A Literary Biography of C.S. Lewis:

The Intellectual History of Oxford and Cambridge during the Lewis Years

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Table of Contents

Contents

Introduction

Most readers of Lewis become familiar with the contents of his works in the usual way. They know his works from reading them. But often we don't know why Lewis wrote what he wrote. We can imagine the reasons from the content of the books and essays, but we often don't know the issues that Lewis was addressing, such as the Freudian psychology that led to the essay "Transposition" or the influence of I.A. Richards and C.K. Ogden on *The Green Book*, which led to *The Abolition of Man*.

This book supplies some of the background, the intellectual climate of Oxford and Cambridge during the Lewis years, the setting of the various writings of Lewis so that the reader better understands the individual works of Lewis in the light of this climate. It provides more comprehensively and in less detail what Doris Myers provided on a more limited, but in-depth scale in her excellent book, *C.S. Lewis in Context*.[1]

This book is not about most of the literary influences on Lewis. Literary influences find their origin at various points in the past, sometimes hundreds of years previously (e.g., Edmund Spenser and John Milton) and sometimes only a few years previously (e.g., G.K. Chesterton and Charles Williams). Except where the intellectual climate intersects with literary influences, this book does not attempt to analyze the literary influences on Lewis, since these have been demonstrated in many excellent books, especially in *Reading the Classics with C.S. Lewis* (by Thomas Martin, Baker, 2000) and in *From the Library of C.S. Lewis* (by James S. Bell and Anthony P. Dawson, Shaw, 2004). Lewis was inspired by Wordsworth, Milton, Spenser, Chesterton, and a host of other writers, and he patterned some of his poetry and prose after some of their works. But Lewis responded to the issues of the day, utilizing and evaluating those literary influences, but not often responding to them or disagreeing with them. They were more his ammunition than his target. The contentious Lewis took aim at those targets and defended many a dearly held position, often in the manner that W. T. Kirkpatrick had taught him.

Many times there is no precise situation to which Lewis is responding, other than the literature he has just finished reading. This fact illustrates the fallacy of thinking that every writing of Lewis was written in response to recent events. In those cases where Lewis does not address some current trend, the reader will only learn about a few offhand references to people and events of the recent past.

One additional benefit is that the reader will learn more thoroughly why it was said of Lewis that he was the best read man of his day. As Cambridge colleague Richard Ladborough wrote, "It is now common knowledge that his memory was prodigious and that he seemed to have read everything."[2] George Sayer later wrote, "Everyone recognized the breadth of his knowledge. He was widely read and had a remarkable memory that enabled him to quote at length from any author who interested him and even from some who did not."[3]

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[1] Doris T. Myers, *C.S. Lewis in Context*, Kent State University Press, 1994.

[2] Ladborough, "In Cambridge," in *C.S. Lewis at the Breakfast Table and Other Reminiscences*. James T. Como, editor. San Diego: Harcourt Brace & Company, 1992, 100.

[3] From George Sayer, *Jack: A Life of C.S. Lewis*. Wheaton, Illinois: Crossway Books, 1988, 204.

This book is organized in two ways: First, in chronological order, based upon the year in which a work was written or published or a lecture was given. If a lecture, or series of lectures, was delivered in one year and that lecture published in a later year, the earlier year is used.[4] This allows us to get as close as possible to the origin of the work. Second, this book is organized according to the academic disciplines that were prominent in the setting many call Oxbridge. This is, after all, a history, and we must match the ideas of the time with the written responses of Lewis. At the same time, while we follow a historical approach, we must also distinguish between the various academic disciplines, primarily philosophy, science, religion, and Lewis' teaching field—English Language and Literature. Gathering together the various writings of Lewis in these academic disciplines will produce a glimpse of the mind of Lewis on those subjects. At times, we will have to leave the confines of Oxford and Cambridge to sample the thinking of Great Britain and, occasionally, that of Europe. Lewis did not live in an ivory tower.

However, this book does not contain a history of Oxford and Cambridge from 1925 to 1963. It overlooks those celebrated dons with whose disciplines Lewis never interacted. For example, Lewis never mentioned in writing Oxonion J. D. Beazley (1885-1970), the world's foremost scholar of Greek vases and vase painting, or John Morris, long-time influential professor of law at Lewis' own college, Magdalene College. In this book, Beazley's only mention comes in this paragraph. Other men and women will be overlooked, not because of the insignificance of their achievement, but because their contributions to the life of Oxford and Cambridge shed no light on the writings of Lewis.

[4] *A Preface to Paradise Lost*, for example, was published in 1942, but the lectures on which that book is based were delivered in 1941.

Magdalen College, Oxford, 1925–1954

The academic climate of the Oxford University and Cambridge University of C.S. Lewis between 1925 and 1963 will be explored in more detail in the coming chapters. George Musacchio has briefly described the major influences that helped to create the Oxford and Cambridge of Lewis' day—Enlightenment reason, the scientific method, scientism, Logical Positivism, and life-force philosophy.[5] While Musacchio lists the two primary influences—science and philosophy—there were also religious influences, the psychology of Sigmund Freud, educational trends, and socialism which impacted the thought life of Oxford and Cambridge.[6] These we will investigate in the pages ahead. Even these major influences do not exhaust the list of influences, but surely they cover most of them.

Robert E. Havard, Lewis' physician, once described the Oxford don as "having positive philosophy, comparative religion, and superlative conceit…."[7] They were secular, but matched by a frank and open Christianity in people like Lewis, J.R.R. Tolkien, Adam Fox, and R.G. Collingwood. Oxonians considered reality to be the universe as revealed by the senses (the philosophical position known as Realism), all the while contradicting themselves by ascribing the words *truth*, *valid*, and *valuable* to abstract thinking, moral judgments, and aesthetic experience.[8] They were major proponents of chronological snobbery,[9] which James Como describes as an offshoot of Darwinism.[10]

Although most people wanted to open the University to students from all social backgrounds, in the early twentieth century most students of Magdalen College were socially well placed. Among its many prominent dons and students, novelist Evelyn Waugh was a student at Hertford College in 1922, the later Poet Laureate John Betjeman was a student at Magdalen College who took tutorials under Lewis in the 1920s (although he dropped out and never finished his Oxford degree), Lancelot Phelps (1853–1936) was a member of Oriel College for sixty-four years, W.H. Auden wrote poetry at Christ Church, and Maurice Bowra was Warden of Wadham in the 1930s.

During Lewis' early years as a tutor in Oxford, Samuel Alexander and G.K. Chesterton very much influenced his thinking.[11] Alexander wrote the book *Space, Time and Deity* (1920), a book that distinguished between enjoyment and contemplation. You enjoy the act of thinking, but you contemplate the object you are thinking about. You cannot both enjoy and contemplate an object at the same time. On Saturday, March 8, 1924, Lewis began to read Alexander's

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[5] "Exorcising the Zeitgeist: Lewis as Evangelist to the Modernists," in Menuge, Angus J.L. ed. *C.S. Lewis: Lightbearer in the Shadowlands*. Wheaton: Crossway Books, 1997, 213-234. Scientism is "the belief that the supreme moral end is the perpetuation of our own species, and that this is to be pursued even if, in the process of being fitted for survival, our species has to be stripped of all those things for which we value it—of pity, of happiness, and of freedom." Lewis, "A Reply to Professor Haldane," 76f/

[6] Lewis comments favorably on socialism in a letter to Arthur Greeves on Feb. 20, 1917. *They Stand Together*, 169.

[7] Havard, "Philia: Jack at Ease," 217.

[8] C. S. Lewis, *Surprised by Joy: The Shape of My Early Life*. San Diego: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1955, 208.

[9] "The uncritical acceptance of the intellectual climate common to our own age and the assumption that whatever has gone out of date is on that account discredited." Lewis, *Surprised by Joy*, 207.

[10] James T; Como, ed., *C.S. Lewis at the Breakfast Table and Other Reminiscences*. New York: Harcourt Brace & Company, 1992, xxxi.

[11] Williams and Nicholls, *The Dictionary of National Biography 1961–1970*, 652. Lewis wrote in his diary about the Samuel Alexander book on March 8, 1924. *All My Road Before Me: The Diary of C.S. Lewis, 1922-1927*. New York: Harcourt Brace, 1991, 301.

book.[12] This book helped Lewis to realize that Joy, a longing for something otherworldly, could not be had while he was contemplating Joy. Joy only pointed to God, but the moment he tried to contemplate that Joy, it would disappear. This distinction would appear later in Lewis' essay, "Meditation in a Toolshed" (1945), and play a major role in his autobiography, *Surprised by Joy* (1955), by calling it "the central story of his life." Lewis' reading of Chesterton's *The Everlasting Man* in 1926 enabled him to see a coherent Christian view of history, thereby removing one of the intellectual obstacles to a serious consideration of the Christian faith.[13] Hastings described *The Everlasting Man* as "probably the most impressive piece of Christian literature of the decade."[14]

In summary, Oxford University had adopted a scientific and materialistic worldview, philosophizing the difficulty of discovering truth, flirting with Freudianism and socialism and many other trends of the day, but a Christian presence in Lewis and many others brought a stabilizing influence to the University, strength in its scholarship, and a contrasting worldview.

Magdalene College, Cambridge, 1955–1963

Lewis delivered his inaugural lecture at Cambridge University on November 29, 1954, his fifty-sixth birthday, entitled "De Descriptione Temporum,"[15] to a packed house. In this lecture, Lewis denied that the barrier between the medieval age and the Renaissance the most important historical division of the last 2,000 years, preferring instead the year 1830 as "the Great Divide." This year marked the end of the work of Jane Austen and Sir Walter Scott (who died in 1832), the advent of the Industrial Age, and the arrival of the full impact of the Age of Enlightenment.

Ironically, when Lewis moved from Oxford to Cambridge in 1955, he moved from a lower salary to a higher salary, while moving from one of the wealthiest colleges of Oxford to the poorest college of Cambridge, Magdalene College. He also moved from a tutorial situation to one where he only lectured and did no more tutorials (or supervisions, as they call them in Cambridge). His last tutorial had been given in Oxford on December 3, 1954, and his first night in Cambridge was January 7, 1955.

While there were much the same list of influences as at Oxford, Lewis came to a university that had a higher percentage of Christians on the faculty and in the student body and was more conservative. There were more of the literary critics, but none of "those plaguey philosophers" at Cambridge.[16]

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[12] *All My Road Before Me*, 301.
[13] *Surprised by Joy*, 223.
[14] Hastings, Adrian. *A History of English Christianity: 1920–2000*. Fourth edition. London: SCM Press, 2001, 234.
[15] Literally, it means "On a description of the times."
[16] Lewis, *The Latin Letters of C.S. Lewis*, 95. G.E. Moore and Bertrand Russell represented the Cambridge phase of the realist and positivist movement. Patrick, *The Magdalen Metaphysicals*, 136.

Chapter 1. Trends in English Language and Literature

Oxford University

Lewis entered Oxford, first as an undergraduate and later as a don, at a time when the study of English Language and Literature was just becoming a legitimate field of study at both Oxford and Cambridge. As Terry Eagleton exaggerated, "In the early 1920s it was desperately unclear why English was worth studying at all. In the early 1930s it had become a question of why it was worth wasting your time on anything else."[17] In addition, the study of classics was rated so highly that during the period from 1906 to 1937, students in classics provided 32 percent of all finalists but 70 percent of finalists who earned First Class Honours. "In 1914, 73 per cent of all college scholarships and exhibitions were expressly reserved for classicists."[18]

What happened to bring about this rapid increase in the number of undergraduates studying English? Walter Raleigh and C.S. Lewis, among other things. In 1914, the English School was quite new and very small, having only begun in 1894. A Cambridge man, Walter Raleigh (1861–1922, not to be confused with the sixteenth century Sir Walter Raleigh) came from Liverpool to Merton College in Oxford in 1904. Though not a meticulous scholar, he energized the English School with his lecture style especially, and enrollment began to grow. But it soon slowed down because of its primary focus on language, an emphasis that was supposed to provide the rigor that a pure study of literature would allegedly lack.[19] In 1914, the English School offered two courses of study, both of which were largely linguistic. Course A consisted of nine or ten papers in a language course, including three literary papers, one of the literary papers covering the period since Shakespeare. Course B, somewhat more literary, consisted of nine or ten papers, including three language papers and two literary papers on the period since Shakespeare.

In 1916–17, the English School devised a new course of study with examination in this course to begin in 1919. This new course included the study of modern literature in hope of attracting more students. In 1922, the syllabus[20] for all three courses was revised. The first two courses increased the linguistic options, while the new course, especially designed for those who wanted to study modern literature, began to require three-and-a-half or four-and-a-half post-Shakespeare literary papers. All three courses[21] offered the possibility of nineteenth century literature and a new list of optional subjects, including a choice of Greek literary criticism, French classical drama, or Italian influences on sixteenth-century English literature.[22] Lewis would have taken his degree in English Language and Literature in the new course, with its greater emphasis on literature, but still with a significant amount of study of the language. Three of his papers in this course were language papers. This is why he had to study Old English (what was formerly called Anglo-Saxon, a subject he later insisted on as indispensable for the study of English Language and Literature) with Edith Wardale. In short, Oxford now offered three

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[17] Cited in Kort, *C.S. Lewis Then and Now*, 19.
[18] Currie, 110.
[19] Bell, "Oxford's Contribution to Modern Studies in the Arts," 211f.
[20] By the term *syllabus* is meant what some mean when they use the word *curriculum*. The syllabus is a collection of courses, or subjects, that must be studied in the pursuit of an academic degree.
[21] A course is an entire three- or four-year course of study rather than what Americans would call a single three-credit semester-long course; what is described as a paper in the English School is much closer to an American semester-long course.
[22] Currie, "The Arts and Social Studies, 1914–1939," in *The History of the University of Oxford*, 114.

courses: one in philology, one that was half in philology and half in literature, and one mostly in literature.

J.O. Reed later took the same literary course of study that Lewis took. In a letter from Lewis to Reed, Lewis summarized the three courses of study: "I am assuming you choose Course 3 which is mainly modern. If you prefer No. 1 (mainly philological & medieval) or 2 (a half way house between 1 and 3) let me know."[23] During the Trinity term of 1950, Reed studied one of the required eleven topics, choosing between Chaucer and his Contemporaries, Shakespeare and Contemporary Dramatists, and Spenser and Milton. He opted for Shakespeare and the Contemporary Dramatists.[24] Other philological work—Old English, Middle English, history of the language—went on at the same time with J.A.W. Bennett.

Due to the influence of J.R.R. Tolkien, C.S. Lewis, and H.F.B. Brett-Smith,[25] the Honours English School course of study changed again in 1931. Since the two language courses were attracting only about ten percent of the English Honours students, Tolkien presented two new philological final Honours courses, in one of which Shakespeare was optional. On May 22, 1931, they got a medieval philological course covering the period up to Chaucer. Another modern philological course would cover the period up to Milton. The time after Milton would be covered in the literary course, now course three, in which the literature of the period from 1830 to 1900 was optional. Anglo-Saxon and Middle English were more important in the new course of study, while Victorian literature, i.e. that literature that came after 1830 and up until 1900, became much less important. English Literature from Beowulf to the Romantics was the basic program.

Under the new syllabus, however, the number of Honours finalists in English fell by ten percent between 1933 and 1939 with 95 percent of the candidates taking the literary course, and this sent a clear signal, although it was largely ignored.[26] The discussions and revisions of the English honour school continued through the decades, but during the 1930s and 1940s the honour school was still primarily linguistic. This program of study was still in place when Derek Brewer read English from 1945 to 1947,[27] and it was not until 1970 that twentieth century literature was allowed in the English syllabus.[28]

The change in 1931 was the very opposite of the curricular change that had apparently occurred in 1922, when Lewis was an undergraduate.[29] Tolkien and Lewis both held that the shift in culture after 1830, caused in large part by the Industrial Revolution, lessened the value of literature written after that period.[30] Lewis disliked much of modern literature because it reflected modern life,[31] something little appreciated by a dinosaur (as he later described himself). He once complained about a modern novel that he read at one sitting, stating that he did not dislike the modern novels simply because they were modern, but because most of them were "pretty sickly with their everlasting problems."[32] Lewis himself, of course, enjoyed many post-

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[23] A letter of C.S. Lewis to J.O. Reed, July 8, 1947, *Collected Letters*, III, 1571.
[24] Unpublished diary of J.O. Reed, March 8, 1950.
[25] H. F. B. Brett-Smith, the Reader in English Literature, also wanted to avoid the compulsory inclusion of literature after 1800 in the work of all candidates taking the Modern Literature course.
[26] Currie, in Harrison, *The History of the University of Oxford,* 121f.
[27] Brewer, "The Tutor: A Portrait," 50.
[28] Cunningham, "Literary Culture," in *The History of the University of Oxford*, 437.
[29] W. Lewis, *Letters of C.S. Lewis*, to his Father from University College) [18 May 1922], 161.
[30] Carpenter, *The Inklings*, 55.
[31] John Wain in *C.S. Lewis at the Breakfast Table*, 71.
[32] Lewis, *The Letters of C.S. Lewis to Arthur Greeves*. Letter 36, June 28, 1916, 114-115.

1830 authors, such as G.K. Chesterton, E.R. Eddison, Rudyard Kipling, William Morris, Dorothy L. Sayers, J.R.R. Tolkien, Ruth Pitter, Herbert Palmer, and Charles Williams, but as a general rule he preferred earlier authors.

In the early 1950s, Helen Gardner and others persuaded Tolkien that Victorian literature, as well as twentieth-century literature, should be restored to the syllabus. At the Faculty Meeting where the recommendation was made, , however, this proposal was voted down. Years later the recommendation was adopted,[33] but George Sayer thought that the possible inclusion of modern literature may have been one of the reasons that Lewis left Oxford for Cambridge in 1954.[34] These changes were proposed in the midst of discussions about the English syllabus, whether it was archaic and out of touch with the modern world. Lewis upheld the traditional view and favored the inclusion of nothing written after 1830. He also opposed the view of Cambridge that put criticism at the center of an English school.

F.W. Bateson of Corpus Christi championed a modern study of literature that was practical, realistic, and critical, literary rather than moral, less a study of language and more a study of literature. He published an annual series of essays in *Essays in Criticism*, first appearing in 1951. The impact was not felt until many years later.[35] Later, during the unsettled 1960s, literature would be viewed as a representation of class and ideology, tools of an oppressive majority, but not during the Lewis years.

Lewis felt that the syllabus for English Language and Literature must include the historical and linguistic origins of the English language and a selection of authors, including the study of early literature, which would give a sense of the continuity of English literature.[36] That selection would exclude most modern literature (already familiar to many students and written from the modern mindset)[37] and most minor authors.

The English syllabus would include Anglo-Saxon,[38] some Old High German,[39] Old French,[40] and Latin with their contributions to the development of Old English. In a diary entry dated November 2, 1922, Lewis puzzled about the linguistic side of the English School curriculum, a position he would later modify under the influence of Tolkien.[41] But earlier that year he had spoken highly of philology, linguistic history, and linguistic theory.[42] Above all, the English syllabus would exclude Greek, Latin, and French classics. No other languages should be included, not even Greek, Spanish, Italian, French, or German.[43] This would mean depth in the important areas rather than breadth.

The many talented writers of the twentieth century who hailed from Oxford—from John Buchan, Graham Greene, William Golding, and Aldous Huxley (author of *Brave New World*) to Dorothy L. Sayers, John Wain, J.R.R. Tolkien, and C.S. Lewis—came about because of the emphasis upon the Fine Arts and English literature, because of the presence of bookshops, libraries, and publishers in the city, and, undoubtedly, for many other reasons. The literary

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[33] Carpenter, *The Inklings*, 230. Fowler, "C.S. Lewis: Supervisor," 77.
[34] Sayer, *Jack*, 357.
[35] Harris, 240.
[36] Lewis, "Our English Syllabus," 91.
[37] Lewis, "Our English Syllabus," 87. See also Green and Hooper, *C.S. Lewis: A Biography*, 150f.
[38] Lewis, "The Idea of an 'English School'," 73.
[39] Lewis, "Our English Syllabus," 92.
[40] Lewis writes in favor of Old French, "The Idea of an 'English School'," 70.
[41] W. Lewis, *Letters of C.S. Lewis*, 177, letter dated November 2, 1922.
[42] W. Lewis, *Letters of C.S. Lewis*, to his Father from University College, May 18, 1922, 161.
[43] Sayer, *Jack*, 260. See also "Our English Syllabus," 92f.

journals of Oxford throughout the years have included such diverse publications as T.S. Eliot's *Criterion*, Cyril Connolly's *Horizon*, Alan Ross's *London Magazine*, *The Calendar of Modern Letters* (1925–27), and the 1930s socialist literary paper *Left Review*.[44]

The influence of T.S. Eliot and *The Criterion*, the new idealism of the 1920s, and Modernism were three movements whose thought overlapped that of Lewis. Eliot had come up to Merton to study philosophy under Bradley, but he became known for his knowledge of Matthew Arnold. When Geoffrey Faber founded his publishing company, he hired Eliot.[45]

Eliot began the literary journal *The Criterion* in 1922. He published his famous poem, "The Waste Land," in the first issue of the periodical, October 1922. The poem may be the most famous long poem of the twentieth century, reflecting the despair of the world in the era after World War I. Eliot drew on imagery from Ezekiel to reflect the fact that the cities of Israel would lie in waste because of their refusal to change, her altars would be desolate and her images broken. The land had become a desert. Another reflection of that post-World War I despair was James Joyce's novel, *Ulysses*, a Modernist stream-of-consciousness novel banned in the 1920s in both the UK and the US.

After 1927, *The Criterion* showed the influence of Neo-Scholasticism,[46] but it also defended the intellectual and rational content of Christian theology and, like the Magdalen metaphysicals,[47] demonstrated a philosophy similar to what Lewis had studied in his Greats curriculum. Although Lewis originally disliked Eliot because of the modern verse that Eliot used and because of his Neo-Scholasticism, Lewis' conversion to Christianity in 1931 tempered that dislike, especially later when Eliot helped in the publication of a *Festschrift* for Charles Williams in 1947. Lewis' unhappiness with free verse would have shown itself in his lack of appreciation for Auden, Bridges, and others. The Movement poetry of the fifties (Philip Larkin, Kingsley Amis, John Wain, Elizabeth Jennings, Iris Murdoch, and others) likewise would not have commended itself to him.[48] In 1926, Lewis and some friends attempted to write parodies of the poetry of T.S. Eliot, to submit them for publication in *The Criterion*. These parodies were written as if coming from a fictional brother and sister, Rollo and Bridget Considine, living in Vienna. The plot, however, faltered, and none of the poems were submitted.

Later Lewis and Eliot worked together on a revision of the Anglican Prayer Book. Lewis had been recruited in part because of Lewis' book, *Reflections on the Psalms* (1958), and his essay, "The Psalms" (1958 or earlier).[49] In the latter, he expressed the view, held by liberal Old Testament scholars at Oxford, that only one psalm might come from the time of David and that most were post-exilic. As a result of their working together, their friendship developed in the 1950s. Though their approaches were different, both men defended reason, tradition, and the Christian faith for three decades. Having studied philosophy under H.H. Joachim, an idealist

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[44] "Literary Culture," by Valentine Cunningham in Harrison, 413-450.
[45] Rowse, 242.
[46] Neo-Scholasticism consisted of renewed study of St. Thomas Aquinas and other medieval writers, spurred on by Pope Leo XIII's 1879 recommendation. It centered at the University of Louvain and, by 1920, in the writings of Jacques Maritain and Etienne Gilson. The rise of Neo-Scholasticism, though closely tied to Roman Catholicism, coincided with the rise of the study of medieval writers, something encouraged by C.C.J. Webb and other Magdalen Fellows, and the two movements fed upon each other. However, Lewis, following Webb, probably considered Neo-Scholasticism an arrogant rationalism bound too closely to Rome. Patrick, *The Magdalen Metaphysicals*, 140-142.
[47] Patrick, *The Magdalen Metaphysicals*, xix-xx. They were J.A. Smith, C.C.J. Webb, C.S. Lewis, and R.G. Collingwood.
[48] Cunningham, 413.
[49] The essay was first published in *Christian Reflections* in 1967.

from whom he learned his English prose style, Eliot had discovered from philosophy that the arts "without intellectual content are vanity."[50]

Poet Laureate Robert Bridges returned to live in Oxford from 1907 to 1930, considered by some "the dominating literary figure in the landscape."[51] During the last decade of his life, he wrote *Testament of Beauty*, which stated his belief that only the search for beauty redeemed life. A. E. Housman (1859–1936) was a brilliant Latin and Greek scholar, who took a first in Honour Moderations in 1879, but already had interests in classical literature and textual criticism. After becoming professor of Latin at University College, London, he accepted the Latin chair in Cambridge in 1911.[52] He also became one of the leading poets of his day.

In 1918, W.B. Yeats moved to Oxford, where he would live at 45 Broad Street and be visited by Lewis on two occasions in 1921.[53] In 1921, they moved to Thame near Oxford. John Masefield[54] moved to Boars Hill in Oxford after World War I, where Robert Bridges lived. During the 1920s, Bridges, Masefield, Robert Graves, and E. C. Blunden all lived on Boars Hill.[55] Later, John Wain lived in Wolvercote, and John Betjeman near Wantage.

Lewis' most important poem, *Dymer*, was begun in 1922, completed in 1925, and published in 1926, the story of a man who begets a monster, which kills its father, Dymer, and becomes a god. Most of the story is about the wanderings of Dymer, a rebel seeking freedom and the objects of his desire, especially a lover, but unable to find satisfaction, an early poetic version of *The Pilgrim's Regress*. George Sayer calls it a poem about Lewis himself, "seeking for his true literary vocation."[56] The word *desire* appears thirteen times, *longing* four times, and *joy* seventeen times.[57] His longing for another world, seen in much romantic literature and expressed in *Dymer*,[58] was the very opposite of the new psychology in Oxford in those days. The new psychology considered religious experience to be wishful thinking, but Lewis commented that his longing mistakenly dispelled the idea of a God, because he hoped there was no God.

The importance of the dream[59] may reflect Lewis' attempt to understand the significance of Freud's theories at this time in his life. The story also reflects an understanding of Christian theology, but not an acceptance of it, for example, in the quotation from Isaiah of sins being as scarlet and his awareness of right and wrong, guilt and repentance. At the same time, part of Dymer's desire was for wholeness and self-fulfillment.[60] The story had been in his mind since about 1915. Later, his Preface to the 1950 edition would indicate that he had put into *Dymer* his hatred of the public school, his hatred of the army, his own anarchism, and his awareness of the demonic character of political causes in both Ireland and Russia. When he wrote *Dymer*, Lewis

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[50] Patrick, James. *The Magdalen Metaphysicals: Idealism and Orthodoxy at Oxford. 1901–1945*. Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1985, 149.
[51] Rowse, A.L. "The Twentieth Century," Chapter 10 in *Oxford in the History of England*, New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1975, 223.
[52] Brooke, 213.
[53] Lewis wrote about these visits in letters dated March 14 and March 21, 1921. He later moved to 4 Broad Street.
[54] George Sayer thinks that Masefield is the strongest influence on Lewis' poem *Dymer*. George Sayer, "C.S. Lewis' *Dymer*," *SEVEN*, 113.
[55] Cunningham, 422.
[56] George Sayer, "C.S. Lewis' *Dymer*, *SEVEN*, 113.
[57] Lewis described this Joy as a longing for something that nothing in this world can satisfy, something a person would want again, and a kind of love. *Surprised by Joy*, 18, 220.
[58] George Sayer says that Lewis was in full flight from his romantic sensibility at this time and wrapped up in idealism, which is indebted to Hegel. Sayer, "C.S. Lewis' *Dymer*," *SEVEN*, 96f.
[59] The word *dream* appears sixty times in the poem.
[60] George Sayer, "C.S. Lewis' *Dymer*," *SEVEN*, 103.

said that he was an idealist, a position that takes the supernatural to be an illusion. He also stated that the appearance of the magician in *Dymer* owed part of his appearance to Yeats, whom Lewis had visited in Oxford on two occasions.[61] Dymer himself was described as one who escaped from illusion, faced the consequences of his own rebellion, sank into despair, and finally accepted reality.

Lewis' opposition to eugenics and the totalitarian state appeared in this poem, when he wrote about the State, which determined in Dymer's world who should mate.[62] His appreciation of Plato appeared in the very next stanza, and his dislike of Boards of Education two stanzas later and educators shortly thereafter when Dymer killed a lecturer.

Three poets dominated the 1930s in Oxford: Louis MacNeice of Merton College; Stephen Spender of Univ.; and W.H. Auden of Christ Church (1907–1973), the best known of the three, also known for his Marxist stance and his later conversion to Christianity. Auden became the leader of the famous leftist literary group, the Auden Circle, and wrote radio dramas, travel reports, and plays in addition to poetry. In 1939, he moved to the United States and became a US citizen in 1946. He later lived in Italy and Austria and then returned to England. He was the professor of poetry at Oxford from 1956 to 1961. During his undergraduate years, Auden had for his tutor Lewis' friend Nevill Coghill (1899–1980), whose talents in producing plays supplemented his considerable skills in Middle English.

Nevill Coghill had earned a First in English at Exeter College the same year that Lewis did. In 1957, Coghill was elected Merton Professor of English Literature in Oxford. He worked to get a theater for Oxford and produced brilliant plays for the Oxford University Dramatic Society (OUDS), once casting Richard Burton as Angelo in William Shakespeare's *Measure for Measure*. In the year of his retirement (1966), Coghill directed Richard Burton and Elizabeth Taylor in *Dr. Faustus*. He was a close friend of Lewis and an Inkling,[63] although Lewis never became a frequent theatergoer.[64] Because of his scholarship in Middle English literature, he is well known for his translation of Chaucer's *The Canterbury Tales* (1951), which Lewis praised highly.

In approximately 1926, Lewis wrote the poem "Infatuation." George Sayer speculates that Valerie Evans, an attractive friend of Maureen, may be the girl of this poem.[65] Maureen would have been twenty years old at this time and her friends approximately the same age.

Probably in the late 1920s, Lewis wrote a story entitled "The Man Born Blind," a rather ordinary story. While the story may actually anticipate some of Lewis' argumentation in "Meditation in a Toolshed," i.e. that one does not truly see light, one sees things *by* it, the story has been judged by some a failure.[66]

One of Lewis' early poems, "The Nameless Isle" (August 1930), was written to celebrate Old English alliterative verse. In this narrative poem, a shipwrecked mariner meets a beautiful enchantress with some of the characteristics of the Green Lady of Perelandra, and an abandoned

[61] Sayer, "C.S. Lewis' *Dymer*, 107.
[62] Canto I, stanza 3.
[63] *Collected Letters, Volume 1*, Great Britain: HarperCollinsPublishers, 2000, 984.
[64] See Coghill, "The Approach to English," *Light on C.S. Lewis*, edited by Jocelyn Gibb, 56.
[65] Sayer, *Jack*, 182.
[66] E.g., Lindskoog, 265.

golden flute, now rediscovered, releases both a beautiful maiden and the mariner's shipmates from imprisonment as a statue, almost in anticipation of a similar situation in *The Lion, the Witch and the Wardrobe*. Don King surmises another connection to *Perelandra*, suggesting that the love and harmony at the reunion of wizard and Queen is "perhaps anticipating the loving dialogue between Tor and Tinidril at the conclusion of *Perelandra*."[67] Another narrative poem, "Launcelot" (early 1930s), shows Lewis' enjoyment of the Arthurian myth as well as his difficulty in writing poetry at times. That Lewis never completed the poem indicates the possibility that he may have realized its shortcomings.

In 1932, Lewis' "A Note on *Comus*" appeared in *The Review of English Studies*.[68] In this essay, Lewis attempted to explain some of the changes that Milton made in his poem, *Comus*, first written in 1634. He described Milton's changes as a move away from naturalism and a deliberate exchanging of a sweeter flavor for a drier one. The intended effect was to subdue the poetry for the sake of unity in tone.

Also in 1932, *Essays and Studies* published Lewis' essay, "What Chaucer Really Did to *Il Filostrato*." The title of the essay explains the content, i.e. that when Chaucer (1343–1400) revised the love poem *Il Filostrato* of Italian Giovanni Boccaccio (1313–1375) in his *Troilus and Criseyde*, he medievalized it, using a medieval rhetoric and didactic style. For example, Chaucer made Troilus less of a "lady-killer," to use Lewis' phrase. That shows up both in Chaucer's writing of the story and in his telling of the erotic nature of the story. An aspect of what was becoming Lewis' contribution to *The Personal Heresy* showed up near the end of the essay, when Lewis mentioned Lascelles Abercrombie. Abercrombie had written an article, "A Plea for the Liberty of Interpreting," for *The Proceedings of the British Academy* (1930). Lewis summarized Abercrombie's position as one that preferred the effect of Chaucer's *Troilus* on us now over that which it had on its original medieval audience. Lewis' response demonstrated his conviction that much of the medieval age was closer to the world of universal ideas than the Renaissance was and, therefore, to be preferred. He also disagreed with Abercrombie, stating that we must first understand what a text said to its original audience before applying it to our situation today. This article laid the foundation for his later work, *The Allegory of Love* (1936). A few years later, probably in Spring of 1938, Lewis would lecture at Abercrombie's college, Bedford College, in London on "Shelley, Dryden, and Mr. Eliot."[69]

Besides MacNeice, Spender, Auden, and Bridges, the poets John Masefield,[70] William Butler Yeats, John Betjeman, and Cecil Day Lewis lived in Oxford. Novelists Evelyn Waugh and Graham Greene (in whose former apartment Walter Hooper now lives), and playwright and novelist Dorothy L. Sayers also called Oxford home.[71] Sayers, also born in Oxford, was famous for her detective stories and her Dante scholarship, while Rose Macaulay, who was educated in Oxford, was the best known novelist of the day. Dorothy L. Sayers (1893–1957) corresponded occasionally with Lewis, but was known especially for her novels, short stories (in particular, the Lord Peter Wimsey short stories), poetry, essays, reviews, the dramatic radio plays "The Man Born to be King," and her translation of Dante's *Divine Comedy*. She was one of the first women to earn a degree from Oxford University, graduating from an Oxford women's college,

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[67] King, 152.
[68] *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Literature*, ix.
[69] See reference to this address later in this chapter.
[70] George Sayer says that Lewis' *Dymer* is modeled on Masefield's long poems. Sayer, "C.S. Lewis' *Dymer*," *SEVEN*, Volume 1 (1980):113.
[71] Rowse, *Oxford in the History of England*, 225, 236, 238, 240.

John Betjeman (1906–84) took tutorials with Lewis from the Trinity Term, 1926, through at least Hilary Term, 1928. He did not finish his degree. Although he disliked Lewis (and was not well received by Lewis for his failure to come prepared to tutorials), he was undoubtedly influenced by him. As a child in London, Betjeman had been taught by T.S. Eliot at Highgate Junior School, and as a young man he met the art historian and poet Louis MacNeice. He published *Mount Zion* (1931); *An Oxford University Chest* (1938); *Selected Poems* (1948, for which he won the Heinemann Award), and many other works. His *Collected Poems* (1958) and his long autobiographical poem *Summoned by Bells* (1960), were both best sellers. Adrian Hastings considered Betjeman a part of the positive religious and literary influence on the country during the 1940s, when Lewis, T.S. Eliot, Dorothy L. Sayers, Elizabeth Goudge, and J. B. Phillips were writing.[1] In 1958 he founded the Victorian Society. He was appointed Poet Laureate in 1974.

[1] *Hastings, 446.*

Somerville College (1912–1915). Her novel, *Gaudy Night*, portrayed Somerville in the mid-1930s.[72]

During 1937, presumably in celebration of the coronation of George VI scheduled for May 12 of that year, Lewis wrote a poem entitled "Coronation March," which appeared in *The Oxford Magazine* on May 6. During the 1950s, Lewis wrote the poem "*Spartan Nactus*" (1954), an attack on modern poetry, especially that of T.S. Eliot, containing an allusion to one of Eliot's poems and a commendation of Wordsworth. With scorn, Lewis suggested that Mr. J.W. Saunders had the wrong solution to the problem of modern poetry. Few people were reading poetry, far fewer than in previous ages. The only people reading modern poets, it seemed, were other modern poets, so Saunders suggested that we provide a conscript audience, the kind of audience, Lewis wrote, that was last had by the Roman Emperor Nero![73] Saunder's solution? Make poetry the basis of all curricula.

When *The Pilgrim's Regress* was published in 1933, it included sixteen religious poems.[74] They addressed various aspects of the spiritual life, including brokenness, pride, spiritual dryness, the nature of God, temptation, Satan and Hell, angels, human choices, fellowship, courage, and the image of God. Don King calls these poems "Lewis' most moving, unified, and deliberate attempt at sustained religious verse."[75]

Also in 1933, Lewis published his narrative poem, "The Queen of Drum," the story of a queen who spent many a night exploring realms of fairy, preferring them to the normal life of the court. Because of this the king was particularly unhappy

[72] Adams, 195.
[73] Lewis, "Lilies That Fester," *Christian Reunion and Other Essays*, 39. Saunders had authored the essay, "Poetry in the Managerial Age," *Essays in Criticism*, Vol. IV, No. 3 (July 1954).
[74] "He Whom I Bow To" (entitled "Footnote to All Prayers" in *Poems*). "You Rest Upon Me All My Days" (entitled "Caught" in *Poems*), "My Heart Is Empty" (entitled "The Naked Seed" in *Poems*), "Thou Only Art Alternative to God" (entitled "Wormwood" in *Poems*), "God in His Mercy" (entitled "Divine Justice" in *Poems*), "Nearly They Stood Who Fall" (entitled "Nearly They Stood" in *Poems*), "I Have Scraped Clean the Plateau" (entitled "Virtue's Independence" in *Poems*), "Because of Endless Pride" (entitled "Posturing" in *Poems*), "Iron Will Eat the World's Old Beauty Up" (entitled "Deception" in *Poems*), "Quick!," "When Lilith Means to Draw Me" (entitled "Lilith" in *Poems*), "Once the Worm-laid Egg Broke in the Wood" (entitled "The Dragon Speaks" in *Poems*), "I Have Come Back with Victory Got" (entitled ""Dragon-Slayer" in *Poems*), "I Am not One that Easily Flits Past in Thought" (entitled "When the Curtain's Down" in *Poems*), "Walking Today by a Cottage I Shed Tears" (entitled "Scazons" in *Poems*), and "I Know Not, I" (entitled "Angel's Song" in *Poems*).
[75] King, 211.

with her and wanted her to cease her midnight adventures. The Bishop informed the Queen about one man who became incarnate, died, and rose again, the only one who ever truly experienced another realm of life. The mention of the places Terebinthia and Galma anticipated two islands that would later appear in *The Voyage of the 'Dawn Treader.'* Eventually the king, the chancellor, and the archbishop were murdered by the General, and the General attempted to take the Queen as his wife. She, however, escaped from her escort and, in order to avoid become the General's wife, entered fairy land.

On May 24, 1934, Lewis' poem, "Scholar's Melancholy," was published in *The Oxford Magazine*. In it Lewis wrote about the past projects that scholars once engaged in, but are now set aside. Something came along to cause them to set aside their project. It is best, Lewis suggested, to understand the changing times and complete your work when you have the opportunity. Perhaps he was encouraging himself to complete *The Allegory of Love*, which would come out in 1936.

Michael Ward has discovered a remarkable correspondence between Lewis' poem, "The Planets" (1935), and the Chronicles of Narnia.[76] He noticed that Lewis had intended the Chronicles to be an embodiment of medieval astrology. Embedded within "The Planets" are the plots of the seven Chronicles, thereby reflecting Lewis' love of medieval literature and the medieval worldview. What Lewis wrote about Jupiter (Jove) in "The Planets" summarized the main plot lines of *The Lion, the Witch and the Wardrobe*. His reference to "guilt forgiven" echoes the betrayal of Edmund, "Jove's children" the four Pevensie children, and "The lion-hearted" anticipated Aslan himself. In his verses about the Moon, Lady Luna, we find parts of *The Silver Chair*; in the section on Mercury parts of *The Horse and His Boy*; *The Magician's Nephew* shows up in the lines about Venus; *The Voyage of the 'Dawn Treader'*, a story about a voyage towards sunrise, appears in the verses about the Sun, whose astrological metal is gold, which appears, for example, in Lord Restimar who turned into a golden statue; *Prince Caspian*, wherein Peter battles with Miraz,[77] lines up with some verses about Mars, the martial planet; and *The Last Battle* reflects some of the lines Lewis wrote about Saturn. Each Chronicle had its planetary influence, and this was one of the main reasons Lewis wrote no more Chronicles of Narnia. There were only seven planets in the medieval cosmology. Lewis' poem "The Birth of Language" (published in January 1946) showed affinities to "The Planets" by imaginatively describing how the Sun sends "intelligible virtues" to the Earth for "man's daily needs," including the gift of speech.

On April 5, 1935, Lewis wrote a letter to a Mr. More, expressing his desire for literary theory that was not based on materialism.[78] If Michael Ward is correct, then he has shown Lewis providing literary theory based on medieval astrology and a transcendent and theological view of life. The letter to More also seems to discuss his first essay later published in *The Personal Heresy*.[79] Letters to Joan Bennett in February 1937, to Mary Neylan on March 8, 1937, and to Frank P. Wilson on Jan. 25, 1938 further mention aspects of *The Personal Heresy*. In the first, Lewis jokingly referred to himself as a "professional controversialist and itinerant prize-fighter,"

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[76] *The Times Literary Supplement*, April 23, 2003.

[77] I have wondered if the name "Miraz" was based upon J B. S. Haldane's article, "Meroz," in *Possible Worlds*, pp. 241-248. In that essay, Haldane cites Jud. 5:23, "Curse ye Meroz," a town in the Israelite territory of Naphtali which refused to come to the aid of Deborah and Barak, as a way of questioning the courage of the chaplains during armed conflict.

[78] Lewis, *Collected Letters*, II, 157.

[79] Walter Hooper's footnote suggests that the essay Lewis says he thought of sending to Mr. More was probably "The Personal Heresy in Criticism," which later became the first chapter of the book called *The Personal Heresy*.

in the second he wrote about joining Tillyard in contributing a chapter for a *Festschrift* for Sir Herbert Grierson, and in the third he wrote about lunching with Tillyard in London.[80]

Another lecture by Lewis in the mid-1930s was "The Idea of an 'English School,'" given to a joint meeting of the Classical Association and the English Association, meeting in Oxford. He spoke about the Final Honor School of English in Oxford. At that time, the Honor School had three alternative courses, one of them medieval and linguistic, one of them literary, and one halfway in between. Many felt that studies of the older languages such as Anglo-Saxon and Middle English were unnecessary, while Lewis considered them essential. One must understand the meanings of words, and Anglo-Saxon is essential to this understanding. If any study of language is least necessary, it is the study of modern English. He also discussed the value of the Classics for the Honor School and argued that the Classics were much less valuable to that program than Old French. While Lewis gave high praise to his studies of Plato and Aristotle, Latin and Greek, he did not consider English to be indebted to them for its form. The Classics gave us things to write about and to feel about. Even more valuable than Greek and Latin was Anglo-Saxon, which must remain in the English syllabus. The Classics should be learned before or after the university. The secondary school is the place for breadth, i.e. a distribution of subjects, but the university is the place for depth, unity, and continuity, i.e. those works from *Beowulf* forward.

Also in the mid-1930s, Lewis delivered a lecture to the undergraduate English Society at Oxford on the nature and purpose of education, under the title "Our English Syllabus," but he also provided a rationale for the English course of study. As students apply the question "What do I most want to know?" to the study of English, they meet a curriculum that has eliminated the last hundred years of English literature. This literature, to some extent, is already known to most people, because they live in this modern era. Essential to their study is the tap-root of English language and literature, Anglo-Saxon, or Old English. You must study the foundations of English language and literature, because starting with later literature is like beginning a story in the middle. You can't truly understand it. While Old French and Latin would be great subjects to include, there is not enough room in the curriculum to study every relevant subject.

Lewis' essay, "The Alliterative Meter," appeared in the May 1935 issue of *Lysistrata* under its original title, "A Metrical Suggestion." Here Lewis attempted to explain the Anglo-Saxon and medieval alliterative line in language that the non-specialist would understand. Hiding a playful swipe at New College in one of his examples, Lewis described the technical nature of this difficult subject with many examples. Later in the article, he explained one of his favorite techniques, that of writing for sound rather than just for the eye or the mind, and he concluded with one of his poems to illustrate the long and short syllables in their various combinations. This poem, "The Planets," became a central part of Michael Ward's book, *The Planets*, which spelled out Lewis' love for the medieval way of thinking and the belief of the medievalist in the influence of the planets on our lives.

At Manchester University on Dec. 3, 1936, Lewis delivered an address at 7:30 p.m. on the problem of language entitled "Bluspels and Flalansferes: a semantic nightmare." He addressed a meeting of the University of Manchester Philological Club in the staff common room. The staff common room was part of a block of buildings including the Students Union, which was demolished at the end of the 1950s. The Club was a University inter-disciplinary group of staff and students, set up in 1923, which read and discussed papers about aspects of language and philology. Twenty-one people attended the talk. The meeting was chaired by

[80] Lewis, *Collected Letters*, II, 210, 211, and 222.

Mildred Pope, the professor of French language, and senior academics attending included Professors Harold Charlton (English literature), Eugene Vinaver (French language and literature), E.V. Gordon (English language), James Duff (education), and Donald Atkinson (ancient history).[81]

In his book *Semantics: Studies in the Science of Meaning*, M.J.A. Bréal (1900) had taken a position that scientific matters cannot be described in metaphors. C.K. Ogden and I.A. Richards (1923) then challenged his position, and then Owen Barfield (1928) argued that Ogden and Richards were just as metaphorical as Bréal. Barfield claimed that language had a figurative origin. Lewis then attempted to set the record straight in favor of his good friend Barfield. Sometimes derivations of words are irrelevant to their current meaning, but sometimes not. We are incurably metaphorical in our speech whether we realize it or not, and poets take the highest place as those most able to write meaningfully. In "Bluspels and Flalanferes" Lewis concluded that reason was the natural organ of truth, while imagination was the natural organ of meaning,[82] able to produce metaphors that make sense of our world.

Helen Darbishire (1881–1961) was a Wordsworth and Milton scholar, who earned First Class honors at Somerville in 1903. She became an English tutor at Somerville College (1908–31), Fellow (1923–31), University Lecturer (1926–31), Principal (1931–45), and Honorary Fellow (1946–61). She was one of the first three women appointed to a university lectureship and later the first woman to chair a faculty board. Her conscientious duties as Principal and her stature as a Wordsworth scholar especially marked her career. Lewis mentioned her work on Milton favorably, alongside that of Tillyard, in Chapter I of his book *A Preface to Paradise Lost* (1941).[1]

[1] *A Preface to Paradise Lost,* 3.

Around this time, Lewis delivered the talk "Variation in Shakespeare and Others" to the Oxford University Mermaid Club, "a small undergraduate society founded in 1902 for reading 16th- and 17th-century English drama."[83] Although there is no record of the talk in the records of the Mermaid Club, Lewis wrote "Read to the Mermaid Club" on the title page of the essay. Lewis had delivered an unpublished paper to the Mermaid Club on Nov. 6, 1928 on John Shirley's *The Traitor*. He had been a member of the Mermaid Club as early as the Michaelmas Term (Autumn) 1927 and as late as Trinity Term (May-June) 1930, but he probably delivered the Shakespeare talk as an invited guest.[84] Lewis' diary had described the members of the club as "guffawing . . . barbarians with hardly any taste among them . . . .,"[85] so they must have changed by the mid-1930s.

This talk on variation in Shakespeare described the genius of Shakespeare, seen also in some of his contemporaries, in variation. Variation is piling up

[81] The minute book Dec. 3, 1936, University of Manchester Philological Club Archive, UPH/1/1, The John Rylands University Library, The University of Manchester. This information was supplied on Aug. 12, 2009, by James Peters, University Archivist for The John Rylands University Library. http://www.library.manchester.ac.uk/specialcollections/.

[82] "Bluspels and Flalansferes: A Semantic Nightmare," *Rehabilitations*, London: Oxford University Press, 1939, 157.

[83] http://www.bodley.ox.ac.uk/dept/scwmss/wmss/online/modern/oumc/oumc.html

[84] Email dated Aug. 10, 2009 from Dr Judith Priestman, Librarian of the Bodleian Library. Lewis was president of the Mermaid Club in 1927 and again in 1930.

[85] Entry dated March 1, 1927. *All My Road Before Me*, 456.

image after image on the same theme, in much the same way that Bach did musically. Lewis compared Shakespeare to a swallow, darting at the subject, moving away, and then moving back again and again. While Milton's style was like a tulip, Shakespeare's was diversified like a chrysanthemum. In using five or six variations in a particular description, Shakespeare combined the best type of lyric with a realistic description of character.

In 1936, Lewis' brief essay, "Genius and Genius," appeared in *The Review of English Studies*.[86] Reflecting on Janet Spens' concern for the double role of Genius in *The Faerie Queene*, Lewis proposed a solution. First, he reviewed the history of the meaning of the word *Genius*. Then he summarized the Roman view of two ways of viewing Genius, one as the higher self in general and the other as the reproductive power. For St. Augustine, similarly, one Genius is the higher self, and the other is the spirit of generation. Some writers also divided the higher self into two classes, one a good genius and the other an evil one. Spenser seems to identify the two geniuses rather than distinguish them, so Lewis proposed brackets around some lines of Spenser's poetry to solve the problem. In this same article, Lewis explained the term *Oyarses*, a term Lewis later used in his Ransom trilogy.

J.R.R. Tolkien was Professor of English Language at Leeds University (1919–26), Rawlinson and Bosworth Professor of Anglo-Saxon (1925–45), and then Merton Professor of English (1945–59). Lewis and Tolkien first met on May 11, 1926, at a faculty meeting.[87] Tolkien's text of Sir Gawain appeared in 1925. Lewis mentioned Gawain in "The Fifteenth-Century Heroic Line" (1939), *A Preface to Paradise Lost* (1942), "The Anthropological Approach" (1962), and other of his writings, first mentioning Tolkien's edition in a 1927 letter to Arthur Greeves. Tolkien published *The Hobbit* in 1937, and Lewis published *Out of the Silent Planet* in 1938, both works of fantasy that were to have an impact for truth and for an objective standard of right and wrong. Lewis' review article, "The Hobbit," appeared in *The Times Literary Supplement* on October 2, 1937.

Lewis won the Israel (Isaac??) Gollancz[88] Award for Literature in 1937 for *The Allegory of Love* (1936). This was his first great scholarly and literary work, a study of the allegorical love poetry of the Middle Ages. It grew out of his interest in medieval literature and served, in part, as a response to D.H. Lawrence's *Lady Chatterley's Lover*,[89] which had come out in 1932. John Lawlor wrote, "If anyone can be said to have ended a tradition of dullness in scholarly writing, it is surely Lewis in this great, forever readable book."[90]

Being asked in 1938 by F.P. Wilson to write *English Literature in the Sixteenth Century* (1954) for *The Oxford History of English Literature* (*OHEL*) was one indication of the esteem with which Lewis was held by the scholarly world. That work furthered Lewis' reputation as a literary critic and literary historian, which had been firmly established by the publication of *The Allegory of Love*. And with the departure of Lewis from Oxford in 1955, it is not coincidental

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[86] *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Literature*, ix.
[87] *All My Road Before Me*, 393.
[88] Sir Israel Gollancz (1863–1930) lectured in English at University College London from 1892, at Cambridge from 1896, and at King's College, London, from 1905 until his death. He was one of the founders of the British Academy and its first Secretary. The Sir Israel Gollancz Prize was established in 1924. It is awarded biennially for published work in Anglo-Saxon, Early English Language and Literature, English Philology, the History of English Language, or for work done on the history of English Literature (the category for which Lewis was selected) or on the works of English writers.
[89] Griffin, *Clive Staples Lewis*, 83.
[90] Lawlor, *C.S. Lewis: Memories and Reflections*, 103.

that the Norrington tables ranked Magdalen College first in the academic performance of its undergraduates during the 1940s, second in the 1950s, but only fourth in the 1960s.[91]

On Nov. 5, 1937, Lewis read his essay "William Morris" to the Martlet Society. In that essay, Lewis sought to defend Morris from the contemporary charges that his poetry was poetry of escape, his stories mere tapestries with insufficient description, and that he was a victim of false medievalism. While not a Christian, Morris had something to say both to the Christian and to the materialist. Morris's prose romances touched on his socialist vision of a communal life, but they also spoke of eternity and the yearning for what one does not fully know, the joy that Lewis searched for until his conversion to Christianity.

During the late-1930s, probably in Lent Term (Spring), 1938, Lewis spoke to the Reid Society of Bedford College,[92] an affiliate society of the Bedford College Student Union. Bedford College later merged with another college, and they became known as Royal Holloway College, part of the University of London, just minutes from London Heathrow Airport. Lewis delivered to this all-female college an address entitled "Shelley, Dryden, and Mr. Eliot." He had probably been invited there at the request of F.P. Wilson, former tutor and later Professor of English Literature at Merton College, Oxford (1947-1957). Wilson was part of the Department of English at Bedford beginning in 1936.

This lengthy address dealt with some of the positions about poetry taken by Eliot in his book *Selected Essays*. In that book, Eliot had placed Dryden ahead of Shelley, and Lewis came to Shelley's defense. Lewis' early comment that Shelley was not "a safe poet" may be an early version of the saying that Aslan is not a tame lion. Lewis agreed with Eliot raising the problem of the relationship between a poem and its ethics, metaphysics, or theology. A good poet is not necessarily a good theologian or a good philosopher. He also agreed that the last canto of Dante's *Paradiso* was "the highest point that poetry has ever reached,"[93] and stated further that Shelley and Milton were each half of Dante, a compliment to all three poets. While Eliot considered Shelley the best English poet of the century, Lewis considered him the best English poet yet, and his *Prometheus Unbound* the greatest long poem of the nineteenth century. Where he disagreed was when Eliot considered Dryden a greater poet than Shelley. Most of Lewis' essay dealt with nuances of English poetry that are not well understood by the average person. This is, however, the essay in which Lewis wrote that great description of myth: "Myth is thus like manna; it is to each man a different dish and to each the dish he needs."[94] Lewis was also scheduled to lecture at Bedford College in October 1939 on "Milton and the Epic Tradition," but this lecture was cancelled due to the outbreak of war.[95]

On May 19, 1938, *The Oxford Magazine* published the poem "*Chanson D'Aventure*," later renamed "What the Bird Said Early in the Year." In this poem, Lewis wrote of a bird that he heard while he was walking on Addison's Walk. The bird suggested that the summer would not fade to Autumn. Lewis may have been expressing a longing for the Second Coming in this poem, published a little more than a year before the beginning of World War II. This poem was

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[91] Thomas, 213.

[92] Bedford College Union Magazine, December 1937. BC AS 201/2/49, p. 2. The opening Editorial of this issue reads: "The notice-boards suggest some of the subjects which people are thinking about at present (25th November): the Revival of International Order, Pacifism, Bach, the Origin of Speech, Heredity, the Present Situation in Spain, the Smoke Menace, Shelley, Dryden and Mr. Eliot." Lewis' talk was entitled "Shelly, Dryden and Mr. Eliot."

[93] Eliot, *Selected Essays*, 227.

[94] "Shelly, Dryden, and Mr. Eliot," *Rehabilitations*, 29.

[95] Hannah Thomas, Archives Assistant, Royal Holloway College, email dated July 31, 2009.

inscribed on a memorial plaque that now adorns a wall at the northwest edge of Addison's Walk in commemoration of the hundredth anniversary of Lewis' death in 1998.

Lewis' essay, "Donne and Love Poetry in the Seventeenth Century" appeared in 1938 in *Seventeenth Century Studies Presented to Sir Herbert Grierson*. Calling John Donne one of England's greatest poets, Lewis attempted to describe the content and style of Donne's love poetry. Donne used learned imagery, a sense of urgency, complex metaphors called conceits, and other tools. Donne's *Songs and Sonnets* were the poems especially addressed by Lewis, even though it wasn't Donne's best work. Lewis described Donne's love poetry as similar to *Hamlet* without the prince. Lewis used this essay as a chance to assert that the popularity of free verse in poetry correlates with the ignorance of poetic meter, though not caused by it. He also took aim at the misconception of Puritans as sexually repressed, when this was more characteristic of Catholicism. He commented that Sir Thomas More, a prominent Catholic writer, rarely mentioned a woman except to ridicule her, and that's a major reason why More criticized Luther for marrying and saw that marriage as a symbol of Luther's depravity. In *That Hideous Strength*, Jane Studdock was considering Donne's love poetry as the topic for her doctoral thesis. This fit in well with the book's plot, which vindicated sexual love in marriage, much as the love poems of Donne vindicate the body. She had planned to emphasize Donne's vindication of the body in her thesis.

One year before the publication of *Rehabilitations*, Lewis wrote a Preface to that collection in which he explained the reasons for these essays, especially the first six. He wrote that the first two essays ("Shelley, Dryden, and Mr. Eliot"; "William Morris") defended the great romantic poets, the next two ("The Idea of an 'English School'"; "Our English Syllabus") defended the course of English studies at Oxford University, the fifth essay ("High and Low Brows") was a defense of some books he had read, but that essay also defended the enjoyment of literature for its own sake and warned against educational trends, and the sixth essay ("The Alliterative Meter") contained an attack. Lewis did not explain the reason behind the remaining essays.

Lewis' poem "Experiment," later renamed "Pattern," was published by *The Spectator* on Dec. 9, 1938. Perhaps he was influenced by Tolkien's Treebeard, who by this time had been sub-created, or the dryads (tree spirits) of Greek mythology, but Lewis wrote about trees awaking to life when the weather turns cold rather than becoming dormant, as is usually believed. Lewis saw life when others did not, something he also expressed, for example, in *Out of the Silent Planet*, when Ransom first experienced space travel and found it teeming with life.

In approximately 1939,[96] Lewis wrote "The Dark Tower," which was undoubtedly written by Lewis as a sequel to *Out of the Silent Planet*. "The Dark Tower" is based on the concept of time-travel, growing out of a comment at the end of *Out of the Silent Planet*, "Now that 'Weston' has shut the door, the way to the planets lies through the past; if there is to be any more space-traveling, it will have to be time-traveling as well . . . !" The Dark Tower itself is a replica of the new Cambridge University Library, which had been built just a few years before that time. That library had been approved by the Senate of the University of Cambridge on May 7, 1921, a vote that authorized the search for a new site. In 1931 construction began, and in 1934 King George V came to open the library. The much finer Bodleian Library at Oxford University made people at Cambridge aware of the need for a new library. Lewis apparently took a good-natured jab at the library for its architecture, whose classical features had been modified to look

[96] The second paragraph of the book suggests that it was written shortly after *Out of the Silent Planet*, and a couple pages later in the first chapter of the book the author mentioned the year 1938.

like an Assyrian palace and whose tall tower was considered by many to have a negative effect on the skyline of Cambridge.[97]

Lewis wrote the satiric poem "To the Author of 'Flowering Rifle'" for the May 6 issue of *The Cherwell*, a student newspaper at Oxford University. The pro-Fascist poem *Flowering Rifle*, authored by the South African poet Roy Campbell, had been published in February in support of Leftist Francisco Franco in the Spanish Civil War, a position with which Lewis disagreed. At the same time, Jack liked Campbell's style, since both were opposed to the modern style of Eliot and Auden. In Lewis' poem of response, he complained that Campbell used jargon to turn white into black and called Campbell back to truth and reason, to the house of his father, and to mercy instead of murder. Originally entitled "To Mr. Roy Campbell," this poem challenged Campbell's rejection of English Romanticism. Lewis defended Sir Walter Scott as the real source of English Romanticism ("It flows, I say, from Scott…"), instead of Rousseau with whom Campbell connected it, and he also spoke highly of Coleridge and Wordsworth as poets "who rediscovered the soul's depth and height." Several years later, Lewis and the Inklings generously entertained Roy Campbell in Jack's rooms at Magdalen on Oct. 3–5, 1944. After that meeting, Tolkien later described Campbell as a Christian who had fought on Franco's side during the war and had desired to meet both Lewis and Tolkien. Campbell was "gentle, modest, and compassionate," full of stories and good humor.[98] A couple of years later, Warren wrote of an Inklings meeting that included Roy Campbell again, describing Campbell as "fatter and tamer than he used to be."[99] Through these exchanges, Lewis learned the irony of verbal combat when placed at a distance, which could easily become friendship at close hand. In 1959, he would learn the same truth by serving on a commission with T.S. Eliot to revise the Psalter.

Much of what Lewis was reacting to in the publication of *The Personal Heresy* (published on April 27, 1939), and also in *The Abolition of Man* (1943), was prevalent at the time in Oxford. Many believed that a piece of literature was more about the personality of the author than about the subject matter the author was addressing. It was better to ask about influences on the author, the consistency of this writing with other writings of his, the phase the author was going through, how it affected other writers, how it has been misunderstood, but never whether or not it is true.[100] In a collection of point-counterpoint essays with E.M.W. Tillyard,[101] Lewis challenged this view, and both men moved toward a better understanding of one another as a result of the series of essays.

Various statements from the letters and diary of Lewis show that this position was held for quite some time before the first essay was published. On Feb. 14, 1923, Lewis had recorded his own comment that was made in a conversation with a friend, George Arnold Rink, "I suggest that the object of a work of art is not to be criticized but to be experienced and enjoyed."[102] Then, on June 18, 1923 Lewis had addressed the Martlets, an undergraduate Oxford literary society to which he belonged, arguing that the personal life of author James Stephens, a popular Irish author, had little to do with understanding his works. On May 6, 1924, Lewis had written about a

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[97] Brooke, 370–387.
[98] Humphrey Carpenter, ed., *The Letters of J.R.R. Tolkien*, New York: Houghton Mifflin, 2000, 95f. A letter dated October 6, 1944.
[99] W.H. Lewis, *Brothers & Friends*, 197.
[100] Lewis, *The Screwtape Letters*, 150f.
[101] Tillyard's *Milton* and T.S. Eliot's essay on Dante were offenders of the personal heresy. Green and Hooper, *C.S. Lewis: A Biography*, 125. The first three essays originally appeared in volumes xix (1934), xx (1935), and xxi (1936) of *Essays and Studies*.
[102] Lewis, *All My Road Before Me*, 197f.

conversation with F.W. Bateson, later Fellow and lecturer in English at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, disagreeing with Bateson's idea that a poem was mostly about the author: "he observed that as he progressed he found his interest in a poem centered more and more round the author. I said this seemed to me inconsistent with real aesthetic experience."[103]

On May 20, 1926, just nine days after Lewis had met J.R.R. Tolkien for the first time, Lewis had written in his diary about the personal heresy, which includes the idea that poets are special, stating, "Are all our modern poets like this? Were the old ones so? It is almost enough to prove R. Graves' contention that an artist is like a medium: a neurotic with an inferiority complex who gets his own back by attributing to himself abnormal powers. And indeed I have noticed in myself a ridiculous tendency to indulge in poetical complacency as a consolation when I am ill at ease thro' managing ordinary life worse than usual."[104] He saw the temptation to laziness in his own criticism and so could easily understand the temptation to descend into negative adjectives to describe his dislike of a piece of writing.

In 1930 Lewis addressed the Martlets, this time as an Oxford Don, developing his thinking more fully. In that same year, E.M.W. Tillyard published a major work on John Milton, in which he wrote, "All poetry is about the poet's state of mind." To understand *Paradise Lost* correctly, he stated, one must read it as an "expression of Milton's personality." In part, this is true, though little can be discovered about personality by reading the poetry. Then, on June 14, 1932, Lewis wrote to his brother Warren about the virtues of Thackeray vs. Trollope after having just finished rereading Thackeray's *Pendennis*. While he thought of Thackeray as a genius, he also thought that Trollope wrote the better books, although they were books that don't knock you down with their power and depth. He stated, "What I don't care twopence about is the sense (apparently dear to so many) of being in the hands of 'a great man'—you know; his dazzling personality, his lightning energy, the strange force of his mind—and all that. So that I quite definitely prefer Trollope—or rather this rereading of *Pendennis* confirms my long standing preference."[105] Lewis' views seem well established already at this point. For Lewis, it was better to have a lesser talent and write well than to have a great talent and write poorly.

The controversy between Lewis and Tillyard over *The Personal Heresy* was concluded with a live debate at Magdalen College, Oxford, on Feb. 7, 1939.[106] Former student John Lawlor wrote about the debate, "There was a memorable occasion when in the Hall at Magdalen Dr Tillyard met him to round off in debate the controversy begun with the publication of 'The Personal Heresy.' I am afraid there was no debate. Lewis made rings round Tillyard; in, out, up, down, around back again—like some piratical Plymouth bark against a high-built galleon of Spain."[107] Although the debate was no contest, the two men remained friends. As proof that the scholarly exchange between Tillyard and Lewis was amicable, fifteen years later, Tillyard was one of the four electors who offered Lewis the Chair of Medieval and Renaissance Literature in Cambridge.[108]

On July 23, 1939, about two months after the publication of the book, Lewis wrote to Owen Barfield, "I quite agree that the Personal Heresy is not important—*now*! But it was rapidly becoming so. I was just in the nick of time . . ."[109] On Sept. 12, 1940, Jack wrote to Eliza Marian

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[103] Lewis, *All My Road Before Me*, 321.
[104] *All My Road Before Me*, 399.
[105] *Collected Letters*, Vol. II, 82.
[106] *Collected Letters*, Vol. II, 248, n. 24.
[107] John Lawlor, *C.S. Lewis: Memories and Reflections*, 4.
[108] Beach, "C.S. Lewis vs. E.M.W. Tillyard: The Personal Heresy," *CSL*, January/February 2007, 15.
[109] *Collected Letters*, Vol. II, 260.

Butler, a University of Manchester professor at the time, stating that the kernel of *The Personal Heresy* was "Don't attribute superhuman qualities to poetry unless you really believe in a superhuman subject to support them."[110] This theme appears prominently in Jack's argumentation, for example, when he says in Chapter V, that "the tendency of my theory is, in some degree, to lower the status of the poet as poet."[111] In a letter of Jan. 14, 1953, Lewis later wrote to Don Calabria, "The *De Imitatione* teaches us to 'Mark *what* is said, not *who* said it.'"[112] By this comment he demonstrated that he held on to this point of view for many years. If the personal heresy had disappeared by 1940, it has come back in our day which has drunk so deeply of what Lewis called "the poison of subjectivism."[113] More than two decades later, Lewis would write, "Even today there are those (some of them critics) who believe every novel and even every lyric to be autobiographical."[114] Obviously, the battle was not over, and, in fact, it has continued to the present day.

Jack's essay, "The Renaissance and Shakespeare: Imaginary Influences," which is otherwise unknown, was delivered in Stratford on August 30. It contained some of the insights that later appeared in other writings of Lewis, including especially *English Literature in the Sixteenth Century*.[115] When *The Times* reported on his talk, the *Times* writer stated that Lewis said that his title could have been, "How the Renaissance didn't happen and why Shakespeare was not affected by it." Lewis defined the Renaissance as "an imaginary entity responsible for everything we happen to like in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries." He downplayed the role of the Humanists, claimed that Copernican astronomy was much less different from the Ptolemaic than supposed, that the discovery of the New World figured less in Elizabethan literature than we might expect, and that Shakespeare especially owed to Humanism the theatrical code of revenge, but nothing of real value except his meter.

The essay, "Christianity and Literature," must have been delivered at least by early 1939, since it was published with the other essays in *Rehabilitations* on March 23, 1939. It was originally delivered before an unnamed religious society in Oxford and may have been addressed to a Catholic audience, since Lewis cited both Thomas Aquinas and Pope Gregory in the article. There were many such societies, so there will be many candidates for the location of this address.[116] Lewis addressed the question whether Christian literature has any literary qualities unique to it. Lewis concluded that the answer was no, just as boiling an egg happened in the same way whether you did it as a Christian or a Pagan. He thought, however, that there was a Christian approach to literature. Much of modern criticism liked to use the words *creative*, *spontaneity*, and *freedom* to do its work and express agreement or appreciation, while it applied the opposite words *derivative*, *convention*, and *rules* to those writings with which they disagreed. The New Testament approach, Lewis thought, used metaphor, a hierarchical order, and imitation of God in its theology, reserving originality especially for God Himself. A major difference between the Christian and the Pagan for Lewis, however, is that the Christian takes literature a

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[110] *Collected Letters*, Vol. II, 443.
[111] C.S. Lewis and E.M.W. Tillyard, *The Personal Heresy: A Controversy*, Joel D. Heck, editor, Austin, Texas: Concordia University Press, 2008, 99.
[112] *Collected Letters*, Vol. III, 280.
[113] The title of an essay by Lewis in *Christian Reflections*, published in *Religion in Life*, Summer 1943.
[114] *The Discarded Image*, 213.
[115] Walter Hooper, *Collected Letters*, Vol. II, 271, n. 104. See also *The Times*, September 1, 1939, 8.
[116] Walter Hooper thinks it could have been "The Ark," a society associated with the Church of St. Mary the Virgin (Anglican), at which Lewis preached "The Weight of Glory," or the Catholic Chaplaincy of which Monsignor Ronald Knox was the chaplain from 1926 to 1939. Email from Walter Hooper to Joel Heck, Aug. 21, 2009.

bit less seriously than does the Pagan. The Pagan is apt to make a religion out of aesthetic experiences, but the Christian knows that literature is less important than the individual human being. In fact, Lewis stated, the salvation of one soul was more important than the preservation of all the great works of literature in human history.

In "High and Low Brows" (1939), read to the English Society at Oxford, Lewis called I.A. Richards "a critic whose works are almost the necessary starting-point for all future literary theory."[117] In that comment he was referring to Richards' *Practical Criticism* (1929), though he much more frequently cited Richards' *Principles of Literary Criticism* (1924). Lewis disagreed with Richards, whose theory set up questionable standards of good taste. Richards was part of what some called "the Vigilant school of critics," a school of thought that disparaged literature that espoused values different from theirs, especially spiritual or moral values. The Vigilant school also devalued the importance of allegedly escapist genres such as fantasy and science fiction,[118] genres in which Tolkien and Lewis would later write some of the most popular literature of the twentieth century, the Chronicles of Narnia and *The Lord of the Rings*. They would write in order to produce the kind of books that they wanted to read. Lewis wrote about the far away, and Tolkien wrote about long ago.[119] In precisely those genres the fundamental truths of good and evil, right and wrong, could be clearly understood and presented, concepts especially prominent in Christian theology.

Echoing his arguments from *The Personal Heresy*, Lewis, on the other hand, thought that science fiction and fantasy might have the ability to bridge the gap between the elite few (high culture) and the much larger group of ordinary people (pop culture).[120] The general public had lost interest in modern literature, reading best-sellers rather than classic writings or good literature. Doris Myers says Lewis responded to this gap by writing the Ransom trilogy to appeal to the readers of best-sellers, and he wrote literary criticism that invited intellectuals to look seriously at genre fiction—fantasy and science fiction, romance, detective stories, and other types of writing. "High and Low Brows" addressed this issue, inviting people to read genre fiction.

Lewis believed that the theory of Richards—that poetry had nothing to do with objective truth—created a false division between fact and poetic language, as though poetry could not communicate truth, and this was one of his targets in *The Abolition of Man*. He accused Richards and F.R. Leavis of "a tradition of educated infidelity" due to their denial of any objective standard[121] and their denial of anything transcendental. Instead, Richards thought that literature could take the place of religion.[122] Lewis, on the other hand, wanted to present Christianity as a better alternative to science's hope to colonize other planets and to defeat death.[123] Lewis' "Christianity and Culture" (*Theology*, March 1940), seemingly a companion piece to his 1939 essay, "Christianity and Literature," later challenged this viewpoint. Lewis thought that "to use

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[117] Lewis, "High and Low Brows," in *Rehabilitations*, London: Oxford University Press, 1939, 116, n. 1.
[118] Doris T. Myers, *C. S. Lewis in Context*, Kent, Ohio: The Kent State University Press, 1994, 35.
[119] T.A. Shippey says that Tolkien mentions this conversation at least five times in his published *Letters*. He cites pages 29, 209, 342, 347, and 378 in *Letters of J.R.R. Tolkien*. "The Ransom Trilogy," in *The Cambridge Companion to C. S. Lewis*, edited by Robert MacSwain and Michael Ward, Cambridge University Press, 2010, 237.
[120] Doris Myers, *C. S. Lewis in Context*, 36.
[121] Lewis, "Christianity and Culture," *Christian Reflections*, 1967, 19.
[122] Lewis writes in the essay that the opinion of Richards on poetic taste "amounted to giving poetry a kind of soteriological function." *Christian Reflections*, Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1967, 12.
[123] Myers, 29-30.

literature as a substitute for religion—to use it for anything—is to kill it."[124] Doris Myers calls Lewis' *An Experiment in Criticism* (1961) his best answer to Richards' theory of language,[125] and in it he developed some of the themes of "High and Low Brows." In that work, Lewis also challenged Richards' view of literature as having therapeutic value. If such were the value of literature, wrote Lewis, he would never read again.[126]

In May 1940, Mr. Bethel and E.F. Carritt had written "Christianity and Culture: Replies to Mr Lewis." In June 1940, Lewis wrote a letter to the editor of *Theology*, Alec Vidler,[127] in brief defense of "Christianity and Culture." Lewis did not give a full defense, but he defended his use of the Church Fathers and the teachings of Christ. He also said that he had not called culture a storehouse of the best sub-Christian *virtues*, but only the best sub-Christian *values*. Culture has its place, not as authoritative, but it must not rise to the level of Scripture.

Responding more fully to criticisms of "Christianity and Culture," Lewis' article, "Peace Proposals for Brother Every and Mr Bethell," appeared in *Theology*, in December 1940. Therein Lewis suggested that the differences between him and both Brother Every and Mr. Bethell, which appeared in the March, May, June, and September issues of *Theology* were small. Lewis suggested there was a difference between matters of taste and matters of truth, and there was also a difference between the discovery of latent beliefs in a piece of writing and the judgment of those beliefs. He suggested that critics, writing in reality as amateur philosophers, sometimes confused the two and sometimes criticized a work for its beliefs when it was only aimed at producing pleasure. Let's not elevate secondary goods and bads, such as physical cleanliness and conjugal love, to the primary level on which virtue and vice, love and hatred reside. And let's not turn taste into a spiritual value.

Lewis' essay "Dante's Similes,"[128] originally presented to the Oxford Dante Society on Feb. 13, 1940. In this essay, Lewis wrote about the four types of similes in Dante's *Divine Comedy*: the Virgilian or Homeric simile, the simile with intense realism, the comparison of an emotion with an emotion, and the metaphysical simile. Lewis considered Dante not only the most translatable of poets, but also the greatest of poets. He also described Dante's *Divine Comedy* simultaneously as a book of travel, an expression of the philosophy of the age, a religious allegory, and a history of the poet.

Several poems of Lewis were published in 1940, including "Hermione in the House of Paulina." Here Lewis wrote about Hermione, the wife of Leontes, King of Sicilia, both characters in Shakespeare's *The Winter's Tale*. She was secretly cared for by Paulina, her lady-in-waiting, for sixteen years, recovering from the pain inflicted by her jealous husband and then being reunited with her husband at the end of the play. Also in this year "After Prayers, Lie Cold" was published. Later renamed "Arise my Body," this poem spoke of the rest that is provided the body that experiences the forgiveness of God. "Poem for Psychoanalysts," later renamed "The World is Round," was also published, recalling the poetry of William Wordsworth and appreciating the beauty of nature.

Probably during the decade of the 1940s Lewis wrote the technical essay "Tasso," studying the influence of the Italian poet Tasso (1544-1595) on English writers. Tasso is especially known for his epic poem *Jerusalem Delivered*, which influenced both Milton's

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[124] Myers, 35, 115.
[125] Myers, 30.
[126] George Musacchio, "C S Lewis, Memorable Host," 15.
[127] Alexander Roper Vidler, Alec R. Vidler, and Fr. Alec Vidler are all the same person.
[128] Later published in 1965 in *Nottingham Mediaeval Studies*.

Paradise Lost and Spenser's *The Faerie Queene*. Critics of Tasso were reflecting their rejection of the supernatural and the marvelous, but also their dislike of Tasso's operatic quality. All in all, Tasso had less influence on English writers than one would expect.

During this time, some believe, Oxford came closest to having an Oxford "School of Writing." Lewis, Tolkien, and Charles Williams were typical of the group, and there were others, all of whom had three major characteristics—voluminous learning, a strong liking for fantasy, and the Christian faith.[129] Williams' death in 1945 and Lewis' move to Cambridge in 1955 ended this School of Writing.

In 1941, Lewis gave the Ballard Matthews lectures at the University College of North Wales in Bangor, Wales (now Bangor University). These were later published as *A Preface to "Paradise Lost."* Lewis had been lecturing on Milton for some time, so this series of lectures in Wales was a revision of those Oxford lectures. In these lectures, Lewis challenged the notions that Satan was the hero of *Paradise Lost* (the position of Blake and Shelley), that Adam and Eve were naïve in Eden, and that *Paradise Lost* was a monument to dead ideas (the position of Sir Walter Raleigh).[130] In addition, Lewis further responded to I.A. Richards. Richards taught that literature produced "a wholesome equilibrium of our psychological attitudes," with which Lewis agreed, and Richards regarded literature that drew out stock responses as bad literature, with which Lewis disagreed. Lewis said that certain stock responses were "the first necessities of human life," coming from "a delicate balance of trained habits, laboriously acquired and easily lost." Those stock responses are a part of the education that young people need, because they develop trained emotions, virtue, and morality, something that Lewis especially encouraged in *The Abolition of Man*. In *The Abolition of Man* Lewis defended the value of classical literature and philosophy, thereby supporting traditional ideas of the Beautiful, the Good, and the True (all characteristics of the Tao) and opposing the errors of Richards and others that would lead to men without chests and, indeed, to the abolition of man.[131]

In *A Preface*, as well as in the twenty-third Screwtape letter, Lewis also expressed his dissatisfaction with the quest for the historical Jesus, which created a Jesus completely different from that of the Gospels. In addition to agreeing with parts of the writings of Richards, Lewis also wrote affirmatively of David G. James (1905-1968). James agreed with Richards, that poetry produced a wholesome equilibrium of our attitudes, and offered his own idea that poetry produced a secondary imagination, which gives us a view of the world.[132] Lewis mentioned Mr. Brian Hone (1907-1978), a Rhodes Scholar of New College, Oxford (1932) approvingly for his comment about needing notes for reading Milton much like Milton would need notes if he read a modern book. Hone, later a teacher and schoolmaster, had been tutored in English by Lewis.[133]

One of Lewis' chief objections to the interpretation of *Paradise Lost* came in Denis Saurat, who had suggested that it was necessary to disentangle Milton's thought from "theological rubbish."[134] To remove Milton's theology from *Paradise Lost* is like removing basketball from Michael Jordan. You wouldn't have John Milton, claimed Lewis, if you removed his theology from his poetry. Saurat was apparently unhappy with the profound Christian

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[129] Trickett and Cecil, "Is there an Oxford 'School' of Writing?" 562.
[130] See also *Collected Letters*, I, 665f. for the anti-religious sentiments of Raleigh.
[131] Myers, 116.
[132] Lewis, *A Preface to Paradise Lost*, 54.
[133] Lewis, *A Preface*, 62; see http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/A140548b.htm. Hone was a native Australian, who taught at Marlborough College, Wiltshire, England, seventy-five miles west of London, from 1933 until 1939, and later became headmaster at Melbourne Grammar School in Melbourne, Australia.
[134] *A Preface*, 65; see also Denis Saurat, *Milton: Man and Thinker*, London: Jonathan Cape, 1925, 111.

theology in *Paradise Lost*, as also was F.R. Leavis, whom Lewis mentioned later in the book. Lewis and Leavis differed on the nature of man, Lewis wrote, rather than the properties of Milton's poetry.[135] Lewis also mentioned Henry More six times in this book. More, a seventeenth-century Cambridge Platonist, was the philosopher about whom Lewis had at one point entertained writing a doctoral dissertation.

In *A Preface*, Lewis gave a passing reference to several authors. First, he wrote favorably about Charles Williams's Introduction to a 1940 work, *The English Poems of John Milton*, which helped readers to understand John Milton's Messiah. Williams wrote that we should see the Messiah as a cosmic Son rather than the incarnate Lord. Secondly, he mentioned James Joyce's novel *Ulysses* (1922) for its popularity based on its disorganized stream-of-consciousness technique, stating that Milton must not be criticized for failing to write in Joyce's manner. In Chapter II, he also disagreed with Eliot's position that only poets can judge poetry. Thirdly, he mentioned T.S. Eliot's dislike of epic poetry, stating that Eliot must not conclude that all poetry should have the qualities that Eliot's has.[136]

Lewis' short essay, "On Reading *The Faerie Queene,*" first appeared in *Fifteen Poets* from Oxford University Press (1941).[137] In it, he discussed the young reader of *The Faerie Queene* (Lewis first read Spenser as a young reader), the mature reader, and the ideal reader. Spenser was the last of the medieval poets and the first of the romantic medievalists. His hope was to encourage the modern reader to read Spenser, even though it differed greatly from the usual reading fare.

Lewis' "Hamlet: The Prince or the Poem?" was read to the British Academy in 1942 as the Annual Shakespeare Lecture and was published that year in the *Proceedings of the British Academy*. Marvin Hinten called this essay "the quintessential Lewis academic speech."[138] Lewis asserted that the play is basically situation-centered rather than character-centered and that Hamlet was about death and dying.

Written in 1943 and published in 1944, "On the Reading of Old Books" was originally the Introduction to a new translation of St. Athanasius' *The Incarnation of the Word of God* by Sister Penelope. In that essay, Lewis opposed the bookish chronological snobbery that assumed that "later is better" in written works. His assumption that both Hitler and President Roosevelt shared some of the same ideas that were current in the twentieth century reminds us that this essay was written during World War II. A similar comment about H.G. Wells and Karl Barth provides another pair of opposites who would still hold some of the characteristic beliefs of the twentieth century in common. Apparently Lewis had been thought a Papist by speaking of the view of Bunyan on the role of Mother Church, and a Pantheist when he was speaking or writing of Aquinas, since he claimed that this accusation could be leveled against the person whose critic had not read either Bunyan or Aquinas. Later, Lewis argued that one of those modern beliefs that everyone had in common was the belief that all changes of belief were exempt from blame. He anticipated his 1947 book, *Miracles*, by stating that Nature retold in capital letters the same message that Nature demonstrated "in her crabbed cursive hand."

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[135] *A Preface*, 134. On the same page Lewis also mentioned Mr. Pearsall Smith, apparently Logan Pearsall Smith (1865-1946), an Anglo-American author, who after 1888 lived in England, studied at Oxford, and wrote various essays that were collected as *All Trivia* (1933).
[136] *A Preface*, 131, 135, 137.
[137] *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Literature*, ix.
[138] Hinten, "Hamlet: The Prince or the Poem?", *The C.S. Lewis Readers' Encyclopedia*, 197.

"The Parthenon and the Optative," published on March 11, 1944, was written especially in criticism of some educational proposals. The essay, however, also challenged F.R. Leavis, who had concluded that writing was largely a function of the writer's personality.[139]

Lewis wrote "The Death of Words" for *The Spectator* (Sept. 22, 1944). Too many reviewers use the review to express their personal likes and dislikes rather than to tell the reader something about the work. His opening words refer to Rose Macaulay (1881-1958), the English novelist, a Christian, who had complained about words which now only had a bad sense. Lewis himself wrote in *Studies in Words* about the change in the word *gentleman*, once a term referring to a social fact but now a term of approval, and he mentioned this again in this essay. He also included the words *villain* and *Christian*, the first of which no longer carries a helpful social meaning and the second of which was on the verge of the same fate. And these fates are too often caused by the word's friends!

Lewis' "Addison" appeared in 1945 as a chapter in *Essays on the Eighteenth Century Presented to David Nichol Smith*. It contained a comparison of Addison to Swift and Pope, praising Addison's sense of humor, his reasonableness, his amiability, and his piety. Addison showed a medievalism in the eighteenth century, but was more closely connected to the Romantic Movement. Lewis did not assess Addison's work, only attempting to show its potency. While Addison was not as talented as Swift or Pope (Lewis called his essays "rather small beer"), they contain much good sense.

After the Second World War

Lewis wrote the poem "The Birth of Language" for the January 1946 issue of *Punch*. The poem imaginatively describes how the Sun sends "intelligible virtues" to the Earth for "man's daily needs," including the gift of speech. His poem "To a Friend," also known as "To G.M.," may have been written after the death of a friend, although we don't know who that was. G.M. might be George MacDonald, so the poem may actually be a forerunner to the anthology of the works of MacDonald that was edited by Lewis, with an introduction by Lewis, and published in 1946. The poem recalls the life of the one who has died, contrasting the goodness of the one who died with the selfishness of the author.[140]

In "Different Tastes in Literature" (*Time and Tide*, May 25 and June 1, 1946), Lewis expressed some of the thoughts that appeared later in *An Experiment in Criticism*. One characteristic of a literary reader is that he rereads. Good art, by which Lewis meant good literature, is that which enraptures and transports, that which communicates goodness, that which produces intense and ecstatic delight in the reader, that to which the reader returns again and again, that which is seen in Tintoretto and not *The Monarch of the Glen*, the latter a popular and mass produced painting by Sir Edwin Landseer. The work, with its depiction of a majestic antlered stag, done in 1851, became the logo of The Hartford Financial Services Group. Bad art merely fills up odd moments, appears in every circulating library, blares from every radio, and hangs on the wall of every hotel. Lewis also echoed *The Personal Heresy* when he insisted early in this essay that some preferences in art were actually better than others, that there were some objective criteria by which to judge a piece of literature or some visual art.

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[139] "The Parthenon and the Optative," 111f.
[140] Don King, *C.S. Lewis, Poet*, 199.

Punch magazine carried the third of three poems by Lewis in 1946, "The True Nature of Gnomes."[141] In this poem Lewis described the nature of the gnome or dwarf, which moves easily through the earth, as easily as an arrow flies through the air, but is thwarted by the air, which he must avoid. Lewis struck a medieval note with a mention of Paracelsus in the opening line, so one can imagine Lewis attempting to encourage "the discarded image," the medieval mindset, or simply taking an imaginative excursion in poetic form.

Later that same year, Lewis' "Period Criticism,"[142] appeared in *Time and Tide* (Nov. 9, 1946). James Stephens, author of *The Crock of Gold*, *Deirdre*, and other works, had written a piece for *The Listener* (Oct. 17, 1946) entitled "The 'Period Talent' of G.K. Chesterton," in which he described Chesterton's stories as Edwardian period pieces. Lewis wrote a quick, but devastating, challenge, arguing that "dated" can have two meanings: (1) dealing with those things that are of no permanent interest, and (2) using the forms and language of a particular age but still addressing the timeless. While some of Chesterton, the books of essays in particular, are dated in the first sense, Chesterton's imaginative works are only dated in the second sense and, therefore, very valuable today. Lewis and a young friend, the latter about to enter the R.A.F. shortly after the fall of France in 1940 to Germany, had quoted stanza after stanza of Chesterton's *Ballad of the White Horse* to one another precisely because the piece was timeless. If any writer of the twentieth century is a period piece, it is Stephens' *The Crock of Gold*.

On January 16, 1947, Jack's poem "The Romantics," later renamed "The Prudent Jailer," appeared in *New English Weekly*. The poem criticized the critic of Romance for thinking that those who love Romance are escapists, guilty of wishful thinking. Those who make such criticism of Romance are attempting to imprison us in a narrow way of thinking. On May 21, his poem "Dangerous Oversight," later renamed as "Young King Cole," appeared in *Punch*. The dangerous oversight was that of a young king who denied that his kingdom was being taken from him, but also that of his conquerors, who failed to see the virtue of the tree that would grow from the soil that his flesh had fertilized. When the shadow of that tree fell on them, they despaired and died. The retitling of the poem apparently reflected the merry old soul that was "Old King Cole," since Lewis' young king was also merry.

In June, Jack signed a poem entitled "The Small Man Orders His Wedding," also known as "An Epithalamium for John Wain feigned to be spoken in his person giving orders for his wedding."[143] This comic poem, emphasizing an elaborate wedding ceremony with a variety of sights, sounds, and smells at the wedding, celebrated the wedding of John Wain, perhaps since Lewis was unable to be present for the ceremony.

That same year, Lewis asked Ruth Pitter to read and comment on two versions of a poem that was published on August 7 as "Two Kinds of Memory."[144] She liked both of them. In the poem, Lewis seemed to contrast the Romantic, personified by Persephone the wise and wonderful, with the materialist, personified by Hades, both stern and exact. The latter called the joy of Paradise magic falsehood, but the sprouting of the seed every spring showed Hades to be wrong, for things grow to life again after they die. Then, on Oct. 1, his poem, "Le Roi S'Amuse,"[145] appeared in *Punch*. Ruth Pitter praised Lewis for the staggering technique and for

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[141] The first was "The Birth of Language," and the second was "On Being Human," the latter of which is discussed in the section on religion.
[142] Originally "Notes on the Way."
[143] Don W. King, "Topical Poems: C. S. Lewis's Postconversion Poetry," in *C. S. Lewis: Life, Works, and Legacy*, Volume 2, edited by Bruce L. Edwards, 261, 297, footnote 11.
[144] He writes to her on Feb. 2, 1947, *Collected Letters*, II, 758-761.
[145] French for "The King Amuses Himself."

the wide and learned vocabulary in this poem and in "Donkey's Delight" and "Vitraea Circe."[146] "Le Roi S'Amuse" describes the creation of the universe by Jove, followed by the creation of Aphrodite, Athene, and mankind, in the full knowledge that what he had created he would no longer be able to control. "Donkey's Delight" appeared a month later in *Punch* magazine on Nov. 5, 1947. It reminded the reader that there was always someone better, whether you attempt to be a lover, a writer, or a seeker of justice. The wise thing to do, then, is to sing God's praises and take delight in Him. "The End of the Wine," later renamed "The Last of the Wine," appeared in *Punch* on Dec. 3, thus ending a rather prolific year of poetry for Lewis, a year in which six of his poems were published. This total would be matched in 1948, showing Lewis as a constant writer of poetry. The poem described a conversation between some friends, who had just finished a decanter of wine. They were judged for their drinking. However, Lewis reminded his readers that the wine helped some to imagine what once was, before civilization became so sophisticated, when the fabled lands of Atlantis and Lemuria existed. In this poem, Lewis reminds us of the joy of fables, tall tales, and adventures in the distant past.

Essays Presented to Charles Williams was published in 1947 as a memorial rather than a greeting or *Festschrift*, as originally intended. Williams had died on Tuesday morning, May 15, 1945, in the Radcliffe Infirmary. He was buried in St. Cross churchyard, and Lewis called it the greatest loss he had ever known, including that of his mother. Lewis' Preface to the collection of essays described both the nature of the book's contents and the personality of Charles Williams. The book contains three essays on literature, two historical essays, and one essay both literary and historical. In the Preface, Lewis told how it was that he had read Williams' *The Place of the Lion* upon being lent that book by Nevill Coghill. The next day he wrote to Williams in praise of the book, and he received a similar letter from Williams a few days later in praise of Lewis' *The Allegory of Love*.

On July 23, 1934, Mr. W.F. Oakeshott had discovered a manuscript of Malory's Arthurian romances, and thirteen years later Eugene Vinaver's *The Works of Sir Thomas Malory* was published. On June 7, 1947, Lewis' book review of Vinaver's study of these manuscripts appeared in *The Times Literary Supplement* as "The Morte D'Arthur."[147] In the book review, Lewis discussed Malory's life, especially whether or not he was a criminal. He then praised Vinaver's scholarly work. Vinaver's work put all previous studies of the Arthurian romance out of date, and it confirmed the value of Caxton's version of the romance, which was roughly contemporaneous with Malory's. Lewis mentioned some of Charles Williams' work, which made the Grail central to the story of King Arthur, but Vinaver disagreed. The overall effect of Vinaver's study was to minimize Malory's contribution to the Arthurian stories, but it is the art of the stories that we most appreciate.

Also in 1947, Lewis paid tribute to another influence in his life by publishing *George MacDonald: An Anthology*, with a Preface by Lewis himself. In the Preface, Lewis described as "almost perfect" the relationship between George MacDonald and MacDonald's father, no doubt recalling what he did not have as a youth. He went on to write about the extracts from MacDonald's writings, those in which he excelled as a Christian teacher. While much of MacDonald's writing was base and at times fumbling, among his writings he wrote fantasy best and he did this better than anyone else, especially in his portrayal of good characters. His writings were so good that Lewis had lent MacDonald's *Unspoken Sermons* to several serious inquirers, and those books helped them toward the Christian faith. Lewis praised MacDonald as

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[146] King, 16.
[147] It now appears in *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Literature*.

best at "the distinction between Law and Gospel." In this Preface, Lewis also wrote those frequently quoted words where he cited MacDonald as his master, claimed never to have written anything in which he did not quote MacDonald, and stated that his imagination had been converted, or baptized by his reading of MacDonald's book *Phantastes*.

During 1948, Lewis' essay, "Kipling's World," which had been delivered to the English Association earlier in the decade, was published in *Literature and Life: Addresses to the English Association*. Lewis' portrayal of Rudyard Kipling (1865-1936) showed both admiration and dislike for Kipling. Admiration showed up in appreciation of Kipling's portrayal of people at work, his understanding of discipline, his rebuke of those who exploit, and even some theology, though Kipling was what Lewis called a Pagan. Lewis disliked Kipling's fatiguing style and his elevation of the Inner Ring—the confederacy or masonry. Ten times Lewis used the phrase "Inner Ring" to describe one of the major themes of Kipling's writings and the snobbery that comes when those in the Inner Ring exist for the purpose of excluding others. That Lewis read Kipling through Christian eyes cannot be doubted; he described many of Kipling's poems as versified homilies. People disliked Kipling, Lewis wrote, because of what sounded like a doctrine of original sin. Kipling thought that preoccupation with one's own rights was disastrous, something very much emphasized in the New Testament.

On June 23, 1948, *Punch* published Lewis' playful poem, "Vitrea Circe," where he suggested that the witch Circe, who turned Ulysses' men to swine in the *Odyssey*, was only defending herself against their lecherous advances. Lewis here may have been returning to a poem that Warren Lewis dated to April 1917, "Circe—A Fragment."[148] One month later, on July 30, *The Spectator* published "Epitaph," number 14, in which Lewis playfully attacked both the radio and democracy, the former robbing him of silence and the latter making that robbery possible. The importance of the radio during the war had been elevated, and now, it seemed to Lewis, a monster had been released.

"The Landing" was published on Sept. 15, and "The Prodigality of Firdausi" on Dec. 1, both in *Punch* magazine. The former poem describes the longing in each of us on our life's journey to find the Garden of Hesperides on the island in the east, what Reepicheep called "the utter East."[149] The last of six poems published in 1948 was "The Prodigality of Firdausi." Having written the Persian national epic, *Shah Nameh* ("Book of Kings"), the poet Firdausi received his reward from the king. This reward he gave to others, showing the insignificance of worldly wealth in comparison with a good reputation.

The year 1948 was significant for two reasons. First, *The Lion, the Witch and the Wardrobe* was written in that year (though published in 1950), and, second, it was written shortly after the publication of the essay "On Stories." After writing in that essay about "Story considered in itself," its power, its pleasure to the reader, its unique sequence of events, and the recurring appeal of a good story, Lewis then wrote one of the best loved stories of all time, implementing the ideas that he put in this essay. What many considered to be the most exciting novel of all time, *The Three Musketeers*, had no appeal for Lewis. It lacked atmosphere, weather, pause in the midst of adventure, and the imaginative chord it was supposed to strike. It also lacked an internal tension that is a story's chief resemblance to life. Simply providing excitement is not the purpose of story; the whole unique imaginative quality of a story, including its offer of otherness, the marvelous, the supernatural, or the fulfilled prophecy, turns a good story into a

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[148] King, 49.
[149] *The Voyage of the 'Dawn Treader,'* 16.

religious experience. Lewis thought that Homer, David Lindsay, Walter de la Mare, Charles Williams, and E.R. Eddison all did what Alexandre Dumas had failed to do.

"Imagery in the Last Eleven Cantos of Dante's *Comedy*" was read to the Oxford Dante Society on November 9, 1948, eight years after he presented "Dante's Similes." Lewis had categorized the types of similes into two dozen different categories, giving examples in order to learn about Dante and to understand how poetry works. Lewis commented that Dante had considered pride to be his besetting sin, and in this Lewis seems to have emulated Dante, humbly thinking the same about himself. One of Dante's strengths in the *Divine Comedy* was the curious intensity of sensibility, much stronger than the modern sensibility.

In 1948 also, Lewis' *Arthurian Torso* was published by Oxford University Press, having been written in 1946, just one year after the death of Charles Williams. The book contained both the poems of Williams on the Arthurian legend and Lewis' commentary on those poems. Because these poems were difficult for many to understand, Lewis agreed to write a commentary on them. Lewis based his commentary on lectures he gave in Oxford in the autumn of 1945, which, in turn, were based on his reading of the poems, Williams' oral reading of them to Lewis, and conversations between the two about these poems. Like other King Arthur writers before him, Williams wrote about the myth of King Arthur and the myth of the Holy Grail. By the time of his death, he had completed thirty-two poems in two collections, which Lewis attempted to put in order. The two collections were *Taliessin Through Logres* (published in 1938) and *The Region of the Summer Stars* (published in 1944). Taliessin, which means "Radiant Brow," was a poet and magician, whom Tennyson created to be the principal poet in Arthur's court.

The poetic cycle contains the usual Arthurian elements, with some innovations, of Arthur and Guinevere, Merlin and Lancelot, Carbonek (the castle that contained the Holy Grail) and Camelot, Morgause and Mordred, and battles and knighthood. Galahad was the child of Lancelot, conceived when he embraced Elayne, the daughter of King Pelles, thinking that she was Guinevere. Galahad healed the wounded king and reached the Grail. At the end Lancelot entered religion, and Guinevere became a nun. Logres is the ideal Britain, while Britain is the currently existing Britain. Numerous theological themes run throughout the poems, including the Fall, the Incarnation, blood sacrifice, conversion, discipleship, restoration, and the struggle between grace and morality. Williams's understanding of "co-inherence" appears in the relationship between Mary and Christ, Nature and Supernature.

Lewis concluded that the cycle of poems suffered from obscurity, but not of a deliberate or slovenly kind. Williams wrote with a wisdom that is "unequaled in modern imaginative literature," and deliciousness, or beauty, in rhythm and melody that was "most unequal." He praised the imagery of Williams as both romantic and metaphysical, arousing the senses and yet transcending them.

The year 1949 was one of the two most prolific years for Lewis, if one includes the number of his poems that were published. Like 1947, eight of his poems were published in this year, the first of which was "On a Picture by Chirico," appearing in *The Spectator* on May 6. Lewis wrote this poem about two horses that had lived through a thousand years' war and how they survived after the devastation. Chirico was a metaphysical artist of the nineteenth century, whose work included horses, work that must have touched Lewis. On July 20, "Conversation Piece: The Magician and the Dryad" appeared in *Punch*, depicting a conversation that resulted in the dryad being released from a tree. This caused the death of the tree and ruined her peace and unity. Also in July was "Epigrams and Epitaphs, No. 17," a poem that was later reworked as an epitaph for Joy Davidman at her request. "Epitaph" appeared in *The Month*. Some of the

language that appeared here also appeared in that later epitaph, and here it included the promise of resurrection in Lenten lands. "The Day with a White Mark" appeared in *Punch* on Aug. 17, describing the frequency, suddenness, and unpredictability of joy in the midst of ordinary life. *Surprised by Joy* was published six years later, echoing the theme of joy, or longing. "Adam Unparadised," originally titled "A Footnote to Pre-History," was published on Sept. 14 by *Punch*. It imagined Adam and Eve leaving Eden after the fall, or after the end of John Milton's *Paradise Lost*, meeting dwarfs and monopods, echoes of creatures from *The Voyage of the 'Dawn Treader'* (a book begun in the autumn of 1949), who wondered if these humans would kill as Cain did. Those fears remain to this day, and they trace back, not to a phony Piltdown (Lewis' words) man, but to the original pair of humans. Also in this year, "Arrangement of Pindar," originally entitled "Pindar Sang," appeared in *Mandrake*. Pindar was a lyric poet of ancient Greece, living during the fifth century BC. The poem speaks of the demands placed on the poet, including the need to understand the beginning and end of life as well as the struggle between good and evil. To address these issues, the poet needed the blessing of the gods.

Mrs. Ethel M. Wood was the daughter of Quintin Hogg, founder of the Regent Street Polytechnic, and a woman deeply interested in education. When she died in 1970, she left a bequest to the University to provide for an annual lecture on the English Bible. The bequest made possible the continuation of the series initiated in 1947 by a lecture on "The Bible and Modern Scholarship" by Sir Frederick Kenyon and directly supported by Mrs. Wood during her lifetime. Lewis' lecture was the third Wood lecture, following two lectures in 1947 and 1948. There was no lecture in 1949.

[1]http://www.biblicalstudies.org.uk/articles_ethel_m_wood.php..

"The Literary Impact of the Authorised Version" was delivered as the Ethel M. Wood Lecture at the Senate House of King's College, the University of London, under the chairmanship of B. Ifor Evans,[150] on March 20, 1950. While arguing that the King James (Authorized Version) has had relatively little impact on the English language, Lewis wrote partially in response to a book by M. de Bruyne published in 1946, *Etudes d'esthétique médiévale*, which contained much evidence for the literary appreciation of the Bible during the Middle Ages. He showed an awareness of the allegorical or semi-allegorical work of Kafka and Rex Warner, the preoccupation of his era with the symbolism of dreams, made negative observations on the Counter-Romantic movement of the twentieth century, and argued that those who read the Bible as literature do not really read the Bible.

During the end of his tenure at Oxford and the first years of his professoriate in Cambridge, Lewis wrote the Chronicles of Narnia (1950–1956). These books about another world, often incorrectly described as children's literature, contain Lewis' view of humanity by showing four children who develop as thinking beings, able to function in an orderly, medieval universe. As Martha Sammons has pointed out, Lewis presented a medieval picture of the universe in both the Chronicles of Narnia and the Space Trilogy.[151] In

[150] According to an email on Jan. 29, 2010, from Tansy Barton, Special Collections Administrator, Senate House Library, University of London Research Library Services, Senate House, Malet Street, London WC1E 7HU.
[151] Sammons, Martha C. *A Guide Through C.S. Lewis' Space Trilogy*, Westchester, IL: Cornerstone Books, 1980, Chapter 3: "Medieval Perspectives and the Trilogy," pp. 41-57.

addition, with their presentation of traditional virtues, such as friendship, chastity, humility, servanthood, self-sacrifice, chivalry, courtesy, faithfulness, the four cardinal virtues—justice, prudence, temperance, and courage—and others, they strengthen the chests of those who read them.[152] The experiences of all children in the Chronicles of Narnia train their emotions so that they are no longer boys and girls without chests.[153]

Some of the features of the Chronicles were anticipated by previous works of Lewis, such as "The Satyr," a poem from Lewis' *Spirits in Bondage* that shows similarities to Tumnus the Faun of *The Lion, the Witch and the Wardrobe*. From the same cycle of poems "The Witch" is later embodied in the White Witch of Narnia. Various Chronicles also addressed current issues. In *The Lion, the Witch and the Wardrobe*, Lewis ridiculed the modern school and the King and Ketley book, *The Control of Language*, through the words of Professor Kirke: "I wonder what they do teach them at these schools." In *Prince Caspian*, a good education, consistent with the marvelous history of Narnia, was encouraged. *The Voyage of the Dawn Treader* trained the emotions of Eustace through the bravery of Reepicheep and his own personal encounter with Aslan. *The Silver Chair* rejected the view of modernism, which held to a closed universe, as represented by the Underworld of the Green Witch, and it challenged the subjectivism of the day by asking Jill to remember the four Signs and trust them as words of revelation, irrespective of her feelings. In *The Horse and His Boy*, Lewis used the language of courtesy to show that these words were not empty, emotive language, but a part of what it means to be human.[154] In the Space Trilogy, Weston did not think that ordinary morality applied to him, and in *The Magician's Nephew* Uncle Andrew felt the same way. In regard to *The Last Battle*, Doris Myers wrote, "Textbooks like *The Control of Language* debunked the 'sweet and fitting' death for one's country as 'mere irrational sentiments'…, but Tirian and his friends find them true."[155]

Lewis' lighthearted poem, "Ballade of Dead Gentlemen," was published in *Punch* on March 28, 1951, wondering where all of the husbands, whose wives are more well known than they, have gone. He included Tanqueray, Masham, and the King of Sheba as well as many others.

Lewis' essay "Hero and Leander" was read to the British Academy in 1952 as the Warton Lecture on English Poetry. It was later published in the *Proceedings of the British Academy*. The lengthy poem in six books, "Hero and Leander," was written by two authors, Marlowe and Chapman, and Lewis argued in this essay that the result was excellent. Each poet contributed to the story what was needed, Marlowe the sensual description of the love between Hero and Leander, and Chapman the more serious downfall of the two characters.

The Bournemouth Conference took place from April 29 to May 2, 1952, and during this conference, Lewis presented his essay, "On Three Ways of Writing for Children." As he wrote, Lewis was conscious of both the KGB (he referred to it through his mention of Ogpu, the official name of the KGB) and the atomic bomb, which he mentioned in the essay as things that children must be warned about. The atomic bomb had also been the subject of a poem ("On the Atomic

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[152] Myers, 119. Myers goes on to argue that the first three Chronicles deal with the nature of Joy and the search for it, while *The Silver Chair* and *The Horse and His Boy* deal with the spiritual landscape of both intellect and emotions, and *The Magician's Nephew* and *The Last Battle* deal with creation and the last judgment, as well as a number of other issues.

[153] The phrase "without chests" appears several times in *The Abolition of Man* to mean people without trained emotions, people whose emotions rule their reason rather than the other way around.

[154] Myers, 161.

[155] Myers, 178.

Bomb," 1945), written at the end of World War II[156] and lamenting its role as "an engine of injury," unable to divert mankind's headlong rush towards death and destruction. In the essay Lewis responded to those who questioned the value of fairy tales. He argued that the fairy tale, or fantasy, was simply the proper form for what he wanted to write. The fairy tale did not require the author to spend much time in character development or intricate psychology, so Lewis used that form. His mention of Sir Michael Sadler (1861–1943)—author, authority on secondary education, member of the Board of Education in England, and involved in the drafting of the 1896 Education Bill—and experimental schools showed Lewis' awareness of the questionable nature of experiments in education, something he parodied in *The Silver Chair*. His mention in the same article of the phrase "Peter Pantheism," a childishness in adults that was derided by Chesterton, showed his familiarity with the modern critical world's understanding of "adult" as good and "child" as bad. But in this essay Lewis discarded most of the modern world's distinction between child and adult, stating that he enjoyed reading fairy tales as a child and still did as an adult in his fifties.

In May 1952, Lewis' poem "Pilgrim's Problem" was published in *The Month* (VII). The poem suggests that age does not actually bring along with it the four cardinal virtues—prudence, fortitude, justice, and temperance—and other related virtues, as he had hoped. Is the map mistaken or is he? Lewis was fifty-three years old when this was published, and he was feeling his age. His conclusion is that he was mistaken rather than the map.

Not long after the Bournemouth Conference, Lewis wrote "Impenitence." This poem, published by *Punch* on July 15, 1953, described Lewis' defiance of those who thought animal stories beneath them. These animals serve as "masks for man," revealing human qualities in disarming fashion and better enabling us to look at ourselves objectively and, sometimes, laugh at ourselves. Later that year, Lewis, now in the midst of the publication of the Chronicles of Narnia, wrote "Narnian Suite" for *Punch* magazine. The two poems, one about dwarfs and the other about giants, held up dwarfs and giants as worthy and formidable warriors rather than the cute little things that show up in Walt Disney's "Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs," which had first appeared in 1937.

In "Edmund Spenser, 1552-99," Lewis gave us an introduction to the life of Spenser and his greatest works, *The Faerie Queene* and *Epithalamion*. The article first appeared in *Major British Writers* (1954) and later in *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Literature*.[157] Lewis' enthusiastic endorsement of Spenser, first read by him at age sixteen between October 1915 and March 1916, led to an elevation of Spenser's position, in C.S. Lewis' opinion, to one of the best English poets. After a brief survey of Spenser's life, including his Cambridge education, a correction of the typical view of Puritanism,[158] and Spenser's indebtedness to medieval themes, Lewis attributed some of Spenser's success to the years he spent in Ireland. Though he did not love the people of Ireland, he loved the country. Lewis reviewed his earlier works, such as *The Shepheards Calendar*, and then he turned to *The Faerie Queene*. Lewis especially described the narrative technique (interwoven, or polyphonic, narrative with many interconnecting mini-stories), the allegory of the poem (both moral and historical, conveying the thinking of Spenser, but perhaps alluding to some contemporary people and events), and the language (which led to Spenser being considered "the poet's poet"). Some of Lewis' favorite themes also appeared in

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[156] V-E Day was May 8, 1945.

[157] *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Literature*, viii.

[158] Lewis stated that their aversion was bishops, not beer, and that the Catholic Church was more concerned about sexual ethics than the Puritans.

this essay, such as the critic who imagines meanings for Lewis' writings which Lewis never intended, a fault that showed up also in the some of the criticism of Spenser. Lewis also wrote about the value of good literature and good history, which enable us to imagine what people thought and felt in other ages. In Lewis' conclusion, he compared the Platonic teaching of form and copy with the Christian understanding of this imperfect world and the next world, which is perfect, stating that in Christianity, God seeks and then comes into this world to find and heal us. This world is a shadow of something more real, i.e. the Shadowlands.

As Lewis was concluding his last term in Oxford and starting his new position in Cambridge, Tolkien's *The Lord of the Rings* was being published. *The Fellowship of the Ring* was published in 1954, while *The Two Towers* and *The Return of the King* were published in 1955. In response to their publication, Lewis wrote two book reviews for *Time and Tide*,[159] touting the book as "like lightning from a clear sky,"[160] a powerful myth brimming with life, delineating the struggle between good and evil, full of realism and romance, and an example of Tolkien's sub-creation. Less than a decade earlier, Tolkien's 1947 essay, "On Fairy-Stories," had described how an author participates in sub-creation by creating a world with characters, setting, and a plot. Lewis called the essay the most important essay on the topic in the English language. In his reviews, Lewis also laid to rest the attempt by some to identify Mordor with Russia and the Ring with the hydrogen bomb, noting that the war of the Ring was one of many wars against evil and that the Ring had its genesis in Tolkien's mind much earlier than the hydrogen bomb. Above all, Lewis wrote, the myth of *The Lord of the Rings* enabled the reader to see both ordinary things and powerful themes more clearly.[161]

In contrast to the writing of Spenser and Tolkien, Lewis satirically defended the modern critic, whom he named the smut-hound in "Odora Canum Vis." Perhaps thinking of people like D.H. Lawrence, Lewis made fun of the writer who glorified smut, sex, and lust, not unlike the dog that is quick to sniff. The Latin title is an allusion to Virgil's *Aeneid* and means "A Pack of Quick-Scented Hounds."[162] It appeared in *The Month* in May 1954. Later that year, Lewis' poem "Science-Fiction Cradlesong" (originally entitled "Cradle-Song based on a Theme from Nicholas of Cusa") appeared in *The Times Literary Supplement* on June 11, 1954. Nicolas of Cusa was a fifteenth century German philosopher and theologian, whose "On Learned Ignorance" stated that the learned man was the one who was aware of his ignorance. Here Lewis wrote about space travel, suggesting that the modern view was inadequate when it saw only stars and sky. Science was not the new religion, and it failed to be still and know that the Lord is God. Before Him we must hush and be still. A second poem, "On a Theme from Nicholas of Cusa" (or "On Another Theme from Nicholas of Cusa"), about Nicolas of Cusa appeared in *The Times Literary Supplement* on January 21, 1955 (see below).

In October 1954, Lewis' essay, "A Note on Jane Austen," appeared in *Essays in Criticism*. He compared four characters in four of Austen's novels, claiming that each went through a process of disillusionment, or undeception, or awakening. Each one discovered that she had been mistaken about herself and her world. The cause of each one's awakening was within her. Throughout the essay we see Lewis' biblical worldview, since he wrote about the religious background of Jane Austen, the principles of good sense and courage, and the necessity

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[159] August 14, 1954 on *The Fellowship of the Ring* and October 22, 1955 on *The Two Towers* and *The Return of the King*. *Time and Tide* was an influential, feminist literary magazine that included such authors as Virginia Woolf, Aldous Huxley, E.M. Forster, Rose Macaulay, and Edith Nesbit. It began in 1920 and continued until 1979.
[160] Lewis, "Tolkien's *The Lord of the Rings*," 83.
[161] Ibid., 90.
[162] So Don King, 180.

for recognizing one's own weaknesses. Lewis also noted that this recognition was the watershed of the story, a New Testament echo of light and darkness in the language of one novel, and the Pharisee's eagerness to condemn. Lewis also rejected Professor H.W. Garrod's claim that Jane Austen had only one plot.[163] Rather, Lewis commended the core of morality and religion in Austen's work, calling her the daughter of Dr. Johnson, since she inherited his common sense, morality, and much of his style.

Just a few years before he met T.S. Eliot, Lewis satirized the poetry of Eliot, especially Eliot's poem, "The Love Song of J. Alfred Prufrock," in his own poem, "A Confession." This poem was published in *Punch* magazine on Dec. 1, 1954. Eliot's poem had been published in 1917 in a series of poems entitled *Prufrock and Other Observations*. The poem expressed Lewis' amazement at Eliot's comparison of an evening with a "patient etherized on a table," but he also expressed his preference for rhyme (Lewis' poem rhymed), stock responses (which Lewis held up in this poem), and an ability to understand figures of speech that did not compare such odd and unrelated things an anesthetized patient and an evening. In 1959 Lewis would meet Eliot as the two men served together on a commission to revise the Psalter.

Cambridge University

The development of a program for the study of English came to Cambridge about the same time that it came to Oxford. Arthur Quiller-Couch (1863–1944) was named the first King Edward VII Professor of English Literature at Cambridge in 1912. His inaugural lectures were published under the title *On the Art of Writing*, and he was an editor of the *New Cambridge Shakespeare* from 1921. He was influential in the development of the English Tripos,[164] as were A.C. Benson, Master of Magdalene, I.A. Richards, and Hector Chadwick,[165] leading to the course of study in English at Cambridge. In 1917, an English Tripos was agreed upon, and it was followed by what some called the Golden Age of Cambridge English. I.A. Richards, William Empson,[166] Richards' most notable pupil, and F.R. Leavis were major figures in this Golden Age of the 1920s and 1930s.

Due to a widening of the curriculum, history, English, and music prospered in the twentieth century at Magdalene. Magdalene was one of the first colleges of Cambridge to have a Fellow in English, I.A. Richards, who came in 1926 and made Britain a world center of critical theory.[167] He later moved to Harvard in the 1940s, so John Stevens and Arthur Sale developed English as a major subject for undergraduates in the 1950s and 1960s. In 1954, Lewis accepted the Chair of Medieval and Renaissance Literature at Cambridge and began teaching at Magdalene in early 1955.

Lewis' inaugural lecture at Cambridge, "De Descriptione Temporum" (1955), challenged the traditional division between the Medieval Period and the Renaissance Period. Quoting J. Seznec in support, Lewis went on to suggest that few would oppose Seznec's view that "the traditional antithesis between them [the two periods] grows less marked." For Lewis, the major

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[163] H.W. Garrod, "Jane Austen: A Depreciation," *Essays by Divers Hands, Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature* (1928), 32-34..

[164] The word *tripos* comes from the three-legged stool that students sat upon to take their exams, but later came to refer to the final examinations in a course of study.

[165] Brooke, 49, 64, 446f.

[166] While Empson matriculated to Magdalene College, Cambridge, he never taught at Cambridge University. He became well known for his opposition to Christianity, his literary criticism (one of the New Critics), his writings of poetry and literary analysis, eventually being made an Honorary Fellow of Magdalene College.

[167] Watson, *Never Ones for Theory*?, 53.

periods of history were three the pre-Christian, the Christian, and the post-Christian. He cited Magdalen philosopher Gilbert Ryle and psychologist Sigmund Freud as examples of those who adopted a post-Christian perspective. Although Lewis did not articulate it in this way, Freud believed that belief in God would disappear as larger numbers of people became educated. At least in America today, however, more Americans are educated and more Americans believe in God.[168] Lewis would divide the Christian and the post-Christian eras at approximately 1830, before which date we have the writings of Jane Austen and Sir Walter Scott and after which date we have the rise of the Industrial Revolution with the mistaken corollary that whatever comes later is better. While this is usually true of machines, it is not always true of ideas and values. Lewis also cited Professor Ryle at this time in an essay entitled "The Language of Religion" (ca. 1955), an essay in which Lewis argued that there is no specifically religious language, although it bears some similarities to poetry. In that essay, he mentioned Ryle as a person who denied that imagination meant even the presence of mental images.[169]

George Orwell's book, *Animal Farm* had been published in England on Aug. 17, 1945, and *1984* had been published in 1949. Then, his book *Nineteen Eighty-Four* was televised by the BBC on Dec. 12, 1954. This broadcast prompted Lewis to write a review of two Orwell books for *Time and Tide*, and the review appeared on Jan. 8, 1955. Both books satirized the communism of the Soviet Union, particularly between 1910 and the 1940s, as disillusionment over the so-called utopia of communism set in for the thinking person. In this review, Lewis made the case for *Animal Farm* as the better work in spite of the fact that many more people knew *1984*. Lewis suggested that the use of animals to convey the mythical message in *Animal Farm* prompted people, superficially, to think *1984* the better work. And yet, in *Animal Farm*, the satire, wit, and humor are more effective. The quotation, "All animals are equal but some are more equal than others," has been adapted and used in many other settings. The death of the horse Boxer and the greed and cunning of the pigs are far more compelling, and *Animal Farm* does not suffer from the anti-sexual propaganda that Orwell put in *1984*. There is no dead wood such as this in *Animal Farm*.

On Jan. 21, 1955, Lewis' article "Prudery and Philology" appeared in *The Spectator* on the topic of obscenity in literature. While most societies have accepted the drawing of the naked human body, few have permitted the same subject to be put in words. The decision about what is acceptable is not merely a moral decision. To an extent, it is a practical one, since you have only four alternatives to describe parts of the body: a nursery word, an archaic word, a gutter word, or a scientific word. This is no longer the case in the twenty-first century, but it was in 1955. Lewis concludes the article with two questions. First, don't good writers have better things to do than to use "obscene" words to describe the human body? Second, don't we stand to lose more than we gain? The mention of Wardour Street in this article is probably a reference to the fact that the old film industry was located here. Later, *The Daily Telegraph* would ask Lewis for an opinion, probably in part because of this article, on the trial that acquitted Penguin Books for the publication of Lawrence's *Lady Chatterley's Lover*.

On that very same date, Jan. 21, 1955, Lewis' poem "On a Theme from Nicholas of Cusa" (or "On Another Theme from Nicholas of Cusa") appeared in *The Times Literary Supplement*. Perhaps feeling the enrichment of soul through his move to Cambridge, but certainly inspired by the writings of Nicolas of Cusa, Lewis contrasted what happens to the body and to the soul when they take in their natural food. In the case of the body, the food is changed

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[168] Nicholi, 54f. Gallup and Jones, *The Next American Spirituality*, 177, cited in Nicholi.
[169] Lewis, "The Language of Religion," 140.

by the body so that the food's nature is annihilated. In the case of the soul, however, the soul is enriched by the food—goodness or truth—that it takes in so that the soul is changed by its food and thereby enlightened.

Probably around this time (ca. 1955), but perhaps much earlier, Lewis wrote "A Tribute to E.R. Eddison." He wrote an enthusiastic letter of appreciation to the publisher about E.R. Eddison's heroic romances, calling them works of art that combine opposites as no one else can. The letter later appeared on the dusk jacket of *The Mezentian Gate* (1958) as a tribute to Eddison's last book, which was published posthumously. In 1942 Lewis had discovered Eddison's book, *The Worm Ouroboros*.[170] He immediately became a fan of Eddison, and the two corresponded until Eddison's death. In March 1943, Lewis wrote about having met Eddison, whose work, he thought, appealed to things eternal, and once wrote that reading Eddison was one of his most startling literary experiences.[171] Eddison died in 1945.

But for Lewis and for many others, the central figure at Cambridge was F.R. Leavis (1895–1978), a Fellow of Downing College from 1936 until 1962, and the most influential literary critic of his time after T.S. Eliot. Whereas the English Syllabus at Oxford focused more on the linguistic roots of modern literature, the English Syllabus at Cambridge focused on literary criticism, omitting the study of language. Leavis's first major book, *New Bearings in English Poetry* (1932), argued that T.S. Eliot, G.M. Hopkins, Ezra Pound, and W.B. Yeats were the more important and creative of the modern writers. Leavis disliked most of the parts of Milton's *Paradise Lost* that Lewis loved, largely because of Milton's Christian theology. When Tolkien's *The Lord of the Rings* came out, Lewis wrote to Christopher Derrick in reflection of its Christian origin, "And it shows too, which cheers, that there are thousands left in Israel who have not bowed the knee to Leavis . . ."[172] Leavis, therefore, was part of the intellectual climate in both Oxford and Cambridge, though he never taught at Oxford, spanning some of Lewis' Oxford years and most of his Cambridge years. Lewis thought Leavis in error by believing that writing was largely a function of the writer's personality.[173]

Lewis' "A Cliché Came Out of its Cage" (1950) mentioned both F.R. Leavis and Bertrand Russell in an attack on those modern thinkers who believe they are the leaders of a new movement. Lewis' dislike for the literary criticism of Leavis and the philosophy of Russell showed itself in his satire of these two, who knew far less about life and literature than they claimed, certainly not understanding the paganism to which they wanted to return.[174]

Russell was part of a group known as Apostles, a 1930s cluster of young intellectuals who formed a left-wing, anti-Christian, anti-capitalist group in Cambridge. This group also included the realist philosopher G.E. Moore (although his influence was earlier, especially 1894–1904), E.M. Forster, philosopher J.M.E. McTaggart, Lowes Dickinson, economist John Maynard Keynes, A.W. Verrall, classicist John T. Sheppard, and Regius Professor of Modern History G.M. Trevelyan. They were mostly pacifists and agnostic, but also independent thinkers who learned from those of opposing views and whose influence carried on into the 1950s.[175]

Leavis was co-founder and editor of *Scrutiny*, a quarterly journal of literature and cultural criticism published between 1932 and 1953, where he (1) described literature as a moral resource

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[170] *The Worm Ouroboros* was published in 1922. Eddison also wrote *Styrbion the Strong* (1926), *Mistress of Mistresses* (1935), and *A Fish Dinner in Memison* (1941).
[171] Lewis, *Collected Letters*, II, 708.
[172] W. Lewis, ed., *The Letters of C.S. Lewis*, August 2, 1956, 458, echoing 1 Kings 19:18.
[173] Lewis, "The Parthenon and the Optative," 111f.
[174] King, 180.
[175] Brooke, 127.

to address the problems of everyday life, (2) provided a canon of worthwhile English literature, (3) criticized mass culture, especially politics, commercialism, technology, and science, (4) described the university as a place where human responsibility and courage should be developed, and (5) warned against turning the university into a business enterprise.[176]

In summary, then, F.R. Leavis emphasized "the imperative need to create a critical readership able to maintain standards, to preserve and protect the values of the tradition."[177] For him the standards were egalitarian, anti-capitalistic, and moral though not Christian. He viewed English as the new classics, using English literature to become critical of the culture and its media environment and thereby bring about change.[178] For Leavis and others, English was not just the new classics, but also a religion. Consequently, Leavis claimed to be able to reveal both the meaning of literature and the meaning of life.[179]

Lewis wrote "Lilies That Fester" (April 1955) in response to a four-page article of John Allen, who had written in an earlier issue of the journal, *The Twentieth Century* (February 1955), about culture and religion. John Allen had written "In Defense of Uncertainty" to express his pleasure over not knowing what he believed. He styled himself "a liberal agnostic," and he wrote sarcastically about those who carried "a subtle flavor of pedagogic knowingness" or "eternal truth."[180] He wanted a stronger faith in culture as a remedy to faith in God, writing, "I feel that there has been an unnecessary intellectual retreat from the faith in culture for instance. Why do so many people go to such lengths to prove to us that really they are not intellectuals at all and certainly not cultured …." If we need crusades, Allen wrote, why not a crusade against smugness, "the most irritating of the evangelical vices?" Billy Graham had conducted missions, or crusades, in May 1954 in London, was about to come to Glasgow in March 1955 (the publicity was already out when Allen's article was published in February), and would conduct a London crusade in 1973. The conclusion of his article? "It is time that the liberal agnostics entrenched themselves against the over-organized hordes of the religious."[181]

In "Lilies That Fester," Lewis expressed the view that he did not want literature to become a tool to qualify one to enter the higher levels of society. Literature should be appreciated for what it is rather than for what it can do for you. Literature must be enjoyed spontaneously, for its own sake. In Lewis' view, education had become in England a machine that organized the student's entire life, teaching the student to give the correct responses, to appreciate or deprecate those texts that should be appreciated or deprecated (according to the instructor's philosophy of life), thereby getting the student into the ruling class or ruling out the student from that possibility. The schools had become indoctrination centers rather than places to learn. Those students who did not give the expected responses were consigned to the proletariat. Consequently, Lewis rejected the suggestion of J.W. Saunders that "poetry . . . ought to be the staple basis of all curricula."[182] The appreciation of literature can too easily become a tool whereby teachers and administrators determine for the students which authors and which ideas should be appreciated and which should not, rather than leaving it for the student to learn later in life, once the basics have been mastered. Lewis wanted students to have uninterrupted opportunities to enjoy literature naturally, without the insistence of a teacher that such literature

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[176] Dean, "The last critic? The importance of F.R. Leavis." http://www.newcriterion.com/archive/14/jan96/dean.htm.
[177] Mason, *Cambridge Minds*, 30f.
[178] Mason, *Cambridge Minds*, 29-31.
[179] Annan, *The Dons*, 58.
[180] John Allen, "In Defense of Uncertainty," *The Twentieth Century*, February 1955, 125.
[181] John Allen, 127.
[182] Saunders, "Poetry in the Managerial Age," *Essays in Criticism*, 280.

ought to be appreciated for certain features and without being taught appreciation before he or she was developmentally able.

The phrase "lilies that fester" comes from a proverbial statement, "Lilies that fester smell worse than weeds," meaning that the corruption of something beautiful, such as literature, or something high, such as the pretensions of rulers, is worse than ordinary corruption.[183] The essay led to another exchange between Lewis and Tillyard, following their debate over the personal heresy.[184] Tillyard's response, "Lilies or Dandelions?" was published in *Cambridge Review* on Nov. 12, 1955,[185] agreeing for the most part. Though Tillyard was willing to join Lewis in sounding the alarm about the compelled appreciation of literature, he saw some compulsory study, especially for senior undergraduates in the study of English, as legitimate. Teachers almost always require reading as well as critical thinking about their reading, and Tillyard was ready to grant this to a limited extent.

Lewis spoke to the Cambridge University English Club on Nov. 24, 1955. The topic was "On Science Fiction," and Lewis began by speaking of the rapid growth of this type of writing during the nineteen thirties, most of which was poorly done, followed by an improvement in this type of literature around 1950. Then he described both the species of science fiction and various sub-species within that broad category. Lewis spoke about love stories or crime stories with a veneer of science fiction; space travel that is satiric or prophetic, such as *Brave New World*; space travel or other undiscovered techniques as real possibilities in the universe, such as Jules Verne's *Twenty Thousand Leagues Under the Sea*; speculative stories that imagine what space travel would be like; stories that speculate about the ultimate destiny of the human race, as in Stapledon's *Last and First Men* or Haldane's "The Last Judgment"; romances about visits to strange regions in search of beauty, awe, or terror that is not present in the actual world, as in Homer, Swift, and Rider Haggard; and those that deal with the marvelous in another world, as in *The Faerie Queene* or Tolkien's *Lord of the Rings*. Lewis also gave advice on writing reviews, cautioning his listeners not to write about a kind of literature they hate or do not understand. You must understand and love the type of literature about which you write, or you will write drivel.

The Magazine of Fantasy and Science Fiction published Lewis' article "The Shoddy Lands" in its February 1956 issue. The article is a fictional rendition of a daydream that Lewis experienced when one of his former students and fiancée visited him in his rooms in Oxford. He hadn't known that Durward was bringing his fiancée Peggy, and this upset Lewis, although he didn't show it. During the conversation, which necessarily stayed superficial, Lewis had a daydream or vision of a Shoddy Wood, shoddy grass, shoddy flowers, but clear daffodils, shops, and, later, a bedroom and bathroom. The shoddy things he saw Lewis later described as a little prison. In the end Lewis wrote that he had been permitted to view life through the mind of Peggy, seeing her world as she saw it. Obviously, Peggy's world, in Lewis' opinion, was limited to sense experiences, devoid of concern for literature and major life issues, just as superficial as the conversation he was forced to have with Durward. Lewis concluded the story with an expression of sorrow for "poor Durward," who, presumably, would have to spend his life with Peggy.

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[183] This insight is drawn from an excellent review article on *The Personal Heresy* by Charles Franklyn Beach, "C.S. Lewis vs. E.M.W. Tillyard: The Personal Heresy," *CSL* (January/February 2007), Vol. 38, No. 1, 15.

[184] Charles Franklyn Beach, "C.S. Lewis vs. E.M.W. Tillyard: The Personal Heresy," *CSL* (January/February 2007), Vol. 38, No. 1, 14f.

[185] E.M.W. Tillyard, "Lilies or Dandelions?" published in *Critical Thought Series: 1, Critical Essays on C.S. Lewis*, edited by George Watson, Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1992, 246-250. Originally published by Chatto and Windus, pp. 204-208.

Lewis' poem, "After Aristotle," appeared in *The Oxford Magazine* on Feb. 23, 1956. This short poem, with a Greek subtitle stating "Won After Much Toil," extols the value of virtue as a beauty for which men will die, an unfading fruit more valuable than riches, and as something that makes its lovers strong.

Two weeks later, on Friday, March 2, 1956, Lewis spoke to the Edinburgh Sir Walter Scott Club, a club still in existence in 2010. The occasion was their Annual Meeting and dinner, when Lewis delivered "The Memory of Sir Walter Scott," later retitled "Sir Walter Scott." This talk was delivered in the evening at the North British Hotel in Edinburgh, Scotland, where the 237 members of the club had assembled.[186] One member of the Sir Walter Scott Club was a fellow Oxonian, probably in attendance that night, Principal John Traill Christie (1899-1980). Christie was Principal of Jesus College, Oxford, at the time and Principal from 1949 to 1967.

Scott was an exception to the rule, Lewis said, that genius is never free from neurosis. Most literary artists of this type suffer from drugs, drink, divorce, or some other fatal flaw. Scott didn't. Too many critics will see this as dishonest on Scott's part. They also think that a novel should provide some sort of message about life, a position that F.R. Leavis was especially known for. For Lewis, that Scott would enjoy his literary talent rather than use it to send a message was commendable. For many of Lewis' Cambridge colleagues, it was not. The novels of Scott also contributed to a historical sense in which people learned the difference between their historical period and that of others. In spite of historical blunders, Scott taught his readers a feeling for the period in which they lived by showing how their ancestors were different from them. Too many authors describe ancient people as though they were contemporaries, such as Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*, but Scott made his characters true residents of the period in which they lived.

In the same year that *The Last Battle* was published (1956), Lewis' essay, "Sometimes Fairy Stories May Say Best What's to be Said," was published in the Children's Book Section of *The New York Times Book Review* of Nov. 18, 1956. The seven Chronicles of Narnia, therefore, had been published, and Lewis wrote retrospectively about how they had been conceived and written. *The Last Battle* probably echoes King Arthur, a book with that same title as its last chapter.

Lewis delivered two lectures under the title "Imagination and Thought in the Middle Ages" for scientists at the Zoological Laboratory, Cambridge, July 17 and 18, 1956.[187] Lewis presented to them his view of the medieval mind and the medieval cosmology, material that was later published as *The Discarded Image* (1961). Lewis had come to the University a year-and-a-half earlier, so this new Fellow in Medieval and Renaissance Literature was invited to speak to scientists about the universe from a medievalist's perspective. Lewis defended the man of the Middle Ages as an organizer, a codifier, and a man of books rather than a savage. Though modern man first got interested in the Middle Ages through the ballad and the romance, he came to know the person of the Middle Ages particularly through the medieval cathedral, the *Summa* of Thomas Aquinas, and the *Divine Comedy* of Dante. The person of the Middle Ages was logical, unified, a harmonizer, and possessing a sense of proportion. In the universe, the Earth was at the center, motionless, and air extended to the moon. They knew that the Earth was small, and they believed that the universe was ordered, with plurality in unity, evoking not only wonder, but also admiration. The space above the Earth was full of sound, light, and motion, inhabited by the angels and other Intelligences. There were nine classes of angels. The planets

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[186] *The 1956 Bulletin of The Edinburgh Sir Walter Scott Club*, published by The Edinburgh Sir Walter Scott Club in 1956, 13.

[187] *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Literature*, viii.

had an influence on the course of human events, and all theologians agreed with this. They also followed Plato's threefold division of the individual into Reason, Emotion, and Appetite, reminding us of Lewis' statement in *The Abolition of Man* that the head rules the belly through the chest. This view of the medieval cosmos was a work of art, not true in the scientific sense of the word *true*, but a good map.

In 1957, Lewis' article, "Dante's Statius," was published by the journal *Medium Aevum*. This scholarly article, written for specialists, covered the role of the pagan Statius, a character in Dante's *Purgatorio*, and some of the near Christian positions held by Statius. According to Lewis, Dante thought Virgil the better poet, but Statius the writer with better insight, including nearly Christian positions on the Fall into sin, grace, and other Christian doctrines.

On December 17, 1957, Dorothy L. Sayers died. In appreciation of Sayers' literary work, Lewis wrote "A Panegyric for Dorothy L. Sayers" (1958) for a memorial service for her that took place at St. Margaret's Church, Westminster Abbey, London on January 15, 1958. Lewis commended the variety of Sayers' writing, especially her book about writing, *The Mind of the Maker*, and her play-cycle about Jesus, *The Man Born to Be King* (1943), which he read every Holy Week.

In response to the common opinion that children were a distinct literary species, Lewis argued that juvenile taste was simply human taste and that there was no distinct literary species among children. "On Juvenile Tastes" (Nov. 28, 1958) argued that the fairy tale was not originally intended for children, but belonged to adults in the court of Louis XIV and other places. Lewis rejected the opinion that childish taste included the adventurous and the marvelous, claiming that all kinds of people in many different ages have enjoyed that kind of writing. The label "For Children" came about only because children are the only ones who want certain kinds of books, not because they have specifically childish tastes. In fact, the adults who enjoy *The Lion, the Witch and the Wardrobe*, and they are legion, prove Lewis' point.

In 1958 Roger Lancelyn Green wrote a children's book, *The Land of the Lord High Tiger*, which was reviewed along with eight other children's books in *The Times Literary Supplement* that November.[188] In that article, the reviewer implied that Roger Green owed the tiger of that book to Lewis' Aslan in the Chronicles of Narnia, writing that, "…the title and the jacket … together recall, purposely no doubt, the land of Narnia…." That, Lewis wrote in a letter to the editor, was not the case. The tiger was around long before the lion of Narnia.[189] Lewis probably also reacted, though not overtly, to the unnamed reviewer's claim in the article that the purpose of fantasy was "to intimate that there is mortality." Lewis would more likely turn it around, stating that the purpose of fantasy was to intimate that there is both immortality and other worlds, including the spiritual. The reviewer apparently did not like Green's book, stating, "It is not pleasant to wander in the land of this tamed and shabby tiger."

It was at approximately this time that the first chapter of what was later to become *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Literature* was written as "De Audiendis Poetis."[190] Reacting to a comment in a 1957 work by Mr. John Speirs, *Medieval English Poetry: the Non-Chaucerian Tradition*, Lewis stated that one must understand a work in its own context rather

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[188] "The Light Fantastic," *The Times Literary Supplement*, Nov. 21, 1958, x. The anonymous reviewer also comments on Joan Howard, *The 13th is Magic!*; Patricia Lynch, *Brogeen and the Black Enchanter*; Ruth Sawyer, *The Enchanted Schoolhouse*; Maurice Duggan, *Falter Tom and the Water Boy*; James Thurber, *The Wonderful O*; Lucy M. Boston, *The Chimneys of Green Knowe*; Philippa Pearce, *Tom's Midnight Garden*; and, his favorite, Maurice Druon, *Tistou of the Green Fingers*.

[189] Letter to the Editor, *The Times Literary Supplement*, Nov. 28, 1958, 689.

[190] Literally, "On Hearing Poets," a reference to an essay by Plutarch.

than read it with modern eyes. Mr. Speirs described it as "discouraging" to claim that true understanding of a work means understanding it inside the period when it was written. What a work means to a modern person, Lewis wrote, is not the essence of a work. What was meant by the original author is the stuff of poetry. John Speirs stated that he owed a debt to F.R. Leavis in the Acknowledgements of the book, so it is no surprise that Lewis would take issue with Speirs, as he had with Leavis.

Lewis also challenged the conclusions of Mr. Speirs, Miss J.L. Weston, Professor R.S. Loomis,[191] and others who found a mythical origin for many people and situations in romance. There are other ways to read romance, for example, as stories that reflect Jung's idea of archetypes in the collective unconscious. Furthermore, there is a possibility that real history lies behind the romance. In an allusion to the findings of anthropologists, Lewis echoed what he elsewhere had stated in "Meditation in a Toolshed" (1945). There are those who look "at" things and think they have found the true explanation, when there are actually better explanations, such as the romantic or religious understanding.

Roger Green also influenced Lewis' incomplete fictional story, "After Ten Years," which Lewis started in 1959 and attempted to complete in 1960. The story dealt with Helen of Troy, her capture by the Trojan Paris, and the effort of her husband Menelaus, King of Sparta, to get her back. The story started with Menelaus inside the Trojan Horse, emerging to lead his men in the capture of Troy. When he found Helen, he discovered that she was no longer the beauty she had once been. What happened after that, whether or not it was the real Helen, is not known because the story was never completed. The story dealt with love, identity, and idealization, themes that may have been too difficult to explore after the death of his own Helen—Helen Joy Davidman on July 13, 1960.

Although undated, "Form of Things Unknown" must have been written around this time, since Lewis does something similar with the Medusa myth as he did with the Helen of Troy story. "Forms of Things Unknown" was first published in August 1966 in *Fifty-Two: A Journal of Books and Authors*, nearly three years after Lewis' death. The story is an illustration of a statement made in the book *Perelandra* that what is myth in one world may well be fact in another world.[192] In Greek mythology, Medusa was a female gorgon whose look could turn someone into stone. Lewis' story imagined a series of trips to the moon, the first three of which had resulted in the death of six astronauts. John Jenkin had volunteered to make the next trip, in part because his girlfriend had rejected him, leaving him emotionally frozen, but wanting to be flesh again, not stone. Unfortunately for him, the last line of the story, "His eyes met hers," results in his being turned into stone permanently, as he met the gaze of Medusa. The space race between Russia and the United States had been a reality since prior to the orbit of Sputnik 1 on Oct. 4, 1957. However, this meant that the late 1950s were the appropriate time when Lewis would have written a story such as this. The story contains an allusion to Blaise Pascal, reflecting the fear of death and the world beyond our planet. Pascal once wrote in *Pensées*, "The silence of those infinite spaces terrifies me."

In 1959, Lewis wrote the Preface for his 1960 work, *Studies in Words*, which is based on lectures he gave on the lexical and historical meanings of words. The meanings of words are the purpose of *Studies in Words*, and they show a linguistic side of Lewis that is not often seen. This side of Lewis started with Kirkpatrick's challenge of his use of the word *wild*, continued with

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[191] Weston was the author of *From Ritual to Romance* and *The Quest of the Holy Grail*, while Loomis was the author of *Celtic Myth and Arthurian Romance*.

[192] *Perelandra*. New York: Macmillan, 1944, 102.

Honour Moderations wherein Lewis studied Greek and Latin texts, and expanded in his donnish life of scholarship and tutorials (including his friendship with philologists C.T. Onions and J.R.R. Tolkien). The book was influenced by Milton, Spenser, Wordsworth, and many others, for he cited these authors, but his mental world preceded their literary influence. It is connected with *The Four Loves* (1960), which was published in the same year as *Studies in Words*, and his love of language. Lewis teaches us much in this book, including the origin of the word *sorry* in the word *sore*, the word *secular* in *saeculum* (literally "age," that which lasts for many ages and is therefore *secular*[193]), the word *villain* in the word *villa* (to which peasants were attached), and the word *gentleman* in a social class of people. These etymologies served as a warning to readers, who might assume, in reading medieval and renaissance literature, that the words meant the same as they do today. The book also includes Christian and biblical examples, fully integrated as part of his world of language and thought.

The primary target in the literary world, however, was William Empson (1906–1984), a student of I.A. Richards whom Lewis mentioned nine times in *Studies in Words*, but nowhere else in his writings. Empson, who had come to Magdalene College, Cambridge, as an undergraduate and was later made an Honorary Fellow of that college, held the Chair of English Literature at the University of Sheffield from 1953 to 1971. In *Studies in Words*, Lewis challenged Empson's book, *The Structure of Complex Words* (1951), perhaps because of its anti-Christian stance (one reviewer called his book "lively and irreverent"), but especially because it was a book much like *Studies in Words*, one that explained the origins of the meanings of words and their development through the centuries but arrived at different conclusions.

Empson attempted to explain the complexities of meaning in common, ordinary words, which he said were actually "complex words." He parted ways with his teacher I.A. Richards in denying "the claim that literary language is essentially emotive and therefore not to be analyzed in terms of meanings and shades of meanings."[194] Then Empson proceeded to analyze those shades of meaning in those complex words, aware that "language is essentially a social product."[195]

Some of Lewis' criticisms came because both Lewis and Empson wrote about two words in particular, *wit* and *sense*, and it is likely that those are the only chapters in *The Structure of Complex Words* that Lewis read, perhaps including the opening chapter as well. The criticisms are minor, and they turn on Lewis' deeper understanding of language in English literature. For example, Lewis challenged Empson's belief that when Alexander Pope used the word *wit* in his *Essay on Criticism*, he always had the idea of a joke in the background.[196] Lewis argued that we can't allow more familiar meanings to affect our understanding of the word *wit* where that meaning is not appropriate. Though that meaning of *wit* was in use at the time, that was not Pope's intended meaning in his use of *wit*; Pope intended the earlier meaning of *genius* rather than the ability to amuse with language. Lewis was referring to this statement from Empson: "… there is not a single use of the word in the whole poem in which the idea of a joke is quite out of sight."[197] He also disagreed with Empson's suggestion that the phrase "Use your sense, man!"[198] implies that we are telling a person that understanding a particular situation is as easy as

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[193] Lewis, *Studies in Words*, 248.
[194] Jonathan Culler, Foreword, *The Structure of Complex Words*, viii.
[195] Empson, *The Structure of Complex Words*, 18.
[196] Lewis, *Studies in Words*, 93f.
[197] Empson, *The Structure of Complex Words*, 87.
[198] Empson, *The Structure of Complex Words*, 257.

receiving the impression that comes through our senses.[199] More broadly, however, Lewis disagreed with Empson when Empson spoke of the development of the meanings of words, questioning whether anyone can speak with certainty about the meaning of a word.[200]

Lewis did not entirely disagree with Empson. He accepted Empson's understanding of the ambiguity of language,[201] and he asserted in one place that the complexity of words in one place in Pope's writing was a good subject for Empson to address.[202] He also cited his use of the term *seeped* favorably, and he agreed with Empson, against I.A. Richards, that one can take the emotional function of language too far.[203]

Lewis also wrote a good deal about I.A. Richards, especially near the end of the book. He complimented Richards for pointing out the emotional functions of language. Echoing *The Abolition of Man*, Lewis argued that statements about emotions are not necessarily emotional language any more than statements about crime are criminal language. Likewise, value judgments are not emotional language, since approval and disapproval are not emotions.[204] Poetry is intended to arouse emotion, but a poetical utterance is not necessarily, or often, emotional. The emotion is aroused through the imagination, and that is where the poet aims.[205] He also commended Richards for raising the problem of bad literature. Many of the characteristics that make a particular work bad are also the characteristics that make another work good, so the reviewer must be clear and not lazy in reviewing. Furthermore, too many reviews of literature have used language, not to describe the literature in any objective way, but to wound the author. Consequently, they say very little of value, which leads the reader to discount the reviewer's comments. In criticism, hatred too often overreaches itself. Reviewers need to hold their tongues.[206]

Lewis offered other comments about the intellectual trends of the time. He deplored the use of words to express approval and disapproval rather than to describe things.[207] He also challenged the linguistic analysts, who, he feared, had taught that our thinking was almost entirely conditioned by our manner of speech.[208] Lewis sarcastically stated that these linguistic analysts had attempted to convince the world that the expression "really right" was meaningless and that this would be welcome to the governments of the world.[209] He mentioned F.R. Leavis more frequently than Empson, but his more serious opposition was to Empson. For example, he mentioned that Leavis had written to a paper stating that W.H. Auden was not a poet, but then he argued that there was a sense in which everyone would have to classify Auden as a poet. Lewis also criticized D.H. Lawrence for setting up eroticism as something like a new religion,[210] and he called Creative Evolution the religion of the twentieth century with one great commandment,

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[199] Lewis, *Studies in Words*, 9.
[200] Lewis, *Studies in Words*, 9.
[201] Lewis, *Studies in Words*, 11.
[202] Lewis, *Studies in Words*, 52.
[203] Lewis, *Studies in Words*, 283, 314.
[204] Lewis, *Studies in Words*, 315.
[205] Lewis, *Studies in Words*, 319.
[206] Lewis, *Studies in Words*, 328, 330.
[207] Lewis, *Studies in Words*, 7.
[208] Lewis, *Studies in Words*, 5.
[209] Lewis, *Studies in Words*, 59.
[210] Lewis, *Studies in Words*, 299.

which states that life must not stop and that everything else must take second place to this principle.[211]

Around the same time as *Studies in Words*, Lewis wrote "On Criticism" (undated), an essay that reflects some of the same criticism of reviewers. Though never published, this essay attempted to help the critic to improve as a critic. Lewis' criticisms were based on reviews of his own works. His first point was that many critics do not read carefully what they criticize, so they make factual errors. A second point was the assumption that all books were written shortly before publication, which sometimes allows the critic to make a guess about its composition. Some assumed incorrectly, for example, that the master Ring in *The Lord of the Rings* was intended by Tolkien to stand for the atomic bomb, something that Lewis also stated in "Modern Theology and Biblical Criticism" (1959). A third criticism was of the amateur psychologist in the critic, who thinks that he knows the unconscious origin of the written work. A fourth was the use of adjectives that allow the reviewer to be lazy, words that don't criticize the content of the work but simply make a guess about the writing. Lewis mentioned such words as *labored*, *forced* or *unforced*, *spontaneous*, *inspired*, *perfunctory*, *painstaking*, *conventional*, *sincere*, and *effortless*. By such adjectives the reader learns nothing about the work, i.e. what is bad about it. Lewis used his essay on William Morris, published in *Rehabilitations*, as an example. While critics thought it the worst essay in the book, they were incorrect, wrote Lewis, in assuming that it was written without conviction. A final criticism was the assumption of an allegorical sense by the reviewer. Anything can be allegorized, but the allegory needs to be proven rather than assumed.

A poem by Lewis was published in June 1959 by *The Magazine of Fantasy and Science Fiction*. In the poem, "An Expostulation (Against too many writers of science fiction)" Lewis questioned the value of much science fiction by suggesting that a lot of science fiction was "the same old stuff" in another setting, when it should give us the unearthly, the strange, the beautiful, or the wonderful, something he echoed in some of his essays.

The journal, *A Review of English Literature*, published Lewis' essay, "Metre,"[212] in January 1960, where Lewis extolled the virtues of scansion and poetic meter. Most students were at this time unable to use the terminology or understand the function of meter in poetry. While much of the essay is technical, two features of the essay explain aspects of Lewis' writing. This essay explains why Lewis wrote for the ear, since the meter of a poem is much clearer when one reads it aloud, and it reflects his opposition to free verse, which uses little or no meter.

Lewis wrote "Neoplatonism in the Poetry of Spenser" as a book review of Robert Ellrodt's 1960 book of the same title for *Etudes Anglaises* (April-June 1961).[213] Ellrodt's book had concluded that Spenser knew and cared much less about Neoplatonism and Plato than many of his critics had believed. Owing little to Neoplatonism, according to Lewis, Spenser instead was dependent upon a Christian naturalism of the Middle Ages.[214] Lewis admitted the influence of E. Wind's book, *Pagan Mysteries in the Renaissance* (1958), for understanding the work of the great Italian mythological painters, a book helpful to Ellrodt.

Another article, which seems to be a book review of Morton Cohen's *Rider Haggard: His Life and Works*, ended as an explanation of Haggard's giftedness. "Haggard Rides Again,"

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[211] Lewis, *Studies in Words*, 301. He also called Creative Evolution "the Shavian religion," since George Bernard Shaw had adopted it.
[212] See *Selected Literary Essays*, xix. The essay appears on pages 280–285.
[213] *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Literature*, ix.
[214] Anne Gardener, *Readers' Encyclopedia*, 292.

later retitled "The Mythopoeic Gift of Rider Haggard," published on Sept. 3, 1960 in *Time and Tide*, explained why Haggard continued to be read. Haggard can't write, stated Lewis, and he attempts too often to philosophize, using his vaguely Christian, vaguely spiritual ideas. What keeps people reading Haggard, however, is the mythical quality of his stories, especially *She* (1887), which Lewis described as the father of William Morris's *Well at the World's End* (1896). Haggard can provide alluring promise, forbidden hope, reluctance to die, a craving for immortality, but also an awareness that such immortality is not desirable.

In 1960, Lewis wrote "It All Began with a Picture," his shortest essay, just 340 words in length. Writing for the *Radio Times*, Lewis explained in four paragraphs the origin of both *The Lion, the Witch and the Wardrobe* and the rest of the Narnian tales. Each of the Narnian Chronicles, as well as the Ransom trilogy, began with seeing pictures in his mind rather than sitting down to plan how to write some sort of a Christian allegory or fantasy. While not stated in so many words, Lewis implied that God put the pictures, including the Christ-figure Aslan, into his mind. Lewis took it from there.

One of the differences between Oxford and Cambridge was the predominance of the philosopher at Oxford and the literary critic at Cambridge. Lewis commented on the lack of philosophers at Cambridge, writing, "To me, one of the oddest things about Cambridge is the absence of the philosopher… there is something at Cambridge which fills the same place philosophy filled at Oxford; a discipline which overflows the faculty of its birth and percolates through all the others and about which the freshman must pick up something if he means to be anybody. This is Literary Criticism (with the largest possible capitals for both words). You were never safe from the philosopher at Oxford; here, never from the Critic."[215]

Almost all of the books that Lewis wrote at Cambridge were a reflection of this environment in Cambridge. Lewis attacked Leavis and the various contributors to *Scrutiny* in his book *The Personal Heresy* and in the essay "Christianity and Literature" because of what Lewis saw as a subjective criticism of literature rather than an objective criticism.[216] Especially in *The Discarded Image* (1964) and *An Experiment in Criticism* (Oct. 13, 1961), Lewis opposed the Leavis approach, contending instead that too much theory and too little reading of literature prevented the reader from truly appreciating literature. Lewis probably had Leavis in mind, as well as the book Lewis himself was writing, when in his Preface to *The Discarded Image*, written in July 1962, he wrote that some people might eventually regard scholarship as something that takes you out of literature rather than into it. After all, *The Discarded Image* was a book *about* literature rather than a book *of* literature. He opposed Leavis's prescriptive approach, which argued that only a certain selection of poets (T.S. Eliot, G.M. Hopkins, Ezra Pound, and W.B. Yeats) and a certain canon of prose writers (Jane Austen, Joseph Conrad, George Eliot, Henry James, and D.H. Lawrence) formed a good literary canon. Lewis believed that reading was an unprescriptive activity, something to be enjoyed rather than to be used for social or political purposes. Lewis challenged Leavis with *An Experiment in Criticism* (1961), in which he suggested judging readers by the kinds of readings they give books rather than judging books and writers according to the criteria of the critic, in the manner of Leavis, who wanted to "scrutinize" literature for its moral, social, and political value.[217]

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[215] Lewis, "Interim Report," *Present Concerns*, 93f.
[216] Carpenter, *The Inklings*, 63, 246.
[217] Carpenter, *The Inklings*, 246.

In describing the combative positions of Leavis, whom Annan portrayed as proud of being both persecutor and persecuted,[218] Donald Davie remarked that the charm of *Scrutiny* lay in the fact that each issue provided the reader with "a dozen authors or books or whole periods and genres of literature which I not only need not, but *should not* read."[219] That, fifty years later, most of Lewis' books are still in print while Leavis's are scarcely known suggests the lasting influence of the approach that Lewis took. The demise of *Scrutiny* for its self-imposed canon is further testimony to the limiting nature of the Leavis school of thought.

The Critical Quarterly published Lewis' article, "Four-Letter Words," during the summer of 1961. D.H. Lawrence had commented that the use of obscene words was simply a return to nature and getting rid of inhibitions.[220] Therefore, Lewis took a look at the literature of the Middle Ages, then the works of Latin authors such as Ovid, Horace, and Catullus, then some Greek authors including Aristophanes. His general conclusion was that in no passage were such words used seductively; in every example he found they were used to express farce, abuse, or a scientific truth. Four-letter words have been condemned in literature, not because they are suggestive but precisely because they are not.

In the opening chapter of *An Experiment in Criticism* (1961), Lewis presented four major differences between literary and unliterary readers. First, most readers read a work once, while a literary person may read the same work as many as thirty times in a lifetime.[221] Second, most readers do not yearn to read, while literary people are looking for moments when they can read. Third, literary people have momentous experiences with literature that are comparable to experiences with love, religion, or bereavement. Fourth, literary people frequently think about what they have read and talk about their readings with one another.[222]

Shortly before his retirement, an informal conversation between Lewis, Kingsley Amis, and Brian Aldiss took place at Magdalene College, Cambridge, about science fiction writing. Amis was once described as "the funniest and most gifted British novelist of his generation."[223] All three of them had had articles published in *Magazine of Fantasy and Science Fiction*. That conversation was published as "Unreal Estates" (1962), appearing originally as "The Establishment must die and rot …" in Spring in *SF Horizons*.[224]

Also in 1962, Lewis' essay, "The Vision of John Bunyan," was published in the December 13 issue of *The Listener*. In this essay, Lewis described inspiration in Bunyan's words, "It came." It is hard to improve on that description. Lewis described the bulk of the story of *The Pilgrim's Progress* as an enthralling narrative and Bunyan as "a master of perfect naturalness." The essay also gave us a definition of allegory as that which gives you "one thing in terms of another," and here Lewis stated that sincerity, ascribed to Bunyan, never, by itself, taught anyone to write well. Bunyan must have received some criticism just prior to Lewis' essay because this essay defended *The Pilgrim's Progress*, specifically mentioning some of the things that people disliked. The two things that people disliked about *The Pilgrim's Progress* were its

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[218] Annan, *The Dons*, 58.
[219] Davie in Hayman, *My Cambridge*, cited in Watson, *Never Ones for Theory*?, 74.
[220] Walter Hooper suggests that it may have been a quotation from the chapter "A Propos of Lady Chatterley's Lover," reprinted in *Phoenix II: Uncollected, Unpublished and Other Prose Works by D. H. Lawrence*, edited by Warren Roberts and Harry T. Moore.
[221] Lewis, *An Experiment in Criticism*, 2. See also "On Stories," 17, where Lewis says the same.
[222] Lewis, *An Experiment in Criticism*, 2-3.
[223] Zachary Leader, "Amis, Sir Kingsley William (1922-1995)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004, accessed Jan. 17, 2005.
[224] *Light on C.S. Lewis*, 137.

sectarianism or exclusiveness and its doctrine of Hell. This suggests that Bunyan was simply another target of anti-Christian bias.

Probably the last formal interview Lewis ever gave took place on May 7, 1963, when Sherwood E. Wirt, editor of *Decision* magazine, interviewed him in his rooms in Magdalene College, Cambridge. The interview was published in two parts in the September and October issues of *Decision*, the latter appearing just a month before Lewis' death. Wirt inquired about Lewis' views on writing, especially Christian writing. Lewis responded that writing was a matter of talent, interest, and temperament, that he was influenced by G.K. Chesterton, the writers of the Middle Ages, Edwyn Bevan, Rudolf Otto, and Dorothy L. Sayers. He indicated that the purpose of his writing was to bring about an encounter of the reader with Jesus Christ and that the best way to develop a writing style was to know exactly what you want to say and to say exactly that.

Lewis' brief essay, "Spenser's Cruel Cupid," was being discussed with Alastair Fowler just a few months before Lewis' death,[225] but only published after Lewis' death. In this essay, Lewis wrote about a blindfolded Cupid and a wounded dragon, two creatures in Canto III of Spenser's *Faerie Queene*. This dragon is the guardian of chastity, defined as true love, a love that is consummated in marriage. There is enmity between this Cupid and the true love, so the dragon is present to protect this love.

Lewis' love for his wife showed in his recasting of an Epitaph from July 1949 as "Epitaph for Helen Joy Davidman." It appears at the Oxford crematorium in remembrance of her, reflecting the Christian hope of the resurrection. It provided the title of Douglas Gresham's book about his life with his mother and C.S. Lewis, *Lenten Lands*.

"The Genesis of a Medieval Book" is one of the last pieces Lewis wrote, something evident from the introduction he wrote in 1963 for a book on Layamon's *Brut*, edited by G.L. Brook, entitled *Selections from Layamon's* Brut. "The Genesis of a Medieval Book," a chapter about Layamon's *Brut*, is the second chapter in *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Literature*, published posthumously (1966). In this essay, Lewis described the writing process for two medieval texts, Layamon's *Brut* and Johan's early thirteenth-century *Sawles Warde*. The process may be described as collaborative, since no single author was totally responsible for a piece of writing from that era. Lewis showed how Layamon was indebted to Wace, who was indebted to Geoffrey of Monmouth for the Arthurian legend, but that he also added his own thoughts and imagination.

For that same book by Brook, Lewis the medievalist also wrote an Introduction, explaining the history of the development of Layamon's *Brut*, some aspects of its contents, and a brief review of its literary features, especially for the specialist in medieval texts. Layamon probably wrote before 1207, depending upon Wace and, before him, Geoffrey of Monmouth's *History of the British Kings*. Layamon's stories of Arthur, Gawain, and Merlin involved armies, heroes, elves, and ladies-in-waiting. In his work, Lewis wrote, the English see the survival of their native poetic style.

Published after his death as a result of the editorial work of Alastair Fowler was *Spenser's Images of Life* (1967). *Spenser's Images of Life* analyzed Edmund Spenser's epic poem *The Faerie Queene*, a moral allegory that Spenser never finished. Lewis called *The Faerie Queene* the most difficult poem in the English language. Lewis had given a series of lectures on the poem at Cambridge University in the late 1950s, and his former student took Lewis' notes and put them into book form to reflect Lewis' views. In it Lewis cited Boccaccio, who stated that

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[225] *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Literature*, ix.

poetry is theology, but theology is also poetry.[226] This thought echoes an essay Lewis had read to the Socratic Club on Nov. 6, 1944, "Is Theology Poetry?" In a passage that Lewis would never have included in a published work, Fowler included notes by Lewis on Mr. Derek Traversi, whose essay in the Pelican *Guide to English Literature* made several factual errors and what Lewis called iconographical errors.[227] Lewis' reluctance even to mention King and Ketley, authors of The Green Book, or the book's actual title, *The Control of Language*, suggests that he would not have mentioned Traversi by name.

The Faerie Queene is a story of pride, despair, repentance, contemplation, and victory over the power of the devil. It is a story of pageantry, reflecting the medieval love for order and harmony and containing Christian images, including Nature as an image for God. In Nature, John Bremer writes, the pageant of the universe played out for Spenser. This reading of *The Faerie Queene*, Bremer also states, helped to restore Spenser to his rightful place in English literature alongside Chaucer, Shakespeare, and Milton.[228]

This chronological survey of the writings of C.S. Lewis in his primary field shows him as a prolific and astute writer. When one realizes that this field provided only about a third of his total literary output, one's jaw figuratively drops. The next chapters will take us into the other two-thirds of his writing.

[226] Lewis, *Spenser's Images of Life*, 13.
[227] Lewis, *Spenser's Images of Life*, 62f.
[228] John Bremer, "Spenser's Images of Life," Readers' Encyclopedia, 385.

Chapter 2. Trends in Education

To understand what Lewis wrote about education and why, we need to understand what was going on in the nation through its Board of Education and its Minister of Education as well as events occurring at Oxford and Cambridge. All of this changed who was being educated there, why, and how.

Eventually Oxford was considered a world university, but not at the beginning of the twentieth century. J.G. Darwin argued that Oxford University became a world class university in twenties and thirties for four reasons: (1) an international reputation as a center of scholarship, (2) sufficient funds to maintain a substantial amount of academic activity, (3) a wide range of academic interests, and (4) a significant percentage of international faculty and students. Darwin writes further, "From the time of the 'King and Country' debate in 1933,[229] through the Suez crisis of 1956 to the Vietnam war 'teach-in' of 1965 there was an unspoken assumption that Young Oxford articulated the opinions of the next generation of the political class—and of the conscript subalterns of the next war."[230] Cambridge University was considered comparable to Oxford University, albeit with different strengths.

In 1902 the passage of the Education Act, along with the establishment of secondary schools in all parts of the country, meant that many more students from state-aided schools would be applying to Oxford and Cambridge.[231] Rapid growth took place in both the number of university students and the percentage of young people who attended university, especially after the late 1930s. The following chart illustrates that growth.

Percentage of 17-year-olds in Full-Time Education[232]	
1902	2%
1938	4%
1962	15%
1970	20%

After 1945, an Oxford education began to be less class-based, no longer for the elite of the nation only. Likewise, graduate studies became more popular with the percentage of Oxford students engaged in graduate studies tripling between 1919 and 1930.[233] This increase continued over the decades, seeing a fivefold increase in graduate students in science between 1940 and 1989, and between 1923 and 1963 the overall proportion of undergraduates dropped from 90% to 80%.[234] C.S. Lewis advised some of these graduate students. Along with an increase in graduate studies came an increase in the diversification of the student population and the academic program.[235] Oxford, however, seemed little interested in graduate studies up to 1930, but that changed in later years.

After a career at New College (1888–ca. 1914), H.A.L. Fisher (1865–1940), a historian, became President of the UK Board of Education in December 1916 under the Lloyd George

[229] On February 9, the Oxford Union Society debated this question: "That this House will in no circumstances fight for its King and Country."
[230] J.G. Darwin, 607-8.
[231] Prest, 27.
[232] Halsey, 582.
[233] Halsey, 584-5.
[234] Halsey, 722.
[235] Darwin, 626.

government.[236] As President of the Board of Education, he had the platform to develop the 1918 Education Act "to provide continuation schools, on a proper selective basis, for adolescents, instead of hugger-mugger[237] comprehensiveness, in pursuit of the chimera of equality."[238] His energy resulted in an Education Act that made school compulsory up to the age of 14 and established state scholarships for a university education. He also "made central government the major paymaster of primary and secondary education,"[239] thereby creating a system that could both indoctrinate and secularize. Fisher established the school certificate that later became the General Certificate of Education (GCE), Ordinary Level, and GCE, Advanced Level[240] examinations, setting the standard for those who wanted to attend university. Fisher once described himself as an atheist and told friends that religion "rots the mind," [241] so one suspects he had other motives than equal access to education.

From 1916 to 1918 Fisher became convinced that state support of applied science was necessary for Oxford and Cambridge. To this end, on November 14, 1919, he appointed a commission, headed by former Prime Minister Herbert Asquith, to consider both universities and make recommendations.[242] The commission met sixty-six times over the next two-and-a-half years, completing its work on February 10, 1922.[243] Already at this time Oxford was known more as a Humanities university and Cambridge as a Science university. "Oxford was more convivial, more collegiate, more oriented to classics, church and politics. Cambridge dons were more specialized, scientific and puritanical."[244] The Commission wanted Oxford, with government financial assistance, to expand its courses of study and its research capabilities in science. Oxford was to build upon the new organic chemistry laboratory with a similar laboratory for inorganic chemistry. Instruction both in chemistry and physics would be supplied.[245] Undergraduate enrollment in the sciences subsequently doubled, and the reputation of the science departments at Oxford was greatly enhanced. This helps to explain why Lewis wrote so much about the conflict between science and religion.

Fisher also exercised his influence in another way. In a male dominated university, Fisher was influential in the growth of Somerville College (the first women's college). Fisher served as President of the Council that managed the early affairs of Somerville. Female students arrived first in 1879 with the founding of Somerville College, where women could graduate first in 1919,[246] and where the five "women's societies" became full colleges of the university only in 1959. Sadly, Edward Pusey once described the arrival of female students as "one of the greatest misfortunes that has happened even in our own time in Oxford."[247]

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[236] He later returned to New College and became its Warden in 1925.
[237] Secret or confused.
[238] Rowse, 229.
[239] A. Ryan, "Fisher, Herbert Albert Laurens (1865–1940)", *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/33141, accessed 16 Jan 2005].
[240] A levels, or GCE, Advanced Level, are taken at the equivalent of the US eleventh and twelfth grades, age sixteen, in seven or eight subjects after successfully completing the GCE, Ordinary Level, at age eighteen in three or four subjects, which later became known as the GCSE (General Certification of Secondary Education).
[241] A. Ryan, "Fisher, Herbert Albert Laurens (1865–1940)", *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/33141, accessed 16 Jan 2005].
[242] Prest, 29-31.
[243] Prest, 35.
[244] Halsey, 578.
[245] Prest, 37.
[246] Hastings, 19.
[247] Adams, *Somerville for Women*, 7, 8, 84.

The early 1900s saw the beginning of a movement created by Oxford University that would team the university with the Workers' Educational Association to enable some students from middle class families to attend the university. Women were especially active in this system, and the new program found a permanent home in Oxford in 1927. Women's suffrage was enacted by 1923, just two years before Lewis was elected a Fellow of Magdalen College. During the 1930s, though women were on the increase at Oxford, the number of women students was artificially capped at one-fourth that of the men. The first woman was named a Reader in 1945.[248] Some have attempted to make a case for Lewis being a misogynist, with some cogency, but you will be hard pressed to find references in the writings of Lewis to his unwillingness to welcome women to the University. Some of his students were women, taking tutorials with him while enrolled in one of the women's colleges and speaking highly of him, as David Graham has shown in his book, *We Remember C.S. Lewis: Essays and Memoirs*.

Between the wars the value of an Oxford BA lessened because of a trend towards vocational preparation, which pointed in the direction of a specific profession or calling.[249] Lewis deplored this vocational and utilitarian emphasis. During this period of time, the University was growing with a corresponding impact upon the local economy. In 1931, the ratio of the University to the local population was one in seventeen, in 1951 one in fourteen, and in 1969 one in ten.[250]

In 1925 Lewis became a Fellow of Oxford University, which he had once described as "…a close corporation of jolly, untidy, lazy, good for nothing humorous old men, who have been electing their own successors ever since the world began and who intend to go on with it."[251] He had good reason to make that comment. The dominance of Oxford graduates in many fields of service included education. In 1961–62 seventy-eight percent of all Oxbridge dons had graduated from either Oxford or Cambridge.[252] But Lewis was commenting not only on the inbred nature of Oxford. He stated what Margery Fry, Principal of Somerville College, said when she once described Oxford to her mother as "full of mediocrities entrenched in privilege."[253]That inbreeding too often resulted in people being elected to fellowships who were not the best people for the positions.

The wide range of academic interests existed for Oxford in spite of "the narrowness of the undergraduate syllabus, with its heavy concentration on ancient history and classical philosophy, Anglocentric modern history, and English literature." The major expansion of the sciences at Oxford began in 1916 under Fisher's leadership, thereby laying stronger claim to world university status by 1970. A significant development early in the twentieth century increased the percentage of international students. The death of Cecil Rhodes in 1902 resulted in an endowment that brought fifty-seven Rhodes scholars each year to Oxford: five from Germany, twenty from the countries of the empire, and thirty-two from the United States. Later Rhodes scholarships were extended also to India, and the number of scholarships for the empire

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[248] *Handbook to the University of Oxford*, p. 38.
[249] Greenstein, 71. Currie, 115.
[250] Whiting, 547.
[251] *The Letters of C.S. Lewis*, 131. A letter to Warren on May 10, 1921. See also Noel Annan, *The Dons*, who speaks of the dynasties and the aristocracy that the Dons created, Chapter One and the Annexe, especially p. 9.
[252] Halsey, 603.
[253] Adams, 173, citing a letter dated Nov. 9, 1927.

increased to 100 and for the United States to 96.[254] During his career at Oxford, Lewis taught thirteen different Rhodes scholars.[255]

In the mid-1930s, Lewis addressed a joint meeting of the Classical Association and the English Association about the Final Honor School of English in Oxford. His title was "The Idea of an 'English School.'" At that time, the Honor School had three alternative courses, one medieval, one literary, and one halfway in between. He discussed the value of the Classics for the Honor School and argued that the Classics were much less valuable to that program than Old French. Even more valuable, however, was Anglo-Saxon, which must remain in the English syllabus. The secondary school, Lewis argued, is the place for breadth, i.e. a distribution of subjects from many countries, but the university is the place for depth, unity, and continuity. Learn Greek and Latin either before university or after.

Another lecture from the mid-1930s, also published in *Rehabilitations* as "Our English Syllabus, is Lewis' address to the undergraduate English Society in Oxford. He spoke of the purpose of education, namely to produce the good man, and the dangers of egalitarianism, which could result in training for everyone but education for no one. Turning education into training, the mere preparation for a vocation, will result in the death of civilization. Students need to bring a thirst for knowledge, a desire to see some tract of reality, and learn it in some depth.

In 1941, Herbert Ramsbotham, President of the Board of Education, charged Sir Cyril Norwood with the task of investigating education in the United Kingdom. At the time, Norwood was President of St. John's College, Oxford. He had served on the Secondary Schools Examinations Council (SSEC) since 1917, when it was created, later became its chair, and continued as chair until his retirement in 1946. Norwood had written widely on education, including a book he jointly edited, *The Higher Education of Boys in England* (1909) and his major work, *The English Tradition of Education* (1929). An administrator who successfully advocated reform at several schools, he became widely influential in education in the English-speaking world, seeing Christianity as fundamental to education.[256]

His new committee, established in 1941, carried out its task and issued the so-called Norwood Report, carrying this cumbersome 27-word title, *Curriculum and Examinations in Secondary Schools: Report of the Committee of the Secondary School Examinations Council Appointed by the President of the Board of Education in 1941*.[257] One of the things recommended in the Norwood Report became a feature of the English educational system in the years ahead. This was the initiation of three kinds of secondary schools: Grammar (knowledge for its own sake, for the academically gifted, a University track), Technical (leading to industry and commerce, a system only minimally implemented which did not survive), and Secondary Modern (a more general education for the average English pupil, where the bulk of students attended). This tripartite feature was subsequently adopted in England under Minister of Education Rab Butler in the 1944 Education Act.[258]

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[254] Darwin, 609-10, 616.

[255] Magdalen College Archives: C.E. Saltzman, S. Weston, W.A. Breyfogle, R. McK. Campbell, E.L. Skinner, N.A.F. Williams, H.W. Piper, R.L. Gordon, R.W. Burchfield, W.C. Clemons, W.V. Whitehead, W.B. Patterson, and R. J. Selig.

[256] Gary McCulloch, Sir Cyril Norwood, *DNB*, pp. 2f.

[257] See Appendix I.

[258] Lewis did not have a positive view of the Ministry of Education. He once wrote, "I will not say that a good story for children could never be written by someone in the Ministry of Education, for all things are possible. But I should lay very long odds against it." Lewis, "On Three Ways of Writing for Children," *On Stories*, 42.

In response to portions of the Norwood report, Lewis wrote the essay, "The Parthenon and the Optative" (March 11, 1944), which described two types of education. Lewis quoted a classical scholar, who complained that secondary teachers had been teaching the Parthenon (i.e., literary appreciation) when they should have been teaching the Optative (i.e., the basics). Therefore, one type of education, said Lewis, deals with the "hard, dry things like grammar, and dates, and prosody," that is, the Optative.[259] The other type, allegedly advocated in the Norwood Report, attempts to teach such things as literary appreciation, that is, the Parthenon. The first is a prerequisite to the second, so the type of education that begins with literary appreciation has omitted many of the basics that make appreciation possible.[260] One cannot appreciate that which one does not first understand. Therefore, wrote Lewis, while both types of education are important, one dare not eliminate or limit the first without endangering the second.[261] He is correct. To use the language of the Trivium from the medieval curriculum, one must learn the grammar (the basics) of a subject before one can learn the logic (how everything fits together) and rhetoric (how to present the subject to others) of that same curriculum. The fundamentals of education must consist of grammar, dates, and prosody. Those fundamentals provide the underlying structure for a good education, and they enable a student to distinguish truth from error.

The Education Act would never have happened without the advocacy of Sir Michael Sadler. Sadler believed that secondary education needed to be divided into different tracks—grammar, technical, and secondary modern schools.[262] Sadler (1861–1943) was an authority on secondary education and a member of the Board of Education in England. He had been involved in the drafting of the 1896 Education Bill. Lewis mentioned Sadler in his essay, "On Three Ways of Writing for Children" (see above), which showed Lewis' awareness of the questionable nature of experiments in education. He supervised the development of four hundred courses of lectures for various parts of England, with summer lectures and conferences being held in Oxford. He later joined the Department of Education and helped to develop a national system of secondary education as it had been encouraged from Oxford. Sadler became vice-chancellor at Leeds and then returned as Master of University College (1923–34), founding the Oxford Preservation Trust and the Friends of the Bodleian.[263] Assisted by Morant and Balfour, they changed secondary education when Rab Butler was Minister of Education.

R.A. (Rab) Butler, who had become President of the Board of Education in 1941, led the way to the 1944 Education Act. This Education Act, designed to prepare the country for the post-war era, established the Ministry of Education (previously there had been no government department dedicated to education, only a Board of Education), provided universal free schooling, raised the age for leaving school from fourteen to fifteen,[264] made Religion the only mandated subject, and provided government funding for secondary education. It was influenced by the All Souls Group, headed by Warden Adams in June 1941, with the intention of aiding in the social reconstruction of the nation after the war. After the war, then, from the age of eleven, students entered grammar school, technical school, or modern school.

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[259] Lewis, "The Parthenon and the Optative," 109. The Optative is a mood, similar to the subjunctive, in which verbs appear in the Greek language. "The Parthenon and the Optative" in the "Notes on the Way" section of *Time and Tide*, March 11, 1944 (*On Stories*, xxi). See also Appendix I.

[260] Diary entry dated September 14, 1923. Lewis, *All My Road Before Me*, 268.

[261] Lewis also writes about the first type in "Lilies That Fester," 36f.

[262] Lowe, 5.

[263] Rowse, 228.

[264] The Education Act of 1918 had raised the age for leaving school to fourteen. Hastings, 4th ed., 19.

Lewis wrote the poem "Awake, My Lute!" for *The Atlantic Monthly*, which published the poem in November 1943. His playful poem, set in the author's dream, joked about education and health insurance by commenting on an imaginary lecturer, publishers, examinations, and also Sir William Beveridge (1879–1963). In the poem the lecturer spouted various forms of nonsense, such as a comment about a Methodist horse catching a bus. Beveridge, called "Beverage" in the poem, was known for the Beveridge Report, called "the Beverage Plan" in the poem, published in 1942 as *Social Insurance and Allied Services*. This plan provided benefits for the sick, unemployed, retired, or widowed, and it also called for the National Health Service. Beveridge was a socialist, an authority on unemployment insurance, who had been involved in setting up the Academic Assistance Council in 1933, which helped German Jewish academics escape Nazism. Beveridge had been appointed Master of University College, Oxford, Lewis' alma mater, in 1937. In a letter to the Society for the Prevention of Progress, dated May 1944, Lewis also added the phrase "Beverages not Beveridges" at the end of the letter, including in parentheses the words "(my motto)."[265] The Blair in the same poem may be Eric Blair (1903-1950), whose pen name was George Orwell, author of *Animal Farm* and *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, both of which Lewis had read. Blair was a strong opponent of totalitarianism, and he had criticized both socialism and colonialism. Lewis may have seen him as an opponent of Beveridge and so included him in this poem. In 1942, commenting on the pro-Soviet views of one particular journalist, Orwell said, "all the appeasers, e.g. Professor E. H. Carr, have switched their allegiance from Hitler to Stalin."[266]

In *The Silver Chair* (1953), Lewis would later write about the Model Schools. Lewis wrote (not in the mouth of any of the characters, but in his own), "Bibles were not encouraged at Experiment House."[267] These schools are not to be confused with the secondary modern schools of the 1944 Education Act; rather, they are probably a fee paying private school. But they reflect Lewis' reservations about experimental education when the Bible is frowned upon and objective standards of right and wrong are not acknowledged.

With the 1944 Education Act, Butler offered church schools two alternatives—to become controlled schools or aided schools. The former would be taken over by the government and be fully supported financially. In return, they would lose the ability to determine the direction of the schools. The latter would be supported in part, but the church would retain control of religious instruction and the right to hire and dismiss teachers. All salaries in aided schools would be paid by the local education authority, but half of the cost for improvements must be paid by the church. This change aided the shift to secularism in the coming decades, and it provided significant benefits to the Catholic Church, since the Catholic Church chose for its schools to become aided schools, thereby limiting governmental control. While Lewis and others may have helped to spur new confidence in Christian and spiritual values, government influence on the schools became a major secularizing influence.[268] E.R. Wickham could write in 1957, "the weakness and collapse of the Churches in the urbanized and industrialized areas of the country should be transparently clear to any who are not willfully blind."[269]

In the essay "Is English Doomed?" (1944), Lewis disagreed with the Norwood Report, which stated that any teacher could teach English.[270] He suggested that the authors of the

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[265] *Collected Letters*, II, 614.
[266] "George Orwell," *Wikipedia*.
[267] Lewis, *The Silver Chair*, 5.
[268] Hastings, 419, 421, 444.
[269] Wickham, *Church and People in an Industrial Society*, 11.
[270] Lewis, "Is English Doomed," 28.

Norwood Report saw little in the way of standards for teaching English, preferring the person who could teach more subjects than English rather than the specialist in English. Lewis argued that the Norwood Report saw the teaching of English literature as only an aid in appreciation, since literature was only intended to entertain.[271] He felt that the Norwood Report failed to see the value of English studies. However, Lewis contended, as we set standards, those in education should avoid two evils: setting the standards too high or setting them too low (i.e. "allowing the requirements of schoolboys to dictate its forms of study"[272]).

Lewis also rejected the Norwood Report's idea, which suggested that any teacher could teach English and that any teacher could examine those who teach English. Lewis argued against the Norwood Report's recommendation that a colleague, even if relatively untrained in literature, rather than an outsider, do the testing. This, Lewis correctly wrote, will eliminate objectivity.[273] The Norwood Report wanted the universities to develop "a general honours degree involving English and…some other subject." This recommendation would have created something akin to the modern "Writing Across the Curriculum" movement, embedding the instruction of English in all courses, but that would have been the sum total of English taught in the schools. This report, if enacted, Lewis thought, would seriously damage the study of English as an academic discipline at the University level.[274] It would eliminate professional careers for graduates with an English degree, inadvertently ending the study of English at the universities.

In the past century, Lewis claimed, English scholars had given its country the greatest dictionary in the world, medieval literature previously unavailable except in manuscript, the established text of Shakespeare, the interpretation of Chaucer, the influence of ancient poets, the rich humanity of Raleigh, the genius of literary scholar W.P. Ker, the wisdom of literary historian R.W. Chambers, and such giants as W.W. Skeat,[275] Frederick J. Furnivall, York Powell, and Joseph Wright. At Cambridge study of the nature of literary experience had begun, something not done since Aristotle. He did not want to see the country lose that momentum.[276]

Lewis also claimed that the true aim of literary studies was not simply to learn grammar, but "to lift the student out of his provincialism by making him 'the spectator,' if not of all, yet of much, 'time and existence.' The student, or even the schoolboy, who has been brought by good…teachers to meet the past where alone the past still lives, is taken out of the narrowness of his own age and class into a more public world."[277] He also said this was true of the study of history and the Classics. By reading old books, a person is able to see the presuppositions of one's own age, which are shared by most writers of that age who, therefore, are usually unable to escape the mistakes of that age.[278] In reading old books, we are reading both literature and history simultaneously so that the reading of old books carries one of the same functions as the study of history. Of history, Lewis wrote,

> We need intimate knowledge of the past. Not that the past has any magic about it, but because we cannot study the future, and yet need something to set against the present, to

[271]Lewis, "Is English Doomed," 29.
[272]Lewis, "Is English Doomed," 27.
[273] Lewis, "The Parthenon and the Optative," 111.
[274] "Is English Doomed?" from *The Spectator*, Vol. CLXXII, on 11 February 1944. Reprinted in *Present Concerns*, 27f.
[275] Walter William Skeat was Elrington and Bosworth Professor of Anglo-Saxon from 1878 until 1912. Brooke, 432.
[276] Lewis, "Is English Doomed" in *Present Concerns*, 30f.
[277] Lewis, "Is English Doomed," *Present Concerns*, 29.
[278] Lewis, "On the Reading of Old Books," *God in the Dock*, 202.

> remind us that the basic assumptions have been quite different in different periods and that much which seems certain to the uneducated is merely temporary fashion. A man who has lived in many places is not likely to be deceived by the local errors of his native village: the scholar has lived in many times and is therefore in some degree immune from the great cataract of nonsense that pours from the press and the microphone of his own age.[279]

Writing about the Classics, Lewis stated, "The effect of removing this education has been to isolate the mind in its own age."[280] After reading my book *Irrigating Deserts*,[281] J.O. Reed wrote to me, "Reading your excellent account of Lewis' principles and practice as a teacher made me realize how much I owed to him in my own reading and teaching of literature—above all perhaps in the way he urged us 'not to patronize the past,' and to find in older books a way of slipping out of the close-fitting prejudices of our own times."[282]

One quotation from the second volume of *Collected Letters* was not available when I wrote *Irrigating Deserts*. In writing to Michael Thwaites in 1945, Lewis gave advice on reading to Thwaites after his discharge from the Royal Navy. Lewis encouraged reading literature the way that a good student of Scripture should read the Bible and the way he would later argue in *An Experiment in Criticism*:

> All this reading, tho' dedicated *ad Dei gloriam* in the long run must not be infected by any immediate theological, ethical, or philosophic reference. Your *first* job is simply the *reception* of all this work with your imagination & emotions. Each book is to be read for the purpose the author meant it to be read for: the story *as* a story, the joke *as* a joke.[283]

Daniel Greenstein noted the move towards uniformity among students (whether scholar or commoner, male or female, rich or poor, arts or sciences) between 1900 and 1990,[284] a trend that Lewis opposed because of its egalitarianism, particularly in his essay "Democratic Education" (April 29, 1944).[285] This essay was published by *Time and Tide* a month and a half after his essay, "The Parthenon and the Optative," the two articles together apparently reflecting Lewis' anticipation of the post-World War II influx of students into the University. Lewis argued that this move toward uniformity would abolish all compulsory subjects that give some students an advantage, such as had already happened with Latin and Mathematics. Instead, Lewis wanted the bright student to have the chance to excel and the less gifted student the opportunity to fail, to perform near the bottom of the class, and end up in the type of occupation for which he or she was gifted by God. For Lewis, the State had too much impact on education.

Lewis expressed many of his thoughts about the concern for self-esteem or the desire for equality among all students in a classic statement from the mouth of Screwtape, a prophetic statement that described the wishes of some people in his day, much of which happened later:

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[279] Lewis, "Learning in War-Time," 35.
[280] Lewis, "Modern Man and his Categories of Thought," 62.
[281] Lewis, "Learning in War-Time, 35.
[282] Personal correspondence from J.O. Reed, 20 February 2006.
[283] A letter written on April 22, 1945. *Collected Letters*, II, 644.
[284] Greenstein, 77.
[285] The concept of democratic education had been addressed at or prior to this time by other writers, such as Harrison S. Elliott, *The Process of Group Thinking*, New York: Association Press, 1928, p. 15.

> The basic principle of the new education is to be that dunces and idlers must not be made to feel inferior to intelligent and industrious pupils….At universities, examinations must be framed so that nearly all the students get good marks. Entrance examinations must be framed so that all, or nearly all, citizens can go to universities….At schools, the children who are too stupid or lazy to learn languages and mathematics and elementary science can be set to doing the things that children used to do in their spare time….But all the time there must be no faintest hint that they are inferior to the children who are at work.…The bright pupil thus remains democratically fettered to his own age group throughout his school career, and a boy who would be capable of tackling Aeschylus or Dante sits listening to his coeval's attempts to spell out A CAT SAT ON A MAT.
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> In a word, we may reasonably hope for the virtual abolition of education when *I'm as good as you* has fully had its way. All incentives to learn and all penalties for not learning will vanish….And anyway the teachers…will be far too busy reassuring the dunces and patting them on the back to waste any time on real teaching.[286]

Elsewhere, in "The Funeral of a Great Myth" (1945?), Lewis pointed out one of the flaws of modern education, affected, as it is, by the writings of Horace Mann and John Dewey, that "a little more education will set everything right,"[287] as though each person were a blank slate, unaffected by original sin. A short time later, Lewis wrote the Preface[288] to B.G. Sandhurst's book, *How Heathen is Britain?*, published in 1946. Young people are non-Christian because their teachers have been unable or unwilling to teach them the Christian faith, not because the Christian faith is inherently unbelievable. At the same time, schools are not the best hope for rebaptizing England. Rather, our Christian witness to our neighbor is the best approach.

A speech given in 2004 by David Bell, chief inspector of schools, commemorating the sixtieth anniversary of the 1944 Education Act, suggests that much of the Act has become a reality in England. However, Bell seemed more concerned about physical education, healthy diet, prevention of the unnecessary use of computers, and some vague spiritual development than the mastery of history, English, mathematics, and science.[289]

An essay that Lewis wrote for the April 21, 1956 issue of *The Cambridge Review* serves as a bridge between his Oxford years and his Cambridge years, since he was asked to compare the two universities.[290] This article tells us little about education in general, but something about education at Oxford and Cambridge, since it was the first in a series of articles by authors who knew both institutions well. It tells us that Cambridge and Oxford were, in Lewis' opinion, far more like each other than either university was like anything else in the world. Cambridge had no Lord Nuffield,[291] wrote Lewis. Lord Nuffield opened an automobile factory in Cowley, about two miles east of the center of Oxford, and later generously supported the University, especially its medical school. In Lewis' opinion the arrival of the motor car brought decline to the city rather than advancement, with its accompanying industrialization. Cambridge was still a country town, wrote Lewis.

Another major difference between the two universities was the absence of the philosopher in Cambridge. While the philosopher dominated much of Oxford, the literary critic did the same in Cambridge. Lewis also thought that a higher percentage of dons and

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[286] Lewis, *The Screwtape Letters & Screwtape Proposes A Toast*, New York: Macmillan, 1959 and 1961, 166ff.
[287] Lewis, "The Funeral of a Great Myth," 92.
[288] Published in *God in the Dock* as "On the Transmission of Christianity."
[289] *http://education.guardian.co.uk/ofsted/story/0,7348,1200090,00.html*.
[290] "Interim Report," *Present Concerns*, 92–99.
[291] William Richard Morris (1877–1963).

undergraduates in Cambridge practiced some form of Christianity. At the same time, however, unbelief in Cambridge was considerably more militant and strident, more organized and self-conscious than in Oxford, perhaps aware of its smaller role as a minority opinion. Like Oxford, Cambridge also had a minority of malcontents among its undergraduates. Lewis' last complaint about Cambridge, which he also had about Oxford, was on the importance of research, where the Ph.D. was becoming more and more the required degree for a don and, in Lewis' opinion, a hindrance to true learning, since such programs create people anxious to acquire more of the knowledge we already have rather than adding to the sum total of human knowledge. Even though his words of caution have some value, had Lewis lived long enough to meet some of today's scholars, he would have revised his opinion about the earned doctorate.

As we leave the 1960s, the very liberal arts for which Lewis fought—particularly the Classics and philosophy—are no longer the core of education.[292] This comes as no surprise, given the radical anti-traditionalism of the nineteen-sixties that Os Guinness chronicled so well in his book *The Dust of Death*.

In summary, Lewis advocated the Tao, the basics in education, being lifted out of one's provincialism by the study of history and the Classics, the opportunity for students to succeed or fail on their own merits, and, were we to press him, undoubtedly he would argue not for self-esteem, but for an esteem that is based on being created in the image of God.

[292] Hastings, 581.

Chapter 3. Trends in Philosophy

During the last quarter of the nineteenth century, a new school of philosophy emerged at Oxford, a school under which Lewis himself was to study at Univ. Thomas Hill Green began an anglicized version of Hegelianism,[293] known as idealism, and Francis Herbert Bradley became its most distinguished proponent. Lewis had studied Green and Bosanquet during his undergraduate days, and he once called this English Hegelianism an approach that provided "all the conveniences of Theism, without believing in God."[294] True knowledge, they maintained, can be achieved by reason, which recognizes nature as a product of the mind, or at least formed and articulated by the mind. Lewis always held reason in high esteem as capable of freeing us from error, and he owed this commitment in part to his private tutor W.T. Kirkpatrick, with whom he studied from 1917 to 1919, in part to idealism, in part to Chesterton and other authors, and in part to the Scriptures. A reason enlightened by grace could discover truth. Lewis once wrote that reason was the natural organ of truth and imagination the organ of meaning.[295] Conversely, the advice of Screwtape to Wormwood was to keep his patient focused on jargon or the stream of immediate sense experiences rather than logic and reason.[296]

Idealism also holds to an Absolute, transcendent reality, not unlike Plato's idea of forms, after which much of our life is patterned. Therefore, many saw idealism as compatible with Christianity. Idealism was superseded by the realism of Thomas Case, John Cook Wilson, Horace William Brindley Joseph, and Harold Arthur Prichard, but when Lewis matriculated to Oxford in 1917, he considered idealism still powerful, though it was considerably diminished.[297] Realism maintains an emphasis upon the universe as revealed by the senses, claiming also that there is no necessary relation between the world of facts that we know and a knower, other beings, or God; knowledge is objective, leaving both the knower and the known unchanged; idealism would argue that knowledge changes both the knower and the known and would, therefore, see reason as a friend of faith.[298] Idealism had an idea of God without calling it God, whereas for realism "what you see is what you get."

The new idealism of the 1920s disagreed with the idealism of T.H. Green and F.H. Bradley. These new idealists showed interest in Immanuel Kant, the Italian idealists Benedetto Croce and Giovanni Gentile, and both history and the philosophy of history, stressing the unity of the European mind with the past and, therefore, unlike the earlier idealism, recognizing the importance of history.

"The period between the two world wars was marked by a growing distrust of language, an awareness that language can be used to manipulate behavior in unfair ways, and, on the positive side, a growing subtlety and boldness in the analysis of language."[299] Some felt that Great Britain had been sold a mess of patriotic pottage by being drawn into World War I. The work of I.A. Richards and C.K. Ogden, discussed below, helped to create this distrust, advocating a low view of language different from Lewis' and Owen Barfield's (1898–1997) high

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[293] Hastings describes Georg Wilhelm Friederich Hegel as a strong influence on British philosophy for fifty years. His German idealism affirmed Christianity, but at the same time undermined the historical nature of Christianity by contrasting idea and fact. For him Christianity was idea, but not fact. Hastings, 228f.
[294] Lewis, *Surprised by Joy*, 209.
[295] Lewis, "Bluspels and Flalansferes: A Semantic Nightmare," 157.
[296] Lewis, *The Screwtape Letters*, 1f.
[297] Lewis, *Surprised by Joy*, 209.
[298] Patrick, *The Magdalen Metaphysicals*, 13.
[299] Myers, *C.S. Lewis in Context*, xi.

view of language. Barfield argued, and Lewis agreed, that the nature of language was metaphorical rather than referential.[300] In *Till We Have Faces* (1956), for example, Lewis contrasted the referential language of the Fox with Psyche's language about the gods, which the Fox branded as nonsense, while the Priest of Ungit argued that the wisdom of the Greeks "grows no corn." The Priest of Ungit said that referential language lacked meaning and produced nothing.

Richards and Ogden argued that words do not "always imply things corresponding to them," and they denied that there is a necessary relationship between language and reality.[301] Their hope was to eliminate emotive, religious, and philosophic language, which they thought capable of manipulating, by replacing it with precise language. As stated above, their new view of language and literature would replace religion, because religion failed to speak of reality in referential terms. Ogden and Richards reduced the English vocabulary to 850-1000 words, called it Basic English, and considered that number of words adequate to represent nearly everything that needed to be said.

Owen Barfield's book, *Poetic Diction: A Study in Meaning* (1928), which started out as his B.Litt. thesis, pointed out that truth can be conveyed in poetic language just as easily as in scientific language. Where Richards and Ogden argued against the use of metaphor in favor of scientific language, Barfield demonstrated that scientific terms such as *elasticity* and metaphysical terms such as *abstract* are actually what he called "fossilized metaphors," since both terms were derived from verbs meaning "to draw" or "to drag."[302] Barfield saw language as proceeding from mythology rather than proceeding haphazardly. Human evolution held to the latter view, because of their commitment to randomness and natural selection, while Barfield saw an organized structure in language.[303]

Some philosophers worked against Christian belief, but some found Christianity consistent with philosophical inquiry. "While much of scholarly Oxford was hard at work unraveling the traditional relation between philosophy and theology … the Magdalen metaphysicals[304] (R.G. Collingwood, C.S. Lewis, J.A. Smith, and C.C.J. Webb) seemed impelled toward belief by their philosophic interests."[305]

Laying the foundation for A.J. Ayer was I.A. Richards' *The Meaning of Meaning*, coauthored with C.K. Ogden and published in 1923, and *Principles of Literary Criticism*, which appeared in 1929. *The Meaning of Meaning* was an attempted application of G.E. Moore's thought, which aimed for precision and understanding in language and literature.[306] Richards argued that metaphorical language could not describe a scientific matter and that there were two uses of language, one to refer to facts in the world of verifiable experience and the other to refer to the subjective states of the poets. The second use of language, from the world of poetry, like

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[300] Referential language, or scientific language, is a precise type of language which makes clear and verifiable statements. Myers, 4-11.
[301] Ogden and Richards, *The Meaning of Meaning*, 31, in Myers, 5.
[302] Myers, 9.
[303] Hooper, "Barfield, (Arthur) Owen (1898–1997)". *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/68789, accessed 16 Jan 2005].
[304] James Patrick uses the term *metaphysicals* because the philosophy of the four Magdalen metaphysicals tended toward poetry, similar to the achievement of the seventeenth-century metaphysical poets Donne, Cowley, Crashaw, and Herbert, and because they wrote as though philosophy were a literary genre. They saw language as a kind of truth, whereas many of their Oxford contemporaries thought of poetry and language as incapable of carrying truth. See Patrick, *The Magdalen Metaphysicals*, xix.
[305] Patrick, *The Magdalen Metaphysicals*, xviii-xix.
[306] Brooke, 441.

religious statements, was considered to be neither true nor false, because it was not scientific. This created a category of subjective statements unrelated to reality.[307] Ayer and Richards were among the reasons that many of Oxford's faculty during the years before World War I taught that there was no such thing as truth, leading to an atmosphere that some have described as intellectual despair.[308] As stated above, Owen Barfield disagreed with Richards and Ogden. Furthermore, Tolkien held that myth was a bearer of truth, a position that would be powerfully supported years later in *The Hobbit* and *The Lord of the Rings* and by Lewis in the Chronicles of Narnia (1950-1956) and other writings.

Robin George Collingwood (1889–1943), became a philosophy tutor at Pembroke before his First in *Literae Humaniores* was announced. He was also distinguished as a historian of Roman Britain. He eventually left Pembroke to become a Fellow and Waynflete Professor of Moral and Metaphysical Philosophy at Magdalen College in 1935 upon J.A. Smith's retirement. He was one of four Magdalen faculty, along with Webb, Smith, and Lewis, who were philosophical idealists in the tradition of Green and Bradley.[1] This philosophical approach shared four tenets: "(1) an interest in classical sources typified by the revival at Oxford of Aristotelian studies and by the persistence of the influence of Plato's *Republic*; (2) participation in the revival of historical studies, especially interest in classical and medieval texts…; (3) the belief that philosophy was essentially literary, with affinities to poetry; and (4) the conviction that religion, though it might begin with experience, was finally a matter of truth."[2]

[1] Rowse, 242.
[2] Patrick, *The Magdalen Metaphysicals*, xvi.

Around the same time as Richards, realism also laid the groundwork for the positivism of A.J. Ayer, appearing also in the writings of Gilbert Ryle. R.G. Collingwood, the only practicing philosopher at Magdalen in the 1930s, carried the responsibility for responding to positivism. Perhaps because of attacks against his work, Collingwood became a passionate critic of realism and, later, positivism.[309] Others joined in the argument against positivism, including H.J. Paton, a disciple of Lewis' early colleague J.A. Smith.[310]

After earning three firsts at Queen's College, Oxford, Gilbert Ryle (1900–1976) became a lecturer in philosophy at Christ Church, later Waynflete professor of metaphysical philosophy and Fellow of Magdalen College, and editor of *Mind* (1947–1971). Like Ayer, he came to believe that philosophical questions were essentially questions about the meaning of expressions. He was one of the most prominent of Oxford philosophers after World War II.[311]

Lewis' success as a defender of mere Christianity and Collingwood's defense of thought as leading to truth and truth leading to action, violated the rules of an Oxford academia that did not think ideas could be true, that truth could be defined, that fact *and* judgment about fact could be objective and related to one another. That modern philosophy, for the most part, does not see metaphysics as a legitimate school of thought or religion as a relevant topic for philosophy

[307] Sayer, *Jack*, 138.
[308] Christopher Mitchell, "C.S. Lewis and the Oxford University Socratic Club," 336.
[309] Patrick, *The Magdalen Metaphysicals*, 137.
[310] Patrick, *The Magdalen Metaphysicals*, 151.
[311] P.F. Strawson, "Ryle, Gilbert (1900–1976)," rev., *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/ 31644, accessed 11 Jan 2005].

explains the silence with which the philosophical academy has greeted Lewis and Collingwood in the history of twentieth century philosophy.

During the years 1925 to 1929, Lewis set aside realist philosophy and adopted an idealist philosophy, which held to a transcendent truth. A letter to Cecil Harwood, written in October 1926, shows Lewis recognizing the inadequacy of reason to understand spiritual things.[312] Eventually, with the help of Tolkien and Dyson, he saw that myth contained a germ of truth, which had reached its fullness in Jesus Christ. His midnight conversation with J.R.R. Tolkien and Hugo Dyson about myth and metaphor took place on September 19, 1931. Tolkien and Dyson convinced him that, while he was attracted by the myth of the dying and rising god, he was prejudiced against it in Christianity. They also convinced him that myth had actually taken place once in real history, namely in Jesus Christ. His conversion took place on September 22. His essay "Myth Became Fact" (1944) would later state that myth is a concrete form that gives birth to numerous abstract thoughts, which are true, and that the Great Myth became Fact in the Incarnation. Elsewhere Lewis called myth an "unfocused gleam of divine truth falling on human imagination."[313] Myth conveys truth. In fact, myth often foreshadows many Christian teachings, such as the Incarnation, the revelation of God in Scripture, grace, or the crucifixion.

Shortly after Lewis was elected as a Fellow at Magdalen College, he wrote to his father about his preference for English over philosophy. He stated that it would comfort him to know that the scientist and the materialist have a limited view of life. He understood that Charles Darwin and Herbert Spencer stood on a foundation of sand, making numerous assumptions and setting up irreconcilable contradictions. Herbert Spencer (1820-1903) was a philosophical and scientific thinker whose major publications included *First Principles* (1862), *Principles of Biology* (1867), and *Principles of Ethics* (1893). He was the chief exponent of agnosticism in nineteenth century England. Spencer divided reality into two categories: the knowable (the principles of science) and the unknowable (the principles of religion), and so was a forerunner of Logical Positivism. He also affirmed that progress was the supreme law of the universe, a position that showed up on the lips of Weston in Lewis' second book in the Ransom trilogy, *Perelandra*.[314]

In the mid-1930s, at Manchester University, Lewis delivered an address on the nature of language entitled "Bluspels and Flalansferes." M.J.A. Bréal (1900) had taken a position that scientific matters cannot be described in metaphors.[315] C.K. Ogden and I.A. Richards (1923) challenged his position,[316] and then Owen Barfield (1928) argued that Ogden and Richards were just as metaphorical as Bréal.[317] Barfield claimed that language had a figurative origin. Lewis then attempted to set the record straight in favor of his good friend Barfield. Sometimes derivations of words are irrelevant to their current meaning, but sometimes not. We are incurably metaphorical in our speech whether we realize it or not, and even our seemingly literal statements rely on metaphor. As stated above, Lewis concluded that reason was the natural organ of truth, while imagination was the natural organ of meaning. While reason is capable of speaking the truth, the imagination is especially capable of pulling together rational truths into a coherent whole.

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[312] Oct. 28, 1926, *Collected Letters*, I, 670.
[313] *Miracles*, p.176, n. 1.
[314] A letter to his father Albert Lewis on Aug. 14, 1925, *Collected Letters*, I, p. 649. See also footnote 17 on the same page.
[315] *Semantics: Studies in the Science of Meaning*.
[316] *The Meaning of Meaning*.
[317] *Poetic Diction: A Study in Meaning*.

In 1936, A.J. Ayer's *Language, Truth, and Logic* provided the classic statement in English for Logical Positivism.[318]Not everyone agreed with Ayer. When Ayer became a logical positivist, Isaiah Berlin, an influential philosopher and later a historian of ideas, did not adopt Logical Positivism.[319] However, in Ayer, Logical Positivism became an influential force in Oxford. Ayer had just come to a lectureship at Christ Church in 1933 after studying Viennese philosophy from Moritz Schlick, Rudolf Carnap, Otto Neurath, and Karl Popper. He believed that there were only two kinds of meaningful statements—those that are empirically verifiable and those that are analogically, or analytically, true. The term that was usually used was "analytic," and this was contrasted with synthetic. Synthetic statements say something about the world, so their truth can only be determined by checking out how the world is (empirical verification). The analytic statements simply relate concepts, and their truth can be determined by an analysis of those concepts without checking out how the world is. For example, a triangle has 3 sides, 2+3=5 and a bachelor is an unmarried man. Only a very silly person would do a survey to find out how many bachelors are unmarried. Because religious and metaphysical statements fit into neither category, the atheist Ayer concluded, they were meaningless. Empirical verification resulted in the rejection not only of religious language, but also poetry, history, emotional statements, and everything supernatural, none of which can be proven in a laboratory. Therefore, the principle of verifiability became a central doctrine of positivism. This comes as no surprise, given that the Logical Positivists had great admiration for science, which was founded upon the empirical method. Logical Positivism, therefore, is the empirical method transformed into a materialist philosophy. The later Ayer moved away from his early doctrinaire position, when ordinary language philosophy became popular, but he retained much of the spirit of his early work, advocating empiricism but also treating metaphysics with respect.

Lewis made fun of empirical verification in *That Hideous Strength* (released by The Bodley Head on Aug. 16, 1945), when the N.I.C.E. (National Institute of Coordinated Experiments) measured progress with a pragmatometer and when Mark Studdock entered the objectivity room of the N.I.C.E. and submitted to its argument that thought is subjective. They failed to convince him, and during this experiment he learned to trust his reason.[320] That Mark Studdock was trained as a sociologist is no surprise, given the viewpoint of Oxford at that time about sociology. As Jose Harris has written, "In the post-war (i.e. post-World War II) period it was widely derided in Oxford as at best a means of practical training for social workers, at worst a species of authoritarian and linguistically bogus hocus-pocus."[321] Also in *That Hideous Strength*, Lewis also refuted the view of Richards that there is no aesthetic faculty in human beings, arguing furthermore that beauty measures up to objective standards.[322]

Lewis also lampooned Logical Positivism in *The Pilgrim's Regress* (1933) by portraying it in the Three Pale Men. Their pursuit of purity of thought, devoid of emotion or religious thinking, shows itself in Mr. Angular, who purifies the Church of logic, Mr. Neo-Classical who purifies literature, and Mr. Humanist who purifies culture. They purified the Church, literature, and culture by using only referential statements and excluding emotive, religious, or aesthetic statements. Instead of holding to the tenets of Logical Positivism, in Mr. Wisdom and the Hermit, Lewis advocated three sources of information: the Roads, the Rules, and the Island. The

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[318] A March 5, 1936 review of A.J. Ayer by W.K. in *The Oxford Magazine*, 474f.
[319] A. Ryan, "Berlin, Sir Isaiah (1909–1997)", *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/ 65663,accessed 16 Jan 2005].
[320] Patrick, *The Magdalen Metaphysicals*, 139.
[321] Harris, 244.
[322] Myers, 47-48.

Roads are the way the mind works, the Rules are moral truths, and the Island is Joy, or desire, *Sehnsucht*, longing for God.[323] Later, he expressed his dislike for Logical Positivism in his portrayal of Jules Wither, near the end of *That Hideous Strength*, stating of Wither, "He had passed from Hegel into Hume, thence through Pragmatism, and then through Logical Positivism, and out at last into the complete void."[324] Surely passages such as this earned him a few enemies.

Alec King and Martin Ketley's book *The Control of Language* (1939) appeared just three years after Ayer, indebted both to Ayer and to Ogden and Richards. They explicitly acknowledged their indebtedness to Ogden and Richards in their preface, stating, "Finally the authors, realizing that the book makes no claim to any great originality, wish to acknowledge their debt to two writers, Mr. C.K. Ogden and Prof. I.A. Richards, whose work on language was the starting-point and the inspiration of the book."[325] Lewis referred to this book as *The Green Book* in *The Abolition of Man* (1943), first delivered as the Riddell Memorial Lectures at the University of Durham, February 24–26, 1943. In his own preface to *That Hideous Strength* (1945) he described it as the novelistic depiction of the conditions predicted in *The Abolition of Man*. King and Ketley agreed with the positivists that the primary meaning of some sentences was their emotive or evocative meaning. The positivists argued that to say "x is good" is to say "I like x." King and Ketley argued that to say "the waterfall is sublime" is to mean "I have sublime feelings about the waterfall." Lewis insisted, sensibly, that the waterfall was objectively sublime and that statements were about the waterfall rather than the emotions of the speaker. King and Ketley were also downplaying emotions and teaching students to treat emotions with suspicion. In the meantime, however, they substituted their own values, which included the conviction that they had been lied to about the Great War. All of this, Lewis argued, would result in "men without chests," that is, people whose emotional growth, aesthetic appreciation, and rationality have been diminished.

As indicated above, Richards and Ogden's *The Meaning of Meaning* (1923) had an impact on Ayer, who had an impact on King and Ketley, which led to Lewis writing *The Abolition of Man* and *That Hideous Strength*. Richards and Ogden had correctly warned that language could be used to control the behavior of people. When, in *That Hideous Strength*, Mark Studdock used his writing skills to shape the opinions of the community, he was controlling language for evil rather than good. When the speech at Belbury was confounded, as at Babel, everything backfired on the National Institute of Coordinated Experiments. But it was the natural result of their pride and ambition.

Lewis' poem, "Essence" (1940), addressed the nature of the individual, trying to describe the self. He rejected the idea that will and thought could be divided even though they could be distinguished. Thought and will are part of the essence of self.

The same year that *The Abolition of Man* was published, Lewis also wrote "The Poison of Subjectivism" for *Religion in Life* (Summer 1943). Not surprisingly, the essay contained arguments similar to the book. Reason and logic, built upon objective values, provide checks to evil, but subjectivism removes those checks and enables totalitarian states. Written in the midst of World War II, Lewis undoubtedly had Nazi Germany (whom he explicitly names in the essay), Fascist Italy, and the Soviet Union especially in mind. If there is no objective standard of right and wrong, the Third Reich can define justice as that which serves their own interests. Then no one can refute their viewpoint. The denial of objective and eternal truth leads to ruin. Further,

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[323] Myers, 18-20. According to Freud, the desire for the Island is simply disguised lust. Bishop, "Zeitgeistheim," 49.
[324] Lewis, *That Hideous Strength*, 353.
[325] *The Control of Language*, xviii.

Lewis also challenged the idea of "a blind evolutionary process," thereby insisting on an intelligent design before that modern movement ever originated.

In 1943, Lewis prepared an evening speech at the request of Sir Henry Tizard, then President of Magdalen College, apparently for a group of undergraduates of the College. It was entitled "De Futilitate," and he addressed the disappointments that World War I had brought and which World War II was likely to bring. World War II would not bring an end to war; human misery would never be abolished. But there is a much deeper futility that is incurable: according to J.B.S. Haldane[326] (whom Lewis called "a real scientist"), though evolution was in progress, degeneration was the rule. Haldane wrote, "We are therefore inclined to regard progress as the rule in evolution. Actually it is the exception, and for every case of it there are ten of degeneration."[327]

The influence of Logical Positivism had led many to conclude that scientific thought put people in touch with reality, while moral or metaphysical thought did not. Lewis challenged this conclusion, arguing that the physical sciences were just as dependent on the validity of logic as any other branch of knowledge. One cannot be a total skeptic because if all thoughts are untrue, then the thought that all thoughts are untrue is itself untrue! Lewis' main argument held that for us to accuse the universe of futility, we must have a valid standard against which to make that claim. To have such a standard is to admit that there is such a thing as right and wrong and that the universe has meaning. Without a standard, nothing could be right or wrong and the charge of futility would be empty. If there is such a standard, then Someone has made that standard. If we accept that standard, then we imply that this standard and the Someone who made it are articulating good. To pursue that good, we have agreed that the universe is not futile. Here Lewis was voicing an argument that he developed more fully some years later in *Miracles* (1947).

Lewis wrote the poem "The Salamander" for *The Spectator* (June 8, 1945), wherein he repudiated a nihilistic view of life. Still, after the death of Charles Williams on May 15, 1945, Lewis himself may have reflected negatively on the meaning of life, having just lost his best friend in Oxford (other than his brother Warren). In the poem, the salamander accepts only that which he sees, but he faces the end fearlessly. The likelihood that Lewis wrote this poem in response to Williams' death is small, since publishers typically need more time to prepare an issue for publication. Therefore, the poem likely reflects Lewis' fear of what would happen if totalitarian regimes and the subjectivism against which he wrote succeeded.

As Doris Myers has pointed out, Bracton College[328] actually was established in memory of Henry de Bracton, a thirteenth century author of a famous account of English law. The purpose of Bracton College was to study the laws of England, but law was no longer being studied at Bracton College. Myers wrote, "The failure to study law is closely connected with the denial of validity to logical reasoning. Linguistic philosophers such as A.J. Ayer disparage logic as mere rearrangement of words and useless tautology."[329]Not only do they fail to study law, they do not understand the relationship between emotions and the law, for they are "men without chests."[330] This will be end result for those who replace objective values, the Tao, with subjective feelings.

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[326] See my article, "JBS: The Life and Work of J.B.S. Haldane, Interactions with C.S. Lewis." *CSL*: *The Bulletin of The New York C.S. Lewis Society*, Vol. 38, No. 6 (Nov/Dec 2007), 12-16, for a more complete picture of Haldane.
[327] Haldane, "Darwinism Today," *Possible Worlds*, 28. Lewis cites Haldane on this issue not only in "De Futilitate," but also twice in "The Funeral of a Great Myth." Both essays appear in the collection *Christian Reflections*.
[328] A fictional college in *That Hideous Strength*.
[329] Myers, 90.
[330] Myers, 91.

The Abolition of Man is reflected in a letter Lewis wrote to Martyn Skinner in 1943, stating, "The relation between the Tao and Xtianity is best seen from Confucius' remark 'There may be someone who has perfectly followed the way: but I never heard of one.'"[331]

The essay "Hedonics" appeared in the June 16, 1945 issue of *Time and Tide*, little more than a month after the end of the war. Perhaps the essay reflected the relaxing of Lewis after the end of the war, but it addresses the value of the philosophy of Pleasure as opposed to Hedonism, which is the idea that Pleasure is the only good thing. Lewis insisted that pleasure was a part of God's creation and that those who wish to live a stoic life are only sham realists. Possibly reflecting upon his trips to London during the war, in which he taped or broadcast live the talks that would eventually become *Mere Christianity*, Lewis wrote about the two lives we live, one that looks at external things, such as trains that take us to London and the tube that took Lewis from Paddington to Harrow.[332] The BBC was relocated to Shepherds Bush in 1960, apparently from Marconi House, The Strand, London, so it was at Marconi House when Lewis wrote this essay. The essay spoke of doing a job that he did not greatly enjoy and then having to journey back to Oxford, probably for a different speaking engagement, since he occasionally spoke in London, but perhaps for the BBC broadcasts. But now that the war was over, Lewis wrote, we can more easily count our blessings and accept the invitation into Eden.

In 1948, the same year that Lewis debated Anscombe in the Socratic Club on Natural Law, he published the article "On Living in an Atomic Age." Clearly, the arguments that he had voiced in "De Futilitate" and in the book *Miracles* were still on his mind. The Anscombe debate took place on Feb. 2, 1948, undoubtedly earlier than "On Living in an Atomic Age." This article shows that Lewis still held to the belief that the naturalistic conclusion was unbelievable, although he had ceased to refer to it as self-refuting. "If our standards are derived from this meaningless universe they must be as meaningless as it."[333]

The article was published a few short years after the atomic bombs were dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, effectively ending the Pacific theater of World War II. Lewis took seriously the possibility that humanity might, by means of the bomb, totally destroy civilization. If this happens, we need to be found doing sensible and human things, including praying. Those with a spiritual attitude towards the preservation of civilization are most likely to assist in that preservation. We serve Earth best by wanting Heaven most.

Lewis' essay, "Historicism" (1950), may seem to belong in the chapter on history, but it appears here because the essay addresses the philosophy of history. In 1950, Father Paul Henry, S.J., who held the Sir Philip Deneke Chair at Oxford, gave the Deneke lecture. He was trained in theology and classical studies and apparently included in his lecture a distinction between Judeo-Christian thought, on the one hand, and pagan and pantheistic thought, on the other hand, in the significance they attributed to history. Lewis challenged that distinction as illusory. He described Carlyle, Novalis, Hegel, evolutionism, Keats, and Oceanus as Historicists when they spoke or wrote about an inner meaning to history which they discovered apart from true historical sources. When Hitler or Mussolini spoke about a superior race, Lewis considered it "drivel." When writers such as Freud became what Lewis called "amateur philosophers," speaking about their view of life rather than speaking within their area of expertise,[334] he rejected it. He once wrote, "Keep clear of psychiatrists unless you know that they are also Christians. Otherwise they start

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[331] *Collected Letters*, II, 561, written on March 4th, 1943.
[332] Harrow is a northwest suburb of London.
[333] Lewis, "On Living in an Atomic Age," *Present Concerns*, New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1986, 77.
[334] *Mere Christianity*, 88f.

with the assumption that your religion is an illusion and try to 'cure' it: and this assumption they make not as professional psychologists but as amateur philosophers."[335] Also in the mind of Lewis, apparently, was the position of A. L. Rowse, who once wrote, "Lewis disapproved of my historicism, I disapproved of his anti-historicism."[336]

During the 1950s the new trend in philosophy, at both Oxford and Cambridge, was to study language rather than theology.[337] When Lewis wrote *The Silver Chair* (1953), he was responding to this study of language in the character of the witch, whose "thrumming" of her musical instrument helped her to convince Jill, Eustace, Puddleglum, and the Prince that their description of another world was really linguistically impossible and only a figment of their imaginations. Philosophy became logical analysis rather than metaphysics, i.e. the analysis of language rather than the study of that which is beyond nature. The question was not, "Does God exist?" but "What do we mean when we use the word *God*?"

Then, in a poem entitled "The Country of the Blind," published on Sept. 12, 1951 in *Punch*, Lewis wrote about the loss of meaning in words and the lack of objective truth. The end result, as he had written nearly a decade earlier in *The Screwtape Letters*,[338] was the replacement of true statements with jargon; words were useless. Another poem, "Vowels and Sirens," carried a similar message, drawing upon the *Odyssey*. Lewis used the temptation of the song of the Sirens in the *Odyssey* to convey the power of words to persuade. Ulysses had his men tie him to the mast of his ship so that he would not succumb to their seductive voices. Words carry half-truths.

Similarly, in a book published in 1952, Lewis wrote a Preface for Douglas E. Harding's *The Hierarchy of Heaven and Earth: A New Diagram of Man in the Universe*. Lewis praised the book for attempting to reverse the trend towards subjectivism and the attempt by logical positivists to turn theological and aesthetic matters into linguistic ones. Reflecting much of what he wrote in *The Abolition of Man*, Lewis argued that the end result, nihilism, suffered from this great difficulty—it twisted our minds into a shape that was impossible to maintain. By emptying the universe of the dryads and the gods, he argued, secular materialism has also emptied the universe of that which is truly human.

It was a short distance from this trend to the "God is Dead" theology of the 1960s. Hastings wrote, "The intellectual secularism of the 1950s as found in the fiction of Powell and Snow, the history of Hugh Trevor-Roper, A.J.P. Taylor and A.L. Rowse, the philosophy of A.J. Ayer and Gilbert Ryle, continued to take for granted the disappearance of religion as a serious element of life."[339] This philosophical trend was also affirmed by some in the sciences, as the next chapter will indicate.

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[335] Lewis, *Collected Letters*, II, (Feb. 23, 1947), 765.
[336] A. L. Rowse, *A Man of the Thirties*, London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1979, 124.
[337] Hooper, "Oxford's Bonny Fighter," 168.
[338] See Lewis, *The Screwtape Letters*, 1f.
[339] Hastings, *A History of English Christianity: 1920–2000*.

Chapter 4. Trends in Science and Social Science

Science

When World War I started, there were no students of the natural sciences at Oxford University, but by the 1950s and beyond, thirty-five percent of the undergraduates were studying the natural sciences, and within the humanities the social sciences were growing rapidly.[340] The advent of two World Wars, with a strong need for science and technology in the war effort, significantly improved the status of both science and social science, not only in Oxford but around the world.[341] Much of this came about as a result of World War I, which demonstrated the failures of the scientific community in England to support the war effort. A committee appointed by Lloyd George inquired into the position of natural science in the educational system of the country and concluded in 1918 that "Greek should not be retained as a necessary subject in Responsions at Oxford or the Previous Examination at Cambridge" and that many more resources should be poured into the universities for pure and applied science.[342] In addition to major work done in the areas of radar, penicillin, and the atomic bomb, projects included gas-mark charcoal, respirators, signal flares, anti-malarial drugs, and aircraft fuels.[343] These additions to the Oxford curriculum were assisted by the rapid increase of government funding.

In 1916, the Dyson Perrins[344] laboratory for organic chemistry was founded, and this propelled Oxford into the lead in that field in England and one of the leaders throughout the world. By 1939 Oxford had the largest chemistry school in the country, and chemistry became the largest undergraduate school at Oxford in science. During the 1920s, the medical school at Oxford was only one-third the size of Cambridge, but by the beginning of World War II, the Oxford area was held up to the entire nation as a model for effective coordination of hospital services.[345] In 1936, Sir Cyril Hinshelwood ventured into the study of bacteria. In 1956 he won the Nobel Prize in chemistry. In 1958-9, Hinshelwood was president of both the Royal Society and the Classical Association. In 1964, Dorothy Hodgkin won the Nobel Prize for chemistry.[346]

"The dominant feature of twentieth-century Oxford is the immense proliferation of science," wrote A.L. Rowse.[347] Though Oxford would never equal Cambridge in accomplishment, this was a time of the expansion of course offerings in various sciences, from botany and geology to mineralogy, forestry, geography, metallurgy, engineering, physics, astrophysics, crystallography, zoology, agriculture, and chemistry. Frederick Soddy (1877–1956), Nevil Vincent Sidgwick (1873–1952), and Cyril Hinshelwood made their reputations as chemists, with Soddy working on research that led to the splitting of the atom and the beginning of nuclear physics.[348]

As a result of his work on the theory of isotopes, Soddy won the Nobel Prize for chemistry in 1921. His concern for the proper application of science to daily life led him to write *Matter and Energy* (1912), a book that was popularized by H.G. Wells in his book *The World Set Free* (1913), a book dedicated to Soddy. Later Soddy became a socialist, much concerned about

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[340] Harris, 218.
[341] Harris, 220.
[342] Prest, 28-29.
[343] Roche, 252-253.
[344] C. W. Dyson Perrins was the manufacturer of Worcester sauce. Morrell, 158.
[345] Webster, 318-20.
[346] Morrell, 151.
[347] Rowse, *Oxford in the History of England*, 221. Rowse was Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford.
[348] Rowse, *Oxford in the History of England*, 246.

the potential dangers of atomic science.[349] Sidgwick worked in the Dyson Perrins laboratory when it opened, wrote classic scientific books, such as *The Electronic Theory of Valency* (1927) and *The Chemical Elements and their Compounds* (1950), and he became one of the best known British scientists in the United States.

Edward C. Titchmarsh (1899-1963) taught mathematics, Arthur G. Tansley (1871-1955) was the leading botanist and plant ecologist, and Sir Henry Thomas Tizard (1885-1959), a Magdalen College graduate who later became President of Magdalen, worked on radar.

Some Oxford fellows came from Cambridge: Charles Scott Sherrington, G.H. Hardy the mathematician, Arthur Tansley, Howard W. Florey, and Hugh Cairns, one of the world's finest brain surgeons. Cairns, an Australian Rhodes scholar and son-in-law of the Master of Balliol, developed a vision for a full medical school at Oxford University, thereby attracting the support of many local people and the beneficence of Lord Nuffield.

During the early part of the century, much discussion was held over the role of a medical school. But the school began to grow with the establishment of a chair of biochemistry, the work of the Medical Research Council under Sir Walter Morley Fletcher, the establishment of the Dunn School of Pathology in 1927, a Rockefeller endowment for a new department of biochemistry (opened in 1927), the generosity of Lord Nuffield (who contributed £2.5 million for the clinical school, now known as the Nuffield Institute), and many other developments, eventually resulting in the approval of a full medical school in the 1940s. The last major building of the medical school was constructed at the Radcliffe Infirmary in 1970, so Oxford University had a complete medical school.[350]

At Oxford during World War II, the age of antibiotics began. Penicillin was produced for the first time by Lord Howard W. Florey in 1940. After holding positions in pathology at Cambridge University and Sheffield University, Florey, an Australian, returned in 1935 to Oxford where he had begun his studies in physiology in 1923. His appointment to the Chair of Pathology resulted in the Oxford School of Pathology becoming one of the best laboratories for pathology in the world. In the Department of Pathology, he built upon the work of Alexander Fleming, who had discovered the healing power of the mold for treating infections but could not stabilize the preparation. Florey accepted the challenge and produced penicillin. In 1941, Florey and N.G. Heatley went to the United States to enlist commercial help, which they received from three American firms. A conclusive trial in 1942 allowed penicillin to be used successfully on 187 cases. With the help of the American chemical industry, Florey was able, by 1944, to produce enough for wounded soldiers at the front.[351] Florey was knighted in 1944.[352] In 1945, Florey, with colleagues Sir Alexander Fleming and Ernst B. Chain, won the Nobel Prize in physiology and medicine for their work on penicillin.[353]

Although it had no effect on World War II, Sir Peter Medawar, then a Fellow of Magdalen, along with Glasgow surgeon Thomas Gibson, created the branch of science known as the immunology of transplantation. Together they studied the process whereby the body rejects

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[349] Merricks, 2-5.
[350] "Medicine," Webster, in Harrison, 317-343, especially page 326.
[351] Rowse, 248.
[352] R.G. Macfarlane, "Florey, Howard Walter, Baron Florey (1898–1968)", rev. E. P. Abraham, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/33182. accessed 22 Feb 2005].
[353] Roche, 253.

tissue that has been transplanted from unrelated individuals. Medawar and colleges learned how to get the body to treat as part of its body what is in fact foreign.[354]

As radioastronomy was developing, molecular biology was making great strides that resulted in the discovery of the structure of DNA by Jim Watson and Francis Crick at Cambridge in March 1953. In 1957, John Kendrew, in partnership with Max F. Perutz, built the first model of a molecule of myoglobin and two years later the first atomic model. Fred Sanger determined the chemical formula of insulin and won the Nobel Prize for Chemistry in 1958,[355] during Alex Todd's professorship (Noel Annan calls his professorship an empire) in organic chemistry at Cambridge.[356] All of this growth in science set the stage for Lewis' interactions with J.B.S. Haldane.

J.B.S. Haldane worked in genetics and biochemistry,[357] and both he and Julian Huxley popularized science with their writings. With R.A. Fisher and Sewall Wright, Haldane was one of the founders of population genetics. Haldane's scientific work developed a commitment to eugenics, that is, the "science that deals with the improvement of hereditary qualities in a race or breed."[358] His paper, "Daedalus, or, Science and the Future," which Lewis described as "a diabolical little book,"[359] encouraged some eugenics in which a eugenic official would take male and female "to the local temple of Venus Genetrix" for mating purposes. Venus was the goddess of motherhood. By this means, marriage would take place by numbers so that the proper genetic codes were united in the offspring. Some enlightened nations in the future will be "prepared to tolerate the requisite amount of state interference in private life." When Lewis put the N.I.C.E. into *That Hideous Strength*, he was basing the National Institute for Coordinated Experiments on reality.[360]

John Burdon Sanderson Haldane, 1892–1964, matriculated to New College and later was a fellow of New College, Oxford, from 1919–1923, then at Cambridge until 1933, followed by a chair at University College, London. He became a Communist and eventually emigrated to India, where he died. He once debated Lewis at the Socratic Club.

More than simply an encouraging of eugenics, "Daedalus, or, Science and the Future" was a prediction of the future, based on scientific research in which biology was the centerpiece. Some predictions, such as the move toward alternative sources of energy and the fact that "there will be no more night in our cities" because of illumination, were correct. Others, such as interplanetary communication, remain a dream. But much as "Daedalus" was rejected by the gods of his day, so also, suggested Haldane, do many people today reject biological advances in ignorance. Haldane argued "…that the biologist is the most romantic figure on earth at the present day." We even see in this essay some evidence for Lewis' position

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[354] Avrion Mitchison, "Medawar, Sir Peter Brian (1915-1987)", rev., *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/40016, accessed 17 Jan 2005].
[355] Perutz, "Molecular biology in Cambridge," 193-203.
[356] Annan, *The Dons*, 270.
[357] *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, "John Burdon Sanderson Haldane (1892–1964)" by Claude Rogers, consulted Jan. 11, 2005, 1f.
[358] *Webster's Ninth New Collegiate Dictionary*, 428.
[359] Lewis, *All My Road Before Me*, 287. Entry dated Feb. 20, 1924.
[360] See also Lewis, "The Funeral of a Great Myth," 88, where he satirizes those demi-gods that eugenics has made certain are the only people to be born.

about Hinduism. In *Mere Christianity*, Lewis had argued that Christianity and Hinduism were representative of the two major religions in the world, Pantheism in the latter case (the idea that God is beyond good and evil) and, in the former case, the idea that God is good and opposed to what is evil.[361] Haldane calls the ethic of Hinduism and Christianity "fluid" and "flexible," which indicates that both religions were on the minds of many in Oxford.

With Marxist,[362] atheistic, and eugenic views, Haldane was one of those in Lewis' mind when he wrote *That Hideous Strength*, whose company of scientists was carrying out experiments on animals and people. Another person Lewis would have thought of was Sir Julian Huxley (1887–1975), for a time Fellow at New College, Oxford (1919–1925), a zoologist and philosopher also committed to eugenics, who wanted humanity to take control of the evolutionary process. Haldane expressed similar thoughts in some of his writings, stating of certain groups of people, for example, "It is on the whole undesirable that they should beget their like."[363] In the same essay, Haldane wrote, "The Eugenics Education Society have doubtless done good work in persuading a certain number of intelligent people that it is their duty to have more children," that "…any measures which tend to disseminate heritable property among the poor … are eugenically desirable," and "Civilization stands in real danger from over-production of 'undermen.'"[364] Huxley also believed that the scientific doctrine of progress would eventually replace religion and other systems of thought as the foundation for ethical behavior.[365] George Bernard Shaw probably expressed the idea of a disembodied mind that Lewis used for the Head in *That Hideous Strength*. In *Back to Methuselah*, a He-Ancient stated, "The day will come when there will be no people, only thought." Shaw believed that evolution would eventually bring about the disappearance of matter, including the body, and the triumph of the mind.[366]

With the arrival of the empirical method in the seventeenth century, science began to view knowledge as something to be known only through sense experience. Several centuries later came scientism, the misuse of science, what Musacchio called "a philosophical attitude toward science, sometimes even a worship of science."[367] In addition, many in Oxford held to creative evolution.[368] Elsewhere, in *Mere Christianity*, Lewis mentioned these same views of Bergson, expressed also in the writings of Bernard Shaw as Emergent Evolution, or Life-Force philosophy. He characterized this position as midway between the Materialist view and the Religious view, carrying the emotional comfort of believing in God without the problem of being accountable to Him. Life was the result, not of evolutionary chance, but of the purposiveness of an abstract Life-Force.[369]

Lewis satirized this view in Weston, the atheist physicist in *Out of the Silent Planet* (1938) and the Un-Man in *Perelandra* (1943), who believed that an "unconsciously purposive dynamism," or a "blind, inarticulate purposiveness," explained the origin and purpose of life.[370]

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[361] Lewis, "Rival Conceptions of God," Book II, Chapter 1, *Mere Christianity*, 36.
[362] Haldane joined the Communist Party in England in 1942.
[363] Haldane, "Eugenics and Social Reform," *Possible Worlds*, 191.
[364] Haldane, "Eugenics and Social Reform," *Possible Worlds*, 193, 194, and 196.
[365] Robert Olby, "Huxley, Sir Julian Sorell (1887–1975)", *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/31271, accessed 17 Jan 2005].
[366] Demaray, 267f.
[367] George Musacchio, "Exorcising the *Zeitgeist*: Lewis as Evangelist to the Modernists," C.S. Lewis: Lightbearer in the Shadowlands, edited by Angus J.L. Menuge, Wheaton, IL: Crossway Books, 1997, 222.
[368] See Henri Bergson's *Creative Evolution*, 1907.
[369] Lewis, *Mere Christianity*, 26.
[370] Lewis, *Perelandra*, 90-91.

Weston desired "to cooperate with the *élan vital* by aiding 'the forward movement of Life.'"[371] That statement echoes Haldane, who once wrote of "…the duty of man to cooperate in the process of evolution."[372] Physics in Oxford allowed a person to avoid the emptiness of materialism without having to believe in God, and it gave Weston the right to annihilate creatures on the planets of our solar system to make room for the expansion of Earth's population. In *Perelandra*, Lewis' character Weston exemplified this hope of interplanetary travel, which would serve the utilitarian purpose of preserving the human race in the event that the earth or its inhabitants were destroyed. Humanity must seek to colonize other planets, systems, and galaxies. Weston repudiated knowledge as an end in itself, desiring instead utility, including the simple matter of preserving the human race.[373]

Lewis indicated to Roger Lancelyn Green that Stapledon's *Last and First Men* and J.B.S. Haldane's essay "Last Judgment" in *Possible Worlds and Other Essays* motivated him to write *Out of the Silent Planet*.[374] Lewis wrote about the caricature of Weston, stating that Westonism is nearly as silly as he made it in *Out of the Silent Planet*. He wrote to Mary Neylan, "Please tell my youthful critics that tho' Weston is a caricature, Weston*ism* is v. nearly as silly as I have made out. The crowning idiocy on p. 224 ('It is enough for me that there is a Beyond') is the last words of Lilith in Shaw's *Back to Methuselah*."[375] There Lilith, the personification of creative development, expressed Shaw's position that it was foolish to believe in human engineering, preferring instead Bergson's creative evolution, evolutionary advancement, and leaving the human body behind.[376] "Lilith has the last word, concluding that the experience (experiment) of human development has been worthwhile and humanity is on its way to eliminating cruelty, hypocrisy, and death."[377] Shaw considered *Back to Methuselah* his greatest work, although few agreed with him.

In his Ransom trilogy, Lewis challenged the modern conception of outer space as a dead and lifeless place, advocating the medieval conception of space as a place of life and light. In *Possible Worlds*, J.B.S. Haldane wrote about "the silence of interstellar space," the very opposite of what Lewis proposed in his book, *Out of the Silent Planet*.[378] Ransom, the hero of the space trilogy, also found goodness in the species of Malacandra and Perelandra, since all creatures on all planets were under the authority of its Oyarsa and, ultimately, of Maleldil, i.e. God. Furthermore, Ransom made sense out of language, something that was not so easily done by the logical positivists of the day. Ransom learned the Malacandrian language and Old Solar. He also made use of "the traditional virtues of temperance, justice, prudence, and courage taught in old books" to make contact initially with Devine and Weston at the start of *Out of the Silent*

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[371] Walsh, 145.
[372] Haldane, "Science and Theology as Art Forms," *Possible Worlds*, 236.
[373] Lewis, *Perelandra*, 89.
[374] *Collected Letters*, II, 236, n. See also the same work, p. 594.
[375] Lewis, *Collected Letters*, II, 254f. I.e. George Bernard Shaw.
[376] William E. Emba writes about *Back to Methuselah*, "In this not-very-stageable play in five parts, Shaw expounds on mankind and the theory of evolution, from Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden to a paradise world 30,000 years in the future. It turns out that in the future, when these transhumans get bored with the opposite sex, or life in general, they take up mathematics. There is a very interesting mathematical footnote regarding Shaw. A mathematician, Archibald Henderson (professor at Duke, author of *The Twenty Seven Lines upon the Cubic Surface*) was an early devotee of GBS, became one of Shaw's good friends, his best known critic, and his official biographer." http://math.cofc.edu/faculty/kasman/MATHFICT/mfview.php?callnumber=mf222.
[377] Feminism and Women's Studies, A Modern Development: Images of Lilith in Literature, Art, and Artifacts. http://feminism.eserver.org/theory/papers/lilith/apndx.html.
[378] Haldane, "On Scales," *Possible Worlds*, 1. *Out of the Silent Planet*, 29.

Planet.[379] If Weston was the Un-Man in *Perelandra*, Ransom was the Man, the product of Lewis' rehabilitation of modern man. In *The Discarded Image*, Lewis cited the belief that the vastness of the universe had led many an astronomer to conclude that there must be inhabitants in countless other worlds.[380] Lewis argued that the vast distances of space were God's system for quarantining planet Earth and preventing the corruption of other living creatures in other parts of the universe.[381]

In *Possible Worlds*, Haldane also expressed his scientific, evolutionary, and anti-Christian sentiment, writing, "On a planet more than a thousand million years old it is hard to believe—as do Christians, Jews, Mohammedans, and Buddhists—that the most important event has occurred within the last few thousand years."[382] Haldane's "The Last Judgment," contains a provocative description of the earth's history at a point millions of the years in the future, as though someone were writing about earth's history from the planet Venus and looking back. "The star on which we live had a beginning and will doubtless have an end," began Haldane.[383] Lewis called it "brilliant," but also "depraved."[384] The sun could divide and cause mankind to perish, or it might burst, or a comet or the moon or another heavenly body could come close to earth and destroy its capability to support life.[385] If this were to happen, by the year eight million, some would "look ahead, and … suggest the colonization of other planets,[386] notably Mars, Venus, Jupiter, and even other planets in other solar systems.[387] For mankind, "the highest of his duties is to assist those who are creating [i.e. new ideas, such as interplanetary colonization], and the worst of his sins to hinder them." An enlarged humanity can prevent the destruction of the human race. Lewis, however, cared far more *how* people lived than *how long*.[388] Here Haldane attempted to use both time and space as arguments against Christianity, whereas elsewhere he would use theology itself to attempt to discredit Christianity.

This was a time during which discoveries were taking place as scientists learned more about the solar system and beyond. With the invention of the rocket in 1859, the first flight by the Wright Brothers at Kitty Hawk in 1903, and the Wright Brothers' patent in 1906 on airplane design, the age of aerospace was arriving. In 1912, England established the Royal Flying Corps, and little more than a year later British aircraft had reached an altitude of 20,000 feet. The first unmanned flight took place in 1918, and a year later Goddard had invented a rocket propelled by solid fuel. The first non-stop flight across the United States occurred in 1923, and in 1925 President Coolidge authorized airmail. In 1927, Charles Lindbergh flew non-stop across the Atlantic Ocean, and in July of that year Germany hosted the first meeting of the Society for Space Travel. In 1933, Jansky introduced radio astronomy.[389]

Lewis was also aware of the discoveries that were taking place in astronomy, which allegedly proved, in the words of Ransom, that "the enemy's talk … thrusts my world and my

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[379] Myers, 42.
[380] Lewis, *The Discarded Image*, 221.
[381] Lewis, *Perelandra*, 81f. See Phillips, 185, for a reference to a pupil of Lewis who took the idea of colonization of other planets seriously.
[382] Haldane, "Some Dates," *Possible Worlds*, 17.
[383] Haldane, "The Last Judgment," *Possible Worlds*, 276.
[384] Lewis, "On Science Fiction," Of Other Worlds, 66.
[385] Haldane, "The Last Judgment," *Possible Worlds*, 289-91.
[386] Haldane, "The Last Judgment," *Possible Worlds*, 296.
[387] Haldane, "The Last Judgment," *Possible Worlds*, 309.
[388] Lewis, "Is Progress Possible?" *God in the Dock*, 311.
[389] This brief review of such advances in air travel, relevant to Lewis' Space Trilogy, was provided by Bradley Seibert.

race into a remote corner and gives me a universe, with no center at all, but millions of worlds that lead nowhere or (what is worse) to more and more worlds forever, and comes over me with numbers and empty spaces and repetitions and asks me to bow down before bigness."[390] The vast distances allegedly proved that Christianity could not be true. He probably also knew about the radio adaptation by Orson Welles of H.G. Wells' book, *War of the Worlds*, aired on CBS, which convinced many listeners that Martians had landed. Despite repeated announcements that the program was a dramatization, many were terrified that night, Oct. 31, 1938.[391] These significant advances in the field of flight and travel no doubt encouraged people such as Haldane to adopt an excessively optimistic view of what science would one day accomplish.

In a confused theology, Weston also argued that heaven and hell, God and the devil were the same, the one merely an aspect of the other.[392] He asserted in another place that if Ransom's God did exist, it made no difference.[393] In this he was attempting to use logic itself to contradict and disprove the fundamental basics of a biblical theology.

In the character of Ransom, Lewis used the three stories of the space trilogy—*Out of the Silent Planet* (1938), *Perelandra* (1943), and *That Hideous Strength* (1945)—to refute the common assumption that scientific knowledge frees us from the delusion of religion. These views were held by J.B.S. Haldane, Olaf Stapledon, Ogden, Richards, and Wells.[394] When Haldane became a socialist as an Oxford undergraduate, he was concerned about attacking religion.[395] He once wrote that scientists were able to kill an animal and "keep its heart or liver alive for a day or more. Soon it will be a matter of months or years."[396] And then, why can't we keep a human body, or part of it (such as a head) alive indefinitely? A composite of some of the faculty of Oxford University provided the model for Jules Wither, Deputy Director of the N.I.C.E. in *That Hideous Strength*, not the least of which was H.H. Price, who was accustomed to such phrases as "I suppose…And so far as I can see…it might be argued…I do not say prove…perhaps—but I am not sure…"[397] Wither's speaking style, with its hems and haws, reflects the careful type of speech that some academics display, as they attempt to use just the right word in a given context. When Mark Studdock met Wither for the first time, he heard the careful language of some academics who speak many words without saying anything.[398]

Ransom thought of …

> the great myth of our century with its gases and galaxies, its light years and evolutions, its nightmare perspectives of simple arithmetic in which everything that can possibly hold significance for the mind becomes the mere by-product of essential disorder. Always till now he had belittled it, had treated with a certain disdain its flat superlatives, its clownish amazement that different things should be of different sizes, its glib munificence of ciphers. Even now, his reason was not quite subdued, though his heart would not listen to his reason. Part of him still knew that the size of a thing is its least important characteristic, that the material universe derived from the comparing and mythopoeic

[390] Lewis, *Perelandra*, 213.
[391] Phillips, 194.
[392] Lewis, *Perelandra*, 93.
[393] Lewis, *Perelandra*, 168.
[394] Myers, 41.
[395] *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, "John Burdon Sanderson Haldane (1892–1964)" by Claude Rogers, consulted Jan. 11, 2005, 3.
[396] Haldane, "The Future of Biology," *Possible Worlds*, 152.
[397] *Socratic Digest*, 98-101.
[398] Lewis, *That Hideous Strength*, 52f.

> power within him that very majesty before which he was now asked to abase himself, and that mere numbers could not overawe us unless we lent them, from our own resources, that awfulness which they themselves could no more supply than a banker's ledger. But this knowledge remained an abstraction. Mere bigness and loneliness overbore him.[399]

When he wrote *Perelandra*, Lewis knew about Giovanni Schiaparelli (1835-1910), the Italian astronomer who thought that both Mercury and Venus revolved around the Sun while rotating once a year, so that they always presented the same side to the Sun.[400] So Lewis had to set that idea aside to create his imaginative story, but he still acknowledged the theory, lest he be accused of ignorance. He had a character in the story by the name of Lewis ask, "If Schiaparelli is right there'd be perpetual day on one side of her and perpetual night on the other?"

Musacchio described scientism as the worship of science; Lewis once described it as "the belief that the supreme moral end is the perpetuation of our own species, and that this is to be pursued even if, in the process of being fitted for survival, our species has to be stripped of all those things for which we value it—of pity, of happiness, and of freedom." [401] Lewis elsewhere called it Developmentalism, an "extension of the evolutionary idea far beyond the biological realm…as the key principle of reality."[402] Had Lewis portrayed good science more positively,[403] this would have shown more clearly that he was not opposed to science *per se*, but we see that position, and his challenge to the myth of Developmentalism, clearly described in "The Funeral of a Great Myth" (ca. 1945). He opposed "scientific materialism raised to a philosophy and imposed on society and morals."[404] Mark Studdock, whose education had made "things that he read and wrote more real to him than things he saw," illustrated this position.[405] Studdock was a man whose "education had been neither scientific nor classical—merely 'Modern.' The severities of both abstraction and of high human tradition had passed him by…. He was a man of straw, a glib examinee in subjects that require no exact knowledge."[406]

Lewis was indebted to H.G. Wells' 1901 novel, *First Men in the Moon*. In a 1949 letter to I.O. Evans, Lewis stated that in Wells one had "*first* class pure fantasy."[407] In *Out of the Silent Planet*, Lewis takes the society of aliens from *First Men in the Moon*, whose Selenites do not enjoy themselves but only work, and offers instead a more advanced society on three levels (the philosophers, the poet-hunters, and the artisans) whose primary purpose is to enjoy themselves. Economic activity is secondary.[408] Herein, following Milton, Lewis echoed what he considered to be the purpose of education—to produce the good man and the good citizen, but also to enjoy leisure.[409] Furthermore, these Malacandrians did not need religious training, for they were industrious, chaste, honorable, courageous, temperate, and possessing all of the virtue of the traditional Christian religion.

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[399] Lewis, *Perelandra*, 164f.
[400] Lewis, *Perelandra*, 26. See also http://www.cartage.org.lb/en/themes/Biographies/MainBiographies/S/Schiaparelli/1.html.
[401] Lewis, "A Reply to Professor Haldane," 76f.
[402] Lewis, "Modern Man and his Categories of Thought," 63. See also "The Funeral of a Great Myth" (ca. 1945).
[403] Doris Myers suggests that Hingest and MacPhee could have been portrayed more satisfactorily, 107.
[404] Howard, *C.S. Lewis: Man of Letters*, 99.
[405] Lewis, *That Hideous Strength*, 87, cited in Howard, 176.
[406] Ibid., 185. See also "A Reply to Professor Haldane," 78.
[407] *Letters of C.S. Lewis*, 389.
[408] Myers, 45.
[409] Lewis, "Our English Syllabus," 81-82. Lewis, *Rehabilitations*, Preface, vii.

Wells' novel, *The Time Machine* (1898), influenced Lewis' writing of *Perelandra*. Lewis used the narrative structure and the plot outline from *The Time Machine*, and both novels used a flashback for the center of the story. Both novels dealt with the nature and destiny of man. Lewis also used three encounters by Ransom with the Green Lady, similar to the three major hypotheses of the Time Traveler about the future. The first hypothesis had to do with the survival of the fittest, the second with man as a social being and hierarchy, and the third with man's relationship to scientific knowledge.[410] But there were other influences as well, including David Lindsay, whose novel, *A Voyage to Arcturus*, he called the father of *Perelandra*.[411] In addition, Milton's *Paradise Lost* influenced Lewis, who was working on the university lectures that later became *A Preface to "Paradise Lost"* at the same time that he was writing *Perelandra*.[412]

Lewis' essay, "Two Lectures," known earlier as "Who was Right—Dream Lecturer or Real Lecturer?," contrasts a lecturer who spoke about development as an evolutionary process in which every creature grows from the small and primitive to the larger and more complex, from the inorganic to the organic. That night Lewis dreamed, or so he wrote, that another lecturer argued that downward movement was the key process. This, Lewis suggested, was more accurate than the eloquence of the real lecturer. The essay was published in *The Coventry Evening Telegraph* on Feb. 21, 1945, the same year that *That Hideous Strength* was published. Perhaps there was no such lecture, or perhaps the lecturer was a man like J.B.S. Haldane, who, like the real lecturer, stayed away from the subject of absolute beginnings and the supernatural.

Shortly after the third book of the space trilogy appeared, J.B.S. Haldane criticized all three of them in an article in the Autumn 1946 issue of *The Modern Quarterly* under the title of "Auld Hornie, F.R.S." The title reflects the entire sarcastic tone of the article, Auld Hornie being the pet name given to the devil by the Scots and FRS standing for "Fellow of the Royal Society." In the article, Haldane contended that Lewis' science was wrong, that Lewis cast scientists in an unfavorable light, and that Lewis considered scientific planning as a road to hell. Haldane would have done well to discuss his concerns with Lewis prior to publishing them for Lewis' response.

Perhaps in a show of support for the natural world, indicating that he was not anti-science, Lewis wrote "The Meteorite" for the Dec. 7, 1946 issue of *Time and Tide*. In this poem he discussed the manner in which the Earth can easily digest a meteorite fallen from the sky, incorporating it into the landscape of an English shire.

"A Reply to Professor Haldane" (ca. 1947) destroyed Haldane's positions and demonstrated Haldane's misunderstandings. By walking through each criticism, Lewis showed that he did not intend all of his science to be totally accurate; after all, he was writing a romance. Then he indicated that he was attacking scientism, not scientists, by challenging the view that the supreme goal of our species was to perpetuate itself at any expense. He actually cast science in a good light by putting a good scientist in *That Hideous Strength* and by stating that the sciences were "good and innocent in themselves."[413] He offered Shaw's *Back to Methuselah*, Stapledon, and Haldane's own "Last Judgment" in *Possible Worlds* (1928) as examples of scientism. Part of *Back to Methuselah* was the development in a few people of the ability to live longer. Finally, Lewis stated that he did not see scientific planning as a road to hell, but the very opposite: that an invitation to hell would likely appear dressed up as scientific planning. In *That Hideous Strength*, Lewis wrote, Frost was the mouthpiece of the ethical theories of Professor Conrad Waddington

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[410] Myers, 56f.
[411] A letter to Charles A. Brady, dated Oct. 29, 1944, *Collected Letters*, II, 630.
[412] Myers, 61f.
[413] Lewis, *That Hideous Strength*, 203.

(1905–1975), who once published a genetics paper with Haldane and taught that "an examination of the direction of evolution could provide us with the criteria from which we could judge whether any ethical system was fulfilling its function."[414]

In "Last Judgment" Haldane, wrote:

> Man's little world will end. The human mind can already envisage that end. If humanity can enlarge the scope of its will as it has enlarged the reach of its intellect, it will escape that end. If not, then judgment will have gone against it, and man and all his works will perish eternally. Either the human race will prove that its destiny is in eternity and infinity, and that the value of the individual is negligible in comparison with that destiny, or the time will come
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> 'When the great markets by the sea shut fast
> All that calm Sunday that goes on and on;
> When even lovers find their peace at last,
> And earth is but a star, that once had shone.'[415]

In "A Reply to Professor Haldane," Lewis also showed his familiarity with the USSR, Nazi Germany, and other societies where a small group of disciplined people had taken over the country, instigated programs of terror, and brought along the secret police. Haldane's reference to the banishment of Mammon from a sixth of the planet's surface referred to the takeover of large sections of land by Communist nations. While Haldane applauded, Lewis did not. Lacking trust in a single person or group of people, Lewis consciously adopted a democratic view of society. Lewis may have had the opportunity to deliver much of this essay, since Haldane spoke at the Socratic Club on Nov. 15, 1948 on the topic "Atheism."

In 1943, Lewis had written a letter to Arthur Clarke, a writer who shared Lewis' interest in science fiction, or what Lewis called scientifiction. Clarke later wrote an essay called "Extra-terrestrial Relays," a paper that proposed a technology that was the forerunner to communication satellites, and books such as *The Sands of Mars* (1951) and *2001: A Space Odyssey* (1968). Lewis wrote,

> I don't of course think that at the moment many scientists are budding Westons: but I do think (hang it all, I *live* among scientists!) that a point of view not unlike Weston's is on the way. Look at Stapledon (*Star Gazer* ends in sheer devil worship), Haldane's *Possible Worlds* and Waddington's *Science and Ethics*. I think Technology is *per se* neutral: but a race devoted to the increase of its own power by technology with complete indifference to ethics *does* seem to me a cancer in the universe. Certainly if he goes on his present course much further man can *not* be trusted with knowledge.[416]

Lewis and Clarke seemed to be on cordial terms in spite of the fact that Clarke had disagreed with some of the views Lewis had set forth in *Perelandra*.[417] Clarke was especially unhappy with Lewis' comment in *Perelandra* about "little Interplanetary Societies and Rocketry

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[414] Robertson, "Waddington, Conrad Hal (1905–1075)," rev. L. Wolpert, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/31790, accessed 4 June 2005].
[415] Haldane, *Possible Worlds*, 312, cited in the Eric Symes Abbott Memorial Lecture 2001, "Deep Time: Does It Matter?" by Stephen R. L. Clark, http://www.westminster-abbey.org/event/lecture/archives/symes_2001.htm.
[416] Lewis, *Collected Letters*, II, 594, a letter written Dec. 7, 1943.
[417] Lewis, *Collected Letters*, II, 741, n. 123.

Clubs,"[418] apparently a reference to Clarke's involvement in the British Interplanetary Society, to which George Bernard Shaw also belonged. The society, founded in 1933, is still in existence. Lewis' comment in the same chapter that "The destruction or enslavement of other species in the universe, if such there are, is to these minds a welcome corollary" angered Clarke.[419] At one point Lewis and Clarke, with Val Cleaver accompanying Clarke, met at the Eastgate to discuss some of those disagreements.

Many at Oxford believed at this time that science would eliminate the need for religion.[420] The topics of the Socratic Club, which held its first meeting at Somerville College, one of Oxford University's many colleges, on January 26, 1942, provide ample evidence of the issues commonly under discussion at Oxford University during the time that Lewis was President of the Socratic Club (1942–54). The very first meeting addressed the topic, "Won't mankind outgrow the advance of science and modern ideologies?" Oxford physician and philosopher, Robert E. Havard, Lewis' personal physician, argued against that position. A selection of topics throughout the next decade indicates various aspects of the debate over science and religion during this time:

1942 "Can Science Render Religion Unnecessary?"
1943 "Science and Faith"
"Is the New Testament Reliable Evidence?"
1944 "Materialism and Agnosticism"
"The Grounds of Modern Agnosticism"
1945 "Marxist and Christian Views of the Nature of Man"
1946 "Can Science Provide a Basis for Ethics?"
"The Limits of Positivism"
1947 "Did the Resurrection Happen?"
1948 "Rudolf Steiner and the Scientific Outlook"
"Atheism" (with J.B.S. Haldane)
1949 "Can Science Create Values?"
"Philosophy and Psychoanalysis"
1950 "Freudian Psychology and Christian Faith"
"The Relation of Psychical Research to the Scientific Method"
1951 "The Philosophical Basis of Marxism"
1952 "Rational Existentialism"
"The Notion of Development in Psychology and Its Bearing Upon Religion"
1953 "The Gospels: Myth or History?"
1954 "The Anatomy of Atheism"[421]

In Lewis' sermon "Miracles" (Sept. 27, 1942) Lewis showed some understanding of physics when he wrote, "Well, in one sense, it is precisely the teaching of modern physics that the film never works backwards. For modern physics, as you have heard before, the universe is "running

[418] Lewis, *Perelandra*, 81.
[419] Arthur C. Clarke, "Memoirs of an Armchair Astronaut (Retired," in *Voices from the Sky*, New York: Pyramid Publications, 1967, 150f. See also *The Lamp-Post* (January 1979), Vol. 3, No. 1, 7.
[420] Such as I.A. Richards, Myers, 35, 115, and Julian Huxley, Robert Olby, "Huxley, Sir Julian Sorell (1887–1975)", *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/31271, accessed 17 Jan 2005].
[421] Hooper, "Oxford's Bonny Fighter," 175-185.

down." Disorganization and chance is continually increasing. There will come a time, not infinitely remote, when it will be wholly run down or wholly disorganized, and science knows of no possible return from that state."[422] He also wrote, "To explain even an atom Schrödinger wants seven dimensions: and give us new senses and we should find a new Nature."[423]

During 1943, as astronomers discovered that the universe was much larger in size than previously thought, some began to claim that Christianity was no longer needed. The smaller man became, the less the value of mankind and the earth seemed to carry in such a huge universe. Sir Arthur Stanley Eddington (1882-1944), who wrote *The Expanding Universe* (1933), and whom Lewis mentioned both in *Mere Christianity*[424] and in "Dogma and the Universe," had written that the earth was infinitesimal in comparison with the whole content of space. In response to this thinking, Lewis wrote a two-part essay for *The Guardian*, "Dogma and the Universe" and "Dogma and Science" (1943)[425] Therein Lewis argued that the size of the universe had no effect upon Christian theology and that, in fact, we ought to expect a massive universe if it was created by an omnipotent God. "I should be suffocated in a universe that I could see to the end of."[426]

In the midst of this emphasis on science, *The Observer* ran a series of five articles on the questions, "Is man progressing today?" and "Is progress even possible?" After C. P. Snow wrote the first article, "Man in Society" (July 13, 1958), lauding the growth of the welfare state in Sweden and Denmark, Lewis wrote the second article, "Willing Slaves of the Welfare State" (July 20, 1958). Lewis' article responded indirectly, rather than directly, to Snow's article. He argued that the advance of science and the changed relationship between government and their subjects were creating the conditions that could lead to a welfare state in which scientists, whose contributions he labeled as neutral, would carry weight even when not speaking on scientific matters. Furthermore, the welfare state might even apply throughout the world, causing widespread loss of personal privacy and individual independence. When people speak about man taking charge of his destiny, Lewis argued, the only thing that would mean is that some men will take charge of the destiny of others. And that taking charge would undoubtedly corrupt those in power. Under the guise of scientific planning and humanitarian concern, the modern state will deprive its citizens of freedom. Some of the themes that Lewis had sounded in *The Abolition of Man* (1943) and *That Hideous Strength* (1945) appear also in this article.

Throughout the twentieth century, the old adage was true: "Cambridge for science, Oxford for arts."[427] Oxford's increase in courses of study in the sciences was small in comparison to Cambridge. Lewis mentioned Professor Fred B. Hoyle (1915–2001), a Cambridge astronomer, in his essay "Religion and Rocketry" (1958) and also in "The Seeing Eye" (1963).[428] In "The Seeing Eye," Lewis challenged the conclusion of the Russians, who allegedly concluded that there was no God, since they did not find Him in outer space.

In that same essay, Lewis claimed that Hoyle and many others were saying that life must have originated in many, many times and places, given the vast size of the universe. He was referring to a series of broadcast talks that Hoyle had given in 1950, later published as *The*

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[422] Lewis, "Miracles," in *God in the Dock*, 33.
[423] Lewis, "Miracles," in *God in the Dock*, 35. By "new senses" Lewis means more senses than the five senses of sight, hearing, touch, smell, and taste.
[424] *Mere Christianity*, 55.
[425] Griffin, *Clive Staples Lewis*, 215. The former was published on March 19 and the latter on March 26.
[426] Lewis, "Dogma and the Universe," 42.
[427] Morrell, 141.
[428] Also known as "Onward, Christian Spacemen."

Nature of the Universe, a series of talks that argued briefly against a Christian view of origins and the uniqueness of the Christian faith. As Eddington had suggested, Hoyle wrote, "…a realization of the size of the Earth and of the nature of nearby space … destroyed once and for all the tight little cabbage-patch world in which man had lived throughout the medieval age."[429] This, he felt, ought to affect both our philosophical and religious views.[430] He was not so accurate, however, in various other predictions of the future, so we ought not to expect that this one should have been accurate. He wrote that "within 100 years it may indeed be possible to leave the Earth, or at any rate for rockets containing radio-operated cameras to do so."[431] The Russians launched Sputnik in 1957, scarcely seven years after his bold prediction.

Claiming that the death of our sun many millions of years hence will eventually swallow the inner planets one by one from Mercury to Mars, Hoyle ridiculed a biblical worldview stating that "This particular part of the New Cosmology seems to fit in well with medieval ideas about hell."[432] Stating that the Universe consists almost entirely of hydrogen and that hydrogen is being steadily converted into helium, Hoyle did not make the obvious conclusion, namely that our Universe is young, but grabbed the unproven hypothesis that continuous creation must be occurring.[433] Furthermore, Hoyle wrote in his final chapter, "A Personal View," that Christians, "in their anxiety to avoid the notion that death is the complete end of our existence … suggest what is to me an equally horrible alternative…. What the Christians offer me is an eternity of frustration."[434] He concludes his book with the hopeless claim, "We still have not the smallest clue to our own fate."[435]

Against Hoyle, the philosopher C.E.M. Joad agreed with Lewis and concluded that the size of the universe did not have "any *necessary* bearing upon our views as to the nature of the universe as a whole, more particularly as regards its origin, purpose, destiny and end."[436] The enlargement of the scale of the universe did not reduce the importance of mankind. Agreeing with Hoyle, who thought life on other planets in the universe possible,[437] Lewis thought it unlikely that life existed anywhere else in our solar system, but thought that it was at least possible elsewhere in the galaxy. The beliefs of Hoyle and others were being used as arguments against Christianity. Against that view, however, Lewis argued that "those who do not find Him on earth are unlikely to find Him in space."[438] Science is not equipped to do theology and evaluate the arguments for the existence of God, and, furthermore, the discovery of life in other parts of the universe would have no effect upon Christianity.

In 1958, Hoyle was Plumian professor of astronomy at Cambridge and engaged in the study of the structure and development of the stars. Even though he coined the phrase "Big Bang," Hoyle rejected the "big bang" theory of the origin of the universe in favor of the steady state theory, which claimed that the universe has always looked as it does now. Martin Ryle, however, held to the big bang theory for the creation of the universe in a moment, the theory that

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[429] Hoyle, 1.
[430] Hoyle, 3.
[431] Hoyle, 9.
[432] Hoyle, 46.
[433] Hoyle, 122–125.
[434] Hoyle, 141.
[435] Hoyle, 142.
[436] Joad, *The Recovery of Belief*, 32.
[437] "I would say that rather more than a million stars in the Milky Way possess planets on which you might live without undue discomfort." Hoyle, 26, 101.
[438] "The Seeing Eye," in *Christian Reflections*, 171.

eventually held sway.[439] Among his unusual ideas was his belief that life on Earth did not originate here, but, incredibly, was brought to Earth by a comet. Some of his writings, including science fiction and plays, popularized astronomy.[440] Christopher H. Derrick of Geoffrey Bles publishers, presumably in 1963 and before Lewis' death, wrote a proposal for a book that was to include "Religion and Rocketry," stating that "This essay seems to have been written in rebuttal of an argument which is only likely to be brought forward by a rather silly minority (though an academically distinguished one)…"[441] Hoyle would have been part of that silly minority.

Lewis wrote the essay "Ministering Angels" (1958) in response to an article by Robert S. Richardson, "The Day after We Land on Mars," which was originally published in *The Saturday Review* on May 28, 1955 and later reprinted in *The Magazine of Fantasy and Science Fiction* (January 1958). There Lewis pilloried the idea of Richardson that a group of men who took up research on Mars would need a spaceship with women to arrive every once in a while to provide them with sexual satisfaction under the guise of new ethical standards for unusual working conditions.

As shown in *Letters to Malcolm* (1964), Lewis was aware of the dominance of Determinism in the scientific community, a view that the involuntary decisions people make are really predetermined by their heredity, their pre-natal and early childhood experiences, and other factors. The advances of science rule out the formerly unpredictable, which were previously thought to have been answers to prayer, and make it unlikely that prayer actually results in answers from God.[442] One of the purposes of *Letters to Malcolm*, then, was to offer an alternative view of decision-making that showed decisions to be the result of free will.

Lewis was not only conversant with the hard sciences; he also understood much that was being written in the soft sciences, the social sciences.

Social Science

In the preface to the narrative poem Dymer, Lewis wrote about his days as an Oxford student, "In those days the new psychology was just beginning to make itself felt in the circles I most frequented at Oxford."[443] Prior to Lewis' years as an Oxford don, Lewis wrote in *Surprised by Joy* about being influenced by the "new psychology," thinking that his search for joy was eroticism (the brown girls of *SBJ*) or something else. The new psychology especially focused on wishful thinking or fantasy,[444] and, as Lewis wrote, "we felt ourselves (as young men always do) to be escaping from the illusions of adolescence, and as a result we were much exercised about the problem of fantasy or wishful thinking."[445] This position Freud attributed to Christians who allegedly wished that God existed and therefore created God in their own minds. God is simply an exalted father and a figment of the imagination. One major problem with this, of course, is that the Christian worldview contains so much of a theology of suffering, or a theology of the cross, that one can hardly argue that this is something people would wish for. Lewis' first Christian work, *The Pilgrim's Regress* (1933) rejected that viewpoint in favor of orthodox

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[439] Brooke, 488.
[440] Patrick Moore, "Sir Fred Hoyle," *Dictionary of National Biography*, consulted Jan. 11, 2005, 2-3. Patrick Moore, "Hoyle, Sir Fred (1915–2001)", *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edn, Oxford University Press, Jan 2005 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/76123, accessed 11 Jan 2005].
[441] New Bodleian Library, MS. Facs. b. 90, p. 63.
[442] Lewis, *Letters to Malcolm*, 36f., 38.
[443] Lewis, "Dymer," in *Narrative Poems*, 4.
[444] *Surprised by Joy*, 203.
[445] Lewis, "Dymer," in *Narrative Poems*, 4.

Christianity, and several articles from the early 1940s expressed his thinking further. Lewis knew Freud's arguments very well, possibly because he believed them during his atheistic years.[446] In *The Problem of Pain* (1940), Lewis stated that "the doctrine of repressions and inhibitions" from the psychoanalysts such as Freud is one of the reasons that Christians can no longer assume a sense of shame over sin. Psychoanalysis, Lewis wrote, has told us to "get things out into the open" because we need not be ashamed.[447]

Freudian psychology was prominent and growing during the days of Lewis, and the works of Freud (1856–1939) were being read, especially during the years immediately after World War I when Lewis was an undergraduate (1918–1922). Sigmund Freud, who once referred to religion as the "universal obsessional neurosis," was born to Jacob and Amalia Freud on May 6, 1856. Although raised by Jewish parents, Freud later repudiated his Jewish upbringing. The philosopher Ludwig Feuerbach's work, *The Essence of Christianity* (1841), had argued that religion was the fulfillment of wishes for a God by people who needed to believe in Him.[448] Freud read Feuerbach and was influenced by that position.

In 1926, Freud's *Inhibitions, Symptoms and Anxiety* was published, though not reviewed favorably in *The Oxford Magazine*.[449] Psychology as a discipline had arrived in Oxford during the mid-1920s, and Freudian psychology came soon thereafter. In *Surprised by Joy* (1955), Lewis called a concern about fantasy and wishful thinking the new psychology and had to determine if his longings were self-created or were actually longings for something else, even a longing for God.[450] Nine chapters of *The Pilgrim's Regress* (1933) addressed Freudian psychology, and within those chapters the traveler John, with the help of Reason, used common sense to escape from the giant called the Spirit of the Age. Since he considered Freudian psychology to be an outgrowth of the Enlightenment, he made Sigismund, a character in *The Pilgrim's Regress*, the son of Mr. Enlightenment. "If human beings are governed by subconscious motivations, then the old idea that someone might think through an issue logically and act on his conclusion is quite false."[451] In *Regress* Lewis compared "psychoanalysis to surgical dissection, and the contents of the unconscious to the exposed organs of the body. . . all humanity thus being revealed as little more than 'bundles of complexes.'"[452] In handwritten annotations in his personal copy of *The Pilgrim's Regress*, Lewis wrote that psychoanalysis and related thought was now "the chief antitheistic force" rather than nineteenth century materialism.

The essay "Psychoanalysis and Literary Criticism," originally read to a literary society at Westfield College,[453] was later published in *Selected Literary Essays* (1941). Lewis first delivered the paper on Sunday, Jan. 28, 1940, speaking to the English Adventurers Society. At that time, Westfield College was based in St. Peter's Hall, now St. Peter's College, so the lecture likely took place in their building. According to notes in *Hermes*, the college magazine, the paper "was thoroughly enjoyed and heartily appreciated."[454] In it, Lewis challenged two ideas that Freud championed in his *Introductory Lectures on Psychoanalysis* (1933), namely that all art can

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[446] Nicholi, *The Question of God*, 13
[447] Lewis, *The Problem of Pain*, 49f.
[448] Nicholi, *The Question of God*, 19.
[449] *The Oxford Magazine*, Feb. 25, 1937.
[450] Lewis, *Surprised by Joy*, 203f.
[451] Myers, 17.
[452] Bishop, "In Defense of Joy: C.S. Lewis and Psychoanalysis," 109.
[453] A college located at the time in Oxford, England.
[454] Email dated March 10, 2010 from Toni Hardy, Assistant Archivist with Queen Mary College, University of London, with which Westfield College merged.

be traced to wish-fulfillments and that both dreams and stories depend upon symbols, which have a constant meaning (for Freud, usually sexual). While Lewis did not argue against the possibility of some stories being examples of wish-fulfillment, he argued that quite often wish-fulfillment had little or nothing to do with the story. Literature is not always about the pathology of the writer. And while Lewis did not disagree that some symbols carry an unconscious sexual meaning, he argued that good literature was much more than that, wondering whether Freudianism was not "a great school of prudery and hypocrisy."[455] Humanity is interested in many things besides sex, and Freud cannot determine the extent to which sexual meaning or some other meaning is inherent in a given symbol, such as the flower or the garden. In fact, in a positive reference to Jung, Lewis argued that symbols enchant because they carry a certain mystery, and to reduce a symbol to a sexual meaning is to remove that mystery.

Wish-fulfillment appears in other writings of Lewis. In the essay "On Three Ways of Writing for Children," Lewis argued that fairy tales are not guilty of escapism by allowing "children to retreat into a world of wish-fulfillment."[456] They do not attempt to escape from the real world by reading fairy tales; by reading fairy tales they long for something beyond their reach, by reading of enchanted woods they come to see all woods as a little enchanted, and so their lives are enriched.[457] Rather than being the result of wish fulfillment, fairy tales actually testify to the objective reality of the magical element in Christianity, the witness that the fairy tale gives to the heavenly realm, which is no less real than the natural universe.[458]

In late 1941 (September-October), Lewis' essay "Religion: Reality or Substitute?" admitted that the psychologists appeared at first glance to have a good case. But a closer look at realities and substitutes suggested that it was often difficult to tell the difference between them. His own experience as a boy with the gramophone, in comparison to a live orchestra, taught him that musical miseducation could lead one, as it did him, to think the reality to be a substitute and the substitute to be a reality. One must learn from one of three sources—authority, reason, or experience—and link that source to faith.

Lewis also challenged Freudianism in his 1941 essay, "Bulverism," or "The Foundation of 20th Century Thought." With an allusion to "looking at," which he later articulated more fully in his 1945 essay, "Meditation in a Toolshed," Lewis challenged the perception of the Freudians, who "discovered" that people are bundles of complexes; the philosopher Ludwig Feuerbach who "discovered" that religion was mere subjective feeling; and Karl Marx, who "discovered" that people are simply members of an economic class. Each of these three thinkers rejected the existence of God without offering any evidence for their position.[459] These are the ones who "have had it all their own way," as Lewis wrote in "Meditation in a Toolshed." They made these discoveries, including the assumption that they know the real story behind the story, without ever refuting the systems of thought they challenged. From these discoveries, they proceeded to explain the errors of Christianity without ever demonstrating logically and rationally the alleged errors of Christianity. Bulverism, named after an imaginary inventor, Ezekiel Bulver, is the name Lewis gave to this system of thought that assumed, without proof, the error of another position. However, in his essay, Lewis argued that before you can explain someone else's errors, you must show that he is wrong. Bulverists don't do this, for logic is not one of their strengths.

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[455] Lewis, "Psychoanalysis and Literary Criticism," 294.
[456] Lewis, "On Three Ways of Writing for Children," *On Stories*, 37.
[457] Lewis, "On Three Ways of Writing for Children," *On Stories*, 38.
[458] Lewis, *Letters to Malcolm*, 104.
[459] Lindsley, 127.

Lewis did, however, agree in his BBC broadcast on "Morality and Psychoanalysis"[460] that Freud was correct in attributing some of our behavior to the subconscious. When Freud became an amateur philosopher and espoused a particular world view, however, Lewis disagreed. Morality has to do with choices people make, but psychoanalysis has to do with the feelings and impulses that sometimes cause our choices to go wrong and not at all with the moral choices we make. When psychoanalysis functions within its appropriate area, it can serve a useful purpose.[461]

On May 28, 1944, the festival of Pentecost, Lewis preached the sermon, "Transposition," at the Congregational Mansfield College at the invitation of its Principal Nathaniel Micklem (1888–1976). He delivered it in response to the Freudian charge that Christianity was simply a psychological projection, a wish fulfillment, arguing instead that God had placed within each person a desire to know God.[462] In *Totem and Taboo* (1913), Freud had stated that "at bottom God is nothing other than an exalted father."[463] In *The Future of an Illusion* (1927), Freud had written that all religious ideas express wishes, therefore illusions, rather than true beliefs. The belief in a God, a moral order, and an afterlife "is exactly as we are bound to wish it to be."[464]

Lewis defined transposition, a musical term, as an "adaptation from a richer to a poorer medium." It all depends upon whether you look at a particular phenomenon from below or above. Since the date was Pentecost Sunday, Lewis used the example of speaking in tongues. From above, speaking in tongues is evidence of the work of the Holy Spirit, while from below, it is an unintelligible oral exercise with no use or purpose. There is both a naturalistic and a supernaturalistic explanation of tongues. The same is true of the Lord's Supper, an ordinary meal or a divine meal, and a drawing, which, for some, is a representation of the three-dimensional real world, but for others, merely two-dimensional lines on a page. Therefore, Christianity may seem to be a desire to have a supernatural deity in charge, because there is a similarity between Christian faith and wish fulfillment. However, that explanation assumes that there is no reality corresponding to Christian truths, because the person who holds that view has never experienced the Christian faith from the inside or from above. That person has only known the poorer medium and can't conceive of something far greater. This is why heaven is such a difficult concept for the Christian who has never experienced it, and we have to depend upon biblical descriptions of heaven as lacking sorrow, pain, death, and sin.

Seven months later, on December 14, 1944, Lewis delivered a Commemoration Oration to the students at King's College at the University of London in an address that became known as "The Inner Ring" (1944). A news archive item from 2005 on the King's College website gives an explanation of the Commemoration Oration:

> The Commemoration Oration celebrates King's as a place of learning, commemorating the vision of its founders and benefactors, and marks the achievements of the College's students and staff. Once an annual celebration at King's, the first ever Commemoration orator was author and poet G K Chesterton. Subsequent speakers have considered matters academic, spiritual, philosophical and political, national and international. Previous speakers include author C S Lewis, former Prime Ministers Clement Attlee and Harold

[460] Delivered on October 4, 1942 and later published in *Mere Christianity*, 89.
[461] Lewis, *Mere Christianity*, 90.
[462] Bramlett and Higdon, *Touring C.S. Lewis' Ireland & England*, 24.
[463] Freud, *Totem and Taboo*, cited in Nicholi, 43.
[464] Freud, *The Future of an Illusion*, cited in Nicholi, 41.

> Wilson, World War II General Viscount Montgomery, several King's Principals, and last year former Archbishop of Cape Town and Nobel Prize winner, Desmond Tutu.[465]

Lewis chose to give advice to King's College students about the world in which they were going to live, and he avoided saying what role they would play in postwar reconstruction. While taking aim at both Karl Marx and Sigmund Freud, who accounted for behavior too easily, Lewis felt, by explaining it according to the economic motive (Marx) or the erotic motive (Freud), he warned his audience against the desire to enter the Inner Ring. That desire will gradually make a person do bad things, and it will too easily become a governing factor in the person's life. Such a person was Mark Studdock, the young sociologist in *That Hideous Strength*, who was too anxious to enter the Inner Ring of the National Institute for Coordinated Experiments. Rather, Lewis claimed, make your work your end, and you will find yourself one of the sound craftsmen known to other people and respected by other people.

This concern about an Inner Ring cannot have originated recently, but one documented example of such a coterie inside Magdalen is clear. T.D. Weldon was known as a powerful insider who, with others at Magdalen, was influencing the direction of the college. Lewis' term as Magdalen Vice President, starting in the fall of 1940, was orchestrated, in part, by Bruce McFarlane to balance Weldon's influence.[466] One author wrote that Lewis "doubtless drew heavily on his experience of the Weldonites at Magdalen over nearly two decades" for "The Inner Ring."[467] Lewis had initially been close to Weldon, but he gradually distanced himself after his conversion to Christianity.[468]

Lewis commented on the difficulty of living up to a Christian ethic in our home lives, when he criticized the comments of the preacher, who was not civil to his children over the dinner table. Lewis had apparently experienced this, although he does not mention the precise date of the lunch in "The Sermon and the Lunch," published on September 21, 1945 in the *Church of England Newspaper*. While expressing the difficulty of love as natural affection, as in *The Four Loves*, he encouraged the practice of the Christian family when we have truly become sons of God. That is, we can speak of the value of the home when we live truly it ourselves; there is no room for restraining rudeness in public while letting our hair down at home.

Lewis mentioned Jung a second time in his essay, "On Three Ways of Writing for Children," delivered at the Bournemouth Conference in 1952. Comparing Jung to Tolkien in their theories about why people like fairy tales, Lewis spoke of Tolkien's theory of sub-creation and Jung's theory that the "fairy tale liberates Archetypes which dwell in the collective unconscious, and when we read a good fairy tale we are obeying the old precept 'Know thyself'."[469]

Freud was still on Lewis' mind when he mentioned the Freudian slip in his sermon, "A Slip of the Tongue" (Jan. 29, 1956) during a Magdalene College chapel service. In that sermon he thought that his slip of the tongue during prayer was significant, since he reversed the wording of the Collect for the fourth Sunday after Trinity by praying that he might pass through things eternal without losing things temporal. Later in the same sermon he mentioned the Vichy government, the French government from 1940 to 1944 that was considered by many French to be illegal, since it was in power during the German occupation of France and was established

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[465] *http://www.kcl.ac.uk/phpnews/wmview.php?ArtID=797*, accessed July 20, 2007.
[466] Andrew Hegarty, "The Tutorial Takeover, 1928-1968," Magdalen College Oxford: A History, 582.
[467] Brockliss, 611.
[468] Brockliss, 610.
[469] Lewis, "On Three Ways of Writing for Children," in *On Stories*, 36.

after France surrendered to Germany. Lewis commented that the Christian needed to be in the Resistance, not the Vichy government. Lewis also mentioned the value of a spiritual director, something that he had benefited from since October 1940. That director was Father Walter Frederick Adams, an Anglican mission priest of the Society of St. John the Evangelist in Oxford, a society also known as the Cowley Fathers. Adams served as a confessor, an encourager, and a guide to his devotional life.[470]

Lewis wrote "Behind the Scenes" (1956) eleven years after "Meditation in a Toolshed," putting that essay into another creative format. In comparing the reality of "behind the scenes" props and settings in a stage play to the reality of a scientific explanation of light or a Freudian explanation of our Unconscious, Lewis made the point that what seems to be appearance (light, behavior) is really all that we have and no one can truly get behind the scene of our behavior and know the allegedly true explanation of our unconscious thinking. While not using the terms "at" or "along," Lewis echoed the thoughts of his earlier essay by suggesting that those who look "at" light as photons or waves have tried to have it their way, but no one can really ever meet a photon. What seems to be only an appearance is the only reality we know. Consequently, the Freudians claim too much when they think they know the reasons behind our behavior. Likewise, the materialist claims too much by describing a person as a purely biological creature. Lewis concludes, "Nobody ever can be 'behind'."

Not always understood as one of the behavioral sciences, the field of Communication arose from within behavioral science. On the subject of communication, Lewis wrote an article for *Breakthrough* entitled "Before We Can Communicate" (October 1961), responding to the problem of communication between Christians and the rest of the world. So often we do not communicate what we think we communicate with our choice of words. Such was the case with the Prayer Book revision, which changed the word *indifferently* to *impartially*, thereby confusing some. In another instance, Lewis finally understood a working man who said that he did not believe in a *personal* Devil. By the word *personal*, the man meant *corporeal*, "having a body." Scholarly language communicates with much more brevity than popular language, so scholars tend to use more difficult words. They must learn the language of their audience. Even the seminary student should understand this and be required to translate a passage from a theological work into plain vernacular English. If he cannot, then he doesn't really understand that work and can't really communicate its truth.

In *A Grief Observed* (1961), Lewis mentioned the insights of Freud in a few places, first when he said that marriage had taught him to deny that religion is manufactured by the human unconscious as a substitute for sex. "Who'd bother about substitutes," wrote Lewis, "when he has the thing itself?"[471] He later took another swipe at the Freudian understanding of the unconscious.[472] He also mentioned the Jungian archetype when he described the picture of God as an old king with a long beard. His reference in that paragraph to S. C. may well be a reference to Magdalen colleague Edwin Stewart Craig.[473]

In *Letters to Malcolm*, Lewis called it nonsense when modern psychologists considered all guilt feelings pathological. Some guilt feelings are false, as they argue, but when guilt about an unkind act is also considered to be pathological, the psychologists are wrong.[474] In the same

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[470] Dorsett, *Seeking the Secret Place*, 85, 87f., 96.
[471] Lewis, *A Grief Observed*, 19, 20.
[472] Lewis, *A Grief Observed*, 86.
[473] Lewis, *A Grief Observed*, 43.
[474] Lewis, *Letters to Malcolm*, 32f.

work and same chapter, Lewis offered both a compliment and a challenge to Freudians. The Freudians were correct in exposing "the cowardly evasions of really useful self-knowledge," but analysis does not cure the morbid curiosity about the self. It is truly good to know ourselves, and the Freudians helped us to do so, but one can take that to an extreme and spend the rest of our lives in self-analysis, which does little good.

Excursus: Sigmund Freud

In 1922 Lewis first read Sigmund Freud (May 6, 1856–September 23, 1939), the father of psychoanalysis. He read some of Freud's *New Introductory Lectures on Psychoanalysis*, first delivered as lectures in 1915–1917 and later published in book form (1932 and earlier).[475] In 1938, the Freuds crossed the border from Germany into France and eventually to Hampstead, London, England. For a short time, then, Lewis was much more aware of Freud, who lived just an hour or so east of Oxford, but the two would never meet. Between those two events, Lewis became quite familiar with the writings of Freud, whom he considered important enough to satirize in *The Pilgrim's Regress* with a character named Sigismund. His reference to Sigismund was not inaccurate, nor deprecatory, but a reference to Freud's actual first name at birth. But Sigismund's last name, Mr. Enlightenment, certainly was satiric, for Freud, in reality, was not nearly as enlightened as he thought. The name may also have conveyed an understanding that Freud thought of his own research as demonstrating the kind of enlightenment that came from a realization of the role of the unconscious.

Freud's theories were much more expansive than will appear in this excursus, but we will treat only those aspects of Freud's theories that Lewis addressed. Topics such as the life drive and the death drive, compensation, sublimation, and projection are, therefore, not addressed.

The Unconscious

Freud's most important contribution to psychoanalysis was his conception of the unconscious, the belief that people often do things for reasons not consciously known to them. Lewis agreed with Freud in believing in the reality of the unconscious mind, more because of the influence of the Romantics than because of Freud.[476] Lewis also understood Freud to say that all thought was conditioned by irrational processes, and he argued that this position involved a denial of the validity of thought. After all, if a thought is the result of irrational processes, then the conclusion that all thought is the result of irrational processes is itself the result of irrational processes and, therefore, irrational.[477] The Freudian slip, allegedly caused by the unconscious but subject to extensive analysis in Freud's writings, Lewis apparently granted, thinking some of them, but not all, valid.[478]

The goal of psychoanalysis was to bring repressed thoughts and feelings to consciousness. According to Freud, people repress an experience when it was so painful that they could not bear it. Then, the emotions and thoughts about the experience are forced from the conscious mind, but remain in the unconscious, even though the person is unaware of this. The assumption was that bringing unconscious thoughts and feelings to consciousness would occur when the patient was encouraged to talk in free association and especially about dreams, and this

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[475] *All My Road Before Me*, 44.
[476] Bishop, "Zeitheistheim," 46.
[477] Lewis, "Modern Man and his Categories of Thought," *Present Concerns*, 65.
[478] Lewis, "A Slip of the Tongue," *The Weight of Glory*, 138.

would bring about healing. Dreams, what Freud called the "royal road to the unconscious," demonstrate some aspects of the unconscious, which is undoubtedly true, but Lewis did not think this always the case. On one occasion he commented that there was no hidden meaning of the previous night's dream.[479] At the same time, Lewis thought that Plato's idea of the dream as an expression of a submerged wish was an Ur-Freudian doctrine, thereby giving credence to this theory,[480] but in the same work he disparaged the assumption of modern psychologists that nearly all dreams have hidden meaning.[481]

Lewis challenged parts of Freud's doctrine of symbolism, especially dream symbolism, which Freud explained in his tenth lecture in *Introductory Lectures*. Lewis did not deny that certain things from the real world are symbols or images when they appear in dreams. Indeed, Lewis agreed with Freud that symbols were the natural speech of the soul.[482] What he denied was that those things *always* symbolized those latent ideas. Commenting on Freud's belief that the garden symbolized the female body, Lewis wrote, "What we resent, in fact, is not so much the suggestion that we are interested in the female body as the suggestion that we have no interest in gardens."[483] And furthermore, if that is the latent thought in the mind of the male, can it truly mean the same thing in a woman's dream?[484]

When Lewis turned to the *Romance of the Rose*, he argued that Freud had it backwards. The symbols of the garden and the rosebud were intended by the author to be symbols of the erotic, but their intent was not to conceal, as Freud held, but to reveal. The erotic experience became more interesting because the author borrowed the attractiveness of the flowers to express something about the erotic experience. Humanity is interested in much more than sex. But once it is granted that our enjoyment of symbols can be a compound interest in both the erotic and the real, then it is impossible to say in what proportion those two interests are mixed.[485] This blunts the Freudian theory, for the interest in the real thing may be the primary interest. The secondary interest may be quite negligible and, therefore, of no consequence.

Freud and Sexual Desire

The influence of Freud's views of the unconscious show themselves in many other aspects of his theory, and Freud's views on sexual desire are among them. Lewis was concerned about Freud's apparent obsession with sex, seeing things such as desire as a substitute for sex,[486] when it is actually the exact opposite—sex is often a attempt to satisfy a desire for the other worldly (Eccl. 3:11). Armand Nicholi has pointed out that Freud's labeling of early childhood experiences as sexual did not mean that Freud thought those children had a concept of adult sexuality. "He meant only that children experience sensual pleasure from various areas of their body at different stages of development."[487] So perhaps Lewis was too hard on Freud, a man who throughout his life practiced a very conservative sexual morality. In fact, Lewis agreed that there

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[479] Lewis, "A Dream," *Present Concerns*, 37.
[480] Lewis, *The Discarded Image*, 54.
[481] Lewis, *The Discarded Image*, 64.
[482] Lewis, *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Literature*, 137.
[483] Lewis, "Psychoanalysis and Literary Criticism," *Selected Literary Essays*, first published in 1941, 293.
[484] *That Hideous Strength*, 62.
[485] Lewis, "Psychoanalysis and Literary Criticism," 295f.
[486] *Collected Letters*, Vol. 2, 896.
[487] Nicholi, *The Question of God*, 129.

was nothing sinful about sexuality *per se* and nothing wrong with speaking about it, but he disagreed with Freud's assumption that sex had become a mess because it had been hushed up.[488]

Freud failed to see that longing was actually a longing for immortality.[489] For example, Freud believed that the happy garden was an image of the human body,[490] and in holding this position Freud, sometimes grouped by Lewis with D.H. Lawrence, was removing the legitimate restraints that morality wisely imposed. The untitled poem by Lewis, which begins "D.H. Lawrence, Sigmund Freud,"[491] speaks of the removal of restraints by these two men. Lewis once stated that he had no objection to this explanation, provided that it was not allowed to exclude all other explanations of the garden, such as the literal, agricultural understanding of the garden.[492] Freud thought that love was merely an elaboration of lust, and that virtue was merely an elaboration of instinct,[493] something Lewis challenged in *Mere Christianity*. Freud felt that love was the most important thing in life,[494] while Lewis thought that Freud and other psychologists placed too high an estimate both on the importance of sexual adjustment and the difficulty in achieving it.[495] Many other qualities besides sexual love provide the means to achieve lasting happiness, including goodness, self-control, loyalty, and fair-mindedness.[496] Many people have lost their virginity, Lewis wrote, because of the desire to join a group rather than because of the sexual impulse.[497]

Probably referring to Freud's ideas on friendship were Lewis' words in *The Four Loves*, where he wrote that a love affair was not at all like a friendship and certainly not a disguise of Eros and a betrayal of the fact that they never had a friend.[498] Armand Nicholi wrote, "Indeed, for Freud, the great commandment to 'Love your neighbor as yourself' is absurd."[499]

Lewis felt that the Freudians attacked traditional morality on the grounds that Christian moral judgments came from non-moral and non-rational causes, i.e. because of the unconscious or for emotional reasons. The following emotional arguments illustrate: "She favors abortion because she has a friend who had one" or "He is a Pacifist because he is a coward."[500] So in this matter, we see part of the bias of Freud against a theistic worldview.

Lewis held that the philosophy of Freud was in direct contradiction to Christianity. When Freud spoke about his field, he was at least speaking within his area of expertise, but when he spoke about general philosophy, he was merely an amateur philosopher whose views were no more authoritative than anyone else and certainly less authoritative than those who have made the study of Christianity part of their life's work.[501] But Lewis did not disagree with Freud on all

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[488] See especially Lewis, *Mere Christianity*, Book III, Chapter 5, 98.
[489] *The Pilgrim's Regress*, 205.
[490] *A Preface to Paradise Lost*, 49.
[491] The poem is mentioned in a letter to Dorothy L. Sayers that Lewis wrote on March 9, 1954. *Collected Letters*, III, 437. See also Don King, *C.S. Lewis, Poet*, 296.
[492] Lewis, "Behind the Scenes," *God in the Dock*, 247.
[493] *Christian Reflections*, 91.
[494] "Equality," *Present Concerns*, 19.
[495] Lewis, *The Four Loves*, 98. See also Freud, *Civilization and Its Discontents*, in *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works*, vol. XXI, 76, cited in Nicholi, 100.
[496] Lewis, "We Have No 'Right to Happiness,'" in *God in the Dock*, 321.
[497] Lewis, "The Inner Ring," *The Weight of Glory*, 112.
[498] Lewis, *The Four Loves*, 61, cited in Nicholi, 170.
[499] Nicholi, 174.
[500] Lewis, *Miracles*, 50.
[501] Lewis, *Mere Christianity*, 89.

points. Where Freud held that the heart was deceitful, Lewis agreed with him on the basis of a biblical theology.[502]

Freud and Complexes

According to Lewis, Freud taught that people were bundles of complexes, some of them religious complexes that needed to be overcome.[503] The thing that was obvious to most people was not necessarily true; they needed the psychologist to explain the real source (i.e. the unconscious) of what meets the eye. As Lewis stated elsewhere, the Freudians looked "at" things, provided the allegedly expert analysis, and were accepted as correct.[504] On the positive side, Lewis thought that psychoanalysis was helpful in healing some of the wounds created by materialism, for it saw depth to reality where materialism so often saw only a natural process.[505]

Lewis' ambivalence towards his own father lends flavor to his understanding of Freud's theory about the Oedipus complex, named after Sophocles' famous Greek tragedy, *Oedipus Rex*. According to Freud, every male child loves his mother and is jealous of his father, while every female experiences exactly the reverse. Lewis saw some truth in Freud's theory of the Oedipus complex, saying that it was wise to admit that you have an old grudge against your father and your first teacher.[506] He agreed that many distortions in character and errors in thought can derive from a man's childhood conflicts with his father.[507] For example, Lewis once expressed a concern about self-hatred as something that stemmed from the negative influence of one's parents. A biblical "hatred" in the sense of recognizing the inherent weakness of sin, however, is a legitimate and sober understanding of self.[508] However, Lewis also thought that the opposite was sometimes true, that a son likewise gains many strengths from his father.[509] All parents know that children pick up both good and bad traits from their parents.

Wishful Thinking

Freud taught that many people considered certain ideas to be true simply because they wished them to be true. He put Christians in that category. However, Lewis challenged this, based on numerous flaws in this theory. The first flaw is that a person might think that he has a large bank account, but wishful thinking will not account for this if, in fact, that account is large. One must first discover on arithmetical grounds whether the account is large. Having determined that the account is small, one could conclude that the owner's thoughts are wishful thinking.[510]

A second flaw in Freud's theory, Lewis believed, was that Freud did not distinguish between fantasy and imagination. For Freud, a daydream was a daydream, but for Lewis, one may daydream in a wish fulfillment way or one can daydream in a way that results in a marvelous, mythical, and fantastical story.[511] Therefore, when Freud argues that the artist uses wish-fulfillment to get through art what he or she couldn't get in reality, he may be correct or he may not be. If the artist uses art only as a daydream, Freud is correct. If the artist is exploring the

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[502] Lewis, "Is Theology Poetry?," *The Weight of Glory*, 102.
[503] Lewis, "On Obstinacy in Belief," *The World's Last Night*, 18.
[504] Lewis, "Bulverism," *God in the Dock*, 271; see also "Meditation in a Toolshed," *God in the Dock*.
[505] Lewis, "Psychoanalysis and Literary Criticism," 299.
[506] Lewis, *Christian Reflections*, 92.
[507] *George MacDonald*, Preface, 21.
[508] Lewis, "Two Ways with the Self," *God in the Dock*, 194.
[509] *MacDonald*, Preface, 22.
[510] Lewis, "Bulverism," *God in the Dock*, 272.
[511] Lewis, "Psychoanalysis and Literary Criticism," 287, 289.

marvelous and mythical, then Freud is incorrect. Art is not necessarily the way in which the artist acquires "honor, power, riches, fame, and the love of women."[512] The same is true, Freud said and Lewis denied, of both reading and writing, that people acquire honor and power through their written works when they can't get those things in real life.[513] Freud himself, Lewis wrote, understood the weakness of his wish-fulfillment theory for musical people, some of whom were really musical and were not simply wishing to be musical, while others were only wishing to be musical.[514]

A third, and fatal, flaw in Freud's thinking is the fact that wish fulfillment can go both ways. While the Christian may believe in Christianity because he very much wants it to be true, the atheist may also desperately want atheism to be true. The mere existence of a wish proves nothing, and in fact it may be evidence for its existence. Hunger suggests food, the desire to swim suggests water, and sexual desire suggests the reality of sex. Likewise, then, the desire for God may suggest that there is a God.[515] Wishes can also work in other ways, such as a person being an atheist because he wants Christianity to be true, while another person may be a Christian because he wants atheism to be true, although this seems far less likely.[516]

The wishful thinking theory is dependent upon understanding the influence of the unconscious, since most people whom Freud would accuse of wishful thinking are not aware of wishful thinking. Lewis agreed with Freud that we do not have total self-knowledge. Consequently, some of it is unconscious. Sometimes we evade useful self-knowledge, which could help us, but the other side of the coin is a morbid curiosity about the self, which carries on endlessly and typically does the individual no good. Psychoanalysis will not cure that.[517] At the same time, any individual by definition is unaware of the things that Freud attributes to the unconscious, so we cannot refute Freud, who claims to know our inhibitions.[518]

Psychological Determinism

Psychological determinism is the view that nothing that human beings do is ever accidental. All human actions are caused by preceding events, many of them non-rational, and not as a result of free choice. Some people are physical determinists, who believe that all actions are merely the product of chemical or biological responses, while others are psychological determinists, such as psychoanalysts, who believe that all human actions are the products of wants and needs of individuals and unperceived social forces.[519] This view often also denies the free will, claiming instead that all actions are predetermined, a reaction to a complex set of external and internal conditions, some of those conditions from the irrational and unconscious. Freud believed that people often acted for reasons that have little or nothing to do with their conscious thoughts. And, conveniently, Freud set himself up as the expert interpreter. While Lewis granted that psychological determinism will usually be true for the masses, he did not grant that it would necessarily be true about a given individual.[520]

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[512] Freud, *Introductory Lectures*, 1933, 314.
[513] "Psychoanalysis and Literary Criticism," 287.
[514] Lewis, "Psychoanalysis and Literary Criticism," 287.
[515] Lewis, *Mere Christianity*, 136f.
[516] "On Obstinacy in Belief," *The World Last Night*, 19.
[517] *Letters to Malcolm*, 34.
[518] "On Criticism," *Of Other Worlds*, 50.
[519] http://mb-soft.com/believe/text/determin.htm.
[520] *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Literature*, 55.

The key issue for both Freud and Lewis, as Armand Nicholi has pointed out,[521] was the question of God. Where these two great writers took their stand on this issue dictated much of every other stand that they took.

Excursus: Carl Jung

Lewis mentioned the Swiss psychiatrist Carl Jung (July 26, 1875–June 6, 1961) by name at least forty-two times in his extent writings, the earliest occasion being 1922, when Lewis was reading Jung's *Analytical Psychology*.[522] By that time Jung was a well known and published author. Later Lewis apparently read Jung's essay "Mind and the Earth," which was published in *Contributions to Analytical Psychology* (1928). Jung, a younger contemporary of Sigmund Freud and for a time a friend, studied medicine at the University of Basel and eventually specialized in psychiatric medicine.

Archetypes

Lewis was attracted to Jung's concept of archetypes and its nuances, and almost nothing else about his theories. An archetype is that teaching, originated by Jung, which holds that certain concepts are universal patterns that all societies draw on for understanding. It is a near equivalent to a stereotype or a model or the epitome of a certain type of personality or behavior. The picture of God as "a grave old king with a long beard" is one of those archetypes, linking God with wise old kings, prophets, sages, and magicians. Another is the Hero, the Robin Hood or King Arthur character, the knight in shining armor who performs heroic deeds on behalf of those less fortunate. A third is the Terrible Mother.[523] It makes you think of someone older than you are, someone who knows more, someone you don't understand. The archetype preserves mystery, hope, and awe,[524] and it dwells in the collective unconscious, which doesn't actually exist. The fairy tale liberates archetypes, wrote Lewis, and they help us to know ourselves better.[525] Imaginative writing, including allegory, uses symbolism to convey truth, and the greatest pleasure is when a story is symbolical or mythical.[526] Archetypes are symbols of powerful truths in much the same way that myth is, so it is no surprise that Joseph Campbell was greatly influenced by Jung. Lewis even admitted to using Jungian archetypes in his book *Till We Have Faces*.[527]

The Collective Unconscious

Both Jung and Freud wrote about the unconscious, but Jung popularized the notion of the *collective* unconscious. Jung became familiar with Freud's idea of the unconscious through Freud's *The Interpretation of Dreams* (1900), although they later disagreed about the nature of

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[521] Nicholi, Armand M., Jr. *The Question of God: C.S. Lewis and Sigmund Freud Debate God, Love, Sex, and the Meaning of Life*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 2002.
[522] Lewis, *All My Road Before Me*, p. 63, a diary entry from July 4, 1922.
[523] Lewis, *Spenser's Images of Life*, p. 117.
[524] Lewis, *A Grief Observed*, 43. Lewis acknowledges Jung's doctrine of Primordial Images or Archetypal Patterns in several other places, including "Psychoanalysis and Literary Criticism," *Selected Literary Essays*, p. 296; "The Mythpoeic Gift of Rider Haggard," *On Stories and Other Essays on Literature*, p. 99; "The Anthropological Approach," *Selected Literary Essays*, p. 309; *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Literature*, p. 13; *The Discarded Image*, p. 59.
[525] Lewis, "On Three Ways of Writing for Children," *Of Other Worlds*, 27.
[526] Lewis, *Collected Letters*, II, 440. August 18, 1940 letter to a Professor Butler.
[527] Lewis, *Letters to Children*, p. 107.

the unconscious. The collective unconscious consists of archetypes. It refers to that part of the individual's unconscious that is common to all people. The collective unconscious contains the reactions of the mind to most situations, reactions that are typically expressed in images rather than in thought,[528] and it also has a creative capacity to express these archetypes. Symbols are older and more universal than words; they, rather than words, are the natural speech of the soul.[529] They reveal the content of the unconscious through dreams, myths, and various behaviors. Herein Jung is showing his dependence on Freud and his teaching of the unconscious, but also his dependence upon evolutionary theory, which finds instinctual thoughts in people for which there is no explanation. It can be doubted whether there is such a thing as a collective unconscious. The similarity of life experiences may be a better explanation.

Story

Lewis lamented the fact that story was so often ignored. He found three exceptions to this rule, one in Aristotle, one in Boccaccio, and the third one in Jung's teaching on archetypes.[530] Jung came close to explaining how stories have an impact on the reader when he explained how one myth affects us in the same way as other myths affect us.[531] Myths are images recovered from the collective unconscious, whether tragic myths or joyous myths.[532] They have great power to excite the reader, but Lewis urged caution. He thought that images might have such power, not because of the arguments Jung made, but because of the emotions those images aroused. Lewis questioned the explanation Jung gave of these myths and images, even though Jung explained the pleasure that comes from meditating upon them.[533]

[528] Lewis, "Psychoanalysis and Literary Criticism," *Selected Literary Essays*, p. 297.
[529] Lewis, *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Literature*, p. 137.
[530] Lewis, "On Stories," *Of Other Worlds: Essays and Stories*, p. 3.
[531] Lewis, "On Science Fiction," *Of Other Worlds: Essays and Stories*, p. 71.
[532] Lewis, "Psychoanalysis and Literary Criticism," *Selected Literary Essays*, p. 297.
[533] Lewis, "Psychoanalysis and Literary Criticism," *Selected Literary Essays*, p. 299f.

Chapter 5. Trends in Religion

The overall trend in religion in twentieth century England was one of "a steadily growing separation between Church and society,"[534] leaving the country a largely secular society at the end of the millennium. During the twenties and the sixties, agnosticism and atheism seemed the rule of the day, but between those decades the tide turned for a while. C.S. Lewis was one of the reasons for that turning.

Some argue that the influence of the Christian faith was the largest single influence at Oxford during the 1930s and that Lewis was at the center of this influence. E.F.M. Turner wrote, "The single twentieth-century Oxford religious figure whose influence extended far beyond the University was Clive Staples Lewis, who was neither a member of the faculty of theology nor even a theologian."[535] Adrian Hastings wrote of Lewis, "No formal theologian or clerical writer was half as important, if we are concerned, not with a history of original theology, but one of religion, of widely shared conviction, of the movement of belief and religious behaviour."[536] Describing the religious atmosphere during and after World War II, John Wain wrote, "It was impossible, at that time, to take in 'Oxford' without taking in, if not exactly the Christian faith, at least a very considerable respect for Christianity…Everybody to whom an imaginative and bookish youth naturally looked up, every figure who radiated intellectual glamour of any kind, was in the Christian camp."[537] Lewis himself was a significant part of this Christian influence, one that undoubtedly provided encouragement to him as he wrote *The Screwtape Letters*, gave the BBC broadcasts[538] that led to *Mere Christianity* (1952), and led the Socratic Club. As so often happens, the war itself fueled an increased interest in Christianity. The Oxford Union resolved "that a return to God through organized religion is essential for the establishment of a new world order."[539] Suddenly Anglicanism became "the adventurous spearhead of English intellectual and artistic life."[540]

The role of classical learning and the Christian faith were still strong during Lewis' years at Oxford University. It was not until the 1960s that Oxford became more secular and international in character.[541] When F.R. Barry, chaplain of St. Mary the Virgin (1927–33), stated that "there is probably no place in the world where such lavish provision is made both officially and unofficially for the teaching and practice of religion" as in Oxford, he was not arguing that the religion of Oxford had avoided the challenges to the faith that all other parts of the Western world had faced.[542] He was speaking of the external trappings of Christianity as well as the presence of clergy and the study of religion. This is not to say, however, that Christian piety was unknown or little known in Oxford. Church attendance was higher in Oxford than in Great Britain as a whole.[543]

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[534] Hastings, xv.
[535] Turner, 310. See also Hastings, xvii.
[536] Hastings, 493.
[537] Wain, *Sprightly Running*, cited in Harrison, 295.
[538] Justin Phillips notes that at this time the BBC had fully adopted Christian values. Phillips, 15.
[539] Addison, 180.
[540] Wain, *Sprightly Running*, 143, cited in Addison, 180.
[541] Harris, 219.
[542] Turner, 293.
[543] Turner, 295.

A brief look at the history leading up to the Lewis years will lay the foundation for understanding the kind of religious climate within which Lewis taught as an Oxford don from 1925 through 1954.

Modernism

Modernism (i.e. liberalism) in England challenged many traditionally held Christian beliefs, including belief in miracles and the historicity and reliability of many of its sources, and can therefore accept some of the blame for religious decline in Oxford.[544] Lewis once stated that Hume's *Essay on Miracles* was thought to have proved that historical statements about miracles were the most improbable of all such statements. The more often something has happened, Hume thought, the more likely its occurrence is to happen again. The majority vote of all past experiences determines the likelihood of miracles, and therefore no event that happened just once could have happened![545] Lewis would later write the book *Miracles* specifically to counter Hume's position.

The nature of truth was also a problem at Oxford, especially among its philosophers, hence their dislike for any assurances of the reliability of the Bible. In this repudiation of truth, the modernists were offering a variation on the first question, "Did God really say?" (Gen. 3:1) Modernists such as Mr. Broad in *The Pilgrim's Regress* claimed that truth arose from experience, attempting also to commend the Christian faith on rational grounds, but conceding too much to the attempt to redefine Christianity in terms congenial to a cultural and "modern" Christianity. Lewis, on the other hand, argued that older is often better, after having been convinced by Owen Barfield that his preference for newer writings was chronological snobbery.[546]

In 1910, modernist views had been responsible for the formation of a group of dons by Burnett Hillman Streeter, which held to the reasonableness of religion. These Oxford dons met weekly to discuss theological topics and became known as The Group. In 1911, though repudiated by nearly everyone, James Matthew Thompson, Dean of Divinity at Magdalen, wrote that the miracles of the New Testament were to be explained as religious psychology.[547] Thompson was attempting to combine faith and reason, which Lewis himself did later, but not without surrendering a significant portion of the Christian faith. The desire to present a more rational Christianity too often resulted in something not recognizable as Christianity.

This was also the period during which the predecessors to the World Council of Churches were formulated. The Student Christian Movement (SCM), begun in the 1890s, provided powerful support for the Edinburgh Missionary Conference of 1910, a conference generally regarded as the start of the modern ecumenical movement.[548] That conference later spawned the International Missionary Council (Jerusalem, 1928), which led to the World Council of Churches. Its slide to the left mirrored a similar leftward slide in British theological circles. Originally concerned with "the evangelization of the world in this generation," the SCM shifted its position so that by 1910 it no longer stood unambiguously for the verbal inspiration of Scripture, the sinfulness of man, the need for personal conversion, and the imminent return of Christ. The SCM also had strong socialistic leanings. The slope was slippery, and by 1951, the

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[544]Harrison, xxv. The two periodicals of the modernist movement were the *Churchman* and the *Hibbert Journal*, the latter founded in 1902 and sponsored by Manchester College, a Unitarian institution that became a major spokesman for liberal religion in Britain.

[545] Lewis, *Miracles*, 134.

[546] The idea that whatever is later is, on that account, better.

[547] Patrick, *The Magdalen Metaphysicals*, 19.

[548] Hastings, 86f.

SCM had removed any requirement that members demonstrate a Christian commitment.[549] In 1910, because of this move to the left, the evangelical Cambridge Inter-Collegiate Christian Union (CICCU) committee voted to disaffiliate from the SCM, and by the end of World War I "the evangelization of the world in this generation" slogan was dead.[550]

Student Christian organizations, such as the Student Christian Movement (SCM) and the Oxford Inter-Collegiate Christian Union (OICCU), helped to maintain a student presence in the religious life of the University. The OICCU had origins in the Inter-Varsity Fellowship of Evangelical Unions. The SCM left its evangelical moorings during the first quarter of the century in favor of a liberal ecumenism, while the OICCU maintained its evangelical stance throughout the Lewis years. The OICCU worked closely with St. Ebbe's and St. Aldate's, two evangelical Anglican churches in Oxford.[551]

This was also the age of the social gospel, although its continental versions were more well known, a time when doctrinal strength was waning, in spite of the warnings of the Scottish theologian P.T. Forsyth. Forsyth was possibly the greatest British theologian of the Edwardian age. He was Principal of Hackney Congregational College in London between 1906 and 1921, the year of his death.[552] His attack on liberal Christianity appears in his most famous work, *The Person and Place of Christ*, which anticipated much of the neo-orthodox theology of the next generation.

Non-Anglicans had come to Oxford with the opening of the Congregational Mansfield College (1886), the moving of the Unitarian institution Manchester College to Oxford (1893), the moving of Regent's Park College, a Baptist seminary, to Oxford (1927), the return of Roman Catholicism (in 1896, after the prohibition of 1867 was reversed), the founding of a Jewish Society (1904), and in many other ways, but the Anglican Church continued to dominate the University. Wycliffe Hall trained evangelical clergy, Ripon Hall was associated with modernism, the Cowley Fathers were based in Oxford, and St. Stephen's House and Pusey House produced high church clergy. Pusey House was heir to the Oxford Movement, the nineteenth century movement towards Catholicism within the Church of England that was led by John Henry Newman, Edward Pusey, and John Keble, all connected to Oxford University. Keble College opened in 1870 in support of the high church Tractarian movement, and Pusey House was founded in 1884, becoming a center for high church apologetics and patristic scholarship.[553]

The most evangelical Anglican churches were St. Aldate's and St. Ebbe's, and St. Aldate's helped to bring evangelists Dwight Moody (1882 and 1892) and Billy Graham (who came to London in 1954, 1955, 1966, 1967, and 1989, and to Oxford in 1980) to Oxford. Graham's crusades had a formative influence for evangelicals in England for the next decades, especially his three months at Harringay in 1954 when Graham conducted the Greater London Crusade. John Stott became the most important leader of Evangelicalism in England, preaching the Oxford missions of 1954 and 1957 and the Cambridge missions of 1952 and 1958.[554] Anglican Michael Green became rector of St. Aldate's and attacked the liberal theology of the faculty at Oxford University. St. Peter's College was established as a permanent private hall in 1929 to represent the evangelical position; it became a college in 1961.

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[549] Hastings, 543.
[550] Hastings, 89f.
[551] Turner, 311-13.
[552] Hastings, 118.
[553] Turner, 303-5.
[554] Hastings, 455.

When H. Wheeler Robinson came to Oxford as Principal of Regent's Park College, he was the most outstanding British Old Testament scholar of the day. The Faculty of Theology immediately appointed him as an examiner, and he became a Reader in Biblical Criticism in 1934 and the Old Testament tutor for Mansfield College.[555] Between the two world wars, Father Martin C. K'Arcy, S.J., became Master of Campion Hall (1927), actively seeking adherents, the most famous being Evelyn Waugh, and made the intellectual case for a resurgent Roman Catholicism in Oxford.[556] Alongside the move of Ronald Knox from Anglican Evangelicalism, Waugh's switch to Roman Catholicism occurred in a setting where Rome rejected modernism, providing a refuge for those in the Church of England who were dismayed over the drift towards modernism.[557]

During the 1920s, in the midst of the modernistic debate and due in large part to the opposition to modernism within the Roman Catholic Church, Anglo-Catholicism had begun to grow in strength within the Church of England. Anglo-Catholicism shared with Roman Catholicism its opposition to modernism, and one of the most important works of the decade, *Essays Catholic and Critical* (1926), edited by E.G. Selwyn, restored a theology of the supernatural[558] and combined contemporary scientific and historical thought in Anglo-Catholicism.[559] Lewis referred to that book favorably both in a 1940 letter to Mrs. Mary Neylan and in a 1942 letter to a Mr. H. Morland, who had apparently requested a reading list.[560] Evangelicalism was at one of its weakest moments at the same time that "the principal intellectual orthodoxy of England" was a confident agnosticism.[561] The prophets of an arrogant enlightenment—Darwin, Marx, Nietzsche, Freud, and Durkheim, one Christian and four atheists—interpreted religion as the opium of the people (Marx), the symbolic representation of social reality (Durkheim), or the universal obsessional neurosis of humanity (Freud).[562] In short, the 1920s featured modernism, Anglo-Catholicism, agnosticism, and socialism.

In 1924, William Temple presided over the Conference on Christian Politics, Economics and Citizenship (COPEC) during the same year that the first Labour government came to power. The conference hastened the move of Anglican Church leadership from Tory attitudes to the Christian case for social reform and the development of the welfare state.[563] The shift in thinking from individualism to collectivism and egalitarianism, undergirded by Temple, writer and economist R.H. Tawney, J.H. Oldham (organizing secretary of the World Missionary Conference and later leader of the World Council of Churches), Anglican Bishop Charles Gore, and many Anglo-Catholics, did not create division within the church.[564] Lewis would later oppose these trends, particularly in his essay, "Democratic Education" (1944), and in the 1950s Anglo-Catholic culture would begin to crumble.[565] In the 1930s, Oldham (1874–1969) and Temple (1881–1944) were joined by William Paton (1886–1943) as the three major founders of the modern ecumenical movement.[566] They soon became senior members of the movement.

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[555] Turner, 297.
[556] Turner, 299.
[557] Hastings, 238.
[558] Hastings, 234.
[559] Brooke, 51.
[560] *Collected Letters*, II, 375, 529.
[561] Hastings, 200, 221.
[562] Hastings, 222.
[563] Hastings, 179.
[564] Hastings, 185.
[565] Hastings, 555.
[566] Hastings, 302-304.

In 1926, Lewis heard a man, probably T.D. Weldon, philosophy tutor at Magdalen College, whom he called "the hardest boiled of all the atheists I ever knew," say, "Rum thing. All that stuff of Frazer's about the Dying God. Rum thing. It almost looks as if it had really happened once." Lewis said that he was speaking about the historicity and reliability of the New Testament Gospels,[567] and Weldon's testimony shook Lewis' own atheistic underpinnings. Somewhere between 1926 and 1931 must be the time when Lewis read the New Testament for himself, and he referred to this time in *Miracles*, calling himself "all agog for the Death and Rebirth pattern."[568] This was one more sequence of events that had started with Lewis' reading of George MacDonald's *Phantastes* in 1916 and had led to his conversion to Christianity in September 1931.

Another important conversion had taken place only a few years earlier when T.S. Eliot was baptized and confirmed in 1927 and brought into the Church of England. Soon after, Virginia Woolf stated in a letter to her sister Vanessa Bell, "I have had the most shameful and distressing interview with dear Tom Eliot, who may be called dead to us from this day forward. He has become an Anglo-Catholic, believes in God and immortality, and goes to church. I was really shocked. A corpse would seem to me more credible than he is. I mean, there's something obscene in a living person sitting by the fire and believing in God."[569] These two literary figures—Lewis and Eliot—were as important for the religious life as they were for the literary life of the country. T.S. Eliot's imaginative play, *Murder in the Cathedral*, first performed in 1935, demonstrated for the nation creativity in both the literary and religious realms,[570] and we know full well what Lewis brought to the table.

Other names could be included in this brief, but influential list of Christian converts, including W.H. Auden, who converted to Christianity in 1940, C.E.M. Joad, the philosopher who once debated Lewis at the Oxford Socratic Club, Frank Pakenham, a socialist don, and people like Alfred Noyes, Arnold Toynbee, and Martin Charlesworth.[571] While the Church of England faded in the early 1930s, it revived in the late 1930s in Oxbridge, politics, intellectual circles, and public schools. The growing storm around Hitler and Stalin caused the purely secular vision to fade, and, in the spirit of apocalyptic, people began to look for deliverance outside of human history. They found this deliverance in God. "In the nation as a whole, however, the Church's position was slipping steadily enough."[572] At the same time the Nonconformist tradition—from Baptists to Methodists to Congregationalists and a few other smaller groups—was definitely declining.[573] Modernism and the social gospel had assisted in this erosion. Lutherans to this day are so few in number as not to be listed in Hastings' index, though he mentions them several times in his written text.

Eliot's *Murder in the Cathedral* was part of the new Christian resurgence that began, some say, when George Bell, Dean of Canterbury Cathedral, instituted the Canterbury Festival in 1928. The year after *Murder in the Cathedral*, Charles Williams' *Thomas Cranmer of Canterbury* was performed. Christian writer Christopher Fry was having an impact, as was Dorothy L. Sayers with her Lord Peter Wimsey crime novels. Charles Williams was also writing literary criticism and supernatural thrillers, such as *The Place of the Lion* and *The Place of the*

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[567] *Surprised by Joy*, 223.
[568] Lewis, *Miracles*, 150.
[569] Woolf to Bell, Feb. 11, 1928, *The Letters of Virginia Woolf*, 3:457–58.
[570] Hastings, 259.
[571] Hastings, 291.
[572] Hastings, 253f.
[573] Baptists declined from 416,665 in 1926 to 354,900 in 1946. Hastings, 265.

Dove. Tolkien published *The Hobbit* in 1937, and the poet W.H. Auden began publishing his "New Year Letter" in 1940.[574]

Harry Blamires, a former student of Lewis, wrote:

> Lewis began writing just at the point when this minor Christian Renaissance in literature was taking off. His *Pilgrim's Regress* came out in 1933. And the 1930s were a remarkable decade in this respect. Eliot's *Ash Wednesday* came out in 1930, *The Rock* in 1934, *Murder in the Cathedral* in 1935 and *Burnt Norton* in 1936. Charles Williams's *War in Heaven* was published in 1930, *The Place of the Lion* in 1931, *The Greater Trumps* in 1932, and his play *Thomas Cranmer of Canterbury* in 1936. Helen Waddell's *Peter Abelard* came out in 1933. Meanwhile on the stage James Bridie had great popular successes with his biblical plays *Tobias and the Angel* (1930) and *Jonah and the Whale* (1932). Then by 1937 Christopher Fry was launched with *The Boy with a Cart*. That same year saw Dorothy L. Sayers's *The Zeal of Thy House* performed, and David Jones's *In Parenthesis* and Tolkien's *The Hobbit* published. Lewis' *Out of the Silent Planet* followed in 1938 along with Williams's *Taliessin through Logres* and Greene's *Brighton Rock*, Eliot's *Family Reunion* followed in 1939, Greene's *The Power and The Glory* in 1940. During the same decade Evelyn Waugh was getting known and Rose Macauley was in spate. Edwin Muir, Andrew Young and Francis Berry appeared in print.
>
> So when the literary historian looks back at the English literary scene in the 1930s and 1940s he is going to see C.S. Lewis and Charles Williams, not as freakish throwbacks, but as initial contributors to what I have called a Christian literary renaissance, if a minor one.[575]

During the same period that the Church of England was declining, the Catholic Church was growing rapidly,[576] in part because of Irish immigration. This growth perhaps explains one of the reasons that Tolkien felt disappointed that Lewis did not become a Catholic after his conversion. Among the significant conversions to Catholicism were G.K. Chesterton, novelist Evelyn Waugh, and novelist Graham Greene. In Oxford, Blackfriars and Campion Hall, both colleges of Oxford University, served as intellectual and clerical centers. The Catholic Church was one of the reasons for a move away from modernism towards the less liberal neo-orthodox movement.[577]

On the continent in the 1930s, Protestants were returning to some extent to an orthodoxy led by Karl Barth, which was reacting against modernism. Barth's 1933 commentary on the New Testament book of Romans marked a significant turning point.[578] The American Reinhold Niebuhr, who taught at Union Theological Seminary in New York, had an even stronger effect than Barth, while breaking from pacifist friends during the 1930s and proclaiming the gospel with a strong social conscience. During this decade the historical reliability of the New Testament was defended with some vigor by former lawyer and atheist Frank Morison, who attempted to disprove the resurrection of Jesus and ended up becoming a Christian and telling his story in his 1930 book *Who Moved the Stone*? C.H. Dodd's scholarship in England convinced many that first-class biblical scholarship was compatible with traditional views of the salvation

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[574] Duriez, *Tolkien and C.S. Lewis: The Gift of Friendship*, 74.
[575] Harry Blamires, "Against the Stream: C.S. Lewis and the Literary Scene," in *Journal of the Irish Christian Study Centre* 1 (1983): 15. Cited in Duriez, *Tolkien and C.S. Lewis*, 74f.
[576] Hastings, 275ff.
[577] Hastings, 289.
[578] Hastings, 294.

won by Jesus Christ. Dodd, a New Testament scholar from the Congregational Mansfield College in Oxford, who had won a double first in Classical Moderations and Greats at Oxford University, and considered by many to be the greatest British biblical scholar of his age,[579] moved to Cambridge after 1935. He wrote *Romans* (1932), *The Parables of the Kingdom* (1935), *The Apostolic Preaching and its Developments* (1936), and many other works. Dodd was one of the first lay speakers whom Rev. James Welch invited to address the nation over the BBC.[580] He was also the director of the translation project that resulted in *The New English Bible*, whose New Testament was published in 1961, when it became a best-seller, and the complete Bible in 1970.[581] In fact, Dodd and Reinhold Niebuhr became the subject of a humorous expression from the SCM Study Conference of 1937, where someone coined the phrase "Thou shalt love the Lord thy Dodd and thy Niebuhr as thyself."[582]

The 1930s saw a stronger Anglo-Catholic theology, demonstrated especially by two friends of Lewis, Eric Mascall and Austin Farrer. The Anglican Church became more liturgical and more sacramental in its theology. Lewis would write in June of 1941 at the conclusion of "The Weight of Glory," "Next to the Blessed Sacrament itself, your neighbor is the holiest object presented to your senses."[583] And yet, as Hastings has written, "It remains something of a paradox that, while a chief characteristic of the Christian revival of the mid-century was precisely the liturgical and sacramental movement, Lewis—the most powerful single voice in that revival—was almost void of interest in the liturgy and silent about the sacraments."[584] But not totally silent.

In *The Pilgrim's Regress* (1933), Lewis' first book after his conversion, recounting the road he traveled back to Christianity, the pilgrim John (who some have identified as C.S. Lewis, but also Everyman) avoided the northern road of rational aridity and the southern waste of sentimentality, allowing him to return to the Christianity of his childhood. This work defended both Christianity and traditional literature. In modeling his title and some of the imagery after Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, Lewis defended Christianity. In Mr. Halfways he satirized "the romantic/Victorian attempt to use aesthetic experience as a substitute for religion."[585] In "the Clevers," he satirized the Bloomsbury intellectuals.[586] When John heard three styles of modern poetry, he heard and rejected the neo-Victorian, the experimental reduction, and the near pornographic.[587] This book created difficulty for Lewis at Oxford in that his conversion to

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[579] Hastings, 117.
[580] Philipps, 21.
[581] Denniston, 464. Hastings, 534.
[582] Hastings, 297.
[583] Lewis, "The Weight of Glory," 40. See also *Mere Christianity*, Book II, Chapter 5, "The Practical Conclusion," 61.
[584] Hastings, 494.
[585] Myers, 15.
[586] "The Bloomsbury Group is a name given to a loose collection of writers, artists, and intellectuals who came together during the period 1905-06 at the home of Virginia Woolf and her sister Vanessa Bell. Following the death of their father, they set up home in Gordon Square, Bloomsbury, in central London, close to the British Museum." http://www.mantex.co.uk/ou/a319/bloom-01.htm. That group especially included philosopher G.E. Moore, who has been described as the guru of Bloomsbury. Brooke, 438. David Cecil describes them as young men from King's College, Cambridge, who knew Virginia Woolf and related art to morals, almost making art the new religion. Trickett and Cecil, "Is there an Oxford 'School of Writing? 564.
[587] Myers, 16. Neo-Victorian is an aesthetic movement combining modern ideas and technology with Victorian (19th century England) and Edwardian (early twentieth century England) aesthetics. Experimental reduction refers to the reduction of words and sentences to grunting, as Glugly does in *The Pilgrim's Regress*. The near pornographic is reflected in *The Pilgrim's Regress* by Phally, a take-off on the word phallus, who may represent D.H. Lawrence.

Christianity was thereby made public.[588] Publications such as this, as well as his involvement in the controversial election of Adam Fox as Professor of Poetry in 1938, led to him being bypassed for a full professorship in Oxford.

Also prominent in the decade of the 1930s was pacifism. Other than the Quakers, few were pacifists before World War I. In 1934 Dick Sheppard, canon of St. Paul's Cathedral, birthed the Sheppard Peace Movement very much within an Anglican setting. People like Leslie Weatherhead, C.H. Dodd, and Rose Macaulay were among those who joined him.[589] The death of Sheppard in 1937 and the rising tension in Europe caused many to abandon this movement in the late thirties, but Chamberlain[590] still pursued his policy of appeasement with Hitler.

Lewis was no pacifist, tipping his hand in the seventh Screwtape letter (1942) by writing about strategies of temptation that would work—conscientious objection, making pacifism a part of the patient's religion, and valuing Christianity chiefly for the arguments it provides in favor of pacifism.[591] More to the point, however, was Lewis' essay, "Why I Am Not a Pacifist" (1940), which was given to a pacifist society in Oxford. In defense of a non-pacifist position, Lewis argued that one cannot speculate what would have happened if the Greeks had yielded to Xerxes or the Romans to Hannibal. As Aslan once told Lucy, "no one is ever told what *would have happened*."[592] The pacifist position that the world would be better off if wars had not happened, therefore, is weak. Then Lewis argued that war is not the greatest evil in the world and that society's declaration of war has decided against pacifism, as has the broad testimony of English history. He also found broad support for going to war among the denominations as well as in the teachings of Jesus. The command to turn the other cheek, he thought, had to do with simple injuries between two people rather than war between nations.

The Pilgrim's Regress also satirized three types of Anglicans in Mr. Broad, the Steward, and Mr. Neo-Angular. Mr. Broad is the liberal churchman whose theological views are too broad to be meaningful. The Steward represents the evangelical, but his advice to tell a lie does not really represent evangelicalism. Mr. Neo-Angular represents the Anglo-Catholic, with the word *angular* suggesting the "Anglo" of Anglo-Catholic as well as his pointed personality and his insistence that John must talk to Mother Kirk only through an authorized representative, i.e. suggesting apostolic succession of either the Roman or the Anglican variety.[593]

On May 10, 1934, Lewis' poem, "The Shortest Way Home," earlier titled "Man is a Lumpe Where all Beasts Kneaded be," was published in *The Oxford Magazine*. Lewis seems to have echoed a biblical theme, similar to that in Isa. 11:6-9, where Isaiah says that the wolf will live with the lamb. Lewis' poem suggested that one day the author would come back as a shepherd to feed the tiger, panther, bear, and snake. Man and beast will one day come together.

Lewis' poem "Sonnet" was published by *The Oxford Magazine* on May 14, 1936. Lewis suggested a compromise between the two accounts of the invasion of Jerusalem and Judah by the Assyrian king Sennacherib in 701 BC. Herodotus wrote that mice had nibbled through the bow strings of the Assyrian soldiers, causing them to leave, while Isaiah wrote that the angel of the Lord slew 185,000 soldiers in one night. Attempting unsuccessfully to reconcile the two accounts, Lewis suggested in this poem that the angels used the little jaws of the mice to eat through those bowstrings, making this story a parable on God's use of little things to accomplish

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[588] Carpenter, *The Inklings*, 207.
[589] Hastings, 330-332.
[590] See Appendix III for a list of Britain's Prime Ministers.
[591] Lewis, *Screwtape Letters*, 33-35.
[592] Lewis, *The Voyage of the 'Dawn Treader*,' 136.
[593] Myers, 21.

great things and possibly anticipating the role that mice would play in eating through the ropes that tied down Aslan in *The Lion, the Witch and the Wardrobe*.

In 1848 an Anglican religious order by the name of the Anglican Community of St. Mary the Virgin was founded in Wantage.[594] Wantage is located about eighteen miles south of Oxford. Ruth Penelope Lawson (1890-1977) entered the Convent of the Community of St Mary the Virgin at Wantage in 1912 and was known from then on Sister Penelope. She wrote to Lewis on August 5, 1939, to tell of her delight in reading *Out of the Silent Planet*. This began their friendship and correspondence. Lewis later dedicated *Perelandra* (1943) to "To Some Ladies at Wantage," and he wrote an introduction to Sister Penelope's translation of Athanasius's *The Incarnation of the Word of God* (1944).[595]

The university church, St. Mary the Virgin, where Lewis spoke on at least two occasions, served as a worship center and focus of religious organization, while daily chapel services at the various colleges also enhanced that religious life. St. Mary represented liberal Anglicanism and Anglican social concern, and the SCM took charge of the weekly Sunday evening service from the 1920s through the 1960s.[596] Lewis preached the sermon "Learning in War-Time" at St. Mary the Virgin Church, Oxford, on Sunday, October 22, 1939, shortly after the beginning of the war and his famous sermon, "The Weight of Glory," at St. Mary the Virgin on Sunday, June 8, 1941, at a time when World War II was in full swing. This sermon was delivered less than a month after the end of the Blitz. In that sermon, he held up the infinite worth of the individual human soul and our responsibility to care for it and to witness to it.[597] "Learning in War-Time" presented Lewis' defense of traditional humanistic learning at a time when many thought that educational pursuits were unnecessary in the light of the war. Just the previous year (1938), English Fellow Helen Darbishire had told the Somerville Council in Oxford that "it would be advisable to ascertain, if possible, whether in the event of an international emergency, university education would continue, and, if so, on what basis."[598] One can imagine that conversations between Darbishire, Lewis, and other English Fellows addressed this topic during a time when war seemed imminent.

During the late-1930s, probably in Lent term 1938, Lewis delivered a talk to the Reid Society at Bedford College, London, entitled "Shelley, Dryden, and Mr. Eliot."[599] In that talk, Lewis expressed some of his Christian convictions, first, by his terminology. He used the term *Christian* three times, suggesting that he was speaking to a largely Christian audience. Late in his address, he wrote about the necessity of the unmaking and remaking of man (i.e. conversion). He also complimented Eliot on raising the problem of the relationship between judging a poem for its poetic qualities versus judging the author for positions expressed in the poem on ethics, metaphysics, or theology. Elsewhere, Lewis had criticized the amateur philosopher for masquerading as a literary critic, historian, or scientist, using his bully pulpit to pontificate on

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[594] Howarth, 347.
[595] Hooper, *Companion & Guide*, 718-20.
[596] Harrison, 295-316.
[597] The sermon was also published in *Theology* in November 1941. On April 26, 1941, Lewis wrote to Mrs. Neylan about a concept that later appeared in his sermon, "The Weight of Glory," stating "On being 'patted on the head' (in Meldilorn or elsewhere) I have just made some new discoveries. Something like a 'pat on the head' is promised ('Well done, thou good and faithful servant'). Link that up with 'entering the Kingdom as a child'—then reflect that being praised by those we ought to please, so far from being the vainest, is the humblest and most creaturely of *all* pleasures."
[598] Adams, 193.
[599] This talk is mentioned also in Chapter 1.

topics outside his field.[600] Lewis concluded his talk with a suggestion that the materialists lack a true perspective on happiness and that he and T.S. Eliot believed, but Shelley did not, that there was but one Way.

On April 28, 1940, Lewis wrote a letter to his brother Warren about Alec Vidler, the librarian of St. Deiniol's, Hawarden, and editor of *Theology*, who had published an article by E.F. Carritt, Jack's former philosophy tutor, in *Theology* magazine. Carritt had written an attack on the fundamentals of Christianity in answer to a previous article in the same periodical by Lewis, which had been entitled "Christianity and Culture."[601]

In November, Lewis wrote a little noticed letter to *Theology* in which he responded to a letter from Canon Oliver Quick. Where Quick, then Regius Professor of Divinity and Canon of Christ Church, Oxford, had written in his article, "The Conflict in Anglican Theology," that "Moderns" of various types had a common characteristic in hating liberalism, Lewis responded that another characteristic of "Moderns" was that they hate. That same year Lewis addressed the matter of hate from a different perspective in a short essay entitled "Two Ways with the Self" (May 3, 1940), a look at the almost mutually contradictory biblical injunctions to deny yourself (he cited Jesus saying that a disciple must "hate his own life," Luke 14:26 and John 12:25) and to love your neighbor as yourself. Lewis argued that a self-renunciation that led to the worship of suffering or to partiality or a diabolical selfishness was not the renunciation of which Scripture spoke. Rather, the Christian must wage war against the ego, respecting the fact that he is made in the image of God, but also realizing that this image has been tarnished by the fall. In other words, we are both saint and sinner. Herein Lewis was responding to what he had read in Augustine, St. François de Sales, Lady Julian of Norwich, and David Lindsay,[602] none of them, of course, contemporaries.

Lewis had first written to Vidler on Jan. 17, 1939, offering some names of potential subscribers for the new editor. The relationship was amicable, for Lewis wrote occasionally for *Theology*, and he once assured Vidler that he did not mind the rigor of criticism from those who disliked his writing.[603] Lewis wrote rather favorably of Vidler in certain places in *Letters to Malcolm* (1964),[604] but he also stated of Vidler in that same work, "He wants—I think he wants very earnestly—to retain some Christian doctrines. But he is prepared to scrap a good deal. 'Traditional doctrines' are to be tested."[605]

Lewis' article for *The Spectator*, "Evil and God" (1941), carried the same title as that of C.E.M. Joad, whose article had appeared the previous week on January 31, 1941. In this article, Lewis anticipated some of the arguments that he would deliver over the BBC and that would later appear in *Mere Christianity*, such as the attraction of monotheism or dualism above creeds and the emergent evolution of Henri Bergson, both of which Joad had rejected in his article. Evil is parasitic, a corruption of the good and therefore not on the same level as good. Therefore, dualism should be rejected also. Although a rationalist and a socialist who once rejoiced that

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[600] Lewis, *The Abolition of Man*, 8.
[601] In *Collected Letters*, II, 401, n. 231, Walter Hooper notes that Carritt had been annoyed with Lewis' criticism of Matthew Arnold on culture and with his comments about aesthetics. Lewis had suggested that aesthetics were not of great importance and that culture was a storehouse of the best sub-Christian values.
[602] *Voyage to Arcturus*.
[603] Letter to Vidler on March 23, 1939, *Collected Letters*, II, 255.
[604] Lewis, *Letters to Malcolm*, 30.
[605] Lewis, *Letters to Malcolm*, 32.

clergymen would be extinct by 1960,[606] Joad himself later returned to the Christianity of his youth. That happened in part due to the influence of Lewis, whom Joad debated at a meeting of the Oxford Socratic Club on January 24, 1944 on the topic "On Being Reviewed by Christians."[607]

Lewis' essay, "On Ethics" (undated, but probably 1942), probably predates, and anticipates, *The Abolition of Man* (1943) by a year or so. Lewis delivered this essay to an unnamed audience about the fact that ethical systems show much similarity to one another and therefore demonstrate the universal nature of ethics. Christ's offer of forgiveness would have been meaningless unless people had already known that they had broken the law, an argument especially made around this time also in Book I of *Mere Christianity*. Lewis rejected duty or instinct as the motive for behavior, for some other system of thought must determine which duty or instinct[608] must take precedence in any given situation. The source of ethics, therefore, is not a given body of ethical injunctions, but the general human tradition. No one can escape from this human tradition, for it is a given.

Lewis expressed similar thoughts about instinct in the BBC talks in the early forties that became *Mere Christianity*. In this, he was not only responding to those who had written to the BBC about the Natural Law, some of them Freudians; he was also responding to one of Freud's contemporaries, William McDougall (1871–1938), who was the first person to formulate a theory of instinctual behavior. McDougall, a Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge (1898–1904), and later at Oxford University (1904–1920), Harvard, and Duke, wrote:

> The instincts are the prime movers of all human activity; by the conative or impulsive force of some instinct every train of thought, however cold and passionless it may seem, is borne along towards its end . . . all the complex intellectual apparatus of the most highly developed mind is but the instrument by which these impulses seek their satisfaction. . . . Take away these instinctive dispositions with their powerful mechanisms, and the organism would become incapable of activity of any kind; it would be inert and motionless like a wonderful piece of clockwork whose mainspring had been removed.[609]

Lewis thought that instinct was not the cause of our decisions, especially when two instincts were in conflict. Having a desire to help someone in need is very different from the feeling that you ought to help. In addition, Lewis argued, that which chooses between two conflicting instincts cannot itself be an instinct. It is the Moral Law at work, not instinct.[610]

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[606] Tomes, "Joad, Cyril Edwin Mitchinson (1891–1953)", *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/34193, accessed 26 April 2005].

[607] For more information on this exchange, see my article "From Vocal Agnostic to Reluctant Convert: The Influence of C.S. Lewis on the Conversion C.E.M. Joad," in *Sehnsucht* Volume 3 (2009):11–31.

[608] In a letter dated October 24, 1940, Lewis wrote to Sister Penelope, "The man who can dismiss 'sinned *in* Adam' as an 'idiom' and identify virtue with the herd instinct is no use to me, despite his very great learning." (on Norman Powell Williams, *The Ideas of the Fall and of Original Sin*, 1927, a book Lewis also mentions in *The Problem of Pain*.). *Collected Letters*, II, p. 450.

[609] Cited in Joad, *The Book of Joad*, 96. This quotation probably comes from McDougall's book, *An Introduction to Social Psychology*, first published in 1908. See http://findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_g2699/is_0005/ai_2699000543.

[610] Lewis, *Mere Christianity*, Book I, Chapter 2, 9. Lewis seems to have found some of this position in H.L. Mencken, whom he mentions in "The Funeral of a Great Myth," 91, as suggesting that virtue is merely an elaboration of instinct.

A significant part of that Christian influence in Oxford came from the Socratic Club, which was founded in 1942. Lewis' Preface to the first *Socratic Digest*, "The Founding of the Oxford Socratic Club" (1942),[611] does not mention his presidency of that Club from 1942 to 1954. The first meeting was held in Somerville College, Oxford, on January 26, 1942 (the left side of the corner of the Somerville Quad, shown below, is the likely place for the first meeting). The Socratic Club allowed undergraduates to explore "the pros and cons of the Christian Religion." The program committee worked hard to invite intelligent atheists with the time and willingness to come and present their views. Some of Lewis' essays were first presented at the Socratic Club.

In the twenty-third *Screwtape Letter*, originally part of a 1941 series of articles appearing in *The Guardian*,[612] Lewis showed his familiarity with, and appraisal of, the "Quest for the Historical Jesus," a nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century version of the Jesus Seminar.[613] When Albert Schweitzer's book *The Quest of the Historical Jesus* appeared in English in 1910, academics at Oxford and Cambridge were greatly interested. Schweitzer had surveyed various theologians, all of whom attempted to reconstruct the real Jesus from biblical and extra-biblical documents. He examined the views of Hermann Samuel Reimarus, David Friedrich Strauss, Theodor Keim, Ernest Renan, Wilhelm Wrede, and others, concluding that "each individual created Him [Jesus] in accordance with his own character" [the theologian's],[614] showing the presuppositions with which these scholars approached the biblical text.

Screwtape commended the Jesus quest to Wormwood for four reasons. *First*, the quest directs readers to someone who does not really exist, i.e. the quest for the historical Jesus is really a reconstruction of an unhistorical Jesus, the very opposite of its alleged intent. *Second*, the quest results in Jesus the moral Teacher rather than Jesus the Savior, the incarnate God who was capable of performing miracles and rising from the dead. This is echoed in "The Shocking Alternative," a chapter in *Mere Christianity*. *Third*, the quest destroys the devotional life of the Christian, since it directs the Christian to someone other than the Jesus of Scripture. *Fourth*, the quest bypasses the issue of faith, looking at Jesus from a merely biographical point of view.

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[611] Vol. I, Oxford, 1942-1943.
[612] The letters appeared weekly in *The Guardian* from May 2, 1941 to November 28, 1941.
[613] See also Lewis, "Why I Am Not a Pacifist," 69.
[614] Schweitzer, *The Quest of the Historical Jesus*, 4.

Screwtape's four reasons for urging Wormwood to use the quest in his strategy of temptation are Lewis' four major criticisms of the quest of the historical Jesus.

In the same Screwtape letter, Lewis showed his familiarity with Reinhold Niebuhr's *An Interpretation of Christian Ethics* (1934), when he had Screwtape tell Wormwood to invite his patient to believe something, not because it's true, but for some other reason.[615] In a 1940 letter to his brother Warnie he had called Niebuhr's book on ethics "a very disagreeable but not unprofitable book."[616] In *Letters to Malcolm*, Lewis wrote of Niebuhr, "Of course I'm not saying like Niebuhr that evil is inherent in finitude. That would identify the creation with the fall and make God the author of evil."[617]

That same year, 1942, some of the key books showed the resurgence of Christianity and its role in the intellectual life of the nation. Among these were Christopher Dawson's *The Judgment of the Nations*, which rejected totalitarianism, T.S. Eliot's influential religious poem *Little Gidding*, C.S. Lewis' *The Screwtape Letters*, and Dorothy Sayer's series of radio dramas *The Man Born to Be King*. Adrian Hastings described Charles Williams, Lewis, T.S. Eliot, and Dorothy L. Sayers as an influential "Anglican lay literary and theological foursome," to a great extent responsible for this resurgence and showing "considerable Christian literary creativity but of a very unsectarian sort."[618]

William Temple's *Christianity and Social Order* (1942) gave a theological green light to a moderated form of socialism.[619] Lewis seems to have challenged one of the tenets of William Temple's book when he wrote in *Mere Christianity* that it is a mistake to request a particular political program from those who lead the Church, when those very same people have been trained to be concerned about our spiritual lives.[620] Temple's assumption of the position of Archbishop of Canterbury in 1942 put him in a position of reshaping the future. "He was accused of openly preaching socialism"[621] because Temple and the Malvern conference of clergy and laymen, held in January 1941, had advocated a Christian social program for the post-war society.

"My First School" (1943) contained an expression of Lewis' understanding of joy, *Sehnsucht*, or desire, based upon his negative experiences at Wynyard School (September 1908 to November 1910). During that time, Lewis learned the power of the group, the nature of joy, and the ability to live by hope and longing, knowing that both the school term and the holidays would end, just as the whole universe will run down. "It does not surprise me," he wrote, "that there should be two worlds."[622]

A brief essay from Lewis appeared in the March 21, 1943 issue of *The Sunday Times*. Lewis wrote "Three Kinds of Men" in the middle of World War II to state that it was "disastrous" to divide the world into good and bad people, i.e. the Allied Forces and the Nazis. The three kinds of men are those who live for themselves, those who live partly for themselves and partly for other causes (the largest of the three groups), and those who do not live for themselves at all, i.e. those who are all wrapped up in Christ. Lewis' mention of war in this essay shows that he was thinking about ultimate things, things that finally take everything away from us. The Christian perspective shows that unless we have Christ, one day we will have nothing.

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[615] Walsh, 110.
[616] Lewis, *Collected Letters*, II, 324.
[617] Lewis, *Letters to Malcolm*, 44.
[618] Hastings, 388.
[619] Hastings, 398.
[620] Lewis, *Mere Christianity*, 83.
[621] Phillips, 83.
[622] Lewis, "First School," *Present Concerns*, 26.

A conversation between Mr. H.W. Bowen, the question-master, and C.S. Lewis took place on April 19, 1944, as a "One Man Brains Trust," a variation on the BBC's radio program, *The Brains Trust*. In *The Brains Trust* program a panel of experts answered questions from a studio audience or from listeners. A "One Man Brains Trust" was, of course, a solo rather than a panel effort. Lewis' answers were later published in an essay entitled "Answers to Questions on Christianity" (1944). The questions illustrate both the nature of the theological questions that were on people's minds late in World War II and also the fact that they were concerned about the same issues then as now. Bowen asked Lewis a series of questions: How can Christians support the war? How can I find God? How do you define a practicing Christian? What about suffering, venereal disease, fasting and self-denial, the gloominess of some Christians, the impact of Christianity on scientific progress, the reality of the devil, the fabulous parts of the Bible, smoking, gambling, divisions in the Christian Church, the danger of forcing a particular brand of Christianity on others, and the necessity of Christian worship.

As Lewis addressed the matter of the war, he defined love for the sinner, even the hostile nation, not as "affectionate feeling, but a steady wish for the loved person's ultimate good."[623] If that involves restraining a person or a nation, then the Christian must do that. He described this world as a place of training and correction,[624] and he admitted that people must be prepared for unpleasant things in life. But he also admitted that he did not go to religion for happiness, because he could easily get that from a bottle of Port.[625] He argued that other religions contain truth, but that all of them come into focus in Christianity.[626] He also decried ambition when it is used to get ahead of other people, but not when it is a matter of doing something well.[627] He believed that devils exist and that the more a person is in the devil's power the less he is aware of it.[628] He expressed his dislike of any form of religious compulsion,[629] and he described many church hymns as "fifth-rate poems set to sixth-rate music," but still with merit because of the value of community, which "gets you out of your solitary conceit."[630] In his most important answer to Bowen, he said that the important thing is not that we find God but that God finds us.[631]

At the Socratic Club, Lewis presented his essay "Is Theology Poetry?" (1944). Himself a proponent of biological evolution, Lewis wrote unhappily about the views of a contemporary, zoologist D. M. S. Watson, "More disquieting still is Professor D. M. S. Watson's[632] defense. 'Evolution itself,' he [Watson] wrote, 'is accepted by zoologists not because it has been observed to occur or. . . can be proved by logically coherent evidence to be true, but because the only alternative, special creation, is clearly incredible.' Has it come to that? Does the whole vast structure of modern naturalism depend not on positive evidence but simply on an *a priori*

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[623] *God in the Dock*, 49.
[624] *God in the Dock*, 52.
[625] *God in the Dock*, 58.
[626] *God in the Dock*, 54.
[627] *God in the Dock*, 55f.
[628] *God in the Dock*, 56f.
[629] *God in the Dock*, 61.
[630] *God in the Dock*, 62.
[631] *God in the Dock*, 62. See also Lewis' essay, "What Are We to Make of Jesus Christ?"
[632] David Meredith Seares Watson (1886–1973) was a professor of paleontology, geology, zoology, and comparative anatomy at University College, London, for much of the period between 1911 and 1965. K. A. Kermack, "Watson, David Meredith Seares (1886–1973)", *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/31809, accessed 16 Jan 2005]. Watson's quotation comes from "Science and the B.B.C.," *Nineteenth Century*, April 1943.

metaphysical prejudice? Was it devised not to get in facts but to keep out God?"[633] Here Lewis hit the evolutionary prejudice between the eyes, at least when that prejudice came from an atheistic perspective.

Soon after the essay was published, an anonymous writer wrote to *The Oxford Magazine*, attributing to Lewis a position he did not advocate, stating,

> Mr. Lewis totally rejects the scientific account of the world, because it is constructed by reason, and reason is . . . 'a by-product of mindless matter' and therefore discredited. (Mr. Lewis is quite clever enough to know that the scientists may be wrong as to their account of reason, yet right in the results they have achieved by it. If his own account of it makes it trustworthy, why should he reject its scientific discoveries?)[634]

Lewis responded with a letter to the editor on June 13, 1946, stating that the anonymous writer should consult J.B.S. Haldane, who held the same view as Lewis by writing in *Possible Worlds*, "If my mental processes are determined wholly by the motions of atoms in my brain, I have no reason to suppose that my beliefs are true . . . and hence I have no reason for supposing my brain to be composed of atoms."[635] Lewis did not believe that a wrong account of origins invalidated argument, but that if a *certain* account were actually true, argument would be invalidated, which means that the account is false. Furthermore, the anonymous writer had misread Lewis' essay, for Lewis did not reject science and scientists, only bad science and bad scientists.[636]

In his essay, "Horrid Red Things" (1944), Lewis addressed the conflict between science and religion. Science has helped Christians to understand that Christian beliefs do not imply a material heaven, but science has not therefore refuted Christian beliefs. Since all language is metaphorical, Christians need to learn that Christian beliefs are not refuted by a scientific explanation, but that Christianity is truly super-natural, i.e. beyond nature and so beyond the reach of science. That results in a Christianity that is both miraculous and shocking. One does not refute the Christian faith by providing a naturalistic explanation for a miracle, especially when it is just a straw man, but one can distinguish between imagination, which often errs, and proper thinking, which can discern the kernel of Christian truth. And that Christian truth must be either believed or rejected; it cannot be merely explained away.

Lewis stated that Christianity was the completion of something that had always been present in the human mind and that paganism carried hints of a greater truth found in Christianity. Lewis argued that science could neither prove nor disprove miracles, since they, like history, fall outside the province of science as events that cannot be repeated and subjected to the experimental method. H.H. Price's confidence that much of religion was the result of natural forces was subjected to the same response as science's rejection of miracles. Lewis argued that naturalism was self-defeating, that if thought is the natural, but random, result of physical and natural processes, he would have no reason to suppose that his thinking was correct. One of Lewis' supporting arguments for this position was the atheist scientist J.B.S. Haldane, who had written, as stated above, about the problem with assuming that the random movement of

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[633] Lewis, "Is Theology Poetry?", *The Socratic Digest*, Number Three, 34. Lewis may not have quoted Watson accurately.
[634] *The Oxford Magazine*, Vol. LXIV (May 23, 1946), 302.
[635] Haldane, "When I Am Dead," *Possible Worlds*, 209. See Lewis, *Collected Letters*, II, 715.
[636] *Collected Letters*, II, 715f.

atoms resulted in life.[637] Lewis developed this argument further in his book *Miracles*, quoting Haldane also in that book.[638]

Lewis made similar arguments on behalf of miracles in his essay for *The Coventry Evening Telegraph*, entitled "Religion and Science" (1945). While Lewis may have invented an imaginary persona for this dialogue, Harry Weldon, philosopher at Lewis' Magdalen College, was an atheist (a term mentioned in the essay), a friend (Lewis' designation for his conversation partner), and someone with whom Lewis could well have had this conversation. The issue was science as a study of Nature rather than super-Nature. Late in the essay, Lewis argued that the "enormous size of the universe and the insignificance of the earth were known for centuries," according to Ptolemy's *Almagest*, but only in the last hundred years have facts about the size of the universe become arguments against Christianity. As they say, there is something wrong with this picture. In *The Discarded Image*, Lewis stated that a distinguished scientist, a contemporary of his, had helped to promote an error about the universe. That man was J.B.S. Haldane, the former Professor of Genetics at University College, London. Lewis noted that in *Possible Worlds*, Haldane had stated that five hundred years ago, "The heavenly bodies were known to be distant, but it was not clear that celestial distances were so much greater than terrestrial."[639] Lewis argued, however, that Maimonides maintained that every star was ninety times as big as the Earth, and that it was believed that if a man traveled towards the heavens at the rate of forty miles or more per day, he would not have reached the stars in 8,000 years.[640]

Around this time, Lewis wrote the essay "Christian Reunion" (ca. 1944), subtitled "An Anglican Speaks to Roman Catholics," in which he claimed only the ability to proclaim mere Christianity, not the ability to bridge the gap between Catholicism and Anglicanism. During the previous decade he had corresponded with Dom Bede Griffiths,[641] a Roman Catholic priest, about many topics, one of them reunion, and he refused to enter into debate on this topic through this correspondence, though Griffiths desired that.[642] The essay confirms this position, arguing that two very devout persons within the two denominations will be much closer to unity because of the work of Christ.[643]

On Feb. 3, 1945, Lewis' letter, entitled "Basic Fears" was published by *The Times Literary Supplement*. Lewis challenged Mr. Hooke's translation of Col. 1:15, which had suggested that Christ had an origin rather than existing with the Father and the Spirit from all eternity or that Christ had created everything inanimate but not everything that was animate, thereby suggesting that Christ was a created being. In this Lewis defended the deity and the eternal nature of the second person of the Trinity.

"Membership" was read to the Society of St. Alban and St. Sergius, Oxford, on February 10, 1945, Lewis having recently spoken to the Royal Air Force about the same subject.[644] This society was formed in 1928 by members of the Eastern Orthodox Church and the Western

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[637] Haldane, "When I Am Dead," *Possible Worlds*, 209. See Lewis, *Collected Letters*, II, 715.
[638] Lewis, *Miracles*, 24.
[639] Haldane, *Possible Worlds*, 7.
[640] Lewis, *The Discarded Image*, 97f. He repeats this argument in *Miracles*, 76.
[641] Probably one of the four clergy to read Lewis' script before he broadcast over the BBC. The others were likely Rev. Joseph Dowell (Methodist), Rev. Eric Fenn (Presbyterian, his radio producer), and Austin Farrer (Anglican, chaplain of Trinity College, Oxford). Phillips, 142.
[642] See especially April 4, 1934 and Feb. 20, 1936; see also April 29, 1938, and Oct. 5, 1938, where he says he has no contribution to make, and May 8, 1939, *Collected Letters*, II, 135, 178, 226, 234.
[643] *Christian Reunion*, 21.
[644] Lewis, "Membership," 22.

Christian Church to pray for unity. Lewis' essay reflected his view about the importance of the church for the life of the Christian, building upon a letter that he had written to Mrs. Grace Jones.[645] Lewis argued that membership in the body of Christ was different from collectivism, since the former brings out the distinctive characteristics of the individual while the latter defeats them. Individuals are not interchangeable. Unity in the body of Christ is a unity of dislikes. While all need to be treated equally, which Lewis called an artificial equality, everyone is in essence different, which Lewis called a real inequality. God did not create an egalitarian world. Echoing the words of Screwtape, the world says "I am as good as you."[646] Lewis mentioned the political theorist of the seventeenth century, Sir Robert Filmer (1588–1653), who defended the divine right of kings to rule, basing it upon the patriarchal sections of the Old Testament. Lewis stated that without the fall into sin, Filmer would be right and the only lawful government would be a patriarchal monarchy. With the fall, however, sin results in the corruption of leadership and requires a legal equality.

The publication of *The Great Divorce* (1945)[647] was a challenge to the increasingly liberal views of the Church of England, as well as a response to and reaction against William Blake's collection of poems, *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*. Heaven and Hell cannot come together, Lewis wrote, regardless of how one might try to join them. Lewis' Preface to *The Great Divorce* shows his awareness of Blake's work and Blake's rejection of an either-or alternative.[648] Lewis' view of Purgatory also appears in this book, suggesting his belief that Hell becomes Purgatory for those who eventually leave it. The portraits of Anglican clergy in *The Pilgrim's Regress* (1933) and *The Screwtape Letters* (1942) were not flattering.[649] In *The Great Divorce* the picture of an Anglican bishop in Hell, who did not believe in a literal Heaven or Hell or in the Resurrection because they did not seem modern, demonstrated Lewis' opposition to a growing denial of many historical Christian beliefs. He also mocked those of his day who claimed that "to travel hopefully is better than to arrive,"[650] while Lewis affirmed the biblical position that to arrive in Heaven makes all the difference. Such stances did nothing to endear him to the Oxford dons who already thought he was out of character for writing theological works without theological training. Two years later, Lewis was bypassed for the Merton Chair of English Literature. Dame Helen Gardner, Lewis' chief rival for the post he later accepted at Cambridge, expressed the feeling of many at Oxford when she wrote, "a good many people thought that shoemakers should stick to their lasts, and disliked the thought of a Professor of English Literature winning fame as an amateur theologian."[651]

Some have wondered whether Sir Archibald, a character in *The Great Divorce*, was a real person or not. Around the same time as the publication of *The Great Divorce*, Lewis engaged in dialogue with H.H. Price, a philosopher from New College with an interest in Psychical Research similar to Sir Archibald. While Sir Archibald is probably not reflecting an actual person, the similarity to H.H. Price and the timing of the book suggest that Lewis, if not referring directly to Price, was at least giving a parable of Price and others who engaged in Psychical

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[645] Dorsett, *Seeking the Secret Place*, 141.
[646] Lewis, *The Screwtape Letters & Screwtape Proposes A Toast*, New York: Macmillan, 1959 and 1961, 166ff.
[647] *The Great Divorce* was serialized in *The Guardian* from Nov. 10, 1944 to April 13, 1945, and Lewis dated his Preface as April, 1945, but the essays were published in 1946 in book form.
[648] Lewis, *The Great Divorce*, 5.
[649] Griffin, *Clive Staples Lewis*, 243, 254.
[650] Lewis, *The Great Divorce*, 43. Stated by Robert Louis Stevenson in "El Dorado," *Virginibus Puerisque*, 1881. The quotation is also attributed to James Jean and Stephen Fry.
[651] Catherwood, "C.S. Lewis," 11f.

Research. J.B.S. Haldane had written like Price, stating that "mystical experience may be as capable of scientific investigation and explanation as sensuous experience…"[652] C.E.M. Joad had also expressed similar respect for the mystical experience.[653] The Socratic Club hosted Gervase Mathew on June 4 to address the topic "Christian and Non-Christian Mysticism." That address, preserved in *The Socratic Digest*, may have been motivated by *The Great Divorce*, but it certainly did not lead Lewis to include that idea in *The Great Divorce*. The ideas about mysticism that appear in *The Great Divorce* must originate much sooner than June 4, 1945, but surely Mathew's conclusion that "a homesickness is in itself an argument for the existence of a home" reflects Lewis' belief that human longing suggests the existence of something that this world cannot satisfy.

In the last chapter, George MacDonald rejected the Swedenborgians and Vale Owens as those who claimed some special knowledge that no one else has. The Swedish theologian Emanuel Swedenborg (1688–1772), founder of a mystical non-Christian religion, denied the vicarious atonement, the Trinity, a physical resurrection, and the existence of a personal devil, believing that all religions led to God. Vale Owens probably refers to the Rev. George Vale Owen (1869-1931), the vicar of Orford, Lancashire, who claimed to receive messages from spirits. These messages, in the tradition of Swedenborg, were published as *The Life Beyond the Veil* (1921).[654] The term *Veil* in the title undoubtedly is a play on the name Vale.

H.H. Price had been Wykeham Professor of Logic at New College since 1935, and he was a former Fellow at Magdalen College, Oxford, Lewis' college. He was succeeded as Wykeham Professor in 1959 by A.J. Ayer.[1] Price's specialty was epistemology, especially the problem of how we know the external world. Price was interested in telepathy, clairvoyance, telekinesis, and other aspects of parapsychology, serving during 1939 as President of the Society for Psychical Research. This society, previously named the Ghostly Guild, had been the result of a long collaboration between Westcott and Hort[2], but it became the Society for Psychical Research in 1882.[3]

[1]Schofield, Mark J. "Price, Henry Habberley (1899–1984)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004.

[2]Brooke, 274. Westcott and Hort were editors of a Greek New Testament in the nineteenth century.

[3] http://www.answers.com/topic/society-for-psychical-research.

Lewis read the essay "Christian Apologetics" to Anglican priests and youth leaders at the Carmarthen Conference for Youth Leaders and Junior Clergy during Easter (April 1) 1945, at Carmarthen, Wales. This essay is striking for its defense of Christianity and for its similarity to the essay "God in the Dock." Here Lewis argued for books by Christians on various subjects with their Christianity latent. Aware of the influential *Penguin* series of books and the *Thinkers Library*, Lewis wanted a series of books produced by Christians that could

[652] Haldane, "Science and Theology as Art Forms," *Possible Worlds*, 238.
[653] Joad, *God and Evil*, 242-244.
[654] http://cslbookclub.com/site/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=100&Itemid=123

exceed those series in quality. He also spoke in support of supernaturalism, objective facts, and accepting scriptural teaching even when it seems obscure or repulsive. That is precisely the time when we will progress in Christian knowledge, he wrote—not when it's easy, but when it's difficult.

After the Second World War

Other essays flowed from the pen of Lewis in this most prolific decade in Lewis' life, especially in 1944 and 1945, his two most prolific years. For example, the essay "Religion Without Dogma?" (also entitled "A Christian Reply to Professor Price") was read to the Socratic Club on May 20, 1946. In this essay, Lewis responded to the paper of H.H. Price, originally scheduled for October 23, 1942 but delivered in 1944, entitled "The Grounds of Modern Agnosticism."[655]Lewis argued that faith does not come from philosophical arguments alone, although he esteemed those arguments highly, but also from an experience of the Numinous, i.e, a feeling of the supernatural, or the mysterious, but without any apparent reason. Rudolf Otto's book *The Idea of the Holy* was especially influential on this topic for Lewis. Since faith comes from hearing the Word of God (Rom. 10:17), most will disagree with Lewis. But let's hear him out. Lewis disagreed with Price's position that the essence of religion was belief in God and immortality, arguing that the essence of religion is a thirst for something higher than natural ends, for an object that is both objectively good and good for you. Price had argued that miracles, what he called an accretion, could not be accepted by science and that much of religion was the result of natural forces in action over many years. He was, therefore, arguing for a minimal religion, with none of the dogmas of the various world religions, but one which, in Lewis' view, would rob religion of its power. If no dogma is defined, everyone will read this new minimal religion along the lines of their current religion, with Hindus reading it as a Hindu religion, Nazis reading it in Nazi fashion, Communists reading it as an economic struggle, and everyone else doing the same. Lewis also challenged Price's idea that Psychical Research could bring both science and religion together.

World War II was clearly in the background, when Lewis wrote the essay "Christian Apologetics," since in that essay he mentioned his talks at Royal Air Force camps. Lewis read the essay to Anglican priests and youth leaders at the Carmarthen Conference for Youth Leaders and Junior Clergy on April 1, 1945, at Carmarthen, Wales. He was aware of the decline of religion in Great Britain, for he said that Great Britain was as much a mission field as China, and he also spoke of the almost total lack of a sense of sin. But Lewis later wrote an essay for *The Cherwell*, entitled "The Decline of Religion" (Nov. 29, 1946). In that essay, published during the fall of 1946, Lewis argued that Christianity had not declined in England, but a vague Theism had. The decline was not gradual, but it occurred at that exact moment when chapel was no longer compulsory. In fact, he stated, one could now see where people actually stood, rather than have their spiritual condition obscured by compulsory attendance. Lewis wrote, "The fog of 'religion' has lifted; the positions and numbers of both armies can be observed; and real shooting is now possible."[656] Lewis argued that Christianity was now "on the map" for the younger *intelligentsia* as was not the case in 1920. However, increased interest was the not same as the conversion of England or even the conversion of a single soul.

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[655] Published in *The Socratic Digest*, No. 5 (1962), 39-47 and in the *Phoenix Quarterly*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (Autumn 1946), pp. 25ff.

[656] Lewis, "The Decline of Religion," in *God in the Dock*, 220.

The decline of Christianity, however, is evident from some of the statistics on church membership in England. At the beginning of the 1930s membership in the Free Churches in Sheffield was over 21,000, but by 1955 the total had dropped to under 16,000, with Congregationalism suffering the most. Interestingly, while membership declined during the period from 1945 to 1960, there was an increase between 1945 and 1954, some of the years when Lewis was at the height of his literary powers.[657] The post-World War II years saw a great deal of interest in traditional Christianity, but the revival of interest in Christianity reached its peak a few years after the end of the war.[658]

Among Lewis' apologetic techniques were the importance of learning the language of your audience, pointing out the logical argument that Christ is "Either God or a bad man,"[659] affirming the historicity of the Gospels, and even arguing that "though all salvation is through Jesus, we need not conclude that He cannot save those who have not explicitly accepted Him in this life."[660] Principal of Manchester College, Nicol Cross, a Unitarian, didn't like Lewis' logic. He said at the Socratic Club on November 11, 1946 that "he must allude to the 'vulgar nonsense' that 'a man who said the things that Jesus said, and was not God would be either a lunatic or a devil.' "[661] He was quoting Lewis' BBC address, entitled "The Shocking Alternative," first delivered on Feb. 1, 1942, an address that later became a part of *Mere Christianity*. Better was the conclusion of Justin Phillips, who believed that this was the talk that "established Lewis' reputation as a Christian apologist of the first rank."[662]

A response from another listener took issue with a different part of what Lewis said over the BBC. On February 22, 1944, Lewis delivered the talk that later became Chapter 1 of Book IV in *Mere Christianity*, the chapter entitled "Making and Begetting." Theology is like a map, and one cannot get eternal life simply "by feeling the presence of God in flowers or music."[663] Mr. W.R. Childe from Leeds insisted that the moral teaching of Christ is the most important thing in Christianity and linked Lewis with religious bigots: "If I tell Mr. Lewis that 'feeling the presence of God in flowers and music' is Eternal Life, he may prepare his faggots for the usual heresy hunt in which Christian dogmatists have in the past so often liberated their own suppressed intellects and passions."[664] Lewis challenged his accuser to find any passage in his works which

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[657] Hastings, 461.
[658] Hastings, 491.
[659] In Latin, *aut Deus aut malus homo*.
[660] Lewis, "Christian Apologetics," 102.
[661] *The Socratic Digest*, Number Four, 103.
[662] Phillips, 147.
[663] Lewis, *Mere Christianity*, 155.
[664] The full text of Childe's letter to *The Listener*, Volume 31, March 2, 1944, p. 245: 'You will not get eternal life, says Mr. C.S. Lewis in his categorical way, 'by just feeling the presence of God in flowers and music'. 'Just feeling' is good! If I tell Mr. Lewis that 'feeling the presence of God in flowers and music' *is* Eternal Life, he may prepare his faggots for the usual heresy hunt in which Christian dogmatists have in the past so often liberated their own suppressed intellects and passions. But I remember Blake, the greatest genius of liberation that England has ever known or will perhaps ever know, whom she has never tried to understand and of whom she has always proved more or less unworthy:

To see a World in a grain of sand,
And a Heaven in a wild flower,
Hold Infinity in the palm of your hand,
And Eternity in an hour . . .

If Mr. Lewis could tell people how to do that, he might make a real contribution to religious progress.

He also tells us that the 'popular idea' of Christianity is that 'Jesus Christ was a great moral teacher, and that if we only took His advice we might be able to establish a better social order and avoid another war'. And he

favored religious or anti-religious compulsion. For that discovery Lewis pledged five pounds to any not militantly anti-Christian charity named by Childe. The next week Childe absolved Lewis from the charge of preparing faggots "in the literal sense"; he suggested instead that the effect of "Mr. Lewis' propaganda" was to isolate Christianity in a theological vacuum; and he neglected to specify his favorite charity.[665]

The impact of Owen Barfield and Charles Williams upon Oxford University came especially as a result of their friendship with Lewis. Barfield's destruction of Lewis' chronological snobbery during the 1920s and Williams's doctrine of co-inherence and his understanding of Plato's doctrine of real forms, evident in Lewis' references to Shadowlands, for example, greatly influenced Lewis during that period of his life. More than that, Lewis shared with Williams an approach to romantic theology that led to the Chronicles of Narnia with their interpenetration of the external world and a parallel world. When Lewis read *The Place of the Lion* in 1936, he wrote to Williams to thank him for the book at the same time that Williams was about to write a similar letter of appreciation to Lewis for *The Allegory of Love* (1936). The move of the offices of Oxford University Press to the city of Oxford during World War II increased contact between Lewis and Williams, thereby developing their friendship, which ended abruptly with Williams' death on May 15, 1945. Lewis' brief poem, "To Charles Williams" (August 1945), demonstrated the depth of his loss when Williams died. In it he wrote that new light caused by the death of Williams changed everything, and the blowing air was either the cold of spring or the waning of the world. Lewis read "The Novels of Charles Williams" (Feb. 11, 1949) over the Third Programme of the BBC, praising their mixture of the realistic and the fantastic, or the Probable and the Marvelous, calling a Williams story a supposal[666] and citing especially Williams's *The Place of the Lion* with its use of Platonic forms. He saw this as a challenge to the strict Materialist, who does not believe in another world of any sort, and he rejected the criticism of those who disliked the combination of the natural and the supernatural, offering instead several benefits of Williams' approach.

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pours contempt on the 'popular idea'. Poor populace! After two thousand years still obstinately hoping that in the heart of its religion there may be something that may bring about human brotherhood. I tell Mr. Lewis that the moral teaching of Christ is the *most* important thing in Christianity and that in His philosophy is the only way of making a sane and happy world. What the world wants is far more intelligence put to the service of far, far more love. What is the use of knowing all about Christ, if as Mr. Lewis rather oddly puts it, we do not follow His 'advice'? What is the use of calling Him 'Lord, Lord!' if we do not do the things that He says? Leeds, W.R. Childe

[665] Lewis, *God in the Dock*, 329. Lewis wrote this letter for the March 9, 1944 issue of *The Listener*. The full text of Childe's letter to *The Listener*, Volume 31, March 16, 1944, p. 301: I absolve Mr. Lewis from the charge of preparing faggots in the literal sense and I should have thought that the image of 'faggots' was a fairly obvious one for *odium theologicum*, of which I am afraid I cannot acquit him. If the history of Christianity has taught anything, it has shown that passionate belief in the supposed truth, in what the believer holds to be truth and fact, may very well exist side by side with a complete lack of interest in those outside the fold and with a fanatical contempt for art, nature and philosophy. It need not do so, of course. In fact in the long run nature, art and philosophy all harmonize with the deepest elements in Christian doctrine. But I am sorry to have to say that in my judgment the effect of Mr. Lewis' propaganda is to isolate Christianity, as it is isolated for instance in the poetry of Milton, in a sort of vacuum totally impervious to any ideas except those of theological origin. The correctives to this obsession in the history of English Protestantism were Blake and Shelley, and I feel very strongly that if Mr. Lewis had not succumbed to the fatal lure of taking literally the sublime but preposterous melodrama of 'Paradise Lost' and if he would even now turn again to Blake's 'Jerusalem' and Shelley's 'Prometheus Unbound', he might yet see what is really meant by the Spirit of Life.

Mr. Lewis thinks that 'just feeling the presence of God in flowers and music' is not important. The presence of God is presumably a fact of some significance, and I always understood that the Immanence of God in the universe was a Christian doctrine. Leeds,W.R. Childe

[666] Note here. Lewis also called his Narnian Chronicles supposals.

"Work and Prayer" was published on May 28, 1945 in *The Coventry Evening Telegraph*. In "Work and Prayer," Lewis wrote about the importance of prayer, based upon the entire historical tradition of Christian prayer, as exemplified in the petition in the Lord's Prayer for our daily bread, and based on a rejection of the argument that higher prayers don't ask God for anything, they simply commune with him. The case against prayer was based upon the thing asked for being good or bad. God, who is good and wise, will do that which is good without our asking, and that which is bad He won't. Therefore, some argued, we don't need to pray. If those arguments were valid, Lewis wrote, not only would prayer become unnecessary, all manner of work would be also. We wouldn't need to do anything, including wash our hands or put on our boots. But in fact, as Pascal has said, God "instituted prayer in order to allow His creatures the dignity of causality," and He has instituted physical action for the same purpose. Lewis made the same argument in one of his four scraps, published later that same year. He stated that, though God always knows best, we don't stop praying. On the same principle we could never ask for the next person to pass the salt because God knows best whether or not we ought to have salt.[667]

Lewis' essay "The Laws of Nature," published on April 4, 1945 also in *The Coventry Evening Telegraph*, addressed the same territory as his essay from the previous week, "Religion and Science." The topic was a naturalistic interpretation of events rather than a supernatural one. A friend of Lewis' was sad that a particular woman thought her prayers had enabled her son to survive the Battle of Arnhem, fought in September 1944 in Holland. World War II was nearly over, and a victory at Arnhem could have hastened the end. The Allies failed both to plan well and to execute their battle plan, resulting in a resounding defeat. Out of the approximately 10,600 men who had fought at Arnhem, most of them British, only 2,398 returned, 1,500 had been killed, and the rest had been captured by the Germans.[668] The friend said that prayer had nothing to do with the son's survival. He survived because of the laws of nature. But Lewis argued, perhaps because his brother Warren had been rescued at Dunkirk, that "in the whole history of the universe the laws of Nature have never produced a single event."[669] The laws do not have a mind, and they have no power; they are merely the pattern to which events conform. So perhaps those prayers truly were the reason for the son's survival.

Lewis' letter, "A Village Experience," appeared in *The Guardian* on August 31, 1945, in part because between terms, when Lewis had more free time, he wrote letters to some of his favorite periodicals. The letter was mostly the quotation of a letter from an elderly lady in a village that once had a devout parson. The current holder of the position was in his eighties, did nothing, and even insisted that children not be allowed in church without a parent. As a result, she wrote, the village had gone pagan. Her receiving of the Lord's Supper even felt to her as though she were being extorted. Citing her letter enabled Lewis to express his position about the importance of clergy being involved in the community, working hard, and loving people. Her parson, apparently, did none of these.

The piece entitled "Scraps" included three other brief notes and was published in the December 1945 issue of *St. James Magazine*.[670] (1) There will be books in heaven, but only those that we gave away or lent while on earth. (2) Angels have no senses, so we get to experience some things that they don't. (3) The body and soul are in a constant pull one way or

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[667] "Scraps," *Christian Reunion and Other Essays*, 71.
[668] See www.arnhemarchive.org.
[669] C.S. Lewis, "The Laws of Nature," in *God in the Dock*, Edited by Walter Hooper. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1970, page 77.
[670] *St. James Magazine* is a literary periodical in publication since 1762, first edited by Robert Lloyd, and published by St. James' Church, Birkdale, Southport

the other, between sense experiences and high ideals, which sometimes work against each other. Also published on December 29, 1945 in *Time and Tide* was a poem entitled "On Receiving Bad News" and later retitled "Epigrams and Epitaphs, No. 12." There Lewis seems to reflect on the news that Charles Williams had died earlier that year on May 15. Do not assume that what you are experiencing is the worst that will come; it may only be the start of a series of bad experiences.[671]

On May 8, 1946, some of Lewis' thoughts about the advantages and disadvantages of angels, expressed in the paragraph above, were echoed in *Punch* magazine in the poem, "On Being Human." Although they have direct knowledge of truth, angels are unable to have sensory experiences (they have no skin, no nose, no nerves, Lewis wrote). They can't drink *down* a tankard or drink *in* the summer air. The poem contains some content reminiscent of a passage in *Out of the Silent Planet*, where Lewis described the angels of Malacandra, the eldila, as creatures who don't breathe but can talk.[672]

In 1946, Lewis wrote the preface[673] to B.G. Sandhurst's book, *How Heathen is Britain?*, published that same year. In an age when Religious Education was standard in the public schools of the United Kingdom, Sandhurst argued that young people were not accepting of Christianity because of ignorance of the Christian faith rather than because of hostility. In his preface, Lewis stated further that young people are not Christian simply because their teachers have been unable or unwilling to teach them the Christian faith, so we must look one generation earlier to find the cause. The key to reaching England with the Gospel is not the schools, but our Christian witness to our neighbor.

Around 1946, Lewis wrote an essay later published by the Student Christian Movement under the title "Man or Rabbit?" In it Lewis was probably reflecting the language of an essay of Haldane in *Possible Worlds*, "On Being One's Own Rabbit: The Story of a Skirmish in the War on Disease." In that essay, Haldane wrote about trying an experiment on himself rather than on a rabbit. One doesn't know how a rabbit feels, he stated, rabbits often get frightened, and rabbits typically do not cooperate. "A human colleague and I therefore began experiments on one another."[674]

Lewis argued that one of the distinctive characteristics of a human being was the desire to know things, particularly their truth claims. The question asked by some people of the day was whether they could live a good life without believing in Christianity. As in *Mere Christianity*, Lewis pointed out the fact that being good is not the essence of Christianity, but being remade, taking on the Divine Life,[675] being transformed into a real person, a son or daughter of God, "drenched in joy." People should not ask how helpful Christianity is, but how true it is! And if true, then the Materialist view, which places the good of civilization in prime position (since individuals live only a few decades), will be replaced by the Christian view, which places the good of the individual in prime position (since individuals actually live forever). And, in fact, the person who isn't really interested in knowing about the truth of Christianity is afraid of considering that question because he is afraid that he will find out that it is true. Then he would have to change his way of thinking as well as his behavior.

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[671] "Epigrams and Epitaphs, No. 12," *Poems*, 135.
[672] *Out of the Silent Planet*. 157.
[673] Reprinted in *God in the Dock* as "On the Transmission of Christianity."
[674] Haldane, "On Being One's Own Rabbit," *Possible Worlds*, 109.
[675] *Mere Christianity*, 147, 156, and especially 158f.

On Sunday, April 7, 1946, Lewis preached a sermon entitled "Miserable Offenders" at St. Matthew's Church, Northampton, in the Midlands. It was two weeks before Easter, so the message was for the Lenten season, which he acknowledged in the sermon. It was less than a year after the end of the war, which he also acknowledged. He addressed three phrases in particular from the Prayer Book, "contrite hearts," "miserable offenders," and sins being "intolerable." The word "contrite" actually means "pulverized," "miserable" probably means "an object of pity" rather than something despicable, and "intolerable" means a load which will break us if nothing is done about it. The point is that the only way to deal with the real problem of sin is to face it, bring it to God, and ask for forgiveness, which is very good advice indeed.

That July and September, Lewis wrote two letters[676] to Erik Routley, who had written to ask if Lewis would be willing to serve on a panel that would assess the merit of new hymns. Lewis declined because of his dislike of hymns, which he considered the dead wood of the worship service. His second letter stated that he did not disagree in principle with the use of hymns, but he thought the problem in England was that the English could not sing. He favored an improved hymnody, especially if hymns could edify the worshipper.

On August 14, 1946, Lewis' poem, "Solomon," was published in *Punch* magazine. The poem described the wealth of Solomon's court with its cedar, jade, emerald, and diamond and with its flamingoes and peacocks. Though Solomon was attempting to achieve an Adamite state, it was not possible. Eve would have laughed to see the trappings that would one day bring about Solomon's downfall.

In an essay dated October 1946, Lewis wrote "Modern Man and his Categories of Thought," a piece that seems never to have been published in his lifetime. He wrote the essay about methods for approaching the unconverted, apparently at the request of Bishop Stephen Neill and for the Study Department of the World Council of Churches.[677] It shows similarities to his essay, "God in the Dock," which was published two years later. His six causes for current difficulties in evangelism were changes in education (people were no longer studying the Classics), the emancipation of women, historicism (and Darwinianism with its denial of creation and the Fall), proletarianism (anti-clericalism, no sense of sin), practicality (the question of truth is seldom raised), and skepticism about the value of reason. "God in the Dock," published in *Lumen Vitae* in September 1948, listed difficulties in evangelism as various non-Christian creeds, skepticism about history, differences in language (that of the educated and that of the common people), the absence of a sense of sin (a carryover from the previous essay), and the intellectualism of Lewis' own approach. He based the latter essay on his experiences with two groups of people—the men and women of the Royal Air Force and students at the Universities. Both essays listed the three audiences of early Christian preachers—Jews, Gentiles, and Pagans. Both essays suggested that, in Lewis' day, God was in the dock, i.e. on trial, and that people were God's judges. Both essays ended by suggesting the value of a team of two, one person giving an intellectual approach such as Lewis could give, followed by a preacher who aims at the heart with an emotional appeal. But "God in the Dock" is much clearer on the importance of convincing these hearers, who have no sense of sin, that they need the remedy of the Gospel. God's bad news offers the "unwelcome diagnosis," which shows us our need for a Savior.

Lewis loved animals and opposed the use of animals for scientific research. In 1947, he wrote the essay "Vivisection" for the New England Anti-Vivisection Society to express his opposition to animal experimentation, fearing that an elevation of human life over animals could

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[676] *God in the Dock*, 330f. Routley wrote on July 13 and Sept. 18, while Lewis replied on July 16 and Sept. 21.
[677] *Readers' Encyclopedia*, Schultz and West, 284.

lead to the elevation of one segment of society over another and the triumph of non-moral utilitarianism. In this, he was undoubtedly expressing his opposition to many people, and one of them was J.B.S. Haldane. Haldane had defended vivisection, stating, "All others who demand the prohibition of experiments on anaesthetized animals are quite definitely hypocrites."[678] He also claimed the high road, writing, "I have never seen an animal undergoing pain which I would not have been willing to undergo myself for the same object."[679] And, in several instances, Haldane had subjected himself to experiments, in one instance suffering crushed vertebrae and, in another, a perforated eardrum.[680] He attributed their motives to "a hatred of science."[681] This willingness to undergo experiments himself is alluded to in one of Lewis' letters, where he wrote to his brother Warren of the deterioration of Haldane's notes while in a sealed chamber from which oxygen was being removed.[682]

This opposition to animal experimentation also showed itself in *That Hideous Strength*, since the N.I.C.E. was doing experiments on both animals and human beings. Mark Studdock had no scruples about vivisection as he was being drawn into the N.I.C.E. Later, Mark approved of vivisection and even thought that certain classes of people should be eliminated.[683] In "Vivisection," Lewis argued that if animals were fair game for vivisection, then the next step would be to do the same to another group of people, whether another race, country, party, or class. Likewise, imbeciles, criminals, or enemies would be candidates for experiments, and the Nazi scientists had already done some of that. He cited Dachau and Hiroshima as evidence of such utilitarianism over ethical law. The events of World War II were fresh in his mind.

A few years later, Lewis would engage C.E.M. Joad in a literary and theological exchange on this topic in an inquiry and a reply to "The Pains of Animals: A Problem in Theology." Lewis' essay echoed his thoughts from *The Problem of Pain*, which had been published in 1940 and which had included a chapter on animal pain. Joad, the Head of the Department of Philosophy at the University of London, raised certain questions about Lewis' ninth chapter in *The Problem of Pain*. The inquiry by Joad and the reply by Lewis were first published in February 1950, both under the same title (above), in the British periodical *The Month* and reprinted in the *Atlantic Monthly* that April. Joad critique challenged the Lewisian idea that animals have sentience but not consciousness, that domestic animals will achieve immortality through the family to which they belonged, and that Satan might have tempted monkeys. Joad argued that an animal seems to remember pain when it cringes at the sight of the whip by which it had previously been beaten.

Lewis' response stated that most of chapter nine contained his guesses. He conceded that Satan had not tempted monkeys, since that would assume a will, but he proposed a better word, "distortion." He also defended the argument that animals have a lack of consciousness, stating that the more coherently conscious the animal, the more pity its pains deserve. And when animals act as if from memory, that does not prove memory in the conscious sense, especially since our blinking of the eyes at the approach of an object is due to reflex action rather than remembering. But all this is speculation, Lewis admitted, and should be taken only as an attempt

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[678] Haldane, "Some Enemies of Science," *Possible Worlds*, 251.
[679] Haldane, "Some Enemies of Science," *Possible Worlds*, 252.
[680] "J.B.S. Haldane," *Wikipedia*.
[681] Haldane, "Some Enemies of Science," *Possible Worlds*, 256.
[682] Lewis, *Collected Letters*, II, 407.
[683] Lewis, *That Hideous Strength*, 185.

to understand better. We lack the kind of data for animals that we have for humans, and Lewis was confident that the appearance of divine cruelty toward animals was a false appearance.[684]

In 1947, J. B. Phillips wrote his *Letters to Young Churches: A Translation of the New Testament Epistles*, for which Lewis wrote an introduction. Phillips was a south London vicar to whom Lewis had first written on Aug. 3, 1943 in response to a letter from Phillips. His glowing words about Phillips' translation of *Colossians* undoubtedly led to his being asked to write the introduction for Phillips' translation, particularly since Lewis expressed the hope that Phillips would complete all of the epistles and then wrote, "I hope you'll add a little plain preface."[685] In his introduction, Lewis both defended the writings of Paul from the modern attacks of liberalism and the translation of Phillips from those who believed that only the Authorized (King James) Version should be used. The King James had ceased to be good because it had ceased to be clear, and at times the beauty of the King James prevented the reader from getting the intended message of the text.

Also in 1947, Lewis wrote the book *Miracles*. Sir James George Frazer (1854–1941) had written a twelve-volume work over a period of thirty years, entitled *The Golden Bough: A Study in Magic and Religion* (1890–1919). Some considered Frazer as "the most important exponent of secularism in the twentieth century."[686] Frazer's *Golden Bough* is the book Kirkpatrick, the "hard, satirical atheist (ex-Presbyterian)," doted on.[687]

Frazer had been a fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, from 1879 until his death in 1941. He had argued that many religions contain the story of dying and rising, thereby making Christianity nothing remarkable, but simply another of the mythologies. At Trinity College, Frazer had received many letters from readers who thanked him for removing the scales from their eyes about the nature of Christianity. Lewis had read *The Golden Bough* in 1916 while studying with Kirkpatrick,[688] and he wrote to Arthur Greeves about it that same year, agreeing with Frazer's position, which was indebted to Schopenhauer. Later, Lewis wrote to Arthur of Kirkpatrick, stating "the old man's talk was saturated with Shopenhauer-esque quotations and ideas."[689]

> As to the other question about religion, I was sad to read your letter. You ask me my religious views: you know, I think, that I believe in no religion. There is absolutely no proof for any of them, and from a philosophical standpoint Christianity is not even the best. All religions, that is, all mythologies to give them their proper name are merely man's own invention—Christ as much as Loki. Primitive man found himself surrounded by all sorts of terrible things he didn't understand—thunder, pestilence, snakes etc: what more natural than to suppose that these were animated by evil spirits trying to torture him. These he kept off by cringing to them, singing songs and making sacrifices etc.

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[684] On this topic, see my article, "From Vocal Agnostic to Reluctant Convert: The Influence of C.S. Lewis on the Conversion C.E.M. Joad," in *Sehnsucht* Volume 3 (2009):11–31.
[685] Lewis, *Collected Letters*, II, 586.
[686] Ackerman, 3.
[687] Lewis, *Miracles*, 93.
[688] His letter to Arthur Greeves on Oct. 12, 1916, above, shows his full acceptance of Frazer's views, reflecting the fact that he read Frazer around this time. *The Letters of C.S. Lewis to Arthur Greeves*, 135. Indeed, Lewis wrote in *Miracles*, "The very man who taught me to think—a hard, satirical atheist (ex-Presbyterian) . . . doted on the *Golden Bough*." *Miracles*, 93. And in *Surprised by Joy*, Lewis wrote of Kirkpatrick, "He was great on *The Golden Bough* and Schopenhauer." *SBJ*, 139. In Schopenhauer's book, *The World as Will and Idea* (1819), he argued that there is Nothing behind human life. Downing, 92.
[689] *The Letters of C.S. Lewis to Arthur Greeves*, Oct. 13, 1918, 234.

> Gradually from being mere nature-spirits these supposed being[s] were elevated into more elaborate ideas, such as the old gods: and when man became more refined he pretended that these spirits were good as well as powerful.
>
> Thus religion, that is to say mythology grew up. Often, too, great men were regarded as gods after their death—such as Heracles or Odin: thus after the death of a Hebrew philosopher Yeshua (whose name we have corrupted into Jesus) he became regarded as a god, a cult sprang up, which was afterwards connected with the ancient Hebrew-Jahweh-worship, and so Christianity came into being—one mythology among many, but the one that we happen to have been brought up in.
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> Now all this you must have heard before: it is the recognized scientific account of the growth of religions. Superstition of course in every age has held the common people, but in every age the educated and thinking ones have stood outside it, though usually outwardly conceding to it for convenience. I had thought that you were gradually being emancipated from the old beliefs, but if this is not so, I hope we are too sensible to quarrel about abstract ideas.[690]

Lewis read Frazer again in 1923 as a young Oxford undergraduate, accepting Frazer's view of religion, especially Christianity, as simply a stage in man's intellectual evolution, which would eventually arrive at the point where it would no longer need religion, accepting, instead, science as the worldview that explained ultimate truth. Science was the new religion for many at this time in Oxford and Cambridge, whereas English literature became the new religion for people like F.R. Leavis at Cambridge. People are always looking for something to believe in, and they will choose the nearest object that appears worthy of veneration, deify it, and then bow down before it.

One of the attractive features of Frazer was his account of dying and rising gods in various cultures. Frazer interpreted these dying and rising gods as cultural and mythological phenomena. After his conversion in 1931, Lewis came to view the many instances of the dying and rising god, not as proof of Christianity's falsity, but as echoes of a true myth and preparation for that myth.

Then, in the 1940s, Lewis wrote a letter to Mr. Peter May for the Oct. 16, 1942 issue of *The Guardian*, responding to May's letter in the previous week's issue. The letter contained several questions about Lewis' talk "Miracles," which Lewis had given at St. Jude on the Hill, London, the parish church of Hampstead Garden, on Sunday evening, September 27, 1942. Lewis gave his talk as part of a series called "The Voice of the Laity."[691] The talk was given after Evensong, so it was not a sermon. On May 13, 1943, Dorothy L. Sayers complained in a letter to Lewis, "There aren't any up-to-date books about Miracles." Lewis wrote to Sayers on May 17 saying, "I'm starting a book on Miracles."[692] Lewis' talk, "The Grand Miracle," given during a series of talks at Evensong on Sunday, April 15, 1945,[693] also at St. Jude on the Hill Church, seems to be a follow-up to the 1942 talk. The Vicar at the time of these talks was William Heron Maxwell Rennie, Vicar at St. Jude from 1936 until 1954. As far as we know, Lewis did not know

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[690] *The Letters of C.S. Lewis to Arthur Greeves*, Oct. 12, 1916, p. 135.

[691] The talk was announced in the *St. Jude Gazette* in their September issue and printed in full in the October issue under the title "The Brilliant Exposition on 'Miracles' given by C.S. Lewis, M.A.," according to an email from Rev. Alan Walker to Dr. Joel Heck, Nov. 24, 2009. It was not given on Nov. 26, as *The C.S. Lewis Readers' Encyclopedia* and Walter Hooper report, the latter in the Preface to *God in the Dock*.

[692] *Collected Letters*, II, 573.

[693] It was published in *The Guardian* on April 27 according to Walter Hooper's Preface to *God in the Dock*, and it appeared in the *St. Jude's Gazette* in May according to Rev. Alan Walker.

Rennie, so Lewis was simply one of a series of high profile speakers. In 1942, other speakers included the Headmaster of Rugby, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and, had poor health not forced him to cancel, the American Ambassador. In 1945, Lewis followed the wartime government minister Sir Stafford Cripps in this same series.

In "The Grand Miracle," Lewis argued that to remove the miraculous from Christianity is to kill it, for miracles, especially the Incarnation, are integral to it. All other Christian miracles "either prepare for, or exhibit, or result from the Incarnation."[694] In this sermon, Lewis mentioned Sir James George Frazer's book, *The Golden Bough*, a book that Adrian Hastings calls "almost the bible of the 1920s."[695] Then, in 1947, the same year that Lewis appeared on the front cover of *Time* magazine, the book *Miracles* was published, forming the culmination of this series of events and responding, not only to Frazer, but also to Rudolf Bultmann (1884-1976) and his demythologizing of the New Testament.

Just as he was writing *Miracles*, Lewis wrote to Dom Bede Griffiths. He said,

> To write a book on miracles, which are in a sense invasions of Nature, has made me realize Nature herself as I've never done before. You don't *see* Nature till you believe in the Supernatural: don't get the full, hot, salty tang of her except by contrast with the pure water from beyond the world.[696]

Lewis also spoke of nature religions,[697] the modern ones promoted by Henri Bergson and popularized by Bernard Shaw, which contain some similarity to Christianity in that they accept rather than reject nature. The temple of Bacchus and the temple of Aphrodite are Lewis' ancient examples. Christianity affirms the essential goodness of nature, including the human body, even though it has been corrupted by the fall. The fall led to the disruption or destruction of nature, as the White Witch kept Narnia always winter and N.I.C.E. despoiled nature in its false campaign towards progress. He once wrote, "The evil reality of lawless applied science . . . is actually reducing large tracts of Nature to disorder and sterility at this very moment."[698] That fall separated mankind from both God and nature, leading us to exalt ourselves while failing to recognize God's activity in nature. God created nature, and He has blessed it by taking on human nature in the Incarnation of Jesus Christ. Therefore, knowing the blessing of God upon nature, Lewis had a zest for nature that showed itself especially in his fiction. According to Lewis, nature foreshadows heaven:[699]

> The settled happiness and security which we all desire, God withholds from us by the very nature of the world: but joy, pleasure, and merriment, He has scattered broadcast…. The security we crave would teach us to rest our hearts in this world and pose an obstacle to our return to God. . . . Our Father refreshes us on the journey with some pleasant inns, but will not encourage us to mistake them for home.[700]

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[694] Lewis, "The Grand Miracle," 81.
[695] Hastings, 223.
[696] *Collected Letters*, II, 648, a letter dated May 10, 1945.
[697] As opposed to anti-nature religions (such as Hinduism and Stoicism). Lewis, "The Grand Miracle," 86.
[698] Lewis, *Miracles*, 197.
[699] Duriez, 143-148.
[700] Lewis, *The Problem of Pain*, 116.

He later echoed the same sentiments in *Letters to Malcolm*, calling pleasures "shafts of glory," examples of goodness or truth.[701]

Lewis' essay "On Forgiveness" was written for the parish magazine of the Church of St. Mary, Sawston, Cambridgeshire, just a few miles south of Cambridge, and sent to Father Patrick Kevin Irwin on Aug. 28, 1947.[702] In that essay, he wrote about the phrase in the creed, "I believe in the forgiveness of sins." He distinguished between forgiving and excusing, calling them almost opposites, and he insisted that we simply must forgive without exception. A few years later in 1951, he would write to Sister Penelope, stating that he had not really believed in God's forgiveness until recently, apparently either a reference to his relationship to his father or, more likely, the result of the death of Mrs. Moore in January 1951.

In 1948, Lewis' essay, "Some Thoughts," was published in a book[703] commemorating ten years of Christian medical ministry at Our Lady of Lourdes Hospital in Drogheda, Ireland. Located along the east coast of Ireland north of Dublin, this hospital cared for Warren Lewis during several bouts he had with alcohol. In the essay, Lewis expressed the seeming contradiction of Christianity being one of the world-affirming religions at the same time that it is a world-denying religion. Christianity recognizes the fallenness of Nature and human nature. This puts Christians in a battle against death, which is both natural and unnatural. We were not made for this world, but for another, and Our Lord has defeated the intruder that brought death into the world. In the meantime, while we wait for His return, we love this world better because we love something more than this world.

On July 10, 1948, Lady Marjorie Nunburnholme wrote "A Petition to the Lambeth Conference" for *Time and Tide* in which she spoke out for the equality of men and women as support for the ordination of women. She was serving as Chair of an *ad hoc* Committee on the Ordination of Women to the Priesthood and cited (1) the difficulty of recruiting enough men of sufficient quality, (2) a Canon from the Holy Catholic Church of China, and (3) the ordination of a woman in 1943 by the Bishop of Hong Kong. She dismissed Paul's forbidding a woman to speak in church as reflective of a certain age and local conditions rather than a divine teaching. Lewis' response appeared in the same periodical on August 14 as "Priestesses in the Church?" While there may be practical reasons for ordaining women, Lewis suggested that we need to look at the history of the church and the Scriptures to make our decision on this subject. History shows that the ordination of men is not the result of contempt for women. The high esteem for the Virgin Mary is one part of this. Lewis went on to point out that the Old Testament had only male priests, though it had both male and female prophets, and that the language of Scripture is that of the masculine for God ("Our Father," the Son is incarnate, Christ is the Bride, not the Bridegroom). Since God has taught us how to speak, we should not lightly set aside that instruction. The differences between male and female show that they are complementary organs of the body of Christ, and unless equal means interchangeable, equality is not a valid argument in favor of women's ordination.

Lewis took to greater lengths the point from "God in the Dock" about the need to hear the bad news in an August 1948 essay entitled "The Trouble with 'X'." This essay, published in the *Bristol Diocesan Gazette*, reflected both post-World War II rationing and, perhaps, the difficulty of living with Mrs. Moore during the last years of her life. It discussed that old fatal flaw in the

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[701] Lewis, *Letters to Malcolm*, 89.
[702] See *Fern-Seed and Elephants and other essays on Christianity*.
[703] *The First Decade: Ten Years' Work of the Medical Missionaries of Mary*. Dublin: At the Sign of the Three Candles, 1948.

character of X, including ill temper, and this example characterized Mrs. Moore more than any of his acquaintances. While arguing that God does not force Himself on anyone, Lewis also invited the reader to realize that each of us has a flaw, just like the one he sees in other people. One is reminded of Jesus' words about seeing the speck in someone else's eyes and missing the plank in one's own eye. The only person whose character we can improve, with God's help, is ourselves. But first "we must learn to see ourselves as a person of exactly the same kind" as X. The good news is that God loves us in spite of those flaws.

Two religious poems of Lewis were published in 1948 in *Punch* magazine. The first, published on Aug. 11, originally entitled "The Sailing of the Ark," was later renamed "The Late Passenger." It told the story of the unicorn, which came late to the ark, and it suggested a reason for the curse of Ham, who did not want to take the time and effort to open the door of the ark for the unicorn. The second, "The Turn of the Tide," was published on Nov. 1. This Christmas poem echoed Lewis' strong emphasis on the Incarnation as God's grand miracle, some of it in terms of the renewing power of God in the return of life to the frozen and deadly stillness. Death has given way to life. Aslan was on the move, since this was the same year that Lewis started to write *The Lion, the Witch and the Wardrobe*.

In 1949, another poem invited people to consider what lies beyond this life. In the poem "Epitaph," sometimes entitled "Epitaph in a Village Churchyard," later retitled "Epigrams and Epitaphs, No. 16," which appeared on March 19 in *Time and Tide*, Lewis wrote about an individual who died and who lamented the fact that his life was remembered by those who knew him. His grave is called his "pillory," or his public offense, in the poem. That individual invites the reader of his tombstone to think about what he faced after his life was over.

Lewis wrote "The Humanitarian Theory of Punishment" for *20th Century: An Australian Quarterly Review* (1949). The humanitarian theory thinks that it is being merciful, but in, reality, by considering crime to be a disease rather than a moral evil, they lose the idea of desert, or deserving the punishment. Lewis had just read an article in a Leftist weekly in which the author had insisted that a certain sin should be considered a disease rather than a crime. Those who hold this position think that they are being more humanitarian, but in fact they have removed crime from the moral sphere and eliminated the idea of justice and the idea of the rights of a human being altogether. They have removed traditional or retributive theory from the table, not in the interests of society, but in the interests of the criminal. Now all they can think of is whether a punishment deters other crimes or whether it cures the criminal, both of which are issues of fact rather than morality. This fails to understand the fallenness of human nature and the image of God, which is not surprising, since the humanitarian theory is usually held by those who have no biblical foundation.

One of the odd things about the humanitarian theory is that it will still punish because the "cure" or "treatment" will still be compulsory, liberties will still be lost, some subjective pattern of normality will still be imposed on the individual, and the individual will never know when the process will end. Another sad thing is that tyrants can call any state of mind a disease, treat it as a crime, and require it to be "cured." Some psychologists in Lewis' day considered religion to be a neurosis, and a few of those people are still around.

From an article that discussed fallenness we go to a poem that describes an aspect of Adam and Eve before the fall. According to "Adam at Night," a poem by Lewis that appeared in *Punch* on May 11, 1949, Adam and Eve did not sleep before the fall. Just as Weston, the evil scientist in *Perelandra*, did not need to sleep because of his connection to the bent Oyarsa of earth, so also Adam and Eve were once in that position. Adam lay down at night, relaxed, and

reconnected with earth. While other creatures slept, Adam thought about the earth, the garden, the plants, and the rains.

On May 20, Lewis' letter to *Church Times* on "The Church's Liturgy" appeared, responding to the article from May 6 by E.L. Mascall. Lewis advocated uniformity in the time taken for worship and that variations should only take place in the liturgy when they do not alter doctrine. Doctrinal issues should not be settled by changes in the liturgy, but by discussion and decision of the assembled. Then, on July 1, Lewis agreed with W.D.F. Hughes that belief and liturgy were connected, but he disagreed that the connection was inextricable. Again, he asked that changes in the liturgy reflect the doctrine of the church, not create or change the doctrine. In a third letter to *Church Times*, this time in response to an article by Edward Every, Lewis' letter on invocation appeared on July 15, allowing invocation of the saints, but not devotion to saints, repeating his request that the liturgy not be the place for making changes in doctrine that have not been previously approved. A fourth letter in this series, Lewis' Aug. 5 letter responded again to Edward Every. Worried by modernist dilutions of the Christian faith, Lewis argued that controversies should end by being settled rather than by a gradual change of custom.

Just one month before "Adam at Night," however, Lewis' article, "On Church Music," appeared in the periodical *English Church Music*. Disclaiming any authority as a musician, Lewis took pains to point out his laicity, in Latin, which put him in the witness box rather than the judge's seat. The two purposes of worship, including music, are to glorify God and to edify the people. They do not always happen together. What edifies people does not always glorify God, but what glorifies God will edify people. To sing an anthem that is beyond the musical capacity of the congregation (high brow music) may edify the choir, but it will not edify anyone else. Excellence in music glorifies God. Lewis compared singing difficult music to speaking in tongues, noting similarities and differences. While anything can be done to the glory of God, congregational singing (low brow music) is no more edifying than many popular activities. Lewis preferred fewer, better, and shorter hymns, perhaps even no hymns at all. Neither excellent nor loud singing is evidence of spiritual value. In two instances, Lewis argued, God blesses. First, a priest or an organist gives people music in order to bring them to God. Secondly, the unmusical layman listens to music that he cannot appreciate, knowing that it is a defect in him. Lewis was writing of himself in the second instance. When the priest or organist is full of pride or where the unmusical is resentful of attempts to improve his musicality, there is no blessing. In short, Lewis wrote, the problem is never totally a musical one. Congregational members and worship leaders should use music as a place to exercise charity, humility, and good intentions, for God does not need our music.

"What Are We to Make of Jesus Christ?" (1950) could have been written in almost any period of Lewis' life once he became a Christian. That it came in 1950, a few years after the end of the war (Lewis mentioned Hitler by name), in the midst of the meetings of the Socratic Club, and during his theological maturity is at least appropriate. This message is good for any one of us to read at any time. What He is to make of us is far more important, Lewis wrote, than what we are to make of Him. Much of the argumentation in this essay appeared also in *Mere Christianity*, from the "poached egg" illustration to the outrageous claims Jesus made, especially the claim to be able to forgive sins. The essay also included a brief discussion of the attempt to call the Gospels legend, something that Lewis did not have time for in his *Mere Christianity* chapter, "The Shocking Alternative." Insisting that the Gospels were not legends and that he was qualified to know, Lewis anticipated arguments he would later use in the essay "Modern

Theology and Biblical Criticism" (1959). Lewis may have been responding to the World Council of Churches, which held its opening conference in Amsterdam in August 1948.

During that same year, Lewis' poem "As One Oldster to Another" was published in *Punch* magazine (March 15, 1950). The title suggests that he was feeling his age, even though he was only fifty-one. Don King calls this poem "Lewis at his best."[704] Getting older brings about aching bones, sleepless moments, and disagreeable food. Comparing life to a train led him to ask if it was time to take one's suitcase down from the luggage rack. In spite of aging, one still experiences beauty and moments of unfulfilled desire, or joy. They surprise us, but they serve as one of life's reminders of the next life.

At approximately this time, around 1950, Lewis published a poem on the shallowness of modern life, entitled "Finchley Avenue." Lonely people living in the large cities like London get too wrapped up in their daily activities, rushing to work and back, carrying out their business at a feverish pace, and missing out on the important things. Lewis lamented the former, simpler days of "vanished time." Only the garden lawn and the trees take us back to the way it was, but other things, such as old books, remind us of the sweet past when we first wondered about time.

Lewis' understanding of the Second Coming grew out of the Scriptures ("The World's Last Night," 1951) and expressed itself during World War II and the subsequent years. In "The World's Last Night," whose title is borrowed from a sonnet by John Donne, Lewis was responding to Albert Schweitzer's belief that the Second Coming was at the center of the message of Jesus. Instead of getting caught up in eschatology, Lewis advised people not to do what some had done by setting dates for the end of the world, to be ready at all times, and to carry out their duty to your posterity.

This was the time that he was bypassed for two professorates at Oxford, first in 1947 and then again in 1951, largely because of his strong Christian stance and his publication outside of his field. The professorate would have eliminated tutorials, the most time-consuming work of a tutor. This reminds us of the need to stand firm for our principles in spite of the prejudice or persecution that may come our way. God certainly blessed Lewis for his convictions and his willingness to speak out in print. At about this time, Lewis wrote a letter to *Church Times* about the Holy Name. On Aug. 3, 1951, Leslie Bradbury had written in *Church Times* about using the name of God reverentially and about using the word *Blessed* whenever speaking of the Virgin Mary. Arguing that the Nicene and Apostles' Creeds do not use the word *Blessed*, Lewis responded on August 10, 1951, stating that Bradbury's preferences are just as irritating to some as their lack is to others.

On Feb. 1, 1952, R.D. Daunton-Fear, the Dean of Gravesend, had a letter published in *Church Times* on "Evangelical Churchmanship." Lewis' letter, now entitled "Mere Christians," appeared on Feb. 8. Daunton-Fear wrote about unifying the Evangelical and Anglo-Catholic parts of the Church of England in spite of their disagreement over Low Church and High Church practices. Lewis argued that what truly united these two groups was their agreement on supernaturalism with belief in the Incarnation, the Resurrection, the Second Coming, and the like. Instead of the phrases "Low Church" and "High Church," he suggested the term "Deep Church," or Richard Baxter's "mere Christians."

In 1952, the revised chapters of Lewis' BBC radio broadcasts were published, with added chapters, as *Mere Christianity*. Setting forth the basic tenets of Christianity in common language, Lewis carried out the role of apologetics, defending the Christian faith, but also that of a teacher and an evangelist.

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[704] King, *C.S. Lewis, Poet*, 192.

A section in *Mere Christianity* (1952) may reflect a criticism of C.E.M. Joad against Christian behavior. Joad had written that if the Christian revelation were unique and inspired by the Holy Spirit, "then it ought to have made those to whom it has been vouchsafed better and gentler…"[705] That it had not made Christians generally better behaved than non-Christians, as he thought, was evidence that Christianity was not true. Lewis suggested that the criticism was unreasonable on several grounds. To some extent it depends on where a person is in terms of niceness when he or she becomes a Christian. Miss Bates may well be nicer as a Christian than she was as a non-Christian, but Dick Firkin may still be nicer as a non-Christian because he had better upbringing and a better natural disposition. But Miss Bates may still get there.

Perhaps Lewis was feeling his age when he wrote "Pilgrim's Progress" for *The Month*. This poem was published in May 1952 and suggested that age was supposed to bring wisdom. It hadn't. Was the map wrong, was he reading the map incorrectly, or did he perhaps have the wrong map? It is not clear whether Lewis was attempting awaken people to the possibility that they were heading toward the end of life with an incorrect view of the direction they were going, or if he was writing more humbly and introspectively about his own experience. With either scenario, Lewis made sense.

On Oct. 24, 1952, Lewis wrote to *Church Times* in response to the letter of Eric Pitt one week earlier, who was proposing a system of Anglican canonization of departed saints. Before that happens, wrote Lewis, we need to know if certain people are in heaven, which we cannot know, and we need to be able to discern varying degrees of salvation, which we also cannot know. If we could know, would it even help those now alive toward salvation? Furthermore, it is possible that such a system could lead to schism. Canonization of Anglican saints is not worth the price we would pay.

"Is Theism Important?" (published in 1952) was first presented at the Socratic Club, probably in November or December of Michaelmas Term 1951,[706] in response to a Socratic Club presentation by H.H. Price, who spoke earlier that year on the same topic. Price was still Wykeham Professor of Logic at the University of Oxford and a Fellow of New College. Price had expressed a concern that England was lapsing back into paganism. Lewis hoped this were the case, since pagans were more convertible to Christianity than materialists. Both speakers were sympathetic to one another's views, both finding value in the contribution of philosophy to the Christian faith, particularly in distinguishing between faith as assent and faith as trust, and also in the philosophical proofs for the existence of God, such as the Argument from Design (the teleological argument, developed by William Paley).

One notices, however, signs of decline during this period, whether causes or effects: elimination of compulsory chapel by World War II (this movement having begun in the 1920s),[707] Congregation[708] abolishing the compulsory examination in Scripture in 1931, very small chapel attendance in the last quarter of the century, and declining church membership in the nation. By 1965, someone noted in the *Oxford Magazine* that "the college chapels are relatively unimportant in the total life of the University."[709] The revival of the thirties and forties did not much diminish the convinced secular mindset. Secularism was present in the 1950s "in

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[705] Joad, *God and Evil*, 335. *Mere Christianity*, Book IV, Chapter 10, "Nice People or New Men."
[706] This is from email correspondence from Walter Hooper, who indicates that the blank pages of the minute book of the Socratic Club suggest that the essay and its reply were read to the club sometime between November and December 1951. Email on Oct. 5, 2009. See also *The Socratic Digest*, 1952, page one.
[707] Hastings, 193.
[708] Congregation is the Oxford University governing body.
[709] Turner, 315.

the fiction of Powell and Snow, the history of Hugh Trevor-Roper, A.J.P. Taylor and A.L. Rowse, the philosophy of A.J. Ayer and Gilbert Ryle.… At no time was Bertrand Russell more widely accepted and respected, though at no time was he himself less radical."[710]

On Dec. 8, 1953, Lewis read a paper entitled "Petitionary Prayer: A Problem without an Answer" to the Oxford Clerical Society. He spoke about the seemingly contradictory patterns of prayer, the conditional form that added the phrase "Thy will be done," and the prayer of faith that the request will be granted. The prayer of Jesus in the Garden of Gethsemane is an example of the former, while the rebuke of Peter by Jesus in Matt. 14:31 (sinking in the Sea of Galilee after walking on it) is an example of the latter. The prayers of the church for peace during two major World Wars are another example of the former pattern. While Lewis here asserted his belief in miracles, he found no answer to the problem, nor had he heard one. Had he heard the biblical emphasis upon paradox (God, yet man; two yet one; three in one), he might have seen that the two positions are not contradictory, nor are they inconsistent. Six years later his essay on "The Efficacy of Prayer" would sound similar themes.

Several people became friends of Lewis and profoundly influenced him. The Anglican Austin Farrer (1904–1968) read Greats at Balliol as an undergraduate, earning three firsts, like Lewis, in Classical Honour Moderations, Greats, and theology. He came to Oxford as chaplain of St. Edmund Hall (1931–35) and later became chaplain of Trinity (1935–60). He then became Warden of Keble College and remained in this post until his death in 1968. He became a close friend of Lewis, a member of the Inklings, and was often in attendance at the Socratic Club. Farrer was a romantic whose central Narnia-like insight was "his insistence that knowledge is a poetic unity involving reason and imagination, and in the case of knowledge of God, revelation."[711] Like Lewis, he counted poetic vision and amatory passion as friends of religion. E.L. Mascall (1905–1995), an Anglican clergyman and lecturer in theology at Christ Church from 1945 until 1962, considered Farrer's greatest contribution to be in the area of natural theology and Farrer's *Finite and Infinite* a most compelling defense of theism and a challenge to Logical Positivism, "defending the relevance and legitimacy of metaphysical inquiry."[712] His book *Glass of Vision* (1948), first delivered as the Bampton Lectures, was also highly regarded as a significant contribution to English intellectual life for its maintenance of a sense of awe alongside an academic reading of the Scriptures and its reading of the whole rather than parts, in short, an appreciation of the literary features of the Bible. The friendship between the two men resulted in Lewis writing a preface to *A Faith of Our Own* (1960), a collection of thirty sermons by Farrer that addressed practical issues such as chastity and doctrinal issues such as the deity of Christ, Christ's atoning death, and the Lord's Supper. A brief mention was made by Lewis that you would find nothing in the book about bombs or Sputniks, the latter having been launched by the Soviet Union on Oct. 4, 1957. Lewis called Farrer "one of the most learned theologians alive," while F.M. Turner wrote appreciatively, "More than any figure of his generation in the University, Farrer embodied the highest ideal of the college chaplain-theologian."[713]

Cambridge University

In Cambridge, there was much less hostility towards Lewis' efforts at Christian apologetic than there had been at Oxford. In fact, he received a warm and congenial welcome

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[710] Hastings, 496.
[711] Patrick, *The Magdalen Metaphysicals*, 152f.
[712] Turner, 309.
[713] "Religion," F.M. Turner, cited in Harrison, 309.

from Fellows who enormously appreciated the imaginative and intellectual gifts he brought in 1955 and the astonishing range of his learning and his power of recall in conversation. His reputation as a Christian writer was already established before he came and was probably more widely appreciated in Cambridge where the Christian heritage of the University was stronger. A stronger Low Church tradition at Cambridge could more easily appreciate the popularization of Christianity that Lewis accomplished. He also enjoyed the greater freedom from College teaching that his new appointment brought with more undisturbed time for reading and writing.

Simon Barrington-Ward described Lewis as happier than he had been the last few years at Oxford for two reasons. He enjoyed what he described as the rather old world piety of Magdalene, Cambridge. Lewis once said, "And I think I shall like Magdalene better than Magdalen. It's a tiny college (a perfect cameo architecturally) and they're all so old fashioned, and pious, and gentle and conservative—unlike this leftist, atheist, cynical, hard-boiled, huge Magdalen."[714] Robert E. Havard said that Lewis used to refer to the Magdalene of Cambridge as the Penitent Magdalene and the Magdalen of Oxford as the Impenitent.[715] The pelican that adorns the gable of the roof just south of the Porter's Lodge suggests this, since the pelican was a medieval symbol of penitence, allegedly wounding its breast so that its young could drink the blood of the mother.

At the same time Lewis was growing personally and spiritually through his constantly deepening relationship with Joy Davidman. That relationship with Joy Davidman showed itself in the Foreword Lewis wrote for the British version of her book, *Smoke on the Mountain* (1955). During the Communist period of her life, she wrote a book of poetry, *Letter to a Comrade*, which won the Yale Series of the Younger Poets award in 1938. Her conversion to Communism and then her reversion from it was described in "The Longest Way Round," a chapter in David Soper's *These Found the Way* (1951). From Jewish rationalism to Communism to Christianity describes Joy Davidman's journey, and *Smoke on the Mountain* was a natural response to all three periods of her life. Lewis agreed with her approach to the Law, for she knew that legalism was not the road to heaven, and he appreciated her mention of the cure for which the Law is the diagnosis, i.e. Jesus Christ.

Lewis' poem "Legion" was published in *The Month* in April 1955, expressing the difficulty of deciding between conflicting thoughts. Free will has both advantages and disadvantages, sometimes making it difficult for an individual to decide on a course of action. Echoing the New Testament story (Mark 5:9) in which a person was possessed by many demons, who called themselves "Legion," Lewis described the human dilemma similarly. The poem asked God to intervene and decide for him. Though Lewis deserves praise for the brilliance of his writing, he expressed the desire that his real voice be heard by God, not the many other voices inside him.

Around this time, Lewis wrote the essay, "The Language of Religion" (ca. 1955) in which he argued that there was no specifically religious language, as there was a scientific language and a poetic language. In that essay, he defined apologetics as controversy and as the attempt to prove that religious sayings are true. He explained further one of the reasons for his effective use of analogy in apologetic writings such as *Mere Christianity*, stating that the apologist cannot do apologetic writing in the concrete, but must use the abstract. This creates a problem, one that Lewis solved by the use of analogy.[716] He used as an example the sentence

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[714] Lewis, *Letters to an American Lady*, 35. Written November 1, 1954.
[715] Havard in Como, 224.
[716] Lewis, "The Language of Religion," 136, 141.

"Jesus Christ is the Son of God," a sentence that can be explained in abstract language, but then that language carries very little meaning for the average person. Religious language carries more similarities to poetic language than to scientific language because it uses metaphor, simile, and emotions, although scientific language is more useful when verification is needed.

That same year, the fall of 1955, saw the publication of the essay "On Obstinacy in Belief," a paper that referred to other papers read to the Socratic Club, contrasting a Christian attitude toward belief and a scientific one. He may have had papers in mind such as "Grounds for Disbelief in God," given to the Socratic Club by Archibald Robertson on Feb. 13, 1950. Lewis argued that Christian belief was not belief without evidence or belief in spite of evidence to the contrary. Historians, judges, scientists, and mathematicians all accept evidence of a different type. Christian belief is based on historical evidence, but also on a relationship to a Person. While no specific article or book or talk was in mind when Lewis wrote, he was responding to the general tone of an atheism that was inspired, in part, by certain scientists over the previous decades.

Lewis' poem, "Epanorthosis (for the end of Goethe's *Faust*)," is also known as one of the "Epigrams and Epitaphs, No. 15." In it, Lewis proposed that Faust was able to escape from Mephistopheles, the devil, while the devil was trying to seduce the angels who had come to redeem Faust.[717] The shadows of heaven are more solid than the subterfuge of the devil, which withers away. Lewis had developed this theme of solidity in *The Great Divorce* (1946).

On Nov. 30, 1957, Lewis' satirical poem, "Evolutionary Hymn," made fun of the myth of inevitable progression that lies at the foundation of evolutionary theory. It was published in *The Cambridge Review*. We don't know where we're going, Lewis wrote, but as long as we don't know, we can never go astray. We are only guessing, but we are progressing. We don't have any standards of right and wrong, because our evolution will lead us into areas we have not yet gone. We need to keep our cards close to the vest. As long as we're progressing, the future will be better and the old must pass away. Elsewhere Lewis called this chronological snobbery.

An exchange between Lewis and a seminary professor further illustrated the differences between a modernist approach to the Scriptures and Lewis' more conservative approach. W. Norman Pittenger, a professor at General Theological Seminary, New York, and an Episcopalian, wrote "A Critique of C.S. Lewis" for *The Christian Century* in October 1958. In that article, he criticized Lewis' books, *The Problem of Pain* (1940), *Miracles* (1947), and *Mere Christianity* (1952). Lewis' response, "Rejoinder to Dr. Pittenger" (1958), appeared in the same periodical in November of that year, accepting some minor points from Pittenger, but challenging Pittenger's understanding of his writings. It was no contest. Whereas Pittenger criticized Lewis for defining a miracle as a violation of the laws of nature, Lewis pointed out that he did not use the word "violation" in the book *Miracles*; in fact he defined a miracle as "an interference with Nature by supernatural power."[718] Lewis presented himself as a translator of theological truth for laypeople rather than a theologian who is careful to use the correct terminology for theological writing. But fundamentally, Pittenger criticized Lewis on two fronts—first, that Lewis was not trained in the nuances of New Testament theology, an undoubtedly true statement, and, second, that Lewis depended too much upon a straightforward reading of the biblical text. Pittenger wrote of Lewis' view of history that "the edifice which is erected will very soon tumble to ruins." If only he could see how Lewis' books continue to sell in ever larger numbers, whereas Pittenger's books are almost unknown. The exchange between

[717] King, "Epanorthosis," *Readers' Encyclopedia*, 153.
[718] Lewis, *Miracles*, 12.

Pittenger and Lewis took place only months before Lewis gave his most powerful critique of liberal theology, "Modern Theology and Biblical Criticism."

Later that same year, Clyde Kilby, Chairman of the English Department at Wheaton College, wrote an article in defense of Lewis.[719] That Lewis should be criticized for the use of a cube to illustrate the Trinity seemed strange for Kilby, given the fact that Jesus used vines, lamps, and bushel baskets, Paul used sounding brass and tinkling cymbals, and St. Augustine used analogies in his writings. Pittenger especially seemed to have missed the fact that Lewis was writing for the layperson, not the seminary professor. Pittenger seemed so married to his liberal theology that someone who defended historic Christian theology was automatically discredited in Pittenger's eyes.

One month later,[720] Pittenger and Lewis both submitted letters to *The Christian Century*. Pittenger addressed other subjects, including a restatement of his concern for Lewis calling a miracle "an interference" with nature and conceding that Lewis did not use the word "violation," but he wrote obscurely, claiming that nuance and ambiguity were to be expected from theological writers. Nor did he retract anything he wrote. The two wrote about the translation of theology into the vernacular, substantially agreeing. Lewis repeated what he had written in his essays "God in the Dock" (1948) and "Christian Apologetics" (1945), that the translation of a recognized theological work into common English should be a compulsory part of an ordination exam. If one can't express his faith in the vernacular, either he doesn't understand it or he doesn't believe it. But Lewis later suggested that perhaps the office of the prophet and that of the translator belonged to different men, he being a translator and most pastors being prophets.[721] By addressing only that portion of agreement between them, Lewis effectively ended the exchange of views.

In the same year as the exchange with Pittenger, Lewis also wrote his essay "Revival or Decay?" (July 9, 1958) He wrote in response to some comments from a Headmaster of a school that there was a growing interest in religion in the West. A similar essay "The Decline of Religion," had been written in 1946. For Lewis, everything depended upon what you meant by religion. If you include a wide variety of religions, including what Lewis called "a serious sex worship," then interest in religion was growing in one sense, but decaying in another sense. He had no statistics to prove growth or decline, but there was anecdotal information in both directions.

In 1958, Alec R. Vidler published a book called *Windsor Sermons*. Fr. Alec Vidler was a noted liberal scholar and Dean of King's College, Cambridge. One day Lewis was conversing with the Principal of Westcott House, Cambridge (photo, left), later the Bishop of Edinburgh, The Rt. Rev. Kenneth Carey. After reading at least part of one of Vidler's sermons in *Windsor Sermons*, entitled "The Sign at Cana," the Bishop asked Lewis what he thought about it. Lewis "expressed himself very freely about the

[719] Kilby, "C.S. Lewis and His Critics," *Christianity Today*, Vol. III (December 1958), 13–15.
[720] December 24 and 31 issues of *The Christian Century*, Vol. LXXV, 1958, pages 1485–86 in the December 24 and page 1414 in the December 31 issue.
[721] Lewis expressed the same thoughts in a letter to Walter Van der Kamp on July 28, 1962, *Collected Letters*, III, 1359.

sermon and said that he thought that it was quite incredible that we should have had to wait nearly 2000 years to be told by a theologian called Vidler that what the Church has always regarded as a miracle was, in fact, a parable!"[722] In that sermon, Vidler had contended that "the Fourth gospel does not call it a 'miracle' . . . but a 'sign'. It should be read more as a parable than as a miracle."[723] Later in the same sermon Vidler wrote, "So, the water and the six waterpots . . . represent the old order of things, which Jesus, who is God's agent in the new creation, transforms into wine." Vidler was using orthodox language while denying the miracle. Lewis saw the danger of the phrase "more as a parable than as a miracle," which suggested "not a miracle." Other of Vidler's sermons in the same volume demonstrate an ability to speak a lot of words without saying much. For example, in a sermon on Luke 8:25, entitled "Where is your faith?" Vidler does not mention faith in the sacrifice of Christ on the cross, but focuses on faith as a set of basic convictions. In another sermon, however, he seemed to affirm his belief in a real devil, while at the same time saying, unfortunately, that "the important question is not whether we do believe in him, but whether we ought to."[724]

Nevertheless, as a result of this exchange with Carey, Lewis gave an address on May 11, 1959, entitled "Modern Theology and Biblical Criticism" (originally known as "Fern-seed and Elephants") at Westcott House, Cambridge. He spoke to a group of students, future priests of the Church of England. This address showed excellent insight into the contemporary theological issues of the day.

In that essay, Lewis challenged some of the assumptions of modern liberal theology, many of them expressed in *Windsor Sermons*. His challenges were four: (1) Biblical critics lack literary judgment (they read between the lines of ancient texts, not understanding literary genres, e.g., reading John's Gospel as a romance); (2) Some apparently claim that the real teaching of Christ came rapidly to be misunderstood and has been recovered only by modern scholars; (3) Some claim that miracles don't occur; and (4) Attempts to recover the genesis of a text often err. This last point he supported with his own experience of having the origin of his own books invariably misunderstood, even by those who lived at the same time, spoke the same language, and lived in the same country and culture. Imagine, he suggested, what happens when you separate the critic from a biblical book by two thousand years, by culture, language, education, and other factors. This same essay criticized Rudolph Bultmann for questioning the historicity of the Gospels, for calling a section of Scripture unassimilated when it actually fit the context well, and for claiming that the personality of Jesus was not important to either John or Paul.[725] In that essay, Lewis showed familiarity not only with Vidler and Bultmann, but also Alfred Loisy, Albert Schweitzer, Paul Tillich, Roman Catholic modernist, excommunicated priest, and writer George Tyrrell (1861–1909),[726] and the textual critic Karl Lachmann (1793–1851).

The influence of Bultmann on England found a home especially in the Form Critical school, led by Dennis Nineham, Regius Professor of Divinity at Cambridge University, and Bishop John Robinson. During the 1960s, this school questioned the historical nature of the New Testament, a position diametrically opposite to that of Lewis, who had himself studied history as

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[722] Lewis, "Fern-Seed and Elephants," 104, n. 2.
[723] Vidler, 68.
[724] Vidler, 163.
[725] "Fern-Seed and Elephants," 104, 108, 109. Lewis is citing Bultmann's 1952 *Theology of the New Testament*. He also shows familiarity with *The Gospel According to St John*, by Walter Lock in *A New Commentary on Holy Scripture, including the Apocrypha*.
[726] Lewis quoted from Tyrrell's "The Apocalyptic Vision of Christ" in *Christianity at the Cross-Roads*, Longmans, Green & Co., 1909, 125.

an undergraduate and had once spoken highly of historians, stating that no class of scholars was "less enslaved to the past than historians."[727] Nineham would one day ask, "Is it any longer worthwhile to attempt to trace the Christian's ever-changing understanding of his relationship with God directly back to some identifiable element in the life, character and activity of Jesus of Nazareth?"[728]

Lewis particularly showed his understanding of Tyrrell in a somewhat lengthy quotation, where he challenged the view that much New Testament prose was attempting to say something symbolically and was not intended to be taken literally (such as the Second Coming or the Ascension). We have no way of knowing, Lewis wrote, if a New Testament teaching was symbolic, unless we have experienced both the thing which is being described and that which is representative of that thing, i.e. both sides of an analogy. Therefore, if I am comparing love to a red rose, I must have experienced both love and a red rose in order to know if the rose is symbolic. Lewis wrote:

In 1857 Alfred Loisy, French Roman Catholic theologian and founder of the Modernist movement, was born in Marne, France. After 1904 Loisy became the most prominent representative of modern biblical criticism within his church, costing him excommunication in 1908. He discarded his clerical garb and taught history of religions at the College de France from 1909 to 1930. He died in 1940.

> In one way of course Tyrrell was saying nothing new….We, being men, know what we think; and we find the doctrines of the Resurrection, the Ascension, and the Second Coming inadequate to our thoughts. But supposing these things were the expressions of God's thought?
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> It might still be true that 'taken literally and not symbolically' they are inadequate. From which the conclusion commonly drawn is that they must be taken symbolically, not literally; that is, wholly symbolically. All the details are equally symbolical and analogical.
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> But surely there is a flaw here. The argument runs like this. All the details are derived from our present experience; but the reality transcends our experience: therefore all the details are wholly and equally symbolical. But suppose a dog were trying to form a conception of human life. All the details in its picture would be derived from canine experiences. Therefore all that the dog imagined could, at best, be only analogically true of human life. The conclusion is false. If the dog visualized our scientific researches in terms of ratting, this would be analogical; but if it thought that eating could be predicated of humans only in an analogical sense, the dog would be wrong. In fact if a dog could, *per impossibile*, be plunged for a day into human life, it would be hardly more surprised by hitherto unimagined differences than by hitherto unsuspected similarities. A reverent dog would be shocked. A modernist dog, mistrusting the whole experience, would ask to be taken to the vet.
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> But the dog can't get into human life. Consequently, though it can be sure that its best ideas of human life are full of analogy and symbol, it could never point to any one detail and say, 'This is entirely symbolic.' You cannot know that everything in the representation of a thing is symbolical unless you have independent access to the thing and can compare it with the representation. Dr. Tyrrell can tell that the story of the Ascension is inadequate to his religious idea, because he knows his own idea and can

[727] Lewis, "De Descriptione Temporum," 12-13.
[728] John Hick, ed., *The Myth of God Incarnate*, 1978, cited in Hastings, 650.

compare it with the story. But how if we are asking about a transcendent, objective reality to which the story is our sole access? 'We know not—oh we know not.' But then we must take our ignorance seriously.[729]

George Tyrrell (b. 1861), a modernist Roman Catholic Jesuit priest, was born in Dublin, Ireland, and raised as an Anglican. He converted to Catholicism in 1879. After challenging the authority of the pope and claiming the necessity of adjusting the expression of Christianity to contemporary certainties, including the alleged discoveries of science, he was expelled from the priesthood in 1906. He died in 1909.

Lewis was not only responding to George Tyrrell, he was probably also echoing J.B.S. Haldane, who had used a similar canine analogy several decades earlier.[730]

When in 1959 Lewis wrote "The Efficacy of Prayer," his wife Joy was experiencing the miracle of healing with her cancer still in remission. His second paragraph spoke of a woman, his wife, whose thigh-bone had been eaten through with cancer but was now able to walk uphill through rough woodland. Jack and Joy had been married in a civil ceremony on April 23, 1956 and an ecclesiastical ceremony on March 21, 1957, and his illustration of the acceptance of a marriage proposal reflected the rough woodland that existed at the Kilns, his home. Just as the woman may say no to the proposal, so also God may say no to a petitionary prayer. Though the essay did not respond directly to any known event of the time, Lewis was undoubtedly responding to those who disliked the idea of a God who cannot be pinned down.

Within that same essay, however, Lewis was responding to a statement by J.B.S. Haldane, who had written,

> It has been proposed from time to time that a group of believers should pray for the recovery of the patients in one wing of a hospital over a period of some months, and the number of deaths in it be compared with that in the other wing. The experience has always been refused, partly on the ground that 'Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God,' partly through lack of faith. Until it has been made, I do not propose to ask for the prayers of any congregation on my behalf.[731]

Lewis' response was that such an experiment would not truly be prayer. A person who was truly praying could not wish that a group in one hospital or one wing of a hospital not be healed. If you did that, you would not be praying.[732]

The Four Loves (1960) was inspired by Joy Davidman and published in the year that she died, a theological treatise that appeared in novelistic form in *Till We Have Faces*. The four loves are Affection, Friendship, Eros, and Charity (Agape love). Citing M. Denis de Rougemont, who said, "Love ceases to be a demon only when he ceases to be a god,"[733] Lewis crafted a treatise

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[729] Lewis, "Modern Theology and Biblical Criticism," 123–125, citing George Tyrrell, 'The Apocalyptic Vision of Christ' in *Christianity at the Cross-Roads* (Longmans, Green & Co., 1909), p. 125.

[730] Haldane, "Possible Worlds," *Possible Worlds*, 265-270.

[731] Haldane, "Science and Theology as Art Forms," *Possible Worlds*, 231f.

[732] Lewis, "The Efficacy of Prayer," *Fern-Seed and Elephants*, 98.

[733] *The Four Loves*. Harcourt Brace & Company, New York, 1988, 6.

that shows the need for the first three loves to be elevated by divine love, Charity, lest it bring down the subject and the object of the first three loves.

Some parts of *The Four Loves* were a response both to the idolaters of love (he cited Browning, Kingsley, Patmore, Coleridge, and Wordsworth) and the debunkers (presumably Freud, who psychologized love, and those scientists that analyzed love as a purely biological phenomenon). In another part,[734] Lewis reacted against Wordsworth, who at times operated as an amateur philosopher, speaking on things about which he did not know by using a medium (poetry) which he did know. Lewis was partly reflecting on his own story of conversion by writing about how nature had awakened certain longings that opened him to the love of God and how ominous ravines and crags had taught him something of the fear of God.[735] While nature can arouse desire, it cannot satisfy.

In the chapter on Friendship, Lewis illustrated how the study of history lifts us out of our century to see some of its flaws, when he commented that in ancient and medieval times Friendship was highly exalted. Such is no longer the case. Sadly, Lewis wrote, it had become necessary for men to rebut the theory that a strong male friendship was really homosexual. With some relish, Lewis recalled meeting Arthur Greeves in childhood and discovering that they both liked the same things and in the same way.[736] Surely this friendship was a model for much of what Lewis wrote in this chapter, and surely the Inklings were a later example of the same friendship, especially the walking tours that characterized his life in the 1930s.[737]

Lewis gave negative examples of Friendship, which turn into Inner Rings, in literary and artistic circles. One specific example from Edwardian times appeared in a group that called themselves "the Souls."[738] This group formed in the 1880s around Arthur Balfour, George Curzon, and the Tennant sisters. It also included St. John Brodrick (1856-1942, later Secretary of State for War), Alfred Lyttleton (later Colonial Secretary), Lady Desborough, and Margot Asquith, wife of later Prime Minister Herbert Asquith.[739] Their goal was to rid themselves of Victorianism and encourage Whigs and Tories to communicate more completely.

The chapter on Eros included a response of Lewis to a young man who was confused by Lewis' comment about a novel. Lewis had called the novel "pornographic," but the young man thought it admirable, since it treated the subject of Eros quite seriously. Lewis ridiculed the idea of young couples having the complete works of certain authors, Freud, Havelock Ellis, Kraft-Ebbing, and Stopes in their bedroom in order to improve their love-making. He also rejected George Bernard Shaw's Romanticism towards the Life Force philosophy, as though Eros was the voice of that force. Can Lewis be referring to anything other than the struggle of his own wife with cancer when he wrote, "Love anything, and your heart will certainly be wrung and possibly be broken"? Whether *The Four Loves* was published early in 1960, before Joy's death, or later after her death, the sentence rings of personal experience. Indeed, later he commented "…if I may trust my own experience…"[740]

Lewis wrote *A Grief Observed* (1961) shortly after the death of his wife Joy on July 13, 1960. He wrote, not in response to the intellectual life of Cambridge, but in response to a very

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[734] Chapter 2, 18.
[735] Chapter 2, 20.
[736] *The Four Loves*, 65; *Surprised by Joy*, vii, 130f.
[737] See especially *The Four Loves*, 72, where Lewis wrote about having slippers on the feet, drinks at the elbow, a fire in front, with conversation throughout the evening.
[738] Lewis, *The Four Loves*, 85.
[739] unusualhistoricals.blogspot.com/2008/07/famous-people-infamous-women-of.html
[740] *The Four Loves*, 138.

personal tragedy. His acceptance of purgatory shows up in several places, when he argues that the separation at death probably causes pain to the departed person, when he states that the stain has to be scoured, and when he repeats the idea that the dead feel the pain of separation, specifically mentioning the possibility that this may be a part of the dead person's purgatorial sufferings.[741] Around this same time, probably shortly before Joy's death, he wrote the poem "As the ruin falls." The ruin was the impending death of Joy, but he wrote that she had taught him the true meaning of selflessness and love.

On Dec. 11, Lewis' letter, "Religion in the Schools," was published by *The Spectator*. In his letter, Lewis briefly challenged the idea that Christianity meant ethics to laymen and doctrine to the clergy. In his experience, many laymen wanted to hear sermons and lectures that set forth the basic teachings of the Bible, including a defense of the historicity of the Gospels.

Lewis wrote a letter on July 9, 1962, to Mr. Beimer about prayer and its relationship to God's action. Do our prayers actually move the hand of God, or do they merely fall in line with what has already been determined? Lewis argued, as he did elsewhere, that he had at times felt a curious nagging to go and see a certain person, responded to that nagging by going, and then discovered that this person had been praying that he might come that day.[742] That was an instance of personal freedom on Lewis' part, but an indication of the blessing of God within that freedom. Lewis had raised that very same issue three years earlier in his essay, "The Efficacy of Prayer," when he wrote about the intention to get his hair cut, but deciding to put it off. Then a nagging voice in his head told him to get the haircut anyway. As soon as he entered the barbershop at 38 High Street, Oxford (see photo to the right), the barber, Victor Drewe,[743] said that he had been praying that Lewis might come that day. Had he come a day or so later, Lewis would not have been of any use to him.[744]

The Sunday Telegraph commissioned Lewis to write a response to the lowering of moral standards in the wake of the obscenity trial of *Regina v. Penguin Books Limited*. That trial resulted in the acquittal of Penguin Books in October-November 1960. Lewis' 1955 article in *The Spectator*, "Prudery and Philology," is probably one reason they asked him. Penguin Books had published D.H. Lawrence's book, *Lady Chatterley's Lover* (1960), and a suit had been brought against them for this book.[745] Lewis' response appeared on Sept. 30, 1962 under the title "Sex in Literature." Lewis first rejected two propositions that were unacceptable: (1) that real literature cannot corrupt, and (2) that if a book is great art, it doesn't matter if it corrupts or not. Then, in spite of the insistence that the quality of literature is not just a matter of opinion, and with a swipe at Bishop J.A.T. Robinson, he suggested that the country abandon moral censorship. His fundamental argument was that the laws of the land needed to rise (or lower) to the standards of the nation. Laws set too high become a travesty when adjudicated. The mention of Wardour Street in the article is probably a reference to the film industry that was located there.

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[741] Lewis, *A Grief Observed*, 39, 54, 63.
[742] Lewis, *Collected Letters*, III, 1357.
[743] Lewis, *Collected Letters*, III, 104.
[744] Lewis, "The Efficacy of Prayer," *Fern-Seed and Elephants*, 96.
[745] Susan Henthorne, *Lewis Readers' Encyclopedia*, 371. See also footnote one in "Sex in Literature," *Present Concerns*, 105.

On March 17, 1963, just prior to the release of his book *Honest to God*, Bishop J.A.T. Robinson[746] published an article for *The Observer* entitled "Our Image of God Must Go." The article summarized his forthcoming book and expressed the urgent need for the Church to question the traditional image of God as a supernatural Person. This, he thought, would enable Christians to communicate with secular people. *The Observer*'s publicity gave great impetus to the book both nationally and internationally.

Later that year *Honest to God* was published, reflecting the growing secularism of the day. The book sold almost a million copies in three years.[747] Lewis spoke disparagingly of that book in a letter to Basil Willey.[748] In *Honest to God*, Robinson suggested that Christians must recast the Christian faith in modern, secular terms, preferring Tillich's description of God as the "ground" of all being and writing, "Nothing can of itself be labeled as wrong." God is not up there or out there, coming to earth as a visitor from outer space, wrote Robinson. Lewis later questioned whether laypeople actually thought of God as being "up there" in the sky.[749] Ethical conduct, according to Robinson, then Bishop of Woolwich, is bound only by love, and moral decisions depend upon the situation. The Bible is little more than a collection of religious opinions. In a February 22, 1966 article in *Look* magazine, James A. Pike told *Look* that Robinson had set aside "the Trinity, the Virgin Birth and the Incarnation." It was a short step from Robinson's cultural modernism to a radical theology and from there to the Death of God movement in the United States.[750]

Lewis wrote a response to Robinson's article in *The Observer* exactly one week later under the title, "Must Our Image of God Go?" Lewis rejected Robinson's modernism, writing, "Does the Bishop mean that something which is not 'a person' could yet be 'personal'? Even this could be managed if 'not a person' were taken to mean 'a person and more'—as is provided for by the doctrine of the Trinity."[751] In this, Lewis was referring to the fourth part of *Mere Christianity*, entitled "Beyond Personality," where he argued that the Trinity was personal, but also beyond personality, that is, something more than a person, something superpersonal and *not* impersonal, something tri-dimensional, three-personal, or Trinitarian.

The issue, still a very contemporary one that can be seen in the differing views of worship and music styles, could be framed as a matter of modernism vs. clarity of speech. Lewis showed that one can be both biblical and traditional, on the one hand, and clear, on the other hand. Clarity of expression does not require us to accommodate our theology to the times.

Letters to Malcolm also contained a response to Robinson's book, when he stated that Deists, or even people in Woolwich, the city where Robinson lived, emphasized the transcendence of God while we also needed to stress his immanence.[752] Furthermore, Lewis stated that the various anthropomorphic images of God were not intended as literal truth, but

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[746] Anglican Bishop of Woolwich (1919–1983) who served as Bishop from 1959 to 1969. *Honest to God* was considered by many to deny the existence of a personal God. John Warwick, Montgomery, *The Suicide of Christian Theology*, 231.
[747] Hastings, 536.
[748] *Collected Letters*, Volume III, Oct. 22, 1963.
[749] Lewis, *Letters to Malcolm*, 74.
[750] Thomas J. J. Altizer, Wm. Hamilton, Rd Rubenstein, and P. Van Buren, Harvey Cox, and others.
[751] C.S. Lewis, "Must Our Image of God Go?" in *God in the Dock*. Edited by Walter Hooper, Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1970, 185.
[752] Chapter 14, page 74.

were concessions to our weaknesses in understanding the nature of God. No one really believes that God the Father has a beard.[753]

This is not to suggest that modernism or liberalism was only now making its way into Cambridge, but Robinson's book, *Honest to God*, was a watershed in the Church of England. Likewise, four Cambridge deans—James Stanley Bezzant of St. John's College, Alec Vidler of King's College, H. A. Williams of Trinity College, and Donald MacKinnon (who spoke several times at the Socratic Club)[754]—published *Objections to Christian Belief* (1963), a work in which Vidler wrote of the "striking inconsistencies" in the New Testament writers and others wrote unfavorably of traditional Christian beliefs.[755] Williams, for example, wrote about the need to reject the writings of St. Paul or St. John, if they do not have a self-authenticating quality. He argued that some of the words of Jesus must have been altered. Vidler's reference to God as "the ground of all being" betrays his dependence upon Paul Tillich (a phrase that Lewis himself used in *Letters to Malcolm*),[756] hardly an orthodox Christian theologian (Tillich, 1886–1965) and one dependent upon Bultmann, both of them believing that the Christian worldview was outdated and needed to be recast in modern terms. His belief that the New Testament documents were fragmentary, betrayed an inadequate understanding of New Testament textual criticism. Vidler seemed unaware that many non-biblical historical documents, whose authenticity is not questioned, existed in a handful of copies while there exist more than 5,700 manuscripts of the books of the New Testament.

Most radical of the four essays in the book was J. S. Bezzant's chapter, "Intellectual Objections." His opinion that the descendants of Adam and Eve were intended to replace those angels who had rebelled against God strikes the reader as odd at best. Describing the early Christian message as "free imaginative composition" reflected presuppositions about the origin and development of the New Testament which are held only in liberal theological camps, much like those of Form Criticism, which was represented in Cambridge by Dennis Nineham (see above). Bezzant cited Bultmann favorably when Bultmann considered the resurrection a matter of faith only, not a historical confirmation of the crucifixion, and he echoed the position of H. A. Williams by stating that "we cannot be sure that we have the actual words of Jesus."[757]

C. S. Lewis rejected such rewriting of New Testament theology. These four Cambridge authors did not merely translate the Bible into modern language; they used presuppositions against the miraculous to destroy a natural reading of the biblical text. While they may have honestly believed that conservative Christians like Lewis were doing harm, they also believed that religion needed to be demythologized.[758] One could argue that they were only drinking deeply from the well of secularism, as so many did in the sixties, not only in the UK and the US,

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[753] Chapter 14, page 21.

[754] Donald MacKenzie MacKinnon (1913–1994) held the Norris–Hulse Chair of Divinity at Cambridge from 1960 to 1976. Fergusson, David. "MacKinnon, Donald MacKenzie (1913–1994)", *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/55120, accessed 16 Jan 2005]

[755] The reference to "striking inconsistencies" appears on page 59. The book contains four open lectures given in February 1963 in Cambridge, intended not to answer objections to Christian belief, but to "plumb the depths of the objections, without complacently assuming that answers are readily available" (p. 7). In the written publication, following an introduction by A.R. Vidler, D.M. MacKinnon presented his essay on "Moral Objections," H.A. Williams addressed "Psychological Objections," A.R. Vidler covered "Historical Objections," and J.S. Bezzant handled "Intellectual Objections."

[756] Lewis, *Letters to Malcolm*, 68, 80.

[757] MacKinnon, et al, 83.

[758] Lewis, *Letters to Malcolm*, 118f.

but all around the world. In response to these trends, both Evangelicalism and Pentecostalism asserted a supernatural religion and grew in strength over the next several decades.

In 1960, consistent with this position, Lewis wrote to Father Peter Milward, a Jesuit priest, about liberal Catholic theologian Teilhard de Chardin:

> I am entirely on the side of your Society [of Jesus] for shutting de Chardin up. The enormous boosts he is getting from scientists who are very hostile to you seem to me v. like the immense popularity of Pasternak among anti-Communists. I can't for the life of me see his merit. The cause of Man against men never needed championing *less* than now. There seems to me a dangerous (but also commonplace) tendency to Monism or even Pantheism in his thoughts. And what in Heaven's name is the sense of saying that before there was life there was "pre-life". If you choose to say that before you switched on the light in the cellar there was "pre-light," of course you may. But the ordinary English word for "pre-light" is darkness.[759]

Lewis' last article written for publication was "We Have No 'Right to Happiness' " (1963) which actually appeared posthumously in December. In the first third of the tumultuous sixties, he challenged the thought that anyone has a moral or natural right to happiness, particularly sexual happiness, especially if it means discarding the spouse to whom you have been married. Happiness must come within the laws of society and the laws of God.

A symposium under the title *Soundings* became a book, edited by Lewis acquaintance Alec Vidler in 1962. The book, entitled *Soundings: Essays Concerning Christian Understanding*, was written by Cambridge theologians.[760] Chapters were written by John Burnaby, Alec Vidler, G.F. Woods, John Habgood, Harry A. Williams, R.N. Smart, Joseph Sanders, Hugh Montefiore, and Geoffrey Lampe. Two of these, Vidler and Williams, had been contributors to *Objections to Christian Belief*. It contained a strong emphasis on New Testament theology, the relation of Christianity to other religions, and the current status of the church. The chapter written by Charles Burnaby on "Christian Prayer" was addressed by Lewis in *Letters to Malcolm: Chiefly on Prayer*.

In a book published posthumously, *Letters to Malcolm: Chiefly on Prayer* (1964), Lewis discussed prayer. Three times he alluded to a *Soundings* book chapter by John Burnaby, entitled "Christian Prayer."[761] In the first instance, Lewis wrote about what "Burnaby calls the naïve view of prayer,"[762] namely the simplicity with which the early church prayed, offering petitions for what they needed in the faith that they would receive. In the second instance, Lewis argued that Burnaby, like the Determinists, thought of man as living in a very predictable world.[763] In the third instance, Lewis wrote disagreeingly, "Later in his essay Burnaby seems to suggest that human wills are the only radically unpredictable factor in history."[764] He apparently was referring to this statement from Burnaby: "He [the thoughtful Christian] will have learnt to take for granted the observable uniformities of the natural world, and to attribute the unpredictable character of human history to the existence in men of a real power of deliberate choice and

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[759] Sept. 26, 1960. *The Letters of C.S. Lewis*, 494f.
[760] Hastings, 538.
[761] The book is *Soundings: Essays Concerning Christian Understanding*, edited by A.R. Vidler, Cambridge University Press, first edition 1962. Burnaby became Regius Professor of Divinity at Cambridge University in 1953.
[762] Lewis, *Letters to Malcolm*, 27.
[763] Lewis, *Letters to Malcolm*, 37.
[764] Lewis, *Letters to Malcolm*, 39.

effective action."[765] Lewis did not think that unpredictability was part of the essence of human freedom and he thought that there were other unpredictables besides human behavior. Science can predict, but life cannot be reduced to the predictable.

Also in *Letters to Malcolm*, Lewis mentioned Alec Vidler nine times by name, referring to Vidler's chapter from *Soundings*, "Religion and the National Church."[766] In that chapter, Vidler wrote about F. D. Maurice, who rejected religion in the sense of rejecting beliefs and practices devised by men which separate people from one another, and Dietrich Bonhoeffer, who wrote about "religionless Christianity."[767] Lewis told Malcolm that he agreed with the quotations from Maurice and Bonhoeffer, particularly when religion refers to the practices of humans, while the Gospel, or Theology, refers to revelation from God.[768] When Vidler called for less religion, Lewis wrote, people mistook him to mean that the church should remove what little belief system that liberalism had left. He further commended Vidler's delight in religious organization, but also his awareness of the danger that organization could lead to legalism.[769]

Lewis also wrote of Vidler, "He wants—I think he wants very earnestly—to retain some Christian doctrines. But he is prepared to scrap a good deal."[770] Lewis later wrote, "Shall we then proceed on Vidler's principles and scrap the embarrassing promises as 'venerable archaisms' which have to be 'outgrown'?"[771] He was opposed to this approach, which is reflected in Vidler's comment, "All traditional doctrines and institutions must be subject to this test [i.e. the fruit of the Spirit test], and there is no obligation on Christians to promote or to preserve what does not survive it….Many of the religious elements in historic Christianity and much that has gone under the name of religion may thus be outgrown, or survive chiefly as venerable archaisms or as fairy stories for children, and we cannot tell in advance how they will be replaced or which of them will need to be replaced."[772] Vidler was prepared to set aside whatever religion had outgrown, including many of the fundamental biblical truths that have stood the test of time.

The book *Letters to Malcolm* was also mentioned by Lewis in the interview[773] he gave to Sherwood Wirt of the Billy Graham Evangelistic Association. He called that book "an imaginary correspondence" between two people, one of them inquiring about prayer and the other one answering those inquiries.[774] Wirt was the editor of *Decision* magazine, interested in Lewis' understanding of conversion, i.e. whether or not it was a decision; Christian writing; the devotional life; and Lewis' opinion of John Robinson's new book, *Honest to God*. As far as conversion, Lewis felt that he was decided upon and that he was the object in the conversion rather than the subject, that God was doing this to him rather than he making a decision. Lewis also stated the importance of recognizing both the fact of our sin and the need to believe in a Savior who takes that sin away. As to Christian writing, Lewis felt that there was a lot of bad Christian writing, some of it doing more harm than good. As to the devotional life, Lewis stated

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[765] Burnaby, *Soundings*, 225.
[766] Burnaby, *Soundings*, 239–63.
[767] Burnaby, *Soundings*, 241–44.
[768] Lewis, *Letters to Malcolm*, 29.
[769] Lewis, *Letters to Malcolm*, 30. Burnaby, *Soundings*, 252.
[770] Lewis, *Letters to Malcolm*, 31f.
[771] Lewis, *Letters to Malcolm*, 59, citing Vidler in Burnaby, *Soundings*, 254.
[772] Burnaby, *Soundings*, 254.
[773] Published as "Cross-Examination" in *Christian Reunion and Other Essays*., *God in the Dock*, and *Undeceptions*. Also published under the titles "I Was Decided Upon" and "Heaven, Earth and Outer Space."
[774] Lewis, *Letters to Malcolm*, 262.

that the New Testament gives us orders on that subject. As to Robinson's book, Lewis stated that he preferred being honest to being "honest to God."

Chapter 6. History, Politics, and Two World Wars

During World War I, "most of those associated with the University believed the allied cause to be just" and provided assistance to the war effort in a variety of ways, including a written justification of the war in various print media, military mobilization, enlisting and billeting soldiers, and treating the wounded and disabled soldier. The University and the city of Oxford became virtually a military camp with many soldiers staying in the rooms of various colleges. The Oxford University Officers' Training Corps (OTC) was the simplest way to enlist, and this was how Lewis joined the war effort. Most undergraduates joined up during the summer and fall of 1914. "Of the 132 Oriel men in residence in 1913, 116 were in uniform by Christmas."[775] Other colleges followed suit, including undergraduate Lewis' University College. In 1914, it had 148 undergraduates, while in 1917, the year that Lewis left for the Western front, only seven.[776] During the war, approximately 15,000 Oxford men served in the war, one in five of them dying in the war.[777]

Individuals from both Oxford and Cambridge provided valuable service during World War I. Future Magdalen President H.T. Tizard was a test pilot, and philosopher R.G. Collingwood joined the Admiralty's intelligence department. Some mobilized medical services, and others helped in surgery.[778] The Examination Schools became a hospital during both wars. Research in the laboratories of Oxford University aided the war effort in providing for rapid blood analysis, in counteracting poison gas and disease at the front, and in the development of dyes and drugs.[779]

England and Oxford lost many bright young men to both World War I (1914–1918) and World War II (1939–1945), including Mrs. Moore's son and Jack's close friend Paddy, and after World War II both Oxford and Cambridge saw a large increase in the resumption of studies, by ex-soldiers. The pre-war undergraduate enrollment in Oxford was 4,600 in 1938, but enrollment reached a low of 2,562 in 1944.[780] After the war, enrollment climbed rapidly and increased the workload for dons, especially tutors. Enrollment increased from 4,000 students and 350 academic staff in the 1920s to 9,500 students and 1,127 academic staff in 1964.[781]

Between the Wars

Common in many European circles during the early decades of the twentieth century was a love affair with socialism, including its Communist version. G.D.H. Cole (1889–1959) of Magdalen and others had developed the Guild Socialist ideas that had attracted many World War I dissenters.[782] In 1910, Cole had said, "If Oxford and Cambridge can be won largely to Socialism, the conversion of the middle-classes is only a matter of time."[783] However, Cole himself divided socialism both with his insistence upon guild socialism in opposition to the centralization of governmental agencies and with his jumping around from the Fabian Society and the Independent Labour Party to guild socialism to an individualistic philosophy and then

[775] Winter, 8.
[776] Winter, 12.
[777] Winter, 20.
[778] Winter, 9, 18.
[779] Winter, 14-15.
[780] Table 7.1, Addison, 177.
[781] Halsey, 722.
[782] Winter, 16.
[783] Harrison, "Politics," 411.

back to the Fabian Society.[784] In December 1931, an October club (Marxist) was founded, and the Labour club was headed by Cole beginning in the Michaelmas term of 1931.

By the decade of the 1930s, one don in three was alleged to be a socialist,[785] and many others in England were also. As mentioned earlier, Lewis' tutor in philosophy at Univ., E.F. Carritt, was a devoted socialist. Archbishop William Temple, a graduate of Balliol, was an avowed socialist.[786] Temple had set up a false dichotomy in 1908, "The alternative stands before us—Socialism or Heresy; we are involved in one or the other."[787] C.E.M. Joad was a socialist and a member of the Fabian Society.[788] H.G. Wells and George Bernard Shaw were socialists. The poets W.H. Auden, Cecil Day-Lewis, and Stephen Spender were all Communists.[789] Bruce McFarlane, one of Lewis' colleagues at Magdalen, was described as "…historian, a complex non-believer, sometime Communist…"[790] In 1933, F.R. Barry wrote a letter about the Student Christian Movement's upcoming conference in Edinburgh, "Some of our most virile Christians are becoming Communists, and the only thing that will save them from Marxism and dropping Christianity altogether is a positive affirmation of Christian communism."[791] A.L. Rowse (1903–1997), who held a fellowship at All Souls College, was a historian and author of thirty-six books. Influenced by Marxist writings, Rowse was always hostile to the National Government, even dabbling in politics, but he later became an opponent of the policy of appeasement.

However, Adrian Hastings argued that very few people in Britain ever became Communists. Those who did were vocal, as were those on the opposite extreme. But when World War I started in Europe, Germany found a nation united against totalitarianism. Even the Christian versions of Communism were only from a fringe group of intellectuals and those in the upper class. Fascism carried more support because of the fear of Communism.[792]

In the years when Lewis was an undergraduate at University College (1917–1923), Lloyd George was gradually implementing the welfare state.[793] He had initiated many social reforms in the years before World War I, including an increase in the income tax, his first move towards the welfare state. Sir William Beveridge's *Social Insurance and Allied Services* (1942) later became the basic planning document for Britain's Social Security system, and two years later R.A. Butler's Education Act passed through parliament. Lewis mentioned Beveridge's book in a neutral way in his 1945 essay, "Christian Apologetics."

Shortly after Lewis became an Oxford don (1925), the General Strike occurred, beginning on May 1, 1926. Lewis mentioned it in his diary on May 8, 1926, and the General Strike ended on May 12,[794] although the miners themselves remained on strike for six months. It created all the tensions between the cause of the working man and the lawful authority of a

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[784] Marc Stears, "Cole, George Douglas Howard (1889–1959)", *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/32486, accessed 22 Feb 2005].
[785] Ceadel, 415.
[786] Rowse, 228. See also my discussion of Temple in the previous chapter.
[787] Hastings, 172.
[788] Tomes, "Joad, Cyril Edwin Mitchinson (1891–1953)", *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/34193, accessed 26 April 2005].
[789] Cunningham, 448.
[790] Brockliss, 610.
[791] Quoted in Turner, 312.
[792] Hastings, 317f., 320.
[793] Hastings, 161.
[794] All My Road Before Me, 393.

government that a strike often does. Adrian Hastings called it the closest thing the nation had ever come to a class war.[795]

The three major political parties (Conservative, Labour, and Liberal) were all represented at Oxford University, with the Conservative party dominating in membership. However, as historian and Fellow Frank Hardie noted, Oxford Conservatives "would anywhere else be . . . rightly described, as Liberals."[796] For example, in 1985, the University, upset by her supply-side politics, refused an honorary degree to Margaret Thatcher.[797] Oxford was the typical University town, home to many good people, but also the home of a flagship University and intellectual and political liberalism. Between 1914 and 1970 Oxford rarely exercised any political influence corporately, but it was well represented in all three major political parties, both in terms of the political persuasion of its dons and in terms of its graduates serving in various positions throughout the nation. Instead, Oxford usually worked behind the scenes.[798]

The Labour Party's alignment with socialism at Oxford was forged to a great extent by Alexander Lindsay, Master of Balliol (1924–1950) and Vice Chancellor (1935–1938), G.D.H. Cole, and A.L. Rowse. The Socialist Dons' Luncheon Club began in 1932, and the Oxford University Labour Party was formed in 1933.[799] Much of this coincided with the arrival of the Cowley motor industry and an increase in skilled labor in that industry. During this same decade the Auden group of writers became more politically active in support of Communism (Auden became a Christian in 1940). By 1937 the Labour Club was the largest undergraduate club in Oxford, attracting 750 people to its meetings, although by 1952 membership had dwindled to half that size.[800] Andrew Hegarty wrote, "After 1945 … Magdalen's secularists had generally abandoned liberal-progressive ideals for varieties of socialism…"[801] The misreading of the success of Marxist theory and Russian Communism led to strong support among the Labour Party for the working class and a commitment to socialist principles.

The Liberal Club, formed in 1920 at Oxford, was actually to the right of the Labour Party, many liberals having migrated into Labour.[802] Various issues drew the Labour and Liberal parties together, such as international issues, famine relief, and opposition to nuclear weapons. Much of the liberal tradition of Oxford can be summarized in the lives of three men—historian and former Minister for Education H.A.L. Fisher, Greek scholar Gilbert Murray, and political theorist Isaiah Berlin (1909–1997).[803] Australian Gilbert Murray (1866–1957) became the foremost Greek scholar of his day, introducing Euripides to the reading public and becoming better known for his service in the initiation of the League of Nations, especially after his retirement. Isaiah Berlin, a Fellow at All Souls and later New College, eventually became president of Wolfson College (1966–1975).

During this inter-war period, two major publications from Oxford University Press captured a great deal of interest. George Smith presented *The Dictionary of National Biography* to the University in 1917, and it has been supplemented every decade since then. Then in 1928, the last section of *The Oxford English Dictionary* appeared. Professor George Gordon

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[795] Hastings, 162.
[796] Harrison, "Politics," 392.
[797] Brock, 765.
[798] Harrison, "Politics," 410-12.
[799] Harrison, "Politics," 395-7.
[800] Harrison, "Politics," 399-400.
[801] Brockliss, 611.
[802] Harrison, "Politics," 405.
[803] Harrison, "Politics," 406-7.

proclaimed that it was "a dictionary not merely of modern English, but of *all* English . . . the English of Chaucer, of Spenser, of Shakespeare, of the Bible, of all our writers for twelve centuries past . . ."[804]

During the 1920s, William Morris brought the motor industry to Cowley, in southeastern Oxford. Morris, later Lord Nuffield, rose to the top of the automobile industry by the 1930s. He was knighted in 1929 and made Lord Nuffield in 1938. Between the two world wars, nearly one-third of all workers in Oxford worked at one of two Morris plants. The company became part of British Leyland after 1945.[805] While Lewis later in life did not drive, and, in fact, disapproved of many technological advances (a viewpoint he shared with Tolkien), Lord Nuffield's beneficence aided Oxford University in the areas of science and medicine. Morris had a personal fortune but not an heir, so he looked for places in Oxford to leave his legacy. However, Lewis, the self-styled dinosaur, expressed his reservations about technological advance and scientific perspective in his poem "Science Fiction Cradlesong" (1954), stating that no space travel will be able to find heaven for us. The more we try to find it out there, the less likely it is that we will find it.

Morris extended the Radcliffe Infirmary, where Charles Williams died and where Robert E. Havard practiced medicine, purchased the Observatory for the University, and rebuilt the Wingfield Orthopedic Hospital at Headington.[806] He also established professorial chairs for the medical school. During the early part of the century, much discussion was held over the role of a medical school. But the school began to grow, with the establishment of a chair of biochemistry, the work of the Medical Research Council under Sir Walter Morley Fletcher, the establishment of the Dunn School of Pathology in 1927, a Rockefeller endowment for a new department of biochemistry (opened in 1927), the generosity of Lord Nuffield (who contributed £2 million in 1936 for the medical school, now known as the Nuffield Institute, and a total of £4 million in the 1930s),[807] and many other developments, eventually resulting in the approval of a full medical school in the 1940s. The last major building of the medical school was constructed at the Radcliffe Infirmary in 1970.[808]

During the 1920s, Frederick A. Lindemann (1886–1957), Professor of Experimental Philosophy at Christ Church (1922–57) and later Lord Cherwell, became known as the father of modern physics in Oxford. "The Prof," as he came to be known, became Churchill's indispensable scientific advisor during World War II, without whom Britain may not have survived the German invasion.[809] Born and educated in Germany, he knew Germany better than most. While at Oxford, Lindemann brought Franz Simon, "the finest low-temperature physicist in the world,"[810] to the Clarendon laboratory. In addition, he brought physicists Nicholas Kurti, Kurt Mendelssohn, and H.G. Kuhn to Oxford from Germany.[811] During World War I, he had "won renown in aeronautics, by deducing the fundamental mechanics of spinning aircraft."[812] He also assigned his laboratory team to work on microwave radar for ships and aircraft.[813]

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[804] Denniston, 459.
[805] Whiting, 545.
[806] Headington and Cowley became suburbs of Oxford in 1928. Whiting, 545.
[807] Morrell, 144.
[808] "Medicine," Webster, in Harrison, 317-343.
[809] Morris, *The Oxford Book of Oxford*, 376f.
[810] Rowse, *Oxford in the History of England*, 222.
[811] Darwin, 622.
[812] Rowse, 247.
[813] Addison, 181.

Lewis apparently wrote the poem "Leaving For Ever the Home of One's Youth" in 1930, the year that the Lewis brothers settled the estate of their father Albert, who had died in 1929. The poem pictures Lewis driving down the driveway as he leaves Little Lea for the last time, reflecting upon his experiences in this house. Little Lea had provided refuge for the soldier in World War II and, before that, during the holidays at the end of a school term. Thinking back further, Lewis wrote, would take one all the way to Eden and echo the completely fulfilling sense of home that Adam and Eve had once had. After Eden, people lived in continual death, dreaming of "irrecoverable dawns," and they also do so today, apparently longing for the time when death will be no more.

The year 1933 saw Hitler come to power and the British Union of Fascists use deliberate violence and vocal anti-Semitism. In 1935 Italy invaded Ethiopia. At the same time, scientific atheism helped to undermine the sure truths of the Victorian age while, ironically, paving the way for a revival of religion.[814] That autumn, the communist John Cornford launched a vigorous anti-war campaign in Cambridge.[815]

In a few passages, Lewis' narrative poem, "The Queen of Drum" (1933–34), reflected his disdain for fascist and Nazi leaders who were rising to power in the early 1930s.[816] In this poem, the demands of the General, who called himself "Führer" and said "Worship me," and who spoke about giving a free hand to the Archbishop "to bait all Jews," recalls the rise to power of Adolph Hitler.

Magdalene College, Cambridge, had had a reputation for conservatism in the 1930s, but it too had become enthralled with materialism and Moscow, many of its Fellows embracing socialism and the Left during that decade, and some, long before it. The 1940s and 1950s saw complacency in material security for some, but for others Christianity still held an important place. In 1954, Lewis wrote to Don Giovanni Calabria, "The Christian Faith …counts for more among Cambridge men than among us; Communists are rarer and those plaguey philosophers whom we call logical positivists are not so powerful."[817]

During the 1930s, a number of Oxford men supported Chamberlain in his policy of appeasement towards Germany, such as atheist H.A.L. Fisher, but many also opposed it. Although Cambridge produced more scientists, Tizard and Lindemann, Oxford men, provided the most help during the war. Tizard's work on radar helped to win the Battle of Britain, providing advance warning of German bombers. Lindemann discovered that the air ministry had overestimated German air strength, thereby turning around a sense of defeatism. He helped to eliminate waste and inefficiency, and he insisted on more accurate bombing by the British.[818]

A flavor of the elitist attitude at Oxford can be demonstrated by reference to the most famous debate in the history of the Oxford Union Society. Devised by David Graham[819] and debated on February 9, 1933, was this question: "That this House will in no circumstances fight for its King and Country." The topic illustrates both the attitude of Oxford and the state of Europe, as World War II approached. After five speakers, including especially C.E.M. Joad, the motion passed by a vote of 275 to 153. As a result, the reputation of the Oxford Union Society was damaged and Winston Churchill refused to speak at the Union until the Union acquired "a

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[814] Hastings, 288f.
[815] Ceadel, 415.
[816] King, 161, 163f.
[817] Lewis, *The Latin Letters of C.S. Lewis*, 95. G.E. Moore and Bertrand Russell represented the Cambridge phase of the realist and positivist movement. Patrick, *The Magdalen Metaphysicals*, 136.
[818] Rowse, 248.
[819] Phillips, *C.S. Lewis at the BBC*, 8. Graham was a producer in the German radio service.

sense of responsibility." Several years later, when on Nov. 10, 1938 the Oxford Union debated the motion "That war between nations can sometimes be justified," the motion was carried in spite of Joad's return to stand against that motion.[820] History later also showed that Oxford did fight. Jan Morris reported, for example, that the Trinity boat crew, which won the Eights Week races in 1939, fought in the war and that all but two died.[821] Many others fought as well, with 2,362 enlisting from a potential group of 3,000.[822]

In the period between the wars, many supported the League of Nations enthusiastically, while others doubted its ability to resolve international disagreements and conflicts. Some were exceedingly patriotic, while others were not. The 1933 debate on "King and Country" was essentially about patriotism and duty. It opposed the patriotism of the popular press of 1914, the persecution of conscientious objectors, and the language which stated that it was sweet and proper to die for one's country.[823] World War I began on July 28, 1914, and England had declared war on Germany on August 4. The government's recruitment effort began with the words, "Your King and Country Need You," words that appeared daily in *The Times* beginning on August 5, 1914. Lord Kitchener used the same language to make a full-page appeal on August 11 for 100,000 men to sign up for the duration of the war.[824] Doris Myers has pointed out that between the two wars many people felt duped by language, used by the media, and affected by propaganda. Some people thought of the war as a spiritual conflict, while newspapers glamorized the fighting and created a false sense of optimism. Others lived in a world without hope, as T.S. Eliot's poetry said in "The Wasteland" (1922) and "The Hollow Men" (1925). As a result, language was reevaluated to understand better how it helped to create opinions on both ends of the spectrum.[825]

Oxford reached out to Jewish scholars from Germany during the time between the wars. Helen Darbishire, Principal of Somerville, was among the most active, offering temporary appointments in 1933 to two Jewish scholars dismissed from their posts—the mathematician Fraulein Noether of Göttingen University and Professor of Classical Archaeology Frau Doktor Margaret Bieber of the University of Giessen. Later, more Jewish scholars were provided some assistance.[826]

In 1938, Lewis published the first of three poems containing a critique of the modern world with its negative impact on the English countryside. "The Future of Forestry" (1938) bemoaned the loss of trees, which, for Lewis, contained something of the world of faery. "Under the Sentence" (1945) pictured the English countryside as in prison, about to be executed, facing "Guns, Ferrets, and Traps, And a Ministry gassing the little holes in which we dwell." "Pan's Purge" (1947) contains "an apocalyptic dream vision of the revolt of Nature against mankind."[827] As the animals attended the funeral of the god Pan, the animals and nature brought about the end of Man in those places where progress had destroyed Nature. A new world began, mankind was corrected, and the territory was reclaimed from the cities.

The gap between high culture and pop culture showed itself during the years between the wars. The general public lost interest in modern literature, reading best-sellers rather than classic

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[820] Ceadel, 419.
[821] Morris, *The Oxford Book of Oxford*, 374, 381.
[822] Addison, 167. Harrison, 406.
[823] Winter, 24-25.
[824] Ceadel, 418, n. 77.
[825] Myers, 2-4, 25.
[826] Adams, 192f.
[827] King, 187.

writings or good literature. Doris Myers says Lewis responded to this gap by writing the Ransom trilogy to appeal to the readers of best-sellers, and he wrote literary criticism that invited intellectuals to look seriously at genre fiction—fantasy and science fiction, romance, detective stories, and other types of writing. Lewis' essay "High and Low Brows" (1939), read to the English Society at Oxford, addressed this issue, inviting people to read genre fiction. Around this time Lewis and Tolkien began to write in order to produce the kind of books that they wanted to read. Lewis wrote about the far away, and Tolkien wrote about long ago.[828] In addition, Lewis wanted to present Christianity as a better alternative to science's hope to colonize other planets and to defeat death.[829] In Tolkien, Lewis, and Robertson Davies (1913–1995)[830] appear the foundations of modern English fantasy,[831] and Lewis and Brian Aldiss initiated the Oxford University Speculative Fiction Group.[832]

Just prior to the beginning of the war, Lewis wrote a letter, "The Conditions for a Just War," which was published in *Theology* (May 1939). In that letter, Lewis responded to the six conditions of E.L. Mascall, a conservative Thomist and a member of the Socratic Club,[833] for a just war, which had been published in *Theology* that January. This timely letter came towards the end of the period of appeasement and a few months before Hitler invaded Poland. Lewis argued that the conditions of Mascall, such as certainty that losses in war will not outweigh the advantages of winning, were nearly impossible to ascertain in advance. The greater question is who has the authority to make the decision about entering into war. He argued, apparently basing his argument upon Romans 13, that the rules for determining a just war were written for governmental leaders, not for the average person.

World War II

As the decade progressed, tension increased. Hitler was building his war machine, annexing Austria in March 1938 and putting pressure on Czechoslovakia. Neville Chamberlain, Prime Minister from 1937 to 1940, worked hard to avoid going to war, backed by much of the country, including the clergy.[834] He flew to Berlin several times to meet with Hitler, claiming to have achieved "peace in our time." Some voices were raised during the Munich debate of 1938 against the Chamberlain foreign policy of appeasement. In that debate, Edward Heath described the Chamberlain policy as "if at first you don't concede, fly, fly, fly again."[835] But after a German-Soviet treaty of friendship in August, Germany invaded Poland on September 1, 1939. Britain declared war on September 3. In April 1940 Denmark and Norway fell, and a month later Germany invaded Belgium and Holland, followed by French capitulation on June 22.

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[828] T.A. Shippey says that Tolkien mentions this conversation at least five times in his published *Letters*. He cites pages 29, 209, 342, 347, and 378 in *Letters of J.R.R. Tolkien*. "The Ransom Trilogy," in *The Cambridge Companion to C. S. Lewis*, edited by Robert MacSwain and Michael Ward, Cambridge University Press, 2010, 237.
[829] Myers, 29-30.
[830] Graduate of Balliol College, Oxford, Davies wrote plays, novels, and did editorial work. He is best known for the Deptford trilogy and for his exploration of myth, the magical, and the mystical. Roy MacLaren, "Davies, (William) Robertson (1913–1995)", *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/60352, accessed 16 Jan 2005].
[831] Cunningham, 414.
[832] Cunningham, 422.
[833] Brian Hebblethwaite, "Mascall, Eric Lionel (1905–1993)", *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/52280, accessed 11 Jan 2005].
[834] Hastings, 349.
[835] Harrison, "Politics," 393.

On Saturday, September 7, 1939, Charles Williams moved to 9 South Parks Road, Oxford. He had lunch with Lewis that day and probably attended a meeting of the Inklings that night. The war had necessitated the move of Oxford University Press to Oxford because of the target that London presented to the Nazis. Although Oxford was never bombed, Lewis joined an Oxford brigade of people who patrolled sections of the city at night in case of a German bombing raid.

Lewis wrote "Dangers of National Repentance" for *The Guardian* (March 15, 1940) in that same year to reflect the common reaction of the pacifist part of the public to a war that they suspected had been foisted upon them by war-mongers. One ought not to repent for that which one has not done. Also that year, Lewis wrote "The Necessity of Chivalry" (1940) for *Time and Tide*, originally entitled "Importance of an Ideal," commenting favorably on the heroic virtues of British soldiers, especially the young pilots in the R.A.F. This led Lewis to advocate the practice of chivalry in the medieval tradition of Launcelot, stating that in a classless society such as that in which he lived, people would either learn chivalry by themselves or they would have to choose between "brutality and softness." Also in 1940, Lewis wrote the poem "Break Sun, My Crusted Earth," later retitled "A Pageant Played in Vain." The poem seems best placed in the context of the growing Nazi threat and the challenge of this ominous danger on the European scene. In stanzas one and three of this three-stanza poem, Lewis compared the birth of metals and crystals with the birth of a human being, making the middle stanza the key to understanding the poem. In that middle stanza, Lewis invited the light that breaks through the surface of the individual to enlighten "the self I know not."

Since some were advocating another political party through letters to *The Guardian*, Lewis wrote his brief essay, "Meditation on the Third Commandment," for the January 10, 1941 issue of *The Guardian*. Some wanted a Christian political party, but Lewis cited Jacques Maritain's *Scholasticism and Politics* (translated in 1940) against this idea because of two problems. First, Christians were not united on the means to accomplish various ends, some seeing democracy as a monster, others as the only hope, and still others seeing the need for revolution. Such a party could not speak for Christianity, but only for a part of Christianity. Then, by calling itself the Christian Party, it would claim to represent all Christians. The second problem was that a Christian Party would be tempted to justify whatever it wanted to do, utilizing its theology to justify even treachery and murder. Far better, Lewis argued, for Christians to influence politics by writing letters to Members of Parliament, and, best of all, by witnessing to their neighbors. The timing both of the letter and of Lewis's article and the mention of both Fascists and Communists in the article suggests that the war heightened the issue in the minds of many Christians and resulted in this exchange of letters and article in *The Guardian*.

Another article, published in *Time and Tide* on June 27, 1942, questioned the policy of appeasement tangentially, while arguing a more important point and showing that he was not anti-war *per se*. In "First and Second Things," Lewis argued that England had mistakenly adopted a second thing (preserving civilization, including peace at all costs) as a first thing. For Lewis, other things—such as the will of God, justice, personal honor, glory, or doctrinal purity—served much better as first things. And, ironically, claimed Lewis, a foreign policy of appeasement was really only another road to war which underestimated the power of evil. That Lewis opposed the policy of appeasement is clear from a statement in *Mere Christianity*,

originally delivered over the BBC on Aug. 27, 1941, where Lewis wrote that most people had gotten over "the pre-war wishful thinking about international politics."[836]

World War II began a year before the publication of *The Problem of Pain* (1940) and three years before the publication of *The Screwtape Letters* (1942). Justin Phillips commented, "But what is transparent is the parallel of Lewis writing his most convincing books dealing with evil, pain and the devil and all his works at the moment in the war when Britain was taking its biggest battering and was most at risk of enemy invasion."[837] This was also the period in which Lewis gave his BBC radio talks, which later formed the basis for his book, *Mere Christianity* (1952). Lewis was invited by Rev. James Welch, Director of Religious Broadcasting for the BBC. Welch had been so impressed by *The Problem of Pain* that he concluded that Lewis was the clear voice he had been seeking to champion Christianity.[838] Welch wrote to Lewis on Feb. 7, 1941 to ask him to consider a series of radio talks on the BBC. Lewis agreed and gave five talks under the title "Right and Wrong: A Clue to the Meaning of the Universe" (August-September 1941). Then "What Christians Believe" was given in the next year (January-February 1942). These two were published together under the title *Broadcast Talks*. His talks entitled "A Further Series of Broadcast Talks" were given next (September-November 1942) and later published as *Christian Behaviour*, and finally he spoke on "The Christian Idea of God" (February-April 1944), which was published separately as *Beyond Personality*.

Lewis third series of broadcast talks was being completed as the war turned in favor of the Allies.[839] The defeat of Germany by Field Marshall Bernard Montgomery at El Alamein, Egypt, in November led to the triumphant ringing of church bells throughout England on November 15, 1942.[840] These broadcasts talks cannot be given the credit for a revival of interest in religion, something that nearly always happens during a war, but Lewis' talks certainly promoted a theological understanding of ultimate issues.

Many authors have noted how many times Lewis referred to the war in *Mere Christianity*. Even his own experience in World War I appeared in the preface to the book.[841] Seven times in that book he mentioned the Nazis, the Germans, or Germany. He also mentioned Himmler once and the Gestapo twice. Another twenty-one times Lewis mentioned war, referring either to the first or the second World War, spiritual warfare, or a hypothetical war, and other terms, such as "The Invasion," the title of Book Two, Chapter 2, or the idea of God having landed in this world, enemy-occupied territory, or a rebel laying down his arms.[842] Clearly, the imagery of military conflict served as an apt illustration of the kind of spiritual struggle in which human beings are engaged.

These talks balanced other series of talks on the BBC, such as *The Brains Trust*, a panel of thinkers who answered various questions from listeners. Among the regular panelists were Julian Huxley, A.B. Campbell, and C.E.M. Joad, then one of Britain's most well known philosophers and agnostics.[843]

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[836] *Mere Christianity*, 32.
[837] Phillips, 64.
[838] Phillips, 49.
[839] The dates for the third series were on Sundays, once weekly, September 20 through November 8, 1942.
[840] Hastings, 358.
[841] *Mere Christianity*, XII.
[842] *Mere Christianity*, 53, 56, 64f.
[843] Tomes, "Joad, Cyril Edwin Mitchinson (1891–1953)", *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/34193, accessed 26 April 2005].

During World War II, "it was government policy to disperse people and institutions from London, a prime target for German bombing, to reception areas in the provinces,"[844] particularly after the London blitzes of 1940 and 1941. In July 1940, Hitler gave Reichsmarshall Hermann Goering the task of destroying British air power as a prelude to the invasion of Britain. In August the Battle of Britain began, and on Sept. 7 German bombers struck London. The Blitz struck London for fifty-seven consecutive days and did not end until May 10 and 11, 1941, the worst part of the Blitz, just a few days after Lewis had his microphone test in preparation for his first series of BBC broadcasts.[845] As the political intelligence department of the Foreign Office occupied most of Balliol and the map-making section of intelligence took up quarters in the Bodleian, the Lewis brothers harbored children in their home at the Kilns. "Apart from the swarm of officials, thousands of working-class mothers and children, evacuees from the East End of London, were temporarily accommodated in colleges or cinemas before dispersing to homes in and around Oxford."[846] Jill Flewett, later Jill Freud (ironically, she married the grandson of Sigmund Freud), was one of those, staying with the Lewis family from 1943 until the end of the war in 1945. That practice provided the setting for *The Lion, the Witch and the Wardrobe* (published on October 16, 1950), which begins, "Once there were four children whose names were Peter, Susan, Edmund and Lucy. This story is about something that happened to them when they were sent away from London during the war because of the air raids."[847]

In writing to Sister Penelope on Oct. 24, 1940, Lewis responded to her inquiry about Lewis' brother Warren with these words, "Thanks—my brother is not only safe from France but, better still, back on the retired list and living at home: so that what with that and a house full of really delightful refugee children (I am a bachelor and never appreciated children till the war brought them to me) I have very much to be thankful for."[848] Warren happened to have been at Dunkirk and was evacuated in late May in the miraculous nine-day evaluation that almost cost the Allies 338,226 soldiers, including the core of the British forces.

Lewis' poem "Epigrams and Epitaphs, No. 11," was published on June 6, 1942, in *Time and Tide*. This five-line poem compared the beauty and delicacy of a woman to the beauty and delicacy of the bomb, which was also "beautifully, delicately made." Ironically, the bomb took the woman's life. While the poem seems to take a neutral position, one cannot help but assume that Lewis lamented the loss of life even while recognizing the necessity of self-defense in a major war, roughly one year after the end of the London Blitz.

Lewis' essay "Equality," published in *The Spectator* (1943), gave his view of equality, calling it a hindrance to democracy to treat equality as an ideal. Equality carries such esteem because of the abuses of power in recent years, but equality is a medicine, not an ideal. In the wake of Nazi and Soviet totalitarianism, Lewis saw that equality prevented more abuses of power, so we need both legal and economic equality. Friendship is based on equality, but other relationships are not. Full equality would end the Monarchy in Britain. He could have added that it would end the symphony, team sports, government in general, and most work environments, to name just a few examples. The people of England understood equality as the opposite of elitism and in the post-war era developed a hostility towards the latter.[849] In "Screwtape Proposes a Toast," Lewis cited Aristotle in the address of Screwtape to the annual dinner of the Tempters'

[844] Addison, 170.
[845] Phillips, 86.
[846] Addison, 171.
[847] Lewis, *The Lion*, 1.
[848] Lewis, *Collected Letters*, II, 451.
[849] Adams, 312.

Training College for young Devils. Aristotle had asked whether democratic behavior was the behavior that will preserve a democracy or the behavior that a democracy likes.[850] It is the former, but people frequently mistake it for the latter.

Some of *Perelandra* (1943) reflected the current World War when Ransom told Lewis, a character in his own story, that the two sides appear much more clearly now.[851] The next year, Lewis also wrote three short war-related essays. *The Spectator* published the first, "A Dream" (July 28, 1944), in which Lewis worried about the possibility of war-time policies continuing after the war. Citing a ceremonial parade of the Women's Auxiliary Air Force, Lewis argued that the practices of the Home Guard, in which he served, might stay in place after the war. The second essay, "Blimpophobia" (Sept. 8, 1944), drew its title from Colonel Blimp, a cartoon character of cartoonist David Low, who drew for the *Evening Standard*. While he insisted that the essentials for a country were a strong Navy, Air Force, and Army, he argued that the continuation of military authority beyond the end of the war would turn the nation against its leaders. Once again citing parades as useless, he saw a human tendency toward self-importance in the desire to maintain the practices of war in the post-war era. The third essay, "Private Bates" (December 29, 1944), talked about the role of propaganda. In this essay, Lewis argued that those who were truly duped by the mass media were not the soldiers, who expected their leaders to lie to them about the war, but the *intelligentsia*, who actually read and believed the newspaper reports. The average soldier was not suffering from a deterioration of his morale, but realized that newspaper reports would exaggerate the cruelties of the enemy in order to engender support for the war. At the same time, Lewis was encouraged to realize that the masses cannot be led as easily as people often think, concluding that nothing extremely bad or extremely good would happen to England as long as there were millions of people like Private Bates. Lewis walked a centrist line in these essays, neither sounding pacifist nor militaristic. World War II ended with the surrender of Germany on May 8, 1945 and in Asia on August 15 with the surrender of Japan.

After World War II

The appeasement that came with the end of World War II was due in part to an advance in socialism, as the Soviet Union flexed its muscles, influencing Magdalen College especially. Andrew Hegarty writes, "After 1945 … Magdalen's secularists had generally abandoned liberal-progressive ideals for varieties of socialism…"[852] The misreading of the success of Marxist theory and Russian Communism led to strong support among the Labour Party for the working class and a commitment to socialist principles. At the same time, a reaction against the Soviet Union was also expressed by three books, published in 1945, which repudiated the Soviet Union and all forms of totalitarianism. George Orwell wrote *Animal Farm*, Arthur Koestler wrote *The Yogi and the Commissar*, and Karl Popper *The Open Society and Its Enemies*. Popper "provided the textbook analysis of totalitarianism and its descent from Hegel…the father alike of Nazism and Marxism," while Orwell and Koestler repudiated the Soviet Union and the misreading of that country by left-wing intellectualism.[853] That year was also the year of the founding of Christian Action, an organization that became the radical wing of Christianity for the next twenty years.[854]

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[850] Lewis, *The Screwtape Letters*, 197.
[851] *Perelandra*, Chapter 2, 23.
[852] Brockliss, *Magdalen College Oxford: A History*, 611.
[853] Hastings, 406.
[854] Hastings, 428.

An article from that same year, "After Priggery—What?," which appeared in *The Spectator* on December 7, 1945, expressed Lewis' concern about totalitarianism in the context of discussing a hypothetical wicked journalist, what Lewis elsewhere called a man without a chest. Better to ignore such journalism, wrote Lewis, than to read it for the sake of keeping up with the times.

Much different from "After Priggery—What?" is the poem "Under Sentence," published as "The Condemned" in *The Spectator* on September 7, 1945. The poem bemoaned what some called progress and Lewis considered to be the effect of indiscriminate hunting, the guns and traps that attempt to tame the wildness of the land that will never be tamed. The poem also pictured the English countryside as in prison, about to be executed, facing "Guns, Ferrets, and Traps, And a Ministry gassing the little holes in which we dwell." Lewis loved nature and detested many of the trappings of the modern world.

On Dec. 28, 1945 Lewis' poem "On the Atomic Bomb (Metrical Experiment)" was published in *The Spectator*. In the poem Lewis suggested that the development of the atomic bomb did not really make death more likely than it was before. Cold, fire, suffocation, Ogpu (i.e. the KGB), and cancer had been there before. Even without those enemies death has always been a certainty, and a focus on this reality misses out on the glimpse of heaven in "the fields each side, the happy orchards."

In a letter to Mary Willis Shelburne, Lewis mentioned, with some ambivalence, the National Health Service, which began in 1948 and became the chief monument to the welfare state, writing, "What you have gone through begins to reconcile me to our Welfare State of which I have said so many hard things. National Health Service with free treatment for all has its drawbacks—one being that Doctors are incessantly pestered by people who have nothing wrong with them. But it is better than leaving people to sink or swim on their own resources."[855]

Shortly after the war, Lewis wrote the poem "Consolation" (ca. 1945), satirizing the new policy of appeasement toward Russia. In spite of economic hardship and rationing, be happy because we are at peace. The war is over. Freedom is non-essential as long as we have peace. We appease Russia just as Chamberlain appeased Hitler in Munich and, before him, Vortigern, king of the Britons, appeased the Saxons in the fifth century A.D. The concessions granted to the Soviet Union when Europe was divided will serve us no better than the concessions of Chamberlain and others that were made to Hitler.[856]

From the immediate post-war years through 1953-54, rationing affected the amount of bread, potatoes, meat, coal, and even beer. Whale meat was served so frequently at Magdalen that students once walked out of the dining hall. Potatoes were rationed severely during Michaelmas Term in 1947, although it affected Magdalen men less than most others. By 1946-47, the rationing of coal meant that only one fire per week was allowed, and this in the richest of the Oxford colleges in that era.[857] The gifts that the Lewis household received from Warfield Firor, Edward Allen, and Vera Mathews (later Gebbert) were very much appreciated by Jack, Warren, Mrs. Moore, and even some friends who benefited from this largesse.

After World War II, government spending opened undergraduate education to nearly everyone, so the focus shifted from education to training, from culture to certificates, a shift Lewis did not like. The growing number of undergraduates necessitated many more dons.[858]

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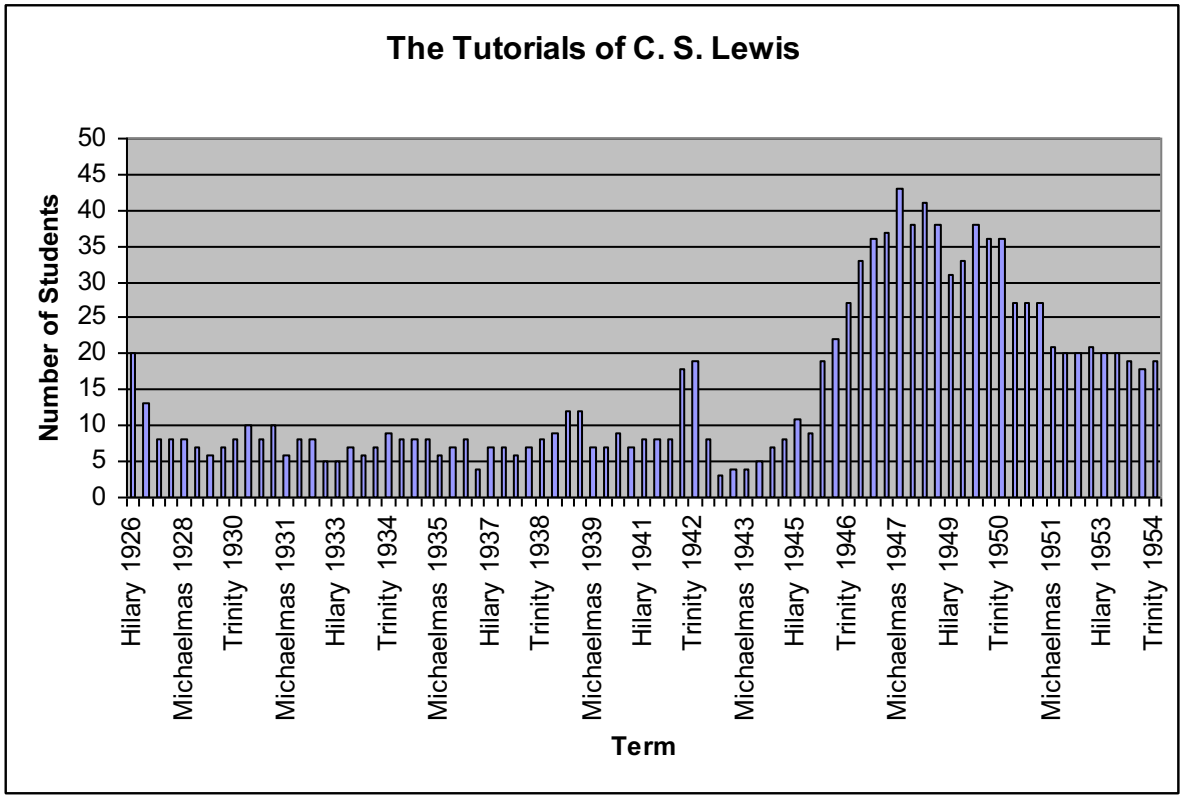
[855] Lewis, *Letters to an American Lady*, 84, a letter written on July 7, 1959.
[856] See King, *C.S. Lewis, Poet*, 347, footnote 55,
[857] Andrew Hegarty, "The Tutorial Takeover, 1928-1968," in Brockliss, 646f.
[858] Green and Hooper, *C.S. Lewis: A Biography*, 279.

However, at the same time, Lewis himself thought that there was a higher percentage of Christians returning to University after the war than in his case after World War I, one of the reasons that there was a general feeling of religious revival for the dozen or so years after the war.[859] In general, colleges were double their pre-war size within a few years of the end of World War II. This appears in the following graph, demonstrating the increased tutorial workload of Lewis in the post-World War II era. These include only those undergraduates of Magdalen College assigned to him to read English Language and Literature and do not include, for example, Peter Bayley, who took tutorials with Lewis in English while an undergraduate at Univ., and Donald Whittle and Charles Wrong,[860] Magdalen undergraduates who read Political Science in the Modern History Degree studied with him for a time. The chart shows a drop in the number of students during World War II and a large increase in the five years after the war.[861]



That increase resulted in significant changes in the university with shortages of fuel, food, and books. *The Oxford Correspondent* reported:

> Queues form before 9 o'clock at the doors of all the libraries; by 9.05 every seat is taken. The shortage of books in nearly every subject is serious, booksellers' supplies of new

[859] Hastings, 444.
[860] Charles Wrong was Lewis' pupil briefly in political science for the obligatory exam known as Pass Moderations, 1935–1936. After that exam, Wrong had a different tutor, since his field was Modern History. He graduated in 1938. He is the son of Edward Murray Wrong.
[861] Based on research done in the Magdalen College Archives, Dr. Robin Darwall-Smith, Archivist. Records were unavailable for Michaelmas Term, 1925; Trinity Term, 1926; Michaelmas Term, 1926; Hilary Term, 1927; Trinity Term, 1928; and Trinity Term, 1929.

> copies of reprints of standard works are cleared in half a day and no library can replace its worn-out books; the editions of newly-published academic books are very small.[862]

During the war Lewis and many others, such as A.J.P. Taylor, assisted the morale of the troops through journalism, broadcasting, or lectures to the troops. Lewis lectured to members of the Royal Air Force, a series of lectures that provided him with some of his understandings as reflected in his essay "God in the Dock" (1948), also known as "Difficulties in Presenting the Christian Faith to Modern Unbelievers."

An earlier essay, published in *Resistance* in October 1946, discussed what was necessary for a society to remain a democracy. "Talking about Bicycles" presented four stages of experience which Lewis called the Unenchanted Age, the Enchanted Age, the Disenchanted Age, and the Re-enchanted Age. Based on the analogy of bicycling, the Unenchanted Age is that age when a child is too young to ride a bicycle. The Enchanted Age is the age when the child first learns to ride. By age sixteen the child is Disenchanted, and later the child is Re-enchanted. The same four stages apply to politics, love, and war. In thinking of politics and war, Lewis argued that a society needs to believe in aristocracy even if aristocrats are wrong in how they practice this aristocracy. To become democratic by leveling the playing field for all is to doom the society in which we live.

In 1947, Eric Bentley's *The Cult of the Superman* was published in England, prefaced with "An Appreciation" by Lewis.[863] Lewis praised Bentley's analysis of what he called "Heroic Vitalism," an anti-democratic creed promoted by Friedrich Nietzsche, Thomas Carlyle, George Bernard Shaw, Richard Wagner, D.H. Lawrence and others. These had advocated an increased role for government rather than an increase in personal freedoms, fearing that placing the power of government in the hands of the uneducated would displace the Leftist intellectuals of the day. The subtitle of Bentley's book drew both its British and its American titles together: *A Study of the Idea of Heroism in Carlyle and Nietzsche, with Notes on Other Hero-Worshippers of Modern Times*.

Lewis was conservative politically and reflected that conservatism, plus his unhappiness with politics in general in three poems. In "Lines During a General Election" (undated), Lewis criticized those politicians who make promises they don't keep, the loss of greenery, and the increase of roads. In "Epigrams and Epitaphs, No. 14" (July 30, 1948), Lewis attacked democracy with its constant discussions and debates. In "Consolation" (ca. 1945), he celebrated the end of World War II, but criticized the policy of appeasement that England, having failed to appease Germany, now used to appease Russia. A reference to Munich and Vortigern echoed Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain's visit to Munich in 1939, where he made concessions to Hitler, comparing this appeasement to Vortigern, a fifth century British king. Vortigern feared an invasion from the Picts, Scots, and Romans, and so compromised the safety of his kingdom by securing the help of Saxon mercenaries to defend the country from these enemies.[864]

In 1949, *The Weight of Glory and Other Addresses* was published, and for this book Lewis wrote a preface. These addresses, he wrote, were those he gave during the war and immediately after it. No editing of those addresses could take place, he wrote, lest he produce a kind of forgery. But here one reads "The Weight of Glory," "Membership," "Learning in War-

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[862] Cited in Adams, 255.
[863] It appeared in the United States in 1944 under the title, *A Century of Hero Worship*.
[864] http://www.britannia.com/history/biographies/vortig.html

Time," "The Inner Ring," and other addresses, all of which were born and shaped in the midst of war, as were *The Screwtape Letters* and *Mere Christianity*.

After Winston Churchill's Conservative Party recaptured control of Parliament on October 25, 1951, Churchill's office sent an invitation to Lewis to be named "Commander of the British Empire" (CBE). In spite of his admiration for Churchill,[865] Lewis declined the invitation so as not to give ammunition to those who claimed that his writings were "all covert anti-Leftist propaganda."[866]

On June 1, 1957, *The Cambridge Review* published Lewis' response to a book review by H.A. Mason (1911–1993) under the title "Is History Bunk?" Harold Andrew Mason was the Assistant Director of Studies in English at Downing College, Cambridge, and the editor of *Scrutiny* from 1949 until it ceased publication in 1953, and, presumably, therefore, someone who reflected the harsh, utilitarian editorial opinions of F.R. Leavis. Mason was elected to an F.R. Leavis Lectureship in 1965. At the time of this review, Mason was Lecturer in English at Exeter University (1955–1965). Mason's negative review of Douglas Grant's *The Poetical Works of Charles Churchill* had appeared in the May 11 issue.

Lewis' article, "Is History Bunk?", disagreed with Mason's position and promoted the study of the liberal arts. Mason had argued that literary history had no right to exist, couching that position in a deprecation of the poetry of Charles Churchill (1731–1764). Mason wrote, "Literary history is the study of what is valuable; study of 'minor' figures is only justified if it contributes to the understanding of what is meant by 'major'." For Mason, Churchill was a minor poet and minor satirist, worthy only of what he called "the right and proper oblivion that the cultivation of facile popularity always earns." Lewis' argument represented his view of history in general, a subject that he prized highly "for its own sake." That phrase appears four times in Lewis' response, demonstrating his opposition to elitism and his strong support for liberal education, which, according to Aristotle, frees a person to study something "for its own sake." Literary history can be dispensed with only if it is ancillary to literary criticism; in fact, it belongs to the department of history rather than to literary criticism.

Lewis borrowed the title of his essay from Henry Ford, who had stated in a May 25, 1916 interview, "History is more or less bunk. It's tradition. We don't want tradition. We want to live in the present and the only history that is worth a tinker's dam is the history we made today." That position, which Lewis dubbed Fordism, wanted the study of literary history only for its practical potential to improve our ethics or politics. Lewis insisted that history may be studied, and ought to be studied, "for its own sake."

The December 1957 issue of *Twentieth Century* carried Lewis' article, "What Christmas Means to Me." In that article, Lewis sounded a theme that is all too familiar, the commercialism of the Christmas season. Lewis made points similar to those he had made in his satire from three years earlier, "Xmas and Christmas: a Lost Chapter from Herodotus," a piece published in *Time and Tide* on Dec. 4, 1954.While not referring to any specific person, business, or current event, Lewis gave four reasons why the Christmas season in its current format should be condemned: (1) It gives more pain than pleasure by wearing people out; (2) It is largely involuntary, since people feel compelled to reciprocate towards those who give gifts and send cards, but also compelled by the shopkeepers, who encourage the same in the interests of good business; (3) The gifts are usually things we have no use for; and (4) It leaves us with less available time to do all of the usual tasks of life. When Lewis wrote, "You have only to stay over Christmas with a

[865] Lewis, "Private Bates," 46
[866] *Letters of C.S. Lewis*, 414.

family who seriously try to 'keep' it," he was undoubtedly thinking of the changes that his marriage to Joy Davidman Gresham had brought about when she moved into the Kilns with two rambunctious boys. Douglas and David Gresham were twelve and fourteen when Lewis wrote this article.

In that same month, Dec. 7, 1957 to be precise, Lewis' piece, "Delinquents in the Snow," appeared in *Time and Tide*. Some neighbors had broken into a bungalow on his property and stolen several objects, all at a time when his wife Joy was seriously ill with cancer. The police found the culprits, and their guilt was clear. The judge at the juvenile court, however, merely lectured them and let them off with a small fine. Classical political theory taught that citizens cede self-protection to the State in return for protection from the State. When the State fails, according to Dr. Johnson, the right of self-protection reverts to the citizen. Should that happen, Lewis wrote, we could easily turn into a society of vigilantes and Ku Klux Klansmen, and society would be the worse for it. Therefore, what is most needed in society are magistrates who take the rule of law seriously and punish evildoers. That promotes peace in any season, not only in the season of good will.

For the Christmas 1959 issue of *Good Work*, Lewis wrote a piece entitled "Good Work and Good Works." The essay was more a commentary on poor workmanship in the world of business, the influence of advertising on our spending habits, and the sense of entitlement among artists than a discussion of the value of Christians doing good works. Lewis is known for his lament over the industrialization of society, a trait he shared with Tolkien. A meeting with Priscilla Tolkien in 2004 proved to this writer that Tolkien's daughter shared her father's dislike of the automobile, one of the chief results of industrialization. In this essay, Lewis again showed his awareness of the space race between America and Russia, thinking it hopeful that such superpowers were engaged in making things which they threw overboard,[867] thereby keeping money circulating and factories working. Mathematics and economics were clearly not his strong points. Until the latter part of the nineteenth century, Lewis wrote, the task of artists was to delight and instruct the public; now, however, the tables have been turned, so that it is the public's duty to support the artist. The same attitude, Lewis called it an infection, had spread to business. Trades now exist chiefly for the sake of those who practice them, largely because they confuse means and ends. Employment is a means, not an end. To the extent that we are browbeaten into appreciating work that is not good, it is fatal to good work. "'Great works' (of art) and 'good works' (of charity) had better also be Good Work."

"Screwtape Proposes a Toast" was first published in 1960 at the time of the Cold War when Russia and the United States were striving to promote Communism and democracy, respectively. Lewis meant the United States when he wrote in this address by Screwtape at the annual dinner of the Tempters' Training College that one democracy had been surprised by the discovery that Russia had surpassed it in science.[868]

In 1961, *Church Times* ran an unsigned obituary for Bishop H.H. Williams (Oct. 6, 1961), an obituary that included Williams' view that it was immoral to argue for capital punishment as a deterrent, and even more immoral to argue for the reformative view of punishment.[869] Instead, Williams believed in the retributive theory, arguing that punishment did a person good only when he or she accepted it as deserved. Williams had been Bishop of Carlisle from 1920 until 1946 and for a time was Principal of St. Edmund Hall (1913–1920) at Oxford

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[867] This is Lewis' actual comment. "Good Work and Good Works," *The World's Last Night and Other Essays*, 77.
[868] Lewis, *The Screwtape Letters*, 206.
[869] Schultz and West, 111.

University.[870] In response to this obituary and some letters to the editor on the topic, Lewis wrote two letters to *Church Times* on the subject of capital punishment (December 1, 1961 and December 15, 1961), the latter one responding to a December 8 letter by clergyman Claude Davis. Davis had disagreed with Lewis' statement that murder was primarily an offense against society rather than an offense against individuals.

Lewis claimed neutrality on the issue of capital punishment, stating his hope that the arguments of the anti-capital punishment group would find a better foundation than conjecture and a better strategy than imputing vile motives to the other side. Capital punishment does not judge a person as irredeemable, as some argued, and the issue of compensation for the family of the murdered individual should not be connected to the argument for or against capital punishment. Furthermore, in opposition to Bishop Williams' views, he argued for punishment that was both exemplary (and therefore a deterrent) *and* reformatory, rather than one or the other. He also challenged some other views of the day, including the idea that hanging is irrevocable whereas a prison term is not (a prison term is just as irrevocable as an execution, he states) and claiming, in spite of Davis's challenge, that murder was primarily an offense against society instead of against individuals.

C.S. Lewis' liberal arts education, with an undergraduate degree that included history in Honour Moderations, combined with his wife reading and retentive memory to result in many important insights in the writings of C.S. Lewis.

[870] *Church Times*, Oct. 6, 1961, 20.

Chapter 7. The Arts

In this brief chapter, we look at Lewis' thinking in the arts—music, art, drama, and, to an extent, literature. While literature has been dealt with extensively in a previous chapter, it can also be understood as one of the arts, especially when considering poetry. Much of what Lewis thought about music was not written about, although we know that he enjoyed music. One indication of this was his attendance at the performances of the Oxford Bach Choir.[871]

Lewis' essay, "First and Second Things" (1942), expressed his pleasure at the German choice of a national hero. Instead of selecting Siegfried, the hero of the Nibelungenlied (the thirteenth-century German epic poem), they had selected Hagen. Hagen was a minor character, advisor to the Burgundian king Gunther, who eventually murdered Siegfried. The Germans were attempting to appropriate a part of their mythology, Lewis argued, but they were misunderstanding the Nibelungenlied and Richard Wagner's operatic version of the story. The story was about taking heroic stands and fighting against hopeless odds, and the figure of Odin was opposed to the exercise of power without the right to do so. The Germans saw in Odin a figure who supported their raw exercise of power, not realizing that they were misunderstanding Odin and the entire Nordic spirit.

Lewis argued in the same essay that the idea that literature and the arts were ends in themselves did not arise until modern times. Only in the nineteenth century did we become fully aware of the dignity of art. The Nazis, however, had taken a subordinate good, i.e. a piece of epic poetry which is part of the arts, and elevated it to a prime position. The arts—great music, great paintings, great tragedies—had formerly belonged to the ornamental part of life, but now they had become one of the first things, even though they belonged to the second things. The arts themselves are not one of the first things, though they can support both first things and second things. By using the Nibelungenlied to support their will to power, the Nazis had elevated a second thing (both the will to power and a piece of epic literature) to a position of a first thing.

We know from some of Lewis' letters that he enjoyed the theater at Covent Garden in London. When he drew a comparison between the Green Lady of *Perelandra* and "an actor seen from the gallery at Covent Garden,"[872] he was drawing on his experiences enjoying theater in London. At the same time, however, in the twenty-fifth *Screwtape Letter* Lewis deplores mere novelty as something that brings "excesses of lasciviousness, unreason, cruelty, and pride" to the Arts.[873]

In "Sir Walter Scott" (1956), Lewis mused about the problem of overvaluing art. When second things become first things, they are corrupted, as he had stated fourteen years earlier in "First and Second Things." Art ought to be subordinate to life in spite of the modern penchant for the reverse. Scott's insufficient seriousness drew criticism from many moderns, since Scott wrote in order to pay off debts rather than to make his novels as good as they could possibly be. Modern critics would accuse him of disobeying his artistic conscience.

Lewis mentioned the British sculptor Sir Jacob Epstein (1880–1959) in the Afterword to the third edition (1943) of *The Pilgrim's Regress*. Lewis considered Epstein one who revolted against civilization and conventions and, as a result, was dubbed by some as a romantic.[874] He

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[871] Nov. 12, 1922 and June 12, 1924, according to his diary. *All My Road Before Me*, 135, 329.
[872] Lewis, *Perelandra*, 53.
[873] Lewis, *The Screwtape Letters*, 137.
[874] Lewis, *The Pilgrim's Regress*, 201.

was the sculptor of *Saint Michael and the Devil* on the exterior wall of Coventry Cathedral.[875] Adrian Hastings calls Coventry Cathedral "the principal collective artistic achievement of the 1950s," not just Epstein's sculpture, but the entire cathedral.[876] Epstein received social and ecclesiastical recognition in the 1950s for his work.

The Four Loves contains an example of the potential for evil when an artistic or literary circle of friends exists with an air of superiority for the purpose of excluding others.[877] No area of life is exempt from the possibility turning something good into something bad.

While Lewis wrote relatively little about the arts, he understood that they belonged to second things rather than first things. First things include such things as the Scriptures, immortal souls, and the Church, and second things refer to such things as the artifacts of culture.

[875] Hastings, 501f.
[876] Hastings, 503.
[877] *The Four Loves*, 82.

Appendix I: The Norwood Report

The full title of the 151-page Norwood Report is *Curriculum and Examinations in Secondary Schools: Report of the Committee of the Secondary School Examinations Council Appointed by the President of the Board of Education in 1941*. Lewis criticized the so-called Norwood Report in two essays published in 1944, "The Parthenon and the Optative" and "Is English Doomed?" In reality, Lewis criticized only a small portion of this lengthy report, and much of the report contains a common sense approach to secondary education.

Following an introduction on the purpose of education, Norwood and his committee described three types of curriculum: study for its own sake, data and skills associated with a particular kind of occupation, and training of body and mind to enable students to take up the work of life. These three types of education correlate with the three levels of secondary schools proposed later in the document. Next, the authors described three things: secondary education as it was before their report, criticisms of secondary education (primarily criticism of a "one size fits all" approach to education), and secondary education as they wished to see it in the future.

In Part II, the authors described the School Certificate and the Higher Certificate examinations, which had been in place since 1918. They described the universal problem of teaching to the test, the tremendous amount of emphasis placed upon examinations, and other difficulties. They proposed an alternative method of examination, one that would include an exemption from University entrance examinations.

In Part III, the authors stated that they wished to leave freedom to the individual school to set up the curriculum. They rejected various proposed additions to the curriculum. They emphasized three primary elements in education—physical welfare (referring to Physical Education classes), the ideals of character (promoted by religious instruction, modeling by teachers, and other parts of the curriculum), and English ("clear expression in English, both spoken and written, based on the logical arrangement of ideas."[878]).

During Fifth (ages 13–15) and Sixth Forms (ages 16–18), the number of subjects taken should be reduced from the seven or eight or more subjects studied up to this point. In Sixth Form, they wrote, students should study Natural Science, Foreign Languages, Colonial and American History, the British Commonwealth, and Public Affairs and Administration.

C.S. Lewis apparently read only the portion of the report in Part III on the teaching of English (pp. 91–98). Lewis criticized the proposed elimination of outside examiners. He claimed, however, that if they stopped there, he might sympathize with their proposal. Then he claimed that the authors of the Norwood Report wanted literary appreciation to be taught, and he felt that the basics of English language and grammar should be the emphasis.[879] In this, Lewis revealed the fact that he did not even read this portion (Part III, Chapter IV) very well. Earlier, the authors had written, "too many boys and girls after leaving the Secondary School show themselves deficient in ability to master the thought of a passage or chapter and to express their ideas in writing or orally with precision and clarity."[880] Hence, the authors wanted more time spent on the basics. On that same page, they claimed, "English has come to be too closely associated with (*a*) the study of literary texts and (*b*) the essay." Then they suggested that the ability of the pupil to appreciate literature was yet to be formed and "to some extent beyond the help of the teacher."[881]

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[878] The Norwood Report, 68.
[879] Lewis, "The Parthenon and the Optative," *On Stories*, 109.
[880] The Norwood Report, 92.
[881] The Norwood Report, 93.

Later, they wrote, “While it is desirable that enjoyment of English literature should be fostered in as many pupils as possible, it is essential that every pupil should be trained to understand his own language and to use it with ease and correctness, both in speech and in writing.”[882] In this, the authors appear to agree with Lewis that the basics of the English language must take priority over the study of literature and that appreciation of literature is not something easily formed in the teenage years.

[882] The Norwood Report, 94.

Appendix II: The Works of C.S. Lewis (1925–1963) in Chronological Order

In order to determine the influences on Lewis in his writings, I have listed below those dated works under the year in which they first appeared. Individual essays appear under the date when they were first published rather than the date when they were published in a collection of essays. They will also appear most often under the date they were published rather than the date they were written, since it is often difficult to determine the date of writing and since the books, essays, and sermons were often published very close to the time of their writing. In any case, the year of publication is not always precisely the year in which Lewis was concerned about the particular matters addressed in that publication. The matter may have been percolating for years, as was the case with *The Lion, the Witch and the Wardrobe* from the time he was sixteen. Furthermore, none of the ideas that Lewis addressed were held by Oxford or Cambridge dons for one year only. The nature of ideas is that they are born, develop, mature, and, often, eventually die. Their sphere of influence is usually years, if not decades. Occasionally, their influence lasts many decades, as in the case of the Soviet Union's enthrallment with communism, roughly between 1917 and 1989, though both preceding 1917 and continuing after 1989. Therefore, the reader must recognize that the dating scheme is somewhat loosely proposed. Where a work was issued under more than one publisher, the first publisher is used.

But what about those works that were published *after* his death? In these cases, the date of writing will have to be used to the degree that it can be determined. The letters and diary of Lewis will not be included here, except when published in periodicals, but rather will be used to find out what Lewis said in his diary or in his correspondence with others during these various years of publishing. If one takes all essays and poems as separate works, then there are about 322 published pieces from Lewis, 308 of which were published during Lewis' academic career (1925-1963).

1906-1913
Boxen ("The Imaginary World of the Young C.S. Lewis") (edited by Walter Hooper) (Harcourt 1985)

1915
Poem "The Hills of Down" (Easter) (*Collected Poems*)
Poem "Against Potpourri" (Summer) (*Collected Poems*)
Poem "A Prelude" (Summer) (*Collected Poems*)
Poem "Ballade of a Winter's Morning" (Christmas) (*Collected Poems*)

1916
Poem "Laus Mortis" (Easter) (*Collected Poems*)
Poem "Sonnet—To Sir Philip Sidney" (Autumn) (*Collected Poems*)
Poem "Of Ships" (Christmas) (*Collected Poems*)
Poem "Couplets" (Christmas) (*Collected Poems*)

1917
Poem "Circe—A Fragment" (April) (*Collected Poems*)
Poem "Exercise" (April) (*Collected Poems*)

1919
Spirits in Bondage ("A Cycle of Lyrics") (Heinemann 1919)

1924
Poem "Joy" (*Collected Poems*) (*The Beacon*, vol. III, May 1924)

1926
Dymer (Dent, Dutton 1926)
Poem "Infatuation" (approximate date, *Poems*, 73)

ca. 1928
"The Man Born Blind" was never published but probably written in the late 20s (*The Dark Tower and Other Stories*, 10)

1930
Poem "The Nameless Isle," previously unpublished, August 1930 (*Narrative Poems*, xii)
Poem "Leaving For Ever the Home of One's Youth" (*Collected Poems*) (published in *Occasional Poets: An Anthology*, edited by Richard Adams, 1986)

1932
"A Note on Comus" appeared in *The Review of English Studies* (Vol. VIII, No. 30) (*Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Literature*, ix).
"What Chaucer Really Did to Il Filostrato" from *Essays and Studies*, Vol. XIX, 1932 (*Selected Literary Essays*, xviii)
"Launcelot," previously unpublished, early 1930s (*Narrative Poems*, xiii)

1933
The Pilgrim's Regress ("An Allegorical Apology for Christianity, Reason and Romanticism") (including sixteen poems: "He Whom I Bow To," "You Rest Upon Me All My Days," "My Heart Is Empty," "Thou Only Art Alternative to God," "God in His Mercy," "Nearly They Stood Who Fall," "I Have Scraped Clean the Plateau," "Because of Endless Pride," "Iron Will Eat the World's Old Beauty Up," "Quick!," "When Lilith Means to Draw Me," "Once the Worm-laid Egg Broke in the Wood," "I Have Come Back with Victory Got," "I Am not One that Easily Flits Past in Thought," "Passing Today by a Cottage I Shed Tears," "I Know Not, I") (Dent 1933)
"The Queen of Drum," previously unpublished, ca. 1933-34 (*Narrative Poems*, xiii)

1934
Poem "Man is a Lumpe Where all Beasts Kneaded be" (or, "The Shortest Way Home") in *The Oxford Magazine* (LII) on 10 May 1934 (*Poems*, 141)
Poem "Scholar's Melancholy" in *The Oxford Magazine* (LII) on 24 May 1934 (*Poems*, 142)
"The Idea of an 'English School'" read to a joint meeting of the Classical and English Associations (1930s, so ca. 1934)

1935
Poem "The Planets" in Lysistrata (II) in May 1935 (*Poems*, 141)

"The Alliterative Metre" from Lysistrata, Vol. II, May 1935 (*Selected Literary Essays*, xviii; *Rehabilitations*)
"Our English Syllabus" read to the English Society at Oxford (1930s, so ca. 1935)

1936
The Allegory of Love ("A Study in Medieval Tradition") (Oxford 1936)
"Genius and Genius" appeared in *The Review of English Studies* (Vol. XII, No. 46) (*Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Literature*, ix).
Poem "Sonnet" in *The Oxford Magazine* (LIV) on 14 May 1936 (*Poems*, 142)
"Bluspels and Flalansferes: A Semantic Nightmare" read at Manchester University on Dec. 3, 1936 at 7:30 p.m to a meeting of the University of Manchester Philological Club.
"Variation in Shakespeare and Others" was read to the Mermaid Club (1930s, so ca. 1936) (*Selected Literary Essays*, xviii)

1937
"The Hobbit" in *The Times Literary Supplement*, 2 October 1937 (*On Stories*, xx).
Poem "Coronation March" in *The Oxford Magazine* (LV) on 6 May 1937 (*Poems*, 140)
"William Morris" was read to the Martlet Society on 5 November 1937 (*Selected Literary Essays*, xix; also in *Rehabilitations*)

1938
Out of the Silent Planet (Bodley Head 1938; Macmillan 1943; completed fall 1937)
"Shelley, Dryden, and Mr. Eliot" read at Bedford College, London, probably in Lent Term, 1938 (*Rehabilitations*)
Poem "The Future of Forestry" in *The Oxford Magazine* (LVI) on 10 February 1938 (*Poems*, 140)
Poem "Pattern" (or "Experiment") in *The Spectator* (CLXI) on 9 December 1938 (*Poems*, 141)
Poem "What the Bird Said Early in the Year" (or "Chanson d'Aventure') *The Oxford Magazine* (LVI) on 19 May 1938 (*Poems*, 142)
"The Dark Tower" was never published during Lewis' lifetime (*The Dark Tower and Other Stories*, 8)
"Donne and Love Poetry in the Seventeenth Century" appeared in *Seventeenth Century Studies Presented to Sir Herbert Grierson* (Oxford University Press, 1938) (*Selected Literary Essays*, xviii)
Preface (to *Rehabilitations and Other Essays*, published in March 1939)

1939
Rehabilitations and Other Essays (Oxford 1939)
The Personal Heresy ("A Controversy") (with E.M.W. Tillyard) (Oxford 1939)
"Christianity and Literature" read to a religious society at Oxford (*Christian Reflections*, xii)
Poem "To the Author of 'Flowering Rifle'," a pro-Fascist book/poem published in 1939 in support of Franco in the Spanish Civil War in The Cherwell (LVI) on 6 May 1939 (*Poems*, 142)
Poem "To Mr. Roy Campbell" (*Poems*, 143)
"Learning in War-Time" was preached at St. Mary the Virgin Church, Oxford, on 22 October 1939 (*The Weight of Glory and Other Addresses*, 18)

Letter "The Conditions for a Just War," *Theology*, Vol. XXXVII, May 1939 (*God in the Dock*, 325)
"The Fifteenth-Century Heroic Line" from *Essays and Studies*, Vol. XXIV (*Selected Literary Essays*, xviii)
"High and Low Brows" read to the English Society at Oxford (1939)

1940
The Problem of Pain (1940) World War II began a year before the publication of this book and three years before the publication of *The Screwtape Letters* (1942).
"Dante's Similes" was read on 13 February to the Oxford Dante Society (*Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Literature*, viii).
"Tasso" was probably written during this decade, based on the nature of the handwriting (*Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Literature*, viii).
"Christianity and Culture" (*Christian Reflections*, xii) 1939?
Poem "Hermione in the House of Paulina" in *Augury: An Oxford Miscellany of Verse and Prose* (*Poems*, 140)
Poem "Break Sun, My Crusted Earth" in *Fear No More: A Book of Poems for the Present Time by Living English Poets*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1940, also known as "A Pageant Played in Vain"
Poem "Arise my Body" (also known as "After Prayers, Lie Cold")
Poem "Essence" (*Collected Poems*) (published in *Fear No More: A Book of Poems for the Present Time by Living English Poets*, 1940)
Poem "The World is Round" (also known as "Poem for Psychoanalysts and/or Theologians") (*Poems*, 113)
"Dangers of National Repentance" in *The Guardian* on 15 March 1940 (*Christian Reunion and Other Essays*, 15)
"Two Ways with the Self" from *The Guardian* on 3 May 1940 (*Christian Reunion and Other Essays*, 15; also *God in the Dock*)
"The Necessity of Chivalry" published as "Notes on the Way" in *Time and Tide*, Vol. XXI, on 17 August 1940 (*Present Concerns*, 9)
"Why I Am Not a Pacifist" was given to a pacifist society in Oxford in 1940 and never published before appearing in *The Weight of Glory and Other Addresses* (*The Weight of Glory and Other Addresses*, 19)
Letter "The Conflict in Anglican Theology," *Theology*, Vol. LXI, November 1940 (*God in the Dock*, 327)
"Peace Proposals for Brother Every and Mr Bethell," *Theology*, Vol. XLI, December 1940 (*Christian Reflections*, 27-36)

1941
A Preface to 'Paradise Lost' ("Being the Ballard Matthews Lectures Delivered at University College, North Wales, Dec. 1, 2, and 3, 1941, Revised and Enlarged") (Oxford 1942)
Broadcast Talks ('Right and Wrong: A Clue to the Meaning of the Universe' and 'What Christians Believe', given in 1941) (Bles 1942; as *The Case for Christianity*, Macmillan 1943) (in *Mere Christianity*)
"On Reading The Fairie Queene" first appeared in *Fifteen Poets from Oxford University Press* (1941) (*Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Literature*, ix).

"Religion: Reality or Substitute" (*Christian Reflections*, xiii)
"Evil and God" in *The Spectator*, Vol. CLXVI, on 7 February 1941 (*Christian Reunion and Other Essays*, 15; also *God in the Dock*)
"Meditation on the Third Commandment" from *The Guardian* on 10 January 1941 (*Christian Reunion and Other Essays*, 15; also *God in the Dock*)
"The Weight of Glory" was preached in St. Mary the Virgin Church, Oxford, on 8 June 1941 (*The Weight of Glory and Other Addresses*, 18)
"'Bulverism'" (as "Notes on the Way") in *Time and Tide*, Vol. XXII, on 29 March 1941 (*God in the Dock*, 16)
"Psychoanalysis and Literary Criticism" was published in *Essays and Studies*, Vol. XXVII (1941) (*Selected Literary Essays*, xix) Originally read to the English Adventurers Society at Westfield College on Jan. 28, 1940 and elsewhere.

1942
The Screwtape Letters (Bles 1942; Macmillan 1943)
Broadcast Talks ('What Christians Believe', Given in 1942") (Bles 1942; as *The Case for Christianity*, Macmillan 1943)
"On Ethics" (*Christian Reflections*, xiii)
Poem "Epitaph" No. 11 in *Time and Tide* (XXIII) on 6 June 1942 (*Poems*, 140)
Poem "To a Friend" (or "To G.M." George MacDonald?) in *The Spectator* (CLXIX) on 9 October 1942 (*Poems*, 142 [104?]) This poem is later echoed in the poem that Lewis wrote after Joy Davidman's death.
"Miracles" was a talk given at St. Jude on the Hill Church, London, on September 27, 1942 and appearing in *St. Jude's Gazette* in October 1942 (*God in the Dock*, 13)
"The Founding of the Oxford Socratic Club" which was Lewis' Preface in *The Socratic Digest*, No. 1 (1942-1943) (*God in the Dock*, 14)
"First and Second Things" as "Notes on the Way" from *Time and Tide*, Vol. XXIII, on 27 June 1942 (*God in the Dock*, 16)
Letter "Miracles," *The Guardian*, 16 October 1942 (*God in the Dock*, 328)
"Hamlet: The Prince or the Poem?" was read to the British Academy on April 22, 1942 as the Annual Shakespeare Lecture and was published that year in the Proceedings of the British Academy, Vol. XXVIII (*Selected Literary Essays*, xviii)
Letter "Religion in the Schools," *The Spectator*, December 11 (*Collected Letters*, II, 540).

1943
Christian Behavior ("A Further Series of Broadcast Talks") (Bles, Macmillan 1943) (in *Mere Christianity*)
Perelandra (Bodley Head 1943)
The Abolition of Man ("or, Reflections on Education with Special Reference to the Teaching of English in the Upper Forms of Schools") (Riddell Memorial Lectures, Fifteenth Series) (Oxford 1943)
"De Futilitate" (*Christian Reflections*, xiii)
"The Poison of Subjectivism" from *Religion in Life*, Vol. XII, Summer 1943 (*Christian Reflections*, xiii)
"Equality" in *The Spectator*, Vol. CLXXI, on 27 August 1943 (*Present Concerns*, 9)

"Three Kinds of Men" from *The Sunday Times*, No. 6258, on 21 March 1943 (*Present Concerns*, 9)
"My First School" published as "Notes on the Way" in *Time and Tide*, Vol. XXIV, on 4 September 1943 (*Present Concerns*, 9)
"Dogma and the Universe" was published in two parts in *The Guardian* on 19 March and 26 March 1943, with the second part originally being entitled "Dogma and Science" (*God in the Dock*, 14)
Poem "Awake, My Lute!" (*Collected Poems*) (published in *The Atlantic Monthly*, CLXXII, November 1943)

1944
Beyond Personality ("The Christian Idea of God") (Bles 1944) (in *Mere Christianity*)
The Incarnation of the Word of God: Being the Treatise of St Athanasius De Incarnatione Verbi Dei (translated and edited by A Religious of C.S.M.V.; Bles 1944) Introduction by Lewis reprinted in *God in the Dock* as "On the Reading of Old Books."
"The Death of Words," *The Spectator*, 22 September 1944 (*On Stories*, xxi).
"The Parthenon and the Optative" 'Notes on the Way' section of *Time and Tide*, 11 March 1944 (*On Stories*, xxi).
"Christian Reunion" ca. 1944 (*Christian Reunion and Other Essays*, 9)
"Is English Doomed?" from *The Spectator*, Vol. CLXXII, on 11 February 1944 (*Present Concerns*, 9)
"Democratic Education" published as "Notes on the Way" in *Time and Tide*, Vol. XXV, on 29 April 1944 (*Present Concerns*, 9)
"A Dream" from *The Spectator*, Vol. CLXXIII, on 28 July 1944 (*Present Concerns*, 9)
"Blimpophobia" from *Time and Tide*, Vol. XXV, on 9 September 1944 (*Present Concerns*, 9)
"Private Bates" from *The Spectator*, Vol. CLXXIII, on 29 December 1944 (*Present Concerns*, 9)
"Transposition" was preached in the chapel of Mansfield College, Oxford, on 28 May 1944, the Feast of Pentecost (*The Weight of Glory and Other Addresses*, 19)
"Is Theology Poetry?" was read to the Socratic Club on 6 November 1944 (*The Weight of Glory and Other Addresses*, 20)
"The Inner Ring" was given at King's College, University of London, on 14 December 1944 as the annual "Commemoration Oration" (*The Weight of Glory and Other Addresses*, 20)
"Answers to Questions on Christianity" appeared in 1944 as a pamphlet published by the Electrical and Musical Industries Christian Fellowship, Hayes, Middlesex (*God in the Dock*, 14)
"Myth Became Fact" from *World Dominion*, Vol. XXII (September-October 1944) (*God in the Dock*, 14)
"Horrid Red Things" was published in the *Church of England Newspaper*, Vol. LI on 6 October 1944 (*God in the Dock*, 14)
Letter "Mr. C.S. Lewis on Christianity," *The Listener*, Vol. XXXI, 9 March 1944 (*God in the Dock*, 329)

1945
That Hideous Strength ("A Modern Fairy-Tale for Grown-ups") (Bodley Head 1945)
The Great Divorce ("A Dream") (Bles 1945)
"The Funeral of a Great Myth," 1945? (*Christian Reflections*, xiii)

Poem "The Condemned" (or "Under Sentence") *The Spectator* (CLXXV) on 7 September 1945 (*Poems*, 140)
Poem "On Receiving Bad News" (or, "Epigrams and Epitaphs, No. 12") in *Time and Tide* (XXVI) on 29 December 1945 (*Poems*, 140) of Charles Williams' death? (May 15, 1945)
Poem "On the Atomic Bomb (Metrical Experiment)" in *The Spectator* (CLXXV) on 28 December 1945 (*Poems*, 141)
Poem "The Salamander" in *The Spectator* (CLXXIV) on 8 June 1945 (*Poems*, 142)
Poem "To Charles Williams" (or "On the Death of Charles Williams") in *Britain To-day*, No. 112 in August 1945 (*Poems*, 142)
"Scraps" from *St. James Magazine*, a literary periodical first edited by Robert Lloyd that had been in publication since 1762, in December 1945 (*Christian Reunion and Other Essays*, 15)
"Hedonics" from *Time and Tide*, Vol. XXVI, on 16 June 1945 (*Present Concerns*, 9)
"After Priggery—What?" from *The Spectator*, Vol. CLXXV, on 7 December 1945 (*Present Concerns*, 10)
"Membership" was read to the Society of St. Alban and St. Sergius, Oxford, 10 February 1945 (*The Weight of Glory and Other Addresses*, 20)
"Religion and Science" from *The Coventry Evening Telegraph* on 3 January 1945 (*God in the Dock*, 14)
"The Laws of Nature" from *The Coventry Evening Telegraph* on 4 April 1945 (*God in the Dock*, 14)
"The Grand Miracle" is a talk given on April 15 at St. Jude on the Hill Church, London and later published in *The Guardian* on April 27, 1945 (*God in the Dock*, 14)
"Christian Apologetics" was read to Anglican priests and youth leaders at the Carmarthen Conference for Youth Leaders and Junior Clergy during Easter 1945 at Carmarthen (*God in the Dock*, 14)
"Work and Prayer" from *The Coventry Evening Telegraph* on 28 May 1945 (*God in the Dock*, 14)
"Two Lectures" (= "Who was Right—Dream Lecturer or Real Lecturer?") from *The Coventry Evening Telegraph* on 21 February 1945 (*God in the Dock*, 15; *Undeceptions*; *First and Second Things*)
"Meditation in a Toolshed" from *The Coventry Evening Telegraph* on 17 July 1945 (*God in the Dock*, 15)
"The Sermon and the Lunch" from the *Church of England Newspaper*, No. 2692, on 21 September 1945 (*God in the Dock*, 16)
Letter "Basic Fears," *The Times Literary Supplement*, 3 February 1945 (*Collected Letters*, III, 1556)
Letter "A Village Experience," *The Guardian*, 31 August 1945 (*God in the Dock*, 329)
"Addison" was published in *Essays on the Eighteenth Century Presented to David Nichol Smith* (Oxford University Press, 1945) (*Selected Literary Essays*, xix)
Poem "Consolation" (*Collected Poems*) (not previously published)

1946
George MacDonald: An Anthology (edited by Lewis with Preface; Bles 1946)
How Heathen Is Britain? (by B.G. Sandhurst; Collins 1946) Preface by Lewis reprinted in *God in the Dock* as "On the Transmission of Christianity."
"Period Criticism" 'Notes on the Way,' *Time and Tide*, 9 November 1946 (*On Stories*, xxi).

"Different Tastes in Literature" in 'Notes on the Way,' *Time and Tide*, 25 May and 1 June 1946 (*On Stories*, xxi).
Poem "The Birth of Language" in *Punch* on 9 January 1946 (*Poems*, 139)
Poem "On Being Human" in *Punch* (CCX) on 8 May 1946 (*Poems*, 141)
Poem "Solomon" in *Punch* (CCXI) on 14 August 1946 (*Poems*, 142)
Poem "The True Nature of Gnomes" in *Punch* (CCXI) on 16 October 1946 (*Poems*, 142)
"Miserable Offenders" was preached at St. Matthew's Church, Northampton, on 7 April 1946 and published by that church in *Five Sermons by Laymen* (April-May 1946) (*Christian Reunion and Other Essays*, 15)
Poem "The Meteorite" Dec. 7, 1946 in *Time and Tide* 27.
"Modern Man and his Categories of Thought" is dated October 1946 but was never published (*Present Concerns*, 10). It was allegedly written at the request of Bishop Stephen Neill for the Study Department of the World Council of Churches" (Schultz and West, 284).
"Talking about Bicycles" from *Resistance* in October 1946 (*Present Concerns*, 10)
"Man or Rabbit?" was published by the Student Christian Movement in ca. 1946 (*God in the Dock*, 14)
"Religion Without Dogma?" (= "A Christian Reply to Professor Price") was read to the Socratic Club on 20 May 1946 (*God in the Dock*, 14)
"The Decline of Religion" from *The Cherwell*, Vol. XXVI, on 29 November 1946 (*God in the Dock*, 16)
Letters "Correspondence with an Anglican Who Dislikes Hymns," 16 July 1946 and 21 September 1946 (*God in the Dock*, 330)

1947
Miracles ("A Preliminary Study") (Bles, Macmillan 1947)
"A Reply to Professor Haldane," a response to J.B.S. Haldane's article, "Auld Hornie, F.R.S.," in the Modern Quarterly, Autumn 1946, where he criticizes Lewis' space trilogy, appeared first in *Of Other Worlds*, which was published in 1966, but included here because of the proximity to Haldane's article.
The Cult of the Superman: A Study of the Idea of Heroism in Carlyle and Nietzsche, with Notes on Other Hero-Worshippers of Modern Times (by Eric Bentley; Hale 1947) Appreciation by Lewis.
Letters to Young Churches: A Translation of the New Testament Epistles (by J. B. Phillips; Bles 1947) Introduction by Lewis reprinted in *God in the Dock* as "Modern Translations of the Bible."
Essays Presented to Charles Williams (Oxford 1947), including a Preface by C.S. Lewis and "On Stories," by C.S. Lewis (also in *Of Other Worlds*)
"The Morte D'arthur" reviews Professor Vinaver's *Works of Sir Thomas Malory* on 7 June 1947 in *The Times Literary Supplement* (*Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Literature*, viii).
Poem "Donkeys' Delight" in *Punch* (CCXIII) on 5 November 1947 (*Poems*, 140; *Collected Poems*)
Poem "The Last of the Wine" (or "The End of the Wine") in *Punch* (CCXIII) on 3 December 1947 (*Poems*, 141)
Poem "Le Roi S'Amuse" in *Punch* (CCXIII) on 1 October 1947 (*Poems*, 141)
Poem "Pan's Purge" in *Punch* (CCXII) on 15 January 1947 (*Poems*, 141)
Poem "The Prudent Jailer" (or "The Romantics") in *New English Weekly* (XXX) on 16 January 1947 (*Poems*, 142)

Poem "Two Kinds of Memory" in *Time and Tide* (XXVIII) on 7 August 1947 (*Poems*, 142)
Poem "Young King Cole" (or "Dangerous Oversight") in *Punch* (CCXII) on 21 May 1947 (*Poems*, 142)
Poem "The Small Man Orders His Wedding," also known as "An Epithalamium for John Wain feigned to be spoken in his person giving orders for his wedding," signed by Lewis as June 1947
"On Forgiveness" was written for the parish magazine of the Church of St. Mary, Sawston, Cambridgeshire and sent to Father Patrick Kevin Irwin on 28 August 1947 (*The Weight of Glory and Other Addresses*, 20)
"Vivisection" from the New England Anti-Vivisection Society (*God in the Dock*, 16)

1948
Arthurian Torso ("Containing the Posthumous Fragment of 'The Figure of Arthur,' by Charles Williams, and 'A Commentary on The Arthurian Poems of Charles Williams,' by C.S. Lewis") (Oxford 1948)
"Imagery in the Last Eleven Cantos of Dante's Comedy" was read to the Oxford Dante Society on 9 November (*Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Literature*, viii).
Poem "Epitaph" No. 14 in *The Spectator* (CLXXXI) on 30 July 1948 (*Poems*, 140)
Poem "The Landing" in *Punch* (CCXV) on 15 September 1948 (*Poems*, 141)
Poem "The Late Passenger" (or "The Sailing of the Ark") in *Punch* (CCXV) on 11 August 1948 (*Poems*, 141)
Poem "The Prodigality of Firdausi" in *Punch* (CCXV) on 1 December 1948 (*Poems*, 142)
Poem "The Turn of the Tide" in *Punch* (CCXVI) on 1 November 1948 (*Poems*, 142)
Poem "Vitrea Circe" in *Punch* (CCXIV) on 23 June 1948 (*Poems*, 142)
"On Living in an Atomic Age" from *Informed Reading*, Vol. VI, (*Present Concerns*, 10)
"Some Thoughts" was published in The First Decade: Ten Years of Work of the Medical Missionaries of Mary (1948) (*God in the Dock*, 15)
"'The Trouble with "X" . . .'" was published in the *Bristol Diocesan Gazette*, Vol. XXVII, in August 1948 (*God in the Dock*, 15)
"Priestesses in the Church?" from *Time and Tide*, Vol. XXIX, on 14 August 1948 (*God in the Dock*, 16)
"God in the Dock" (= "Difficulties in Presenting the Christian Faith to Modern Unbelievers") from *Lumen Vitae*, Vol. III, September 1948 (*God in the Dock*, 16; *Undeceptions*)
"Kipling's World" was published in *Literature and Life: Addresses to the English Association*, Vol. I (London, 1948) (*Selected Literary Essays*, xix)

1949
Transposition and Other Addresses (Bles 1949) (as *The Weight of Glory and Other Addresses*, Macmillan 1949)
"The Novels of Charles Williams" was read over the Third Programme of the BBC on 11 February 1949 (*On Stories*, xviii).
Poem "The Adam at Night" (or "Adam at Night") in *Punch* on 11 May 1949 (*Poems*, 139)
Poem "The Adam Unparadised" (or "A Footnote to Pre-History") in *Punch* on 14 September 1949 (*Poems*, 139)
"On Church Music" from *English Church Music*, Vol. XIX (April 1949) (*Christian Reflections*, xiii)
Poem "The Day with a White Mark" in *Punch* (CCXVII) on 17 August 1949 (*Poems*, 140)

Poem "Epitaph in a Village Churchyard" (No. 16) (XXX) *Time and Tide* on 19 March 1949 (*Poems*, 140)
Poem "Epitaph" No. 17 in *The Month* (II) on July 1949 (*Poems*, 140)
Poem "The Magician and the Dryad" (or "Conversation Piece: The Magician and the Dryad") in *Punch* (CCXVII) on 20 July 1949 (*Poems*, 141)
Poem "On a Picture by Chirico" in *The Spectator* (CLXXXII) on 6 May 1949 (*Poems*, 141)
Poem "Pindar Sang" (or "Arrangement of Pindar") in *Mandrake* (I, No. 6) (*Poems*, 141)
Preface to *The Weight of Glory and Other Addresses* (*The Weight of Glory and Other Addresses*, 24)
"The Humanitarian Theory of Punishment" from *20th Century: An Australian Quarterly Review*, Vol. III, No. 3 (*God in the Dock*, 16)
Letters "The Church's Liturgy," 20 May 1949 and 1 July 1949, "Invocation," 15 July 1949, "Invocation of Saints," 5 August 1949 (*God in the Dock*, 332ff.)
Preface, by Lewis, to the 1950 Edition of *Dymer*, 1950 (*Narrative Poems*, 6)

1950
The Lion, the Witch and the Wardrobe ("A Story for Children") (Bles, Macmillan, October 16, 1950)
Poem "As One Oldster to Another" in *Punch* on 15 March, 1950 (*Poems*, 139)
Poem "A Cliché Came Out of its Cage" in *Nine: A Magazine of Poetry and Criticism* in May 1950 (*Poems*, 139)
"Historicism" from *The Month*, Vol. IV (October 1950) (*Christian Reflections*, xiii)
"What Are We to Make of Jesus Christ?" from the book *Asking Them Questions* by Ronald Selby Wright, editor (*God in the Dock*, 15)
"The Pains of Animals: A Problem in Theology" from *The Month*, Vol. CLXXXIX, in February 1950 (*God in the Dock*, 15)
"The Literary Impact of the Authorised Version" was the Ethel M. Wood Lecture, delivered at the University of London on 20 March 1950 (*Selected Literary Essays*, xviii)
Poem "Finchley Avenue" (*Collected Poems*) (published in *Occasional Poets: An Anthology*, edited by Richard Adams, 1986)

1951
Prince Caspian ("The Return to Narnia") (Bles, Macmillan 1951)
Poem "Ballade of Dead Gentleman" in *Punch* (CCXX) 28 March 1951 (*Poems*, 139)
Poem "The Country of the Blind" in *Punch* (CCXXI) on 12 September 1951 (*Poems*, 140)
Letter "The Holy Name," 10 August 1951 (*God in the Dock*, 335)
"The World's Last Night" was first published under the title "Christian Hope—Its Meaning for Today" in *Religion in Life*, Vol. XXI (Winter 1951-52) (*Fern-seed and Elephants and Other Essays on Christianity*, 8)

1952
Mere Christianity ("A revised and amplified edition, with a new introduction, of the three books *Broadcast Talks*, *Christian Behaviour*, and *Beyond Personality*") (Macmillan 1952)
The Voyage of the 'Dawn Treader' (Bles, Macmillan 1952)
"On Three Ways of Writing for Children," published in *Proceedings, Papers and Summaries of Discussions at the Bournemouth Conference 29th April to 2nd May 1952*. (*On Stories*, xix).

Poem "Pilgrim's Problem" in *The Month* (VII) in May 1952 (*Poems*, 141)
Poem "Vowels and Sirens" in *The Times Literary Supplement* (Special Autumn Issue) on 29 August 1952 (*Poems*, 142)
"The Empty Universe" is Lewis' Preface to *The Hierarchy of Heaven and Earth: A New Diagram of Man in the Universe*, by D. E. Harding; Faber 1952 (*Present Concerns*, 10)
"Is Theism Important?" from *The Socratic Digest*, No. 5, 1952 (*God in the Dock*, 15)
Letter "Mere Christians," *Church Times*, Vol. CXXXV, 8 February 1952 (*God in the Dock*, 336)
Letter "Canonization," *Church Times*, Vol. CXXXV, 17 October 1942 (*God in the Dock*, 337)
"Hero and Leander" was read to the British Academy in 1952 as the Warton Lecture on English Poetry and was later published in the *Proceedings of the British Academy*, Vol. XXXVIII, 1952 (*Selected Literary Essays*, xviii)

1953
The Silver Chair (Bles, Macmillan 1953)
"Petitionary Prayer: A Problem Without an Answer," originally read to the Oxford Clerical Society on 8 December 1953 (*Christian Reflections*)
Poem "Impenitence" from *Punch* (CCXV) in July 1953 (*Poems*, 141)
Poem "Narnian Suite" in *Punch* (CCXXV) on 4 November 1953 (*Poems*, 141)

1954
The Horse and His Boy (Bles, Macmillan 1954)
English Literature in the Sixteenth Century Excluding Drama ("The Completion of The Clark Lectures," Trinity College, Cambridge, 1944) (*The Oxford History of English Literature*, Vol. III) (Oxford 1954)
"Tolkien's The Lord of the Rings" in *Time and Tide*, 14 August, 1954 and 22 October 1955 (*On Stories*, xx)
"Edmund Spenser, 1552-99" in *Major British Writers* (Vol. I, 1954) (*Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Literature*, viii).
Poem "A Confession" (or *Spartan Nactus*) in *Punch* (CCXXVII) on 1 December 1954 (*Poems*, 140)
Poem "Odora Canum Vis" (A defense of certain modern biographers and critics) in *The Month* (XI) in May 1954 (*Poems*, 141)
Poem "Science-Fiction Cradlesong" (or "Cradle-Song based on a Theme from Nicholas of Cusa") in *The Times Literary Supplement* on 11 June 1954 (*Poems*, 142)
"Xmas and Christmas: A Lost Chapter from Herodotus" *Time and Tide*, Vol. XXXV, on 4 December 1954 (*God in the Dock*, 17)
"A Note on Jane Austen" from Essays in Criticism, Vol. IV (October 1954) (*Selected Literary Essays*, xix)

1955
Surprised by Joy ("The Shape of My Early Life") (Bles 1955)
The Magician's Nephew (Bodley Head, Macmillan 1955)
Smoke on the Mountain: An Interpretation of the Ten Commandments in Terms of Today (by Joy Davidman; Hodder and Stoughton 1955) Foreword by Lewis
"On Science Fiction," a talk given to the Cambridge University English Club on 24 November 1955 (*On Stories*, xix).

"George Orwell" *Time and Tide*, 8 January 1955 (*On Stories*, xxi).
Lewis perhaps wrote "A Tribute to E.R. Eddison" around this time (*On Stories*, xix).
Poem "Legion" in *The Month* (XIII) in April 1955 (*Poems*, 141)
Poem "On a Theme from Nicholas of Cusa" (or "On Another Theme from Nicholas of Cusa") in *The Times Literary Supplement* on 21 January 1955 (*Poems*, 70)
"Lilies That Fester" in *Twentieth Century*, Vol. CLVII (April 1955) (*Christian Reunion and Other Essays*, 14)
"Prudery and Philology" from *The Spectator*, Vol. CXCIV, on 21 January 1955 (*Present Concerns*, 10)
"*De Descriptione Temporum*" from University of Cambridge Press in 1955 (*Selected Literary Essays*, xviii), delivered on Nov. 29, 1954
"On Obstinacy in Belief" was read to the Socratic Club in Autumn 1955 and published in *The Sewanee Review*, Vol. LXIII (Autumn 1955) (*Screwtape Proposes a Toast and Other Pieces*, 6; *The World's Last Night and Other Essays*)
"The Language of Religion" (n.d., but it has a 1954 citation in it, so 1955 or later)

1956
The Last Battle ("A Story for Children") (Bodley Head, Macmillan 1956)
Till We Have Faces ("A Myth Retold") (Bles 1956)
"Sometimes Fairy Stories May Say Best What's to Be Said," *The New York Times Book Review* of 18 November 1956 (*On Stories*, xix).
"The Shoddy Lands" in *The Magazine of Fantasy and Science Fiction*, Vol. X (February 1956) (*Of Other Worlds*, ix).
"Imagination and Thought in the Middle Ages" was prepared as two lectures for scientists at the Zoological Laboratory, Cambridge, 17 and 18 July 1956 (*Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Literature*, viii).
Poem "After Aristotle" in *The Oxford Magazine* on 23 February 1956 (*Poems*, 139)
Poem "Epanorthosis (for the end of Goethe's Faust)" or Epigram and Epitaphs, No. 15, in *The Cambridge Review* (LXXVII) on 26 May 1956 (*Poems*, 140)
"Behind the Scenes" from *Time and Tide*, Vol. XXXVII on 1 December 1956 (*Christian Reunion and Other Essays*, 15; and in *God in the Dock* and *Undeceptions*)
"Interim Report" from *The Cambridge Review*, Vol. LXXVI, on 21 April 1956 (*Present Concerns*, 10)
"A Slip of the Tongue" was the last sermon Lewis ever preached, delivered at the Magdalene College chapel in Cambridge on 29 January 1956 (*The Weight of Glory and Other Addresses*, 20)
"Sir Walter Scott" was read on 2 March 1956 to the Edinburgh Sir Walter Scott Club at their Annual Meeting; Lewis called it "my presidential speech" (*Selected Literary Essays*, xix)

1957
"Dante's Statius" was published by *Medium Aevum* (XXV, No. 3, 1957) (*Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Literature*, viii).
Poem "Evolutionary Hymn" in *The Cambridge Review* (LXXIX) on 30 November 1957 (*Poems*, 140)
"What Christmas Means to Me" from *Twentieth Century*, Vol. CLXII in December 1957 (*Christian Reunion and Other Essays*, 15; *God in the Dock*)

"Delinquents in the Snow" from *Time and Tide*, Vol. XXXVIII, on 7 December 1957 (*Christian Reunion and Other Essays*, 15)
"Is History Bunk?" from *The Cambridge Review*, Vol. LXXVIII, on 1 June 1957 (*Present Concerns*, 10)

1958
Reflections on the Psalms (Bles, Harcourt 1958)
"The Psalms" 1958? Or earlier. (*Christian Reflections*, xiii) A reference to Senator McCarthy makes the 1950s very likely.
"On Juvenile Tastes" in *Church Times*, *Children's Book Supplement*, 28 November 1958 (*On Stories*, xix).
"A Panegyric for Dorothy L. Sayers" for a memorial service for her at St. Margaret's Church, London, on 15 January 1958 (*On Stories*, xx).
"Ministering Angels," a response to an article by Robert S. Richardson "The Day after We Land on Mars" (*The Saturday Review*, 28 May 1955), published in *The Magazine of Fantasy and Science Fiction*, Vol. XIII (January 1958) (*Of Other Worlds*, x).
"De Audiendis Poetis" was written about this year, since Lewis cites a 1957 work at the beginning of this chapter (*Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Literature*, 1).
"Rejoinder to Dr. Pittenger" from *The Christian Century*, Vol. LXV, on 26 November 1958 (*God in the Dock*, 15)
"Revival or Decay" from *Punch*, Vol. CCXXXV, on 9 July 1958 (*God in the Dock*, 16)
"Is Progress Possible? Willing Slaves of the Welfare State" from The Observer on 20 July 1958 (*God in the Dock*, 17), a response to C. P. Snow's "Man in Society" from *The Observer* on 13 July 1958.
Letter "Version Vernacular," *The Christian Century*, Vol. LXXV, 31 December 1958 (*God in the Dock*, 338)
"Religion and Rocketry" (= "Will We Lose God in Outer Space") from *Christian Herald*, LXXXI, April 1958 (*Fern-seed and Elephants*, 8)

1959
"After Ten Years" was begun in 1959 but never finished due to illness (*The Dark Tower and Other Stories*, 1977; *Of Other Worlds*)
"Modern Theology and Biblical Criticism" (or "Fern-seed and Elephants") given at Westcott House, Cambridge, 11 May 1959 (*Christian Reflections*, xiv)
Poem "An Expostulation" in *Magazine of Fantasy and Science Fiction* (XVI) in June 1959 on the fact of too many writers of science fiction (*Poems*, 140)
"The Efficacy of Prayer" from *The Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. CCIII (January 1959) (*Fern-seed and Elephants*, 9)
"Good Work and Good Works" from *Good Work*, Vol. XXIII (Christmas 1959) (*C.S. Lewis: A Bibliography*, by Walter Hooper, 27, reprinted in *Screwtape Proposes a Toast and in The World's Last Night*)

1960
The Four Loves (Bles, Harcourt 1960)
Studies in Words (Cambridge 1960)
The World's Last Night and Other Essays (Harcourt 1960)

A Faith of Our Own (by Austin Farrer; World 1960) Preface by Lewis
"It All Began With a Picture…" in *Radio Times*, *Junior Radio Times*, 15 July 1960 (*On Stories*, xix).
"The Mythopoeic Gift of Rider Haggard" in *Time and Tide*, 3 September 1960, Lewis' review of Morton Cohen's biography of Haggard (*On Stories*, xx).
"Screwtape Proposes a Toast" in *The World's Last Night* (*Screwtape Proposes a Toast and Other Pieces*, 5)
"Metre" from *A Review of English Literature*, Vol. I (January 1960) (*Selected Literary Essays*, xix)
Poem "As the Ruin Falls" (ca. 1960)

1961
A Grief Observed (under pseudonym 'N. W. Clerk': Faber 1961)
An Experiment in Criticism (Cambridge 1961)
"Neoplatonism in the Poetry of Spenser" is a review of Robert Ellrodt's book of the same title in Etudes Anglaises (XIV, No. 2, April-June 1961) (*Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Literature*, ix).
"Before We Can Communicate" from *Breakthrough*, No. 8, October 1961 (*God in the Dock*, 16)
Letters "Capital Punishment," *Church Times*, Vol. CXLIV, 1 December 1961 and "Death Penalty" on 15 December 1961 (*God in the Dock*, 339f.)
"Four-Letter Words" from *The Critical Quarterly*, Vol. III, Summer 1961 (*Selected Literary Essays*, xix)

1962
They Asked for a Paper ("Papers and Addresses") (Bles 1962): "De Descriptione Temporum," "Hamlet," "The Inner Ring," "Is Theology Poetry?," "Kipling's World," "Lilies That Fester," "The Literary Impact of the Authorized Version," "On Obstinacy in Belief," "Psychoanalysis and Literary Criticism," "Sir Walter Scott," "Transposition," and "The Weight of Glory."
"Unreal Estates" was recorded on tape at Magdalene College, Cambridge, on 4 December 1962 and published in 1964 (*On Stories*, xxi).
"On Criticism" was written late in Lewis' life and first published posthumously (*Of Other Worlds*; *On Stories*)
"Sex in Literature" from *The Sunday Telegraph*, No. 87, on 30 September 1962 (*Present Concerns*, 10)
"The Vision of John Bunyan" was published in *The Listener*, Vol. LXVIII, on 13 December 1962 (*Selected Literary Essays*, xix)
"The Anthropological Approach" from *English and Medieval Studies Presented to J.R.R. Tolkien on the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday* (Allen and Unwin, 1962) (*Selected Literary Essays*, xix)
The Discarded Image ("An Introduction to Medieval and Renaissance Literature") (Preface written in July 1962; published Cambridge 1964)

1963
Selections from Layamon's Brut (edited by G.L. Brook; Oxford 1963) Introduction by Lewis.

"The Genesis of a Medieval Book" is one of the last pieces he wrote, something evident from the introduction he wrote in 1963 for a book on Layamon's Brut edited by G.L. Brook, which is the second topic in this piece (*Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Literature*, viii).
"Spenser's Cruel Cupid" was being discussed with Alastair Fowler a few months before Lewis' death (*Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Literature*, ix).
"The Seeing Eye" (= "Onward, Christian Spacemen") in the *American Periodical Show*, Vol. III (February 1963) (*Christian Reflections*, xiv)
"Cross-Examination" from an interview with Sherwood E. Wirt on 7 May 1963 and published as "I Was Decided Upon" with "Heaven, Earth and Outer Space," interviews with Sherwood Wirt on May 7, 1963, published in *Decision*, Vol. II (September and October 1963) (*Christian Reunion and Other Essays*, 15)
"Must Our Image of God Go?" from *The Observer* on 24 March 1963 (*God in the Dock*, 15) A reply to the then Bishop of Woolwich, J.A.T. Robinson's article 'Our Image of God Must Go', *The Observer* (17 March 1963), which is a summary of Dr Robinson's book *Honest to God* (London, 1963)
"We Have No 'Right to Happiness'" from *The Saturday Evening* Post, Vol. CCXXXVI, 21-28 December 1963, the last piece that Lewis wrote for publication (*God in the Dock*, 17)
Poem "Epitaph for Helen Joy Davidman" (*Collected Poems*)

1964
Letters to Malcolm: Chiefly on Prayer (Bles, Harcourt 1964)
Poems (edited by Walter Hooper) (Bles 1964)

1965
Screwtape Proposes a Toast and Other Pieces (Fontana 1965)

1966
Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Literature (collected by Walter Hooper) (Cambridge 1966)
"Forms of Things Unknown" was not published until 1966 when it appeared in *Of Other Worlds*, x.

1967
Christian Reflections (edited by Walter Hooper) (Bles, Eerdmans 1967)
Spenser's Images of Life (edited by Alastair Fowler) (Cambridge 1967)

1969
Narrative Poems (edited by Walter Hooper) (Bles 1969)
Selected Literary Essays (edited by Walter Hooper) (Cambridge 1969)

1970
God in the Dock ("Essays on Theology and Ethics") (edited by Walter Hooper) (Eerdmans 1970; as *Undeceptions*, Bles 1970)

1975
Fern-seed and Elephants ("and Other Essays on Christianity") (edited by Walter Hooper) (Fontana 1975)

1977
The Dark Tower and Other Stories (edited by Walter Hooper) (Collins, Harcourt 1977)

1986
Present Concerns ("Essays by C.S. Lewis") (edited by Walter Hooper) (Harcourt 1986)

Appendix III: The Prime Ministers of the United Kingdom

Prime Minister	*Dates*	*Party*	*Key Events*
Arthur Balfour	1902–1905	Conservative	
Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman	1906–1908	Liberal	
Herbert Henry Asquith	1908–1916	Liberal	Women's suffrage movement
David Lloyd George	1916–1922	Liberal	Women's suffrage (1918) Start of the welfare state Anglo-Irish War (1916–1921)
Andrew Bonar Law	1922–1923	Conservative	
Stanley Baldwin	1923–1924	Conservative	
Ramsey MacDonald	1924–1924	Labour	First Labour prime minister
Stanley Baldwin	1924–1929	Conservative	General Strike (1926)
Ramsey MacDonald	1929–1935	Labour	Wall Street Crash (1929)
Stanley Baldwin	1935–1937	Conservative	Abdication of Edward VIII
Neville Chamberlain	1937–1940	Conservative	Appeasement policy
Sir Winston Churchill	1940–1945	Conservative	World War II Founding of the United Nations (1945)
Clement Attlee	1945–1951	Labour	Independence of India (1947) End of British role in Palestine
Sir Winston Churchill	1951–1955	Conservative	
Sir Anthony Eden	1955–1957	Conservative	
Harold Macmillan	1957–1963	Conservative	
The Earl of Home (Sir Alec Douglas-Home)	1963–1964	Conservative	

Appendix IV: The Archbishops of Canterbury

	Year Enthroned
Randall Thomas Davidson	1903
Cosmo Gordon Lang	1928
William Temple	1942 (died Oct. 26, 1944)
Geoffrey Francis Fisher	1945
Arthur Michael Ramsey	1961
Frederick Donald Coggan	1974
Robert Alexander Kennedy Runcie	1980
George Leonard Carey	1991
Rowan Williams	2003

Appendix V: The Presidents of Magdalen College, Oxford

Sir Herbert Warren	1885-1928
George Gordon	1928-1942
Sir Henry Tizard	1942-1946
Thomas Boase	1947-1968

Glossary

Anglo-Catholicism: that portion of the Church of England which borrowed especially liturgical practices from the Roman Catholic Church.
Edwardian Age: the time of King Edward VII, who ruled from 1901 to 1910.
Idealism: a philosophical position held by Lewis in the late nineteen-twenties that taught that . . . It helped lead Lewis to the Christian faith.
Logical Positivism: a philosophical position especially promoted by Oxonian A.J. Ayer, which attempted to base all meaningful statements on empiricism by applying the scientific method to statements claiming to be true. Logical Positivism was skeptical about theological and ethical statements, aesthetic statements, and emotional statements, which were not empirically verifiable.
Neo-Scholasticism: a renewal of the study of St. Thomas Aquinas and other medieval writers, spurred on by Pope Leo XIII's 1879 recommendation. It centered at the University of Louvain and, by 1920, in the writings of Jacques Maritain and Etienne Gilson.
Realism: a philosophical position held by Lewis in the early nineteen-twenties that taught that . . .

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