies, leading to his sacrifice upon the Cross, reappears in the life of the church.

The complexity of the Church's current situation is the result of two factors: grace and internationalism. Evans turns to St. Paul, "both the leading strategist and the leading tactician of the infant Christian Church," to show how these two factors can be negotiated as part of the preparation for and fellow-working in the Kingdom of God by the Church.

Paul does not offer a new interpretation of the law or additional laws. Paul's teaching "was a belief in the outpouring of the Spirit of God upon his servants, the result of which was that whatever they did was right. They were no longer under law but grace." (68) The doctrine was clearly dangerous and remains a source of danger today. The temptation will be to

see the movement of the Holy Spirit as freedom from engagement with the world around us. The error is temporal and moral. The error is temporal in failing to recognize the nature of the present time of transition into the Kingdom: "Then cometh the end, when he shall have delivered up the kingdom to God, even the Father; when he shall have put down all rule and all authority and power." (I Corinthians 15.24) The current time is the prolonged period of Christ's destruction of all rule, authority, and power. The quietist position assumes the irrelevance of the historical process. It rejects the sense of creation as the theater of God's activity. The Christian position, however, sees the present time as the continuation of the struggle against rule, authority, and power in cooperation with Christ's power and his Spirit. "[Revelation 21.1-22.5] was a majestic vision, but it was a realistic vision; one which faced the cost involved in the fact that there is no triumph of good save with the collapse and overthrow of evil." (79) The struggle continues in a manner appropriate to its location in the process of salvation. The Church cannot substitute any law-giving authority in the place of Jesus Christ. No bishop, no president, no judge, no court, and no police officer can take his place. The analogy for the present time is the desert years under Moses: here the future law is forged in the wrestle of worship with God so that the saints will be ready to take command of the situation at the right time.

Paul's victory in the early Church was to secure its internationalist commitments. The unity of the body was to be potentially unlimited. Paul saw the need for this because he saw the coming of the Kingdom not as a limited rescue operation but an attack on "a world-order based on hatred." (70) The unity was not to be secured by either a homogenous identity in the Church or an abstract unity detached from concrete life. The tendency to see Paul as a reactionary or a conservative figure fails to appreciate the way Paul pursued the goal of an internationalist Church. Evans describes this failure as a failure to distinguish between strategy and tactics. The fundamental strategic commitment to the unity of all people in, through, and with Jesus of Nazareth cannot be questioned, but everything else could be negotiated:

"WE HAVE TO SHOCK PEOPLE ON FUNDAMENTALS. WE ARE NOT BOUND BY ANY DETAILS—WE ARE UNDER GRACE—BUT LET US NOT SHOCK PEOPLE AND DIVIDE OUR OWN RANKS ON THINGS WHICH ARE NOT FUNDAMENTAL. LET US NOT USE OUR LIBERTY AS A CLOAK FOR MALICIOUSNESS. WHERE THINGS DO NOT MATTER WE CAN CONFORM IN ORDER TO PRESS THE DEEPER ARGUMENT." (72)

The strategy of the Kingdom of God had to be pursued without wavering while tactically Christians were to go as far as possible without endangering the growth of the community. A number of seemingly faithful and conservative readings of Paul that attempt to continue to implement his specific guidance to early congregations in fact straightforwardly betray his

intended purpose. So, Evans maintains, Paul could tactically call for submission to the oppressing State given the general situation while remaining fundamentally committed to the fact that the same State was passing away. The strategic fact was that Christ was going to abolish 'all rule and all authority and power' even if tactically the Saints needed to pay taxes.

Evans sums up Paul's approach: "[St. Paul] saw there could be no fundamental change, no 'Kingdom of God,' until the Roman Empire had doomed itself by its own rottenness, but also only then if the "Saints" were strong enough to take command of the situation." (72)

How, if we remain in basically this same position, can we continue in this fellow-work of the Kingdom?

To continue this project, two things are necessary: worship and criticism.

Worship, which for Evans is primarily the eucharist, is necessary to the Christian life because in it we are united to God through Christ and to each other. Worship takes place in a specific place with the understanding that those specific

circumstances are capable of showing forth our fundamental unity materially and spiritually. The whole of life comes to our worship, the offering of self and possessions in the offertory, to find its unity in the united act of the altar.

"The sacraments enact and proclaim what Christian doctrine asserts, that good is not an abstraction but something which has to be made incarnate, that truth and peace and justice and all that is desirable are not phrases to be mouthed but realities to assert and realities which have to be worked out in the entire order of human society and expressed in material terms." (256)

The eucharist shows the unity of human beings with each other in concrete, material, and worked-out realities rather than in some abstract form. The worship of this group shows the possible unity just as the unity of the desert showed what was possible for the Israelites.

More than merely illustrating unity, worship of God transforms worshippers. In worship, we experience "God whose very being gives all human beings that serenity which is one of the deepest needs of their nature; the experience of Jesus of Nazareth, his life and teaching and suffering and resurrection" leading us to the exultant inspiration of the Spirit. (246) By beginning to live Jesus' life in our

prayer and in our worship together, we are becoming like God. The experience of worship is at some level the experience of the Triune God as we slowly become incorporated into that God. At every level this participation engenders sharing in those who worship Jesus of Nazareth because to worship him, to follow him, is to accept his teachings. We are set free to follow his way of life because we, like him, are in total dependence upon God the Father for the nature of our identity. Our unity, our sharing, our suffering, and our love of others does not secure this identity given through Christ, but expresses it. "The tragedy of life is division: the goal of life is unity. The sacraments assert the unity of spiritual and material, for life is whole; they assert the unity of aspiration and fulfilment; they assert the unity of man with man; they assert the unity of man with God." (256) Worship places us in the Spirit, and it is in the Spirit's power that we are able to live free from the false constraints of this world.

Worship is necessary for the life of the church because it enacts the actual dominion of God in this time and place. In it, we live in the future where Christ has "put down all rule and all authority and power." For a time we taste the reality of the Kingdom.

The unity of the Holy Trinity in the life of the Church, and the unity of all people – a constant and perpetual Pentecost, leads

us to the necessary work of criticism.

The work of criticism includes theological criticism of different forms of belief. We tend to become like what we worship so it “follows that there is no more important question than what Christians have thought that God is like.” (245) The exemplary instance of this criticism is the orthodox attack on Arianism. Arius affirms the Son as the first of creatures so Jesus is not, therefore, able to reveal the Father and is capable of change. Evans sees the Arian position as a denial of fellowship between Son and Father as well as a denial of the consequent fellowship between God and humanity. Arians would, then, have been on their way to denying the fellowship of the Church and the Kingdom. The Arian denies our knowledge of God by denying our fellowship with God and with each other. Against this position, the orthodox faith turns to a Son who is of one essence with the Father, capable of revelation, dominion, and fellowship for all time. With God and humanity united in Jesus of Nazareth, we know that humanity can be made like God in its worship and life through its fellowship with God in Christ. The deifying community established in the divine-human fellowship “is the perfection of community in which individuality is not blotted out, or unity, as a consequence, impeded.” (248) Orthodox teaching demands an egalitarian society wherein individuals are freed from the terror of competition. The attack on the egalitarian

fact of the Kingdom will come as a revival of past heresies of Arianism and subordinationism and so our theology will need to be held in constant criticism in light of the truth revealed in Jesus Christ. Orthodox doctrine stands behind the social hope of the Christian Church. Part of our task is to work to proclaim in word and deed that faith in its fullness by judging our ideas in light of the fact of the incarnate God. The doctrine of the Holy Trinity and our fellowship with that God provide adequate criteria for making critical judgments about what we believe and how we live. Our doctrine cannot be separated from our life together:

“it is important to grasp the fact that this is not something added to christianity by those who think in a particular kind of way, it is of its essence.” (245)

The orthodox confession demands the social life of the Kingdom. Those who are not interested in one will not, in the end, be interested in the other.

Criticism must have its way with our own moral lives as well. Justice and morality must “be applied fearlessly to all social life.” (237) Again and again Christians

have been tempted to find some aspect of human life to exempt from the moral questioning Jesus requires of us. Such exemption allows, in subtle and in obvious ways, for the sin of Lenin, Stalin, and Trotsky to recur in the life of the Church. Evans sees a close parallel between Marx and the New Testament when each point out the way morality is related to the social class of those attempting to be moral, "How hardly shall they that have riches enter into the kingdom of God!" (Mark 10.23) The counter to this socially-determined morality is a universal morality appropriate to the future unity of all people. The Christian and the Leninist part company at this point. The Christian cannot say that the peaceful ends justify the violence of means necessary to suppress the opposing classes. The reason is not so much pacifism, which Evans does not endorse, as the Christian insistence on an objective morality not entirely determined by social class, which puts the Christian rather than Leninist closer to Marx for Evans. There is some power that breaks through these class conceptions to point a way forward without them. The moral criticism falls just as harshly on the respectable gentleman. The person who aims for the life of respectability by following the moral code at hand, without asking after it, exempts their life from moral trial as surely as the revolutionary who murders without hesitation. Evans quotes Gore's stinging condemnation of the well-to-do

Englishman, "Conscientious within the region of the traditional and expected, they are almost impenetrable to light from beyond." (238) They may move through society as respectable planters, judges, priests, bishops, presidents, teachers, soldiers, and students capable of making sacrifices to fulfill their moral obligations. They will fail as fellow-workers in the Kingdom because they cannot see the need for moral progress and criticism.

What is the basis of this moral criticism? How do we know our morality is progressing towards the morality of the Kingdom?

The criteria of our morality is the same criteria as the Kingdom: the sharing of our life and the sharing of our goods. The sharing is the result of our love becoming manifest in our spiritual and material lives. The teaching of the prophets, of Jesus, and of the Bible:

"...is that love has to be expressed in material terms as well as spiritual and when this happens it needs no explaining away. As to calculations about the end of the age, the entire mission of the Church was (and is) to be ready for the end of the age and replace it with something ordered according to the will of God." (62)

The real sharing of our lives, our real fellowship, is what we are forging,

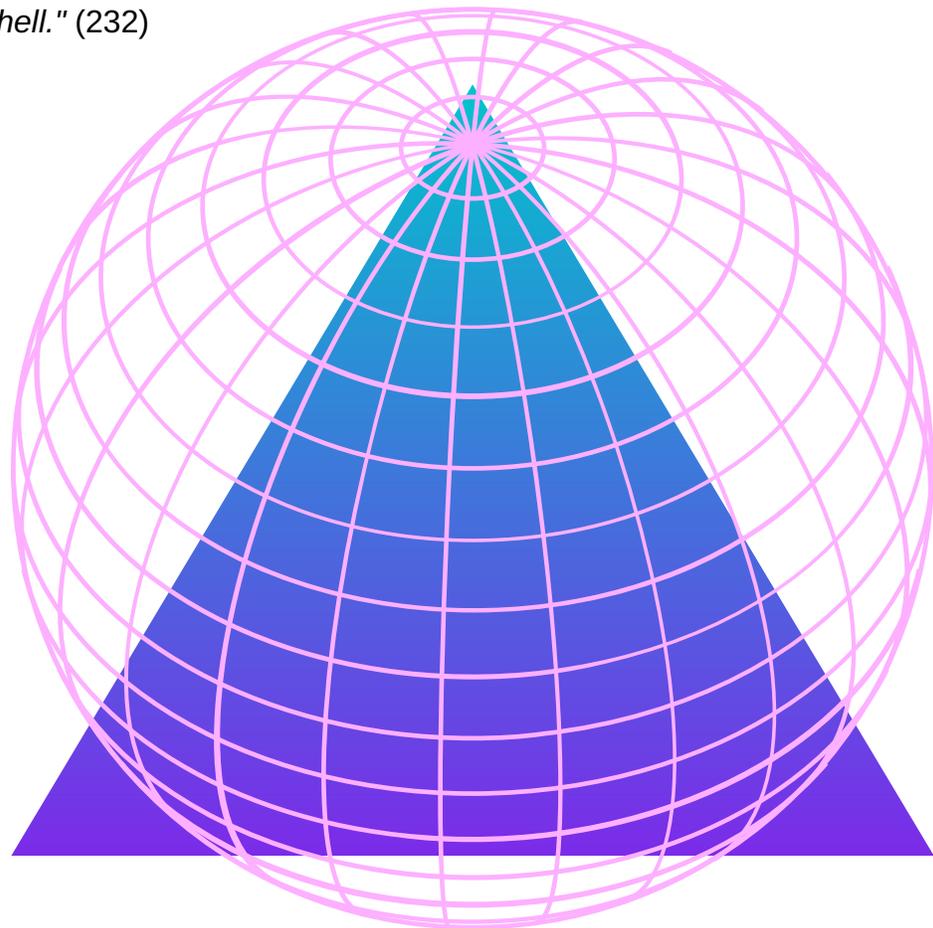
practicing, struggling, and sacrificing for as we prepare for the Promised Land where Christ has “put down all rule and all authority and power.” We prepare ourselves through this integrated life of love, sharing, peace, and righteousness to overthrow the evil of our division:

“The only kind of economic system which is compatible with and is expressive of, the Christian way of life, is some form of sharing of the material goods of the earth and it would seem to be a primary Christian duty to play a part in bringing such a system into being. This is a Christian view because it is in fellowship which is expressed in sharing and arises out of sharing that the Christian sees heaven: fellowship is heaven, and lack of fellowship is hell.” (232)

To say all of this, for Evans, is not to take a “social” or a “political” view of the Gospel. “It is a statement of the simple fact that there is no such thing as a Christianity which is not an assertion in the midst of the present world order of the life of the resurrection and which is not, therefore, in the deepest of all possible senses, a revolutionary agent in the world.” (249)

Will we be that agent? Will we read the Bible? Will we follow this Jesus of Nazareth? Will we worship the Holy Trinity? Will we share of ourselves?

Will Levanway
Chattanooga, TN



RELIGION IN GENERAL

by tony hunt

GENERAL

"One can no more be religious in general, than one can speak language in general"

George Lindbeck, *The Nature of Doctrine*

If we are not lying, we are saying things we believe are true. Or at the very least, what we wish were true. And when we intentionally refrain from saying things, we tell on ourselves.

Recently, Rabbi Andy Kahn (@rabbiandykahn) said on Twitter:

"Is it just me, or is the term 'person of Jewish faith' grating?... I don't know many actual Jews who identify as 'people of Jewish faith.' It reduces Judaism to a belief system, when that's only one face of the multifaceted jewel."

I can't speak for the rabbi, but I also don't call myself a "person of faith," and for the same reasons; because "person of faith"

tends to function for progressive Christians in the same way "judeo-christian" functions for culture-war conservatives: it gestures to a supposed pan-religious consensus about this or that issue and, more broadly, it describes a ubiquitous mode of existence: the "religious." Religions, such language assumes, may have some specific historical or cultural forms, but they all spring from a universal human need and address a universal human practice. "Person of faith" and "faith communities" work as democratizing speech. In common use, it is a way of politely refusing to suggest one religion is "better" than another. It has the side effect of suggesting none are at root different than another.

From anthropology and sociology we are given the idea of religion as arising from cultural pressure toward social cohesion. Religion, on these older models, serves a social function. It arises in order to satisfy social and psychological needs. In classical philosophy of religion this has meant that religions can be analyzed by how well they accomplish this function. Modern comparative religion was rooted in liberal Protestantism, so it is perhaps not unsurprising that the “highest” form of religion was often understood to be Protestant Christianity. It was the least “superstitious” and most deferential to the authority of the state. Other religions fell on a scale from mere tribal animistic paganism to a culturally-universal monotheism, ideally reigned in by the reason, objective morals, and the state. Once one had seen behind the curtain of what religion was “really about,” one could rise above the affective and delusional nature of religion and realize its rational fulfillment. Religion within the bounds of reason alone passed quietly into the highest form of supersessionism – overcoming religion entirely. In the short term, said the giants of the 18th-19th centuries, popular religion should be encouraged by the state because the plebs were not yet capable of enlightened religion without their system of prayers and hymns; but the state must also blunt the political force of such religion. Our understanding of the genus “religion” came to birth as not just an academic

idea, but a political program. The state defines what religion is, and exercises authority over elements it deems unsuitable for public practice. As Saba Mahbood puts it:

“Political secularism is the modern state's sovereign power to reorganize substantive features of religious life, stipulating what religion is or ought to be, assigning its proper content, and disseminating concomitant subjectivities, ethical frameworks, and quotidian practices.” *Religious Difference in a Secular Age: A Minority Report*

Few consciously believe in this continental tradition. Contemporary Christian progressives would be loath to create a hierarchy of religion. The progressive religious language I am discussing owes more to William James, who understood religion to be a response to an “experience” of “the divine.”

“...the feelings, acts, and experiences of **individual** men in their solitude, so far as they apprehend themselves to stand in relation to **whatever they may consider the divine.**” *Varieties of Religious Experience* (emphasis added)

The experience is ineffable. It is also private. No sooner does it pass into corporate and linguistic form than it is

perverted. Religions institutionalize this bare experience, and so devolve into their various forms; which forms are always necessarily transgressive of the real thing. All are equally guilty of codifying the holy.

Both James and the theorists before him either were or had once been Christians. They theorized religion, if unwittingly, with Christian assumptions and modes of thought. We Christians ourselves, by way of a supposedly universal discourse, have come to believe we must eclipse our own speech. Not only our speech but the speech of others as well. And this point is important to make. Neutral religious language implicitly makes claims on other religions, and presumes to speak for them and define their content. We all must learn to use the broadest, most generic speech possible so as to make of each religion a type in a category. We have convinced ourselves that we can practice religion in general.

The attempt to practice religion in general manifests in several idiosyncratic ways. One lies only in the intention of the person, as Christian language is deployed in a euphemistic sense to refer to the “higher purpose” of religion: such as when “resurrection” is evoked to indicate any flowering of hope or joy from an experience of despair, or where one subsumes the power and efficacy of the Eucharist under the category of “experiencing the divine.” So, we partake

in the sacrament, ultimately, for the same reason that a Muslim (so we say!) performs Salah. What the church has generally said about the Eucharist is useful inasmuch as it conforms to the broader “purpose” of religion. Theological euphemism functions such as to undermine our own convictions.

Another more recognizable example is when transitive verbs come to be used intransitively, so as to leave the object of the verb indefinite. Perhaps no words are used so obviously in this way than “faith” and “hope.” One doesn’t have hope in the Resurrection or in God’s promises, one has hope as such. The object is plastic, fluid. All “persons of faith” presumably have hope, just as they all have faith. That’s why we’re all “persons of faith!” Faith is here a universalizing concept, uniting all religious communities by essentializing their particular convictions and complex histories. And the purpose of why we gather as “persons of faith” in “faith communities” can be considered without reference to the explicit framing of baptism or Pentecost. The purpose has been transformed to be about experiencing “community” as such. We baptize, Hindus practice Diksha, but to the same end.

What we lose in such universalizing linguistic moves is the ability to give any account for the existence of the Church. We don’t gather because God has called

us in the power of the Spirit to participate in the Body of Christ Jesus. We're not really there because as Gentiles we've been grafted by grace into Israel – we gather to “experience the sacred” or “the holy.”

Walter Brueggemann, in “The Costly Loss of Lament,” points out that when particular kinds of speech fall out of use, Christians actually lose the ability to fully relate to God.

"One loss that results from the absence of lament is the loss of genuine covenant interaction because the second party to the covenant (the petitioner) has become voiceless or has a voice that is permitted to speak only praise and doxology. Where lament is absent, covenant comes into being only as a celebration of joy and well-being."

There is a cost when inherited speech passes over into the aspirationally universal; and that cost is the loss of our ability to adequately give witness to God's saving action and to the Church's testimony. We lose the plot of why the Church exists, as our reason for being can be registered as equivalent to any meaningful gathering. We cannot be the subject of prayer, of lament, or adoration, because “a robust resource network of

faith communities” is not a personal subject in the way Israel or the Church is. There is no semiotic field of founding narratives, iconography, holy Scriptures, covenant interactions, and so on, which are generative of corporate identity and action.

To be clear, I don't think that such phrases are used intentionally to dissipate the integrity of Christian faith. The problem is the larger philosophy of religion, now woefully out of date (my initial thought to criticize progressive Christian language came largely from post-colonial religious scholars). Yet it is not unimportant to know how this language has come to us, and the effect it has on our ability to give an account of what we believe about sin, death, and the difference Jesus makes. Indeed, unveiling our particularity and history has the effect of allowing other religious bodies to give their own account of why they exist. One only encounters the other when the other is not merely a reflection of the self. The possibilities of religious dialogue and cooperation are stronger when real difference is allowed to exist.

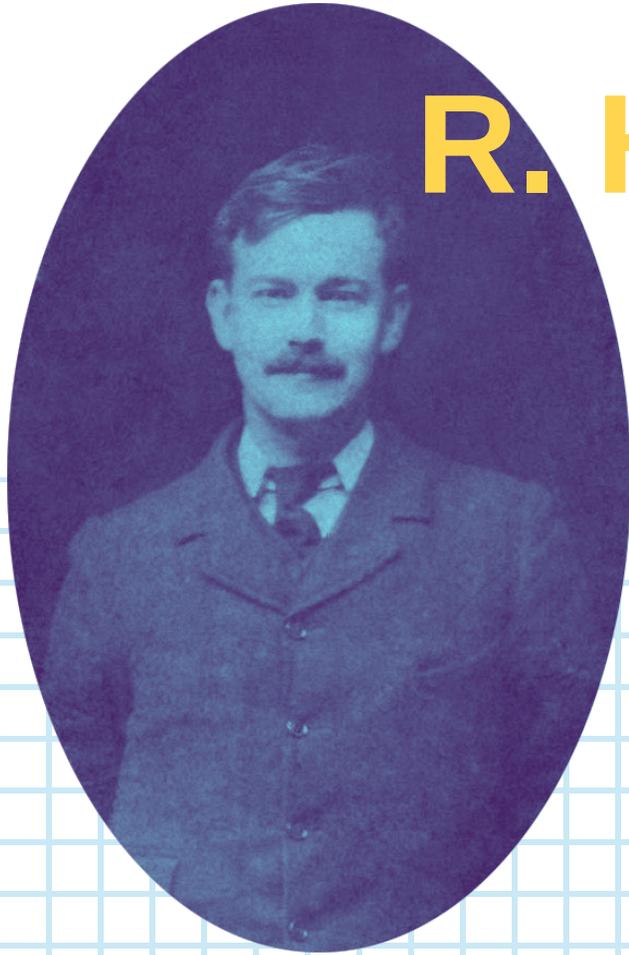
The suggestion that we abandon progressivism's supposedly neutral language could be read as a mere reactionary attempt to reinstall linguistic control of a perceived “liberal” threat. But it is generic language that is non-generative, because the ideological

boundaries of what constitutes “generic religion” are already fixed; and unlike a continuously renewed attention to Scripture, and the Church’s history of meaning, there is no generative source for creative variations on semiotic themes within a neutral religious discourse. Because, again, nobody actually practices religion in general. It has no scriptures, no liturgies, evangelical content, or dialectic.

The latest statistics of the Episcopal Church have just been released, and the numbers are grim. We’re going to be given many reasons why this is fine, even good. By some, we’re going to be told we need to be doing “new things.” Indeed. But the “new” in our day may in fact be learning to speak again a strange dialect – the language of this particular faith, with a particular life, and a inherited system of reference.

Tony Hunt
Minneapolis, MN

**AND HE THAT SAT UPON
THE THRONE SAID,
BEHOLD, I MAKE ALL
THINGS NEW**



R. H. Tawney

Socialist
Statesman
Historian

Shortly before this issue came together, Pope Francis released a rather remarkable encyclical, *Fratelli tutti*. The idea of the "siblinghood" of all is ubiquitous in the Anglican socialist tradition. It stood against any form of competition which would view social goods as objects of a contest in which there are winners and losers. We are well-situated, then, to engage positively with this new development in Catholic teaching. What follows are selections from R. H. Tawney's influential work *The Acquisitive Society*, where he describes how private right came to triumph over public use. Tawney, like *Fratelli tutti*, saw that only a revolution of property rights was sufficient to remedy this catastrophic development. It is hoped that bringing these two traditions into conversation with each other will enhance both, and display the genuine insights of Anglican social teaching.

-The Editors

THE ACQUISITIVE SOCIETY

I

INTRODUCTORY

IT is a commonplace that the characteristic virtue of Englishmen is their power of sustained practical activity, and their characteristic vice a reluctance to test the quality of that activity by reference to principles. They are incurious as to theory, take fundamentals for granted, and are more interested in the state of the roads than in their place on the map. And it might fairly be argued that in ordinary times that combination of intellectual tameness with practical energy is sufficiently serviceable to explain, if not to justify, the equanimity with which its possessors bear the criticism of more mentally adventurous nations. It is the mood of those who have made their bargain with fate and are content to take what it offers without re-opening the deal. It leaves the mind free to concentrate undisturbed upon profitable activities, because it is not distracted by a taste for unprofitable speculations. Most generations, it might be said, walk in a path which they neither make, nor discover, but accept; the main thing is that they should march. The blinkers worn by Englishmen enable them to trot all the more steadily along the beaten

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road, without being disturbed by curiosity as to their destination.

But if the medicine of the constitution ought not to be made its daily food, neither can its daily food be made its medicine. There are times which are not ordinary, and in such times it is not enough to follow the road. It is necessary to know where it leads, and, if it leads nowhere, to follow another. The search for another involves reflection, which is uncongenial to the bustling people who describe themselves as practical, because they take things as they are and leave them as they are. But the practical thing for a traveler who is uncertain of his path is not to proceed with the utmost rapidity in the wrong direction: it is to consider how to find the right one. And the practical thing for a nation which has stumbled upon one of the turning-points of history is not to behave as though nothing very important were involved, as if it did not matter whether it turned to the right or to the left, went up hill or down dale, provided that it continued doing with a little more energy what it has done hitherto; but to consider whether what it has done hitherto is wise, and, if it is not wise, to alter it. When the broken ends of its industry, its politics, its social organization, have to be pieced together after a catastrophe, it must make a decision; for it makes a decision even if it refuses to decide. If it is to make a decision which will wear, it must travel beyond the philosophy momentarily in favor with the proprietors of its newspapers. Unless it is to move with the energetic futility of a squirrel in a revolving cage, it must have a clear apprehension both of the

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deficiency of what is, and of the character of what ought to be. And to obtain this apprehension it must appeal to some standard more stable than the momentary exigencies of its commerce or industry or social life, and judge them by it. It must, in short, have recourse to Principles.

Such considerations are, perhaps, not altogether irrelevant at a time when facts have forced upon Englishmen the reconsideration of their social institutions which no appeal to theory could induce them to undertake. An appeal to principles is the condition of any considerable reconstruction of society, because social institutions are the visible expression of the scale of moral values which rules the minds of individuals, and it is impossible to alter institutions without altering that moral valuation. Parliament, industrial organizations, the whole complex machinery through which society expresses itself, is a mill which grinds only what is put into it, and when nothing is put into it grinds air. There are many, of course, who desire no alteration, and who, when it is attempted, will oppose it. They have found the existing economic order profitable in the past. They desire only such changes as will insure that it is equally profitable in the future. *Quand le Roi avait bu, la Pologne était ivre.* They are genuinely unable to understand why their countrymen cannot bask happily by the fire which warms themselves, and ask, like the French farmer-general:—"When everything goes so happily, why trouble to change it?" Such persons are to be pitied, for they lack the social quality which is

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proper to man. But they do not need argument; for Heaven has denied them one of the faculties required to apprehend it.

There are others, however, who are conscious of the desire for a new social order, but who yet do not grasp the implications of their own desire. Men may genuinely sympathize with the demand for a radical change. They may be conscious of social evils and sincerely anxious to remove them. They may set up a new department, and appoint new officials, and invent a new name to express their resolution to effect something more drastic than reform, and less disturbing than revolution. But unless they will take the pains, not only to act, but to reflect, they end by effecting nothing. For they deliver themselves bound to those who think they are practical, because they take their philosophy so much for granted as to be unconscious of its implications, and directly they try to act, that philosophy re-asserts itself, and serves as an overruling force which presses their action more deeply into the old channels. "Unhappy man that I am; who shall deliver me from the body of this death?" When they desire to place their economic life on a better foundation, they repeat, like parrots, the word "Productivity," because that is the word that rises first in their minds; regardless of the fact that productivity is the foundation on which it is based already, that increased productivity is the one characteristic achievement of the age before the war, as religion was of the Middle Ages or art of classical Athens, and that it is precisely in the century which has seen the greatest increase in produc-

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tivity since the fall of the Roman Empire that economic discontent has been most acute. When they are touched by social compunction, they can think of nothing more original than the diminution of poverty, because poverty, being the opposite of the riches which they value most, seems to them the most terrible of human afflictions. They do not understand that poverty is a symptom and a consequence of social disorder, while the disorder itself is something at once more fundamental and more incorrigible, and that the quality in their social life which causes it to demoralize a few by excessive riches, is also the quality which causes it to demoralize many by excessive poverty.

“But increased production is important.” Of course it is! That plenty is good and scarcity evil—it needs no ghost from the graves of the past five years to tell us that. But plenty depends upon co-operative effort, and co-operation upon moral principles. And moral principles are what the prophets of this dispensation despise. So the world “continues in scarcity,” because it is too grasping and too short-sighted to seek that “which maketh men to be of one mind in a house.” The well-intentioned schemes for social reorganization put forward by its commercial teachers are abortive, because they endeavor to combine incompatibles, and, if they disturb everything, settle nothing. They are like a man who, when he finds that his shoddy boots wear badly, orders a pair two sizes larger instead of a pair of good leather, or who makes up for putting a bad sixpence in the plate on Sunday by putting in a bad shilling the next. And when their fit of feverish energy

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has spent itself, and there is nothing to show for it except disillusionment, they cry that reform is impracticable, and blame human nature, when what they ought to blame is themselves.

Yet all the time the principles upon which industry should be based are simple, however difficult it may be to apply them; and if they are overlooked it is not because they are difficult, but because they are elementary. They are simple because industry is simple. An industry, when all is said, is, in its essence, nothing more mysterious than a body of men associated, in various degrees of competition and co-operation, to win their living by providing the community with some service which it requires. Organize it as you will, let it be a group of craftsmen laboring with hammer and chisel, or peasants plowing their own fields, or armies of mechanics of a hundred different trades constructing ships which are miracles of complexity with machines which are the climax of centuries of invention, its function is service, its method is association. Because its function is service, an industry as a whole has rights and duties towards the community, the abrogation of which involves privilege. Because its method is association, the different parties within it have rights and duties towards each other; and the neglect or perversion of these involves oppression.

The conditions of a right organization of industry are, therefore, permanent, unchanging, and capable of being apprehended by the most elementary intelligence, provided it will read the nature of its countrymen in the large outlines of history, not in the bloodless abstrac-

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tions of experts. The first is that it should be subordinated to the community in such a way as to render the best service technically possible, that those who render no service should not be paid at all, because it is of the essence of a function that it should find its meaning in the satisfaction, not of itself, but of the end which it serves. The second is that its direction and government should be in the hands of persons who are responsible to those who are directed and governed, because it is the condition of economic freedom that men should not be ruled by an authority which they cannot control. The industrial problem, in fact, is a problem of right, not merely of material misery, and because it is a problem of right it is most acute among those sections of the working classes whose material misery is least. It is a question, first of Function, and secondly of Freedom.

II

RIGHTS AND FUNCTIONS

A **FUNCTION** may be defined as an activity which embodies and expresses the idea of social purpose. The essence of it is that the agent does not perform it merely for personal gain or to gratify himself, but recognizes that he is responsible for its discharge to some higher authority. The purpose of industry is obvious. It is to supply man with things which are necessary, useful or beautiful, and thus to bring life to body or spirit. In so far as it is governed by this end, it is among the most important of human activities. In so far as it is diverted from it, it may be harmless, amusing, or even exhilarating to those who carry it on, but it possesses no more social significance than the orderly business of ants and bees, the strutting of peacocks, or the struggles of carnivorous animals over carrion.

Men have normally appreciated this fact, however unwilling or unable they may have been to act upon it; and therefore from time to time, in so far as they have been able to control the forces of violence and greed, they have adopted various expedients for emphasizing the social quality of economic activity. It is not easy, however, to emphasize it effectively, because to do so requires a constant effort of will, against which egotistical instincts are in rebellion, and because, if that will is to prevail, it must be embodied in some social

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and political organization, which may itself become so arbitrary, tyrannical and corrupt as to thwart the performance of function instead of promoting it. When this process of degeneration has gone far, as in most European countries it had by the middle of the eighteenth century, the indispensable thing is to break the dead organization up and to clear the ground. In the course of doing so, the individual is emancipated and his rights are enlarged; but the idea of social purpose is discredited by the discredit justly attaching to the obsolete order in which it is embodied.

It is not surprising, therefore, that in the new industrial societies which arose on the ruins of the old régime the dominant note should have been the insistence upon individual rights, irrespective of any social purpose to which their exercise contributed. The economic expansion which concentrated population on the coal-measures was, in essence, an immense movement of colonization drifting from the south and east to the north and west; and it was natural that in those regions of England, as in the American settlements, the characteristic philosophy should be that of the pioneer and the mining camp. The change of social quality was profound. But in England, at least, it was gradual, and the "industrial revolution," though catastrophic in its effects, was only the visible climax of generations of subtle moral change. The rise of modern economic relations, which may be dated in England from the latter half of the seventeenth century, was coincident with the growth of a political theory which replaced the conception of purpose by that of mechanism. During a great part of history men had

found the significance of their social order in its relation to the universal purposes of religion. It stood as one rung in a ladder which stretched from hell to Paradise, and the classes who composed it were the hands, the feet, the head of a corporate body which was itself a microcosm imperfectly reflecting a larger universe. When the Reformation made the Church a department of the secular government, it undermined the already enfeebled spiritual forces which had erected that sublime, but too much elaborated, synthesis. But its influence remained for nearly a century after the roots which fed it had been severed. It was the atmosphere into which men were born, and from which, however practical, or even Machiavellian, they could not easily disengage their spirits. Nor was it inconvenient for the new statecraft to see the weight of a traditional religious sanction added to its own concern in the subordination of all classes and interests to the common end, of which it conceived itself, and during the greater part of the sixteenth century was commonly conceived, to be the guardian. The lines of the social structure were no longer supposed to reproduce in miniature the plan of a universal order. But common habits, common traditions and beliefs, common pressure from above gave them a unity of direction, which restrained the forces of individual variation and lateral expansion; and the center towards which they converged, formerly a Church possessing some of the characteristics of a State, was now a State that had clothed itself with many of the attributes of a Church.

The difference between the England of Shakespeare,

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still visited by the ghosts of the Middle Ages, and the England which merged in 1700 from the fierce polemics of the last two generations, was a difference of social and political theory even more than of constitutional and political arrangements. Not only the facts, but the minds which appraised them, were profoundly modified. The essence of the change was the disappearance of the idea that social institutions and economic activities were related to common ends, which gave them their significance and which served as their criterion. In the eighteenth century both the State and the Church had abdicated that part of the sphere which had consisted in the maintenance of a common body of social ethics; what was left of it was repression of a class, not the discipline of a nation. Opinion ceased to regard social institutions and economic activity as amenable, like personal conduct, to moral criteria, because it was no longer influenced by the spectacle of institutions which, arbitrary, capricious, and often corrupt in their practical operation, had been the outward symbol and expression of the subordination of life to purposes transcending private interests. That part of government which had been concerned with social administration, if it did not end, became at least obsolescent. For such democracy as had existed in the Middle Ages was dead, and the democracy of the Revolution was not yet born, so that government passed into the lethargic hand of classes who wielded the power of the State in the interests of an irresponsible aristocracy. And the Church was even more remote from the daily life of mankind than the State. Philanthropy abounded; but religion,

once the greatest social force, had become a thing as private and individual as the estate of the squire or the working clothes of the laborer. There were special dispensations and occasional interventions, like the acts of a monarch who reprieved a criminal or signed an order for his execution. But what was familiar, and human and lovable—what was Christian in Christianity had largely disappeared. God had been thrust into the frigid altitudes of infinite space. There was a limited monarchy in Heaven, as well as upon earth. Providence was the spectator of the curious machine which it had constructed and set in motion, but the operation of which it was neither able nor willing to control. Like the occasional intervention of the Crown in the proceedings of Parliament, its wisdom was revealed in the infrequency of its interference.

The natural consequence of the abdication of authorities which had stood, however imperfectly, for a common purpose in social organization, was the gradual disappearance from social thought of the idea of purpose itself. Its place in the eighteenth century was taken by the idea of mechanism. The conception of men as united to each other, and of all mankind as united to God, by mutual obligations arising from their relation to a common end, which vaguely conceived and imperfectly realized, had been the keystone holding together the social fabric, ceased to be impressed upon men's minds, when Church and State withdrew from the center of social life to its circumference. What remained when the keystone of the arch was removed, was private rights and private interests, the materials of a society rather

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than a society itself. These rights and interests were the natural order which had been distorted by the ambitions of kings and priests, and which emerged when the artificial super-structure disappeared, because they were the creation, not of man, but of Nature herself. They had been regarded in the past as relative to some public end, whether religion or national welfare. Henceforward they were thought to be absolute and indefeasible, and to stand by their own virtue. They were the ultimate political and social reality; and since they were the ultimate reality, they were not subordinate to other aspects of society, but other aspects of society were subordinate to them.

The State could not encroach upon these rights, for the State existed for their maintenance. They determined the relation of classes, for the most obvious and fundamental of all rights was property—property absolute and unconditioned—and those who possessed it were regarded as the natural governors of those who did not. Society arose from their exercise, through the contracts of individual with individual. It fulfilled its object in so far as, by maintaining contractual freedom, it secured full scope for their unfettered exercise. It failed in so far as, like the French monarchy, it overrode them by the use of an arbitrary authority. Thus conceived, society assumed something of the appearance of a great joint-stock company, in which political power and the receipt of dividends were justly assigned to those who held the most numerous shares. The currents of social activity did not converge upon common ends, but were dispersed through a multitude of channels,

created by the private interests of the individuals who composed society. But in their very variety and spontaneity, in the very absence of any attempt to relate them to a larger purpose than that of the individual, lay the best security of its attainment. There is a mysticism of reason as well as of emotion, and the eighteenth century found, in the beneficence of natural instincts, a substitute for the God whom it had expelled from contact with society, and did not hesitate to identify them.

“Thus God and nature planned the general frame
And bade self-love and social be the same.”

The result of such ideas in the world of practice was a society which was ruled by law, not by the caprice of Governments, but which recognized no moral limitation on the pursuit by individuals of their economic self-interest. In the world of thought, it was a political philosophy which made rights the foundation of the social order, and which considered the discharge of obligations, when it considered it at all, as emerging by an inevitable process from their free exercise. The first famous exponent of this philosophy was Locke, in whom the dominant conception is the indefeasibility of private rights, not the pre-ordained harmony between private rights and public welfare. In the great French writers who prepared the way for the Revolution, while believing that they were the servants of an enlightened absolutism, there is an almost equal emphasis upon the sanctity of rights and upon the infallibility of the

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alchemy by which the pursuit of private ends is transmuted into the attainment of public good. Though their writings reveal the influence of the conception of society as a self-adjusting mechanism, which afterwards became the most characteristic note of the English individualism, what the French Revolution burned into the mind of Europe was the former not the latter. In England the idea of right had been negative and defensive, a barrier to the encroachment of Governments. The French leapt to the attack from trenches which the English had been content to defend, and in France the idea became affirmative and militant, not a weapon of defense, but a principle of social organization. The attempt to refound society upon rights, and rights springing not from musty charters, but from the very nature of man himself, was at once the triumph and the limitation of the Revolution. It gave it the enthusiasm and infectious power of religion.

What happened in England might seem at first sight to have been precisely the reverse. English practical men, whose thoughts were pitched in a lower key, were a little shocked by the pomp and brilliance of that tremendous creed. They had scanty sympathy with the absolute affirmations of France. What captured their imagination was not the right to liberty, which made no appeal to their commercial instincts, but the expediency of liberty, which did; and when the Revolution had revealed the explosive power of the idea of natural right, they sought some less menacing formula. It had been offered them first by Adam Smith and his precursors, who showed how the mechanism of economic life con-

verted "as with an invisible hand," the exercise of individual rights into the instrument of public good. Bentham, who despised metaphysical subtleties, and thought the Declaration of the Rights of Man as absurd as any other dogmatic religion, completed the new orientation by supplying the final criterion of political institutions in the principle of Utility. Henceforward emphasis was transferred from the right of the individual to exercise his freedom as he pleased to the expediency of an undisturbed exercise of freedom to society.

The change is significant. It is the difference between the universal and equal citizenship of France, with its five million peasant proprietors, and the organized inequality of England established solidly upon class traditions and class institutions; the descent from hope to resignation, from the fire and passion of an age of illimitable vistas to the monotonous beat of the factory engine, from Turgot and Condorcet to the melancholy mathematical creed of Bentham and Ricardo and James Mill. Mankind has, at least, this superiority over its philosophers, that great movements spring from the heart and embody a faith, not the nice adjustments of the hedonistic calculus. So in the name of the rights of property France abolished in three years a great mass of property rights which, under the old régime had robbed the peasant of part of the produce of his labor, and the social transformation survived a whole world of political changes. In England the glad tidings of democracy were broken too discreetly to reach the ears of the hind in the furrow or the shepherd on the hill;

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there were political changes without a social transformation. The doctrine of Utility, though trenchant in the sphere of politics, involved no considerable interference with the fundamentals of the social fabric. Its exponents were principally concerned with the removal of political abuses and legal anomalies. They attacked sinecures and pensions and the criminal code and the procedure of the law courts. But they touched only the surface of social institutions. They thought it a monstrous injustice that the citizen should pay one-tenth of his income in taxation to an idle Government, but quite reasonable that he should pay one-fifth of it in rent to an idle landlord.

The difference, nevertheless, was one of emphasis and expression, not of principle. It mattered very little in practice whether private property and unfettered economic freedom were stated, as in France, to be natural rights, or whether, as in England, they were merely assumed once for all to be expedient. In either case they were taken for granted as the fundamentals upon which social organization was to be based, and about which no further argument was admissible. Though Bentham argued that rights were derived from utility, not from nature, he did not push his analysis so far as to argue that any particular right was relative to any particular function, and thus endorsed indiscriminately rights which were not accompanied by service as well as rights which were. While eschewing, in short, the phraseology of natural rights, the English Utilitarians retained something not unlike the substance of them. For they assumed that private property in

land, and the private ownership of capital, were natural institutions, and gave them, indeed, a new lease of life, by proving to their own satisfaction that social well-being must result from their continued exercise. Their negative was as important as their positive teaching. It was a conductor which diverted the lightning. Behind their political theory, behind the practical conduct, which as always, continues to express theory long after it has been discredited in the world of thought, lay the acceptance of absolute rights to property and to economic freedom as the unquestioned center of social organization.

The result of that attitude was momentous. The motive and inspiration of the Liberal Movement of the eighteenth century had been the attack on Privilege. But the creed which had exorcised the specter of agrarian feudalism haunting village and *château* in France, was impotent to disarm the new ogre of industrialism which was stretching its limbs in the north of England. When, shorn of its splendors and illusions, liberalism triumphed in England in 1832, it carried without criticism into the new world of capitalist industry categories of private property and freedom of contract which had been forged in the simpler economic environment of the pre-industrial era. In England these categories are being bent and twisted till they are no longer recognizable, and will, in time, be made harmless. In America, where necessity compelled the crystallization of principles in a constitution, they have the rigidity of an iron jacket. The magnificent formulæ in which a society of farmers

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and master craftsmen enshrined its philosophy of freedom are in danger of becoming fetters used by an Anglo-Saxon business aristocracy to bind insurgent movements on the part of an immigrant and semi-servile proletariat.

III

THE ACQUISITIVE SOCIETY

THIS doctrine has been qualified in practice by particular limitations to avert particular evils and to meet exceptional emergencies. But it is limited in special cases precisely because its general validity is regarded as beyond controversy, and, up to the eve of the present war, it was the working faith of modern economic civilization. What it implies is, that the foundation of society is found, not in functions, but in rights; that rights are not deducible from the discharge of functions, so that the acquisition of wealth and the enjoyment of property are contingent upon the performances of services, but that the individual enters the world equipped with rights to the free disposal of his property and the pursuit of his economic self-interest, and that these rights are anterior to, and independent of, any service which he may render. True, the service of society will, in fact, it is assumed, result from their exercise. But it is not the primary motive and criterion of industry, but a secondary consequence, which emerges incidentally through the exercise of rights, a consequence which is attained, indeed, in practice, but which is attained without being sought. It is not the end at which economic activity aims, or the standard by which it is judged, but a by-product, as coal-tar is a by-product of the manu-

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facture of gas; whether that by-product appears or not, it is not proposed that the rights themselves should be abdicated. For they are regarded, not as a conditional trust, but as a property, which may, indeed, give way to the special exigencies of extraordinary emergencies, but which resumes its sway when the emergency is over, and in normal times is above discussion.

That conception is written large over the history of the nineteenth century, both in England and in America. The doctrine which it inherited was that property was held by an absolute right on an individual basis, and to this fundamental it added another, which can be traced in principle far back into history, but which grew to its full stature only after the rise of capitalist industry, that societies act both unfairly and unwisely when they limit opportunities of economic enterprise. Hence every attempt to impose obligations as a condition of the tenure of property or of the exercise of economic activity has been met by uncompromising resistance. The story of the struggle between humanitarian sentiment and the theory of property transmitted from the eighteenth century is familiar. No one has forgotten the opposition offered in the name of the rights of property to factory legislation, to housing reform, to interference with the adulteration of goods, even to the compulsory sanitation of private houses. "May I not do what I like with my own?" was the answer to the proposal to require a minimum standard of safety and sanitation from the owners of mills and houses. Even to

this day, while an English urban landlord can cramp or distort the development of a whole city by withholding land except at fancy prices, English municipalities are without adequate powers of compulsory purchase, and must either pay through the nose or see thousands of their members overcrowded. The whole body of procedure by which they may acquire land, or indeed new powers of any kind, has been carefully designed by lawyers to protect owners of property against the possibility that their private rights may be subordinated to the public interest, because their rights are thought to be primary and absolute and public interests secondary and contingent.

No one needs to be reminded, again, of the influence of the same doctrine in the sphere of taxation. Thus the income tax was excused as a temporary measure, because the normal society was conceived to be one in which the individual spent his whole income for himself and owed no obligations to society on account of it. The death duties were denounced as robbery, because they implied that the right to benefit by inheritance was conditional upon a social sanction. The Budget of 1909 created a storm, not because the taxation of land was heavy—in amount the land-taxes were trifling—but because it was felt to involve the doctrine that property is not an absolute right, but that it may properly be accompanied by special obligations, a doctrine which, if carried to its logical conclusion, would destroy its sanctity by making ownership no longer absolute but conditional.

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Such an implication seems intolerable to an influential body of public opinion, because it has been accustomed to regard the free disposal of property and the unlimited exploitation of economic opportunities, as rights which are absolute and unconditioned. On the whole, until recently, this opinion had few antagonists who could not be ignored. As a consequence the maintenance of property rights has not been seriously threatened even in those cases in which it is evident that no service is discharged, directly or indirectly, by their exercise. No one supposes, that the owner of urban land, performs *qua* owner, any function. He has a right of private taxation; that is all. But the private ownership of urban land is as secure to-day as it was a century ago; and Lord Hugh Cecil, in his interesting little book on Conservatism, declares that whether private property is mischievous or not, society cannot interfere with it, because to interfere with it is theft, and theft is wicked. No one supposes that it is for the public good that large areas of land should be used for parks and game. But our country gentlemen are still settled heavily upon their villages and still slay their thousands. No one can argue that a monopolist is impelled by "an invisible hand" to serve the public interest. But over a considerable field of industry competition, as the recent Report on Trusts shows, has been replaced by combination, and combinations are allowed the same unfettered freedom as individuals in the exploitation of economic opportunities. No one really believes that the production of coal depends upon the payment of

mining royalties or that ships will not go to and fro unless ship-owners can earn fifty per cent. upon their capital. But coal mines, or rather the coal miner, still pay royalties, and ship-owners still make fortunes and are made Peers.

At the very moment when everybody is talking about the importance of increasing the output of wealth, the last question, apparently, which it occurs to any statesman to ask is why wealth should be squandered on futile activities, and in expenditure which is either disproportionate to service or made for no service at all. So inveterate, indeed, has become the practice of payment in virtue of property rights, without even the pretense of any service being rendered, that when, in a national emergency, it is proposed to extract oil from the ground, the Government actually proposes that every gallon shall pay a tax to landowners who never even suspected its existence, and the ingenuous proprietors are full of pained astonishment at any one questioning whether the nation is under moral obligation to endow them further. Such rights are, strictly speaking, privileges. For the definition of a privilege is a right to which no corresponding function is attached.

The enjoyment of property and the direction of industry are considered, in short, to require no social justification, because they are regarded as rights which stand by their own virtue, not functions to be judged by the success with which they contribute to a social purpose.

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