

CHAPTER 1  
AFSA's CONTEXT

In his history of the church in Canada, John Webster Grant noted a flourishing of social concern among Anglicans during the Second World War.<sup>1</sup> This movement was closely linked with William Temple. While there were various individuals and unofficial groups seeking to relate Christian faith to the life of society at this time (notably the Industrial Christian Fellowship and the Christendom Group in Britain and the Fellowship for a Christian Social Order in Canada), it was Temple who became most closely identified with social concern in the minds of Canadian Anglicans. This was, no doubt, a function of his public profile as Archbishop of York (1929-1942) and Archbishop of Canterbury (1942-1944). It would be perhaps most correct to say that Temple acted as a mediator of the British Christian Socialist tradition to Canadian Anglicans troubled by the economic hardships of the Depression and the international crisis of the Second World War. Since his role in this respect came to the fore with the Malvern Conference,<sup>2</sup> Malvern is a good starting point for a consideration of the factors which combined to create a situation in which a group such as AFSA could emerge. The Conference highlighted Christian social responsibility at a time when Canadian Anglicans were especially receptive to an alternate vision of corporate life. It was the first wave in the tide of wartime hope for a more just social order. Malvern is also important to this

<sup>1</sup> John Webster Grant, *The Church in the Canadian Era: The First Century of Confederation*. Vol. III of *A History of The Christian Church in Canada*, ed. by John Webster Grant (3 vols.; Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1973) p.153

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Owen C. Thomas, "William Temple," in *The Spirit of Anglicanism*, ed. by William J. Wolf (Wilton, Conn.: Morehouse-Barlow Co., Inc., 1979) p.111

study because it anticipated a central element of the reaction that would stem the tide after the war. In this chapter I will outline the tradition of "incarnational" or "sacramental" socialism which informed the Malvern Conference and I will describe the Conference's *Findings*. I will then examine the reception of Malvern by the official Church in Canada and the unofficial response made by Charles Feilding. Finally, I will describe the reactionary mood which came to dominate North America following the war.

### The Tradition Informing Malvern

The Malvern Conference united, if only briefly, several streams in the movement which had originated with F.D. Maurice and the Christian Socialists of the 1850's. Maurice B. Reckitt noted that, in the 1880's, the social movement in the Church of England began to develop in two directions "inter-related in principle but tending to evolve independently in practice." These were:

- i) An intellectual quest for the re-statement of the Christian Law as the ultimate authority to rule social practice.
- ii) A semi-political movement, in which men who spoke in the name of the Church go beyond practical work of social reform to identify themselves with the contemporary demands of democracy for social justice.<sup>3</sup>

The first of these I would call the "broad stream" of the movement, not because it was "Broad Church" (for it was generally Anglo-Catholic), but because it tended to have a wider appeal and was, therefore, larger in numbers. The second, although no less important in its influence, was smaller in numbers and tended to be more explicitly and exclusively Anglo-Catholic and socialist. Both the search for a re-statement of Christian faith and the identification with "secular" calls for social justice were represented at Malvern, although

<sup>3</sup> Maurice Reckitt, *Church and Society in England from 1800*, Vol. III of *The Church and the World: Being Materials for the Historical Study of Christian Sociology*, ed. by Cyril E. Hudson and Maurice B. Reckitt (3 vols.; London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1940) p.125

conflict between the two streams was evident in the debate over socialism. As we shall see, the Industrial Christian Fellowship represented the broad stream. The Christendom Group represented the broad stream, but it was historically rooted in the smaller stream and tended to carry its theological and political allegiances.

It is interesting that both streams found their earliest expressions in two men born in 1847, just before the failure of the People's Charter and the "seven years" of the Christian Socialist group founded by Maurice, Kingsley and Ludlow. Both men were educated at Eton under the same tutor, William Johnson, a follower of Maurice. The broad stream is represented by Henry Scott Holland; the smaller stream by Stewart Duckworth Headlam.

In 1877, Headlam founded the Guild of St. Matthew (GSM) in his working-class parish of Bethnal Green.<sup>4</sup> This group was the first to wed Maurician universalism and its emphasis on the Incarnation with the sacramentalism of the Tractarians. Maurice himself had had sympathies with the Oxford Movement in his early days, but he broke with Pusey over the meaning of baptism.<sup>5</sup> The GSM brought the two movements together. Headlam, like Maurice, considered nothing in this world to be "secular". Rather, with the Tractarians, he stressed the sacraments, seeing in them the means by which the whole creation is sanctified. In the Incarnation and the Mass he found a faith that was essentially social. In this regard Reckitt wrote,

For Headlam Christianity was not a religion merely of "Social implications," to use a phrase that has become fashionable since his time; it was the sole sufficient foundation for a true way of life, justifying, on divine authority, a claim to penetrate

<sup>4</sup> On the GSM, see Peter d'A. Jones, *The Christian Socialist Revival 1877-1914: Religion, Class, and Social Conscience in Late-Victorian England* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1968) Chap. V, "Stewart Headlam and the Guild of St. Matthew, 1877-1909," pp.99-163

<sup>5</sup> Jones *Revival*, p.92. See also Alec R. Vidler, *F.D. Maurice and Company* (London: SCM Press, 1966) pp.96f

and transform the whole social order.<sup>6</sup>

In emphasizing strongly the centrality of the sacraments as expressive of the unity of human existence under God and as the means through which the church extends His Kingdom, Headlam and the GSM represent the smaller stream.

The broad stream is represented by the Christian Social Union (CSU) founded in 1889.<sup>7</sup> The CSU grew out of a group of Oxford dons known as "The Holy Party". It was this group involving Scott Holland, Charles Gore, and J.R. Illingworth which also inspired the famous collection of essays titled *Lux Mundi: A Series of Studies in the Religion of the Incarnation* (1889).<sup>8</sup> The Christian Social Union and the Guild of St. Matthew did share a common ground: a synthesis of Maurice and the Tractarians. Peter Jones writes,

The theology of social-unionism flowed out of the Tractarian-Maurice-Headlam stream. *Lux Mundi* was a further development of Tractarian theology, combining the "Catholic Church" of Pusey with the<sup>9</sup> "Kingdom of Christ" of Maurice, as Headlam did.

The difference between the two groups lay in the CSU's emphasis on the study of social and economic issues and the formation of Christian thought in relation to these *versus* the GSM's advocacy of specific reforms and a more explicit sacramental emphasis. According to Jones, the Christian Social Union reached its peak of influence in the Pan-Anglican Congress at Lambeth in 1903. He writes,

By 1908 the CSU had thoroughly permeated the Church of England, especially the hierarchy; it was a form of "socialism" for bishops. Its achievements were

<sup>6</sup> Maurice B. Reckitt, *Faith and Society: A Study of the Structure, Outlook and Opportunity of the Christian Social Movement in Great Britain and the United States of America* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1932) p.85

<sup>7</sup> On the CSU, see Jones, *Revival*, Chap. VI; "The Christian Social Union, 1889-1919," pp.164-224

<sup>8</sup> Charles Gore, ed. *Lux Mundi: A Series of Studies in the Religion of the Incarnation* (2nd ed., London: John Murray, 1890)

<sup>9</sup> Jones, *Revival*, p.167

partly to be seen in the growing awareness of social problems and sympathy to labour shown by successive annual Church Congresses. The meetings of the 1870's had ignored economic and social matters; those before World War I were dominated by them. Pulling the church in a Maurician-socialist direction helped to stretch its mind.<sup>10</sup>

After 1908, however, the Christian Social Union declined rapidly. Its radical wing had been lost to the Church Socialist League and the First World War proved a severe blow. Finally, in 1919, the CSU joined with the Navy Mission, an organization devoted primarily to evangelism, to form the Industrial Christian Fellowship.

The Guild of St. Matthew was formally disbanded in 1909, as it had ceased to be active or effective. Many of its members had joined the Christian Social Union and the Guild had, in a sense, been superceded by the Church Socialist League (CSL).<sup>11</sup> By 1906, some Christian socialists were dissatisfied with the CSU, sensing that its moderation and emphasis on study had rendered it anemic. At the same time, the GSM was seen to be too vague in its goals and too rigorous in its ritualism.<sup>12</sup> The official establishment of the Labour Party and the election of a significant number of socialist MP's provided a focus for this discontent which eventually led to the formation of the Church Socialist League in 1906. This group defined itself as follows:

The Church Socialist League consists of Church people who accept the principles of socialism, viz.: The political, economic and social eman-

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p.217

<sup>11</sup> On the CSL see *Ibid.*, Chap. VII, "Northern Radicalism: The Church Socialist League, 1906-1924," pp.225-302

<sup>12</sup> See *Ibid.*, pp.238 and 239.

icipation of the whole people, men and women, by the establishment of a *democratic commonwealth in which the community shall own the land and capital collectively* and use them for the good of all.<sup>13</sup>

The leadership of the CSL was, for the most part, Anglo-Catholic. At least two important leaders, Conrad Noel and P.E.T. Widdrington, were members of the Guild of St. Matthew and strongly influenced by Headlam's sacramentalism. The CSL's combination of explicitly socialist politics with Anglo-Catholic theology would support Jones' conclusion that "the Church Socialist League was more the heir of the GSM than it was of the Christian Social Union."<sup>14</sup> Its emphasis on support of social democracy places it within the second, smaller stream of the tradition. However, it was not a homogenous group and eventually internal disagreements over Anglo-Catholic dogmatism and official endorsement of the Labour Party led to its fragmentation. In 1918, Conrad Noel left the Church Socialist League with some kindred spirits to form his Catholic Crusade, a group which combined economic radicalism with uncompromising Anglo-Catholicism. Jones writes,

For Noel "Nonconformity" and "Christo-Capitalism" were synonymous terms of abuse. Christian socialism he regarded as the monopoly of Anglo-Catholics. Nevertheless, his Catholic Crusade, with its religious limitations, was "radical": it claimed to champion for society at large "a classless, co-operative world of free men and free nations."<sup>15</sup>

It would appear, however, that Noel's Crusade devoted more and more of its energies to fighting "the soul-saving gang and their glory-for-me religion"<sup>16</sup> and that his sectarianism resulted in the Crusade's becoming "a somewhat

<sup>13</sup> Quoted in *Ibid.*, p.241

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p.238

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p.301

<sup>16</sup> This was Noel's term for Nonconformists and Protestantism, quoted in *Ibid.*, p.300

isolated and extremely unconventional little body."<sup>17</sup> Those left in the Church Socialist League eventually rallied around the "Group of Churchmen" who published a collection of essays titled *The Return of Christendom*<sup>18</sup> in 1922.

Two of the most influential leaders of this latter group, P.E.T. Widdrington and Maurice Reckitt, were suspicious of tendencies within the Church Socialist League to support unequivocally the collectivist stands being adopted by the Labour Party. Jones says that, "Reckitt, Widdrington, and other Leaguers feared the expansion of Bureaucracy and 'State Capitalism' under Fabian and collectivist auspices."<sup>19</sup> Widdrington was more oriented to theological reflection and sought to develop a "Christian Sociology", that is, a vision of society built upon a specifically theological foundation. He feared that the Church Socialist League had tended to adopt a secular programme and "seemed sometimes to present Christianity merely as the spiritual counterpart of this."<sup>20</sup> Widdrington and the group around him represented what Reckitt called "the quest for the autochthonous,"<sup>21</sup> a search for the grounds of a social critique at the roots of the faith, in Scripture and Catholic doctrine. Of this search Reckitt said it was a case of *reculer pour mieux sauter*:

<sup>17</sup> Reckitt, *Faith and Society*, p. 162

<sup>18</sup> A Group of Churchmen, *The Return of Christendom* (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1922)

<sup>19</sup> Jones, *Revival*, p.289

<sup>20</sup> Reckitt, *Faith and Society*, p.157

<sup>21</sup> Reckitt, *Maurice to Temple*, p.169

It led backwards, first to the Gospels themselves for the recovery of the idea of the Kingdom as something essentially constitutive of human order, and secondarily to medieval Christendom, in which, amid all the social limitations of feudalism and the spiritual evils of ecclesiasticism, there was nevertheless a conscious and not unsuccessful effort to incarnate a Christian interpretation of life in the institutions of society.<sup>22</sup>

Reckitt came to the group quite naturally, for he favoured a Guild Socialist option as opposed to the centralizing and collectivist tendencies he perceived in the Church Socialist League.<sup>23</sup> The appeal of Guild Socialism to members of the CSL disillusioned by the Labour Party was strong. Jones wrote,

Christian socialists could find in the Guild movement a system which they hoped would preserve individual choices and freedoms, guard against the secular excesses of centralized administration, and give to the workers and producers a genuine and direct voice in running the national economy. ...

.....  
In its pluralism, Guild Socialism offered protection for the churches in a secular world and seemed to vindicate the decentralized society of the medieval ideal, naturally attractive to the Anglican religious mind.<sup>24</sup>

In 1923, following the publication of *The Return of Christendom*, "the Guild Socialist and 'Christian-sociology' rump" of the Church Socialist League formed the League of the Kingdom of God.<sup>25</sup> This League was "anti-plutocratic" in its critique of society and definitely Catholic in its theology, although it did not fall victim to the exclusivity and sectarianism of Noel and the Catholic Crusade. Later, in 1925, Widdrington and others initiated the Anglo-Catholic Summer School of Sociology, an annual event which sought to contribute to "the awakening of Churchmen to the lost traditions of Christendom and the recreation of a Christian sociology consonant with the needs of

22. *Ibid.*, p.168

23. On the CSL and Guild Socialism, see Jones, *Revival* pp. 281-295

24. *Ibid.*, P.290 and 291

25. *Ibid.*, p.296



the age."<sup>26</sup> Still later, in 1933, members of the League of the Kingdom of God and others associated with the Summer School began the journal *Christendom* under Reckitt's leadership. "The Christendom Group" is the name given to the informal group which identified itself with the Christian Sociology approach of the journal. Besides Widdrington and Reckitt, V.A. Demant, T.S. Eliot, W.G. Peck, and Ruth Kenyon were closely associated with the Group. In its identification with the call for industrial democracy and its advocacy of specific, Guild Socialist, options, the League of the Kingdom of God and the Christendom Group represent the smaller stream of the tradition inherited from the Guild of St. Matthew and the Church Socialist League. However, in their Christian Sociology and the attempt to reformulate a theological basis for social reconstruction, Widdrington, Reckitt, and their followers represent the broad stream of the Christian Social Union. Elements of both are evident in the *Findings* of the Malvern Conference, which drew heavily on the Christian Sociology of the Christendom Group.

#### The Malvern Conference

The Malvern Conference was itself a response to the Depression and the War. With the mobilization of Britain for war, some critical Christians became aware of a contradiction in the nation's inability to feed and employ everyone in peacetime (as had been the case during the Depression) and its apparent ability to do so in the face of war. This realization led to questions of post-war reconstruction: would Britain lack the national will to see all its people fed, clothed, and housed after the war as it had before? The situation prompting the question was apparently experienced by many Britons. Iremonger

26. Reckitt, *Faith and Society*, p.159

writes,

The war had hardly broken out when the question what was to be done at the end of it began widely to be asked. The word "reconstruction" recurred, with prominence, in the speeches of politicians, the sermons of preachers, and the agenda papers of societies and committees. Men in the Services -- some of whom had not forgotten the promised "homes for the heroes" of twenty years before -- were assured there was to be no repetition of the aftermath of the First World War, no mass unemployment, no tedious misery of the dole; and conferences were held to draw up schemes, pledges, and manifestoes for the encouragement of the fighting men and the welfare of the country to which they hoped to return.<sup>27</sup>

The initiative for a conference of Church people to consider post-war reconstruction and the ordering of society on Christian principles came from the Industrial Christian Fellowship, a group which the *Canadian Churchman* described as "somewhat parallel in aims" to the FCSO.<sup>28</sup> In the early summer of 1940, Temple agreed to act as convenor and chairman.

Temple's understanding of Malvern's purpose is important because it points to a contextual method in theology. He considered the Conference to be a conscious attempt to think in relation to the situation, to theologize in dialogue with the world. This is apparent in his letter of invitation to Malvern in which he said the purpose of the Conference would be "to consider from the Anglican point of view what are the fundamental facts which are directly relevant to the ordering of the new society that is quite evidently emerging, and how Christian thought can be shaped to play a leading part in

27. F.A. Iremonger, *William Temple, Archbishop of Canterbury: His Life and Letters* (London: Oxford University Press, 1948) p.428

28. *CC*, Feb. 13, 1941, p.101

the reconstruction after the war is over."<sup>29</sup> Temple was anxious to "capitalize" on what he perceived to be a turning point in the life of society created by the war and an increase of hope among Christians for "international and social justice". This concern was also expressed in an open letter to J.H. Oldham titled "Begin Now" and published in the *Christian News-Letter* of August, 1940. The letter was reprinted in Canada in November of that year in the *Bulletin* of the Council for Social Service of the Church of England in Canada. With respect to the "crisis in world events" Temple wrote,

If we are to rise to the test of the present and the opportunity for which we hope in the future, there must be a rapid crystallisation of much that is now fluid in Christian sentiment and aspiration. ... We need two things: a gathering together of the great mass of Christian sentiment which undoubtedly exists, and the direction of this towards some definite goal.<sup>30</sup>

He understood the task of the church to be a clarification of theological ideas as a response to the immediate crisis and as a step in the creation of a firm foundation for post-war reconstruction. In this respect, then, he sought to build a contextual theology.

In his letter to Oldham, Temple went on to stress the need to move beyond the generalities which had characterized so many statements on the social order to detailed and specific proposals. For instance, he felt it was necessary to move from the declaration that fellowship among persons is the Will of God to a condemnation of the profit motive and the competitive system which it created. Rather than declaring that all should have enough to eat, he wanted to move to a criticism of an economic order which destroyed food in order to protect the profits of the producer and without regard for the needs

29. William Temple, quoted in Iremonger, *William Temple*, p.429

30. William Temple, "Begin Now," reprinted in CSS, *Bulletin*, #101 (Nov. 28, 1940) p.1

of the hungry consumer.<sup>31</sup> He used the notion of natural law to express positively what these condemnations expressed negatively. In general, he considered the profit-based economy to engender a reversal of the natural order in which consumption should control production and production financing. He therefore saw the purpose of his specific proposals to be a reversal of the reversal and a recovery of the natural order in every area of public life.<sup>32</sup>

This position, sketched by Temple in his letter to Oldham, became the dominant theme in the Malvern Conference. The tone was set by Temple in his opening address, when he said their purpose was "to work out the principles of Christian living in the political and economic realms, and the proper relation of these in the 'natural order' to the other departments of life and especially to man's destiny as a child of God."<sup>33</sup> That Temple was able to shape and refine the goal of the Conference is an indicator of his overwhelming influence on the proceedings. The ways in which his description of Malvern's purpose changed between the time he issued the invitations and the assembly of the conference reflect developments in his thought which came to dominate the Conference *Findings* and became the focus of his *Christianity and the Social Order* published in 1942. The earlier statement of purpose was fairly general, referring to two broad tasks: a consideration of "fundamental facts" and the shaping of Christian thought. The later statement stressed the second of these to the exclusion of the first and it referred both to thought

31. *Ibid.*, p.2

32. *Ibid.*, p.3

33. William Temple in *Malvern 1941: The Proceedings of the Archbishop of York's Conference* (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1941) p.15

and action ("work out the *principles* of Christian *living*"). Moreover, it was more specific about which fundamental facts were relevant ("the political and economic") and it presupposed a particular theological context ("natural law" and "man's destiny as a child of God"). It is interesting that in his opening address Temple suggests so much of what the Conference was eventually to conclude.

The Malvern Conference was held January 7 to 10, 1941. As Iremonger and Lloyd both note, the Conference was greatly limited by time, having but three days to cover a very broad topic.<sup>34</sup> Papers were presented by J. Middleton Murray, T.S. Eliot, Dorothy Sayers, Sir Richard Acland, Kenneth Ingram, D.M. MacKinnon, V.A. Demant, W.G. Peck, and Maurice Reckitt (whose paper was read by Temple as Reckitt was ill and could not attend). Most of these speakers represented the tradition of Christian Sociology exemplified by the Christendom Group, with which Temple had much in common.<sup>35</sup> Temple reported that this was a deliberate move in the interests of saving time and enhancing the coherence of the proceedings.<sup>36</sup> On the last day of the Conference, he presented a set of "resolutions" in which he attempted to synthesize the various papers presented. It is important to note that this document was not the result of collective deliberation by the participants. Iremonger's account of the process is revealing, despite its tendency to hagiography. He writes,

34. Cf. Iremonger, *William Temple*, p.430, and Roger Lloyd, *The Church of England, 1900-1965* (London: SCM Press, 1966) p.310

35. Cf. Iremonger, *William Temple*, p.434, and Maurice B. Reckitt, *Maurice to Temple: A Century of the Social Movement in the Church of England* (London: Faber and Faber Limited, 1947) p.184

36. Roger Lloyd, *The Church of England, 1900-1965*, (London: SCM Press, 1966) p.310

... (Temple) sat down on the last night and wrote a series of "conclusions" which, he informed an astonished Conference on the next morning, expressed its "common mind". This was indeed news to the members, but never was news more welcome. They had done little in the way of conferring, but they could go home happy in the thought that they had taken part in what one of them called "a series of meetings with resolutions imposed from above."<sup>37</sup>

While Temple's drafting of the Malvern document might discredit the Conference, Reckitt warns that such an objection is "superficial", given Temple's understanding of the issues and his skill in synthesizing apparently contradictory points of view. "He was ever anxious, before all, to elicit and to restate the positive truth which any man or group of men had to affirm."<sup>38</sup> As we shall see later, Temple defended the Malvern Findings as a synthesis and restatement of a body of attitudes, values, and ideas shared by the Conference participants.

His resolutions won the consent of the Conference with one notable exception: the resolution related to private ownership of industrial resources. This issue had been raised by Sir Richard Acland, M.P., whose paper had dealt with inequalities in education, health care, and the distribution of wealth. Acland said that, while the church cannot reduce itself to a political party by adopting a positive programme for the reshaping of society, the church does have a duty to speak on "the structural organization of lay society." He said,

... without making any positive judgements at all the Church should and could courageously point to those things which are wrong in our lay society, which are simultaneously a stumbling block preventing our leading Christian lives and a proof that we have not yet achieved a living Christianity. Thus the judgements of the Church about the struc-

37. Iremonger, *William Temple*, p.431

38. Reckitt, *Maurice to Temple*, p.185

tural form of society must be expected to take a negative form.<sup>39</sup>

Acland went on to claim that "the whole structure of our society is in flagrant disobedience to the word of God" and that "the private ownability of the major resources of our country is indeed the stumbling block making it harder for us to advance towards the Kingdom of God on earth" as it creates and fosters competition based on self interest.<sup>40</sup> This position caused much controversy. The Bishop of Coventry demanded that the speeches of Ingram and Acland be withheld from the press because they misrepresented the sentiments of the Conference and "equally strong counter-objections" in favour of private ownership could be made. Temple, to his credit, ruled that he had no right to interfere with the freedom of the press.<sup>41</sup> He would appear to have forgotten this bit of controversy when he presented Acland's view of private ownership as one of his resolutions. The wording was "too emphatic to ensure general approval."<sup>42</sup> Eventually an amendment was introduced and adopted. It stated that there were aspects of the life of society which "are contrary to divine justice, and act as stumbling blocks, making it harder for men to live Christian lives" and continued,

In our present situation we believe that the maintenance of that part of the structure of our society by which the ultimate ownership of the principal industrial resources of the community can be vested in the hands of private owners, *may be* such a stumbling block.<sup>43</sup>

39. *Malvern 1941*, p.155

40. *Ibid.*, pp.157 and 161

41. This incident was reported in *CC*, Feb. 13, 1941, p.101

42. Iremonger, *William Temple*, p.431

43. "The Findings, Malvern" as reprinted in *CSS, Bulletin*, #103S (Feb. 25, 1945) p.2. (emphasis mine)

The replacement of "is" with "may be" was sufficient a weakening of the original to gain the unanimous consent of the Conference.

After the smoke had cleared and the dust had settled, many were left wondering what had been achieved. A great deal of material had been presented on a wide range of related topics, but there had been little opportunity for discussion and the development of ideas. Temple's resolutions had come at the end as a kind of last-ditch effort to make something of the proceedings, and so appeared to have been imposed, as we have noted. Was this the coalescing of opinion and commitment to common goals for which Temple had hoped? He evidently believed it was, and he defended the value of "The Findings" using arguments based on an interpretation of Malvern's purpose. Shortly after the Conference he explained that there were two types of conferences: those convened to explore new areas of thought, in which the value of the results depends on the thoroughness of the discussion among the participants, and those convened to make known the degree of agreement among the participants on areas of thought which have been under consideration for some time. With respect to this latter type of conference, Temple wrote,

In this case the value of the results is largely independent of the course of discussion in the conference, except so far as this elicits and makes evident a body of agreement already in existence when the conference meets, though at that stage the several members may still be unaware how far other members agree with them. The conference of Anglicans which lately met at Malvern College was of this second type.<sup>44</sup>

To another critic he wrote,

The value of registering such an agreement as is found is that it may be used not to require assent but to challenge thought and so carry forward the general process that went on in the Conference.<sup>45</sup>

44. William Temple, quoted in Iremonger, *William Temple*, p.428

45. *Ibid.*, p.433



From this point of view Malvern is significant. It assembled a representative body of bishops, priests, and laity<sup>46</sup> and registered its assent to a document reflecting the Christian Socialist tradition of which the Industrial Christian Fellowship, the Christendom Group, and Temple were contemporary exponents. Subsequently, as we shall see, the Conference prompted further reflection and action by other Anglicans.

The areas in which Malvern "registered agreement" concerned the state of society, the means of its amelioration, and the role of the church in the process. "The Findings" suggest a particular analysis of the state of Western civilization. The war was not viewed as an isolated, discrete aberration, but as symptomatic of a widespread disease caused by a loss of faith in God as the Lord of all life and a clouding of the Christian vision of personhood. The document stated that the person is created and redeemed by God for a life of eternal fellowship with him. As this view of human-ness is lost, the true end of human activity is obscured and human relations are set in disorder. Malvern considered a Christian anthropology to be "the controlling principle which allots to human activities their proper sphere and due relations to one another."<sup>47</sup> The particular disorder of primary concern at Malvern was the perversion of proper economic relations. The purpose of production ought to be the satisfaction of human needs and, therefore, the means of the fulfillment of human personality. However, in Western societies production had become primarily a means of profit, and thus an end in itself. "The Findings" expressed this point in the following terms:

To a large extent production is carried on not to supply the consumer with goods but to bring profits to the producer; and the producer in turn is often subordinated to the purely financial ends of those who own the capital plant or supply the

46. Cf. Reckitt, *Maurice to Temple*, p.183

47. CSS, *Bulletin*, #103S, p.2

credit to erect or work it.<sup>48</sup>

This reversal of the proper relations of finance, production, and consumption was seen to be the source of domestic unemployment and international competition for markets. Noting that in Germany and, more recently, in Britian rearmament had functioned to alleviate the unemployment caused by the reversal of natural order, Malvern called the economic system "a predisposing cause of war."<sup>49</sup>

The solution proposed by Malvern was the recovery of the lost vision of human-ness implicit in Christian faith. Through the wider acceptance of the conviction that God is Sovereign, that all persons are His children, and that through Christ we can become brothers and sisters one of another, Malvern believed a more human and just society would be created. However, Malvern also acknowledged that the church cannot seek only to convert individuals without working to change the structural and social forces which impinge on the lives of those individuals. On this point, "The Findings" quoted the Madras Conference of the International Missionary Council:

It is not enough to say that if we change the individual we will of necessity change the social order. That is a half-truth. For the social order is not entirely made up of individuals now living. It is made up of inherited attitudes which have come down from generation to generation through customs, laws, institutions, and these exist in large measure independently of individuals now living. Change those individuals and you do not necessarily change the social order unless you organize those changed individuals into collective action in wide-scale frontal attack upon those corporate evils.<sup>50</sup>

48. *Ibid* , p.3

49. *Ibid.*

50. *Ibid.*, p.2

In the "Acland ammendment", Malvern also recognized that the corporate evils of society present a block to individual Christians as they attempt to live a life in accordance with their faith. Thus "The Findings" clearly identified a need for a change in the structure of society. The point on which agreement was not registered at Malvern was the nature or degree of this change, although all of the participants admitted the possibility that private ownership of the means of industrial production might be "contrary to divine justice." Nevertheless, in its acknowledgement of the limitations of individual conversion, Malvern was recognizing the need for structural change.

This brings us to the role of the Church. "The Findings" very carefully avoided the suggestion that the Church identify itself with particular change efforts. On the one hand, Malvern considered the church to be called to positive advocacy of Christian principles. As the Body of Christ and the means by which He carries forward His work in the world, the church has both a duty and a right to proclaim the true end of human activity. Specifically, the Church ought to proclaim that persons are children of God entitled to freedom and justice, that human personality is sacred, and that human societies ought to provide to each the opportunity for the fullest realization of this personality. Accordingly, the Church is to judge society by the extent to which it recognizes in practice these implications of a Christian anthropology. However, on the other hand, Malvern attempted to limit the extent to which the Church ought to play this role of advocacy. "The Findings" read,

There is no structural organization of society which can bring about the coming of the Kingdom of God on earth, since it is a gift of God, and since all systems can be perverted by the selfishness of man. Therefore, the Church as such can never commit itself to any proposed change in the structure of society as being a self-sufficient means of salvation.

But the Church can point to those features of our existing society which, while they can never pre-

vent individual men and women from becoming Christian, are contrary to divine justice, and act as stumbling blocks, making it harder for men to live Christian lives.<sup>51</sup>

Closely related to this point is the area in which it might be said Malvern failed to register unanimity. The significance of the "Acland amendment" and the controversy surrounding it is that it indicates how far the group of Anglicans assembled at Malvern were willing to go in challenging the social infrastructure and the principle of private property. As we have already noted, the participants were able to acknowledge, perhaps as an element of sociological theory, that individuals are affected by the structure of society, but some were unable to admit that private ownership is necessarily a source of social disorder. The issue in all of this, of course, was the relationship of Christianity and socialism, an issue which had already divided groups such as the Christian Social Union. Even among those who accepted "socialism" (e.g., the Church Socialist League) there was disagreement over the kind of socialism to be striven for. Malvern as a whole, and Acland in particular, denied that any human system of itself is capable of ushering in the Kingdom. In the light of this, it was said that the Church ought to proceed *via negativa*, criticizing those elements in society which are contrary to divine justice. The rather thorny question is: how far can the Church go in criticizing the *status quo* before it appears to be endorsing a particular structural change? If the critique is made on the basis of Christian doctrine, the question becomes: to what extent can the Church advocate an alternative before it appears to be identifying that alternative with the Kingdom of God?

It was, I believe, such a rendering of the issue, with a basic fear of centralist or collectivist forms of socialism, which informed the reaction

51. *Ibid.*

against Temple's proposed condemnation of private ownership. By strongly criticizing the structural expression of the profit motive, the resolution appeared to be endorsing some form of socialism. The weaker wording was adopted to preserve some distance or objectivity.

It should be noted, by way of clarification, that this limitation was applied to the church as the Body of Christ, not to individual Churchmen, and that its intent was to guard against the identification of social change with salvation itself. It did not, therefore, restrict the church in its condemnation of the capitalist *status quo* or in its advocacy of alternative visions apparently consistent with the Christian values it is called to proclaim. Rather, Malvern sought to safeguard against the total and unequivocal identification of something like the dictatorship of the proletariat with the Kingdom of God.

One final point on which Malvern did "register agreement" was the need for reform in the life of the Church of England. "The Findings" stated that Christians cannot promote the move towards a more humane form of society (i.e., one reflecting the value of human personality) unless "they are ready to advocate and bring about a complete change in the internal financial position of the Church of England."<sup>52</sup> The goal of such a radical reorganization was to better reflect the unity of purpose in the Church and to make its economic and administrative life expressive of "brotherhood". Malvern recognized that, until such reforms were made, the Church's witness would be impaired, for its work in the society as a whole would be judged by the extent to which the Church reflected Christian principles in its own life. At Malvern, the general principles of unity and "brotherhood" were declared, but the specific reforms needed to bring these values to life in the Church's financial structure were not outlined. As we shall see later, AFSA responded to Malvern's call by

52. *Ibid.*, pp.2 and 3

working for changes in the Church's economic and administrative life which would reflect the mutuality enjoined by the Gospel. Another area in which Malvern saw the need for reform was the Church's worship. Malvern believed that worship "must be so directed and conducted that its relevance to life and to men's actual needs is evident."<sup>53</sup> Here the Eucharist was stressed. "The Findings" read,

The Eucharist is to be appreciated as the offering of ourselves and all that we are -- for the bread and wine are the product of man's labour expended upon the gifts of God -- in order that Christ may present us with Himself in His perfect self-offering and that we may receive from Him the very gifts which we have offered, now charged with the divine power, to be shared by us in perfect fellowship; so in our worship we express the ideal of our common life and receive strength to make it more real.<sup>54</sup>

The Eucharist was seen to be both a sacrament of the Lord's presence and a sacrament of the church's unity. AFSA also promoted this view and extended it, seeing in the offering of the bread and wine a sacrament of human solidarity under God.

Malvern is important to this study, apart from its historical relationship to Temple and AFSA, as an expression of alienation. In its analysis of the decay of Western civilization, Malvern legitimized alienation as a Christian response to society. Furthermore, in acknowledging the limits of personal conversion in redeeming the situation, Malvern advocated changes in social relationships and the structure of society. In all of this, elements of a contextual method were employed. The Conference itself betrayed such a method in attempting to respond to the immediate crisis of the war and the experience of the Depression which preceded it. In its vision of the role of

53. *Ibid.*, p.4

54. *Ibid.*

the Church Malvern also pointed to a contextual method, for it saw the Church as moving between criticism of the *status quo* and proclamation and advocacy of the true relationships of persons as revealed in the Gospel. "The Findings" did not address the question of the relationship or sequence of these negative and positive roles, but it is fair to say that Malvern presents the Church's proclamation as prior to and independent of experience. Thus, it could be said that Malvern employed a contextual method in beginning with the social context, but the process was incomplete. Its conclusions were idealistic and its proclamation was rooted primarily in theological reflection, not on a fully-developed reflection on experience. This idealism is apparent in the analysis of Western civilization and in the "natural order" argument used to explain economic problems. More specifically, Malvern's was a personalist idealism, for it saw the disease of civilization to be caused by a loss of conviction concerning the Christian understanding of personhood as sacred. Malvern's response to the on-going crisis was the declaration of an ideal based on a particular rendering of "the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man" and a holistic or integrated vision of human relationships. This understanding of the interrelationship of persons and the corporate nature of society under God which it suggests reflects the theological orientation of both Temple and the Christendom Group. It is also quite similar to the notion of "mutuality" used by the FCSO. AFSA was inspired by such visions of personhood and society, as we shall see below. Despite all these references to Malvern's "position", it must be noted that the conference document does not present a tight, well-ordered, and systematic argument for its alienation and the alternatives which it advocates. It reflects and points to arguments and ideas better developed elsewhere, and it is to these other sources which we will refer later. Malvern's importance lies in its presentation of these ideas to a wider audience than they might otherwise have received and in a form more readily accessible to

the majority of church people. This fact is clear in the increased concern for social issues among Canadian Anglicans during the war.

### Canadian Responses to the Malvern Conference

Malvern inspired an increased concern for social issues among Canadian Anglicans and prompted the official Church to make some critical pronouncements on the social order. The Conference was reported by the *Canadian Churchman* on February 13, 1941 based on an article wired to *Time* by its London correspondent.<sup>55</sup> In the next week's edition, the *Churchman* reprinted the Conference resolutions as well as the "Ten Points" proposed by the Anglican Archbishops, the Cardinal of Westminster, and the Moderators of the Free Churches in Britain.<sup>56</sup> The paper also initiated a six-part series of Lenten sermons by various contributors on "The New Social Order." This initial response was fairly positive, if occasionally pious and sentimental.<sup>57</sup> At least the hope for a better post-war society was shared and a need for study and critical reflection on economic and political problems was expressed by the *Churchman's* contributors.<sup>58</sup> Consequently, cautionary notes were sounded on the dangers of socialism and the need for "expertise". The author of "The Layman and the New Social Order" wrote,

... it would be quite wrong to think, as some do, that the Conference was only giving religious colour to 'socialism in our time'. It did not support any existing political movement or any particular scheme of economic reform. ... It laid down clearly the principles which must govern any Christian social order, but it was equally emphatic that the working out of

55. *CC*, (Feb. 13, 1941) p.101

56. *Ibid.*, (Feb. 20, 1941) pp.117, 118

57. See "The Parson and New Social Order," *CC* (March 6, 1941) p.147; "The New Order -- Humbug or Reality," *CC* (March 27, 1941) p.195; and "Older People and the New Social Order," *CC* (Feb. 27, 1941) p.131

58. The need for study was stressed by Canon S.J. Marriot in "Christ and The Church of England," *CC* (March 6, 1941) p.148



that order could only be done, and should only be done, by those who are expert in financial, industrial, and economic affairs.<sup>59</sup>

In general, the *Churchman* may have been rather superficial in its treatment of Malvern. Nonetheless, it did pick up the mood of the times and presented disorder in the life of society as a legitimate area of Christian concern. Over the next two years and as the war progressed, the *Churchman* continued to publish articles in support of Christian social action. Some dealt with the history of Christian Socialism; there were two articles on F.D. Maurice<sup>60</sup> and another on the relationship of his group to the Chartists.<sup>61</sup> A couple of articles dealt with events sponsored by the FCSO in support of the organization of farmers' cooperatives and the labour movement.<sup>62</sup> There was also published a series of articles written by Temple shortly before his translation to Canterbury.<sup>63</sup>

A more serious consideration of Malvern came from the Council for Social Service of the Church of England in Canada. The CSS had been established by General Synod in 1915 to keep Canadian Anglicans informed of social problems and the steps being taken to remedy them.<sup>64</sup> Since 1918, a focus for this task had been the Council's *Bulletin*, and it was through the *Bulletin* that the CSS

59. CC (March 13, 1941) p.163

60. Nina Holland, "Pioneers of Social Service," CC (Jan. 29, 1942) p.71, and ; A.B. Lavelle, "A Prophet of Divine Excess," CC (Nov. 18, 1943) p.652

61. Nina Holland, "The Chartists and Christian Socialism," CC (April 2, 1942) p.213

62. John F. Davidson, "The Church, The Farmer and the Worker," CC (April 23, 1942) p.265, and; G.F. Partidge, "Labour and the Church," CC (Sept. 26, 1942) p.677

63. William Temple, "Freedom, Justice and Truth," CC (Feb. 5, 1942) p.84; "Justice and Faith," CC (Feb. 12, 1942) p.100; "The Dignity of Human Life," CC (Feb. 19, 1942) p.116, and; "The Spiritual Grounds of Hope," CC (March 19, 1942) p.190

64. On the CSS, see Richard Allen, *The Social Passion: Religion and Social Reform in Canada, 1914-28* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1973) p.37 and Edward Alfred Pulker, *The Role of Anglicans in Reform of the Economic Order in Canada* (unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Ottawa, 1973) pp.75f

publicized Malvern. Under the title "Religion, Revolution and Restoration", *Bulletin* #103 described the Conference proceedings, published the original form of the resolutions, and excerpted some press reports on the Conference. A *Supplement* reprinted "The Findings" in their final, "official" form as edited by Temple and published by the Industrial Christian Fellowship. Canon W.W. Judd, General Secretary of the CSS and editor of the *Bulletin*, quite rightly perceived the importance of Malvern. He hoped that "The Findings" would become a basis for reflection among and action by groups of Canadian Anglicans. He focused on three of Malvern's very practical suggestions, encouraging his readers to "get into first-hand touch with the areas of underprivilege and delinquency" in their local communities, to remember the social implications of the Eucharist, and to "seek friendlier relations with our non-Anglo-Saxon Canadians."<sup>65</sup>

The latter concern for the status of immigrants or war-time emigrés so dominated the CSS *Annual Report* for 1941 that only a few pages were left for a consideration of Malvern. Under the heading "Christian Sociology" the *Report* summarized Temple's letter to Oldham, the "Ten Points", and the Malvern "Findings", all of which had been published by the CSS in its *Bulletin*. The *Report* noted the interpretation of the war as symptomatic of moral disease and reiterated the hope for a new social order founded on Christian principles. It also remarked that the position adopted by Temple at Malvern rested on "a strong doctrinal foundation", taking the Christian understanding of personhood, sin, and redemption as its starting point. The basic elements of the Conference's position were outlined without comment or development, but with a call to local study, application, and action.<sup>66</sup> Over the next twelve months, the CSS kept

65. CSS, *Bulletin* #103 (Feb. 23, 1941) pp.2, 3 .

66. CSS, "A New Earth ... Wherein Dwelleth Righteousness," *26th Annual Report - 1941*, pp.24-27

Malvern (and its concerns) before its constituency by publishing a *Bulletin* entitled "Follow-Up Malvern" which reprinted an ICF pamphlet by Temple, a summary of the Conference "Findings", and a set of questions for discussion groups.<sup>67</sup>

It was in the *Annual Report* for 1942 that the CSS published its own resolution outlining the Christian principles which should form the basis of a new social order following the war. The resolution was, in fact, a statement of the Commission of Churches in England called "An Economic Charter" to which a motion of the CSS was prefixed.<sup>68</sup> This preamble contained an indictment of "the structure and results of the present economic system" and affirmed the need for "a fundamental affirmation regarding the nature of man" as the basis for economic reconstruction. "An Economic Charter" contained three sections dealing with the rights of the individual, industrial relations, and the organization of the world economy. It was a concise restatement of the Malvern position.

The fact that the CSS adopted this statement is a fair indicator of the dependence of the Canadian Church on the English with respect to the approach represented by Malvern. It does not necessarily mean that the Council lacked the understanding, insight, or creativity to think for itself. Indeed, the preamble to "An Economic Charter" demonstrates that the CSS understood Malvern's criticism of the economic order and its emphasis on a Christian understanding of personhood as the basis for social reconstruction. Canon Judd's repeated calls for local reflection and action are also a sign of his understanding of Malvern's practical suggestions. The use of a British statement indicates, rather, that issues in Canada had not been considered in this way before, and that leadership was coming from the British who had a more developed analysis of the state of Western societies. However, explanations of this dependent

67. CSS *Bulletin* #106 (Feb. 28, 1942)

68. CSS, "The Kingdoms Are Moved!" *27th Annual Report - 1942*

relationship could also be tendered by a consideration of the colonial situation of the Church in Canada. As a colonial Church, the Church of England in Canada had a long history of dependent association with the Church of England in the "mother country" with respect to both theology and matters of practical administration. This basic relationship was certainly heightened by the war, as Canada's involvement in this primarily European conflict was a function of its relationship to England. One might also argue that the "fragment theory" of colonial societies explains why Anglicans in Canada were receptive of visions of society which were rooted in older, pre-modern ideas such as "natural law" and "just price".<sup>69</sup> Another factor to be considered is that the dependence of the official Church on the British statements may also be an indicator that Malvern was received, not as much as a definitive expression of the tradition of incarnational socialism, but as an isolated event and apart from the tradition of radical alienation which lay behind it.

This point should become clear as we consider Charles R. Feilding's mimeographed newsletter, *Canada and Christendom*. Feilding was Professor of Moral Theology and New Testament at Trinity College in Toronto. Between September of 1941 and January of 1942, he wrote a series of letters to some friends and former students suggesting the establishment of a newsletter similar to the *Christian Newsletter*, published by J.H. Oldham, and *Christianity and Crisis*, published by Reinhold Niebuhr.<sup>70</sup> This idea had grown out of the need for some means by which pastors and former students might be kept informed of new books and developments in theological studies after leaving college. Feilding recognized, however, that much of this work was already being done by various papers and journals. He hoped that something more practical might be

69. On this theory of colonial societies, see Gad Horowitz, *Canadian Labour in Politics*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1968) Chap. 1, "Conservatism, Liberalism, and Socialism in Canada," pp.3-59.

70. C.R. Feilding, mimeographed letters: Sept. 16, 1949; Oct. 28, 1941; Dec. 31, 1941; Jan. 9, 1942. (filed with *Canada and Christendom*, GSA).

produced which would focus on the relationship of the Church to social issues in Canada and on the work being done in this area by individuals and groups across the country. Specifically, he suggested a newsletter which would support the Canadian interpretation and application of the ideas developed by Malvern, the Ten Points, and by the publications of Niebuhr and Oldham. Speaking of these "creative movements" he said,

... this writing and activity is not yet directly related to the Canadian scene. For example, the problems of a northern mining town, or a prairie community, of large foreign groups, of a country in which there are "competing" churches of nearly equal strength are not really considered in the proposals set forth. The problems cannot be viewed from an academic chair in Toronto, still less from one in England; they can only be studied and dealt with by beginning on the spot. Without the pooled experience and observation of Canadian parochial leaders any "Canadian Malvern" would be talking in the air.<sup>71</sup>

A major task of Feilding's proposed newsletter would be an "indigenization" of Christian Sociology: "to bring into common focus the concrete Canadian problems and the special Christian insights given to our generation which can be related to them."<sup>72</sup> He hoped that this would be done by sharing the contributions of clergy and laity from across the country. He also hoped that the newsletter would contribute to the revival of corporate spiritual life exemplified by the liturgical movement. Here as well he recognized that leadership was coming from Europe and the United States, and he emphasized the need for "Canadian" perspectives on liturgical reform.

The linking of these two concerns was not new. Malvern had noted the relationship of worship to the life of society, saying that worship, and especially the Eucharist, ought to express the ideal of common fellowship. "The Findings" had also noted that reform in current practices was needed to

71. *Ibid.*, Oct. 28, 1941

72. *Ibid.*

make the truth of the Gospel clearer to those uninstructed in the faith.<sup>73</sup>

Feilding was going beyond Malvern, however, in his identification of the movement for a Christian society with the liturgical movement. Unfortunately, this hope that liturgical change would become the second focus of *Canada and Christendom* was not realized, as the newsletter dealt almost exclusively with social concerns. Later, liturgical reform was linked with social action in AFSA. In the Society of the Catholic Commonwealth, liturgical and social "revolution" were inextricably wed.

The first number of *Canada and Christendom* appeared in January, 1942. Beginning with sixty subscribers, it had over 170 by its tenth number in July, 1943,<sup>74</sup> and may have grown more before it ceased publication with its fifteenth number in September, 1944. Over its two and a half year history, the newsletter dealt with a number of social issues, the most important being the Church's relationship to the labour movement and advocacy of the right to collective bargaining.<sup>75</sup> In addition to a general consideration of the issue, *Canada and Christendom* kept its readers informed of particular disputes between labour and management and the progress being made by the strikers in gaining recognition for their organizations. Three situations were given such coverage: the miners' strike at Kirkland Lake in 1941-42;<sup>76</sup> the steel workers' strike in 1942-43;<sup>77</sup> and the textile workers' strike in Montreal in 1943.<sup>78</sup> Other social concerns discussed were rural life,<sup>79</sup> the

73. Cf. "The Findings, Malvern", *CSS Bulletin* #103S, p.4.

74. C.R. Feilding, letter of July, 1943. (filed with *Canada and Christendom*, GSA)

75. *Canada and Christendom* (GSA) #1 p.5; #2, p.3; #5, pp.4-9; #14, p.2.

76. *Ibid.*, #1, p.4; #2, p.3.

77. *Ibid.*, #7, p.6.

78. *Ibid.*, #12, p.4.

79. *Ibid.*, #2, p.4; #3, p.1; #14, p.2; #15, pp.2-4.

teaching of religion in the schools,<sup>80</sup> housing,<sup>81</sup> racism and the treatment of Japanese Canadians by the Federal Government,<sup>82</sup> and the effect of the war on sexual relationships.<sup>83</sup> The newsletter also printed some general articles on the relationship of the faith to the life of society and the involvement of Christians in political action.<sup>84</sup>

*Canada and Christendom* saw itself as a particularly Anglican contribution to a larger ecumenical task. It was Feilding's hope that, by applying the distinctive outlook of the Anglican tradition to social problems, the newsletter might support the development of "a common front of Christian action with others" which would "set forward the work of Christian reunion."<sup>85</sup> This was an interpretation of Bishop Soderblom's famous maxim "service unites, but doctrine divides." With respect to objections raised by various correspondents regarding the Anglican focus of the newsletter, Feilding responded that it was appropriate for Anglicans to put their own house in order before moving to co-operate with others<sup>86</sup> and that this should not imply any narrowness in attitude toward other groups.<sup>87</sup> In the second of his letters proposing the newsletter, he said, "you must learn to ride your bicycle somewhere before you can ride it anywhere." He also believed it was "only practical" and "less confusing" to "talk in one language at a time."<sup>88</sup>

While considering itself to be Anglican, *Canada and Christendom* did not

80. *Ibid.*, #2, p.4; #14, p.4

81. *Ibid.*, #6, p.7

82. *Ibid.*, #8, pp.1f; #12, p.3

83. *Ibid.*, #12, pp.2-6

84. *Ibid.*, #2, pp.1-2; #11, p.4; #12, p.1

85. *Ibid.*, #1, pp.1, 2

86. *Ibid.*, p.3

87. C.R. Feilding, letter of Oct. 28, 1941 (GSA) p.2

88. *Ibid.*

identify itself with the official Church in Canada. In the first number, Feilding pointed to the failure of the Church leadership to call attention to social issues such as "the rights of collective bargaining or the neglect of churches to observe just labour conditions in their building and printing, or to give a lead in the study of social medicine in rural communities." He also said that "the official reports of the C.S.S. do little more than set forth what it considers wise to say in its representative capacity," that the Council can do "only what the prevailing official opinion will tolerate."<sup>89</sup> In later numbers of the newsletter, the bishops were criticized for speaking only in generalities and platitudes, and for parroting the English hierarchy on social issues.<sup>90</sup> A 1942 pastoral letter from the Canadian bishops was dismissed as "pontifical puff."<sup>91</sup>

*Canada and Christendom's* criticisms were directed against the Church's failure to speak concretely to the Canadian situation. Throughout, the newsletter's emphasis was on the Canadian application of the principles and ideas already developed elsewhere. Feilding was constantly calling for contributions from readers reflecting on their local experience or sharing that experience with others.<sup>92</sup> It would appear that *Canada and Christendom* only came within reach of this goal in its last number, about which Feilding said,

This issue reaches our ideal more nearly than any previous one in that it is almost entirely written by our members. I hope it will be possible to

89. *Canada and Christendom*, #1, p.2

90. *Ibid.*, #6, pp.3,5,6. See also, #8, pp.1-3; #10, p.4

91. *Ibid.*, #6, p.1

92. See *Ibid.*, #2, p.1; #3, p.4; #6, p.6; #9, p.3; #13, p.1; #14, p.3; #15, p.7



continue this method in the future.<sup>93</sup>

Unfortunately, the newsletter did not continue beyond the point at which its goal was beginning to be realized, for it might have become an important support and resource to local clergy in their efforts to confront social issues within their parishes. Furthermore, it might have become a valuable resource to us, more than a quarter of a century later, in discerning the degree of critical reflection and consciousness at a more popular level. As it is, *Canada and Christendom* died in September, 1944 and re-emerged in November, 1945 as the title of a column by Charles Feilding in a new, national Church paper, *The Anglican Outlook*.

In addition to Feilding and *Canada and Christendom*. Pulker notes other individuals and unofficial groups within the Church of England in Canada which pressed for specific condemnations of the social and ecclesiastical *status quo*. The Anglican Fellowship for Social Action was one such group. Another was the group of churchmen from the Social Action Committee of the Diocese of Toronto who organized the Canadian Malvern Conference of August 1943.<sup>94</sup> There were also ecumenical and secular groups which supported Anglicans in their alienation, the most important of these being the Fellowship for a Christian Social Order. The FCSO heard a report on the Malvern Conference at its Annual Conference in the Spring of 1941, and it sponsored an interdenominational meeting in Toronto to consider issues similar to those which had occupied Malvern.<sup>95</sup> The keynote speakers at the latter meeting were Canon Judd of the CSS and Gregory Vlastos.

93. *Ibid.*, #15, p.7

94. See Pulker, p.251; and *CC* (Aug. 19, 1943) p.454

95. See *CC* (May 1, 1941) p.278; (April 10, 1941) p.233

Judd affirmed the assumption that the church was put in the world to "interfere" and, as Acland had done, he stressed that this interference must address the structure of society. Following Malvern, "he went on to brand as a modern heresy and a mere half-truth the theory that society can be effectually changed by changing the individual."<sup>96</sup> He also pointed to the need for a strong doctrinal basis to support Christian action in society.

It is perhaps due to the pressure exerted by unofficial groups in the Church and the support they received from the FCSO that the Second World War witnessed some moderately progressive statements on the social order by the official Church in Canada.<sup>97</sup> Most of these were made by the CSS. We have already noted "An Economic Charter." In 1942, the Executive of the CSS also endorsed the right to free collective bargaining and Canon Judd advocated social security as an alternative to socialism.<sup>98</sup> According to Pulker, "Anglican support for reform of the economic order reached its peak of public expression and commitment at the General Synod of 1943."<sup>99</sup> He bases this conclusion on the Synod's endorsement of social security and approval for study and action of "a statement which claimed that even more fundamental changes were necessary for the post-war economic order."<sup>100</sup> This reference to the need for change *post bellum*, however, greatly relativizes the immediate steps the Church was willing to take to change the economic order. On the whole, the

96. *CC* (April 10, 1941) p.233

97. See Pulker, p.262

98. On labour, see *Ibid.*, pp.277-290; on Social Security, see *Ibid.*, pp.263-276 and CSS, *Bulletin*, #108 (May 2, 1942)

99. Pulker, p.291

100. *Ibid.*, p.261. Cf. *GSJP 1943*, p.270

statements on the order of society by the official bodies of the Church of England in Canada at this time, which Pulker considers to be progressive, must be viewed within the context of the war. It is a very interesting feature of the CSS's presentation of Malvern that, in almost every *Bulletin* or *Report* dealing with the Conference, there appear either quotations from secular leaders such as Churchill or Roosevelt outlining their goals for society or very partisan references to the war. A very good example is *Bulletin* #103, which contained the initial reports on Malvern. In it, there are reprinted two excerpts from Roosevelt's famous "four freedoms" speech which he delivered to Congress on January 6, 1941, the day before the Malvern Conference convened. In this speech, the President of the United States spoke of equality of employment, opportunity, and security, the ending of special privilege, the preservation of civil liberties for all, the enjoyment of scientific progress, and a constantly rising standard of living as the basic things to be expected of a democracy. He also looked forward to a world founded upon freedom of speech, freedom of worship, freedom from want, and freedom from fear.<sup>101</sup> There are parallels between the hopes of Roosevelt and the hopes of Malvern. Both are framed eschatologically, looking forward to a better social and international order, and they share an egalitarian concern with respect to human freedom and dignity. The same CSS *Bulletin* reprinted an episcopal letter from the Primate, Derwyn T. Owen, in which, at the request of the Minister of Finance, he suggested ways in which the Church might support the Government in its War Saving Campaign. Under the title "To Win the War", the letter read,

Britain is fighting for her life! At such a time our Church of England people in Canada are ready, I know, to stand with the people of the Home Islands in this awful conflict. The sons of our Church have flocked to the colours. ...  
Britain is fighting for her life! We must make a

101. CSS, *Bulletin*, #103 (Feb. 23, 1941)

supreme effort to strengthen her in that heroic struggle. We must stand with her and give to her the help she needs, in money, and in public service. Let us by prayer and repentance, by the deepening of our faith in Jesus Christ, and by the strengthening of our faith in the great imperative necessity of the Church's mission in the affairs of men, see to it that we take our right place among those who are endeavouring to hasten the day when "Thy Kingdom come on earth, as it is in Heaven."<sup>102</sup>

It should be noted that Archbishop Owen also interpreted the war as Malvern did, as "a symptom of terrible unrest beneath the surface of life," and expressed dissatisfaction with "the state of things in the social and economic spheres which has obtained in the world for the last twenty years."<sup>103</sup> Nonetheless, as the quotation above indicates, the identification of the Church with the war aims of the Allies and the view of the war as a struggle for the righteousness of the Kingdom was unequivocal. Another element in this relationship of war and faith was the demand for personal sacrifice. This was expressed by Judd in the general introduction to *Bulletin* #103, where he wrote,

To win the war we must give more and more of substance and manhood and womanhood. If we have any criticism to make about our Canadian participation in the effort it is that our Governments have not conscripted all for greater and more definite and individual service.<sup>104</sup>

These references to the goals of Western statesmen, the identification of the war with the struggle for righteousness, and calls for greater personal sacrifice all within the context of the Council's presentation and advocacy of the Christian sociology of Malvern, raise some questions about the function or effect of Malvern in wartime society.

This correlation may be explained in terms of the alienation felt by

102. *Ibid.*, pp.11, 12

103. *Ibid.*

104. *Ibid.*, p.3

Canadians during the war and the hope for a better world after the victory. More progressive social aims became more acceptable as the "underside" of the world economic order was more widely experienced in North America. Canon Judd acknowledged this dynamic, at least in part, when he wrote,

At last our complacency, born of Anglo-Saxon security in the last half of the century, has been breached. ... deprivation, suffering and distress have crept up from the poor, underprivileged groups to the white collar areas of life and up to the entrenched positions of privilege.<sup>105</sup>

The stress of wartime production and the self-denial it demanded, the absence and death of fathers, husbands, sons, and brothers, and the identification of Canadians of Anglo-Saxon origin with the more immediate crises being confronted by their British families and friends -- and all of this on the heels of the Depression -- may have produced a more general disaffection among greater numbers who then looked for comfort in the hope that "things will be better when it's all over." Such an alienation may have released those experiencing it from their habitual tendency to accommodation and opened them to consider progressive possibilities for post-war society. It would seem that Temple was aware of this dynamic when he wrote his letter to Oldham and said that the war provided an opportunity for a great advance in the cause of social justice.

The "underside" of this greater willingness to change sinful social structures was its function as a palliative for those who were sacrificing so much for the war. From this point of view, Malvern and the pronouncements of the CSS could be seen as providing an ideological basis or support for the war effort. Faced with the need to give of oneself for the armed forces and the production of the means of war, the hope for "a new world after the war" may have helped to sustain the belief that it was somehow all worthwhile. This

105. W.W. Judd, "The New World and the Church's Role," *CC* (Jan. 29, 1942) p.67

dynamic was at work, I believe, in "The Atlantic Charter" pronounced by Roosevelt and Churchill in August, 1941, in which they made known "certain principles in the national policies of their respective countries on which they base their hopes for a better future for the world."<sup>106</sup> These eight principles included the limitation of territorial aggrandizement, the right of all people to self-determination, access on equal terms to natural resources, improved labour standards and security for all, freedom from want and fear, and global disarmament. This commitment to change constituted the war aims of the Allied leadership.

Judd recognized the similarity of the statements of the religious and secular leaderships in the Allied nations. He interpreted "The Atlantic Charter" as a commitment to a New World Order and he presented it in a CSS *Bulletin* prefaced by the demand for "an all-out war effort."<sup>107</sup> He noted with pride the resolution adopted by the Executive of the CSS, the CSS Annual Meeting of 1941, and the Executive Council of General Synod which called on the government to introduce compulsory selective service of all manpower and greater control of natural resources and productive machinery. He wrote,

Today, when the matter is an acute issue, we are glad to say that our Church adopted this statement thus early. There is in this Resolution no word of racial bias or antagonism and no reflection of party politics. These things we deplore. We can only pray that our own Church people will answer the call to sacrifice of ourselves, our sons and daughters, of our resources, profits, wages, and of our rights and group privileges for the common cause. We pray that all our Canadian peoples will be found worthy of the Cause committed to them, for it is indeed the cause of freedom and of righteousness.  
 .....  
 Against the same background of the Kingdom of Righ-

<sup>106.</sup> "The Atlantic Charter," reprinted in CSS, *Bulletin*, #105 (Feb. 14, 1942) Pp. 7f

<sup>107.</sup> *Ibid.*, p.1

teousness we place our "peace aims". We should be proud that our religious leaders abroad, and in our own country, much more in Britain, have given to the statesmen of the democratic world a lead, not merely in the general principles which should obtain in post-war society, but as well, in forward-looking, but sane, detailed suggestions that should be worked in and through the social, economic, industrial and international relations of that new world order.<sup>108</sup>

This coincidence of hope for a new world and sacrifice to win the war suggests that, in advocating social change during the war, the Church actually functioned to support a tendency to accommodation. Without impugning the motives of Judd and the CSS, I would say that in its response to Malvern, the official Church in Canada merely answered the temporary openness to social change of some of its people without altering its its basic tendency to accommodation.

This analysis is supported by a consideration of the drift to the right which followed the war. Opposition to economic reform had been expressed by some churchmen during the war, but the general mood was supportive of moderate reform.<sup>109</sup> Following the Allied victory, however, this progressive atmosphere thinned and reactionary views began to be expressed more frequently and publicly. Pulker describes this development as a process of polarization in which the official Church held the line at the institution of social security and support of collective bargaining while certain unofficial "activist" groups and individuals, by continuing to press for more fundamental reform of the capitalist economy, "aroused an antagonistic reaction from the moderate and *status quo* elements within the Church."<sup>110</sup> In portraying the controversy in this way, Pulker implies that the retrenchment of the official Church was "caused" by

108. *Ibid.*

109. See Pulker, pp.257f

110. *Ibid.*, p.308. On the general process of "post-war polarization", see pp.291-309

the extreme positions of the radicals, and so he fails to take into account the general mood which came to be characterized by the "Red scare" and found its worst expression in "McCarthyism".

The earlier stages of this general move against reform in the economic order and progressive thinking about society were documented by *Anglican Outlook*. In 1946, the National Association of Manufacturers in the United States was reported to be working to combat "The Findings" of the Malvern Conference.<sup>111</sup> Within the next year, Fulton J. Sheen was planning anti-communist broadcasts<sup>112</sup> and by 1947, the "Cold War" was generally acknowledged, dismissals from the American civil service on the basis of political opinion had begun, and anti-Russian or anti-communist propaganda was appearing in the secular press.<sup>113</sup> As early as May, 1946, the editor of *Anglican Outlook* was aware of increased pressure to keep Christians from expressing unfavourable political opinions<sup>114</sup> and in June, 1947 he began to receive letters accusing the paper of communist sympathies.<sup>115</sup> While this pressure on *Anglican Outlook* came from those within the Church and particularly from businessmen, it cannot be said that this "polarization" was unique to the Church. Rather, the position of those who opposed Christians opting for social change was sustained by the general mood of the times characterized by a fear of communism and support of the *status quo*. Moreover, and this is my central point, the accommodation of

111. AO 1,15 (June 1, 1946) p.20 (quoting an editorial in the *Toronto Star*)

112. AO 2,5 (March, 1947) p.3

113. See AO 3,1 (Nov., 1947) p.10; 2,3 (Jan., 1947) p.11; 2,7 (May 1, 1946) p.9

114. AO 1,13 (May 1, 1946) p.9

115. Cf., AO 2,8 (June, 1947) p.18; 2,9 (July, 1947) pp.16, 17; 2,11 (Sept. 1947) p.16; 2,12 (Oct., 1947) p.18; 3,1 (Nov., 1947) p.17



the Church of England in Canada following the war suggests that the position advocated by Malvern was not fully assimilated and thereby lends credence to the analysis which sees in the CSS's presentation of Malvern a dominant tendency to accommodation.

While the official responses to Malvern may indicate such an ideological bias, the same cannot be said of unofficial responses such as *Canada and Christendom* and AFSA. *Canada and Christendom* rarely mentioned the war, and when it did, there were none of the calls to sacrifice and patriotic rhetoric found in the *CSS Bulletin*. Indeed, the war was only touched upon in the context of discussions of the treatment of Japanese Canadians and the impact of the war on sexual relationships.<sup>116</sup> Throughout its coverage of various labour disputes between 1941 and 1943, *Canada and Christendom* focused on labour's right to collective bargaining without questioning the right to strike during a national crisis. All of this points to a greater tendency to alienation than that found in the CSS. As we shall see later, AFSA was not limited in its criticisms of capitalism by the immediate crisis of the war. In summary, it may be said that the CSS and the official Church received Malvern as an isolated event and in response to the immediate historical crisis, whereas unofficial groups, such as the readers of *Canada and Christendom* and AFSA, received the Conference as a further development in the tradition of incarnational socialism and in the context of the tendency to radical alienation which that tradition represents.

<sup>116</sup>. Cf. *Canada and Christendom* #8, pp.1f; #12, pp.2-6