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**The Church in the World: From the Malvern Conference in Britain  
to *The Anglican Outlook and News Digest* in Canada**

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**A Thesis**

**in**

**The Department**

**of**

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## **ABSTRACT**

### **The Church in the World: From the Malvern Conference in Britain to *The Anglican Outlook and News Digest* in Canada**

**Linden Rogers**

Early in 1941 a four-page document known as the Malvern *Findings* summarizing the main tenets of British social Christian thought at that time was issued to the world-wide Anglican communion. This document was well-received in Canada and resulted in the formation of three Anglican groups whose members were deeply committed to the Christian principles outlined in the *Findings*. One was a group in Toronto that published a newsletter called *Canada and Christendom* from 1942 to 1944; the second was the Anglican Fellowship for Social Action in Montreal and Nova Scotia that had its beginnings in 1943, and the third was the Ottawa editor and his board who founded the independent church paper, *The Anglican Outlook and News Digest* in November 1945. By October 1946, members of all these groups were actively involved in the paper's publication; the paper was published monthly for fifteen years on a voluntary basis. The focus of this study is on the paper's central concern, the role of the Church in contemporary Canadian society, and the editorial policies that served this concern in the period from November 1945 to February 1949.

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## **Chapter I**

### **Introduction**

#### *The Focus of the Study*

The Social Christian movement began in the theology of F.D. Maurice in the mid-nineteenth century, and its period of greatest influence ended with the death of William Temple, Archbishop of Canterbury in 1944. The movement spanned the Atlantic having strong roots in Britain, the U.S. and Canada.

The subject of this paper is the train of events that took place here in Canada after the publication of the Malvern *Findings* by the Council for Social Service Church of England in Canada in February 1941. The Malvern document was a series of resolutions resulting from a four-day conference held at Malvern College in Britain in January 1941. The publication of this document was followed by further publications by William Temple, Archbishop of York in Britain at the time, that clarified many of the issues raised in the Malvern document. The Malvern document itself was quickly disseminated throughout the Anglican communion, and along with Temple's further publications was instrumental in revitalizing the social Christian movement particularly in Canada.

The reception of the Malvern *Findings* in Canada was very complex and effected groups across Canada particularly in the cities of Toronto, Montreal, Ottawa and in the province of Nova Scotia. In Toronto in 1942 a group headed by Rev. Dr. Charles Feilding, a professor of Moral Theology at Trinity College, began to distribute a mimeographed newsletter across the country entitled *Canada and Christendom* that further developed the British statements of Malvern within a Canadian context. In Montreal, the Anglican Fellowship for Social Action (AFSA) was formed as a result of a



conference held in Arundel, Quebec in 1943. This group dedicated itself to the Christian principles of the Malvern statement and the members brought their convictions to the church and the wider community in both their actions and their writings. The founding of AFSA in Montreal was closely followed by the formation of an active chapter in Nova Scotia. In 1945 in Ottawa, Rev. Gregory Lee founded the independent church paper, *The Anglican Outlook and News Digest* with the assistance of Charles Feilding. This paper was a very successful experiment in “modern church journalism”. By the end of the first year of publication, AFSA was deeply involved in its publication. *The Anglican Outlook* encountered a great deal of opposition from the mainstream Church in its day and was effectively marginalized. But because it was published independently of the ‘official’ church, it was able to continue to speak its mind long after the social Christian movement itself had lost its momentum.

The social Christian movement from its beginnings had been determined to bring the Christian message into dialogue with all aspects of human life. The Malvern *Findings* summarized the social Christian teachings in a succinct four-page document: The theology of the Incarnation required that since all people were the children of God, each person must be treated with dignity and respect. A Christian social order would reflect this basic Christian teaching, but the current social order did not. The Church itself was required to provide leadership in bringing the Christian social order into being through a renewed evangelism as well as its example to the world. But primarily the Church was to provide a critique of the current world order in light of Christian principles.

The focus of this present research is how the editors of *The Anglican Outlook* upheld the Malvern definition of the Church's role both as a reference point to which they constantly returned and in their efforts to bring Christian principles to bear on the political, economic and social issues of the day.

#### *Methodology*

In this study, I have attempted to give the editors of this important church paper a chance to speak for themselves. But in order to do this, it was necessary first of all to describe the theology that underlay their perspective and to highlight how this theology informed the movement that led to the publication of the paper. Due to space limitations, only the first four years of the paper are studied in detail.

#### *Sources*

The sources of this study are varied. Whenever possible, I have relied on primary sources, particularly the Canadian publication of the Malvern *Findings* and on *The Anglican Outlook*. But for the developments that led to the publication of the paper, I have relied primarily on secondary sources. One is Stephen Hopkin's excellent thesis on the Anglican Fellowship for Social Action that describes in detail the history of developments in Montreal in the period of my study. The other is Edward Pulker's book, *We Stand on Their Shoulders* that describes the events that took place across the country.

## **Chapter II**

### **The Historical Perspective**

#### **A. Background to the Malvern Conference**

##### **1. The Social Christian Movement**

Social Christianity was a complex transatlantic movement of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries that encompassed both British Christian Socialism and the Social Gospel in the United States and in Canada. The focus of Social Christianity from its beginning was the deterioration of the social fabric caused by industrialization and the consequent development of capitalism requiring that social Christians give primacy to social, political and economic issues. Despite this focus, however, the movement began and remained a religious movement undergoing many variations on both sides of the Atlantic.<sup>1</sup>

The theology of Frederick Denison Maurice became the chief inspiration for the entire movement. For Maurice “the Kingdom of Christ has been inaugurated with the Incarnation and is the reality to which the church is called witness”. He wrote tirelessly in order to tear “away the cobwebs of human systems” which hid the reality of Christ’s

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<sup>1</sup>Paul Phillips, *A Kingdom on Earth: Anglo-American Social Christianity, 1880-1940* (Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1996) xiv. Phillips states: “Social Christianity became a formidable movement in the public life of three nations, each with its own set of social, economic and political circumstances. Religious thought in this situation transcended the particular conditions of each country, motivating individuals and organizations toward a set of goals common to the English-speaking peoples of the North Atlantic. Though obstacles on the road to the New Jerusalem were similar on both sides of the Atlantic, the movement was not merely the result of a coincidental, common reaction to like problems. The religious element brought coherence to the vision of the Kingdom and encouraged a bridging of the Atlantic in the exchange of ideas at least until the First World War”, xxvi.

kingdom here on earth.<sup>2</sup>

His theology recalled all “persons to their true identity as children of a loving God whose being is grounded in relation” and argued from this position that every person was already “in Christ”. By defining human life in these terms, Maurice showed that differences based on economic or social class could not “legitimately give rise either to competition between classes or to distinctions of moral requirements on the basis of social circumstances”. Therefore, those social arrangements and theological arguments that favoured one class over another served primarily “to perpetuate that separation from God and from other persons, which Maurice understood to be the very stuff of sin”. Furthermore, he believed that “once human beings become convinced of the fact that they are already in union with God, they will ‘arise and go to the Father’” and in the same instant, they would understand the true nature of their relationship to one another as grounded in fellowship with God. Competition, which Maurice saw as the social form of self-centeredness, could then be “put aside in favour of cooperation, without significant social upheaval”.<sup>3</sup>

Reckitt states that Maurice’s greatness “lay in his capacity to see and to show that his theology was deep enough to answer all the questions which a secularized economic development and a secular idealism alike had raised”. Therefore Maurice’s theology was “a major challenge to the nineteenth century Church of England which had concentrated

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<sup>2</sup>Ellen Wondra, ed., *Reconstructing Christian Ethics: Selected Writings of F.D. Maurice* (Louisville, Ky: Westminster John Knox Press, 1995), x.

<sup>3</sup>*Ibid.*, xiii.

on the salvation of the individual and had minimized social Christian teaching”.<sup>4</sup> The political implications of Maurice’s theology were quickly to be realised as the force of socialism was already afoot in Europe.

## **2. British Christian Socialism**

Christian Socialism in Britain began as a political movement as the implications of Maurice’s theology came to the fore. Reckitt states that initially Maurice did not have “any more spontaneous interest in what we call social questions than Keble or Newman had shown” until he was challenged by John Malcolm Forbes Ludlow, an English barrister and devout layperson who had been educated in France, to face what was implied in the communitarian aspects of the theology of the Oxford movement. Maurice’s association with Ludlow had begun in 1846. In the third week of March 1848, Ludlow wrote a letter to Maurice in London from the city of Paris which at that moment was in upheaval. In the letter he described “how French socialism had gripped the hearts and consciences of the workers, and unless Christians responded immediately to the crisis, socialism would shake the Christian faith to its foundations”.<sup>5</sup> This letter and subsequent meetings in London were the beginning of the social Christian movement. Ludlow, Maurice and Rev. Charles Kingsley immediately began to work with the Chartists, the beginning of the democratic movement in Britain. They understood that secular socialist political theory had grown out of the Christian notion of the common

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<sup>4</sup>Maurice Reckitt, *Maurice to Temple: A Century of the Social Movement in the Church of England* (London: Faber and Faber, 1947), 19.

<sup>5</sup>Hugh Martin, ed., *Christian Social Reformers of the Nineteenth Century* (London: Student Christian Movement Press, 1933), 148. William Temple contributed the introduction to this book.

good, and felt that the Church should re-appropriate this position, but on the basis of a Christian understanding of a human relationship to God, rather than on a secular basis such as provided by socialist theories. Therefore they coined the term 'Christian Socialism'.<sup>6</sup>

The initial movement lost momentum after 1854, but was reinvigorated in the 1880s. An important event in terms of the development of British social Christian theology was the publication of *Lux Mundi: A Series of Studies in the Theology of the Incarnation*, under the editorship of the Rev. Charles Gore in 1889.<sup>7</sup> According to Michael Ramsey, this book brought Maurice's theology of the Incarnation into the mainstream of British theology. The theology of the *Lux Mundi* group was modernist in two important aspects. The authors recognized the wonder of God's creation reflected in the scientific developments of the day, and they relied on the historical-critical approach to scripture for insight into the faith.<sup>8</sup> In a recent essay, Lee Austin states that *Lux Mundi* was responsible for the reintroduction of a method, or way of doing theology grounded in

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<sup>6</sup> However, the political direction that the Christian Socialist movement took alienated Maurice and he quickly dissociated himself from it. Reckitt, *Maurice to Temple*, 28.

<sup>7</sup> Gore was theologically and actively a social Christian.

<sup>8</sup> Michael Ramsey, *Charles Gore and Anglican Theology*, (London: S.P.C.K., 1955), 3. Ramsey states that for the contributors to *Lux Mundi*, contemporary thought was "not an adversary standing in contrast with divine revelation, but rather a means of illuminating that revelation". One of the criticisms of *Lux Mundi* had been that by concentrating on the Incarnation as the "key to the understanding of the world, these writers and their subsequent followers were minimizing the Cross, the divine judgment and the eschatological element in the Gospel". But there was little justification for this claim, especially in a close reading of the book, and in the works of the major contributors to the theology of the movement including Temple. See Michael Ramsey's chapter entitled "Lux Mundi", *An Era in Anglican Theology: From Gore to Temple*, (NY: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1960), 1-15.

the *via media*, which had begun with Richard Hooker in the sixteenth century.<sup>9</sup>

Throughout the final decades of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, various church associations were formed in Britain which became increasingly outspoken about social, economic and political issues. Yet the Christian Socialist movement had not appropriated its full prophetic function and had badly misread the signs of the times. The Christian Socialists had developed an encompassing statement concerning industrial conditions but they had neglected to concern themselves with conditions leading to war. Reckitt states that before WWI, social idealists of the day allowed themselves to be betrayed on two important issues. First of all they rejected the possibility of war and therefore imagined that it couldn't happen, and secondly they regarded the war as a "hideous and illogical interruption of the development of industrial civilization" rather than its natural outcome. "The complete failure of Christian idealists before 1914 to envisage the probability of war and to face its implications is a measure of the inadequacy alike of their theology and of their sociology". The period from 1914 to 1946 was one of recurring crises—war, depression, deterioration of international politics. This was a period of "crisis theology" for the Christian Socialists, and a time of intense response to the deterioration of human life in the world.<sup>10</sup>

The Bolshevik Revolution in 1917 triggered a new evaluation of the Gospel's social message. Reckitt states that few in Britain had taken Marxist dialectical materialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat seriously before the events in Russia in

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<sup>9</sup>Victor Lee Austin, "Is There an Anglican Method in Theology? Hints from the *Lux Mundi* Era," *Sewanee Theological Review* 42, no. 3 (Pentecost 1999): 290-310.

<sup>10</sup>Reckitt, *Maurice to Temple*, 158.

1917. The Bolsheviks instituted a 'new social order', but anti-Christian for they declared their opposition to religion and to many Christian moral values. British activists as a result of 1917 had to rethink their use of terms such as 'revolution' and 'social order' in this new context. Christian social critics who rejected Marxism were "led to suspect that the most hopeful clues to freedom and justice might be found not in the present but in the past," and re-examined their Christian heritage for new insights. The result of this development was that Christian Socialism moved forward to embrace more fully the Christian theology of humankind's relationship to God and to develop a fully stated Christian sociology that in turn informed social action. As well, it encouraged some Christian thinkers to apply Marxist methodology within a Christian context.<sup>11</sup>

Social Christians in the interwar period, whatever their thoughts on Marxism and Socialism, emphasized the importance of Jesus' social teaching, and the urgency for the church to be fully herself in the world. One important response to the interwar crisis and to the challenge of Marxism was the introduction of the concept of 'Christian sociology' through the work of Percy Widdrington.<sup>12</sup> Widdrington had responded to the challenge of Marxism by reworking of the concept of the Kingdom of Christ. He demonstrated, in the same way that Maurice had done, that it was time "not to build but to dig, to show

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<sup>11</sup>Reckitt, *Maurice to Temple*, 167. The questions posed to Christian belief by the Marxist dialectic led to the formulation of 'Christian Sociology' by the Christendom Group which was to be central to the Malvern Findings. See Reckitt, *Maurice to Temple*, 167ff.

<sup>12</sup>Widdrington had grown up in the Guild of St. Matthew with its strong association with Maurice's theology. He "was in particular alarmed by the [current] tendency to regard the Kingdom of God either as a mere synonym for Church or as a sort of earthly paradise to be ushered in by socialistic legislation" and he insisted on the prophetic responsibility of the Church "to make judgements in the light of her own unique sanction." Reckitt, *Maurice to Temple*, 168.



that economy and politics...must have a ground beneath themselves". That ground was the "ever-present reality" of the Kingdom. His thought led backwards to the Gospels, and to medieval Christendom in which, despite the difficulties, there had been "a conscious and not unsuccessful effort to incarnate a Christian interpretation of life in the institutions of society". Widdrington's group saw the Thomistic program as unique to the Church, and published *The Return of Christendom*, a book that attempted to reformulate Catholic social teaching in an Anglican context.<sup>13</sup> Widdrington and his group initiated two important developments: one was the Anglo-Catholic Summer School of Sociology which provided a place for dialogue between Maurice's theology and the practice and concerns of experienced priests and lay people. The other important development was the Conference on Politics, Economics, and Citizenship (COPEC) held in 1925, the conference at which William Temple first made his mark.<sup>14</sup>

### **3. William Temple**

The name of William Temple is synonymous with the Social Christian movement in the twentieth century through his writings, his participation in the movement especially at important conferences, his work with the Student Christian Movement and the YMCA, and his high position in the Church of England.<sup>15</sup> Although he consistently spoke out for the ordinary people, he was not from an ordinary family for he was the son of Frederick Temple, a highly respected divine and the Archbishop of Canterbury from 1896-1903.

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<sup>13</sup>None of this group's members were closely associated with the Anglo-Catholic movement, however. But at this time, some Anglo-Catholics led by Headlam were holding conferences extensively around the country. Headlam had fused Maurician theology and Catholic Sacramentalism leading to the work of the heroic slum priests.

<sup>14</sup>Reckitt, *Maurice to Temple*, 168-170.

Frederick Temple was not one of the most active in the Christian Socialist movement, but he was a good friend of leading Christian Socialists, such as Charles Gore who was a regular visitor to the house. William showed special gifts from an early age, and those gifts were developed especially by his father, and to some extent by Gore. Temple received his education in the Greats School of Oxford University in Philosophy. He was ordained in 1909; but did not take a parish until 1914. He became Bishop of Manchester in 1921, Archbishop of York in 1929 which was his title at the time of the Malvern Conference and was enthroned as Archbishop of Canterbury in April 1942 and remained so until his untimely death at the age of 63 in October, 1944.

As soon as he had finished school Temple plunged into the work of social reform. In 1905 he became involved in the Workman's Education Association by lecturing and preparing materials to be used in the classroom.<sup>16</sup> He became president of the WEA from 1908 and remaining so until 1924.

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<sup>15</sup>Temple was born in 1881 and died in 1944.

<sup>16</sup>From Maurice onward, various organizations had been put in place to help with the education of the working people. The WEA was a joint effort between Oxford University and a movement spearheaded by Albert Mansbridge, an employee of the Co-operative Wholesale Society. Richard Tawney said of the movement that "What is significant in the recent development of adult education...is the recognition by every wider sections of the working-class movement that if it is to solve its own problems, mobilise its own forces, and create a social order more in conformity with its own ideals, it must attend to the education of its members with the same deliberation and persistence which it has brought to the improvement of their economic position." Quoted in F.A. Iremonger, *William Temple, Archbishop of Canterbury: His Life and Letters*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1948), 75. The founding of the WEA required making a "bridge over the chasm that separated the handworkers from the intellectuals". This would never have happened without the dedication first of Mansbridge and then of Temple. One book that he wrote which was designed to give WEA members a text for their reading was *Plato and Christianity*. Temple had studied this subject with Edward Caird at Balliol, and this book

His speaking engagements for many years were largely to groups of young people, in particular, he was deeply involved in SCM and the YMCA, both major forces for transformational change in society.<sup>17</sup> He was instrumental in organizing COPEC, and was convenor as well. This was the first conference of its kind and brought new Christian thinking about political, social and economic issues into the mainstream of British thought. This conference not only helped to lay the foundation for radical Christian thought in North America and in other English-speaking countries in the following years, but was the first in the series of conferences and publications which contributed to the worldwide influence of the published *Findings* of the Malvern Conference and *Christianity and the Social Order* in 1941.<sup>18</sup>

Temple was also a leading exponent of ecumenism at the time. With Maurice, Temple shared the conviction that Christ was in all people and they both saw the need for dialogue in order to dispel misunderstandings within the Church.<sup>19</sup> Through the work of Gore and others in providing a theology in which dialogue was possible, greater harmony within the Church was evident in Temple's time and his prodigious attention was

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demonstrated Temple's erudition on the subject, as well as his life-long capacity to make complex ideas available to everyone.

<sup>17</sup>Iremonger cites many instances of William Temple's involvement as speaker at YMCA functions, and SCM conferences and lectures. He states that Temple "used to say that COPEC was the direct result of a SCM conference at Matlock of which he was chairman in 1909, when the subject for discussion had been 'Christianity and Social Problems'. COPEC has been cited as the occasion when the theological perspective of the Malvern Conference was formulated. Iremonger, *William Temple*, 333-4.

<sup>18</sup>For an instance of the impact of the British Christian Socialists on the American Social Gospel see Spenser Miller and Joseph Fletcher, *The Church and Industry* (NY: Longmans, Green and Company, 1930).

<sup>19</sup>Maurice was appalled at the dissension in his time among the Anglo-Catholics, evangelists, and the broad church within the Anglican Church.

focussed on the desperate need for the unity within the entire Christian Church. He became one of the main contributors to the founding of the World Council of Churches.<sup>20</sup>

Temple's writings comprised many books, pamphlets, articles and published speeches.<sup>21</sup> But he was not only known for his writings, he was very much in demand throughout his adult life as a speaker. He made many radio broadcasts and was on the BBC council for religious broadcasting. He was deeply loved by the people of Britain whatever their background. There is the story that the British soldiers of WWII, who would mostly try to avoid the religious program which was broadcast to them on Sunday mornings, would flock around the radios whenever Temple spoke.

Throughout the interwar period with its many crises, the Christian Socialists had worked out the relationship between Christian doctrine and the world. They had brought Christian principles to bear on the concerns of ordinary life and social structures, and had begun to develop a method of bringing those principles to bear on individual lives and on social, economic and political issues. At the Malvern Conference held in 1941 their approach was precisised into a four-page document, and quickly disseminated across the Anglican communion. Although the Malvern *Findings* were to have a major impact on

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<sup>20</sup>Temple was on the preparation committee but had died before the first World Council of Churches conference. The other Anglican closely associated with the ecumenical movement was George Bell, Bishop of Chichester, who unlike Temple lived to see the formation of the Council in 1948.

<sup>21</sup>Besides his writings on social issues such as *Christianity and Social Order*, published in 1942, Temple wrote extensively on theological, spiritual and philosophical issues. The most important books were *Mens Creatix* published in 1924, *Nature, Man and God*, the Gifford Lectures for 1932-33 and 1933-34, and *Readings in the Gospel of St. John* published in 2 volumes in 1939 and 1940. The whole range of his writings was known internationally. Although his writings in social concern were the focus at the end of his life, those writings cannot be taken in isolation.

developments within the Church of England in Canada, the Social Christian perspective which they represented was already known by many Canadian Anglicans through their active participation in the Social Gospel movement.

## **B. Developments in Canada up to 1941**

### **1. The Social Gospel**

As in Britain, the Social Gospel movement in the US and Canada was a primarily a reaction to the worker's plight and was an important component of the movement responsible for political, economic and social reforms in the nineteenth century and the first part of the twentieth century. The developments in the capitalist economy in North America had brought to the fore new social, economic and political problems. New methods of production and the concept of 'scientific' management that were practised at Henry Ford's assembly line, for example, had a debilitating impact on working conditions. But important structural changes in the workplace were due also to the rise of extensive big business management techniques which brought the explosive force of bureaucratization first into American and then into Canadian workplaces. When these techniques were employed by the new corporations: power over the work was centralized, vertical integration was pursued on an unprecedented scale and control of the inner and outer environment was increasingly possible.<sup>22</sup> These developments in the capitalist economy drove a deeper wedge into the social fabric as an even greater number of people became impoverished and susceptible to the ravages of disease, hunger and inadequate housing.

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<sup>22</sup>Glenn Porter, *The Rise of Big Business, 1860-1920*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition, (Ill: Harlan Davidson, Inc.,

The Social Gospel was a very complex movement and the response to these conditions was varied. By the 1920s there were three broad categories depending on the religious orientation, although separating the effects of these categories is very difficult. The theological conservatives, a category primarily represented by the evangelical churches, relied on organized philanthropy and the publication of reports of social evils. For them, the temperance issue was of central importance. The largest category was the progressives, generally adhering to a liberal theology and supporting government action such as the introduction of social security. The third category was the 'radical' stream that had strong roots in the British movement. Although the other two groups were willing to promote social reform and to oppose some of the effects of capitalism, it was only the radicals who by the 1930s insisted that the social Christian understanding of the Gospel demanded far-reaching structural changes in society.

In Canada the Social Gospel movement was strongly united until 1914, but after this time divisions began to crystalize.<sup>23</sup> Generally speaking, the Anglican Church did not support the Social Gospel movement. For example, the Church had been a lukewarm supporter of prohibition, and was relatively unscathed by the terrible effects which the failure of prohibition had on the other mainstream churches in Canada in the mid-

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1992) especially Chapter Two, 29-75.

<sup>23</sup>Phillips, *A Kingdom on Earth*, xviii. These categories had been developed by the American historian, Henry R. May, and were applied to the Canadian situation by Richard Allen in *The Social Passion*. Phillips saw these categories useful only to a point. In Canada, the group that represented the progressive view was the Council for Social Service of the Church of England in Canada.

1920s.<sup>24</sup> There had been, however, a voice for social concern within the Church which had originated in the Social Gospel and which had links to the British movement. In 1915 the Committee for Moral and Social Reform, which had been struck at General Synod in 1908 became the Council for Social Service (CSS). From its inception, the Council along with its publication, the *CSS Bulletin*, was potentially an important voice for radical social concern within the Church.<sup>25</sup> Its chief roles were to publish studies which detailed the structural problems leading to injustice and to promote theological reflection on social issues. Early on its role was limited to an educational role, and the involvement in social action was left up to the diocese or parishes. As result, there was not much follow-up in terms of social action within the Church. Over the years the Council's orientation became more clearly progressive and liberal, and therefore less accommodating to the radicals within the Church.

## **2. Radicalism in Canada up to 1941**

Through the 1920s and 1930s, the growing number of Anglican radicals had been indistinguishable within the Church from the 'progressive' stream represented by the Council for Social Service. Nor were they visible as an Anglican presence outside the

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<sup>24</sup>The Social Gospel movement in the Canadian mainstream churches was by and large committed to the temperance movement and its members had succeeded in getting provincial governments to pass prohibition legislation in the early twenties. But in 1926, prohibition legislation was thrown out first by the Ontario government, quickly followed by provinces. Unfortunately, the United Church of Canada, which had been founded in 1925, had thrown its support behind the prohibitionists, and the failure of prohibition was very damaging. See Richard Allen, "The Prohibition Crisis" in *The Social Passion: Religion and Social Reform in Canada 1914-1918* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1973), 264-283.

<sup>25</sup>Allen states that there were strong connections between the Canadian CSS and the British movement from the beginning and that "there was a potential dynamo for social

Church for most of them, unable find outlets for their social concern within the church, were very active individually in organizations such as Student Christian Movement in university, and the Fellowship for a Christian Social Order which had originated in the United Church. As well, the radical movement of the Social Gospel had found its voice in the political arena in the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (CCF) and in the League for Social Reconstruction (LSR). All of these organizations were deeply committed to the principles of the Social Gospel, but their activities for the most part took place outside of the milieu of the official mainstream churches.

*The YMCA and the Student Christian Movement*

The Student Christian Movement had very close ties to the YMCA and both were very active on both sides of the Atlantic. The YMCA in Britain had been a home away from home for Canadian soldiers from 1914 to 1918 and had engaged hundreds of soldiers in Christian study. The YMCA Chaplains had been impressed by the reception given to the Social Gospel in discussions with the soldiers and reported a growing unrest among the men with regard to the established order at home as well as a concern for the cause of social justice. By the end of the war connections were clearly drawn between the devastating effects of the war and the cause of Social Gospel. It would not be enough, they said, for the church to champion the cause of the soldiers on their return: "it must challenge and harness his new social concern in a moral equivalent of war". When they did return, those soldiers who attended Canadian universities were a radical presence on campus. Many of them became active members of the Student Christian movement

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reform in the corporate concepts of Anglicanism, as could be seen in the work of Temple and Gore in England". Allen, *The Social Passion*, 301.



just getting started in Canada.<sup>26</sup>

SCM was largely a university movement and peripheral to the Church. It was non-denominational and encouraged membership among those who were not religious but concerned about social issues. The method of study typical of SCM “cut the tap-root of much of the pernicious theological and political propaganda of today without even mentioning them”.<sup>27</sup> In Canada, the SCM method of study was developed by Dr. H.B. Sharman and through his leadership, SCM successfully formed a network of concerned and articulate church people throughout the country with close connections with British Socialism.<sup>28</sup> Temple lectured in North America on two occasions for SCM.<sup>29</sup>

#### *The Radicalism of the 1930s*

The devastation of the depression of the 1930s led to new expressions of the Social Gospel. One result of the ferment was a political response in the formation of the League for Social Reconstruction and the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (CCF). Another was the formation of the Fellowship for a Christian Social Order within the United Church but with membership drawn from other denominations. These two groups were interrelated.<sup>30</sup>

#### *The CCF*

The founding Convention for the CCF was held in Regina in 1932; it's academic advisory group from the beginning was the League for Social Reconstruction, and

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<sup>26</sup> Allen, *The Social Passion*, 305.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., 219-230.

<sup>28</sup> Allen describes the outlook of SCM in Canada, 305-312.

<sup>29</sup> Iremonger, *William Temple*, 178 and 380-1.

<sup>30</sup> Roger Hutchinson, “The Fellowship for a Christian Social Order: 1934-1945” in *A Long and Faithful March: 'Towards the Christian Revolution' 1930s/1980s* (The United Church Publishing House, 1989), 17-29.

prominent Montreal members of the League, Eugene Forsey & King Gordon drafted the “Regina Manifesto”, the basic platform for the party. The father of the CCF was J.S. Woodsworth, and ex-Methodist preacher. British born, he came to socialism through the American Social Gospel. But his commitment to the British parliamentary system and to both the ‘utilitarian rationalism’ of Fabianism and to the Social Christian movement was more constant in his life than the social gospel. Through the CCF’s most influential years, Woodsworth and the League were strong forces guiding the CCF into the Canadian form of moderate socialism.

The CCF was opposed to capitalism in its entirety. The last statement of the Manifesto read: “No CCF government will rest content until it has eradicated capitalism and put into operation the full program of socialized planning which will lead to the establishment in Canada of the Co-operative Commonwealth”. As well, the CCF was a truly democratic, grass-roots organization. It’s greatest influence in parliament was in its recommendation for comprehensive social security. Some of these recommendations were expeditiously adopted in the liberal party platform in 1940 in order to stave off social unrest.<sup>31</sup> The Unemployment Insurance Act was enacted in 1940 (awaited since 1919) and Children’s Allowances were in place by the end of the war. Although the Christian roots of the CCF were always visible, especially in the persons of Woodsworth, Tommy Douglas, and Stanley Knowles, the CCF was perceived primarily as a secular political party functioning in the secular world.

*The Fellowship for a Christian Social Order*

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<sup>31</sup>J.L. Granatstein, *Canada’s War: The Politics of the Mackenzie King Government, 1939-1945* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1960) 250.

Another national development in the 1930s was the formation of the Fellowship for a Christian Social Order, founded in 1934 at a conference at Queen's Theological College. A year before its founding, the Rev. John Line of the United Church had given an address in Toronto to which "hundreds came and showed the deepest interest in the address and the subsequent discussion".<sup>32</sup> As a result of this meeting the Movement for a Christian Social Order was initiated, and units were formed across the country, particularly in the presbyteries of the United Church. It was these units which were the foundation of FCSO formed a year later in 1932.

The group that founded FCSO believed that "a sound basis for responding to the crisis of the Western World was provided by the conviction that God is love and that love is mutuality or solidarity". FCSO demonstrated fellowship or solidarity with all people more deeply grounded in a spiritual awareness with less emphasis on the Decalogue.

But they were not content to engage in meaningless platitudes. They felt that the crash of the stock market was a definite sign that the era of capitalist influence was over and that "Christians ought to align themselves with the forces most likely to produce a democratic rather than a fascist future".<sup>33</sup> Therefore, one of FCSO's chief functions was to "extend the boundaries of the economic/political debate to include a consideration of socialism as a legitimate political option", but from a Christian perspective.<sup>34</sup>

#### *Montreal Radicalism in the 1930s*

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<sup>32</sup>Hutchinson, "The Fellowship for a Christian Social Order: 1934-1945", 19. Quoted in from J. Russell Harris in "Towards a Christian Social Order", *New Outlook*, VII (June 17, 1931), 577.

<sup>33</sup>R.B.Y. Scott and Gregory Vlastos, eds. *Towards the Christian Revolution* (Chicago and New York: Willett, Clark and Co., 1936), vii.

<sup>34</sup>Scott and Vlastos, xvi.

Montreal throughout the 1930s and into the 1940s was considered a major centre for radicalism. Of primary importance was the fact that up until the mid-fifties, Montreal was the largest industrial centre in Canada, and larger than most American cities as well. Therefore all the issues of labour relations, extreme poverty, urban slum were very much visible in Montreal, and therefore the negative impact of capitalism was very clear to Montreal social Christians.<sup>35</sup> McGill University was a focal point for radicalism in the 1930s. Not only had there been considerable ferment created in the university by returning soldiers in the 1920s, but the Student Christian Movement had taken a strong foothold there as well. McGill academics were a strong presence in the League for Social Reconstruction and the Montreal Chapter of FCSO was very active. These social activists were largely intellectuals.<sup>36</sup>

#### *The Impact on The Anglican Outlook*

The future members of the Editorial Board of *The Anglican Outlook* were affected directly or indirectly by these developments. Most of the Board were young clergy who had graduated from Montreal Diocesan Theological College in the 1930s.<sup>37</sup> Their studies

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<sup>35</sup>For an analysis of poverty in Montreal see Terry Copp's book entitled *The Anatomy of Poverty: The Condition of the Working Class in Montreal, 1897-1929* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1974). For an analysis of Montreal's industrial development see "Mapping the Changes: The spatial development of Industrial Montreal, 1861-1929" by Brian Slack, Lourdes Meana et al in *Urban History Review*, Vol. XXII, No. 2 (May, 1994). Other centres of radical activity were in Toronto, the second largest industrial centre and in Nova Scotia where the plight of the miners was extreme, but Montreal was considered the most radical. The Anglican church's influence was far stronger in the east due to patterns of settlement of the country, and consequently, its response to the problems of the West was muted.

<sup>36</sup>One of the outstanding characteristics of Canadian Socialism at this time had been the welcoming of intellectuals who played a role similar to the Fabians in Britain.

<sup>37</sup>MDTC is closely affiliated with McGill University. Following is the list of graduates from MDTC who were charter members of AFSA and involved in the *Anglican*

there would have included lectures and discussion of Temple's books and pamphlets as they had for AFSA members in Nova Scotia.<sup>38</sup> The influence of the radicalism of the 1920s and 1930s can be seen in the pages of *The Anglican Outlook* in its attitude towards war, its support for the principles of the CCF and in the periodical publication of articles by authors who had contributed to FCSO's *Towards the Christian Revolution*.

But one figure, a lay person, who was older than this group and very influential in the formation of the Anglican Fellowship for Social Action and the *Anglican Outlook* took part in all of these developments.<sup>39</sup> Dr. J. Cyril Flanagan, or better known as Flin Flanagan was born the son of a Montreal Anglican clergyman in 1897 and he, along with Rev. P.S.C. Powles of AFSA had fought in the Great War. Flanagan was seriously wounded at Passchendale but miraculously he recovered, and attended McGill in the Faculty of Dentistry where he connected up with the 'radicals' and became an activist in

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*Outlook*: W.J. Bishop, graduated in 1945, R. Bodger in 1935, K.N. Brueton in 1928, J.C. Kirby in 1940, J.O. Peacock in 1938, S.L. Pollard in 1935, C.H. Powles in 1945, E.S. Reed in 1934, M.A. Stephens in 1935. P.S.C. Powles graduated in 1915. Two lay members of AFSA were C.J. Champion and J.C. Flanagan. This list is taken from the AFSA official flyer.

<sup>38</sup>Andrew Wetmore, "The Briefcase Boys", *Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society* XXV (1983) p. 75. Ted DeWolf, an AFSA member wrote in a letter to Wetmore: "We all read what Archbishop Temple was writing and we spent a good deal of time discussing it. We were concerned that after the war things would be changed for the better, as we had all suffered and seen the sufferings of our people during the years of the depression". Generally speaking, the activities of AFSA in Nova Scotia are better documented than the Montreal group due this article and to Andrew Wetmore's thesis, "Divine Discontent: Anglicans and Social Action in Nova Scotia 1945-1975" published in 1978.

<sup>39</sup>In the 1955 10<sup>th</sup> Anniversary issue of *Anglican Outlook*, the Rev. Sam Pollard reported the words of an irate reader who called AFSA "a small band of malcontents headed and influenced by a well-known layman". No one would have doubted that the layperson in question was Flanagan. *AO*, November 1955, 8.

the Student Christian Movement.<sup>40</sup> In the 1930s, he became a member of the League for Social Reconstruction and he supported the CCF. He and Rev. Sam Pollard were members of the Fellowship for a Christian Social Order. In the 1940s he was involved in almost all of the developments in the Diocese of Montreal outlined below. The group of young clergy firmly believed that the gospel had a strong message for the world as did their predecessors such as Flanagan who had worked primarily through organizations outside of the Anglican Church. For a brief time in the 1940s, after the publication of the *Malvern Findings*, this group was able to bring its message to the world through the Anglican Church in an official capacity.

### **C. The Malvern Conference**

It was clear to the British Christian Socialists that the outbreak of the Second World War with its viciousness once again demonstrated the bankruptcy of capitalism, and that serious thought had to be given to a new social order, one in which both the cycles of poverty and of war would be eliminated. The hardships experienced by the British, the daily bombings and economic deprivation, were compounded by the fact that most people who were victims of Nazi attacks had already suffered the demoralization of the First World War, as well as the disruptiveness of the massive unemployment that had resulted when soldiers had returned home. Yet, Reckitt reports that “the opening of the war [meant] the end of the frigid and frozen ‘peace’ of the ‘thirties; [it] came almost as a

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<sup>40</sup>At McGill Dr. Flanagan is remembered for his athletic ability and is in McGill’s Sports Hall of Fame. He played football and was a referee for the university league for many years. He also played hockey and a record he set still stands. Despite his injury and hectic life, he lived to the age of 96.

release, and men looked to the war to deliver them from the old world and given them a new one after it".<sup>41</sup> Calls for 'post-war reconstruction' had begun early in war in Britain and there was a groundswell of support for such reconstruction in British society. The Christian socialists were in the forefront in articulating these concerns. In the early days of the war, William Temple was an active speaker both at lectures and on the BBC describing the causes of the war, encouraging the British in their difficult task of winning the war, and emphasizing the need for reconstruction after the war. One such radio talk was prepared for broadcast to the US and Canada on October 27<sup>th</sup>, 1940.<sup>42</sup>

The Malvern Conference was proposed in order to discuss in depth the Christian response to the crisis. The Conference was organized by the Industrial Christian Fellowship (ICF), the Christendom Group, and William Temple who was the convener. These two groups and Temple were the most authoritative spokes people for British Christian Socialist movement at the time. The Conference was held at Malvern, England in January 1941, over a four-day period and was attended by over 200 clergy from of all levels and lay people including noted intellectuals and military and political leaders.

The tone for the Conference was set in Temple's opening address; its purpose was to engage the Church in social issues in working out "the principles of Christian living in the political and economic realms, and the proper relation of these in the natural order to

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<sup>41</sup>Reckitt, *Maurice to Temple*, 183-186

<sup>42</sup>William Temple, *The Hope for the New World* (London: Student Christian Movement, 1940) 83-9. This book was placed in the Montreal Diocesan Theological College library in April 1941. See also William Temple, *Thoughts in War-Time* for lectures and radio talks given by Temple up to November, 1940. London: Macmillan & Co, 1940.

the other departments of life and especially to man's destiny as a child of God".<sup>43</sup> A great amount of material was presented at the Conference, but there was a lack of focus.<sup>44</sup> On the last evening of the conference, Temple presented a series of resolutions that he had drawn up on his own. These resolutions were discussed in the final morning session of the conference and were thought by most to express the conference's 'common mind'.<sup>45</sup> The document that was published is referred to in this paper as the *Malvern Findings*.<sup>46</sup>

In Canada, the Council for Social Service had kept the British Christian Socialist perspective alive through the *CSS Bulletin* and the *Canadian Churchman* as well as in its reports to General Synod. For example, Temple's article "Begin Now", published at the beginning of the war was concerned about 'a new world after the war'. The editor of the

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<sup>43</sup>*Malvern 1941: The Life of the Church and the Order of Society being the Proceedings of the Archbishop of York's Conference* (London: Longmans, Green and Co. Ltd, 1941), 14.

<sup>44</sup>Some people complained about this, but Temple said that the Conference had been planned this way to encompass the whole range of British Social Christian thinking at the time. See *Malvern, 1941*, 215-6.

<sup>45</sup>Not all the participants agreed that the *Findings* did express the will of the Conference. The greatest division was over Richard Acland's amendment to the Resolutions condemning the capitalist definition of private property in light of Christian doctrine. Acland's amendment stated that: "In our present situation, we believe that the maintenance of that part of the structure of our society, by which the ultimate ownership of principal industrial resources of the community can be vested in the hands of private owners, is a stumbling block" to Christian living. This was modified to "may be a stumbling block" in the version that was passed by the Conference. Nevertheless, some critics of the Conference felt that even this modified version meant that the Church had embraced socialism, while others were disappointed with the modification. Reckitt, 185.

<sup>46</sup>*Malvern, 1941*, p. 218. This document has been referred to under many titles. It was entitled the "Archbishop's Resolutions" in the *CSS Bulletin* #103, and the "The Findings, Malvern" in the *CSS Bulletin* #103S. Temple referred to "the resolutions" or the "findings" in the book *Malvern, 1941*. However, the document was also referred to as the "Malvern Manifesto" in some British publications, and in June, 1941, Joseph Fletcher published an article entitled "The Meaning of the Malvern Declaration" in *Christendom* in the U.S.



*Canadian Churchman* drew attention to the article and it was published in the *CSS Bulletin* No. 101 in November 1940 as “Christian Responsibility in a New World”.<sup>47</sup> But it was the publication of the Malvern *Findings* that energized the social Christian movement within the Anglican Church.

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<sup>47</sup>CSS Bulletin #101, November 28<sup>th</sup>, 1940. And see Pulker, 131. As well, at the end of the CSS Bulletin #103 was a list of books and pamphlets pertaining to the social teaching of the Church which were available at the Council’s library. Listed were publications by Temple, George Bell, M.B. Reckitt, R.H. Tawney, Karl Barth, a book from Industrial Christian Fellowship, Harold Laski, Dorothy Sayers, V.A. Demant, George Vlastos, B. Iddings Bell, and *Towards the Christian Revolution* published by FCSO. These authors all figured in the story of the reception of the *Findings* in Canada and in AO.

## Chapter III

### Malvern

#### A. Summary of the Malvern Findings

The *Malvern Findings* provided an outline of the British Christian Socialist theological foundation for Christian action as it was articulated in 1941 as well as the kinds of issues which were central in the movement.<sup>1</sup> News of the conference and its resolutions spread throughout the English-speaking world very quickly, and were published extensively. It was to have the strongest influence in arousing enthusiasm for a new order after the war. In the US, *Time* magazine stated that “Few Christian conferences have so struck the hearts and imaginations of churchmen everywhere as did the Malvern Conference of the Church of England, with its bold blueprint for a just and Christian post-war society”.<sup>2</sup>

##### (a) *The Disease of Civilization*

The first statement of the document concerned the current crisis of civilization. The war was seen not an isolated evil, but the direct result of those developing beliefs of Western civilization which had resulted from the “loss of conviction concerning the reality and character of God, and the true nature and destiny of man”.<sup>3</sup> The author referred to the document “The Christian Basis for Peace: Issued in Britain by the Highest Authorities of the Anglican, Roman Catholic and Free Churches There” stating that “the present evils in the world are due to the failure of nations and peoples to carry out the

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<sup>1</sup>“Supplement to Bulletin No. 3: The Findings, Malvern,” *Bulletin--The Council for Social Service* (Toronto of the Church of England in Canada, 1941). For the remainder of the paper, this publication is referred to as the *Findings*.

<sup>2</sup>*Time*, 10 March 1941 and quoted in Pulker, 132.

<sup>3</sup>*Findings*, 1.

laws of God” and that “no permanent peace is possible in Europe unless the principles of the Christian Religion are made the foundation of national policy and of all social life”.<sup>4</sup>

*b) The Duty of the Church to Speak Out*

The work of Christ on earth was visible in the work of the Church. The Church was not merely an “association of men gathered together by the act of their own wills, but a creation of God in Jesus Christ, through which as His Body Christ carries on His work for men”. On this basis the Church had “the duty and the right to speak, not only to its members, but to the world concerning the true principles of human life”.<sup>5</sup> The Church’s witness to the world of these principles was first of all as a community “of the Holy Spirit drawing men and nations into itself, that they may become sharers in its God-given life and so fulfil their several destinies according the God’s purpose”. But the Church was required also to attest to the true destiny of human beings for “God Himself is the Sovereign of all human life; all men are His children, and ought to be brothers of one another; through Christ the Redeemer they can become what they ought to be”. The witness to this truth was crucial for there could “be no advance towards a more Christian way of life except through a wider and fuller acceptance of this faith, and through the adoption, by individuals, of the way of living which it implies”. A little later in the document, the author restated the personalist implications: “The Christian doctrine of man as a child of God carries with it the sacredness of human personality”. On the basis of its success or failure to respect all people “a civilization or social order must be judged by the extent to which it recognizes this in practice”. It was through its faith and its

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<sup>4</sup>The document, “The Christian Basis for Peace” was printed in its entirety in the *CSS Bulletin* #103,10.

<sup>5</sup>*Findings*,1.

witness, as well as its struggle to apply Christian principles in the world that the Church could enable the Kingdom to become reality on earth.<sup>6</sup>

But the Church and its members could not assume that the Kingdom could be achieved simply through social re-organization “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 prevent individual men and women from becoming Christian, are contrary to divine justice, and act as stumbling blocks, making it harder for men to live Christian lives”. In terms of contemporary society, private ownership was cited as such a “stumbling block”, for resources which were meant by God to serve all people, were controlled by a few, who competed for these resources and as a result, deprived “the poorest members of the community of the essentials of life.... As a consequence, a way of life founded on the supremacy of the economic motive will remain, which is contrary to God’s plan for mankind”. For these reasons, the time had come for “Christians to proclaim the need for striving towards a form of society in which, while the essential value of the individual human personality is preserved, the continuance of these abuses will be no longer possible”.

*c) The Evangelical Task*

The Church had an evangelical task in proclaiming its testimony to the world. This was first and foremost testimony to the Gospel itself, and there was urgent need for more evangelistic preaching to “call men and women to submit their lives to Christ” and

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<sup>6</sup>Ibid., 2.

to create in all who were currently or were to become members of the Church “a sense of its world-wide mission and its world-wide fellowship”. But there was a further, more complex evangelical witness required of the Church:

The evangelical task involves a special testimony to the world in respect of its social and economic life. The Christian doctrine of man as created and redeemed by God for eternal fellowship with Himself supplies on the one side the only sure foundation of freedom and of justice, and ... requires that men shall have an opportunity to become the best of which they are capable and shall find in the prosecution of their daily tasks fulfilment and not frustration of their human nature. This involves in our own time such an adjustment of machine-production as to secure that the use and service of machinery may be a true vocation.<sup>7</sup>

*d) The Nature of Sin*

“Because we have neglected the true end of man, we have lost the controlling principle which allots to human activities their proper sphere and due relations to one another”. The result of this loss was the replacement of the quest for the “good life” of the Christian, with an emphasis on human economic activity “as though to produce material wealth were man’s true end”. This new emphasis was “an example of the pervasive influence of human sin which the Church must always keep before the minds and consciences of men” and was as relevant to “schemes of reform to be operated by sinful men as [it is] to our judgment of the situation in which we find ourselves.

Traditional Christian doctrine further illuminated the nature of sin in the world in two ways: i) Thomistic doctrine stated that “all citizens should be enabled to hold such property as contributes to moral independence and spiritual freedom without impairing that of others”. But when social justice and the general social welfare come into conflict with those rights, they need to be modified, even abolished. ii) Christian doctrine insisted

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<sup>7</sup> *Findings*, 2.

that “the proper purpose of work is the satisfaction of human needs”. Since “man is personal in all his activities” he should find in the work of production a sphere of truly human activity”. Daily work should not be relegated to merely making a living, as for so many it currently was.

*f) The Current Social Order*

The current order was summed up as follows:

The existing industrial order, with the acquisitive temper characteristic of our society, tends to recklessness and sacrilege in the treatment of natural resources. It has led to the impoverishment of the agricultural community, and is largely responsible for the problems of the ‘mass man’, who is conscious of no status, spiritual or social, who is a mere item in the machinery of production, and who easily develops the herd psychology, which is automatically responsive to skilful propaganda.<sup>8</sup>

Following this description was a list of “challenges to present practice”:

- i) By and large production was “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 credit to erect or work it”.
- ii) The current system led to unemployment at home; and to ‘dangerous’ international competitive practices. In Germany and in Britain, it was noted, that unemployment was ‘cured’ through re-armament. “The system under which we have lived has been a predisposing cause of war, even though those who direct and profit by it have desired peace”.
- iii) The monetary system should be set up so that human needs become the only true end of production.

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<sup>8</sup>Ibid., 3.

iv) The managerial framework of industry should reflect respect for the individual. In principle, labour rights are to be recognized as equal to those of capital in the control of industry”.

v) The “struggle for a so-called favourable balance” in international trade was to be replaced by “a genuine interchange of mutually needed commodities”.

g) *“Two thrusts to social reconstruction”*

To summarize this section, there ought to be two thrusts to social reconstruction: “the restoration of man’s economic activity to its proper place as the servant of his whole personal life; and the expression of his status in the natural world as a child of God for whom Christ died”. A list of practical suggestions for both the life of the Church and the order of society followed.

#### *The Life of the Church*

The church urgently needed to reorganize its economic and administrative policies in order to reflect its “unity of purpose and especially of brotherhood in the ministry”. Without this reorganization, its testimony to the world could not be taken seriously. As well, each parish was take on projects “for the upbuilding of its community life” particularly if social evils were in evidence. The formation of ‘cells’, small groups of prayer, study and service, was encouraged. These cells were to be made up of people who wished to grow in the knowledge of the Christian way of life, but were “not ready as yet to join in Christian devotion”. Another need perceived by the authors was the need to provide a scheme to enable “men and women to live under a definite discipline and rule whilst following the ordinary professions of life”.

#### *The Order of Society*

Recommendations included support for the implementation of a social security

scheme, support for the family as the basic social unit, a “reverence for the earth and its resources” and therefore support for the farmer, agricultural labourer and for farming communities, the taking of steps to understand the outlook of other nations, especially in light of anti-Semitism, provision of educational opportunities for all children including spiritual development and religious instruction, provision especially of education for adolescents and for adults including religious education and leadership training. Such matters were of great importance to the entire Christian community, and only through attending to them could the church witness effectively in the world.<sup>9</sup>

#### *Life and Worship*

Since worship was at the “heart of all the life and witness of the church”, liturgical reform was crucial. The new liturgy must be designed to “bring before uninstructed people the truth concerning God as Creator, Redeemer and Sanctifier, His claim upon our lives, our need of His grace and our hope in His love and power”. The sacrament of the Eucharist was to affirm the intimate relationship between God and humankind:

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.

The final statement of the document was that “the message of the Church to those who have faith in God and put that faith into practice is Good News. Man cannot save himself or his society; but ‘God hath visited and redeemed His people’ and is ready, if they are

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<sup>9</sup>Ibid., 3-4.



willing, to lead them ‘into the way of peace’”.

## **B. The Implications of the *Findings* for the Church**

### **1. *Malvern 1941: The Life of the Church and the Order of Society***

The proceedings of the Malvern Conference were published in 1941 by the Industrial Christian Fellowship. The book’s full title was *Malvern 1941: The Life of the Church and the Order of Society being the Proceedings of the Archbishop of York’s Conference*, indicating that the ICF considered Temple’s role as pivotal. The book contained William Temple’s opening address as well as his review of the Conference. The bulk of the book was taken up with papers, which had been presented by participants.<sup>10</sup>

In his opening address, Temple began with a statement about the war: “We recognize that the war is not a mere clash between rival national ambitions but is a crisis of civilization”.<sup>11</sup> The catalyst for war was Hitler, but the causes of the war were deeper, for “our whole social life is sick and in great need of a physician”. The church should be able to speak out, but its ineffectiveness in doing so was “partly due to a lack in the Church of England as a whole of any systematic grasp of the relevant principles”. The central principle was to love our neighbour, but “we lack what one school of Greek moralists called the ‘middle axioms’—those subordinate maxims which connect the ultimate principles with the complexities of the actual historical situations in which action

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<sup>10</sup>The contents of Temple’s opening address were not published in full in Canada at the time of the *Findings*, so the publication of this book which was several months after the conference was most likely the first look that Canadians had at his opening remarks. The book was placed in the Montreal Diocesan Theological College library in March, 1942.

<sup>11</sup>*Malvern, 1941*, 9. This phrase was quoted in the *CSS Bulletin*, #103 both by W.W. Judd in his introductory remark, and in one of the press clippings.

has to be taken".<sup>12</sup>

He stated that "we are at the close of the epoch characterized by rejection of the great mediaeval synthesis. That synthesis was one of the greatest achievements of the human intellect. In the thirteenth century it was in living relationship to contemporary experience". St. Thomas Aquinas's Natural Law which had been upheld by the Scholastics had lost its credibility because as with any system of thought there were dangers. Secular political thought had "either ignored Christianity" or had tried to bring in Christian concepts as an afterthought. But now, Temple stated, "we find ourselves fighting for human rights and a conception of life which have no justification except in the Christian doctrine of God and of Man. All the great political questions of our day are primarily theological; and we have not got ready to our hands the body of accepted theological doctrine which we need for the double purpose of vindicating the treasures of our inheritance and of pointing the defenders of these to the source from which they may draw inspiration and steadfastness".<sup>13</sup>

Temple had found a contemporary revision of Thomistic Natural Law in the work of Jacques Maritain. Although Maritain's primary concern was for personality, he censured "the individualism of much Renaissance thought, and especially of modern democratic thought; he asks for a democracy of the person instead of a democracy of the individual, taking human beings in the relationships of the social contexts rather than as atoms whose significance is chiefly that they may be counted". But in Maritain as in St. Thomas, Temple found "no adequate appreciation of the hideous power of sin". This

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<sup>12</sup> *Malvern*, 1941, 10.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 12.

lack was underscored for Temple in his having read Maritain's most recent book along side Reinhold Niebuhr's latest book.<sup>14</sup> He stated that: "Niebuhr's whole mind is possessed by the sense of that aboriginal sin of man which consists in putting himself in the centre where God alone ought to be, thus claiming in effect to be the God of his own world". As a result, the politics of power which rule the day would remain in part until "all citizens of all nations, and their rulers, are wholly redeemed out of the self-centredness into perfect fellowship with God made known in Christ".<sup>15</sup> These themes, the sickness of current society because it had forgotten its relationship to God, the need for understanding of Christian principles and social teaching, and the nature of sin were restated in Temple's book *Christianity and Social Order*.

In his review at the end of the Conference, Temple stated that the participants had succeeded in re-publicizing "the Christian principles in relation to the world of to-day and indicated some of the problems which they most directly affect and the direction in which we believe that they point". The Conference had created a great deal of discussion in the church, and "put the Church on the map" again for many who had ceased to regard it as having any relevance for these problems. In other words, Temple's idea of success had not been merely to state Christian theological principles, but to put into motion the process by which those principles would become the basis for a new order in which political, social and economic structures would more closely approximate God's Kingdom on earth.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>14</sup>Ibid., 13-4. These books were Maritain's latest book to appear in English, *Scholasticism and Politics*, and Niebuhr's last book, *Christianity and Power*.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid., 13-4.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid., 215-225.

## **2. William Temple's *Christianity and Social Order***

In *Christianity and Social Order*<sup>17</sup>, Temple developed the themes from the Findings and from *Malvern 1941* more fully and in a way which accentuated Temple's dialectical approach to the church's role in the world, an approach which was clearly methodological and applicable to the church's role in any culture. Starting from the religious perspective, he showed the derivation of principles from Social Christian theology upon which a Christian analysis of the social order was to be based. And beginning from the perspective of human social need, he outlined a truly human social order grounded in the Christian principles of freedom, fellowship and service. His dialectical argument ultimately provided a method that could be employed by the Church to speak out in the affairs of the world in all times and in all places.<sup>18</sup> In developing these themes, Temple laid the foundation for a new confident public voice for the Church, that was on the one hand deeply committed to Christian principles and on the other, deeply committed to promoting a new social order in the world.

Temple's teaching in *Christianity and Social Order* may be described under four headings: the Church's right to interfere, the social teaching of the Church, the new social order, and his insistence that the Church apply Christian principles to worldly issues and how this may be done.

### **(a) The Church's Right to Interfere**

Temple stated in *Christianity and Social Order* that "from the very outset

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<sup>17</sup>William Temple, *Christianity and Social Order*, (London: Penguin Books, 1976). First published in 1941 as a Penguin Special in both Britain and in the US.

<sup>18</sup>Temple said often that he was trained at Oxford as a young man to 'habitually think in circles'. He claimed to have received this training from Edward Caird who taught philosophy at Balliol. Robert Craig, *Social Concern in the Thought of William Temple*, (London: Victor Gollancz, 1963), 13.

Christian faith has intimately affected social as well as personal conduct, and the main Christian teaching carries with it a massive body of social teaching”.<sup>19</sup> He expanded some important areas in order to show that concerned Christians as well as the institutional Church could speak out confidently about political, economic and social issues. His arguments were grounded in scripture, tradition and historical analysis.

He presented a brief history of the church’s response to world affairs showing that the church had exercised considerable moral influence in the economic sphere until after the Restoration. At this point the church relinquished its claim on economics and politics and for most of the eighteenth century, the Church’s main concerns were theology and the direct relation of the soul to God. In the nineteenth century, the church once again, through the work of the Reformers spoke out against slavery and factory conditions. Reformers had addressed political and social issues, but their chief concern was the state of the soul of the poor and the working class and had appealed almost exclusively to an emphasis on the Eighth Commandment of the Decalogue. This had the “effect of breaking up a tradition derived from Biblical teaching as a whole”.<sup>20</sup> For centuries, the Church’s social teaching had been marginalized, but now that St. Thomas’s doctrine of “natural law”, the communitarian aspect of Christian belief, had once again found its place in the theology of the Church, the proper role of the contemporary Church was to carry on the tradition of social teaching especially in the sphere of economics.<sup>21</sup>

*(b) The Social Teaching of the Church*

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<sup>19</sup>William Temple, *Christianity and Social Order*, 47.

<sup>20</sup>*Ibid.*, 51.

<sup>21</sup>*Ibid.*, 52-3.

In Chapter 4, entitled “Christian Social Principles: (A) Primary”, Temple described the principles themselves. In the section entitled “God and His Purpose”, Temple brought the concept of God as Creator into the centre contemporary life. God created all kinds of things, most of which must obey his laws, but “he also made creatures—men and women—who could disobey His law for them, and do so; He did this in order that among His creatures there might be some who gave him free obedience and answered His love with theirs”.<sup>22</sup> However, people became “hardened in selfishness,” so Christ came and “lived out the divine love in a human life and death,” and continued to draw people to Himself. Christ’s continued presence in human lives implied that the Kingdom of God was a reality now, but could not “come into being in its completeness within history at all”. It could only be perfected in the eternal order.<sup>23</sup>

In the section entitled “Man: His Dignity, Tragedy and Destiny”, Temple stated two fundamental facts about humanity: human beings were made in the image of God, but this image was “stamped on an animal nature”. Therefore human life was constantly in tension. A human being was a “child of God, capable of communion with God...and destined for eternal fellowship with God. His true value is not what he is worth in himself or to his earthly state, but what he is worth to God; and that worth is bestowed on him by the utterly gratuitous love of God”.<sup>24</sup>

From this, Temple stated that neither must the state abrogate the individual’s dignity (as some totalitarian states did), nor must individuals live as the centre of their own value:

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<sup>22</sup>Ibid., 55.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid., 56.

Man is self-centred; but he always carries with him abundant proof that this is not the real truth of his nature. He has to his credit both capacities and achievements that could never be derived from self-interest. The image of God—the image of holiness and love—is still there, though defaced; it is the source of his aspirations; it is even—through its defacement—the occasion of his perversity. It is capable of response to the Divine Image in its perfection if ever this can be presented to it. This is the glory of the Gospel. It enables man to see “the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ”, and so “with unveiled face, reflecting as a mirror the glory of the Lord”, man may be “transformed into the same image from glory to glory”.<sup>25</sup>

Temple stated further that the destiny of the human race was “that he must be treated as what he actually is, but always with a view to what in God’s purpose he is destined to become”. The ordering of society, as much as could be planned, must be based on this double vision.

These were the primary social principles. In Chapter 6 entitled “Natural Order and Priority of Principles”, Temple connected these to the concept of “natural law”:

In earlier times, Christian thinkers made great use of the notion of Natural Law. They did not mean by this a generalization from a large number of observed phenomena, which is what a modern scientist means; they meant the proper function of a human activity as apprehended by a consideration of its own nature. In practice, the Natural Order or Natural Law is discovered partly by observing the generally accepted standards of judgement and partly by consideration of the proper functions of whatever is the subject of enquiry. This is a task for human reason; but so far as reason enables us to reach the truth about anything in its own essence and in its relationships, it enables us to see it as it is in the mind of God. Thus it is a Natural, not a Supernatural, Order with which we are concerned; but as God is the Creator, this Natural Order is His order and its law is His law.<sup>26</sup>

Unfortunately, a great deal stated about “natural law” had been in the context of feudal and peasant society, social systems which have disappeared. But the advantage of reworking the concept of Natural Law was that those who pondered the consequences of

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<sup>24</sup>Ibid.

<sup>25</sup>Ibid., 60. Quotes are from 2 Corinthians iv. 6; iii. 18.

social structures were able to employ criteria other than those proscribed by the activity, such as economics. That is, “according to Natural Law the economic process is not an end in itself; it and all its parts are primarily a means to something that is much more than economic—the life of man”.<sup>27</sup> The Church’s double vision of God’s love and of human life provided the basis for Christian principles.

Temple saw the possibility for a common ground based both on our shared humanity in Christ and on reason. This common ground would allow for all people to work towards a better society. “If we belong to the Church with such a purpose and hope as this, we are obliged to ask concerning every field of human activity what is the purpose of God for it. If we find this purpose it will be the true and proper nature of that activity, and the relation of the various activities to one another in the divine purpose will be the ‘Natural Order’ of those activities”.<sup>28</sup>

The Church was meant to be an agent of God’s will just as Christ’s earthly body was during His earthly ministry. Since all humans belong to this body, all must “take our share in the great work of Christ”. Therefore the church was required to ‘interfere’ in economic and political affairs because human beings were both shaped by, and were shapers of the socio-economic order. Christians were required to shoulder the responsibility for the discovery of the “true and proper” nature of all human activities and “the relation of the various activities to one another in the divine purpose”, that is the Natural Order of things. That is, the role of the Church as the Body of Christ was to

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<sup>26</sup>Ibid., 80.

<sup>27</sup>Ibid., 81.

<sup>28</sup>Ibid., 37.



bring each activity “into that Order, if they have in fact departed from it”.<sup>29</sup> However, the final reality was God's role in the life of a society, whatever human reason could devise in the way of a Christian social order.

*(c) The New Social Order*

In Chapter 5, “Christian Principles: (B) Derivative” Temple reconciled the primary Christian principles with the chief activities of humanity. He began with the statement about the profound human need for social relationships in all of human history. People were “naturally and incurably social”. From the beginning of each life, a person was part of a complex social network of groups and individuals: families, school, church and later in work, unions, associations, as well as citizens of cities, counties and countries.

Temple saw that belonging to groups was essential at all stages of human life for it was “by our mutual influence we actually constitute one another as what we are”.<sup>30</sup> These groups may be familial, associative or contractual so that the ‘rules’ for belonging may be radically different. In other words, Temple’s concept of fellowship was twofold. Not only was it the basis for community, fellowship also provided both for an “inherent need of human nature and the means through which the best things possible to men are realized”.<sup>31</sup> Earlier in the book, Temple had shown that social fellowship was the fundamental basis for human development. Temple used the example of the problems created by long-term employment to show the importance of the socialization process.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>29</sup>Ibid., 38.

<sup>30</sup>Ibid., 70.

<sup>31</sup>Ibid., 90.

<sup>32</sup>Ibid., 33-5.

Temple's description of a Christian social order provided the basis from which to evaluate current political and economic theory. Although cognizant of the iniquities and abuses which existed in British society, he also saw hope for it seemed to him "clear that such evils as we have mentioned cannot be due to mere lack of good will. For there is an abundance of goodwill. Some deeper cause must be sought".<sup>33</sup>

Throughout the book as he compared the current social order with the Christian social order, he developed the thesis of the economic and political necessity for a government to foster what he called 'intermediate groups'. He referred only once to the concept of 'intermediate groups' in the section on *Social Fellowship* in Chapter 5. Nevertheless, this concept embodied the concrete political and economic expression of his notion of how the Christian social order may evolve, the social order to which the Church was to be witness. Ideally he thought, society was to be arranged so as to give every citizen the maximum opportunity and training and the widest possible extension of personal responsibility for "it is the responsible exercise of deliberate choice which most fully expresses personality and best deserves the great name of freedom".<sup>34</sup> Such training was only possible in a social order in which associations of all kinds flourished, giving people the grounds for personal development.

Liberty was actual only in the various cultural and commercial and local associations which were freely formed, and it was only in these associations that people could be accountable to one another. These relationships existed in the whole network of communities, associations and fellowships. It was in this network that the real wealth of

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<sup>33</sup>Ibid., 96.

<sup>34</sup>Ibid., 67.

human life consisted. The state which fostered these associations ceased to be a single body in relation to a multitude of individuals and became a community of communities.

What was significant was that despite the fact that current economic and political theories ignored this network, most human activities were carried out in the context of these groups. In discussing political theory, Temple was concerned about the limitations imposed by theories that acknowledged only the state and the individual, and ignored not only the great complexity of society but also the person-in-community as represented by the intermediate groups. This was exemplified by the reductionism inherent in modern political and economic theory and the limitations imposed by it, particularly in the lives of the workers and the poor. Temple, then, would never support radical political theory such as Communism because it fell into the trap of defining liberty entirely in terms of individual liberty and promoting a mechanical form of equality. In his view, a political philosophy which treated the individual solely in relation to the state and therefore resolved issues either in terms of individualism or collectivism was bound to fail. Temple thought that even modern democratic theory failed insofar as it was concerned only with the individual on the one hand and the state on the other.

For Temple the three principles for a Christian social order that were derived from the primary principle (that each person is a child of God) were freedom, fellowship and service. The institutional structures in a Christian social order would develop along the lines of these principles. The political structures would provide for the freedom of the individual as well as for the health of the whole of society. The need for fellowship, especially in taking cognizance of the intermediate groups, would result in the full and complex development of economic and social structures. Dedication to these two

principles of freedom and fellowship resulted in the issuance of the third, the obligation of service. The principle of service as applied to individuals was clearly operating in the great amount of volunteer work done through the church. But Temple took the concept further to mean a sense of vocation in the least as well as in the most fulfilling lines of work.<sup>35</sup> He also believed that this principle must be applied by organizations as well whether family units or corporations. The rule was for each unit to understand its own vocation in the context of the wider community, and therefore to provide for an overall growth of a Christian social order.

The application of these principles would result in specific political, economic and social programs. In the chapter entitled “The Task Before Us” Temple suggested a six-point program which would address the critical issues of the day such as poverty, education, labour, and basic human rights.<sup>36</sup>

*(d) How the Church May Interfere*

Temple early in the book had stated that the Church had rightly “interfered” in the past in issues of crucial importance concerning social justice and he claimed that the Church must continue to be responsible for speaking out. However, he pointed to pitfalls which could lead to further alienation of the Church in society and weaken its right to speak out, for this right could be easily “compromised by injudicious exercise, especially when the ‘autonomy of technique’ in various departments of life is ignored. He thought that religion, for example, could rightly censure the “use of artistic talents for making money out of men’s baser tastes”, but it could not lay down laws about perspective or

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<sup>35</sup>Ibid., 74. This statement did not justify an order of society that offered many people only limited work opportunities.

<sup>36</sup>Ibid., 96-7.

technique.<sup>37</sup> In order to preserve this right, he claimed that the Church must speak to society in a way which made sense to society in its own time. In Chapter 1, Temple defined an approach or a method in four steps. His main concern in outlining these steps was to demonstrate at every point the Church's moral responsibility. But perhaps of more lasting importance in his approach was the method itself, in which each step grew out of the previous step. Taken together, these steps provided grounds for the Church to speak out in any age and in any society. Temple used examples from his own time to demonstrate the method:

The approach to the problem in our own time is to be made along four distinct lines: (1) the claims of sympathy for those who suffer; (2) the educational influence of the social and economic system; (3) the challenge offered to our existing system in the name of justice; (4) the duty of conformity to the 'Natural Order' in which is to be found the purpose of God.<sup>38</sup>

First of all, Christians must acknowledge the intimate connection between the recognition of social injustice and the Christian need to act: "The suffering caused by existing evils makes a claim upon our sympathy which the Christian heart and conscience cannot ignore". He then outlined the main concerns in Britain in his day: inadequate housing, malnutrition and unemployment, and he described these in some detail. He focussed on the issue of unemployment, particularly long-term employment.<sup>39</sup> His discussion was based on surveys and reports, that is, his argument started with the concrete situation which because of its moral implications must of necessity engage the attention of Christians.

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<sup>37</sup>Ibid., 32.

<sup>38</sup>Ibid., 32. The following argument is taken from 32-38.

<sup>39</sup>This outline was more or less parallel to the Malvern statement.

Secondly, having brought the concrete issue of unemployment into the argument meant that “the second ground for the Church’s concern in social questions” had been reached. The second step involved digging more deeply into the causes of structural injustice, and he related this to “the educational influence of the social and economic system in which men live”.<sup>40</sup> The social order at once expressed the sense of values active in the minds of citizens and tended to reproduce the same sense of values in each new generation. He cited the example of civilizations in the past and that in Nazi Germany as “giving prominence to military leaders” and therefore perpetuating a military-based society. In British society in his day, the acquisition of wealth through competitiveness was given prominence:

We throw most young Englishmen out into a world of fierce competition where each has to stand on his own feet (which is good) and fight for his own interest (which is bad), if he is not to be submerged. Our system is not deliberately planned, but it produces effects just the same. It offers a perpetual suggestion in the direction of combative self-assertiveness.

This ‘education’ was seen as “the most formative influence in the moulding of a people’s character” and the question must be asked if it tended “to develop a Christian character”. If the answer was no, and it surely was, the Church could not, “without betraying its own trust, omit criticism of the economic order, or fail to urge such action as may be prompted by that criticism”. Once again, Temple started with a concrete situation, but in this case analysed the situation in terms of society as a ‘body’, that is, he acknowledged the causes and effects of social structures on all members of that body and in so doing demonstrated the value of the concept of natural law in developing a Christian critique of social, political and economic issues.

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<sup>40</sup>Temple stated that this type of analysis dated from Plato’s *Republic*.

These larger connections were often missed in the narrower analysis in social, political and economic realms typical of Temple's time. For example, to reflect on his discussion on political issues without an understanding of "natural law" or of "intermediary groups" in political theory led to the loss of valuable insights. But without these insights, a cohesive statement about the real situation in which a society functioned could not be made. It was therefore incumbent on the Church, because it purported to be inclusive, to delve deeply into these issues and to understand their implications.

Thirdly, from this type of analysis, the Church was required to challenge the existing system on moral grounds:

It is not merely that some who 'have not' are jealous of some who 'have'. The charge against our social system is one of injustice. The banner so familiar in earlier unemployed or socialist processions—'Damn your charity; we want justice'—vividly exposes the situation as it was seen by its critics. If the present order is taken for granted or assumed to be sacrosanct, charity from the more or less fortunate would seem virtuous and commendable; to those for whom the order itself is suspect or worse, such charity is blood money.<sup>41</sup>

A Christian perspective, in which human equality was the cornerstone for justice, was required to respond to the challenge of this statement whereas other philosophies could ignore it:

Men do not seem to be equal in any respect, if we judge by available evidence. But if all are children of one Father, then all are equal heirs of a status in comparison with which the apparent differences of quality and capacity are unimportant; in the deepest and most important of all—their relationship to God—all are equal.

He went on to say that on this basis, all people in society should have equal opportunity to develop their capacities in terms of their labour. In the current state of society, only a small

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<sup>41</sup>Ibid., 23.

portion get this opportunity, and this was morally unacceptable.

The Christian perspective as it was grounded dialectically in both Christian principles and knowledge of the world brought with it a judgment which could not be ignored by the Christian: "He must either refuse it, or accepting it, devote himself to removal of the stigma".

Fourthly, recognizing the need to act led inevitably to the larger recognition that the "commission given to the Church is that it carry out the purpose of God. It is to be the instrument of organ of His will, as His fleshly Body was in the days of His earthly ministry". Temple re-stated his argument that men and women were free to respond to His will and His love. In that freedom, "He gathers together a fellowship to be at once the nucleus of the universal fellowship of love and the chief means to its establishment".

This is St. Paul's theme: the "purpose of God in creation, manifested in Jesus the Messiah, accomplished through the Church". Temple states further:

If we belong to the Church with such a purpose and hope as this, we are obliged to ask concerning every field of human activity what is the purpose of God for it. If we find this purpose it will be the true and proper nature of that activity, and the relation of the various activities to one another in the divine purpose will be the 'Natural Order' of those activities. To bring them into that Order, if they have in fact departed from it, must be one part of the task of the Church as the Body of Christ. If what has true value as a means to an end beyond itself is in fact being sought as an end in itself, the Church must rebuke this dislocation of the structure of life and if possible point out the way of recovery. It is bound to 'interfere' because it is by vocation the agent of God's purpose, outside the scope of which no human interest or activity can fall.

In following through this process or method, the Church was able to bring its Christian principles to bear on the political, economic and social issues of the day:

The method of the Church's impact upon society at large should be twofold. The Church must announce Christian principles and point out



where the existing social order at any time is in conflict with them. It must then pass on to Christian citizens, acting in their civic capacity, the task of re-shaping the existing order in closer conformity to the principles. For at this point technical knowledge may be required and judgements of practical expediency are always required.

The Church could not proclaim the solution, for example for unemployment, but could pronounce a given society in which unemployment was a chronic feature a diseased society, and that if that society did not find and administer the remedy, then it was guilty before God. But occasionally the Church could go further than this and “point to features in the social structure itself which are bound to be sources of social evil because they contradict the principles of the Gospel”.

From 1942 to 1944, as Archbishop of Canterbury, Temple restated many of the arguments made in these two publications for his prodigious interest in all aspects of society remained. He gave lectures and radio talks and published books, and chapters of books. Of particular interest were *The Church Looks Forward*, published in 1944, and *Religious Experience* and *Citizen and Churchman*, both collections of essays and broadcasts published posthumously.

For Temple, the Christian principles which were stated in the *Findings*, in his opening address at the Conference, and in *Christianity and the Social Order* by necessity engaged all Christians in evaluating social, political and economic issues, and in work towards the improvement of life for all living on this earth. Implied in his ‘method’ was the necessity of a renewal of the liturgical, evangelical and prophetic functions of the Church in the contemporary world. This challenge was taken up in several ways in Canada during the early 1940s. The culmination of this movement was in the publication

of the *Anglican Outlook* in which three important streams of the movement came together.

Temple's publications had the effect of renewing the Social Christian vision for Anglicans in Canada in four important areas: 1) they called for the Church to re-establish its long record of speaking out against abuses on social, political and economic issues; 2) they re-established a Christian *and* inclusive vision of human life through theological argument; 3) they stated, in clear terms, the requirements of the new social order particularly in terms of the implications of fellowship and solidarity; and 4) they provided a method of Christian analysis of social, political and economic issues grounded in Christian Socialism and from the force of these arguments laid the basis for a "new Church journalism".

## Chapter IV

### **“Religion, Revolution and Restoration”**

#### **A. The Initial Canadian Response in “Religion, Revolution and Restoration”**

Members of the *Council for Social Service* of the Church of England in Canada were anxious to publish the Malvern statements as soon as possible. In the *CSS Bulletin* #103, published on February 25th, the editor, W.W. Judd, had decided to print a version of the *Findings* garnered from newspaper articles already published and he accompanied the *Findings* with other related documents. But while this twelve-page edition was being printed, he received the final ICF four-page version of the *Findings* which had been edited by Temple, and Judd published it as a ‘supplement’, the *CSS Bulletin*, #103S, dated February 25<sup>th</sup>, and he distributed both his 12-page *Bulletin* entitled “Religion, Revolution and Restoration” and the official *Findings* together.<sup>1</sup>

In the section entitled “The Setting of the Conference” Judd stated that although the people of Britain have had to “face the issues involved in a realistic way”, Canadians had not hitherto been forced to face these issues: “Our leaders in church, educational and state circles should be thinking far more deeply of such matters. We cannot be content with the *status quo* within our own country. It will not stand the test after the war”. Judd saw a deeper meaning to the Conference in that it was indicative of a “bloodless and constructive” revolution in Britain due in large part “to the long, slow, permeation into

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<sup>1</sup>Basically, the content in the two documents is the same, but the order of presentation is different due most likely to the piecemeal way in which the information was gathered. The only difference of substance is that the “Acland Amendment” is printed separately in the *Bulletin* #103 version, and re-states rather prominently Acland’s point that private property, as defined currently, is a stumbling block.

English life of Christian principles”.<sup>2</sup> He summarized the main points of the Findings and touched on the divergent opinions present at the Conference and the Acland Amendment.<sup>3</sup> He stated that Acland Amendment was passed with a majority vote, but failed to mention that the wording had been modified.

Judd considered the meaning of the Conference. For one thing, it meant “that the British Church leaders believe that there must be preparation on the part of the Church to have an effective voice in the new form of Society which is to come and in the peace negotiations at the end of this war”. For another, he saw in it the need for the Church to communicate its message and cited the failure of the US to support the League of Nations as the result of inadequate “discussion among the American people before the fatal decisions of Congress were taken”. In his view the Conference had demonstrated the “necessity the Church feels for such action and her determination to be interested”. The *Findings* and other materials published in this CSS Bulletin were offered as the basis for group study. “While we do not assume that everything stated is wholly right, and while we most certainly do not believe that the Church can lay down a blue-print for Society, we believe these Findings will help our people to a study of Christian principles and of means for their application for the betterment of the world in which we shall have to live and for which today the British peoples are fighting”. He ended this section by stating that “righteousness must be the end, and religion the power, in revolution, restoration and reconstruction”.

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<sup>2</sup>*CSS Bulletin #103*, 1.

<sup>3</sup>The reports of the Conference mentioned by Judd were printed in this Bulletin as “Press Comments”, 7-9.

In the next section entitled “First Steps” Judd offered the following possibilities for action beyond study groups. First of all, the Archbishop’s Resolution offered a practical objective, and it was one that had been discussed frequently in CSS and its *Bulletin*. Pertaining to Section 4 (a) of the Findings, he stated: “We have often said that if members of our congregations will get into first hand touch with the areas of under privilege and delinquency in their parish, town or city, their sympathies will be touched, their consciences smitten, and their wills moved to correct evils”. Judd felt that this process, which had been the basis for the research done through the CSS, was validated in the *Findings*. He demonstrated the bias of the CSS towards legislative solutions to problems, however, in stating that “this Christian will must be expressed through legislative action as it applies to such immediate questions as relief, employment, and other social services”.

Secondly, a greater effort must be made to “seek friendlier relations with our non-Anglo-Saxon Canadians” as per Section 13 (k) of the Malvern *Findings*. Thirdly, in referring to the section on the Eucharist, Judd stated that “we should think more often, more fully, and prayerfully, of its social implications”. This theme was and other presented in the extra material in *Bulletin #103* were deeply ingrained in the writings of Anglican radicals and very present in the *Anglican Outlook*.

In his article entitled “Religion in Revolution”, Rev. Dr. Lyndon Smith noted that people who were threatened by revolution usually reacted with anger and fear.<sup>4</sup> Christian and democratic peoples had “tended to underestimate the powers of evil and to shrink

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<sup>4</sup>Rev. Dr. Lyndon Smith was involved in the publication of the newsletter *Canada and Christendom* starting in 1942. See details below.

from the task of hard thinking and strong action". He thought that the British Church at Malvern had demonstrated that it "does not propose to be trapped by complacency and delay now that the world is faced again with disaster. If it is true that in time of peace we should prepare for war, it is also true that in time of war we should prepare for peace—if we want to keep the peace". The war was a "natural product of moral and mental anarchy in world-society" which prevailed because humanity had "lost a real understanding of the nature and destiny of man". The Church had the right and the duty to "re-assert the fundamental doctrines of the Christian Faith". The times were a call to the Church "to offer its faith to the world as the only firm foundation upon which the work of positive re-construction can be carried on". Therefore Christians were called upon to study their faith, and "to criticize it, and if need be to change it".<sup>5</sup>

The *Bulletin* contained a series of press reports about Malvern, along with three more documents. The first was "The Christian Basis for Peace", the second was a message from Roosevelt to Congress, January 6<sup>th</sup> stating that this was "no time to stop thinking about the social and economic problems which are the root cause of the social revolution which is today the supreme factor in the world".<sup>6</sup>

The third was a letter from the Primate of Canada to his Bishops concerning the war effort entitled "To Win the War" in which it was first stated that: "Britain is fighting for her life!" and that Canada must support her. There was a call for participation in the

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<sup>5</sup>*CSS Bulletin* #103, 6.

<sup>6</sup>*CSS Bulletin* #103S, 10.

war effort, but also an outline of the steps that need to be taken to ensure peaceful reconstruction after the war.<sup>7</sup>

## **B. The Unifying effect of Malvern**

### **1. Country-wide Reaction**

After the publication of the Malvern Declaration, and to some extent after *Christianity and Social Order*, study groups sprang up across the country, closely followed by diocesan social service organizations. The *Canadian Churchman* and the *CSS Bulletin* did continue coverage of the movement and statements were issued from important church people. However, most of the reaction was from voices within the church that did not have an official standing. The most active centres for these 'unofficial groups' were Montreal, Toronto, Ottawa and Nova Scotia.<sup>8</sup>

### **2. Rev. Charles Feilding and the "Canada and Christendom", a Mimeographed Newsletter from Toronto**

Charles Feilding had from September 16<sup>th</sup>, 1941 to July 1943 edited and distributed a newsletter to a growing number of interested people.<sup>9</sup> This newsletter, inspired by Malvern, was a response to the pressure building up within the church for

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<sup>7</sup>CSS Bulletin #103, 11-12.

<sup>8</sup>Edward Pulker, *We Stand on Their Shoulders: The Growth of Social Concern in Canadian Anglicanism*. (Toronto: Anglican Book Centre, 1986), 134-5. As Pulker shows, however, the impact of the *Findings* was not confined to these centres.

<sup>9</sup>*Canada and Christendom*. Mimeographed newsletter printed and distributed by Rev. Charles Feilding in Toronto which was modeled on J.H. Oldham's *Christian Newsletter* in Britain and Reinhold Niebuhr's *Christianity and Crisis* in the US. For a fuller discussion of the role of *Canada and Christendom*, see Pulker, *We Stand on Their Shoulders*, 135-6 and Stephen Hopkins, "The Anglican Fellowship for Social Action", (M.A. Thesis, University of Toronto, 1982): 39-44.

leadership on social and economic issues.<sup>10</sup> The first three issues were sent out without a title, but in January 1942, the newsletter was entitled *Canada and Christendom*. Ten issues were distributed.

In the Special Supplement in March 1943, Feilding republished parts of previous letters explain the purpose of the letter.<sup>11</sup> In his first letter (published September 1941) he had referred to the *Findings* and the document “The Ten Points” which were not “merely finely composed and high sounding” but sprang “from groups of persons banded together for Prayer, Study and Action”. Feilding went on to say that in Canada, due to its immense size, those involved in social action required such a newsletter because “these documents and the movement which they represent need Canadian interpretation, application and expansion”. This explained the title of the newsletter: it was to be a truly Canadian critique employing a method of analysis. In this same letter, Feilding discussed his hopes for the newsletter.

The discussion of problems by those who have faith that God intends and enables us to meet them should make for deeper fellowship in prayer and action. The letter could at least facilitate Canadian discussion and action along the lines of the wider movements.... To this end readers would be encouraged to write of their own observations and activities and to ask the questions which others might help to answer.<sup>12</sup>

In the second letter (originally published in October 1941), Feilding discussed the impact of ecumenism. He stated that although the Malvern Conference was an Anglican event, it nevertheless had a strong effect in other denominations because “it spoke clearly

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<sup>10</sup>C.R. Feilding’s editorial board consisted of W.G. Nicholson, F.W. Dillistone, Blake Wood, R.L. Seaborn, and W. Lyndon Smith, representing both Wycliffe and Trinity Colleges in Toronto, Pulker, *We Stand on Their Shoulders*, 135.

<sup>11</sup>*Special Supplement to Canada and Christendom*, ( March 1943).

<sup>12</sup>*Ibid.*, 1.



in one idiom...and its message has proved capable of transmission to a much wider circle. With this principle clearly in mind there need be no implication of narrowness in a group of Anglicans trying to do something well. If they succeed it will avail elsewhere". In what was probably the definitive statement about his editorial policy, he said that the intention of the newsletter was not to look for the lowest common denominator as a basis for agreement, "instead we shall begin by looking at the problems of church and society which confront every one of us, and to the understanding of these we shall each bring the deepest historical and doctrinal insights that we believe our particular traditions afford". This approach was already producing a "new kind of harmony which had led neither to the suppression of conscience nor to the reduction of Christianity to a few liberal platitudes".<sup>13</sup>

In Letter #3 he urged his readers to make use of both British and Canadian materials: the British because it contained "some of the best Christian writing and insight of our time" and Canadian materials such as the Council for Social Service reports that provide information about the specifically Canadian situation in which Christians must work. He was afraid, however, that too much attention might be paid to English and American "manifestoes" such as Malvern and New Haven which did not deal specifically with Canadian conditions: "It is too easy to admire the Archbishop of York's courageous approach to the situation in England while doing nothing about our own".<sup>14</sup>

In the newsletters 3 and 4, Feilding stated that Canadians did not have the experience of war that the British had had, and that there was the danger that "in the

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<sup>13</sup>Ibid., 1.

<sup>14</sup>The Bishop of York was of course Temple.

churches as in politics, we shall go on fighting the battles of yesterday” and he urged the readers of “Canada and Christendom” to “tell us about Canadian society as they see it where they are in the midst of their struggles to proclaim to it the Christian faith”. He stated that he had received many congratulatory letters, but almost none had written about their own work. “I must repeat therefore that if you do not write we have no alternatives but to become a sheet of possibly irrelevant professorial advice from Toronto or to cease publication”. He reminded his readers that as a group, they were rich in knowledge of all aspects of Canadian life and that “it is you who are face to face with the facts, on the firing line as it were. An ounce of your experience is worth more than a ton of our advice. A page describing your problem is worth more than a book of our surmises about it”. There was no doubt that Feilding believed that without the input of the readers, no dialogue was possible.<sup>15</sup>

Letter #9, published in May 1943 began with a quotation from the Canadian Primate, Archbishop Owen, on the need for the Church to fight for a better life for Canadians: “Never again are we going to be deceived about money and be put off with the statement that there is no money to organize a better state of things. If there is money enough to finance a war, there is money enough to finance a peace”. This was the kind of statement from the Church that Feilding and his group had been waiting for. He drew attention to the fact that he had replaced a statement made by his beloved Temple which he had planned to begin the newsletter with Owen’s statement. He went on to say that speaking out, as Archbishop Owen had, involved serious risks but the choice was either to make statements that were “liable to error” or to acquiesce “in all that passes”.

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<sup>15</sup>*Special Supplement to Canada and Christendom*, 3.

Feilding stated further that it was encouraging to find Dr. Temple constantly urging Christians to speak out as citizens as best they could “even when this involves risks in dealing with current problems”. Appealing to the experts was no solution for an expert could always be found to prove a particular point of view. The economic and political situation facing Canadians was more complex than anyone thought, and it was vastly complicated by statements of propaganda from many sources “all dressed up in biblical language”.<sup>16</sup>

Feilding saw two wars in progress: the physical war between the allies and the axis, and another war of far greater import. This battle cut across national boundaries. “There are forces of entrenched privilege on our side who do not care a scrap for the welfare of the ordinary people and there are submerged democratic elements on the other side to whom we still look for collaboration and who are the backbone of both Christianity and Resistance movement in Europe”. In other words, the investigator has to examine the real facts, and take nothing for granted. The mainline propaganda found in the media had submerged the truth.<sup>17</sup>

Feilding, then, had worked out the basis of a “modern Church journalism” in his newsletter. Although the British Social Christians could provide a great deal of direction and inspiration, the focus had to be on contemporary Canadian issues. Real knowledge of these issues was to come from those on the “firing line”. Without the input of those who are truly engaged in the issues, the pronouncements of the Church or even of the newsletter, would be misleading and reductive. Speaking out on social issues was risky,

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<sup>16</sup>*Canada and Christendom* # 9, (May 1943), 1.

<sup>17</sup>*Ibid.*, 2.

but there was no alternative but to make a start, for the truth could not be uncovered without an honest dialogue between the Church and the world. Without this dialogue, there could be no informed Christian action.

### **3. New Initiatives in the Diocese of Montreal**

The publication of the Malvern Findings in the *CSS Bulletin* was received enthusiastically in Montreal and study groups were organized throughout the diocese. Ultimately, the formation of new diocesan committees and the founding of the Anglican Fellowship for Social Action were results of the outpouring of energy which Malvern had created.

#### *Diocesan Committees*

Early in 1942, Flanagan had become chairman of Social Service Committee and under his leadership the Diocesan Council for Social Service was proposed. In the written proposal put forward at Montreal Synod<sup>18</sup> in 1942, the stated purpose of the Committee was “to speak out clearly, fearlessly and honestly on a social order which likes to call itself Christian”.<sup>19</sup> Furthermore, the Committee would study local social, industrial and cultural conditions with the intention of bringing wrongs to light and the alleviation of those wrongs. The emphasis was on the definition of principles, and in this way the mandate of the Council showed its orientation to the social Christian perspective.

Speaking about the Report of the DCSS to Synod in 1944, Pollard stated: “The ideas embodied in the report were born of the conviction—the conviction that our way of

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<sup>18</sup>In the Church of England in Canada and currently, the Anglican Church of Canada, church legislation is voted in by equal representation of clergy and lay people in synod. General Synod is held every three years to deliberate issues engaging the national church. Each diocese holds its own synod annually.

life today is not in the spirit and teaching of Christ".<sup>20</sup> The report was based on contacts with people on the front line: factory workers, office and school workers, people living in the slums, and so forth. Pollard referred to the Lambeth Conference of 1930 stating that it was "the pressing duty of concerned individuals in the Church to convince all Church people that a fundamental change is needed in our economic life".<sup>21</sup> The report stated further that the evangelical challenge of the day was the yoking of "strong theological concern with radical Christian behavior". According to Pollard the social problems confronted by the Committee were: the role of the media which was "giving further control of the few over the many"; the danger that interest payments from the war debt would swamp ordinary people, but benefit financiers; the social hypocrisy of the church, and the symptoms of social decay resulting from modern machinery "in conjunction with a predatory philosophy [which] has developed a functionless finance that dominates our every walk of life".<sup>22</sup> As well, the Church's witness must be in the application of Christian principles. The Church was to examine its own practices: to question the profits derived from card parties, dances and lotteries; to question the implications of buying cheap and selling dear—such as happens at church bazaars and of hiring our seats

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<sup>19</sup>Quoted in Hopkins, "The Anglican Fellowship for Social Action", 55.

<sup>20</sup>"The Diocesan Social Service Council and 'The Social Gospel,'" *The Montreal Churchman*, XXXII, no. 7 (July 1944): 20-21.

<sup>21</sup>Pulker, *We Stand on Their Shoulders*, 21. Statements from Lambeth were an important authority as they were quoted in the Malvern Findings themselves, and in AFSA's "Principles and Rules". The Bishops at Lambeth, influenced by the thought of F.D. Maurice, had responded to the industrial crisis beginning in 1888. Lambeth Conferences are held every ten years and are attended by all the Bishops of the Anglican Community (world-wide). Temple and Gore were both present and active at the 1930 Lambeth Conference.

<sup>22</sup>Pollard restated Archbishop Temple's wish that the business of usury were "bothering the Church now".

in the House of God; to investigate the dealings of companies with which church money is invested. This Committee quickly became a strong presence in the diocese. It was a large Committee from the beginning and members of it formed the nucleus for AFSA.<sup>23</sup>

The Bishop's Committee on Post-War Problems was founded by Bishop Arthur Carlisle at Diocesan Synod in 1941. The Preamble to the Report to Synod for 1942 stated that:

Our business was defined as an effort to determine how by its life, its worship and its teaching the Church can help to interpret and translate into reality the social principles found in the Gospel of Christ, with special reference to post war problems. These will not necessarily be new problems, but old and familiar ones, accentuated by war and set in a new light”.

The remainder of the report was a slightly modified version of the Malvern Findings and the “Ten Points for Peace”. The importance of this Committee was most likely the fellowship formed among its members, many of whom attended the 1st Arundel Conference and were founding members of the Anglican Fellowship for Social Action.<sup>24</sup>

#### **4. The Arundel Conferences**

*The First Arundel Conference held in August, 1943*

The main speaker at the first Arundel Conference was Rev. Joseph Fletcher, who was considered to be the American expert on William Temple.<sup>25</sup> In June 1941, Fletcher

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<sup>23</sup>Flin Flanagan, Rev. Ernie Reed and Rev. Sam Pollard were on from the beginning. Rev. Percy Powles, Rev. M. A. Stephens Rev. Roland Bodger and Ray Corbett joined soon after.

<sup>24</sup>“Report to Synod, 1942” of the Study Committee on Post-War Problems in *Journal of Proceedings-Synod of the Diocese of Montreal* (1942): 88-90.

<sup>25</sup>Fletcher was Dean of the Graduate School of Applied Religion in Cincinnati, Ohio and on the editorial boards of *The Witness*, *Christendom* (US) and *Anglican Theological Review*. As a student Fletcher had co-authored a book with his professor

had published his article entitled "The Meaning of the Malvern Declaration" in the US paper *Christendom*. He had also been main speaker at an FSCO conference entitled "Toward a Christian Society", which had been held in early May, 1943 and which had been attended by Montrealers Sam Pollard and Ernie Reed. Fletcher was invited to speak in Montreal, and the conference at Arundel was quickly arranged.<sup>26</sup>

The proceedings of the Conference were reported extensively in the *Canadian Churchman* in three installments.<sup>27</sup> These lectures reflected Temple's perspective: Rev. Fletcher "stressed the social nature of personhood; he used 'natural law' to condemn excessive profits, and he referred to the social teachings of the pre-modern Church". In a letter in the *Montreal Churchman* the conference was described as "a most refreshing adventure in fellowship and faith....it was meant to be a time of withdrawal so as to return to the world with renewed purpose".<sup>28</sup> Fletcher's influence on the Montreal group in shaping its theology was very strong.

#### *Subsequent Conferences*

The Second Arundel Conference in 1944 featured the speaker, Fr. F. Hastings Smyth who had been invited on the recommendation of Joseph Fletcher. He was founder

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entitled *The Church and Industry* in which both British and American Christian Socialist movements were treated. He was also the editor of a collection of essays, entitled *Christianity and Property* published in 1946 which was reviewed in AO. Later in 1961, he wrote an important book on William Temple entitled *William Temple: Twentieth Century Christian*.

<sup>26</sup>The Conferences were held in the Laurentians, near Arundel, Quebec at Flin Flanagan's summer 'house' which was actually the size of a small hotel. Everyone who attended the conference was lodged there, and meals and hospitality were provided by women family members as well as by the women of the local church.

<sup>27</sup>The *Montreal Churchman*, XXXI, no. 10 (October 1943), 15-6. The other two instalments appeared in the November 1943 issue, 27-8 and December 1943, 20-1.

<sup>28</sup>*Montreal Churchman*, XXXII, no. 8 (August 1944), 4.

and superior of the Society of the Catholic Commonwealth at Cambridge, Massachusetts. His theme at the conference was “The Church as the Organ of Social Redemption” in which he described the Church’s radical role in society in terms of Incarnational theology.

His was a highly developed Christian-Marxist theology in the tradition of the British Christian Socialists, Stewart Headlam and Conrad Noel.<sup>29</sup> Like Temple, Smyth argued that Christianity was profoundly materialist because divine revelation occurred only through the material world. And also like Temple, Smyth recognized the fundamentally dialectical nature of Christianity both in the social changes it hoped to bring about, and in the dialectical relationship between humankind and God. However unlike Temple, Smyth saw the Church’s role as revolutionary in the Marxist sense.

This was the beginning of a long association between the Society of the Catholic Commonwealth and the Anglican Fellowship for Social Action (AFSA) which was then in the process of being formed. Hopkins states that Smyth’s influence was extremely important in AFSA. Although there was considerable tension between CSS and AFSA over the years, “Hastings Smyth played an important role in shaping AFSA’s thought. In general, he was an exponent of sacramental socialism and so contributed to AFSA’s understanding of the centrality of the Incarnation and the church’s revolutionary role in history” and he impressed on them “the importance of the liturgy as a focus for social

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<sup>29</sup>Terry Brown, “Metacosmesis: The Christian Marxism of Frederic Hasting Smyth and the Society of the Catholic Commonwealth”. (PhD Dissertation, University of Toronto, 1987), 1.



change".<sup>30</sup> The focus of the third and fourth Conferences was the work at the parish level. The Conferences ran for at least ten years.<sup>31</sup>

#### *The Significance of the Arundel Conferences*

Hopkins states that the Conferences "offered the members of the Fellowship a valuable opportunity to reflect together, to sharpen their analysis of the situation, and to develop new theological images and understandings with which to support their common effort. The Conferences also allowed members of AFSA to build relationships with those outside the Diocese of Montreal, as Arundel attracted sympathetic individuals from Nova Scotia, Ontario, and the Eastern United States."<sup>32</sup> But as important was the continuing association with Fletcher and Smyth on AFSA and consequently on the *Anglican Outlook*.

#### **5. The Founding of the Anglican Fellowship for Social Action**

In the *Canada and Christendom* Newsletter #10, Charles Feilding printed a letter from a Montreal correspondent:

We have an informal nucleus of young men who believe in this "root and branch" reform. We meet together and discuss things very freely once in awhile and out this freedom springs many things and especially the determination to act; but no resolution finding! and no minutes!<sup>33</sup>

AFSA was an informal group to begin with, but then took on the name, the Anglican Fellowship for Social Action in 1944, and there were twelve members at this time. The group's first public act was to write a Letter to the Editor in the Montreal Gazette complaining about that paper's lack of coverage of William Temple's death. The

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<sup>30</sup> Hopkins, "The Anglican Fellowship for Social Action", 93-4.

<sup>31</sup> A list of all the conferences is provided in Hopkins, 71.

<sup>32</sup> *ibid.*, 71.

<sup>33</sup> *Canada and Christendom Newsletter* #10, (July, 1943), 2.

emphasis given in their letter was a fair indication of their interest in him. They characterized Temple as the “leader of the ‘Malvern movement’” and a “worldwide inspiration to those who are concerned with the application of the principles of Jesus Christ to the problems of modern society”. Temple had written numerous articles and books on the subject: “the most widely read of these, of course, was *Christianity and Social Order*”. They stated further that “Archbishop Temple was mainly responsible for the drafting of the Malvern Manifesto which, said the *Church Times*, was a call for a Christian revolution, implying the adoption of a social and political program which would arouse vigorous and even bitter opposition”. Temple’s activities in the ecumenical movement were also highlighted in their letter: “he was known and respected by Christian leaders of all denominations in all parts of the world for his leadership in the ecumenical movement aimed at the reunion of Christendom”.<sup>34</sup>

#### *AFSA’s Statement of Purpose*

In 1944, AFSA printed a pamphlet outlining the four “principles” and seven “rules” of AFSA. The Fellowship was described on the front cover as “an unofficial group of clergy and layfolk pledged to advocacy of Christian social principles”. The first principle laid down AFSA’s duo focus: the Church and the world. The fourth principle reiterated the Church’s need for reform in order that its witness in the world be respected. The second and third elaborated on AFSA’s concern for the world. These principles reflected the Malvern *Findings* with its emphasis on brotherhood, the recognition of persons as children of God, the need for the personal and systemic transformation of

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<sup>34</sup>Published in *The Gazette*, November 9<sup>th</sup>, 1944. This letter was reprinted in the *Anglican Outlook*’s 10<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Issue, November 1955, 2. By stressing the

society, and a statement about capitalism's denial of human fellowship, but AFSA's language was stronger. As well the need for Church reform was stated. Hopkins notes that AFSA had no printed theological statement but that there was "sufficient material on the group's thinking to point to major sources which were well-documented, such as William Temple".<sup>35</sup> AFSA generated excitement not only in Montreal, but across Canada. There was a particularly active group in Nova Scotia.<sup>36</sup>

#### *AFSA's Action*

The primary work of AFSA members was to convince church people of the importance of bringing all aspects of human life into line with Christian principles. Their efforts were in the following areas: making representations at Synod meetings; involvement on the front lines; work at the parish level and education of Church members in social Christian principles. In General and Diocesan Synods, AFSA members were known as the "Briefcase Boys" because they always came to meetings with briefcases full of carefully documented research.<sup>37</sup> The group was committed to the exposure of unjust political conditions, especially concerning the labour movement. But other areas were the suppression of civil liberties by the Duplessis régime in Québec, and

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confrontational aspect of Temple's career, this letter demonstrates that AFSA members were already prepared to face difficult times.

<sup>35</sup>Hopkins, "The Anglican Fellowship for Social Action", 10-11.

<sup>36</sup>Andrew Wetmore, "The Briefcase Boys", *Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society*, XXV (1983), 80. The Montreal and Nova Scotia groups were in close contact with each other. Wetmore reports that the *AFSA Bulletin #1* on Christian economic principles by Montrealese, Rev. John Peacock, was sent around the Nova Scotia diocese "as a kind of AFSA Christmas card." The Bishop reacted by sending letters to AFSA members asking that their activities go through CSS, which of course was not radical. This led to a showdown between the Bishop and AFSA members, and the suggestion that Flin Flanagan come down in order to "straighten out the Bishop".

<sup>37</sup>Wetmore, "The Briefcase Boys", 74.

international relations in the context of the cold war. Their efforts in these areas were reported in *The Anglican Outlook*.<sup>38</sup>

AFSA worked in tandem with other groups, even cooperating with members of the Communist party. There was a danger, however, of being too closely identified with these groups, and there was concern that the Fellowship not be regarded as “a means of furthering the ends of any other group as such. Its sole purpose is to work for the extension of God’s Kingdom in Christian Fellowship”.<sup>39</sup> Another safeguard was the diverse interests of AFSA members themselves. The group did avoid becoming too involved with other groups, but still received a great deal of criticism for these associations.

All of the clergy in AFSA were actively involved in bringing Christian principles to bear on the life of the Church and they had a deep commitment to parish life along the lines of the work of Conrad Noel in Britain. Roland Bodger and John Peacock were both known for this.<sup>40</sup> The parish was also the locus for AFSA’s concern for the vitality of the liturgical, with Incarnational theology at the centre. In Nova Scotia there was a “mini-Oxford movement” in which the “liturgical revival caught the imaginations of many

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<sup>38</sup>For a fuller discussion of AFSA’s political action, see Hopkins, “The Anglican Fellowship for Social Action”, 73ff.

<sup>39</sup>Quoted in Hopkins, “The Anglican Fellowship for Social Action”, 75.

<sup>40</sup>Ibid, 77. As well there were conferences organized. Rev. John Peacock and Rev. Ken Brueton in the Eastern Townships initiated a series of conferences on rural life. Rev. Roland Bodger in Park Extension held a conference on “God in Action in the World Today”.

seminarians and clergy".<sup>41</sup> In Montreal, AFSA members were very active in this renewal.<sup>42</sup>

### *Education*

AFSA published a small number of pamphlets, wrote articles for church publications such as the *Montreal Churchman* and the *Canadian Churchman*. Members of AFSA were also involved in the founding of Rexford Layman's College in 1945 under the auspices of the Montreal Diocesan Theological College. This new lay persons' college was the first in Canada, and was founded by the Lord Bishop of Montreal, the Rt. Rev. John Dixon, on a recommendation from Synod.<sup>43</sup>

Starting in 1943, both the *Montreal Churchman* and the *Canadian Churchman* published articles by AFSA members which were directly or indirectly critical of Church policy. The person most responsible for direct criticism was Rev. Sam Pollard whose accounts of both the General Synod and Diocese of Montreal Synod reflected Temple's warning that the Church, if it was to be effective in the world, had to live its own

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<sup>41</sup>Wetmore, "The Briefcase Boys", 88.

<sup>42</sup>Innovations were reported in *The Anglican Outlook*, and there were articles and series written to encourage renewal.

<sup>43</sup>"First Anglican Laymen's College Has Successful Opening at Montreal" AO, 15 November 1945, 5. The college had an enrollment of 45 men and women in each of the first of four terms, according to Miss Florence Filer, registrar and probably the administrator for the program throughout its life. This was a certificate program, and the tuition was \$5.00 per year. Many of the courses at were given by AFSA members: Rev. J.C. Kirby gave a course entitled "The Worship of the Church" (first term); Rev. S. Pollard, "The Prophets of Israel"; Rev. M.A. Stephens, "The Ministry of Jesus Christ"; Rev. Dr. W.A. Ferguson (Principal), "New Testament Development". These were the principle theological courses. The remaining courses had to do with specialized areas such as working with children and young people, preaching, etc. Through the college AFSA was able to have an impact on the thinking of the laity through this teaching. However, Hopkins says that AFSA may not have taught courses at Rexford after 1946. Hopkins, "The Anglican Fellowship for Social Action", 76.

principles.<sup>44</sup> This was the central concern of AFSA and ultimately of *The Anglican Outlook* as well. In the April 1946 issue of *The Montreal Churchman*, a Miss Rose Dartle asked if the paper was showing a trend towards communism, no doubt referring to AFSA articles.<sup>45</sup>

Rev. Sam Pollard said that AFSA's pledge "to advocacy of Christian Social principles, seems like a mid-twentieth century edition of the mid-nineteenth century platform of the Christian Socialists" and resembled the development of the so-called 'slum parson' in Britain. He stated further that the "trend of social-mindedness which culminated in the Primacy of Archbishop Temple, has made itself felt in this country". Although AFSA represented a movement within the Church it quickly became a storm center.<sup>46</sup>

#### **6. Reporting William Temple's Death in the *Montreal Churchman***

The response to Temple's death on October 26<sup>th</sup>, 1944, in *The Montreal Churchman* was emotional. Notice had been received just before publication of the issue for November, and a short notice was published. The obituary printed in the following issue was by Rev. Sam Pollard in which he portrayed the influence Temple had had on Anglicans like himself:

"We—the people—have lost a great leader at a critical juncture in history, a leader who was bringing the Church back once more into the main streams

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<sup>44</sup>"Church Trends", *The Montreal Churchman*, XXXIII, no. 4 (April, 1946), 8-10. In this article, Pollard spoke out directly about church policy. As well, see discussion below of Pollard's criticism of General Synod for 1946 that appeared both in *The Montreal Churchman* and in *The Anglican Outlook*.

<sup>45</sup>*Ibid.*, 18. Almost without exception, the only articles in *The Montreal Churchman*, which did not reflect that paper's traditional concern with diocesan/parish matters in this period of time were those written by AFSA members. In this particular issue was Pollard's article "Church Trends".

<sup>46</sup>AO, November 1955, 8.

of human life by way of thought and action”.<sup>47</sup>

Pollard noted that although Temple was much criticized, he was also deeply respected, especially in his work with Workmen’s Education Association and the ecumenical movement. He said that life for Temple “did not consist in accepting either the Church as it is, or the social order as it is” and that he was “in the true tradition of Anglican churchmanship and theology—that of Ludlow, Kingsley [through to] Gore”.<sup>48</sup> He stated further that Temple’s faith “was truly a faith to free the people from their present economic slavery”.

Temple was regularly attacked by “the defenders of orthodox finance” and the bankers for “daring to question the fundamental principles upon which the modern financial system is built”. But the strongest attack came from members of “his and our church” who accused him of persistently intervening in political affairs and using the Church for political ends to the neglect of the “service that lay at his door”. Pollard then related some of the Archbishop’s thoughts on economic issues and on the issue of church reform about which he stated: “I am quite sure that we need very drastic reforms in the organization and structure of the Church itself. We cannot expect to receive much attention unless we are seen to be setting our hand to the task”. Pollard then stated the meaning of Temple’s life for himself:

Those who believe in his message—and by that we mean his whole message—have a tremendous challenge to meet. It is the faith to carry on in the realms and in the manner in which he undertook the task—we may be sneered at as setting ourselves up to be ‘little Temples’—but the choice is

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<sup>47</sup>“William Temple, Archbishop of Canterbury: An Appreciation”, *Montreal Churchman* XXXII, no. 12 (December 1944), 8-9.

<sup>48</sup>In other words, Temple is in the Christian Socialist tradition, but Pollard cannot call it by that name.

obvious, and we cannot falter without betraying a lack of faith in the essential rightness of his leadership. We have lost a leader in the flesh, but we sometimes forget that our Lord's ministry occupied only three years. William Temple's spirit and his message must live on—in us. Let us pray for an increased portion of that dynamic spirit upon each of us—it would be an endowment far above any other kind of endowment—it is what the Church most needs today.

In the February 1945 issue, the commemorative service for Temple, which was held on January 17<sup>th</sup> was reported. Bishop John Dixon gave the sermon, praising Temple's contribution to the ecumenical movement, and also his insight into social issues. He said that the Church must carry on with two objectives that had been stressed by Temple:

That is, the church must be engaged in "healing the wounds of the Body of Christ and making the body of Christ the conscience of humanity in the difficult social political and economic problems of this day. History shows us clearly how certain obligations are laid on each generation. They differ from age to age. We in our turn have ours...

Some of Temple's own writing were published in the paper as well. In January, 1945 was the editorial, "Last Word" which was a report of Temple's last public address.<sup>49</sup>

Starting in March, three BBC talks given by Temple were published.<sup>50</sup>

By and large, AFSA was considered an important part of the Church's work in renewing the Church's concern for the affairs of the world, and in renewing its own internal life both administratively and liturgically. But not all members of the Church of England in Canada were in agreement. While the tide stayed in favour of the radicals up to and including the time of Temple's death, the support for the 'radicals' quickly faded

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<sup>49</sup>*The Montreal Churchman*, XXXIII, no. 1 (January, 1945), 8.

<sup>50</sup>"Why believe in God?", *The Montreal Churchman*, XXXIII, no. 2 (February 1945), 3; "Science and Revelation", XXXIII, no. 3 (March 1945), 28; "The Church and



partly as a result of Temple's death and also because of major changes in the political and social climate, which were ascendant after 1944.

### **C. Seeds of Discord**

#### **1. The CSS and the Official Church Reaction**

Official Anglican support for a new economic order reached its culmination in 1943 at General Synod. But at this time, the Council for Social Service did not rely on the Malvern Findings to get its message to General Synod, rather the Council cited the more prestigious Beveridge Report published by the Church of England in 1942.<sup>51</sup> Social security would safeguard personal freedom and initiative in a capitalistic society, yet would remove "what many believed to be the system's fundamental weakness, the failure to distribute income fairly and adequately and therefore to achieve a better balance between production and consumption".<sup>52</sup> The CSS report to General Synod in 1943, called for the "co-ordination of social security measures then in effect and for their extension to cover the main exigencies of life and to ensure a minimum income for all who were willing to work". In order to protect the self-respect and initiative of all people, participants as well as government and employers were to contribute to the cost

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War", XXXIII, no. 4 (April, 1945), 6. This last article was accompanied by a photo of Temple standing among Londoners after a blitz.

<sup>51</sup>This report was entitled *Social Insurance and Allied Services* and "called for an individual's right to proper housing, education, work, and leisure, and ...also insisted that the nation's credit should be used and its financial policy planned to enable industry to fulfil its function of supplying human needs". In the mainstream Anglican Church, the reliance on this British report eclipsed even the publication of the Canadian-based Marsh Report. See Pulker, 144-5.

<sup>52</sup>Pulker, *We Stand on Their Shoulders*, 143.

of the plan. Social security would thus take the form of insurance rather than of welfare.<sup>53</sup>

The Beveridge Report to which the CSS had deferred, was a product of British Christian Socialist thinking and had been supported by William Temple. In this respect the Council remained faithful to Temple's vision of providing a way of negotiating new social structures. But a number of Canadian Anglicans more radical in their approach did not believe that "the task of working for reform on the economic order [ended] with the introduction of social security". Rather, they took the position that the church's role was to speak out about specific cases of injustice. As these Anglicans, represented primarily by the unofficial groups, "became more penetrating and vehement in their attacks on economic exploitation they became something of an 'out' group within the church".<sup>54</sup>

Hopkins states that despite the initial positive reaction to Malvern, it was clear in retrospect that the Malvern perspective had not been assimilated within the mainstream Church, not even by the Council.

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>55</sup>

Edward Pulker in his book, *We Stand on Their Shoulders*, shows that there was an increasing division between the official church reaction to the call for a new social order, and the reaction of the more radical 'unofficial' groups. Representative of the official

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<sup>53</sup>Ibid, 145-6.

<sup>54</sup>Ibid., 146.

<sup>55</sup>Hopkins, "The Anglican Fellowship for Social Action", 52.

church reaction was the Council for Social Service and its *Bulletin* with its call for change largely confined to the introduction of social security. The unofficial groups were represented by AFSA, Feilding's group publishing *Canada and Christendom*, and the *Anglican Outlook*.

## **2. The Unofficial Groups**

In 1942, the unofficial groups working within the Anglican Church were putting on more pressure for economic reform. Feilding's newsletter had started out with the assumption that the official church was truly interested in reform and he showed "some toleration for the caution of church officials who were loath to take a stand on specific issues". He recognized that the mainstream opinion of the church limited their ability to speak out, so that the official pronouncements of the CSS, for example, could do 'little more than set forth what it considers wise in its representative capacity'.<sup>56</sup> For a time, Feilding's work and that of the CSS did mean that concerned Anglicans "were freer to speak out more strongly and definitely on the issues of the day". But as the war progressed, Feilding spoke out more clearly about the "circumspect positions on social and economic issues taken by the CSS and the House of Bishops". He also reacted strongly to the absence of a church voice speaking out against the deportation of Canadian Japanese by the Canadian Government to Japan. He pointed out that no one in the Canadian church would shoulder the responsibility for taking a stand. "To him real leadership meant a direct attack on a particular injustice".<sup>57</sup> He often used the pages of *Canada and Christendom* to inform his readers about labour's point of view.<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>56</sup>*Canada and Christendom*, No. 1, (January, 1942), 1.

<sup>57</sup>*Canada and Christendom*, No. 6, (November, 1942), 1.

<sup>58</sup>Pulker, *We Stand on Their Shoulders*, 150-3.

Sam Pollard was more vehement in his demands that the church play a positive role in working for economic reform and had been making his views known in the *Canadian Churchman* since 1941.<sup>59</sup> He believed that the church should be ‘the ferment and dynamite of the social structure,’ and he wanted it to do more than pick up ‘the derelicts of the ruthless competitive order to give them charity’ and he demanded that the church “cease its support of capitalism and to take a definite position against what he considered the evils of that system”.<sup>60</sup>

Furthermore, opposition to changes in the Canadian post-war economy was beginning to develop. In the *Canadian Churchman*, the Rev. James A. Kinney, chancellor of the Diocese of Keewatin, reacted to Temple’s *Begin Now* with “both scepticism and sympathy”. He agreed with the goal of a new order, but disagreed with the plans for achieving it for in his opinion changes could not be effected by planning except under a dictator like Hitler”. He felt that change had to come about by a process of slow development. Other writers “doubted just how far human nature would be willing to go in making the sacrifices required for a new order”. J.P. Bell of Hamilton, a banker “especially objected to proposals to nationalize the banks” arguing falsely that money and credit were being controlled by the state and not the banks. In defending those who wrote to support the *status quo*, he suggested that they “were possibly sincere in thinking that freedom was better than a socialized state like Germany, where freedom was suppressed”. There was also fear that there would be government domination in any

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<sup>59</sup>Ibid., 137.

<sup>60</sup>Quoted in Pulker, *We Stand on Their Shoulders*, 137.

new economic order. This line of argument in which socialism was equated with fascism was often used.<sup>61</sup>

At the Montreal Diocesan Synod 1947, Dixon lashed out at his DCSS “which he accused of attempting to make the synod a debating ground on political and economic techniques” rather than Christian principles. He “regretted that the DCSS report ignored the distinction made by Archbishop Temple between the church enunciating principles and the church committing itself to a program of specific action”. Dixon wanted his social service committee to place more emphasis on social service which he claimed was being neglected in the diocese, and he called for “much more sacrifice than reading books and telling other people what they should do”.<sup>62</sup> This opened the way for further attacks on the DCSS. P.C. Armstrong who was strongly opposed to AFSA’s presence “led the opposition to its 1947 annual report, describing it as ‘part of the platform of the CCF with some overtones of the Social Credit Party.’ Flanagan claimed that the main opposition to the report came from those who had ‘vested interests in secularism’”. Nevertheless, several of the report’s recommendations received approval despite strong objections from a number of delegates.<sup>63</sup>

### **3. The Consequences of Political Polarization in Canada**

The first issue of the *Anglican Outlook* was published on November 1<sup>st</sup>, 1945, at the moment of the ending of World War II. This moment was a watershed in Canadian life. Significant changes in perspective from the social Christian tradition were evident even in the first few issues of the *Anglican Outlook* for a chasm had opened up between

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<sup>61</sup>Ibid., 142.

<sup>62</sup>Ibid., 167.

<sup>63</sup>Ibid., 168.

the world of William Temple and that inhabited by the paper's editors in 1945. The hope for a new social order was less buoyant than had been characteristic of the Social Christian movement. There were two very important reasons for this.

First, was the growing public awareness of the atrocities of the war. From the beginning, the editors of the *Anglican Outlook* reacted to the detonation of the atomic bombs by the Americans in Japan. They also reacted to the growing awareness of the evil perpetuated by the Nazis, as the stories and pictures of their atrocities were published. Any lingering liberal optimism about the goodness human nature was suppressed.

The second reason was the growing American influence in the world and in Canada not only in terms of its growing power in international politics and economics, but as well in terms of the growing influence of American corporations and business practices in the world. Not only was it inevitable that *The Anglican Outlook* would grow more concerned about the pressing problem of American influence in Canadian affairs, the American presence also increased the difficulty of bringing a British perspective to bear on Canadian issues. British socialism was increasingly suspect as people across North America people were becoming very nervous about left-wing politics. The result was that Canadians became suspicious of the intimate connection between Christian principles and social political action. The CCF was a target for these suspicions. David Lewis reported that the fall of the CCF in the 1940s was achieved by a smear campaign organized by business interests.<sup>64</sup>

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<sup>64</sup>See Lewis's chapter "CCF-Bashing" in his book *The Good Fight* (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1980): 304-319.

The polarization had serious repercussions for AFSA and for the *Anglican Outlook*. By 1947 both had been marginalized within the church. Wetmore documents the presence of a group of businessmen who methodically opposed the work of AFSA in Nova Scotia but whose members' identities were kept secret. By this tactic, the "opposition" to the radical element appeared that it emanated from a number of individuals who were concerned about AFSA's point of view rather than an organized front. It is very possible that such a group opposing AFSA existed in Montreal as well.

Pulker states that the "AFSA groups, by their opposition to the principles of profit and interest on which finance capital is based and by their eagerness to make explicit condemnations of what they considered obvious evils in the capitalistic system, aroused an antagonistic reaction from the moderate and *status quo* elements in the Anglican Church in Canada".<sup>65</sup> Andrew Wetmore says that AFSA, for example, "created fear because it was felt that the members were 'communist' for everybody knew that socialism was just communism in the mouth of a public relations firm".<sup>66</sup>

Pulker states that the militancy of the AFSA groups had diminished by the 1950s, but through the *Anglican Outlook* they "helped keep alive within Canadian Anglicanism the spirit of reform and of concern with social and economic issues".<sup>67</sup>

#### **D. The Founding and History of *The Anglican Outlook and News Digest***

##### **1. The Founding and the First Year**

*The Anglican Outlook* was founded in 1945 in Ottawa by two World War II veterans, Rev. J. Gregory Lee and Charles Inder with the support of Rev. Dr. Charles

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<sup>65</sup>Pulker, *We Stand on Their Shoulders*, 170.

<sup>66</sup>Wetmore, "The Briefcase Boys", 87.

Feilding of Toronto and a small editorial board. Feilding was on the editorial board for the first three months and contributed his column *Canada and Christendom* fairly regularly for the first year.

The first issue of *The Anglican Outlook and News Digest* was published on November 1st, 1945 and until the following summer the paper was published bi-monthly but in August began to be published monthly<sup>68</sup>. The purpose of the publication was to provide informed church journalism to Canadian Anglicans. This policy was stated in the first issue: it was to be a publication “modern and attractive in format ... efficient and up-to-date in news coverage, ... broad and comprehensive in outlook, and ... interesting and instructive in its articles and features”.<sup>69</sup> The *Anglican Outlook* was conceived as a national church paper from the beginning. Not only were articles and responses encouraged from all regions but as well it was distributed across the country<sup>70</sup>.

Rev. Lee’s editorial approach was generally conciliatory, welcoming a range of perspectives, with an emphasis on the social concern of the Social Christian movement. This conciliatory attitude was an abiding aspect of Lee’s editorship, but it was also a result of practical issues especially in the first few months of publication. Not only did the editorial board wish to attract and engage as many readers as possible, they also had anticipated that *The Anglican Outlook* would receive funding from General Synod.<sup>71</sup>

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<sup>67</sup>Pulker, *We Stand on Their Shoulders*, 170.

<sup>68</sup>The publication dates were the 1<sup>st</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> of the month.

<sup>69</sup>“Introducing Ourselves” AO, November 1945, 7-8.

<sup>70</sup>*The Anglican Outlook* had taken over *Canada and Christendom*’s mailing list.

<sup>71</sup>Pulker, *We Stand on Their Shoulders*, 162-4.



The effort to launch this bi-monthly paper was tremendous especially as the project was run entirely on a volunteer basis with the cost to the subscriber (\$1.50 per year) covering only the printing costs,<sup>72</sup> and it became clear in a few short months that the work involved in publishing the paper was too onerous for the founders. Furthermore, it came increasingly apparent that there would be no support for the paper from the official church. Matters came to a head at General Synod in 1946.

## **2. The Anglican Outlook and AFSA**

The 1946 General Synod held in Winnipeg was a critical moment for the *Anglican Outlook* for two reasons. First of all, the previous General Synod held in 1943 had been the high-water mark for support within the Anglican Church for a new economic order. Temple's enthronement as Archbishop of Canterbury had inspired the hope that social Christianity would be the ascendant theology of the church. But changes of heart were evident soon after his death in 1944 and by the 1946 General Synod, the signs were clear that those who supported the *status quo* were going to dominant church policy. Secondly, hopes of financial support from General Synod for the *Anglican Outlook* were dashed. Synod appointed a committee to approach the publishers of the *Canadian Churchman* and *The Anglican Outlook* "with a view to having a definite voice in the policy of making a paper that shall serve the whole Church in Canada".<sup>73</sup> Lee met

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<sup>72</sup>This financial arrangement remained throughout the life of the paper with subsequent cash-flow problems. Although there is an issue for every publishing date, it gained the reputation for being notoriously late. See Pollard's tenth anniversary article entitled "With Malice Towards Some...", November 1955, 6.

<sup>73</sup>The apprehension of the *Anglican Outlook* editors and AFSA was confirmed by the General Synod's committee decision, made later in the year, to support the publication the *Canadian Churchman* and not the *Anglican Outlook*. The *Anglican Outlook* refused to

with members of AFSA in Montreal amid the emotions stirred up by these decisions on the Synod floor. AFSA, already engaged in several ambitious projects in Montreal, was anxious to take a more active role in the Anglican Outlook's publication.<sup>74</sup> Thus the decision was made to welcome AFSA members on the editorial board and to hold the monthly editorial meetings in Montreal although publication continued in Ottawa. The paper remained under the editorship of Gregory Lee and still functioned as a voluntary operation.

AFSA's presence on the editorial board brought a change in the content of some editorials and articles but overall, the paper remained the same. The original layout was maintained, especially in relation to the news digest and articles in which the facts were allowed to speak for themselves. The number of theological and liturgical articles and features was consistent, and a variety of perspectives supporting Christian social action were still published. Indeed, the new editorial board built on the strengths both of Lee's policy and of Feilding's.

But even before AFSA's formal presence on the board, the paper already had a reputation for contentiousness as it had published AFSA material in the first year. There had been negative reactions to the Kirby series on "Life and Worship" and the story on the architectural design of a new Montreal church.<sup>75</sup> To some extent, this material would

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participate in a move that would result in its being swallowed up. See the editorial "One Paper or None" in AO, November 1946, 4.

<sup>74</sup>AFSA members had already made important contributions to the paper.

<sup>75</sup>The Kirby series, "Life and Worship" had drawn a rebuke in a letter in the April 1946 issue, as well as some positive comment. In the November 1955 10<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Issue of AO, Pollard cites both the series and the building of St. Cuthbert's as contentious issues. The main ideas of Kirby's series were précised in March 1947 issue demonstrating its importance in the AFSA perspective.

have been seen as a representation of a particular point of view among the many others presented in the paper. The editorials published later in the first year had more bite,<sup>76</sup> and Feilding's column had become more outspoken. At General Synod in September 1946, there were already comments about this 'socialist' paper.<sup>77</sup>

The first clear indication of a change in editorial policy as a result of AFSA's presence, however, was the publication of Rev. Sam Pollard's criticism of General Synod, "General Synod Comments" in the November 1946 issue.<sup>78</sup> The editorial entitled "The General Synod Missed the Bus" stated that General Synod in that year had not dealt realistically with the issues of the day and that the meetings seemed devoted to backslapping. The inability to come to grips had created the impression that the majority was completely unaware of the sort of world they were living in<sup>79</sup>. An American Bishop who had been visiting stated :

I have missed something in this Convention of the urgency of the day...We do little in sight of the needs of the world and the demands of the Church. We need less respectability and more fanaticism. Let's be broad-visioned, big-hearted. Christianity is not a luxury or a conventionality. It is everything or it isn't much of anything.<sup>80</sup>

The second indication of a change in policy was an editorial entitled "Timocracy—or Fence Sitting" in the February 1947 issue, to which Rev. R.C. Blagrove

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<sup>76</sup>Hopkins, "The Anglican Fellowship for Social Action", 82. Hopkins cites Lee's editorial "Religion and Politics", (AO, May 1946, p. 5.) as indicating a change in perspective, but the new editorial policy was formalized in October 1946.

<sup>77</sup>Pulker, *We Stand on Their Shoulders*, 163.

<sup>78</sup>Pollard had already published a shortened version of "General Synod Comments" but signed by him in the *Montreal Churchman*, October 1946. The *Montreal Churchman* suspended publication in December 1946. See Chapter VI of this thesis for more discussion.

<sup>79</sup>For example, in the meetings there was only passing reference to the atomic bomb.

of Hamilton made an angry repost. His letter was published in the April issue, along with an editorial rebuttal.<sup>81</sup>

By early 1949, the paper was floundering due to financial difficulties once again because the subscription fees that were intended to cover the publishing costs continued to be inadequate. It was then decided that the paper be moved to Montreal where AFSA members would be able to cover the costs.<sup>82</sup> The March issue was the first to be published in Montreal.<sup>83</sup> Shortly after the move, Lee stepped down as Chief Editor, and Rev. Dr. HH Walsh took over. Dr. Walsh had moved to Montreal from Dartmouth, NS and was a Professor of Church History at McGill University. He later became Principal of MDTC. Walsh's policy was very much in line with the editorial policy of the 1940s.

### **3. The Final Years**

In 1955 the editorship was taken over by Dr. Neil Compton, a lay person and professor of English at Sir George Williams University. Unfortunately his active leadership was delayed until May 1957 as the result of a severe illness<sup>84</sup>. Compton's

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<sup>80</sup> AO, Nov 46, 11.

<sup>81</sup> See Chapter VI of this thesis for more discussion.

<sup>82</sup> Dr. Flanagan was instrumental in getting advertising for the paper from members of his McGill 'old boys network'. There was a certain amount of irony in AO having full-page ads for the Royal Bank and Canada Steamship Lines on the back page, considering the content of some of the editorials. Dr. Flanagan's dental nurse, Lois Winters was primarily responsible for the layout and preparing the paper to the printer. This was done in the office around a busy work schedule. Although she did this for many years, her name did not even appear in the masthead until much later.

<sup>83</sup> "The Arundel Group and the Anglican Outlook", AO, Nov 55, 7.

<sup>84</sup> Compton was struck down by polio in August 1955, but miraculously survived and after two horrendous years of recovery was able to carry on despite the debilitating effects of the attack. He started back as professor at Sir George in September 1957, and a few years later became the Chair of the English Department. As well, he contributed to many magazines including a regular feature in the prestigious American publication,

editorship was marked by a very strong concern about educational issues, and he engaged internationally known Christians to contribute articles for the paper.<sup>85</sup> In September 1960, the *Anglican Outlook and News Digest* was renamed the *Christian Outlook* reflecting its ecumenism and was published for another six years under this title. Dr. Compton remained its editor through this period.<sup>86</sup>

Because of its social Christian orientation, the editorial policy of the *Anglican Outlook* was often critical of commercial and financial interests, and as early as 1946 the paper was having to respond to attacks on its integrity. In the political atmosphere following the war, polarization between the mainstream and those with 'leftist' sympathies was on the increase, and the *Outlook* was a lightening rod attracting the hostility of supporters of Canadian business interests particularly from within the church. The following chapters provide an outline of the thinking of the editors of the paper.

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*Commentary.* In an editorial in the May 1957 issue he was warmly welcomed back to *The Anglican Outlook*. AO, May 1957, p. 8.

<sup>85</sup>The list includes Martin Luther King Jr., Dr. Linus Pauling, Farley Mowat, and James M. Minifie.

<sup>86</sup>Although Compton himself was Anglican, by 1960 the contributing editors list was representative of several denominations.

## Chapter V

### Policy and Content in the First Year of AO

#### A. Editorial Policy

##### 1. A New Canadian Journalism

The intention of the founder and first editor, the Rev. Gregory Lee, was to provide a national paper encompassing a range of perspectives. In the introductory editorial of the first issue, Rev. Lee stated that *The Anglican Outlook* was to be “an attempt on the part of a number of enthusiastic churchmen to provide our Canadian Church with the benefits of modern church journalism”.<sup>1</sup> It was to be a paper which would be “modern and attractive in format” and “efficient and up-to-date in news coverage”, “broad and comprehensive in outlook, and ... interesting and instructive in its articles and features”. Its “modern and attractive” format was in some ways modelled on the *Montreal Churchman*, a church paper which had one of the most professional layouts of all the Diocesan papers. But the format of the *Anglican Outlook* allowed a much wider discussion of the role of the church in society than the monthly *Montreal Churchman* which was primarily concerned about local church life.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>“Introducing Ourselves”, 1 November 1945, 5.

<sup>2</sup>A parish which was having some special event or an anniversary was featured almost every month in the *Montreal Churchman*, and all of the Diocesan Synod proceedings and important group meetings were reported. However, in the period from 1941, after Malvern and until 1944, the death of Temple, there was a great deal reported on the new movement in the church. From 1944, AFSA members, especially Sam Pollard, had been regular contributors to the *Montreal Churchman*. As a result, the paper had a reputation for being controversial compared to other diocesan papers and certainly compared to the *Canadian Churchman*. But by the time the publication of *Montreal Churchman* was interrupted, in December 1946, little was printed on the activities of AFSA or of the Arundel conferences. In this period, perhaps the most out-looking feature of the *Churchman* was the Bishop’s message. Publication of the *Montreal Churchman* resumed in 1958.

The *Anglican Outlook* from the beginning was to represent not only a variety of perspectives but opinion and news from across the nation as well. The paper had taken over the mailing list of the *Canada and Christendom Newsletter* that had been distributed nationally. Submissions from clergy and lay from all parts of Canada were encouraged from the beginning. Furthermore, the feature entitled *Clergy Notes* reporting on clergy changes appeared from the first issue right through to the end of the paper's life.

As the title, the *Anglican Outlook and News Digest* suggested, reporting the news efficiently and timely was a critical task of a modern church paper. In reporting the news, the editorial policy was generally to allow the facts to speak for themselves so that the readers could make up their own minds about issues. As well as regular news reports, there were also signed articles and reports of speeches from church, government, educational and social leaders. Primarily though, the paper through its editorials and its news reports as well as its articles, features and series was to encourage discussion on all kinds of issues. Lee's original intention was to provide a balanced representation of ideas from all sources:

In undertaking the publication of a new church journal, we feel that it is incumbent upon us to state quite clearly from the outset, that we have absolutely no axe to grind! We represent no party or school of thought or sectional group of any kind. Our desire is simply to be representative of, and to serve the WHOLE of the Church of England in Canada. The title "Anglican Outlook" suggests just how comprehensive we desire to be!

In other words, the *Anglican Outlook* was to become a forum for ideas and for dialogue for the whole of the Church. He and Rev. Charles Feilding who provided the column, *Canada and Christendom*, during the first year both believed that committed Christians would respond to the problems in the world if they knew the facts. Even if they started from different perspectives, Christians would inevitably come to consensus

in a public forum such as the *Anglican Outlook*. Such a consensus would then lead to public statements by the Church, and finally to the church's effective witness in the world.

This dialogue was to take place on several fronts. First of all, writers of articles, features and series were to provide a range of issues and perspectives on worldly as well as church-related issues. Readers were encouraged to respond to points of view contained in the journal through the letters-to-the-editor. Secondly, readers were also encouraged to contribute to the paper by supplying articles about their own experience 'in the field' as Feilding had encouraged his readers in the *Canada and Christendom Newsletter*. Although those directly involved in the publication of the *Anglican Outlook* at this time were mainly clergy, Lee had assumed that the primary response to and support for the *Anglican Outlook* would come from the laity,<sup>3</sup> so that the *Anglican Outlook* was conceived as a joint effort between clergy and lay.

## **2. Implications of the Editorial Policy for the Layout**

From the first issue, the layout of the paper was to play a very important role in promoting a wide range of topics for discussion and a variety of ways to present them. Lee's understanding of modern church journalism, then, was markedly different from other Canadian papers and this was evident in the layout of the paper. The original layout decisions were obviously good ones for the layout was maintained with a few modifications.

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<sup>3</sup>Lee encouraged the readers get involved directly in the publication of the paper in practical ways: through their prayers for divine guidance in every phase of its development and in more practical efforts: by buying subscriptions. He thought that sales



### *The Cover*

In the first year, the cover was in black and white with grey banners on top and bottom. Colour was added to the banners later in the year. The cover format rarely changed: there was the title and publication information, a graphic, a photo or drawing, on the left side and a list of highlighted editorials or articles on the right. AO was willing to emulate the *Montreal Churchman* in some respects but it was also necessary to proclaim its national and international perspective immediately. The *Montreal Churchman's* covers throughout the 1944-1946 period almost always had featured a local church of the Montreal diocese, and inside was often a long article celebrating the anniversary of the church, or perhaps the installation of new stained-glass windows. The *Anglican Outlook's* covers portrayed Church interiors from anywhere in the world, but most covers portrayed noted Canadian church people or internationally recognized church people; these latter covers highlighted an article inside. The photo on the first issue had great significance for those involved in the paper. It was a photo of "Canada's Memorial Chambre" in the Parliament Buildings in Ottawa. For most Christians the memory of the dead and wounded in the two wars was emblematic of the suffering and dedication to duty to which Christians were called. Looking forward, the end of the war brought the promise of a new Canadian society in which the *Anglican Outlook* hoped to play an important a role.<sup>4</sup>

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at the church door would be the most important method of distribution and was not above mentioning that the parish would receive a four-cent profit on each ten-cent copy.

<sup>4</sup>This photo highlighted two editorials, "All Saints' Day" and "Sentiment in Atomic Age".

### *The Lead Article*

On page three of each issue was a full-page article. This article was usually accompanied by a related photograph. In most cases, it was a report about some aspect of church life either in Canada or internationally which the editor wished to highlight. Quite often these articles were reported speeches or interviews with noted Anglicans but they could report events as well. The lead was usually supportive of the paper's perspective in some way. For example, in the first issue was a report of an Anglican Service of Witness held in Windsor, Ontario presided over by the Lord Bishop of Algoma, an article which suggested a strong link between the triumphant Church and social improvement.<sup>5</sup> Another lead article in the first year described the design of a new church in Montreal in which the altar was placed in the middle of the church<sup>6</sup>. The rector of this church was Rev. Roland Bodger, a member of AFSA, and the article highlighted AFSA's success in Montreal in changing the church, even radically altering the form of worship.<sup>7</sup> On the international scene, it was reported that the Archbishop of Canterbury, Archbishop G. Francis Fisher, had issued a warning against groups within Western democracies seeking to gain their ends by economic force.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> "The Christian Church Born To Conquer, Says Bishop of Algoma", 1 November 1945, 3.

<sup>6</sup> "New Anglican Church in Montreal will be startlingly different: New St. Cuthbert=s To Break Traditional Line of Designs: Alter Will Be in Centre of Church Surrounded By Railing", 1 April 1946, 3.

<sup>7</sup> The church was built, and the new design was very much appreciated by the congregation. However, the building was ultimately sold to the Greek Orthodox Church.

<sup>8</sup> "Canterbury Issues Warning on Proper Use of Power, 1 March 1946, 3.

By way of exception, there were two lead articles in the first year which did not report on church affairs, but on industrial issues. One was on the co-operative movement showing how co-operatives were grounded in Christian principles<sup>9</sup> and the other was about an experiment in industrial chaplaincy in London, Ontario.<sup>10</sup>

The lead articles served two main purposes. The first was to anchor the *Anglican Outlook* in the life of the church by reporting primarily the activities of the church. But the overriding purpose was to show how these activities furthered the witness of the church in the world. In an important sense, the links between the activities reported and Christian witness were demonstrated not by the paper's editorializing, but by reporting activities, speeches or interviews in a way that the facts of the case spoke for themselves.

#### *The Editorials*

Editorials were short as a rule (averaging 600-800 words) and were not signed. More than any of the other elements in the layout, the editorials were the 'voice' of the *Anglican Outlook* and it was in its editorials that the board most clearly focused on the need for the church's witness in the world. In an editorial in the March issue, note was made that the editorial had been written by a guest editor and that it did not necessarily represent the policy or principles of the paper.<sup>11</sup> Therefore it may be taken for granted that the editorials for which there was no disclaimer did represent *The Anglican Outlook's* policy and principles.

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<sup>9</sup>"The Co-operative System is Fundamentally Christian", 15 November 1945, 3.

<sup>10</sup>"Industrial Padre Urges Churches to Meet Men Where They Work: The plant chaplain speaks the language of the worker and has greater access to his confidence says Rector", 1 December 1945. In the 15 February 1946 issue a request was made for industrial chaplains.

<sup>11</sup>"The Prospect for Reunion", 1 March 1946, 9.

There were three editorials per issue on the average. In the first year, topics ranged from theological reflection to a perspective on Church issues to observations on political and other issues with social consequences. Typically, there would be representative editorials from more than one of these categories. The editorials on social concerns, even if grounded in studies of the issues usually did not record their sources, but rather focussed on changing the perspective of the reader, with the hope that the change in perspective in a number of individual readers might result in a new initiative from within the church. In the beginning, topics were quite diverse, but over time the editorials focussed more on Canadian social issues. However, other concerns were not forgotten but appeared regularly in the articles, features and series. A fuller discussion of the editorials follows.

#### *Articles*

Articles published in *Anglican Outlook* usually were signed, unlike the editorials. In the first year, the majority of articles were concerned about Church issues, but there were many notable exceptions. What is perhaps most significant about the articles was the range of perspectives. Gregory Lee had promised that the *Anglican Outlook* would be 'comprehensive', and would publish points of view representative of the whole church. It was in the articles that this aspect of the editorial policy was most successful.

#### *The News Digest*

In the first issues, stories with headlines were inserted throughout the paper. However, in the March 1<sup>st</sup> issue the shorter news items were gathered into two new

columns: The Canadian Digest and The World Digest. The USA Digest was added in 1950.<sup>12</sup>

The various elements of the news reporting: the lead articles, the Canadian and World news, short news items and even the Clergy Notes, served to supplement diocesan papers and the national paper with national and international news items which were outside their purview. British, American and Canadian sources were culled for these news stories, and the result was a perspective unique in the Canadian Anglican Church for its breadth of news coverage.<sup>13</sup> In fact, the Anglican Outlook's perspective was more representative of an international outlook than other Anglican papers. A good reason for this was its association from the beginning with the ecumenical perspective inherited from William Temple.

Another regular news feature was Clergy Notes found inside the front cover. In a very brief form this column covered clergy news: clergy who took up new positions, changed diocese, as well as retirements and obituaries. This aspect of the life of the church was important in anchoring the paper in the life of the church and it continued through to the end of the paper's life

#### *Series*

A series was a number of related articles appearing over several months. For example, in the first year the first was a series beginning with an article entitled

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<sup>12</sup>These became "The Canadian Scene" and "The World Scene" starting in October, 1948 at which time Rev. M.A. Stephens took over as News Editor. He painstakingly provided the copy for the 'scene' items as well as the 'Clergy Notes'. Ten years later, Stephens' success in maintaining the high calibre of news reporting was acknowledged in the editorial "The News Editor", November 1958.

<sup>13</sup>Two letters-to-the-editor attest to this, one in the February 1947 issue and one in the October 1947 issue.

*Understanding Our Children* which ran for four issues.<sup>14</sup> A series of theological reflections with varying titles was written by Rev. R.F. Palmer, SSJE. It began in August 1946 and ran for four issues. However, it was the 10-lecture series by Rev. John Kirby, for Rexford Extension College entitled *The Worship of the Church* begun in March, 1946 that marked the beginning of this regular feature. More will be said about this series later. These series served to keep the focus on issues that were related to the church's role in society. The series was an important aspect of the paper up to 1949, but this element did not last. By 1952, series rarely if ever were printed.

#### *Special Features*

As well, there were other regular features in the first year. The Fotheringham series *Next Sunday* which started in the December 1<sup>st</sup> issue was an interpretation of upcoming lectionary readings. *The Church Music Review* started in the March 1<sup>st</sup> issue. This became *In Quires and Places Where They Sing* in the April 15<sup>th</sup> issue and ran until April 1948. These features helped to maintain the focus on the importance of scriptural interpretation and liturgical matters at the parish level.

#### *Letters-to-the-Editor*

Letters-to-the-Editor were printed beginning in the first issue. There was a large heading for the column, underscoring the importance of dialogue between the *Anglican Outlook* and its readers. Under the heading of the first issue was the editor's note which emphasized the forum aspect of the letters:

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<sup>14</sup>The title changed each time, but the little photo of children running over the brow of a hill was constant. The subject was the need for Christian education for children at church, at home and at school. This need had not been fulfilled, and this was felt to be a failing of the Church, and partly responsible for the lack of understanding of Christian

This department is for the use of our readers and we hope that they will take full advantage of it. It is our desire that this feature should be a Forum in which free discussion might take place on any subject which may be of general interest. We ask simply that Christian charity by the guiding principle of all contributors to these pages.<sup>15</sup>

The first letters were mainly congratulations to the new publication. As readers settled into a pattern, however, there was only occasionally a “free discussion” over several issues.<sup>16</sup> In later issues, readers were regularly invited to respond to editorials and to the authors of the signed articles. In the first year, this response was generally moderate.

#### *Book Reviews*

Book reviews were another part of the *Anglican Outlook's* attempt to create a dialogue. Whereas the book reviews in the *Montreal Churchman* were only occasionally about theological, or even church matters (occasionally there was a review by an AFSA member), the *Anglican Outlook's* tended to be about more serious books. The original column begun in the December 1<sup>st</sup> issue, and was called *Old Books-Old Friends*. This column was written by Ernest A. Dale, and the focus was on the “classics, ancient and modern”: Cicero, Bunyan, etc. However, early in its publication, the large heading “Books” appeared and reviews of contemporary books in religion, philosophy as well as economics and politics were printed.

#### *Other Elements*

Another aspect of the news digest was the references to radio programming. Throughout its publication AO notified its readers concerning the religious programming principles. As well, there was concern that the new techniques that were being developed in psychology were a threat to the Christian education of children.

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<sup>15</sup>AO, 1 Nov 45, 14.

of the CBC. As did Temple, the editors of *Anglican Outlook* knew the value of a radio presence for the promotion of the Christian faith.<sup>17</sup>

The paper's purpose, then, was exemplified in the layout of the paper. Its purpose to promote a Christian presence in the world was well-served by this format. The paper allowed church members to reflect upon and speak out on issues concerning the well-being of all members of Canadian society as well as international issues. Political, social and economic issues were brought forward and dealt with from a Christian perspective. Church issues were discussed at length, especially those which concerned the social witness of the church in the world: liturgical reform, biblical exegesis, mission, social concern and ecumenism.

## **B. Content of *The Anglican Outlook and News Digest***

### **1. Articles in the First Year**

The articles in the first year demonstrated a wide response to the church's role in the world. Following are some highlights.

In an article in the first issue, the author stated that the Church's role in the past had been primarily as benefactor to the arts! It's current role was not in the area of social service since the government was taking over this role, but in developing strong Christian

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<sup>16</sup>The longest run of letters in the first year was from June to September on the subject of the Anglican and Roman Churches. It was probably sparked by Kirby's series.

<sup>17</sup>Notices of programs from the CBC were printed, as well as local religious programs across the country.



societies. Although the author saw the dangers of trusting science and political structures, he did not subscribe to the social Christian vision of the church in the world.<sup>18</sup>

In the lead story of the November 15<sup>th</sup> issue, “The Co-operative System is Fundamentally Christian”, the Chairman of the Diocesan Social Service Committee in Toronto urged Anglicans to support the co-operative system noting the reluctance on the part of some business-oriented Anglicans to do so. The co-operative system was fundamentally Christian “because people are in it to serve one another and not to make profit”. But at the same time, the needs of individual workers were fulfilled. Although Mr. Savage did not see the need for the church itself to get involved, he thought that individuals should do more to support the co-ops because the movement was grounded in Christian principles.<sup>19</sup> This was one of the first articles that tackled a Canadian political issue in a social Christian context. The concern for the welfare of the workers that was so evident in Temple’s writing was a central concern for *The Anglican Outlook* as well, especially in the first years.

The lead article in the December 1<sup>st</sup> issue, argued that Christian witness was needed in the field of industrial relationships. The Rev. R.W. Semple of London, Ontario recommended taking spiritual counselling to places of employment rather than depending on visiting workers at their homes or hoping that the workers would attend church. This recommendation seemed an added burden for clergy, but Semple believed that the laity could be trained to take over routine responsibilities in the parish. Semple found that

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<sup>18</sup>“What’s the Use of the Church?” written by Rev. B.W. Horan, Professor at Wycliffe College, 1 November 1945, 9-11. Pulker states that this article was included to balance the social Christian perspective, Pulker, *We Stand on Their Shoulders*, 163.

<sup>19</sup>AO, 15 November 1945, 3.

there was a hunger for such a ministry on the part of management and of the workers. This article appeared to be the kind that Feilding had been requesting in the *Canada and Christendom Newsletter*: a reflection on Christian witness from the front line. Rev. Semple's faith in the ability of the laity to take on parish responsibilities was also an interesting departure from the norm.<sup>20</sup>

The March 1<sup>st</sup> issue had two major items which put forward the Social Christian perspective on the nature of the church's witness in the world: one was an article and the other the beginning of an important series. The article was written by The Rev. Gregory Vlastos, editor and contributor to FCSO's *Towards the Christian Revolution* and it was an excellent analysis of the need for trade unions in Canadian society. The abuse of the productive powers of modern scientific technology had led to disease and war in Europe, and these in turn had led to Fascist brutality. But this abuse had ramifications for Canadian workers as well. "Talk of scientific technology as a gateway to a new level of human dignity must sound like a fairy tale to a factory worker". New technology had not freed him from drudgery or anxiety and had added the "new man-made fear" of unemployment. The worker was now considered merely a 'hand', a tool for others' ends, "a commodity to be cast aside whenever this suits the users' will". At the end of the article, Vlastos asked that the church act like the Good Samaritan. "The Samaritan's real

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<sup>20</sup>"Industrial Padre Urges Churches to Meet Men Where They Work: The plant chaplain speaks the language of the worker and has greater access to his confidence says Rector", 1 December 1945, 3.

gift was his solidarity but in our society such solidarity is not an act of charity, but a recognition of our common need".<sup>21</sup>

This issue also heralded the beginning of a new series, the first of the Rexford Layman's College Extension Courses. The title of this ten-lecture series was "The Worship of the Church". Rev. John Kirby, an AFSA member, was the author, and he wrote on the renewal of worship in the churches from the Malvern perspective. In the first of the series, "The Necessity of Worship", Kirby described this renewal as having consequences for Christian practice: "Worship which does not lead to beneficent action in the human scene is useless. Scathing as are the indictments of worship in the Old Testament, none of the prophets looked for its abandonment. What they protested against was the shutting up of God in the Temple and not letting Him into the life of the nation". Kirby said that the New Testament had been described as "the dynamite which is meant to blow the world to Kingdom-come. The bread of earth becomes the bread of heaven that earth may be lifted to heaven; and that lifting of earth to heaven means that Christian Practice must follow from Christian Worship".<sup>22</sup>

Also in the March 1st issue was an article on a lecture given by The Rev. Lyndon Smith on the subject of service. Smith, who was one of the original group supporting Feilding in the publication of the *Canada and Christendom Newsletter*, wrote from a

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<sup>21</sup>"Behind Strikes", 1 December 1945, 11. This was published originally in *The Canadian Student*.

<sup>22</sup>AO, 1 March 1946, 19-20. This first lecture and the subsequent lectures had been printed for distribution around the diocese, and *The Outlook's* series was probably based on them. These lectures are a study in themselves and there wasn't space in this thesis to write up each. Throughout, the series developed the Malvern idea and there is strong evidence of Smyth's influence. A synopsis of the series was printed in March 1947 demonstrating its importance in the theological reflection of the paper.

traditional Social Christian perspective, as was shown in this talk. He spoke of churches as 'cells' from which the "influences of Christian principles could be radiated throughout the community". He stressed that many seemingly beneficial social movements carried with them the danger of submerging man's individuality. Only in a society based on Christianity, he said, did man remain "master of his soul".<sup>23</sup>

## **2. Editorials**

It will be useful to look at closely at the editorials to grasp the scope of *The Anglican Outlook's* concern for Christian social witness in the world.

In the first editorial entitled "All Saints' Day" the author saw the holy day as a "trysting-day when two worlds meet, and the earthly holds hallowed fellowship with the heavenly". The author appealed to the reader's own sense of communion with the saints, whether with those saints from history or those "loved ones who have preceded us into the 'glorious kingdom' of eternal light". In commemorating the saints and by remaining in communion with them, especially those who died in the war, Christians could bear witness both in their own time, and in the future by laying a strong moral foundation for succeeding generations.<sup>24</sup>

That the world of 1945 was already a very different world than Temple's may be seen in the forceful editorial entitled "Sentiment in the Atomic Age" that dealt with the dangers of a sentimental (Christian) concept of brotherhood in the face of the atomic threat. In this editorial, the effect of the bomb was described as so terrible that it tended to "produce two results--a desperate fear in those who see themselves as possible victims, and a fatal confidence in those who have been deluded into believing that they can

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<sup>23</sup>Ibid., 4.

always control the new weapon. Alternations of terror and false confidence are not likely to produce that stable frame of mind which is required for world union". From this perspective, the danger for the contemporary world in the face of the atomic threat became extreme when the "fierce intoxication with power" among nations was not recognized. Atomic power could only be "transformed into an agency of peace and health when there has been a moral transformation in our civilization. And Christians could have no doubts about the source of that moral transformation". This editorial dealt with the psychological effects of the unleashing of atomic power. It was a good example of Lee's 'modern church journalism' in that it described a pressing situation for the people of the world and quickly pinpointed the moral issue. The church's role according to this editorial was to witness to the power of Christ that alone could bring about the needed transformation. The role of the church in this transformation was urgent for the survival of the world in the coming years.<sup>25</sup>

The editorial, "Re-education or Redemption" was deeply concerned about the function of education. In the modern world education seemed to be solely concerned with technical knowledge and the war had shown the limitations of such knowledge for it was "obviously of no use as a means of forestalling future experiments in world-conquest, unless the pupils themselves are convinced that such experiments are in themselves undesirable". Furthermore, political structures were not protection against the abuse of power; even the machinery of democratic government could be turned into a "device for lending an air of popular support to tyranny".

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<sup>24</sup>AO, 1 November 1945, 8.

<sup>25</sup>Ibid., 8-9.

Historically, the Christian church had shown weakness in dealing with the abuse of power and the erosion of democratic principles. Yet in the fight against such evil, the church still possessed “certain advantages denied to all other institutions”. Therefore “opportunities for the most profound and enduring reformation await the Christian reformer”. Secular institutions and even a ‘secularized’ church could not succeed in this process of re-education. It had been erroneously believed that “wars were caused by good men on both sides who were sincere but mistaken. But the horrors of Belsen and Bataan demonstrated the depth of such error: “Men are not to be educated out of such evils; they must be redeemed from them”.

This editorial continued the process of drawing out the implications from the war for Christian social witness. It challenged the church to be an advocate of educational reform in which moral re-education based on the knowledge of humanity’s true relationship to God took precedence over technical education.<sup>26</sup>

The editorial entitled “The Need for a Prophetic Ministry” stated that the modern world shared in the moral anarchy that characterized Israel’s post-exilic period. This contemporary world in which science “ministers impartially either to the angelic or demonic aspects of human nature” more than ever needed the voice of the prophet “to take precedence over the voices of the scientist and the politician if mankind is to emerge from this period relatively whole, sane and stable”. Humanity was to be reclaimed by the working of the Holy Spirit through personality and in this task, the church’s role in society had never been so pressing. Those who held office in the church had a terrible responsibility: “Certain of their own mission for His work in this world, they must

proclaim diligently and faithfully God's certainties in this sorry age of moral doubt and mental confusion and spiritual barrenness".

The editorial, "The Reality of Divine Judgment", brought the war and the Nazi atrocities into the realm of divine judgment for throughout the Bible, "God's judgments were continually made manifest". A note written by the Nazi Labour minister, Robert Ley just before his suicide death stated that "In Anti-Semitism we have violated a basic command of God's creation--Nazis have forsaken God and therefore were forsaken by God" and were thus defeated. But the editorial went on to warn that "if, in the humiliation and bitterness of defeat, the vanquished nations are forced into an acceptance of the Divine logic of history, it is of prime importance that the victorious nations, in their triumph, acknowledge the same truth. The peril in success is that very pride which sets aside God's laws and His purposes as irrelevant". Therefore the victors now had a greater moral responsibility and must make every effort to secure world peace, in order to be "spared a judgment, more cataclysmic by far than that of the past six years".

The editor brought attention the profound evidence of 'Divine Judgment' in contemporary history but at the same time, brought into focus the gross behaviour of the allies towards the Germans.<sup>27</sup> In a short article entitled "Bishop Wurm Scores Allied 'Retribution' Attitude"<sup>28</sup>, a Bishop of the Evangelical Church of Germany was quoted as

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<sup>26</sup>AO, 15 November, 7-8.

<sup>27</sup>AO, 1 December 1945, 7.

<sup>28</sup>Ibid., 4. This article was a republication of a letter written by Bishop Wurm to George Bell, Bishop of Chichester, England. Bell's commitment and work in the ecumenical movement was equal to Temple's, but he worked directly with the people of Germany, therefore it would be logical for Wurms to address him in this matter. During the war, Bell's insistence on the rights of the German people drew a lot of criticism in

saying that the German population was being 'subjected to the harshest retribution' at the hands of the Allies. He asked 'was it not possible to take preventive measures in order to save innocent women and children from ghastly misery? Was it really necessary to proceed in such a manner that the war propaganda of Goebbels seemed to be vindicated?' The letter from which Bishop Wurm had been quoted had been sent to Dr. George Bell, Bishop of Chichester who had kept up contact with the German Church throughout the war and had paid dearly for his attempts to prevent the demonization of the German people in the British mind. Temple and Bell had both worked very effectively for the ecumenical movement and it was through their efforts that the German churches were present at the WCC in 1945 as had been reported in *The Anglican Outlook*.<sup>29</sup> The combination of the editorial, "The Reality of Divine Judgment", in which the editor took a stand about the right relationship between peoples and this article that demonstrated the fact that the Allies were ignoring Christian moral principles, was a typical strategy of the Anglican Outlook. The expectation was that the knowledge of these facts would prove offensive to Canadian Christians and that people therefore would speak out. The paper here also showed its willing and ability to deal effectively with difficult international issues.

The editorial, "Creative Love" reiterated the centrality of the Christian message in contemporary life: "Experience proves that there is but one effective way of salvation from the personal and world madness induced by the ugly facts of man's cruelty and ingratitude to his fellowman. It is in the message of Christmas, the Gospel of the

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England, but after the war, his arguments were vindicated. It was a nice touch for AO to publish this letter.



Incarnation". This world was anchored in Christ's authority and in a God of Love. "Men and nations will enter into new and better relationships and into spiritual freedom as they accept this message".<sup>30</sup> There were two further editorials in this issue connected to ongoing concerns in the paper. One reported a remark by Hewlett Johnson, the so-called 'Red Dean' of Canterbury, which had been misconstrued by some.<sup>31</sup> The other of these editorials was in support for the work of 'front line' ministries.<sup>32</sup>

In the editorial entitled "New Year's Reflection" in the January 1<sup>st</sup>, 1946 issue, the editor described the danger to modern society as people had lost their spiritual center. The result was that people abandoned themselves to a philosophy of meaninglessness, which was what happened to many after the first war. Christians could enter the New Year with confident expectation "accepting His purposes for mankind revealed in Christ Jesus and striving to fulfil His programme for our lives, individually and nationally". For Jesus life was intensely meaningful and "through Him it becomes meaningful for us". Therefore Christians could face the difficult days ahead and the tests of character that

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<sup>29</sup> AO, 15 November, 1945, 14.

<sup>30</sup> AO, 15 December 1945, 6.

<sup>31</sup> "Those Intangible Freedoms", 15 December 1945, 7-8. Article reporting on his visit to Canada. Johnson was a problematic figure. He was very much a Social Christian, but had spoken very strongly supporting Communist Russia. At this time his reputation as a spokesperson for the church was still in tact, but he was later repudiated even by those sympathetic to him. *The Anglican Outlook's* support for him caused the paper a great deal of trouble over the years.

<sup>32</sup> "Adventuring for the Children", 15 December 1945, 8. The 'Vanners' were a particularly dedicated group of women who brought 'Sunday School' to rural families in the Prairies all through the summer months. They drove and maintained the vans which were packed with books and materials, and registered children into Sunday School by post. They were extremely welcome visitors to these communities as one of the few groups who ventured over the ungravelled and sticky Prairie roads. This was a difficult task requiring incredible stamina, courage and humour.

would come their way “enlightened by Christian hope, supported by enduring faith in God, ennobled by the love made known in the Cross of Jesus Christ”.<sup>33</sup>

The editorial “Spiritual Rehabilitation” carried the theme further: “We need a new world today, made up of the friends of God. It must be a world of ability and efficiency and drive. The principles of Jesus Christ need to be applied to individuals and society”. People needed to worship God together, but they need not do so in church for “many services are too long and stupidly unnatural. Stagnation and formalism must give place to life”. The editor advocated revolution in church services and in the clergy, and a return to a “reverent and sincere and devoted ministry”. Revolution was needed “in the hearts of ordinary men and women”, in education, social life, and in economic life. “But it will not come without God. Men must get back to where they belong. They must become God-fearing once more”.<sup>34</sup>

A third editorial “A Western Exasperation” dealt with the government practice during the war of using lotteries (gambling) to support the war effort. Now the government had said that such practices were wrong, but the practice of lotteries was having unfortunate consequences to national life. It was much harder now for people to “walk, without deviation, the narrow way and the straight way of honour and honesty. That determination must go hand in hand with a strict respect for law”.<sup>35</sup>

For the next two months, the editorials were less fiery. Editorials in the February issues dealt with the loss of individual worth in current society, the inability of the church

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<sup>33</sup>AO, 1 January, 1946, 7.

<sup>34</sup>Ibid., 8.

<sup>35</sup>Ibid., 7-8.

to develop community, and the abuse of spiritual power.<sup>36</sup> In the March issues, the editorials were concerned current ethical values and church issues.<sup>37</sup>

The editorial entitled “The Church and the Worker”<sup>38</sup> in the April 1<sup>st</sup> issue dealt explicitly with industrial relations in terms of the theology of Social Christianity. It also went a step further dealing with the difficulty of the presentation of the Gospel in contemporary society. Both of these were on-going concerns in *The Anglican Outlook*.

The editorial entitled “Religion and Politics” in the May 1<sup>st</sup> issue was described by Pulker as being the first to indicate a change in policy in the paper towards a more critical stance towards the Church. The basis for the Church’s activity in the world was discussed in this editorial. The editor followed the example of Temple by pointing out that the church had often been accused of being political from the time of Rome through the great parliamentary reforms of the 19th Century to the Resistance Movement of the Second World War. The church had engaged in a social vision and in justice issues which had been opposed to political forces.

The involvement of the church in the world in the 1940s was primarily in the areas of financial activities and legal needs rather than as a voice of justice. Therefore, the editor asked the question: “How can a Church which owns lands, invests its funds, invokes the law for its protection, and preaches about Christian vocation, claim to live in a world of its own...serenely aloof from the sordid problems of property, finance, legal systems and industrial relations?” He then pointed to the anomaly of contemporary life

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<sup>36</sup>AO, 1 February 1946: “The Peace of God”, 7; “The Parish Family”, 7 and “Power”, 8.

<sup>37</sup>Of interest is the editorial, “The Future is Now”, March 1<sup>st</sup>, 1946, 10. The March 15<sup>th</sup> issue contained three editorials but none dealt directly with social witness.

that the church although very active in the world in these very materialistic ways was being told to stay out of politics: "It is significant that in the modern world, with its dangerous drift toward totalitarianism, the voices grow ever louder which urge Christians to keep out of politics--which is, in effect, to ask them to shut their eyes, deaden their minds, and drug their consciences".<sup>39</sup>

The focus of the editorial entitled "Church Paper or Church Papers?" in the June 15<sup>th</sup> issue was the need for critical journalism, even in church publications. The two functions of providing information and criticism "must be kept apart so that readers have access to the facts whether or not they agree with the opinion". People could not expect the Church to "to solve all its problems by a highly-developed discipline".

The chief virtue of the free enterprise system was this very capacity to provide discussion and criticism. "Even the most spirited public debates are preferable to the unrest and skepticism which is bred wherever censorship, however amiable and informal, is used to stifle open and frank expressions of opinion. There is no surer test of a man's confidence in free institutions than his willingness to allow them full exercise, both in the Church and in the State".<sup>40</sup>

In an editorial entitled "Labour Relations" disagreement on how to deal with labour relations within the church was criticized. On the one side were those who would say that since moral problems were involved, and since the church was an authority on morals, it had the right to step in. On the other side, labour relations were seen as far beyond the scope of the church in terms of the highly technical knowledge needed to deal

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<sup>38</sup>AO, 1 April 1946, 10.

<sup>39</sup>AO, 1 May 1946, 9.

with problems, and the right of “huge power factors” to “solve the problem in their own rough way”. Both approaches were shallow. “One of the Church’s first duties in facing the contemporary labour situation is to try to throw some light on it. The Church has been around for a long time and should behave as if she had a long memory. She is in touch with a lot of people and should hear many sides of the question”. But this was not what was happening. Rather than promoting dialogue, the church officers were seen as “so deeply involved with class privilege that it is hard for them to hear all sides of the question”. Although the rights of unions were “fairly well established in the Christian and public conscience”, labour unions were still being subjected to unfair tactics. The latest tactic was to deny unions the right to see the company books. The editor ended the article: “Here, we believe, is a problem for the enlightened conscience to approach in light of the facts. Of course the present possessors of the facts have no doubts about the illumination of their own consciences. Reader, carry on from there”.<sup>41</sup>

The editorial entitled “A New Doctrine” dealt with the difficulty of church union, expressing concern that a statement that had been approved in Synod would detach “the use of the Sacraments from the profession of full Christian faith” and therefore give some colour to the charge of ‘magic’ so often brought against sacramental practice”. In taking a critical stance towards the deliberations of General Synod held in September, 1946, this editorial lead the way for a change in the *Anglican Outlook* brought about by the involvement of the Montreal group, the Anglican Fellowship for Social Action.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>40</sup>AO, 15 June 1946, 11.

<sup>41</sup>Ibid., 9.

<sup>42</sup>AO, October 1946, 15.

In most of the editorials of the first year, Christian principles were applied to contemporary issues and the editor invited individuals and occasionally even the church itself to reflect on them in light of current political, economic and social developments. Although the reflection on Christian principles applied in the world was *The Anglican Outlook's* primary editorial purpose, the features, series and other elements served as a kind of counterpoint to keep a strong focus on the issues confronting the life of the Church such as the need for rethinking the liturgy, the educational requirements of all, and so forth. These concerns appeared in the editorials occasionally, but the strongest editorial focus was on Christian witness in the world.

#### **C. Feilding's *Canada and Christendom* Column**

Feilding's purpose in publishing the *Canada and Christendom Newsletter* had been first of all to give a voice to individuals and groups working within the Church who wished for a change in Church policy towards economic and social issues. But increasingly, the newsletter had become concerned about applying Christian principles to specifically Canadian issues. By the time he began to publish his column, *Canada and Christendom* in *The Anglican Outlook* Feilding had developed a workable formula. He referred directly to social Christian principles, he based his argument on factual information about a specific situation, and he provided a direction for Christian action.

His second column, published on November 15<sup>th</sup>, on the need for low cost housing, supplied a good example of his approach.<sup>43</sup> He stated that according to a survey administered by the Canadian Construction Association two years earlier "sixty per cent

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<sup>43</sup>*Canada and Christendom* by C.R. Feilding, 15 November 1945, 4.

of the population of Canada required housing at such a low cost that it presented “no attraction to private enterprise for investment”. A second report, published by Lever Brothers which was the major producer of household soap products in Canada at this time, had surveyed 82% of the women living in housing valued at \$4,000 or less, or in housing requiring less than \$40.00 per month rent, or on farms of less than 200 acres. C.A. Massey, President, said that according to the women asked, there was a great need for decent housing.<sup>44</sup> They saw this housing in practical terms. They did not require “over-glamorized dream houses”, but at the same time were worried by the prospect of living in “houses crammed end to end in poorly planned ribbon development [which] deprive householders of sunlit rooms”.

Feilding then re-stated one of the Malvern principles: “Here is one of those technical questions which the Christian merely as Christian cannot solve without technical knowledge in the economic order. However, the Christian as Christian believes in an order of reason”. Concerned and informed Christians, were able help by being determined that a solution for the provision of low-cost housing could be found. Depending on private enterprise may or may not be the answer. Temple’s warning, that Christian involvement must deal with the real world and that Christians could not assume that they knew better than those on the frontline, had incurred an awareness that a deeper and much more thoughtful sort of commitment was required, one which involved reason and faith. Feilding then referred to the implications of Incarnational theology: “The

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<sup>44</sup>It was natural that Lever Bros. surveyed the women, as this was its targeted market. However, it was still extraordinary in the context of the ‘forties for such a survey to be influential.

religion of the Incarnation demands something better than this. He who dwells in the heart is the maker of the sun as well”.

Although many issues were discussed over the first year, family life was for Feilding a key issue and one which clearly showed the limitations of the capitalist system. By juxtaposing two elements, family life and the ‘ethics’ of the profit motive as he did in his third column on December 1st, Feilding showed the devastating effect of Canadian economic ‘wisdom’. He stated that the condition of family life was a strong indicator of the health or disorder in society. Healthy family life, according to Christian social doctrine, was basic in any social order. In Canada there were symptoms of disorder: the lowered birthrate, increasing divorce, and “the rows of wretched little ‘homes’ which are appearing all over the land”. These houses proclaimed “a society which has no room for children and provides only for that minimum number which straitened circumstances allow”. Feilding then looked deeper to discern one cause for the disorder and found it in such rules as that proscribed by businesses and the banks as to when their employees may marry. Such rules proclaimed “a society willing to hand over its ethical direction to business and finding its ethical sanctions derived from covetousness sanctimoniously disguised as the profit motive”. This column was an example of Feilding’s use of social Christian principles to convert the reader to an awareness of the urgency of Christian action. Christendom could no longer be silent. Nor could it accept the limitations of church involvement in daily life that the mainline church generally imposed because the church’s inaction resulted in the unwelcome



imposition of business ethics on ordinary people in the most important areas of their daily lives.<sup>45</sup>

Other columns dealt with the absence of support for traditional Canadian farming<sup>46</sup>, the influx of soldiers into the universities drawing attention to the connections between social activism and political orientation. In this column the Church was taken to task as having “failed to relate itself to conditions as they are”, and compartmentalizing its life in a false individualism and denying “the reality of the Incarnation”. The church was criticized for not developing an adequate social critique and for buying into capitalist ideology.<sup>47</sup> Feilding in his May 1st column ended with a passage in parenthesis that once again admonished those readers who had experience on the front line to speak out, for “this column exists to talk about *Canada* (all of it) and Christendom.”<sup>48</sup>

The column for September, 1946 spoke about the evidence that prejudice was increasing in Canada.<sup>49</sup> Christians were required to begin with doctrine of creation, sin and salvation and to recognize unity of all people. Faith which was “beyond rational conviction though fortified by it, releases the springs of creative action as we approach our neighbour in his insecurity”. It was important that arguments be found to use against the formation of prejudice. But those who are prejudiced will not be won by arguments. There was a need for action on the level of policy-making and on the personal level. Feilding suggested, like Temple, that people become acquainted with other cultures by

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<sup>45</sup>*Canada and Christendom*, AO, 1 December 1945, 4

<sup>46</sup>*Canada and Christendom*, the Rev. G. Moore Smith, AO, 1 Jan. 1946, 4.

<sup>47</sup>*Canada and Christendom*, 15 January 1946, 4.

<sup>48</sup>*Canada and Christendom*, 1 May 1946, 8.

<sup>49</sup>*Canada and Christendom*, 1 Sept. 1946, 4.

taking advantage of new methods of transportation and go travelling. *Canada and Christendom* appeared only once after this date.<sup>50</sup>

In his column, Feilding was a strong advocate for a church journalism which was precise in its details as it reported the issues of the world, and at the same time unflinching in its adherence to the principles of social Christianity. Through this dialectical process, an understanding of contemporary Canadian social reality was put forward and a Christian program of action suggested.

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9. <sup>50</sup>Feilding wrote a column about religion in the schools for the August 1947 issue,

## Chapter VI

### *The Anglican Outlook and AFSA: 1946 to 1949*

#### **A. Controversial Responses to Internal Church Issues**

##### **1. "General Synod Comments" by An Observer**

The four-part series, *General Synod Comments* which started in November 1946 heralded the beginning of a critique of the Canadian Anglican Church's administrative policies. Rev. Sam Pollard's authorship of this series was masked in the *Anglican Outlook*, presumably to avoid unnecessary confrontation as Pollard was well known nationally for his 'radical' views and his association with AFSA. Rather, the series was penned ostensibly by "The Observer".<sup>1</sup> Although Sam Pollard's views often dominated the editorial voice of the paper, the contents of each issue were vetted by the editorial board. Therefore the opinions expressed in the editorials and some of the articles must be considered as representing the opinion of the editorial board. This being the case, a close study of this series will show that it embodied the critical perspective towards the Church that was maintained in the *Anglican Outlook* for the rest of the 1940s.

In *Part I* of the series the 'observer' began with the following remark about General Synod: "General Synod is clearly one of the most democratic organic bodies existing in this Dominion; it represents a real cross-section of Canadian life such as is not seen in other conventional gatherings". The article went on to say, however, that the General Synod Executive Council which attended to Synod affairs in between Synods was "far less representative and more reactionary".<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>However, the ruse did not work. Pollard's handiwork was recognized by Rev. Blagrove in his article "Timocracy--or fence-sitting: A criticism of the February Editorial", April 1947, 8.

<sup>2</sup>"General Synod Comments, Part I", November 1946, 4-5.

The issue of the basic clergy stipend was discussed. The current system of compensating the clergy was seen as the “unbrotherly congregationalist method that the business laity love to hold over the clergy”. That is, salaries were determined by the corporation of the individual parishes. The result of this policy was that some city parishes paid their clergy very well, while other parishes in which the laity were less well-off provided very low compensation. There were very negative results to this system: many good clergymen were lost to the US, and rural parishes had a hard time finding clergy willing live in poverty. This problem was compounded by the fact that rural clergy required a car, and could not afford one on their salaries. Another problem was the difficulty of transferring clergy from diocese to diocese. In other words, the church was “not putting into practice on the economic level the Christian doctrine of brotherhood” but was “modelled on the business world” instead, and the Canadian system had produced a class-divided church. The observer thought that this subject deserved “much more serious consideration by General Synod and its committee. There is a crying and obvious need for a radical change in principle if the church is to be a pattern for society”.<sup>3</sup>

The observer expressed his disappointment concerning the Council of Social Service’s report to Synod, calling it a review of “ambulance work” and noting that the report was intent on “seeking the lowest common denominator, even preferring the word ‘altruistic’ to ‘Christian’!” He went on to say that “there was no glimmer of inspired, prophetic leadership (perhaps one should not expect it from bureaucratic Toronto), but a

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<sup>3</sup>“General Synod Comments, Part I”, November 1946, 4-5. For AFSA this issue and the issue of clergy pensions were primary and they spoke out regularly in General and Diocesan

plethora of professional social service minutiae". Furthermore, a mere three hours was spent discussing the report at Synod, indicating a "tendency to fiddle while fire rages all about us". He stated that there was "no more pressing problem today than for Christian people to gain a clear understanding as to how, why and where the principles of the Faith of Christ are to be applied to their social concerns". Yet, little time and money had been appropriated to the Council, and furthermore the Council seemed content with the current state of affairs. One church body had stated at Synod that all the clergy were social service workers. The observer agreed, and stated that all clergy did their share of 'ambulance work', but made the further point that "the more one tries to straighten out moral and personal problems created and fostered by war conditions and the social environment, the deeper one is driven to seek fundamental causes and the more one seeks for a light and guidance that one does not get in this field". This criticism of the CSS caused a great deal of bad feeling but the break was inevitable, for *The Anglican Outlook* at this moment could no longer confine itself to the progressive and liberal view of the CSS.

In *Part II* of the General Synod Comments published in December 1946, the observer targeted the growing atomic threat and the lack of discussion of it at Synod.<sup>4</sup> Synod had been graced by the presence of the Archbishop of Canterbury.<sup>5</sup> In a media interview in Winnipeg during his stay, the Archbishop had made a strong statement about the use of atomic energy as being "either for the glory of God or for the works of the devil. It is for mankind to make the choice. The nations must control the atomic bomb".

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Synods and through the *Anglican Outlook*.

<sup>4</sup>"General Synod Comments, Part II", December 1946, 4 & 19-20.

Despite this statement, there had been no discussion about atomic energy at Synod, thus showing the failure of the Church to give “religious leadership and prophetic guidance”.

The observer went on to say that the final bankruptcy of the West was “being rapidly revealed in its failure to make an international community of nations on a basis of international treaties and law”. Furthermore, the study of war as a social institution revealed that it was “the final logic of self-will, and it has been to date the normal condition of society—not the abnormal, as so many fondly believe”. But now the atom bomb had “introduced a new emergent factor into history—it faces us for the first time in history with the stark question of survival, with the possibility of the destruction of all social structures”.

Public statements such as those from Archbishop came in for some criticism, however. Evidence showed that statements made by Fisher’s predecessors in 1937 and in 1941 and those by Fisher reflected a changing ideological stance of the Western nations towards Russia. That is, the Church merely repeated political dogma of the day and hadn’t looked at the facts. “The Church of England through its Archbishop of Canterbury follows closely the line of the British Foreign Office in its utterances, and so lends itself by its deliberate policy to the greatest smear campaign on this continent against a country that not long ago was a welcome ally, even though following a different political and economic creed”.<sup>6</sup>

There had been an animated discussion at Synod on the subject of divorce, but the writer of this report felt that only the symptoms had been dealt with. He thought that if a

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<sup>5</sup>The Archbishop was the Rt Hon. Francis Fisher, who had replaced Temple.

<sup>6</sup>The country referred to of course was Russia.

decline in family life had taken place, the fundamental causes should be sought out and greater support given to the clergy in their front-line battle against the effects.<sup>7</sup> The observer referred to the newly published *Animal Farm*, which showed how principles were lost through compromise. The Canadian Church, like the society of *Animal Farm* was on the verge of losing the revolution and was facing the disintegration of the church's social teaching through compromise of its principles.

The writer stated that the Synod report on evangelism revealed that the Church had not come to grips with the facts of the age, and savoured of "Victorian evangelism". Nor did it recognize the great gulf existing between the church and the people. "There is no evidence in the Report of any attempt to tie social sins in with the social set-up--there seems to be not the faintest realisation that sin is social as well as personal, that it is embodied in the structure as well as in the individual". Furthermore, the committee that produced the report "would not appear even to conceive the idea that the structure of society is a major moulding force of character--far more so than the church today". Currently, the battle to improve the life of the people was being waged by forces outside the Church. Pollard added that the church could not "counter-act the Marxist ideology by putting our blind eye to the telescope, nor by mere denunciation. If the church finds its Evangel it will be persecuted as it was of old. Let us face the facts".

In *Part III* published in January 1947, the observer dealt with the issue once again of the Church's social witness. He saw the Church's main weakness its inability to correlate its beliefs and its behaviour. A communist recently remarked about the Church:

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<sup>7</sup>A first step would be to recognize the "moral disintegration and spiritual decay" brought about by the waging of world-wide wars, of the implications of war as the primary

**“You Christians preach but the environment is not changed. We set out by acting, and we change the environment”. The observer added that faith and works were one in Christianity and that “Karl Marx said nothing new on the relationship of thought and action that Christ did not say before him”.<sup>8</sup> By referring both to the Gospel and to the apparent success of the Marxists in dealing with social issues, the observer then pointed to the Church’s inability to follow either. Synod had missed the opportunity to set its own house right and to witness to the world. A motion had been put forward “that if the Church were to witness without reproach for Christian justice and brotherhood in the world, then the General Synod look carefully at its own means of support and to inquire where the General Synod was a shareholder in any company or business enterprise which engaged in unfair labour practices”. The response from some Synod delegates to this question was that “investment was a mere matter of securing the best dividends and not a matter of morals”. The motion to examine the church’s funding was defeated. Pollard stated that the Church was serving “mammon at the expense of Christ” by possessing shares in “in the textile, steel, glass, aluminum and other industries without accepting any responsibility for the working conditions and hours of labour of the employees”.<sup>9</sup>**

**The observer discussed the issue of re-union between the United and Anglican Churches in Canada. He queried the motives behind a “top-level desire, especially on the part of the influential laity in our ecclesiastical assemblies, to have all the churches acting as one unit” when significant co-operation between the churches on the political, economic and social issues had already been established. He thought that the really vital**

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**social institution.**

**<sup>8</sup>“General Synod Comments, Part III”, January 1947, 17 & 19-20.**



question for Christians was to “find the right movement through which to express their social and economic solidarity”. The observer was suspicious about the political and other types of manoeuvring apparent in the movement in the current bid for union. He felt that “re-union at this point would be a sad blow against peace and real ecumenicity”.

*Part IV* of the General Synod Comments was published in May 1947 four months after *Part III* and contained discussion on two important issues: one was the clergy pension plan. The current practice of funding clergy pensions on investments was immoral and compromised the clergy because it was a form of “levying tribute money on the labour of others”. Rather, the Church should be giving strong support to the proposed Social Security Plan. The other issue was *The Anglican Outlook’s* response to the proposal for the amalgamation of the Church papers. The observer thought that having a unified Church paper under the authority of Synod might provide good coverage of official Church matters, but it would be detrimental to editorial freedom.<sup>10</sup> The Church required a diversity of papers as “vital for the preservation of freedom, for the encouragement of unpopular opinions and for the propagation of views contrary to the vested interests, both ecclesiastical and political”. If the “centralizers from Toronto” had their way, “vigorous and helpful criticism” provided by independent papers would be lost.<sup>11</sup>

## **2. The Anglican Outlook’s Further Response to Internal Church Issues**

The subject of the clergy stipend continued to be hotly debated by AFSA for a number of years on synod floors and through *The Anglican Outlook*. The Church

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<sup>9</sup>Ibid., 19.

<sup>10</sup>Papers considered were *The Churchman*, *The Anglican Outlook*, *The Church Messenger* and *The Living Message*.

appeared unable to “practice in economic terms the brotherhood” it preached and the result was the chaotic system of payment to the clergy in which the clergy in wealthy parishes receive three to four times the stipend than those in rural and isolated areas. Not only did this system interfere in the proper running of the Church, it got in the way of the Church’s evangelism.

The Church on its economic and financial side needed to adopt a radical change of programme—and to adopt it soon, unless it is to follow the decline of the church in England. Intelligent people can see this plain contradiction between theory and practice in our religion—and it prevents many from paying even lip-service to Christianity”.

Furthermore, the Church was anachronistic in its structure and present church leadership did not appear “to realize that parochialism, congregationalism, financial autonomy have little appeal today and are dying anyway—and that we are moving into the future completely unprepared to meet a changing secular world”. The adoption of a system of one basic stipend plus family, living and transportation allowances would serve to restore “a primitive Christian principle to the church and would prepare us to attack a divided pagan world with a new-found unity of action and spirit that would be irresistible”.<sup>12</sup>

In the editorial “Pensions Again”, the Church’s scheme for paying out pensions was described as inadequate in practical terms, for the funds did not cover the needs of the retired clergy. And once again, the lack of Christian principles in the business milieu was demonstrated. It was recommended that the Church adopt the government group

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<sup>11</sup>“General Synod Comments, Part IV”, May 1947, 5 & 7.

<sup>12</sup>“Green Pastures”, June 47, 10.

annuities scheme for it provided “the clearest way to a Christian approximation at the present time, until society is re-ordered on a more equitable and Christian basis”.<sup>13</sup>

AFSA and the editors of *The Anglican Outlook* had hoped, despite the evidence to the contrary, that a strong support from the Church for a new social order would develop. This hope was expressed circumspectly in the editorial, “The Farm Delivery Strike” a recounting of the Western farmers’ bid for recognition as organized labour by threatening a non-delivery strike. The editor believed that the church must be involved in this most important development. He asked, “Who is going to lead them in their battle? Christ or Mammon?” That is, would the farmers be motivated by limited financial concerns, or be part of the movement towards the Kingdom of God on earth. He ended the editorial: “The farmers have a just cause --we must espouse it”.<sup>14</sup> In the editor’s opinion this was clearly a moment of decision for the Church, but one to which it did not respond.

The waning of hope for a participating church in the new social order was expressed in the editorial “Green Pastures” in the June 1947 issue: “In a world that is rapidly being driven closer together, physically and actually, there is every evidence that the church is quite unprepared to take advantage of new opportunities for developing and practising Christianity that will so demonstrate our Christian principles to the world that the world will be ‘astounded’”.<sup>15</sup> Not only was the church not prepared, the editor felt that there was growing resistance from the mainstream of the church.

To sum up, the greatest concern of *The Anglican Outlook* was that the Church “was serving mammon at the expense of Christ” and this was a theme to which *The*

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<sup>13</sup>“Pensions Again”, March 48, 5-6.

<sup>14</sup>“The Farm Delivery Strike”, February 1947, 5.

*Anglican Outlook* would return in many ways during this period. The editors of AO felt strongly that the Anglican Church had more than its share of those who benefited from the current political and economic structures and who resisted change. For *The Anglican Outlook*, the resistance to change was paramount to destroying the true calling of the church—the calling to act on the gospel and be a presence for justice in the world. It was the inability of the church to speak out about structural injustice and the reasons for this inability that disturbed the editors of the paper.

**B. “Neither Capitalist Nor Communist”: October 1946 to February 1949**

**1. “Timocracy—Or Fence Sitting”: The Anglican Outlook vs the Rev. Blagrove of Hamilton**

The editorial entitled “Timocracy—Or Fence-Sitting” and the ensuing debate touched on several themes, but the most significant was the issue of the paper’s relationship to left-wing organizations. The original editorial which was published in February 1947 questioned the Church’s response to the “burning public issues in our life today”. For example, in a recent CSS report, there had been little in the way of “prophetic guidance” in public issues. The Church seemed to have the attitude that “if only we will leave things alone, we’ll find that most things will eventually settle themselves”.

The editor compared the Church press and the labour press. Most church papers confine their attention to denominational news, reports, Sunday School lessons and similar material. “Few ever have any word on the vital issues actually governing people’s lives on a day to day basis...it should surely be the duty of church leaders and the church

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<sup>15</sup>“Green Pastures”, June 1947, 10.

press to point out...the timeless moral issues to be found in the questions of our time".

These issues were: "control of the Atomic Bomb, relations with the Russian peoples, the value of endowments, the socialization of industry".<sup>16</sup> The Church refused taking a stand on any of these issues due to fear of alienating some church people. It was easy to make general statements, but "what the world is crying for is leadership in operational terms--who does what under which circumstances". In the editor's view, the labour press provided the kind of information on economic and political issues which enabled its readers to make informed judgement on today's issues.

He ended the article with the statement: "Timocracy, fear for its respectability as an institution, fence-sitting on important and immediate issues, are robbing the church of its rightful heritage of leadership in opinion and action. Prayer demands performance; faith demands works".<sup>17</sup>

*"Timocracy--or fence-sitting: A criticism of the February Editorial" by the Rev. R.C. Blagrove, D.D., Rector of St. Thomas Church, Hamilton*

Rev. R.C. Blagrove stated in his article entitled "Timocracy--or fence-sitting: A criticism of the February Editorial" that the criticisms leveled at the church had "obviously emanated from a group...whose ideas about the Church's policies and attitudes were quite out of harmony with the feelings of General Synod". The February editorial in his view was a "rather bitter attitude against the Church and expresses the rancour in the hearts of those whose socialistic creed fails to elicit the measure of agreement their zeal would lead them to expect". The group exhibited a "specie of

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<sup>16</sup>By including "the value of endowments" in this list, the editor would have been targeting the ethics of the Church owning stocks or bonds in businesses with poor labour records.

<sup>17</sup>"Timocracy-Or Fence Sitting", February 1947, 9.

fanaticism” in which there was a “loss of balance and an arrogant intolerance of all who disagree. So the weapon is open and downright condemnation”.

He took umbrage to the reference to the labour press stating that it engaged only in propaganda, and warned that the church must not “sell out to any group or any passing phase in history”. He then labelled socialism a “modern materialistic security-philosophy” and referred to the critical group at Synod as ‘pseudo-communists’. And he exonerated the use of capital funds to support the clergy pension fund saying that capitalism is “the only system under which democracy is possible”. He stated further that the British government:

cannot discipline voters upon whose votes they depend for power.... A socialist government cannot carry on by tolerating opposition. As far as the common people are concerned, it is all one with communism, once individual liberty is lost”.... When capitalism is destroyed, the essential freedoms which belong to it alone will perish. Then will come down the dark and heavy hand of regimentation and control.

His final statement was that “if the *Outlook* is to be the organ of socialism, whether the CCF brand or any other, it is well for the readers to be forewarned. But let the Church press at least be honest and above-board. Those whose loyalties are to Moscow never are”.<sup>18</sup>

The article entitled “A Challenge--Being a Reply to Dr. Blaggrave by *The Anglican Outlook*” analyzed Dr. Blagraves’ “wild and unsubstantial charges” in his response to the ‘Timocracy’ editorial. Blaggrave’s response displayed a “somewhat confused and illogical attitude on the relationship of the church and the world”. Blaggrave had stated that the church should not “sell out to any group or any passing phase in history”. But the editor

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<sup>18</sup>AO, April 1947, 8.

responded that Blagrove himself had happily sold out to capitalism. The church taught the brotherhood of man, but needed to 'remove the beam' in its own eye.<sup>19</sup>

Another issue cited by the editor was the Church's investments in stocks and bonds which was usurious. As well, many companies from which the Church earned interest were managed irresponsibly, and this was something that was "morally indefensible by any Christian standards". The Church tended to preach about sin, but only the sins of "sex and drunkenness". Dorothy Sayers (who participated at Malvern) had written a pamphlet about the Church's silence on the other six sins and had stated: "Perhaps the social morality of the church is of no great account. If so, we admit that we are in error in pressing our demand that the church clean house.... How can we expect the church to carry an effective evangelistic message when we surrender Christian conviction to economic self-interest at every turn?"

The *Anglican Outlook* had not used the term 'socialism' in its original editorial. The editor recalled the long history of 'socialist' thought in the Church of England, the Christian socialist tradition. "Archbishop William Temple once wrote in *The Economic Review* that the Gospels 'taught nothing less than evolutionary socialism...the alternative stands before us--Socialism or Heresy'.... The late Archbishop Temple long espoused the cause of political labour, and constantly 'interfered' in politics in the interests of the workers". There was a further long reference to a heated discussion between Neville

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<sup>19</sup>The example used to demonstrate the relation between the church and society was the British Church's protest against nationalization of British railroads "because the church possessed shares in the companies". The government was trying to "bring about a peaceful, orderly revolution, preserving freedom". Even the newspapers were against the church on this issue and "they were not communist-inspired". AO did overstep a boundary here.

Chamberlain and Temple, respecting an increase in 'the dole'. The *Anglican Outlook* stated that if Blagrove wished to classify the paper with these honoured predecessors and these historic precedents, the editors felt "unduly flattered and only pray that we may be worthy of such antecedents".

The *Anglican Outlook* then accused Blagrove of being ungenerous towards the British people, and of defaming the British government which had been elected by the British people. The government of England was "trying desperately to establish a new system without resorting to one-party socialism. It may not work out, but the very least we can do is to remember that her present plight is the result of the sins of the fathers--the result of capitalist policy over a long period, and the suffering of two world wars in one generation".

Contrary to Blagrove's assertions, capitalism did not guarantee political freedom. For example, Canadian citizens were being labelled as 'seditious' before they were formally tried:

It is rather surprising and somewhat distressing that a person of Dr. Blagrove's scholarship and eminence should fall for the current newspaper line of uttering the charge of 'red' and 'communist' against any criticism of the ecclesiastical *status quo*. Such an emotive outburst merits no reply. Today 'communist' is the catchword with which to stir up the emotions of anyone who disagrees with the ruling powers in church or state.

The editorial ended with a plea for church leadership:

All we would ask of the church is that she take the leadership in an era of reconstruction and social revolution.... We hope and pray that in these apocalyptic days the church and her clergy will not again miss the opportunity of a conversion judgment. The message of the Hebrew Prophets was a social message, and their battle was a battle for a righteous society. The church can repent and head up the revolutionary movement--or it can abdicate. The dilemma of the church is its challenge.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>20</sup>AO, April 1947, 9 & 11.



## **2. Further Comparisons of Capitalism and Communism**

Throughout the 1946 to 1949 period, *The Anglican Outlook* published several articles and also book reviews dealing with the relationship between communism, capitalism and Christian thought. AFSA members largely rejected Marxist materialism but were ready to pursue the implications of Marxist analysis, and their willingness to speak publicly about Marx led to a great deal of misunderstanding. “The mainstream and AFSA were rarely in communication largely because AFSA was no more communist than it was capitalist. AFSA was trying to move in territory and deal in concepts that its opponents were not willing to comprehend”.<sup>21</sup> This new territory was evident in the following items.

In an article entitled “Communism and Free Enterprise Both Heresies” in the January 1948 issue, the author was deeply concerned about the economic injustice caused by the increasing cost of living, and stated that the Christian gospel of love could overcome much of the bitterness faced by society such as industrial strikes and war which had resulted from capitalism. “The selfish spirit, seeking ever more profit, larger assets and higher working capital and reserves, can be driven out and a good spirit come in and take its rightful place”. But he warned of two possible errors of thought based on “the effort to make a part of the Christian gospel equal to the whole of it”. He stated that Communism was not a pagan philosophy, but a Christian heresy. It asserted that since we were all members of one another, our society and state should be a collective one” with no place for individual freedom nor for opposition. This heresy was supported by Russia and opposed by the West. The contrary heresy was “based on the teaching that

man, as a child of God, must be free. He must not be required to come under more than the minimum of authority. He must enjoy essential freedoms—worship, speech, press and assembly. But free enterprise, he emphasized, was not one of those essential freedoms. It was a good way of doing business, and was called the “American way”. This heresy attempted to take only a part of the gospel as the whole and the result was a reluctance to consider the common good. The common good was served primarily when all social, economic and political groups lived within the law. Those who didn’t may be regarded as ‘peace-time saboteurs’. Without the concern for the common good, the ordinary people were left in the lurch by an uncontrolled and irresponsible economy.<sup>22</sup>

The Editorial, “A Statement of Policy”, in the final publication of this period, dealt with the attempts in this period to marginalize *The Anglican Outlook* by calling it “communist”. The editor stated that some readers were concerned about AO’s communistic views. He stated that the word “communism” was becoming like the word “heretic” during the Inquisition, or the word “Jew” in Nazi Germany. But the fact was that the paper did not agree with Engel’s Marxism which stated that all social structures, including religious, were determined by economic power relations. This form of communism had been condemned by the Lambeth fathers, and *The Anglican Outlook* was

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<sup>21</sup>Wetmore, “The Brief-Case Boys”, 87-8.

<sup>22</sup>Article, “Communism and Free Enterprise Both Heresies” Jan 48, 3-4. This article was a report of address given by Dr. Mutchmor, the Secretary of Board of Evangelism and Social Service of the United Church of Canada at a conference on “Church and Industry” in Buffalo, NY. It accompanied the editorial “Facing the Future” reported above, as well as an article entitled “This Communism—What is it?”, 12-3. Of special interest in this latter article was the reference to the encyclicals *Rerum Novarum* and *Quadregesimo Anno* and the implications of Roman Catholic social teaching. But this article also took to task the Roman Catholic stance against socialism on theological grounds. It was written by a lay person, R.A. Cluff, London Ontario.

opposed to this form as it was a denial of the Incarnation. Furthermore, many of the 'evils' of communism were very much a part of our Western culture for it was Western scientists and rationalists that had shown Marx the way by producing new forms of determinist thought. "Man who once had believed himself to be 'little lower than the angels' found himself to be only a little higher than the ants and the apes". In the current form of capitalism prevailing on the American continent, a small group controlled the work-life and the destinies of most of the people. Yet, this was the system which "our millionaire-owned daily press holds up before us as Christian". *The Anglican Outlook* endeavoured to hold before its readers an Incarnational view of society that stood in sharp contrast to the deterministic creeds of Western Capitalism and Russian Communism. Nicolas Berdyaev had said that Christians could not support either the East or West blocs, but that Christianity was to be a "third spiritual 'bloc'". The opposition between the Eastern and Western bloc increased hostility, hatred and chaos in the world and finally led to war. This increasing world disruption and chaos "must bring to light the unity of all the Christian churches and manifest ecumenical Christianity". Therefore, *The Anglican Outlook*:

associated itself with all those who are working towards the realization of that third power, the third spiritual bloc, which we hope can, even yet at this late date, bring faith and order into our industrialized world before it writes itself off by its blind devotion to deterministic creeds. If this be treason, make the most of it.<sup>23</sup>

### **C. *The Anglican Outlook's* Witness to Injustice**

Following are examples of editorials and articles in which the analyses of contemporary issues from the social Christian perspective were exceptionally perceptive

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<sup>23</sup>"A Statement of Policy", February 1949, 8.

and considering the times required considerable courage on the part of the editors to print.

In the article, "The Quebec Textile Dispute", the authors described the relations between the management of the textile plants, the union and the press. Management had absolutely refused to deal with the textile union despite the union's legality and despite government pressure. When a strike had loomed, only reports biased in favour of management appeared in the papers. The Montreal Star had refused to publish an 'ad' by the Union, telling its side of the story. A citizens committee had been formed which was a cross-section of the population and included seven AFSA members. The story was told of police interference in the committee's attempt to bring a truckload of food to the workers in Valleyfield in which the authors of the article had participated.<sup>24</sup>

In the editorial, "An Ominous Speech", President Truman was taken to task for a speech in which he defied the Soviet Union. The editor stated that the Americans "would not shrilly challenge the Soviet Union in every quarter of the globe if they did not have in their possession an atomic bomb". The USSR was difficult to deal with, but in resorting to threats the Americans were preparing for the day when the same kind of force would be used against them. The UN should settle these issues rather than the American military buildup in Greece and Turkey, for example, "whose governments not even Mr. Truman will contend are democratic". The huge amount of money spent on arms should go to feed the people of these countries, who were starving. The United States was a

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<sup>24</sup>"The Quebec Textile Dispute", by The Rev. Arthur Elcombe, the Rev. Cyril and Marjorie Powles, November 1946, 14-15. These were all AFSA members.

nation bend on arming reactionary governments. "In time the US will find itself compelled to bolster up every reactionary government in Europe and Asia".<sup>25</sup>

The editorial, "The Christian and Political Parties" stated that there was increasingly a division in the press between the "Christian and the Communist" worlds, extolling the former and blackening the latter. The moral enemy appeared to be communism, but there was a definite possibility that the struggle against secularism was another 'red herring' to mask the real struggle against change and socialism". Peace between the US and the USSR was seen as the greatest single political issue. There were three alternatives: the first was world government through the United Nations Organization; the second was using the UNO as an instrument of US policy and the third was the conflict between the USA and the USSR resulting in a "Pax Americana founded on the rubble of the Soviet Republics". The editor stated that there was an "hysterical tendency on this American continent to seek the third solution", and Wall Street was clearly supporting President Truman in this alternative. "In an atomic age we cannot much longer safely indulge in the luxury of denouncing Communism. The only way open to us to preserve international peace is to be wholeheartedly committed to the cause of social justice in our own country".<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>25</sup>"An Ominous Speech", April 1947, 10. But the editorial, "The State of the Union—A Peace Offensive", Feb 49, pp 8-9, is a review of President Truman's address in which the President lauds the achievements of a peaceful regime. His address focussed on the domestic situation; there was "no breath of war-mongering and he gave credit to the 'enemy' nations for their attempts to improve the life of their citizens. Washington observers had stated that Truman had "made the nearest approach yet in the U.S.A. to the British Labor Party's brand of state socialism, in his disarming and Rotarian manner of speaking". Truman had attempted to remove the military and wall street influences from the State Department.

<sup>26</sup>"The Christian and Political Parties", May 1947, 5.

The article, "The Civil Liberties—of Others", cited cases particularly in Quebec, but in other parts of the country in which the judiciary seemed to have been under control of the business and financial interests. Arrests made of labour leaders in Quebec seemed not to bear any relation to illegal acts, but to what the authors of this article called "the Quebec government's hand-in-glove collaboration with industry to suppress the democratic rights of workers to organize". The authors, for whom the fascist threat was still very much alive, felt that such collaboration was a first step to a totalitarian regime. "When the legislative functions in turn become dominated by organized commerce and industry, so that the rights of the common man become virtually meaningless if they collide with the interests of the manufacturer and financier, it then behooves the Christian to speak out and act". This was a call to Christians to combat blatant injustice as in the treatment of Jehovah's Witnesses in Quebec, the Japanese internments in the West and the many defeats of labour unions across the country. But there was a further reason for Christians to be actively involved in the matter of civil liberties, "for wherever he may be found, man is still made in God's image, and any attempt to force him to be a tool or a beast of burden must be combatted with the same fierceness as Christ used to denounce the lawyers of his day, who 'load men with burdens grievous to be borne, and yourselves touch not the burdens with one of your fingers'".<sup>27</sup>

In the article, "Co-operation: The Answer to the Economic Predicament of the Common Man", current economic policy was reviewed and was seen to fail for:

the economic problem is at root a moral one. How are the rights of ownership to be related to the rights of personality and human need? Man

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<sup>27</sup>"The Civil Liberties—of Others", August 47, 12-3. This article was written by Rev. Cyril and Marjorie Powles who later quit AFSA and joined Smyth's SCC.

has mastered the technique of production. Can he master the technique of distribution? Christianity cannot be irrelevant to the question, for the Gospel is the answer to the whole of life not merely to any part.

A major aspect of the Christian answer had been the co-operative movement as practised both in Britain and Canada. But a new dedication to co-operation in the economic sphere "could usher in a world society well advanced towards Christ's idea of justice for all. For co-operation recognizes the two sides of man's character: his individual freedom and his social responsibility". Co-operatives as economic structures were the closest approximation to economic justice for within these structures the ordinary person had "the joy of owning and controlling the institutions by which he lives, and he has the responsibility of sharing them with his fellow man".<sup>28</sup>

In the editorial, "Ethics for an Atomic Age", society was described as ill-prepared to face the challenge of the atomic bomb. The editor stated two reasons for this. One was that the "laissez-faire Liberalism which has set forth the general philosophy for our democratic way of life deprecates the discussion of final values and objectives in life". The other was that Protestant theology had mainly confined its activity to "the redemption of the individual apart from society". The moral statements of the church had become meaningless because of the enormous changes of the past century. For example, the tradition of private property, once a standard of social justice, had become "the right of exploitation of the many by the few". In order to develop social norms for a peaceful world in the atomic age, a complex process of socialization was required among all people. There were hopeful signs that the church would take the lead in developing these

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<sup>28</sup>"Co-operation: The Answer to the Economic Predicament of the Common Man", Sept 47, 6 & 18. This article was written by Rev. C.R. Elliott of Bridgetown, NS, a member of AFSA.

norms. However, the church could not stand alone but must work in partnership with the new social sciences at the university level. If such a partnership were able to do this work without interference from vested interests, there might be hope that an “ethical code for a functional and dynamic democracy” could be developed.<sup>29</sup>

In editorials and articles such as these which opposed the principles of profit and interest on which finance-capital was based and which called for social justice, the editors did not always refer explicitly to the Christian principles upon which their criticism was based. But throughout this period there were a number of editorials and articles which restated the relationship between their principles and the social, economic and political issues of concern. The result was a balance of social concern and theological reflection.

#### **D. The Social Christian Perspective**

##### **1. Christian Principles**

As shown in the previous section, the Anglican Outlook consistently demonstrated that true nature of social, political and economic issues could be rightly understood through the application of Christian principles. The application of Christian principles implied judgment and finally action. In their own words, the editors had attempted “to apply Christian principles as we understand them to the solution of some of the problems confronting the Church and Canada”.<sup>30</sup> But the editors also sought to

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<sup>29</sup>“Ethics for an Atomic Age”, July 48, 8. This article was accompanied by a cartoon on the front cover of the issue entitled “Ethics for an Atomic Age”. It was a drawing of a gorilla holding an atom bomb and representing “our moral and spiritual development”, and a professor holding papers and a test tube and representing “our command of the scientific and mechanical knowledge which produced atomic energy”.

<sup>30</sup>“Our Correspondence Column”, August 1947, 11.



explain in a contemporary context the meaning of the principles themselves and their consequences.

An abbreviated version of Kirby's series from the first year was published as "Worship and Life: Worship is not something divorced from life" in the March 1947 issue. In contemporary church thinking, worship was in the main separated from the world. For example, business and religion were kept separate except that Christians were expected to be honest in their business dealings. Churches were to stay out of politics. Only through worship did human life find a balance. The Eucharist was built around material things, the bread and wine. As these were manufactured articles they represented "the combination of the goodness of God and the toil of men" which was "a short way of describing the whole economic process". These material things were "offered to God who takes them and gives them back again as the means of giving His Life to his children...these gifts are the best that man can give". Therefore, "whenever there is injustice in any realm of life, economic, political or religious and no honest attempt is made to eliminate it, we are in effect offering to god stale bread and sour wine". The Eucharist provided "not only the pattern for human living" but also the "power by which the pattern comes to life".<sup>31</sup> This perspective closely resembled the Sacramentalism of the Malvern *Findings* and found in the writings of William Temple. From this perspective, the spiritual and physical lives of all people were intimately connected, and therefore the continued application of Christian principles to all the issues of worldly existence was primary.

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<sup>31</sup>"Worship and Life: Worship is not something divorced from life. It is the key to life", March 1947, 4-5.

In the April 1947 editorial, "Sacrifice", the impact of secularization on Christian principles was discussed. For the past century and a half, people had been urged to throw off their restraints and ancient taboos in what in the editorial was called the "deification of nature"<sup>32</sup>. Western culture had encouraged people to live by the pleasure principle and to live in a regime "of limitless gratification without incurring any penalties". The impossibility of living this way had been brought home in England due to the effects of the war, but the policy of the American people, by contrast, had been one of throwing over all controls. Advertising pressed everyone to break down every moral restraint and inhibition and the resulting social sickness whether exhibited in "individuals, or groups, or nations" was the outward and visible sign of "a schism or sickness in the soul". Western culture had "emancipated" itself from the bondage of Christian tradition and had purged itself of any sense of sin, and was therefore "eaten up with the sin of pride and self-sufficiency...Genghis Khan had nothing on our modern western politics". Therefore survival today demanded the acceptance of the principle of sacrifice, "not merely the advocacy of a planned economy, in nations" but in individuals as well. If Christians really meant what they said about redemption then they must identify themselves "with a redemptive course of action as opposed to a self-indulgent line". For instance, before the Christian adopted "a so-called neutral attitude" or acted in any given situation, "he should examine himself thoroughly as to whether he is influenced in his choice by the demands of personal comfort, of prestige, or career or safety--because if necessary the Christian has to risk his very life. Only when we have done this can we rest assured that our Lord's

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<sup>32</sup>The editor pointed to writers from Rousseau to the contemporary Brock Chisolm.

Atoning Sacrifice will redeem us--else is our religion a mockery. If our morality is not adequate, any political control that we can bring to bear will be invalidated".<sup>33</sup>

An article by John Line in the May 1947 issue was a reworking of the Malvern view of property. "Christianity conceives men as spiritual beings, destined for immortality and eternal life. But their being comprises also the physical body with its needs", and therefore the vexing question of the relationship of Christian principles to the world had to be faced. Line's main point was that ownership of property began when labour was "entailed in making the thing available". Contemporary workers unlike those of medieval times were not able to own their own tools and therefore could never be independent of the employer. Therefore it was necessary to develop "some form of associative ownership" of tools and manufacturing facilities. "The precise form it is not for theology to determine. But under our present technological order it would seem that some plan of participated ownership would define that relation of the worker to the material means of his life that comports with the claims of his personality as these are regarded in Christian belief".<sup>34</sup>

In an article entitled "Students-in-Industry: A Challenge to the Church's Education of its Youth in the Problems Facing the Christian in an Industrial Society", February 1947, p. 6, John Rowe of McGill University took Temple's idea of cultural formation very seriously. He described the impact on a group of university students of spending the

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<sup>33</sup>"Sacrifice", April 1947, 11.

<sup>34</sup>"Christian Belief and Property: The Ownership of Things", May 1947, p. 12 & 16. The author, Rev. John Line was Professor of Systematic Theology and Philosophy of Religion in Emmanuel College, Toronto, and contributor to FCSO's *Towards a Christian Revolution*. Line saw the return to Catholic social teaching on property as a significant contribution of Malvern and Temple.

summer living and working with workers in the steel industry in Hamilton . This work camp had been run on SCM principles. Bible study and theology were important aspects of the camp “for in keeping with SCM methods and standards it was felt that Christianity had much to say about problems that now faced the members of the camp so much more squarely than during the college session”. They saw the evils of the lives of “men and women who live year after year by work of this kind; the experience of watching and even taking part in union activity in the very plant in which one worked; the experience of being used by management as a soulless cog in a machine, fit only to be replaced when useless or troublesome; the experience of being tempted to return evil for evil by means of the tricks and subterfuges which gain illegal respite from tiresome toil; all this was no longer theory to these normally cloistered young people of the universities, but actual fact which must be explained, and understood by them, as mind met mind in the corporate activities of Work Camp life”. Students searched for meaning in this work, as part of the ‘worship in work’ study, but found little. They found that the “incongruity of mental prayer and monotonous toil became terribly clear. They may have found something worshipful in the sense of satisfaction in a good day’s work well done. This too was a mockery to those who had seemingly purposeless tasks, and to those who saw the evil ends for which their products were ultimately designed”. But in the end, they could see that their work “could be a valuable oblation to God, once it was done in the light of intelligent resolution to change whatever was evil in the structure of the system under which they worked. In them was mounting concern that men and women should spend their lives not only insufficiently rewarded but treated as non-responsible elements in a great machine, driven expressly for the purpose of profit-making. With this concern was

the dawning realization that the finest worship of this age is in the dedication of the common labourer to the task of doing away with the capitalistic system in which he works". Rowe felt that the Church should be doing more of this to "awaken her youth to their vocation in these needful times".<sup>35</sup>

Once in a while a piece was written reporting a talk or an event which closely paralleled and reinforced the theological perspective of *The Anglican Outlook*. One such editorial was entitled "What of the Night?" and was a report on the talk given by Rev. George MacLeod, D.D., M.C., of the Iona community. He spoke directly about the church's position in the world, challenged the prevalent theory of individualistic salvation, spoke of a revival of collective salvation on the lines of the early church, and emphasized the materialism of the Christian religion. He said that only a mature Christianity was viable, and that was what Iona was trying to work out. The members of the Iona community believed that changes in theological emphasis, in modes of worship and in the nature of church fellowship would alone recover the church's proper role.<sup>36</sup>

An article written by Sam Pollard which expanded the theological implications of social Christianity was "The Arundel Conference" in the September 1947 issue. This was a report on the fifth Arundel Conference at which the topic of the Conference had been "Dialectics for Christians", and it had been led by Rev. Hastings Smyth.<sup>37</sup> A liturgy for the occasion prepared by Rev. Smyth called "The Anamnesis of the Body and the

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<sup>35</sup>"Students-in-Industry: A Challenge to the Church's Education of its Youth in the Problems Facing the Christian in an Industrial Society", February 1947, 6-7. A report on the previous summer's student-in-industry camp was printed in the 15 March 1946 issue, but this report dealt mainly with the doings of the camp.

<sup>36</sup>"What of the Night?", March 1947, 9-10.

Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ” had been central to the proceedings. In this liturgy the corporate character was stressed “thereby emphasizing anew that Christianity is a religion of objective, material Sacrifice that has grown out of the Old Covenant of Israel”. This character was “naturally contrary in spirit and practice to the present idealistic and ‘inspirational’ presentations of our Faith”.<sup>38</sup>

The focus of the lectures was first of all on the dialectics of the inanimate physical universe, then the dialectics of biological processes, and finally, demonstrating historical development which ended “with the Dialectic of Christian history and the Incarnation”. There were problems which made an understanding of Christian dialectics difficult. One was that Marxists claim that they did not believe in metaphysics, but Smyth stated that they were wrong for dialectical materialism was a metaphysical notion. The other problem was the popular belief “that ‘you can’t change human nature’ when it means only human character”. In current thinking the concepts of ‘nature’ (the species) was confused with ‘nurture’ and although human nature remained constant, nurture meant that we could develop “human potentialities”. Furthermore, extreme determinism was the dominant philosophy of the day, but this discounted human consciousness. Even St. Thomas asserted that humankind had “the potentiality of being conditioned by his environment”, and Smyth stated that this belief was central to Christianity, not the current belief that “the human environment is God’s”. Further subjects discussed were: “the dialectic relations of religion and history” (what must be saved from the old order–“the struggle of opposites–understanding the process of historic change”); “the dialectic

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<sup>37</sup>Forty people had registered from eleven different diocese in Canada and the Eastern US.

relations of religion and the secular environment” (the “relationship with capitalism, socialism and communism” and what must be eliminated from the old order as well as “the mutually opposite and exclusive tendencies today in society”); “Religion and practical redemptionist ends” (choosing social organs of power within and outside the church, the problem of ends and means and “self-examination as to what action we take and why” and the significance of the Atonement); “Religion and its own history” and the role it must be brought to play in answering the Marxian criticism that “religion is the opiate of the people””; and finally, liturgical reconstruction”.

In the final paragraph of the article there was the regret that the Anglican Church at large had not benefited either from Smyth’s instruction or from the Jesuit writings on political and economic issues. But “to those who feel called to strengthen their convictions and to work to secure the fundamental change demanded by the Lambeth Fathers, these conferences and discussions offer a great chance to learn to be of service to the church in this day and age”. The report on this conference on Christian dialectics restated the dialectical process implied in the application of Christian principles to the issues of the world.

In his series, “The Temptation of Christ—An Interpretation” Pollard wrote three meditations on the temptations of Christ. He stated in the first of these meditations that: in considering these key temptations of our Lord, we find that they were not specifically—or even mainly—ones to convince people to our Lord’s way of thinking, but were temptations to the exercise of power over people...The Son of God could have chosen any one of these ways to power, but He did not”. Jesus refused all three temptations, that is

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<sup>38</sup>“The Arundel Conference”, October 47, 4 & 11.

to control people by their food supply, through authoritarianism, or by “capturing the present kingdoms of this world. That kind of world leadership was not his way to power. Let us examine ourselves—do we as Christians have to support these methods as we are doing in so many ways today?”<sup>39</sup>

## **2. The Catholic and Evangelical Faith**

In the August 1948 editorial, “The Catholic Faith and Christian Action” the importance of the renewal of the Catholic, or social aspect of Christian belief in the development of grounds for social action was restated. The Church has been too concerned with the “Christian view of the nature of God, and not enough with the Christian view of the nature of Man and the World so as to formulate it in a modern language for working people in a modern social milieu”. Even in Britain, Sacramentalists were considered ‘Pantheist’ and ‘Roman’. Conrad Noel, the chief spokesperson for the ‘slum ritualists’ was labelled these because he “believed in God immanent in Nature and in Man, which the bishop and his examining chaplains called Pantheism”. He also “believed that God was really present in the Blessed Sacrament and not merely subjectively present in the worshippers” and this was considered Romanism. Like the great Sacramentalists, the editors believed that Christianity was more than a simple faith in Jesus, and even more than emulating the ideals of the Sermon on the Mount. “The framers of the creeds considered that they were doing practical work when they discussed the nature of Man and the doctrine of the Incarnation. That God became flesh was the great safeguard against the idea that material life is of no consequence. The Resurrection of the body means the importance of the body”.

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<sup>39</sup>“The Temptation of Christ—An Interpretation: Part I”, February 1948, 6. “Part II”,



Those who would deny either Christ's humanity or his divinity were seen as heretical. Furthermore, the person who held "that human nature is utterly vile and that therefore God could not ally himself with it" was also seen as heretical and must also believe "that God must be less than his creation". Whereas, the Early Fathers of the Church in their deliberations about Christ's humanity and divinity were laying the foundation for a living *ecclesia*, there were nevertheless many of those who strayed "in their fundamental conceptions of human and divine nature" and who by necessity would "go wrong in their political, commercial and economic theorizing and action".

Recently in Britain, the statement had been made that the Labour Party could be considered the "Christian Party". The *Anglican Outlook* stated that neither the Labour Party in England, nor the CCF Party in Canada could be considered the Christian party for neither party accepted "the dogmas of Christian sociology; neither party has a fundamental philosophy; in fact it is a stated article of faith with the CCF that religion is an individual affair, a matter for the individual heart and the individual conscience—it is an outgrowth of Protestantism in the political field".<sup>40</sup> The final question was: "When shall we realize that the Christian Faith is a sacramental one? And this sacramental principle says that the spirit works through material instruments, whatever those instruments may be".<sup>41</sup>

In the *General Synod Comments*, Pollard had stated how the church's evangelistic function was compromised by the resistance to change because of undue pressure from

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March 1948, 6-7. "Part III", April 1948, 6-7.

<sup>40</sup>See article, "CCF Official Assails Ottawa Rector" which describes Gregory Lee's break with the CCF over the issue of holding the CCF Convention for that year on Easter weekend. AO, June 1949, 3, 5.

financial and business interests. In succeeding articles and editorials these interests were shown as impediments to the hopes for a just society grounded in Christian principles.

In the New Year editorial of 1948, misgivings for the future of the planet itself were voiced: "Looking back over the year 1947, we are oppressed by the fact that the year which started out with such promise for greater international co-operation, better understanding among peoples and relief of physical distress, actually saw an alarming degeneration in each of these spheres". At least, the editor stated, there were no more illusions about "any rosy post-war dreams of an easy solution to the problems of the world. For Christians, the issues have been clearly defined". The challenge to the church was to bring about a "renewal of faith in the hearts of all men" and to give leadership in tackling the many problems. But even more was required of the church. The New Year had begun "in the glow of Christmas when we celebrate the great fact of the Incarnation. God in Christ was made flesh and dwelt among us; He identified Himself with fallen man. The Christian by Holy Baptism, is a member of Christ's Body and although he is already identified with fallen man through the solidarity of sin, he must now further identify himself with fallen man through the solidarity of love...a love that 'beareth all things'". The editor then quoted extensively from a homily by Rev. H. Frederick Smyth stating that the Christian love was not strong in the world, nor was it understood. "Instead of the self-identification which love requires, we so-called Christians prefer to exhort, to teach, to censure and—if thought necessary to our own superior safety—to disavow and to cast out. We prefer to commend at times, but to reprove and blame at others. We prefer to 'help' others out *their* difficulties .... All this we prefer to the risk of

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<sup>41</sup> "The Catholic Faith and Christian Action", August 48, 8.

being involved as fellow-bearers of the fruits ... of other's meanness and perversity. Yet it is only in complete identification of our personal selves with all our fellow men, an identification which merges the subject with the object, theory with practice, the lover with the beloved, in indivisible unity, that the redemption of this world can be advanced through our participation". The editor saw only two paths to the future. Either Christian love would prevail, or there would be an atomic war. Readers were reminded that God had already sent the means to bring God's Kingdom on earth, but "are those who call upon His Name willing to use those means in convincing demonstration?"<sup>42</sup>

In an article entitled "Christianity—A living organism?" Rev. C.H. Powles compared the contemporary church to the Early Church stating that the Church of his day showed much less vitality. For the ordinary person, the church appeared to be siding with the powers of this world, and with the "haves", with the white race, with imperialism, "in short, with all the characteristics which our Lord condemned as belonging to the rulers of the Gentiles, and not to His friends". More exhortation cannot prove to ordinary people that Christianity was on their side, but only the true witness to Christ. Such a witness must be carried into the religious, political and economic realms of life. It meant "stricter standards of churchmanship, combined with a realistic understanding of the requirements involved" resulting "in a frank recognition of the basic opposition of much of our popular life to the requirements of the Church". It is in the field of economics that Christian witness was to have its greatest opportunity. This was the challenge of the Ionian community, the student-in-industry projects, and the work of AFSA. The economic discipline required of these groups continually gave rise to charges

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<sup>42</sup>Editorial, "Facing the Future", Jan 48, 11.

of communism from those groups whose power was “challenged by such a witness. One may remember that Christians have been bad for business at other times in history, and that Saint Paul was run out of Ephesus for this very reason”. Powles believed that such Christian witness would “prove the Good News of the Kingdom to the world. For in the exercise of a closer social discipline, well-springs of power are tapped such as even the wildest imagining cannot conceive. Such was the Apostles’ doctrine and fellowship in the Acts. In such cells of practising Christianity which strive to act as living organisms lies the future hope of the Gospel”.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>43</sup>“Christianity—A living organism?” Oct 47, 6 & 11. This was an article written by Rev. C.H. Powles, Montreal AFSA member.

## **Chapter VII**

### **Social Christian Teaching in The Anglican Outlook**

#### **A. The First Year: Gregory Lee and Charles Feilding**

##### **1. Feilding's Contribution**

The pressure of secularism, and the consequent marginalization of Christian ethics had endangered the church's ability to speak out on social issues, but Feilding in his newsletter and the column in *The Anglican Outlook* had attempted nevertheless, to bring social Christian theology in all its complexity to bear on social, political and economic issues. But this was only the starting point for Feilding. He understood social Christianity as deeply rooted in the theological method of the Social Christians. It was because of his thorough grasp of the perspective articulated by Temple that he was able to develop through his newsletter and his column, an understanding of social Christianity in the Canadian context. Feilding used several strategies for this endeavour. He requested that readers be responsible for informing *Canada and Christendom* about their battle to bring Christian principles to bear in their milieu. He encouraged dialogue among the readers so that the reality of particular situations could be revealed and discussed. He demanded of himself and others factuality in reporting on any issue which was discussed, so that informed Christian opinion was possible. His columns were usually transforming, that is capable of converting the readers to a new level of understanding of social and economic issues so that they would be willing in turn to act on their new-found insight.

It was primarily through Feilding's efforts that the implications of Temple's articulation of the principles of Social Christianity were transformed into a new voice on the Canadian scene, the modern Church journalism of *The Anglican Outlook*. Feilding's presence may have been limited to the first year of *The Anglican Outlook's* life, but his

articulation both of social Christian principles, and his success in applying them to Canadian reality showed the way for the publication.

## **2. The Consequences of Lee's Editorial Policy**

As did Feilding, Lee trusted that dialogue among varying perspectives could result in mutual understanding and perhaps consensus in a public forum. Such a consensus could then lead to public statements by the Church, and finally a plan of action for Christians and for the Church. His editorials consistently stated the necessity for Christian social witness, and they demonstrated a willingness to tackle issues central to social Christianity, the witness of faith, the effect of political developments on social attitudes, and the presence of the Kingdom here on earth.

In respect to *The Anglican Outlook's* resolve to represent the whole church, Lee was working in an opposite direction than Feilding and the AFSA group. However, it would be unfair to say that one emphasis won out over the other; *The Anglican Outlook* could be seen to represent both of these emphases. Of prime importance was Lee's understanding that it was necessary to represent the whole church in order to fulfil what he saw as the mandate imposed by modern church journalism.

Lee's most important contribution was the actual founding of *The Anglican Outlook*, and his insistence that it be a thoroughly Canadian church paper grounded in the Christian principles and the new church journalism outlined in the Malvern Findings and Temple's later writing. The integrity of the paper in this respect was maintained throughout its life. He also made two other important long-term contributions. First of all, his initial layout for the paper permitted the wide range of information and opinion characteristic of the paper throughout its life. Through the layout the editorial board was to

witness to the breadth and complexity of the social Christian vision of society. Secondly, his emphasis on balanced coverage meant that the *Anglican Outlook* was relatively uncontentious in its first year. His milder tone probably did encourage a wider readership in those troubled times, and may have been a strong factor in the paper's ability to survive the early years.<sup>1</sup>

#### **B. AFSA's Contribution to *The Anglican Outlook***

Recognition of the debt owed to the social Christian perspective of Temple and of Malvern was clearly stated by Pollard and the AFSA group. In their criticism of the Church, they consistently referred to the original premise stated in Malvern that the Church must witness to Christian principles in its administration. The publication of the "General Synod Comments" had been a declaration of the themes, which would dominate the paper's editorials for the next years, for example, the Church's dealings with its clergy and its inability to provide a witness of Christian principle to the world. The implications of Christian sociology as it was adumbrated through Malvern and Temple's writings consistently informed the editorial analysis of the political, social and economic issues of the day. The editors employed the analytic process which Temple outlined in *Christianity and Social Order* to bring to bear a Christian perspective on important issues of the day such as the implications of the relationship of Christianity to communism, socialism and capitalism, and the means used to pervert justice in Canadian society.

But when AFSA joined the board of *The Anglican Outlook* the change in editorial policy also had implications for the development of the social Christian perspective in

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<sup>1</sup>Pulker, 162. Pulker says that may have been so because Lee was anxious to have as wide a readership as possible in order to attract Church funding, and therefore was

Canada by continually pointing to the tension which existed between current social, economic and political policies and the social Christian perspective. The changing pattern of cultural beliefs, for example, had promulgated a fearful attitude towards socialism and had resulted in the acquiescence of Canadians towards the increasing dominance of business control in their lives. These changes and combined with the ascendancy of the American business and political interests in the world sometimes meant that the tone of the paper was less tolerant of opposing views. The editors in this period actually moved away from Temple's position insofar as he had relied on a sense of good-will throughout society and a willingness to engage in dialogue with everyone. At times, *The Anglican Outlook* was willing to forgo dialogue and maintain a confrontational stance particularly with the 'money boys'. But throughout, the editors made a great effort to provide a strong background for their critique of the Church and of pressing current issues.

Despite the lack of support from the official church and the downright hostility of some groups within the church, *The Anglican Outlook* in this period consistently brought the principles of social Christian theology to bear on the paramount issues of the day, and in so doing demonstrated that the social Christian principles of Malvern and of Temple's writing did provide sound criteria to evaluate political, economic and social policies.

### **C. Ten Years Later: Pollard's Summary in the Tenth Anniversary Issue**

#### **1. The Anglican Outlook's Purpose**

The focus of this Tenth Anniversary issue published in November 1955 was purportedly the history and the impact of *The Anglican Outlook* in its first ten years but in

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careful not to rock the boat.



fact the events described predated 1950 for the most part.<sup>2</sup> In this issue, Pollard wrote an editorial which outlined important aspects of the paper's work. Some of the paper's contentious editorials, such as the "Timocracy—Or Fence-Sitting" editorial were reprinted along with other material. As well there were three pages of tenth anniversary congratulatory letters written for the occasion.<sup>3</sup>

Pollard stated his view of the purpose of the paper in an editorial. It had "endeavoured, over the years, to be an independent journal of opinion but with very decided views on certain subjects—the church's pension empire, the basic stipend system, social issues, invested funds, war and peace, missions". The paper had been accused of "fellow-travelling" with socialist groups as well as of "impractical idealism". As well, it had been "denounced from the floors of diocesan synods and general synods. Even its right to the use of the word Anglican has been held in bitter question". He reiterated the articles which had created the most controversy: the publication of the "General Synod Comments", the article on St. Cuthbert's Church in Montreal, as well as the editorials which condemned "the setting up of private, parochial pension funds for rectors in the wealthy parishes". In his view, the paper stood "forthright on the question of leadership—episcopal and other—in both local and national issues, sometimes at the cost of subscribers and support". The paper had made mistakes but Pollard hoped that it had fulfilled its Socratic function. "Maybe some of the ideas propounded in these pages are having their

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<sup>2</sup>However, the paper continued to publish thought-provoking and often contentious editorials and articles.

<sup>3</sup>Pollard also wrote a lengthy article entitled "The Arundel Group and the Anglican Outlook" which dealt mostly with the history of AFSA. The publication of early AFSA documents and this article indicate that he saw the paper chiefly in the context of AFSA's

fruition over the years. At the same time we have tried to preserve a sense of humour about these problems and our convictions". He praised the paper's news service which he said had been accurate and concise in its information and had "had much reader commendation during the past decade. Perhaps our brightest and most welcome feature!" He ended the article with the following commendation:

We feel that it has been quite an achievement for a number of amateurs to keep up their zest and enthusiasm in putting out month by month—even though sometimes incorrigibly late—a readable magazine of news and views—all its people being associated, be it remembered, with full time jobs in life. Today when most magazines are turned over to the professional, the Anglican Outlook is still a volunteer effort devoted to Christ's Church Militant. And until Jerusalem is built in this green and pleasant land there should be no peace and no quarter given to the world, the flesh and the devil—under whatever guise they may come.<sup>4</sup>

## **2. Temple's Role in the life of the Paper**

The paper's tenth anniversary issue clarified once again the relationship between the teachings of William Temple and the work of AFSA through the publication of *The Anglican Outlook*. The front cover of this issue had a photo of Temple at his enthronement as Archbishop of Canterbury on St. George's Day in 1942. On the second page was a reprint of the letter published by AFSA in *The Gazette* at time of Temple's death. There was no doubt that AFSA's determination to carry on the work of Temple as expressed in Pollard's 1944 article in the *Montreal Churchman* was still alive in the hearts of the editors. In this editorial Pollard stated that the paper had "always tried to base its motivation and action on a sound

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work. However, I have tried to show that the contributions made in the first year were also very significant.

<sup>4</sup>Editorial: "With Malice Towards..." AO, November 1955, p. 6.

theology of the Faith once delivered unto the Saints—sacramental and evangelical, with the emphasis on social witness”.

In the section of the article entitled “Theological Foundations” Pollard stated that in terms of its theological foundations, AFSA’s “greatest debt is owed to the late William Temple”. In this article Pollard stressed Temple’s socialism even after he was made Archbishop of Canterbury and stated that the Archbishop was often “publicly and viciously attacked for his leadership in social and economic affairs”. Temple spoke out about economic reform regardless of these attacks, and he repeatedly stated that the church could not be taken seriously if it did not become deeply committed to the cause of justice.

Pollard lauded Temple’s “knowledge and sincerity, precision and lucidity of statement and the force of reason”. Pollard spoke of Temple’s ability to “lay hold of the Word of God in its dynamic relevance for the human situation” and he stated that “as far as God is concerned it is a great mistake, a fatal mistake, to suppose that God is chiefly, or even primarily, concerned with religion in the ordinary term of current speech. God is concerned that there should be a right and proper order in his whole creation according to His revelation and His will in the Person of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ”.

Pollard here stated what he considered Temple’s central theme, that the “right and proper order” in God’s whole creation entailed the church’s commitment to justice “not only in man’s relationship to Himself, which is called religion, but also in a right order between man and man, which is the political problem, and between man and nature, which is the economic problem”.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>5</sup>AO, November 1955, 10. As well, the January 1949 issue of AO commemorated the publication of Dean Iremonger’s biography of William Temple and it contained a

In view of this statement of Temple's importance to the editors of *The Anglican Outlook*, it is interesting that references specifically to Temple had been few in the paper in the first years. The probable reason, that Temple's reputation as a socialist would alienate readers, was implied in a remark by Feilding in his December 15<sup>th</sup> 1945 column. The President of Lever Brothers had arranged for a survey of housewives of low-income families concerning their housing needs. In reporting the results of the survey he came to the conclusion that housing needs were a priority. Feilding stated that "Mr. Massey's account is reasonable enough. Coming from him it will not be described as socialist as William Temple was when he said substantially the same thing in the first of his famous 6 points ". But it appears also that for the editors understood their job as providing the grounds for a truly Christian evaluation of the pressing concerns in the world. The work of analysis that relied on the method suggested by Temple transcended the direct references to his theology.

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lengthy article about Temple. Printed on the cover of AO was a political cartoon about Temple which had been reprinted in Iremonger's book.

## Chapter VIII

### Conclusion

#### A. Evaluation of *The Anglican Outlook: 1945-1949*

##### 1. Strengths

Critical journalism is the order of the day in the Mother Church in Britain, but the promoters of *The Anglican Outlook* were well aware that critical journalism would be a pioneering venture in Canada. As our readers know, we were for a time deluged with protesting letters, even veiled threats from outraged 'dignitaries'. We expected this; we even invited it and opened our letter columns to all and sundry to say what they liked about us....

In fact, *The Anglican Outlook* was fully prepared to be regarded for a long time as beyond the pale of respectability.<sup>6</sup>

First of all is the fact that the paper maintained its integrity despite efforts to marginalize its perspective. The difficulty was greatly increased by the polarization, which was in progress in the 1940s. But the editors maintained their standards by returning regularly to the paper's roots in the social Christian principles. To me, this is the greatest contribution of the AFSA members on the editorial board, but everyone involved contributed.

Secondly, the editors demonstrated throughout the years that Christian principles could be applied to contemporary issues without compromising either the factuality of reporting those issues or the integrity of the principles themselves. This aspect of the paper's success may be attributed to Feilding's early work.

Thirdly, the paper consistently showed that diversity of opinion was necessary and good in a healthy church. The effect of Lee's open policy at the beginning was to prevent the paper from becoming merely a voice for a small group. Furthermore, his insistence that

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<sup>6</sup>Editorial: "Another Milestone", March 1950, 7.

all aspects of church life, worship and liturgy, clergy activities, church events and work throughout Canada and in the world, as well as its social concerns should be brought into the dialogue created a dense, and at times wonderfully variegated texture. The paper was an example of modern church journalism at its best.

## **2. Limitations**

From the perspective of the Anglican Church of Canada in the year 2001, *The Anglican Outlook* may be seen to have failed to warn the Church about the situation with Canadian Aboriginals. The editors in the 1940s were taking what was then a progressive stance in supporting the residential schools. This view was that the government was making matters worse for the Indians by dealing only half-heartedly with the terrible conditions under which most lived, and this was expressed in the first issue of the paper.<sup>7</sup> They felt that residential schools were the answer, for in order to survive Indians would have to become educated. In June 1946, it was stated that the churches had played an important role in providing education for Indians over the years, but that the job was becoming too taxing.<sup>8</sup> In the November 1946 issue it was reported that the government

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<sup>7</sup>Article: "Government Policy Towards Indians Hit by Missionary", 1 November 1945, 13. In this article the missionary, Rev. N. Burgomaster of Mistassini, Quebec reported on the life of the Mistassini Indians in which disease and poverty was rampant and the age expectancy less than 40. Concerning the government's role he stated that to "save the Mistassini from the disabilities of the white man, Church and State must work together in closest co-operation". In the next issue was printed a photo of Indian girls "with faces aglow" singing in the choir of the Anglican boarding school at Moose Factory. AO, 15 Nov 1945, 3. Unfortunately, the tenor of these reports were sometimes patronizing.

<sup>8</sup>"The Future of the Canadian Indian", 1 June 1946, 13. The author states that the Church first of all taught the Indians in their own language and then in English.

was taking a greater responsibility for the improvement of the standard of living for Indians.<sup>9</sup>

What was lacking in their analysis was an awareness of two issues which are clear to us. One is that the Aboriginal way of life did not need to disappear in order for Aboriginals to survive. The other is, of course, the issue of the abuse which existed in the schools, and for which the Church is now paying a very high price. It should be noted, however, that when Farley Mowat wrote his second book, *The Desperate People*, which outlined what amounted to a genocide perpetuated against Canadian Eskimos by the Canadian government, *The Anglican Outlook* did publish a review of the book<sup>10</sup>.

An important issue about which there was a great silence in the paper was the issue of women in the Church. An article/letter? early on wonders why women are not permitted to attend Synod... and the work of the Anglican women's groups are occasionally reported. This was a shortcoming of the entire social Christian movement, and unfortunately the movement ended before there could be any change on this issue.<sup>11</sup> Another subject upon which there is silence is the subject of racism, although articles did often appear on the subject. In the 1950s, however, the paper did write on the Civil Rights movement in the US and published an article by Martin Luther King, Jr.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>9</sup>"A New Day for Church's Indian Schools Is Announced by Church Headquarters: New and Modern Standards for Education, Diet, Health, Sanitation, Hours of Work, Housing, Social Life, Dress", November 1946, 5.

<sup>10</sup>AO, February 1960, 4.

<sup>11</sup>A letter by William Temple has been published on the internet in which he opposed the ordination of women. It is a strongly-worded statement and troubling, but it is also disturbing that this is the most frequent reference to Temple on the net.

<sup>12</sup>"Facing the Challenge of a New Age". AO, June-July, 1957, 9-11 & 15

And finally, the limitations of the paper may be seen in the acceptance of the Stalinist regime. Although there had been some reports of the cruelty of the regime, those both inside the church and outside who opposed the capitalist system and supported socialism found it very difficult to recognize the terrible failings of this contemporary example of a government which seemed to have successfully instituted social principles.

**B. How *The Anglican Outlook* Speaks to Us Now**

Our perspective on many issues has altered sometimes radically, since the 1940s and 1950s and at times as cited above, the paper seemed to be out of touch. But in many areas the paper was a reliable witness to changes in cultural values the results of which still are very present today. For example, the role played by business in ordinary lives was undergoing great changes in these years, and the paper reported the divergences which were growing between the resulting cultural values and those implied in Christian belief. The paper also registered the growing implication of the media in these cultural changes.

It was only in reading the paper, that I became aware of how radically these intervening cultural changes have distanced our culture from the hopes and aspirations of the socially-based Christian visionaries of the 1930s and 1940s. Fortunately, such a vision does not die. It came back to life in the Jubilee 2000 movement and still lives in organizations and publications in the churches.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>13</sup>The Anglican Church in Canada was a strong supporter of Jubilee 2000 and has for many years sponsored an ongoing organization, the Primate's World Relief and Development Fund (PWRDF) which supports partnerships with groups in third world countries. On the national scene, the Church has dealt extensively with the need for healing among Aborigines who suffered abuse in the residential schools, as well as trying to deal with the court cases. In the Diocese of Montreal, although the great fervour which accompanied the work of AFSA and *The Anglican Outlook* has subsided, a great deal of work goes on which is nourished by the social Christian vision of the church.



In its insistence on witnessing to the cultural changes, the editors provided not only an enduring record of a troubled time, but more importantly the assurance that whatever the topic, a dialogue between the principles of social Christianity and the pressing issues in the world is possible.

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