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THE ROLE OF ANGLICANS IN REFORM OF THE  
ECONOMIC ORDER IN CANADA 1914-1945

by Edward Alfred Pulker

Thesis presented to the School of  
Graduate Studies of the University  
of Ottawa as partial fulfilment of  
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## CURRICULUM STUDIORUM

Edward Alfred Pulker was born August 21, 1916, in Belleville, Ontario. He received the Bachelor of Arts degree from the University of Toronto in 1940. He graduated in Divinity from Trinity College, Toronto, in 1942, and received the Bachelor of Divinity degree from Trinity College in 1947. He received the Master of Arts degree in History from the University of Ottawa in 1966. The title of his thesis was Augustin Bonnetty Considered as a Reconciler of Science and Religion 1830-1840. He received the Bachelor of Education degree from Queen's University, Kingston, in 1971.

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## ABBREVIATIONS

- ACA - Anglican Church Archives
- AFSA - Anglican Fellowship for Social Action
- BESCO - British Empire Steel Corporation
- CC - Canadian Churchman
- CCF - Co-operative Commonwealth Federation
- CHR - Canadian Historical Review
- CIO - Committee for Industrial Organization
- CJEPS - Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science
- CSS - The Council for Social Service of the Church of England in Canada
- CSU - Christian Social Union
- DCSS - Diocesan Council for Social Service
- GSJP - General Synod of the Church of England in Canada Journal of Proceedings
- SSC - The Social Service Council of Canada

ABSTRACT OF

The Role of Anglicans in Reform of the  
Economic Order in Canada 1914-1945

This thesis holds that between 1914 and 1945 a number of Canadian Anglicans contributed to the demand for reform of the economic order. In so doing these Anglicans followed conservative principles. Their approach to reform was three-fold in that they condemned the operation of laissez-faire capitalism; they gave increasing support to the adoption of social security measures; and they advocated collective bargaining for labour, as well as legislation to improve hours of work, wages, and working conditions.

These Canadian Anglicans received inspiration from the efforts for reform on the part of members of the Church of England both of the nineteenth century and of the 1914-45 period.

Before the First World War the Anglican Church joined with other Protestant churches in working for social reforms in Canada. To speak for them on such issues as prohibition, these churches established official committees. They also co-operated to form the Social Service Council of Canada, through which they worked together for social reforms.

The first serious efforts by Canadian Anglicans to support reform of the economic order came during the Great War of 1914-18. In 1915 the Church established the Council

for Social Service with the responsibility to seek just conditions of living and to promote a Christian public opinion on social problems. During the war a number of prominent churchmen condemned laissez-faire capitalism and called for its reform; they also supported measures to benefit working people. The interest in reform carried over into the post-war years and then, with increasing prosperity in the 1920s, gradually declined.

The onset of the Great Depression revived Anglican interest in economic reform. Although General Synod was loath to condemn capitalism, this body did stress the obligation of government to provide relief and public works to alleviate distress in the 1930s. The Council for Social Service urged the government to undertake economic research and to adopt a plan of unemployment insurance. Some individual church members supported socialism, and several provided leadership in the new Co-operative Commonwealth Federation. In some places churchmen strove to persuade governments to adopt programmes of slum clearance and housing. During the depression Anglicans neglected the interests of labour unions. However, churchmen showed concern over unemployment and advocated a return to the land as a method by which destitute families might cope with unemployment.

During the Second World War the initiative for reform came from Great Britain. There the Malvern Conference

and the statements of Archbishop Temple and other church leaders aroused interest in the nature of the post-war society. Malvern and Temple had a similar effect on reform-minded Canadian Anglicans. However, because Canadian church leaders were slow to attack specific evils and to support specific reforms, unofficial groups tried to prod the Church into giving stronger leadership in support of reform. There were also certain Anglicans who resisted the demand for change and supported retention of the status quo.

With the publication of the British Beveridge report on social insurances, social security quickly won support in Canada as a method for reforming the economic order. Many Anglicans, including Canon Judd of the CSS, supported social security for Canadians, and the General Synod of 1943 endorsed the adoption of a programme of social security. To these Anglicans social security seemed the answer to the twin problems of social injustice and economic depressions.

The Second World War also revived Anglican interest in industrial workers. One aspect of this interest was the industrial chaplaincy of S. W. Semple. More far-reaching was the support of the CSS for compulsory collective bargaining and the official support of the General Synod of 1946 for the decisions of Mr. Justice Rand in the case of the CIO strike against Ford of Canada in 1945-46.

In the post-war period some activist Anglicans continued to press for even further reform of the economic order. One group founded the Anglican Outlook, a journal which soon became critical of the caution of the official church on economic issues. A Montreal group, the Anglican Fellowship for Social Action, aroused opposition from both moderate reformers as well as Anglican supporters of the status quo. An AFSA group in Nova Scotia aroused similar opposition in that diocese.

This study has also compared the roles of the Anglican and Methodist-United Churches in supporting economic reform between 1914 and 1945. It has concluded that the difference in their roles was not as significant as some scholars have suggested. During the 1930s and particularly during the Second World War the Anglican and United Churches became more alike in that they supported the same reform measures.

In conclusion this study claims that Anglicans, as conservative reformers, played a constructive role in support of reform of the economic order in Canada.

## INTRODUCTION

This study is concerned with the ideas and activities of certain Canadian Anglicans who became involved in the reform of the economic order in Canada in the period from the beginning of the First World War to the end of the Second World War. Its thesis is that, contrary to the popular belief that Anglicans, apart from a few "left-wingers," showed little interest in social and economic issues, many prominent churchmen in fact shared both in the concern of other reform-minded Canadians with the evils associated with laissez-faire capitalism and also in their efforts to mitigate those evils. This thesis also holds that, although a conservative outlook governed the Anglican approach to reform, this very conservatism provided a positive basis on which to support reform of the economic order in Canada.

With obvious exceptions, this study is about Anglicans, and the term "Church," when used by itself, refers to the Canadian Anglican Church or, as it was then known officially, the Church of England in Canada. Again, except for instances when other governments and their actions are specifically mentioned, the term "government" means the federal government.

### 1. Previous Literature on Anglican Church History.

An adequate history of the Anglican Church in Canada has yet to be written, although two general histories for

the layman are available. Canon Vernon's work takes the story of the Church into the late 1920s.<sup>1</sup> It describes the development and organization of the Church as it spread throughout Canada and as new dioceses were established. Except for a brief account of the creation of the Council for Social Service it has little to say on the Church's role in social and economic matters. Archbishop Philip Carrington's The Anglican Church in Canada: A History<sup>2</sup> covers much the same ground, bringing the story up to about 1960. Although this work contains a few references to Anglican concern with social and economic issues, it says nothing about the debates at General Synod on the reports of the Council for Social Service, even for the critical years of 1918 and 1943. A paragraph on the Anglican Fellowship for Social Action comes at the end of the chapter on the depression, instead of where it belongs, namely, in the chapter on the Second World War.

Three histories confined to certain dioceses of the Canadian Church have also been published. Frank Alexander Peake's The Anglican Church in British Columbia<sup>3</sup> confines

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1 C. W. Vernon, The Old Church in the New Dominion: The Story of the Anglican Church in Canada, London, 1929.

2 Philip Carrington, The Anglican Church in Canada: A History, Toronto, 1963.

3 Frank Alexander Peake, The Anglican Church in British Columbia, Vancouver, 1959.

itself to the one diocese, and says nothing on economic and social issues. The only mention of the Reverend Robert Connell, whose social concern during the time he served in this diocese will be discussed later in this thesis, concerns some lectures he gave on sociology to theology students.<sup>4</sup> Boon's work on the Ecclesiastical Province of Rupert's Land<sup>5</sup> makes some reference to church involvement in social problems, but only in connection with the Church's work in mining and railway centres and in the government relief camps in the 1930s. Cooper's history of the Diocese of Montreal<sup>6</sup> has good sections on "A Christian Social Order" and "The Diocesan Council for Social Service" which discuss the interest in the diocese in social and economic issues during the Second World War. However, Cooper's brief account of the role of the Anglican Fellowship for Social Action hardly does justice to the controversial role this organization played at diocesan synods from 1944 to 1947. In brief, it may be said that none of these works gives adequate attention to the Church's role in economic issues, probably because no work had been done on this subject when they were written.

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<sup>4</sup> Ibid., p. 158.

<sup>5</sup> T. C. B. Boon, The Anglican Church from the Bay to the Rockies: A History of the Ecclesiastical Province of Rupert's Land and Its Dioceses from 1820 to 1950, Toronto, 1962.

<sup>6</sup> John Irwin Cooper, The Blessed Communion: The Origins and History of the Diocese of Montreal, 1760-1960, Montreal, 1960.

Works of an interdenominational nature actually deal more adequately with the Anglican role in economic reform than do strictly Anglican studies. At the same time, the very limitations of space imposed on these studies by their wider scope restrict them to a condensed version of a few events. H. H. Walsh's The Christian Church in Canada<sup>7</sup> deals concisely with the high points of the development of social concern in the Canadian churches. In connection with the Anglican Church he mentions the tardiness of the Church in establishing the Council for Social Service, the visit of Canon F. G. Scott to Winnipeg during the 1919 strike, and the effect of the Malvern Conference on Canadian Anglicans during the Second World War. Grant's recent volume in the series on the Christian Church in Canada<sup>8</sup> likewise could give only concise accounts of Anglican concern with social and economic issues, and in so doing Grant found helpful a preliminary draft of this present study.

Two important and valuable studies of the roles of Canadian Protestant Churches in social and economic issues are available. They are Stewart Crysdale's, The Industrial

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<sup>7</sup> H. H. Walsh, The Christian Church in Canada, Toronto, 1956, 1968, pp. 326-43.

<sup>8</sup> John Webster Grant (ed.), A History of the Christian Church in Canada. Vol. III, John Webster Grant, The Church in the Canadian Era: The First Century of Confederation, Toronto, 1972.

Struggle and Protestant Ethics in Canada,<sup>9</sup> and Alexander Richard Allen's The Crest and Crisis of the Social Gospel in Canada 1916-1927.<sup>10</sup> Although these works are meant to be interdenominational in scope, both tend to be written from the Methodist-United point of view and both fail to do justice to the Anglican role in working for reform of the economic order in Canada. Both display high regard for the stand taken by the Methodist Church on economic evils in the first quarter of this century. Although Crysdale, whose study continues into the 1950s, does more justice to official Anglican statements in the years following the First World War, he omits any mention of Charles Feilding's Canada and Christendom and the Anglican Fellowship for Social Action, both of which will be dealt with in this thesis.

## 2. The Significance of This Study.

This thesis will go beyond the works of Allen and Crysdale in that it will deal with more aspects of Anglican

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<sup>9</sup> Stewart Crysdale, The Industrial Struggle and Protestant Ethics in Canada, Toronto, 1961.

<sup>10</sup> Alexander Richard Allen, The Crest and Crisis of the Social Gospel in Canada 1916-1927, unpublished doctoral thesis, Duke University, 1966. Allen's The Social Passion: Religion and Social Reform in Canada, 1914-28, Toronto, 1971, published well after my thesis was under way, goes into the subject more thoroughly, but the attitude to the Anglican Church is similar to that in Allen's thesis.

concern for economic reform than did either of them. Whereas both these scholars assume that the starting-point for church concern with economic evils was a Canadian version of the Social Gospel, this study will show that the Social Gospel was in fact not the influence among Anglicans that it was among other Protestants. Rather, the basis for Anglican interest in reform was the conservative tradition that society is a corporate unity within which all parts have a responsibility for the welfare of each other.

Crysdale and Allen had the benefit of denominational studies of the involvement of the Methodist and Presbyterian Churches in social issues.<sup>11</sup> A later article by J. M. Bliss also deals with the Methodist Church.<sup>12</sup> To date no similar work on the Anglican Church has appeared, a lack which further justifies this present study. The Canadian historian, Professor George Brown, who was not an Anglican, once stated that "any study of Protestant Churches in Canada must give a place of first-rate importance to the Church of England."<sup>13</sup>

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11 Marion V. Royce, The Contribution of the Methodist Church to Social Welfare in Canada, unpublished Master's thesis, University of Toronto, 1940; Edward A. Christie, The Presbyterian Church and Its Official Attitude toward Public Affairs and Social Problems, unpublished Master's thesis, University of Toronto, 1956.

12 J. M. Bliss, "The Methodist Church and World War I," CHR, XLIX, 3 (September 1968), 213-22.

13 George W. Brown, "The Formative Period of the Canadian Protestant Churches," in R. Flenley (ed.), Essays in Canadian History Presented to George Mackinnon Wrong for his Eightieth Birthday, Toronto, 1939, p. 367.

It would seem that both denominational and interdenominational studies would benefit from preliminary groundwork on the history of the Anglican Church.

This thesis will show that the First World War, the prosperity of the late 1920s, the Great Depression, and the Second World War affected Anglican thought on the need to reform the economic order in the same way that this sequence of critical events affected thought in the Methodist and United Churches. More precisely, between 1914 and 1945, Anglicans shared in the disillusionment with and condemnation of laissez-faire capitalism; they proposed and supported principles on which reform of the capitalist system should be based, and they ultimately gave enthusiastic support to a programme of social security; and in the same period they supported the demands of labour for better conditions and for greater bargaining power in industry.

The claim that "Anglicans" worked for reform of the economic order does not imply that all Anglicans participated actively in support of reform. It is probable that many were indifferent, and there is much evidence that some supported the status quo and opposed church involvement in economic issues. Nevertheless, when church leaders made statements which aroused little or no objection from church members, it is logical to assume they were expressing the mind of the Church. On the other hand, the vigorous debates on economic issues, which occurred at times, revealed the divisions

within the Church between the more "left-wing" reformers, the moderate reformers, and those Anglicans who supported the status quo. On these occasions, decisions of official church bodies alone revealed the mind of the Church on particular issues.

### 3. The Sources Used for This Study.

Church reports and publications provide much of the primary source material used for this study. The General Synod Journals are sources both for the Council for Social Service reports presented to each session of General Synod and for the resolutions on social and economic issues dealt with after the presentation of the CSS reports. Newspapers provide more detailed descriptions of debates in conjunction with CSS discussions at Synods.

Between sessions of General Synod, reports of the CSS Executive Committee to the annual meetings of the Council give official positions on economic issues. Between annual meetings the Minutes of the Executive Committee of the CSS, located in the Anglican Church Archives in Toronto, were useful sources of information on what this body did to carry on the work of the CSS. Many issues of the CSS Bulletin, of which some 130 were published in the period studied, were a valuable source of information on the work of the CSS in educating Anglicans on the need to reform the economic

system and on the need for greater economic justice for labour.

Issues of the weekly church paper, the Canadian Churchman, were found invaluable for accounts of diocesan synod meetings, statements made by various bishops on economic issues, numerous articles from the Council for Social Service and by individual churchmen, as well as editorials and letters from readers. The Anglican Outlook was similarly useful, except that it only began publication in 1945, near the end of the period covered by this study. News items in both these papers often provided clues leading to further research in synod journals of individual dioceses and in contemporary newspapers. This study will also give a great deal of attention to Canada and Christendom, a mimeographed newsletter published between 1942 and 1944, which discussed church involvement in social issues.

For purposes of comparison Journals of the General Councils of the Methodist and United Churches have also been consulted.

Much useful information has come from personal interviews with Anglicans who were prominently active in social matters during the period of this study. They included the Reverend W. W. Judd, General Secretary of the Council for Social Service from 1936 to 1955; Professor Charles R. Feilding, editor of Canada and Christendom; Mrs. Clara

McIntyre, assistant editor of the Canadian Churchman from 1926 to 1943; the Right Reverend Ernest S. Reed, late Bishop of Ottawa; M. J. Coldwell, former leader of the CCF Party; Andrew Brewin, M. P. of the CCF and New Democratic Party; the Honourable Richard Bell of the Progressive Conservative Party; and Professor Frank R. Scott, son of Archdeacon F. G. Scott, and himself active in the League for Social Reconstruction and the CCF Party, who also made his father's papers in the McCord Museum, Montreal, available for this study.

Reports of meetings and conferences in which Anglicans participated and exchanged ideas on economic issues were also consulted. Finally there were the numerous pamphlets and books, written by individual Anglicans in both Canada and Great Britain, which were found relevant to this study.

#### 4. The Organization of This Study.

The thesis combines topical and chronological approaches. Chapters I to III provide the intellectual, social, and historical background of Canadian Anglicanism, essential for understanding Anglican attitudes on social and economic issues in the 1914-45 period. They treat in order: Anglican beliefs as they relate to reform of the economic order, the influence of Church of England reformers on Canadian Anglicans, and the previous history of the Church, along with its social composition, and attitudes to reform prior to 1914.

Chapters IV to XIV are grouped by the major periods of economic change in Canada from 1914 to 1945, namely, the First World War, the post-war decade, the Great Depression of the 1930s, and the Second World War. Within each period the thesis discusses consecutively Anglican attitudes to laissez-faire capitalism, Anglican interest in social security, and Anglican concern for the cause of labour.

Chapters IV and V deal with the first widespread awakening of Anglican interest in reform during the First World War. Chapter IV discusses first the effect of the war in arousing certain Anglicans to condemn laissez-faire capitalism, and secondly the beginnings of support for social security. Chapter V shows the tremendous growth in Anglican concern for labour, which resulted from the war.

The post-war decade is dealt with next, with Chapter VI discussing Anglican attitudes to laissez-faire capitalism and social security, and Chapter VII the Anglican position on labour issues.

Four chapters were required to deal with the Great Depression. Chapters VIII and IX show the effect of the depression on attitudes to the capitalist system, first within the official bodies of the Church, and secondly among individual churchmen who, because they spoke and acted independently of the official bodies, are described as the "unofficial church." Chapter X describes Anglican concern

with social security and its temporary substitutes, relief and public works. Chapter XI discusses Anglican concern for labour at a time when unemployment was the greatest problem facing working people.

Chapters XII to XIV describe the apex of Anglican concern for reform in this period, which was reached during the Second World War. Chapter XII deals with the demand that a new economic order be established after the war, Chapter XIII with social security as the basis for this new order, and Chapter XIV with Anglican support for labour, especially in the latter's demand for compulsory collective bargaining.

Because the momentum for reform carried over into the post-war period, Chapter XV deals with this period and especially with the conflict within the Church between those members who sought a more thorough reform of the economic order and those who were satisfied with the approval of social security and a better bargaining position for labour. A final chapter discusses the comparative roles of the Anglican and Methodist-United Churches in supporting economic reform in Canada.

Appendices A, B, and C give respectively additional information on church organization for readers who may be unfamiliar with this aspect of the Anglican Church, a brief account of changes in ownership of the Canadian Churchman, and a detailed account of the involvement of Canon F. G.

Scott in the Winnipeg Strike of 1919 and the British Empire Steel Corporation Strike in 1923. A final appendix is a copy of the notes made by Richard A. Bell on Archbishop William Temple's The Hope of a New World.

## CHAPTER I

### ANGLICANS AS CONSERVATIVE REFORMERS

Certain beliefs concerning the nature of man and society underlay the social concern of Canadian Anglicans during the period covered by this study. Generally speaking, reform-minded Anglicans followed conservative principles in their support of social and economic reform. Furthermore, those conservative principles provided a positive basis for reform among Anglicans.

Edmund Burke, the archetype of modern conservatives,<sup>1</sup> held that the ultimate control and destiny of human affairs lay in the hands of Providence, not in man's reason and ability. He saw men as passionate and subject to anarchic impulses; therefore their inclinations "should frequently be thwarted, their will controlled, and their passions brought into subjection."<sup>2</sup> Burke believed that neither education nor improvement of the environment could lead to human perfection; therefore human attempts to establish a new ideal society were bound to fail.

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1 According to Russell Kirk, The Conservative Mind from Burke to Santayana, Chicago, 1953, p. 1, Burke was "the greatest of modern conservative thinkers." See also p. 5 for the claim, "In any practical sense, Burke is the founder of our conservatism."

2 Edmund Burke, "Reflections on the Revolution in France," in Edmund Burke and Thomas Paine, Reflections on the Revolution in France and the Rights of Man, New York, 1961, p. 73.

Burke also believed that God had given some men special talents to lead and to govern. To deny these men, on the basis of a false doctrine of equality, the opportunity to use their talents, would incur dire consequences for the state. Although Burke defended inherited property and the role of the aristocracy,<sup>3</sup> he did not identify talent with birth. Instead he held that the state must make use of men of ability, no matter what their birth. It was not a matter of doing "your duty in the station of life to which God has chosen to call you"<sup>4</sup> but of doing "my duty in that state of life, unto which it shall please God to call me."<sup>5</sup> Thus, although Burke supported order and privilege in society, he also equated order and privilege with ability as much as with birth.

Not only did Burke believe that men with special gifts had a responsibility to use those gifts in the service of society, he also had a strong sense of the corporate unity of society. This social unity involved past and future members of society as well as those alive in the present. Each

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3 Ibid., pp. 63, 64.

4 As the catechism is misquoted in Frederick M. Watkins, The Age of Ideology--Political Thought, 1750 to the Present, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1964, p. 30.

5 The Church of England in the Dominion of Canada, The Book of Common Prayer, Toronto, 1918, p. 325.

generation received the benefit of the experience and institutions inherited from its forebears and had the duty to pass on this inheritance to those who came after. If any generation should fail in this responsibility, "the whole chain and continuity of the past would be broken. [...] Men would become little better than the flies of summer."<sup>6</sup> All achievements of the past would be lost and the commonwealth "be disconnected into the dust and powder of individuality, and at length dispersed to the winds of heaven."<sup>7</sup> He claimed that respect for tradition was the only safeguard against such a disaster; customs, habits, prejudices, all had a valuable role in conserving the achievements of the past.

Thus Burke regarded society as a spiritual reality with a delicate constitution. It could not be scrapped and recast like a machine. He therefore vigorously opposed the idea that revolution was the way to improve society. Burke's position was that improvement in society came by patching and reinforcing. The French revolutionaries were wrong when they abolished ancient institutions like the monarchy. Although ancient privileges had suffered discontinuation in France, they were not completely lost. The walls and foundations "of a noble and venerable castle" remained, and the French

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6 Burke, "Reflections," p. 108.

7 Ibid., p. 109.

reformers "might have repaired those walls" and "built on those old foundations."<sup>8</sup> Because there was such danger of destroying all past achievements by sudden and revolutionary change, men should approach even the obvious defects and corruption of the state with due caution.<sup>9</sup> Also because society was such a delicate fabric, which could be so easily destroyed, it required a strong government, which alone would have the authority to make changes, and those who governed must be regarded as standing "in the person of God himself."<sup>10</sup>

Although Burke opposed revolutionary change and held that even necessary change should be made cautiously, he also believed in the necessity of making changes when required. Another reason for strong government was that only such a government was able to make these necessary reforms. It was the weakness of the French government of Louis XVI which made it impossible for his government to make the changes required to avoid revolution.<sup>11</sup> Burke saw delay in making changes as a dangerous evil, and one which might well lead to revolution. The obstinate rejection of reform was a vice,<sup>12</sup> and the state must possess the means of change in order to ensure its own conservation.<sup>13</sup> Burke, rather than opposing change, claimed

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8 Ibid., p. 47.

9 Ibid., p. 109.

10 Ibid., p. 105.

11 Ibid., pp. 247-48.

12 Ibid., p. 184.

13 Ibid., p. 33.

that conservatism provided the only possible basis for real and permanent improvements, because the alternative of revolutionary change would destroy more than it reformed.<sup>14</sup> The only safe road to progress was one taken step by step, with the effect of each step considered before the next one was taken. True reform, according to Burke, was a slow, cautious, evolutionary process.

We have used Burke as the archetype of the conservative outlook. Without implying that every reform-minded Canadian Anglican was a conscious disciple of Burke, it is nevertheless true that Canadian Anglicans tended to share with him a belief in certain principles which came from their common inheritance of the Anglican tradition.<sup>15</sup> The reform-minded Canadian Anglican also believed that the destiny of men lay in the hands of Providence, not in the ability, goodness, or reason of men; that human nature was selfish and, if left to its own devices, tended to corrupt any form of society. He had a strong sense of the corporate unity of society and of the heritage of the past. He looked to the authority of government, as the agent of God, for the reform of evils in the social structure. Finally, he also believed

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<sup>14</sup> Gerald W. Chapman, Edmund Burke: The Practical Imagination, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1967, p. 187.

<sup>15</sup> Kirk, The Conservative Mind, p. 5.

that evolution, not revolution, was the only sure and safe way to achieve lasting and beneficial reform in society.

From these beliefs Canadian Anglicans found a positive basis for supporting reform of the economic order. The belief in the corporate unity of society had its source in the teaching of Saint Paul that the Church is the body of Christ.<sup>16</sup> "The social body is [...] like the human body which is in turn the pattern of the body of the Church."<sup>17</sup> Applied to society this teaching meant that individuals, far from being separate and independent entities, were members one of another, interdependent, responsible for the welfare of one another in the knowledge that if one member of the body suffered, all members suffered. On the basis of this conviction the report of the Committee on Moral and Social Reform to the 1915 General Synod justified the Church taking an interest in social and economic problems. No Christian could disclaim responsibility for the living conditions of others because, said the report, "Our lives are so inter-related that we must think of the conditions under which men live."<sup>18</sup> The previous year, when replying to the addresses of welcome given by Prime Minister Robert Borden

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16 1 Corinthians 12.

17 R. C. Blagrove, "The Church and the Labour Problem," CC, 29 August 1918, p. 556.

18 GSJP, 1915, pp. 258, 259.

and Sir Wilfrid Laurier to the Social Service Congress in Ottawa, Bishop Farthing of Montreal described the need of an age faced with increasing immorality in business and public life to be "a clearer and more effective recognition of personal responsibility and of corporate dependence."<sup>19</sup> This recognition of the corporate unity of society and of the interdependence of its members ran directly counter to the tenets of laissez-faire capitalism and provided the basis for the Anglican condemnation of the selfish, individualistic aspects of capitalism.

Anglicans also believed that the state should be the instrument for enforcing measures of social justice. Long before the days of the Christian state, Saint Paul urged the Christians in Rome to obey the civil authorities because they were appointed by God as his servants to preserve public order and the well-being of citizens.<sup>20</sup> Although the Church of England often placed too much emphasis on the aspect of submission to authority, the Church in general kept alive the idea that the role of government was to further the welfare of all members of society.

In Canada the Anglican Church looked to government both to pass and to enforce legislation on moral and social

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<sup>19</sup> Social Service Congress, Report of Addresses and Proceedings, Toronto, 1914, p. 14.

<sup>20</sup> Letter to the Romans, 13:1-6.

issues, as for example in 1908 when an Anglican deputation, led by the Archbishop of Ottawa, waited upon Prime Minister Laurier with a petition urging the enforcement in the Yukon of laws against prostitution.<sup>21</sup> This event was merely the forerunner of a whole trend, for Anglicans, as we shall see, were to exert increasing pressure on the Canadian government to intervene in numerous social and economic matters. This pressure was the natural outgrowth of the Anglican belief in the corporate unity of society and in the duty of the state to enforce rules of social justice.

Although the belief in the corporate unity of society was traditionally strong in the Anglican Church, near the end of the eighteenth century there sprang up within the Church of England an Evangelical Party which stressed individual regeneration to the neglect of the social aspect of Christianity.<sup>22</sup> Evangelicals stressed the changes in the doctrine and practices of the Church effected during the Protestant Reformation, whereas other Anglicans placed as much or more emphasis on the Church's Catholic continuity through the ages. Evangelicals upheld the divine inspiration,

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21 GSJP, 1911, pp. 232-33.

22 One of the best known of the Evangelicals was William Wilberforce. For a concise account of the beginning of this movement in the Church of England see G. M. Trevelyan, English Social History, London, 1942, pp. 494-95.

authority, and sufficiency of the Old and New Testaments, whereas other Anglicans placed equal emphasis on the authority and the teaching of the Church. To Evangelicals individual conversion was more important than the corporate and sacramental aspects of church life. Individual conversion also took precedence, in their opinion, over environmental conditions as the determining factor in the formation of human character. Indeed, to some Evangelicals individual conversion and spiritual development were the only factors with which the Church should concern itself.

Yet even those Anglicans who would restrict the Church's role to working with individuals were not unconcerned over social conditions; they simply held that spiritual improvement would produce, as a natural consequence, the elimination of social evils. By spiritual conversion the personal orientation of the individual changed from self-centredness to Christ-centredness. This change resulted in the converted person becoming more concerned with the welfare of others than with, for example, the making of profits.<sup>23</sup> In evangelical doctrine all social evil was the outcome of greed and selfishness in the hearts of individuals. If men are all

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<sup>23</sup> Evangelicals do not seem to have considered how a Christian industrialist could manage to pay high wages or provide good working conditions and still remain in business in competition with other industrialists who refused to follow the same practices.

right, everything else will be all right, was the opinion of Bishop C. A. Seager,<sup>24</sup> who in the depths of the Great Depression urged that the Church should "stick to her business" which was "to remake men."<sup>25</sup>

Although Seager, a former Provost of Trinity College, was not an Evangelical, his remarks provide an example of how the evangelical outlook permeated the Church. Nevertheless those who espoused evangelicalism could only fight a rearguard action in attempting to keep churchmen from becoming involved in the problems of society. It could inhibit the reform movement, but could not stop it. Although Wycliffe College in Toronto had been founded in the nineteenth century to further evangelical principles, many of its own graduates rejected the strict emphasis on individual conversion and became prominently involved in social and economic issues. One such person was W. T. Hallam,<sup>26</sup> who as editor of the Canadian Churchman informed his readers in 1918 that, although a programme of reform must begin with individuals, it must

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<sup>24</sup> Charles Allen Seager, Bishop of Ontario 1926-32; Bishop of Huron 1932-43; Metropolitan of Ontario and Archbishop of Huron 1943-48.

<sup>25</sup> CC, 5 April 1934, p. 212.

<sup>26</sup> William Thomas Hallam, Professor at Wycliffe 1909-22; editor of the Canadian Churchman 1918-22; principal of Emmanuel College 1922-27; rector of the Church of the Ascension, Hamilton, 1927-31; Bishop of Saskatchewan 1931-32; Bishop of Saskatoon 1932-49; Assistant Bishop of Huron 1949-56.

also recognize that persons cannot live in isolation any more than can nations.<sup>27</sup> The older and more firmly entrenched tradition of corporate unity within the Church proved stronger than the individualism of the evangelistic school. At the same time, in its emphasis on human weakness, evangelicalism shared the Church's attitude to human nature.

Another movement whose premises contradicted Anglican beliefs on the nature of man and of society was that known as the Social Gospel. If the evangelical position can be seen as the thesis, the Social Gospel position can be interpreted as the antithesis. Indeed the term "Social Gospel" was deliberately intended to point up the swing in emphasis from the individual to the social aspect of Christianity. The Social Gospel held that Christianity was a religion which ought to be committed to social reform. For those Christians who accepted its tenets as ultimate truth the Social Gospel furnished a dynamic impulse to work for the reform of the economic system.

The Social Gospel movement began in the late nineteenth century as the response of many American clergymen to the deplorable living and working conditions which developed with the new industrialized society; it was also their reaction to Social Darwinism, a philosophy based on Herbert

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<sup>27</sup> "First Steps in Reconstruction," editorial in CC, 14 March 1918, p. 163.

Spencer's use of the doctrine of the survival of the fittest to justify the harsh consequences of the industrial revolution. Although Spencer was an Englishman, his teaching found a sympathetic response in the United States, where it was further developed by his American counterpart, William Graham Sumner.<sup>28</sup> The philosophy also had its proponents in Canada.<sup>29</sup> Social Darwinism might well be seen as a supplement to the ethic of natural economic law developed by British economists early in the industrial revolution.

Against the use of evolution made by Spencer and Sumner to justify the sad consequences of industrialization under laissez-faire capitalism, the Social Gospel developed its own evolutionary doctrine of gradual and inevitable progress toward an ideal social and economic order.<sup>30</sup> By the early years of this century some American clergymen had combined concern for the welfare of deprived industrial workers with the popular theory of evolution to produce a complete theology to serve as the basis for Christian social action.

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<sup>28</sup> Richard Hofstadter, Social Darwinism in American Thought, Boston, 1955, pp. 31-38, 51-66.

<sup>29</sup> E. R. Peacock, "Trusts, Combines and Monopolies," Queen's Quarterly, VI, 2 (July 1898), 1-34; F. W. Watt, "Literature of Protest," in Carl F. Klinck (ed.), Literary History of Canada: Canadian Literature in English, Toronto, 1965, pp. 457-73, esp. pp. 459, 464, 465.

<sup>30</sup> Hofstadter, Social Darwinism, p. 108.

The goal of the Social Gospel became the establishment of the Kingdom of God on earth in the form of an ideal human society. According to Walter Rauschenbusch, the leading advocate of the Social Gospel in the twentieth century, "Evolution has prepared us for understanding the idea of the reign of God toward which all creation is moving."<sup>31</sup> Earlier in the same work Rauschenbusch made an even closer identification of evolution and the Kingdom of God: "Translate the evolutionary theories into religious faith, and you have the Kingdom of God."<sup>32</sup> This Kingdom of God was to be achieved by Christians co-operating with an immanent God, who was working out his inevitable purpose by an evolutionary process. The Social Gospel was basically optimistic with regard to human nature as well as to the possibility of establishing the ideal society on earth.

In time some Social Gospellers even identified the ideal social order with socialism. Such was the case with Rauschenbusch<sup>33</sup> as well as with Salem Bland, the chief apostle of the Social Gospel in Canada.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> Walter Rauschenbusch, Christianizing the Social Order, New York, 1912, p. 90.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid., p. 9.

<sup>33</sup> Walter Rauschenbusch, Christianity and the Social Crisis, New York, 1910, pp. 391, 407; Theology for a Social Gospel, New York, 1917, 1945, p. 131.

<sup>34</sup> Salem Bland, The New Christianity or the Religion of the New Age, Toronto, 1920, p. 34.

The Social Gospel conflicted with basic Anglican beliefs in that it accepted the liberal optimistic view of human nature and of the power of human reason to solve all problems. To Anglicans such faith in the perfectibility of human nature and of society was naive.<sup>35</sup> As the 1946 report of the Council for Social Service pointed out, the Church never held "an uncritical and optimistic belief in the inevitability of progress and in man's capacity to create the kind of world he wants."<sup>36</sup> Nor could Anglicans identify socialism with the Kingdom of God, as did some of the leading proponents of the Social Gospel. To Anglicans the evils associated with capitalism were the result, not of the system, but of the selfishness of human nature. The same selfishness would in time corrupt any system. "No sooner is a reformation accomplished than the selfish ingenuity of man checkmates the effect,"<sup>37</sup> concluded the Canadian Churchman shortly after the end of the First World War.

Although most Anglicans did not accept fully either evangelicalism or the Social Gospel, they still recognized

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<sup>35</sup> Although the Social Gospel doubtlessly stimulated the interest of Anglicans in social issues, there seems to be no evidence that any reform-minded Anglican accepted the Social Gospel philosophy as propounded by Rauschenbusch and Bland.

<sup>36</sup> GSJP, 1946, p. 258.

<sup>37</sup> "Things and Men," editorial in CC, 28 November 1918, p. 759.

and accepted what they thought were elements of truth in both camps; they also attempted to synthesize these truths in a "both...and" formula. Like Evangelicals they believed that changing men was the prerequisite to any sufficient and lasting improvement in human institutions. Like Social Gospellers they believed that environment played a large part in the formation of human character and that Christians therefore must improve the conditions under which people lived. Anglicans also shared the Social Gospel belief that the corporate welfare took precedence over the individual freedom allowed under laissez-faire capitalism.

Before the war of 1914-18 the editor of the Canadian Churchman came close to arriving at this synthesis.<sup>38</sup> He strongly advocated improving bad conditions, but held it was naive to expect a perfect society by so doing. He categorically denied that changing the environment was the answer to all human problems or would lead to the Kingdom of God on earth. He also revealed his evangelical leanings when he claimed that the chief business of the Church was spiritual regeneration. More balanced, in the sense that he tried to place equal emphasis on both the individual and social aspects of the Church's role, was the sermon which Bishop William T. Manning of New York delivered to the Canadian

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<sup>38</sup> See "The Church and Social Reform," editorial in CC, 15 May 1913, p. 315; "Evangelism and Social Problems," editorial in CC, 28 August 1913, p. 535.

General Synod of 1934. In this sermon Manning rejected the Social Gospel, but at the same time he urged a greater social role for the Church.<sup>39</sup> The Social Gospel he rejected because it did not go far enough or deep enough.<sup>40</sup> Men needed something greater; they needed the Gospel of the grace of God. Nor was it sufficient to change the machinery; the men who worked the machinery must also be changed. Yet Manning also saw that the Gospel must go beyond changing the individual to changing society. The function of the Church, he asserted, was to fight against such evils as war, sweat-shops, slums, racial prejudice, and blind and selfish nationalism, which were not reconcilable with the Kingdom of Christ.

Manning's views were representative of the middle or moderate group of reform-minded Canadian Anglicans. This group tended to hold that it was the duty of the Church not to support a specific programme of reform, but rather to pronounce the principles on which any such programme should

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39 GSJP, 1934, p. 4.

40 Manning's claim in this sermon that the Church existed to bring in the reign of brotherhood, justice, and love may seem inconsistent with his rejection of the Social Gospel, but it should be noted that he spoke in this regard in very general terms which implied a long-range objective toward which the Church must work, even though that goal may never be reached on earth. To have such a goal is far from the Social Gospel idea that the perfect society would be the inevitable result of the evolutionary process.

be based. These Anglicans would condemn long hours, low wages, or bad working conditions in general terms, but would not criticize a specific company or support workers in a particular strike. Indeed this group believed that it would be harmful to the Church's influence to take sides in labour disputes, because once the Church took one side it would lose the confidence of the other. Nevertheless many of this group supported and even demanded legislation designed to improve the lot of working people.

To the left of the moderate reformers were those Anglicans who desired that the Church become officially involved in specific situations and approve official motions of censure against particular cases of evil. When the Church refused to adopt such methods, not a few of these "activists" undertook to become involved in particular situations on their own. In this thesis these persons will also come under the general description of the "unofficial church." They include a number of prominent socialists such as the Reverend Robert Connell, M. J. Coldwell, F. A. Brewin, and F. R. Scott. The evidence suggests that these socialists felt quite at home in the Church. This study also includes them in its definition of "conservative reformers," for they differed from the moderate Anglican reformers only in the amount of government control of the economy they wished to see instituted. After all, "what is socialism, if it is

not the use of government to restrain greed in the name of social good? In actual practice, socialism has always had to advocate inhibition in this respect. In doing so, was it not appealing to the conservative idea of social order against the liberal idea of freedom?"<sup>41</sup>

This study then is chiefly concerned with three groups of Anglicans: the moderates, the activists, and the Evangelicals. Inasmuch as the moderates seemed to represent the general mind of the Church, they dominated the Council for Social Service, where they frequently found themselves under pressure from the other groups. Often the moderates tried to strike a compromise between the opposite positions of the activists and the Evangelicals. At the same time both the moderates and the activists agreed that society was a corporate unity, whose members were responsible for one another. Together they were able to lead the Church toward a more positive role in support of gradual evolutionary reform of the economic order in Canada.

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<sup>41</sup> George Grant, Lament for a Nation: The Defeat of Canadian Nationalism, The Carleton Library No. 50, Toronto, 1970, p. 59.

## CHAPTER II

### THE BRITISH INFLUENCE

In advocating the reform of laissez-faire capitalism, Canadian Anglicans inherited the tradition which developed in the Church of England<sup>1</sup> during the nineteenth century. One reason for the tendency of Canadian Anglicans to look to the Church of England was the close emotional tie between the Canadian Church and the Mother Church. Canadian churchmen held tenaciously to the name "The Church of England in Canada" until after the Second World War. An attempt to change that name to one more Canadian went down to defeat at the General Synod of 1902.<sup>2</sup> It is true that the same Synod granted approval for the compilation of a new Canadian Prayer Book,<sup>3</sup> but even this action resulted in a number of memorials petitioning General Synod to do nothing to weaken the Prayer Book as a bond of Empire.<sup>4</sup> When one delegate at the 1905

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1 The name "Church of England" is used in this study solely in reference to the English Church. Although the official name of the Anglican Church in Canada during the period covered by this study was "The Church of England in Canada," to avoid confusion the term Anglican is used as far as possible when reference is made to the Canadian branch of the Church.

2 Toronto Globe, 9 September 1902, p. 1.

3 Toronto Mail and Empire, 8 September 1902, p. 2.

4 GSJP, 1915, p. 165.

General Synod moved that the Canadian Church publish its own Hymn Book, he assured the other delegates that the proposed book would be English to the core as well as being Canadian, "and the combination will be a good one."<sup>5</sup> One participant in the debate showed his irritation at the subservient attitude to the Church of England by accusing the Canadian Church of still being in "leading strings to the Mother Church."<sup>6</sup> Nevertheless the same dependent attitude led Canadian Anglicans to pay great attention to any statements on social and economic issues which emanated from within the English Church throughout the whole 1914-1945 period. When Canadian Anglicans referred to English Anglican reformers, they did so with the proprietary air of persons who belonged to the same Church.

Inasmuch as Great Britain initiated the modern privately owned industrial system, it is not surprising that concern for the victims of that system first appeared in that country. Britain not only furnished the prototype for the factory system, but also developed a new ethic to justify the new order. That ethic, as propounded by the prophet-economists Adam Smith, Thomas Malthus, and David Ricardo, claimed that economic affairs could safely be left to a

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5 Toronto Daily Mail and Empire, 12 September 1905, p. 1.

6 Ibid.

self-regulating market, which governed those affairs and provided all the control necessary for the welfare of men. This market followed natural laws established by the same beneficent God who controlled the motion of the heavenly bodies. So strong was the hold of this tenet that churchmen who wished to change the conditions under which industrial workers existed had first to counter these fundamental ideas by which those conditions were justified.

Faith in this economic dogma came to permeate British society, and worked to shape the legal code in conformity with the interests of the social classes which benefited most from industrialization. Men came to accept the self-regulating market system with the same unquestioning awe with which earlier generations had accepted religious dogma. In 1795 and 1808 the British government, on the ground that wages should find their right level by natural economic forces, rejected proposals that it establish a legal minimum wage.<sup>7</sup> Because the government worked to further the interests of capital over those of labour, it was selective as to which teachings of the economists it was to follow. Both government and the owners of industry ignored Smith's and Ricardo's approval of trade unions.<sup>8</sup> Parliamentary Acts of 1799 and

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7 "Christian Thought in Social Relationships," Bulletin No. 29 of the Council for Social Service, October 1919, p. 19.

8 Ibid., p. 20.

1800 forbidding the formation of combinations nipped in the bud the early attempts of workers to protect their interests by organizing trade unions. Parliament in 1813 even took from magistrates the power to set wages, a power given to them in the reign of Elizabeth I.<sup>9</sup>

Many religious leaders also accepted the new dogmas of the economists, which were "firmly rooted in the temper of the time."<sup>10</sup> Archbishop Whately<sup>11</sup> could praise a wise and beneficent Providence who arranged that men do their greatest public service when seeking only their own gain.<sup>12</sup> Because the religious beliefs of the day also tended to separate concern for the body from concern for the soul, churchmen could accept an economic order which condemned children six years old to work in factories from five o'clock in the morning until nine at night, and which forced girls under eight to crawl through coal seams eighteen inches high and boys of four to clean out chimney flues seven inches

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9 G. M. Trevelyan, English Social History, Toronto, 1942, p. 483.

10 J. L. Hammond and Barbara Hammond, The Rise of Modern Industry, London, 1925, p. 287.

11 Richard Whately, 1787-1863, Archbishop of Dublin, 1831-1853, founded a chair in Political Economy at Trinity College, Dublin, in 1832; his treatise Political Economy was published in 1831.

12 V. A. Demant, Religion and the Decline of Capitalism, The Scott Holland Lectures for 1949, London, n.d., p. 43.

square.<sup>13</sup> William Wilberforce, an Anglican Evangelical and a humanitarian who devoted his life to the abolition of slavery, believed that suffering workers were allotted their humble path by the hand of God and that they should therefore do their duty faithfully and suffer patiently, keeping in mind that their stay on earth was of short duration.

There were some deeply religious Anglicans of the day who did not accept the current ideas on economics and religion. Among the few who attacked both the practical effects of the industrial revolution and also the intellectual premises developed to justify those effects were the English poets Robert Southey and Samuel Taylor Coleridge.<sup>14</sup> Politically both men were Tories; their very conservatism kept them from accepting the economic dogmas of their day. They looked back to the Middle Ages where they found a spirit and philosophy of life quite contradictory to that of the age in which they lived. Where the ideology of laissez-faire capitalism exalted selfish individualism as the ultimate revelation of divine truth, their mediaevalism emphasized the social responsibilities of property and power and the precedence of the interests of the community over those of the

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<sup>13</sup> Bulletin No. 29, pp. 20, 21.

<sup>14</sup> Southey, 1774-1843, was Poet Laureate of England, 1813-43. Coleridge, 1772-1834, was the son of an Anglican clergyman, John Coleridge.

individual.<sup>15</sup> Coleridge concluded that contemporary economic doctrines were simply attempts to vindicate the selfishness of the rich.

To Coleridge and Southey the struggle of the day was between the economic and utilitarian on the one side and the ethical and religious on the other. They hated industrialism for what it did to men, and they challenged the philosophy of selfishness and profits by which human beings were used as the means for another's gain. Against this philosophy Coleridge enunciated a principle which has guided Christian reformers to the present day, namely, that persons ought not to be treated as things or "hands." To Coleridge here was a truth more fundamental than those economic "laws" in which men put their faith:

On the distinction between things and persons all law, human and divine, is grounded. It consists in this: that the former may be used as means, but the latter may not be used as the means to an end without directly or indirectly sharing in that end.<sup>16</sup>

In blaming industrialism for the social evils of the day, Southey and Coleridge did not preach a complete return

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<sup>15</sup> Alfred Cobban, Edmund Burke and the Revolt against the Eighteenth Century: A Study of the Political and Social Thinking of Burke, Wordsworth, Coleridge and Southey, London (2nd ed.), 1960, p. 201.

<sup>16</sup> Lay Sermons, 1839 ed., quoted in M. B. Reckitt, Maurice to Temple: A Century of the Social Movement in the Church of England, Scott Holland Memorial Lectures, 1946, London, n.d., p. 50.

to mediaeval feudalism.<sup>17</sup> Rather, their objective was to apply the principles of the social responsibilities of property and power and of the precedence of the interests of the community to the industrial system. Both took a practical interest in correcting current evils. Both supported a high rate of taxation as a means of redistributing income through the Poor Laws.<sup>18</sup> Unfortunately the government used the high taxes for purposes of defence and debt charges. Coleridge actively agitated in favour of Peel's Factory Children Bill of 1818. Southey, for his part, favoured Owen's co-operative undertakings, and held the hope that co-operative associations might lead to a peaceful revolution of society.

In their attacks on the dogmas of the economic orthodoxy of their day Coleridge and Southey helped prepare the way for the reformers who followed them. One of the greatest of these was Anthony Ashley Cooper, better known as Lord Shaftesbury,<sup>19</sup> to whom Southey acted as an early adviser.<sup>20</sup>

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17 Cobban, Edmund Burke, pp. 218-19.

18 Ibid., pp. 210-11.

19 Anthony Ashley Cooper, 1801-85; became Lord Shaftesbury in 1851. From 1826 to 1846 he was a member of the House of Commons. He resigned his seat because he objected to continued resistance to the abolition of the Corn Laws.

20 Cobban, Edmund Burke, p. 229.

Shaftesbury was an Anglican of the evangelical school, "a churchman of churchmen," in the words of one Canadian Anglican.<sup>21</sup> He was horrified at the conditions under which men, women, and children existed and toiled in mill and mine. As an influential member of Parliament he used his power to press the government to remedy some of the worst of those conditions. He made other members aware of the conditions of child labour in coal mines. His efforts led to the Mines Act of 1842, which forbade the employment of females underground and restricted similar work by males to those ten years of age and over. This Act went further than earlier similar legislation in that it provided for inspectors to enforce its provisions.<sup>22</sup> Under Shaftesbury's influence other labour legislation was passed in 1844 and 1845. He also took up the cause of shorter hours for adults and children until he succeeded in 1847 in obtaining parliamentary approval for a bill limiting hours of work to ten a day.

The Church of England priest and sociologist, Maurice Reckitt, is of the opinion that Shaftesbury probably did more than anyone else to relieve misery in the nineteenth century.<sup>23</sup>

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21 Dyson Hague, "The Future of Evangelical Churchmanship in Canada," in CC, 13 November 1913, p. 734. This lecture, given at the fall opening of Wycliffe College, Toronto, illustrates how the example of English reformers was held up for emulation by Canadian theological students.

22 E. L. Woodward, The Age of Reform 1815-1870, Oxford, 1962, p. 146.

23 Reckitt, Maurice to Temple, pp. 107-109.

Yet Reckitt and other scholars who have studied this period agree that Shaftesbury and his evangelical associates were limited in their contribution to reform by their religious and social views. Cobban claims that evangelicalism in the Church of England proved as intellectually sterile as the Methodism of Wesley and Whitfield, and found its sole merit and justification in the practical sphere.<sup>24</sup> According to another scholar the Evangelicals were limited in their attempts at social reform by their individualism and their ambiguous attitude toward wealth.<sup>25</sup> As Evangelicals they were concerned with individual salvation, but they failed to recognize any relationship between the welfare of the individual and the social and economic system under which the individual existed. Shaftesbury's attitude was paternalistic as well, in that he was more concerned with improving intolerable conditions for those who endured them than with helping such people to help themselves. He did not believe, for example, that workers should have the right to form trade unions.<sup>26</sup> Yet for the unselfish dedication by which he achieved the mitigation of the worst evils in working conditions in nineteenth century Britain, Canadian Anglicans like

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<sup>24</sup> Cobban, Edmund Burke, p. 234.

<sup>25</sup> Stephen Mayor, The Churches and the Labour Movement, London, 1967, pp. 11, 12.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid.

Dyson Hague pointed to him as an example for other Christians to emulate.

A more fundamental change in the economic order based on deep Christian thought as to the true nature of man in society was the aim of the Christian Socialist movement of 1848-54. Its acknowledged leader, F. D. Maurice,<sup>27</sup> was profoundly influenced by Coleridge and his ideas. The initiator of the movement was John Malcolm Ludlow,<sup>28</sup> who was living in Paris at the time of the 1848 revolution. The Paris revolution, followed by renewed Chartist agitation in England, stirred the social conscience of some Englishmen and brought together Ludlow, Maurice, and Charles Kingsley<sup>29</sup> in a joint effort to alleviate the lot of the working classes. Ludlow had returned from Paris convinced that the socialism of Louis Blanc, to which the new government seemed committed, would prove a blessing only if permeated with Christian principles of unselfishness and service. The first step of the three friends, following the failure of the Chartist demonstration in May 1848, was to post copies of a proclamation in London, addressed to the "Workmen of England" and

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<sup>27</sup> John Frederick Denison Maurice, 1805-72; son of a Unitarian minister, he was gradually attracted to the Church of England by its doctrine and liturgy, baptized in 1831, ordained in 1834.

<sup>28</sup> John Malcolm Ludlow, 1821-1911; called to the bar in 1842.

<sup>29</sup> Charles Kingsley, 1819-75; son of an Anglican priest; was himself ordained in 1842.

expressing sympathy with them and their aims.<sup>30</sup> Thus the fiasco which marked the end of Chartism also marked the beginning of Christian Socialism.

From the beginning F. D. Maurice provided the intellectual foundation for the new movement. Beginning in February 1850 he explained his ideas through his Tracts on Christian Socialism. He regarded his socialism as similar to that of Owen, Fourier, and Blanc. It was not meant to be an economic programme involving the state, but rather a co-operative undertaking by which members of the working class would attempt to do something for themselves. In contrast to the principles of competition and selfishness which governed laissez-faire capitalism, Christian Socialism meant fellowship and co-operation. Maurice believed socialism to be the natural God-given order of society, and that man's selfishness had imposed a competitive system on the natural order.<sup>31</sup> He saw socialism as the necessary result of Christianity, and Christianity as the only true foundation for socialism.

Maurice founded Working Men's Associations based on co-operative principles as the vehicle for the practice of

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<sup>30</sup> Torben Christensen, Origin and History of Christian Socialism 1848-54, Aarhus, Denmark, Universitetsforlaget, 1962, p. 71.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid., pp. 136-37.

Christian Socialism. Through these Associations the Christian Socialists aimed at providing more than palliatives; they sought a way to make workmen their own masters. Beginning with an industry in which the sweating of employees was notorious, Maurice and his associates organized the Working Tailors' Association. They leased a house and purchased stock to start the tailors on their own business operation. The demand of workers in other trades for similar operations led to the establishment of a "Society for Promoting Working Men's Associations."<sup>32</sup> The wealthy Edward Vansittart Neale,<sup>33</sup> whom Maurice, as president, appointed to the Council of the new organization, gave his fortune to further its objectives.<sup>34</sup>

The Working Men's Associations operated under the same handicap as did other co-operative societies of the time, in that they lacked the legal protection vouchsafed to other corporate bodies. Ludlow set out to remedy this defect. He drafted a bill to amend the Friendly Societies' Act so that the latter would include the Working Men's Associations, and in 1850 he asked Shaftesbury to sponsor it in Parliament.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> Ibid., p. 146.

<sup>33</sup> Edward Vansittart Neale, 1810-92; son of a Buckingham clergyman; called to the bar in 1837; joined the Christian Socialists in 1850.

<sup>34</sup> Christensen, Christian Socialism, p. 149-51.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid., p. 272-73.

The latter, who found too revolutionary the idea that workmen should seek to improve their lot by their own associations, declined. After finding other sponsors Ludlow got action from the new Derby government in 1852. By the Industrial and Provident Societies' Act, the co-operative societies received legal recognition.<sup>36</sup>

In 1854 Maurice and other Christian Socialists withdrew from the Society for Promoting Working Men's Associations to direct their energies toward the establishment of the Working Men's College.<sup>37</sup> Maurice believed that the Christian Socialists could serve best through education and that the Executive Committee of the Co-operative Industrial and Commercial Union formed in the same year would take over the work of the Christian Socialists. Although Ludlow did not agree with Maurice and thought the latter was deserting the Co-operative Movement, so great was his respect for what he considered Maurice's superior wisdom that he went along to help Maurice and Kingsley found the Working Men's College in London.

The Executive Committee of the Co-operative Industrial and Commercial Union took over the work of the Christian

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<sup>36</sup> Spencer Miller Jr. and Joseph F. Fletcher, The Church and Industry, New York, 1930, p. 14.

<sup>37</sup> This rather complicated story has been examined in Christensen, Christian Socialism, pp. 356-65.

Socialists, who in spite of some failures left ten Working Men's Associations active and thriving. Although some Christian Socialists as individuals continued to give help and guidance to Working Men's Associations, the Christian Socialist movement as an organized force went into eclipse for over two decades. However, the names of Maurice, Ludlow, and Kingsley continued to inspire Canadian Anglicans during the period of this study. Reform-minded churchmen frequently pointed to these men as examples of Anglicans who became actively involved in working for a better economic order.

Increasing prosperity, in which the workers shared, was partly responsible for the decline in demand for social and economic change.<sup>38</sup> Not until after 1870, when Britain began to feel the effects both of competition from Germany and the United States and also of world-wide depression, was there a revival of Christian Socialism. The movement was now taken up by followers of the Tractarian Movement.<sup>39</sup> Many of the later Tractarians found themselves in slum parishes of

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<sup>38</sup> M. B. Reckitt, The World and the Faith: Essays of a Christian Sociologist, London [1954], p. 98.

<sup>39</sup> Reckitt, Maurice to Temple, p. 110. Tractarianism, so called because of the use of tracts by its proponents, was also known as the Oxford Movement. It began in the 1830s in protest against state suppression of Irish bishoprics. It stood for a high view of the nature of the Church of England, i.e., its divine origin, and its right to independence of the state. To these ideas, after mid-century was added a revival of the use of mediaeval liturgy and vestments.

large cities, probably because their emphasis on ritual was more acceptable there than among the middle classes. In these slum parishes they experienced at first hand the living conditions of the industrial poor. One such priest was Stewart Headlam, curate in Bethnal Green, East London, where in 1877 he founded the Guild of St. Matthew to carry on the work of the Christian socialists. Headlam had studied under Maurice at Cambridge, was influenced by his ideas, and like Maurice believed that there was an integral connection between the Christian faith and social justice. Unfortunately Headlam's "idiosyncratic and combative temperament"<sup>40</sup> restricted his influence.

Other churchmen, who held views similar to those of Headlam, rather than join the Guild of St. Matthew, decided to form a separate organization. Thus the Christian Social Union (CSU) came into existence in 1889 with B. F. Westcott<sup>41</sup> as the first president, and Henry Scott Holland<sup>42</sup> as the first chairman. Another prominent founding member was Charles Gore.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> John Oliver, The Church and Social Order: Social Thought in the Church of England, 1918-1939, London, 1968, p. 3.

<sup>41</sup> Brooke Fosse Westcott, 1825-1901; Bishop of Durham, 1890-1901.

<sup>42</sup> Henry Scott Holland, 1847-1918; Canon of St. Paul's Cathedral, London, 1884-1911; editor of Commonwealth, 1896-1918.

<sup>43</sup> Charles Gore, 1853-1932; Librarian of Pusey House, Oxford University, 1884-93; Bishop of Worcester 1902-05, of Birmingham 1905-11, and of Oxford 1911-19. He founded the Community of the Resurrection, a religious order for men, in 1892, and served as its first Superior until 1901. He was President of the CSU 1902-11.

In its statement of aims the CSU claimed ultimate authority for Christian law in social matters. Its members denied the dogma of laissez-faire capitalism that the economy should be left to natural market forces and they set themselves the task of studying the implications of the application of Christian principles to social and economic problems.<sup>44</sup>

The Christian Social Union was formed after the challenge of the 1888 Lambeth Conference, and in turn the CSU had considerable influence on later conferences. Lambeth Conferences are meetings of Anglican bishops from around the world, held at Lambeth Palace, the London residence of the Archbishop of Canterbury. They began at a time when the daughter churches in the colonies and former colonies were becoming more independent of the Mother Church, but were also beginning to feel the need for some tangible form of continuing unity, both for fellowship and also for dealing with certain doctrinal issues which arose in the nineteenth century. The first two conferences of 1867 and 1878, held as the result of Canadian initiative, confined their discussions to purely ecclesiastical issues.

The first Lambeth Conference to discuss social and economic issues was that of 1888. The economic depression of the time, which had a particularly disastrous effect on

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<sup>44</sup> Oliver, The Church and Social Order, p. 5.

industrialized Britain, made economic issues especially relevant. English bishops dominated the committee charged with bringing in a report on socialism. This report claimed that there was no necessary contradiction between Christianity and the type of socialism whose object was to unite labour, capital, and land, "whether by means of the State, or of the help of the rich, or of the voluntary co-operation of the poor."<sup>45</sup> At the same time the report disagreed with those socialists who desired outright nationalization of all land and capital, preferring that workers save in order to purchase land or shares in societies for co-operative production in trade or agriculture. Here were Maurice's interpretation of socialism and the ideas he and his friends tried to put into practice. The committee also defied an important principle of laissez-faire capitalism when it recommended state action to improve the condition of the workers.<sup>46</sup> This time it was following in the tradition of Shaftesbury, who had worked so hard to protect workers by means of government legislation.

The Lambeth bishops summed up their conclusions on the matters discussed at each conference in an encyclical letter. These encyclicals carried more weight than committee

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<sup>45</sup> The Six Lambeth Conferences 1867-1920 Compiled under the Direction of the Most Reverend Lord Davidson of Lambeth, London, 1929, pp. 136-37.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid., p. 109.

reports, as the latter were the work of only a part of the number who attended the conferences. The encyclical of 1888 drew attention to the "excessive inequality in the distribution of this world's goods,"<sup>47</sup> which resulted in vast accumulation and desperate poverty existing side by side. It called on Christians to study schemes for rectifying this situation and to devise legislative or other methods for finding peaceful solutions to economic problems.

At the next Lambeth Conference, held in 1897, the Committee on Industrial Problems<sup>48</sup> made several practical and specific recommendations for the alleviation of unemployment.<sup>49</sup> It also had high praise for the Co-operative movement, but expressed fear that the latter was in danger of becoming more concerned with selfish competition and dividends than with improving social and industrial conditions. The encyclical of 1897 was not as specific as the committee report, merely referring to industrial problems in sympathetic generalities.<sup>50</sup>

Meanwhile the Christian Social Union continued to arouse and influence social thought within the Church of England. The increasing church concern in industrial issues

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<sup>47</sup> Ibid., p. 109.

<sup>48</sup> Four Canadian bishops sat on this committee, a fact which suggests Canadian bishops were becoming interested in economic issues.

<sup>49</sup> The Six Lambeth Conferences 1867-1920, pp. 268-69.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid., p. 184.

can be seen in the mediation of Bishop Temple of London<sup>51</sup> in the dock strike of 1889, in which he helped to secure a settlement.<sup>52</sup> Westcott, the first President of the CSU, later as Bishop of Durham performed similar services in the Durham coal strike of 1889.<sup>53</sup> In 1896 Henry Scott Holland founded the magazine Commonwealth to serve as a platform for CSU views, especially with regard to such industrial evils as sweated labour.<sup>54</sup> By 1900 thirty-five branches of the CSU with five thousand members had been formed.<sup>55</sup>

Most of the members of the CSU were too moderate to become identified with socialism as an economic programme of nationalization or, after 1906, with the rising Labour Party as a political arm for implementing reforms in the economic system. When members like Westcott used the term "socialism" he did so as an antonym for "individualism." This moderate position had little appeal to a number of clergy in industrial areas.

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<sup>51</sup> Frederick Temple, 1821-1902; headmaster of Rugby 1858-67; Bishop of Exeter 1869-85; Bishop of London 1885-96; Archbishop of Canterbury 1896-1902; father of William Temple.

<sup>52</sup> Miller and Fletcher, The Church and Industry, p. 21.

<sup>53</sup> Oliver, The Church and Social Order, p. 5, n. 13.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid., pp. 9, 10.

<sup>55</sup> Miller and Fletcher, The Church and Industry, p. 22.

There were some priests who both favoured a socialism which would include a degree of state ownership and control of the economy, and who also supported the new Labour Party, which after the turn of the century gradually became a political force.<sup>56</sup> In 1906 a group of socialist clergy from the North and the Midlands formed the Church Socialist League (CSL), in which P. E. T. Widdrington became one of the leading figures.<sup>57</sup> Labour's success in winning twenty-nine seats in the House of Commons in the 1906 elections indicates the increasing support for the new party among the working class. However, the initial enthusiasm of many members of the CSL for Labour waned as the party revealed its lack of fervour for socialism at this time.

Other Anglicans disagreed with the doctrine of state control and operation of industry, and favoured a form of guild socialism by which the state would own industry, but the responsibility for its operation would be in the hands of the workers. M. B. Reckitt was the leading church spokesman for this type of industrial order. To him guild socialism, by giving the workers such responsibility, was a means by which their status would be raised. He saw techniques like profit-sharing and minimum wages as palliatives by comparison.

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<sup>56</sup> Reckitt, Maurice to Temple, p. 150.

<sup>57</sup> Percy Widdrington, 1873-1959; Vicar of St. Peter's, Coventry 1906-18; Rector of Great Easton, Essex, 1918-55.

Certainly as the years passed a large number of socially minded English churchmen came to support the Labour Party as the most effective instrument for social and economic reform. William Temple<sup>58</sup> was a member for a number of years after the First World War.<sup>59</sup> George Lansbury, a devoted Christian and churchman, led the Party from 1931 to 1935, when it was in opposition.<sup>60</sup> Two of the most important members of the Labour Party when it formed the government in 1945 were Clement Attlee and Sir Stafford Cripps. At the latter's death in April 1952, Attlee described Cripp's Christianity and socialism as "the guiding forces of his life."<sup>61</sup> Attlee himself was the product of Anglican Christian Socialism, and his appointment as Prime Minister in 1945, along with Temple's translation to Canterbury in 1942, marked "the zenith of the Anglican Christian Socialist movement which had begun with Maurice and had been revived and developed by the C. S. U."<sup>62</sup> Certainly Attlee came from a staunch Church of England family, which followed a strong tradition of service. His brother Bernard was a priest,

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58 William Temple, 1881-1944; son of Archbishop Frederick Temple; Bishop of Manchester 1920-29; Archbishop of York 1929-42; Archbishop of Canterbury 1942-44.

59 Oliver, The Church and Social Order, p. 47.

60 Ibid., pp. 152-53.

61 Clement Attlee, As It Happened, Toronto, 1954, p. 198.

62 Mayor, The Churches and the Labour Movement, p. 381; see also pp. 276, 377, 380.

and his sister a missionary. He began his own career in settlement work in the East End of London, where his experience led him away from the Conservative Party toward socialism and the Independent Labour Party.

Indirectly, in fact, the settlements made no small contribution to the reform of the economic order. Although they stood for no particular theory of social reform, but were rather another expression of Christian concern for the plight of the poor in city slums, they did enable several future leaders in the political and economic life of Great Britain, as well as in Canada, to gain at first hand experience of life among the industrial poor.<sup>63</sup> Toynbee Hall, the prototype of settlement houses, was established in 1884 and named after Arnold Toynbee, who spent his vacations from Oxford University working among the poor in Canon Samuel Barnett's parish of St. Jude's, Whitechapel, in East London.<sup>64</sup>

Canadian Anglicans who sought reform of the economic order inherited the traditions established by their Church of England counterparts who opposed laissez-faire capitalism

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62 According to Oliver, The Church and Social Order, p. 21, n. 72, where he mentions Attlee, William Beveridge, and R. H. Tawney as men who had this experience. J. S. Woodsworth and W. L. Mackenzie King were Canadians who took part in settlement work.

63 [Yetta Barnett], Canon Barnett: His Life, Work and Friends (2 vols.), London, 1919, I, pp. 306-308.

and sought a system based on co-operation instead of competition. Like Southey, Coleridge, Maurice, and Tawney, they denied that laissez-faire capitalism operated by economic "law" for the good of all.

A kind of mystique also developed among Canadian Anglican reformers around the careers and personalities of the Church of England pioneers in reform of the economic order. On numerous occasions they held up the example of Church of England reformers in attempts to stir their fellow churchmen to greater concern over social and economic evils. In the words of one writer during the First World War, "We forget that we are standing on the shoulders of Maurice and Kingsley and their noble line."<sup>64</sup> To L. N. Tucker, the leading Anglican in the creation of the Council for Social Service of the Canadian Church, Maurice and Kingsley were "veritable prophets in their day and generation."<sup>65</sup> He continued with words of praise for the CSU and for settlement work. Mention has already been made in this chapter of Professor Dyson Hague's reference to Shaftesbury in an address

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<sup>64</sup> Marcus Mann, "The Prisoner at the Bar," CC, 15 November 1917, p. 730. Other examples are: Desmond Jene, "The Church and Industry," CC, 5 June 1919, p. 360; Letter to the editor from Canon Venn Pilcher, CC, 22 September 1932, p. 598; Canon Venn Pilcher, "The Later Tendencies of the Movement," CC, 13 April 1933, p. 228; Nina Holland, "Pioneers of Social Service: Frederick Denison Maurice," CC, 29 January 1942, p. 71.

<sup>65</sup> L. N. Tucker, "Social Service Historical Survey," CC, 31 January 1918, p. 68.

to students of Wycliffe College in 1913. At the other end of the period covered by this study is an editorial in the new reform-oriented Canadian Anglican Outlook, which lists the names of Ludlow, Kingsley, Maurice, Westcott, Scott Holland, Gore, Conrad Noel, and Widdrington, as example of Church of England prophets who were strong believers in Christian social action.<sup>66</sup>

The British influence also affected the ideas of Canadian Anglicans about reform very directly in that several individual reform-minded churchmen emigrated as adults from Britain. H. P. Plumptre and R. J. Moore, whose contribution to Canadian Anglican thought on capitalism and socialism will be considered later, came to Canada after their ordination in England. M. J. Coldwell, also English-born and for many years leader of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation, acknowledged his debt to Canon V. S. S. Coles of the CSU both for his socialism and for his churchmanship.<sup>67</sup> Andrew Brewin, another leading figure in the CCF, was influenced in the direction of social concern by his father, the Reverend F. H.

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<sup>66</sup> Anglican Outlook, April 1947, p. 9.

<sup>67</sup> M. J. Coldwell, private interview at his Ottawa home, July 1968. Coles was a colleague of Charles Gore in the Library of Pusey House, Oxford, where the CSU began in 1889; see C. Venn Pilcher, "The Later Tendencies in the Movement," CC, 13 April 1933, p. 228.

Brewin, who began his ministry in settlement work at Oxford House in the East End of London.

Throughout the course of this study there will be frequent stress upon the influence of the reform movement in the Church of England on Canadian Anglicans. This influence was not confined to the past tradition of concern over social and economic problems. Through thought and action British Anglicans continued to lead the way and to provide inspiration for Canadian Anglicans until the reform movement reached its culmination during the Second World War.

## CHAPTER III

### THE CANADIAN BACKGROUND<sup>1</sup>

Since the arrival of the United Empire Loyalists, the Anglican Church has been one of the predominant Christian denominations in what is now Canada. Even before the advent of British rule in Quebec, an Act of the first Assembly of Nova Scotia in 1758 established the Church of England as the state church in that colony.<sup>2</sup> Its first bishop, Charles Inglis, who received consecration in the chapel of Lambeth Palace, London, in 1787, had jurisdiction over most of British North America.

A close bond existed between Anglicans in British North America and both Great Britain and the Church of England. Not only did most of the clergymen for the colonies come from Britain, the Crown also established bishoprics by letters patent. The consecration of bishops took place in England, usually at the hands of the Archbishop of Canterbury. The infant colonial Church was to all appearances merely an extension of the Church of England, even to the extent of bearing the same name. Ecclesiastics like Bishop

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<sup>1</sup> A brief description of the organization of the Anglican Church is given in Appendix 1.

<sup>2</sup> H. H. Walsh, The Christian Church in Canada, Toronto, 1956, p. 90.

Jacob Mountain, first Anglican Bishop of Quebec, and Archdeacon John Strachan in Upper Canada, tried to get governmental recognition of the Anglican Church as the established Church.<sup>3</sup> Because large numbers of settlers belonged to other churches, the British government was wary of taking this step.

By the middle of the nineteenth century the Canadian Anglican dioceses were developing an independent life. In 1857 the British government approved the establishment of a synod for the Diocese of Toronto.<sup>4</sup> Soon the other dioceses also organized synods. As new dioceses were formed or episcopal vacancies occurred, the new bishops were chosen by synod elections. After the appointment in 1860 of Bishop Fulford of Montreal as the first Canadian Metropolitan, the consecration of new bishops also took place in Canada. By Confederation the Anglican Church was de facto just a large Protestant<sup>5</sup> denomination on a par with the Methodist and Presbyterian Churches. At the same time there was probably some degree of "prestige" associated with membership in the **Anglican Church** in Canada, partly because of its connection with the Crown and the Church of England, partly because of

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3 Ibid., pp. 135, 148.

4 Ibid., pp. 207, 208.

5 In this study the term "Protestant" is used to describe churches in the reform tradition, and implies no denial of the Anglican claim to be a part of the Catholic Church.

the dignity of Anglican worship, and partly because many leading citizens were among its members.

Near the end of the nineteenth century the major Canadian denominations began to organize into national bodies. Methodists, for example, who had been divided both geographically and into a number of separate denominations, decided to unite at a General Council held in Belleville, Ontario, in 1883.<sup>6</sup> As Anglicans were already one communion, they had only the matter of national organization with which to deal. After preliminary meetings in 1891, they formed a General Synod in 1893, and gave this body certain powers over the whole Canadian Church.

At this time census statistics show that membership in the Methodist and Presbyterian Churches well exceeded that of the Anglican Church. The 1891 census shows that 839,815 Methodists constituted 17.38 per cent of the Canadian population, 754,193 Presbyterians, 15.6 per cent, and 646,059 Anglicans, 13.37 per cent.<sup>7</sup> Immigration from Britain increased the proportion of Anglicans and Presbyterians to Methodists. According to the 1921 census, 1,409,406 Presbyterians made up 16.04 per cent of the population, 1,407,780 Anglicans, 16.02

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<sup>6</sup> Journal of Proceedings of the First United Conference of the Methodist Church, 1883.

<sup>7</sup> Census of Canada 1890-91, Vol. 1, Ottawa, 1893,  
p. 224.

per cent, and 1,159,246 Methodists, 13.19 per cent. Church union in 1925 absorbed most of the Methodists and Congregationalists, and almost half the Presbyterians, with the result that the new United Church of Canada became the largest Protestant denomination with over two million adherents in 1931, or 19.44 per cent of the population. The Anglican Church was still second with over 1,600,000, or 15.76 per cent, and the Presbyterians third with over 870,000, or 8.39 per cent.<sup>8</sup> It must be remembered that many persons who claimed membership in the various churches had a very tenuous church connection. In 1931 Anglican Church rolls showed only some 806,000 souls, a little more than half the census figures.<sup>9</sup> In spite of such discrepancy the major denominations still touched and influenced the lives of a large proportion of the Canadian people.

Inasmuch as the membership of the Anglican Church consisted of representatives of the major social groups in Canada, the influence of the Church would tend to permeate society as a whole. Anglican membership comprised farmers, industrial workers, small business men, professional people,

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<sup>8</sup> The above figures for 1921 and 1931 were taken from the Canada Year Book, 1933, pp. 122-23.

<sup>9</sup> Arnold W. Thomas and Horace C. Corner (eds.), The Canadian Almanac and Legal and Court Directory, Toronto, 1933, p. 447.

as well as persons in the higher echelons of business, finance and government.

Anglicans were certainly well represented among the influential members of society, but not appreciably more than were adherents of the United or Presbyterian Churches. Professor Porter's study of Canadian society shows that all three denominations, as well as the Baptist, were over-represented among the "political élite" of federal cabinet ministers, provincial premiers, and provincial chief justices who held office between 1940 and 1960.<sup>10</sup> This over-representation was at the expense of Roman Catholics, who made up 45 per cent of the population, but could claim only 30 per cent of the positions. A similar over-representation with regard to Anglicans and United Churchmen existed in the élite of the federal bureaucracy. Of 132 members of the senior civil service who made known their religious affiliation in 1953, 38 or 28.8 per cent belonged to the United Church, and 30 each or 22.7 per cent each to the Anglican and Roman Catholic Churches.<sup>11</sup> Porter's study of the economic

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<sup>10</sup> John Porter, The Vertical Mosaic: An Analysis of Social Class and Power in Canada, Toronto, 1965, p. 390. Anglicans occupied 19 per cent of the positions, but were only 15 per cent of the population according to the 1951 census; United Churchmen held 27 per cent with 20.5 per cent of the population; Presbyterians 9 per cent as against 8.6 per cent; Baptists 8.9 per cent as against 3.7 per cent.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., p. 443.

élite, based on 760 directors of corporations in 1951, shows the Anglicans were the most over-represented with 194 representatives or 25.5 per cent. Presbyterians were also over-represented with 86 or 11.3 per cent, and United Churchmen under-represented with 134 or 17.6 per cent. Roman Catholics were greatly under-represented with only 78 directors, just over 10 per cent.<sup>12</sup> Although the particular statistics in Porter's analysis of social class and power in Canada are for specified years or periods, there seems no reason to doubt their validity as indicators of the role of Anglicans in the government and the economy of Canada between 1914 and 1945.

The comparatively high representation of Anglicans in the economic élite might suggest that they would influence the Church to resist changes in the economic order. Certainly a number of business men, as we shall see, spoke at General Synods in support of maintaining the status quo. At the same time they were a minority at church synods. Probably many of the leading figures in business and finance were too involved in secular affairs to participate very much in decision-making in the Church. Taking the membership of the 1931 General Synod as an example, inasmuch as it met about midway in the period covered by this study, it is possible on the basis of titles, addresses, "K. C." after name, and information in

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<sup>12</sup> Ibid., p. 289.

Who's Who in Canada to be reasonably certain of the occupation of fifty of the 130 lay delegates. Of this fifty, 28 were connected with the legal profession, 6 with medicine, 3 with universities, and only 13 with some aspect of business. Two of the group were also members of the House of Commons. Only 16 names of the 130 could be found in the 1931 and 1941 editions of Who's Who in Canada. Therefore it cannot be said that the business and social élite dominated the General Synod of the Anglican Church.

Through General Synod the Anglican Church in Canada was able to speak officially on social and economic issues. Its establishment in 1893 made possible the appointment, at various sessions, of committees charged with investigating certain social issues and reporting on their findings to subsequent sessions. Problems of organization took most of the time of the first session, although it showed some interest in Sunday observance and in the establishment of a reformatory for young offenders. The next meeting, in 1896, saw the first real attempt on the part of some members to make known their concern with social and economic problems and to persuade their fellow delegates to take some action on those problems.

The paramount social concerns at that time were liquor and temperance, observance of the Lord's Day, and prostitution, euphemistically called "the social problem." Intoxication, gambling, and sexual immorality were to some

extent the consequences of a new unsettled society, which had not yet established its roots.<sup>13</sup> Except in its support of Sunday observance, whose purpose was to protect employees from having to work seven days a week, General Synod showed little understanding of the living and working conditions which gave rise to the other evils. Many industrial workers sought relief from the drudgery of long hours at routine tasks by spending much of their leisure time in saloons, which thus became the focus of social activity for the economically and socially dispossessed of the urban community.<sup>14</sup> By 1905 churchmen were showing some recognition of the true nature of the situation, for the Temperance Committee of General Synod reported that if saloons were to be abolished, they would have to be replaced by other places of amusement to occupy the leisure time of the working-man.<sup>15</sup>

During the early 1900s the different churches appointed committees to study the social evils of intoxication and prostitution and to work for their elimination. The similarity of names for these committees suggests that all churches shared

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<sup>13</sup> Stewart Crysdale, The Industrial Struggle and Protestant Ethics in Canada, Toronto, 1961, p. 5.

<sup>14</sup> S. D. Clark, Church and Sect in Canada, Toronto, 1948, p. 390.

<sup>15</sup> Toronto Daily Mail and Empire, 8 September 1905, p. 1.

a common purpose. The Methodists called their committee, established in 1902, "The Board of Temperance, Prohibition and Moral Reform."<sup>16</sup> In 1906 the Baptists set up a "Committee on Temperance and Moral Reform."<sup>17</sup> The next year the Presbyterians followed suit with a "Standing Committee on Temperance and Other Moral and Social Reforms." The Anglicans already had separate committees to deal with such issues as temperance and Sunday observance. In 1905 General Synod even appointed, on a motion by the Reverend F. G. Scott, a committee to watch "all Federal and Provincial legislation calculated to further or retard the moral progress of the people."<sup>18</sup> The next General Synod in 1908 brought the consideration of all social problems under the aegis of a "Standing Committee on Moral and Social Reform," which was at once given the task of taking immediate action to remedy the immoral conditions which were tolerated in the Yukon at that time.<sup>19</sup>

Another duty of this committee was to appoint Anglican representatives to the interdenominational Council set up the previous year to deal with social issues. This action was the

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16 Crysdale, The Industrial Struggle, p. 19.

17 Ibid., p. 20.

18 GSJP, 1905, p. 65. See also the Toronto Daily Mail and Empire, 15 September 1905, p. 5.

19 GSJP, 1908, p. 65.

result of the growing interest in social problems on the part of the major denominations and of their recognition that their efforts would prove more effective if they worked in co-operation. Thus in 1907 they joined forces to establish the Moral and Social Reform Council of Canada, renamed in 1914 The Social Service Council of Canada (SSC).<sup>20</sup> To Anglicans the function of the SSC was to promote social service by educational and legislative means.<sup>21</sup> Over the years a number of prominent Anglicans took an active part in the work of the Social Service Council.<sup>22</sup>

Although the churches, both in their denominational committees and through the Social Service Council, placed a great deal of emphasis on issues like gambling, drinking, sexual immorality and even smoking, there is some evidence of an awareness of the importance of economic questions. As early as the 1896 session of General Synod, the Reverend Dr. Langtry of Trinity College introduced a motion which expressed deep concern over the ever increasing evils resulting from the relationship between capital and labour in industry, and

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20 Crysdale, The Industrial Struggle, p. 21.

21 GSJP, 1921, p. 390.

22 Dean Norman Tucker of St. Paul's Cathedral, London, Ontario, and Canon Vernon, General Secretary of the Anglican Council for Social Service, both served terms as president; Charlotte Whitton worked for a time as assistant to the secretary. See CC, 14 November 1918, p. 730.

sympathy with "the vast and ever growing honest, industrious people"<sup>23</sup> who could not find sufficient work to support their families. The motion then called for frank recognition by the Church of its responsibility to work for both the temporal and spiritual welfare of men and to overcome the evils which afflict them, and concluded by asking Synod to set up a committee to study the problem and to promote practical solutions. In supporting the motion Canon O'Meara of Winnipeg claimed that in some quarters the Church was wrongly regarded "as the friend of the millionaire and the foe of the working-man";<sup>24</sup> he called on the Church to help in the abolition of industrial slavery just as it had helped to abolish negro slavery in the days of Wilberforce.

In spite of such support the Langtry motion failed to carry in its original form. Instead Synod approved an amendment moved by John Hoodless, a Hamilton manufacturer, and Mr. Justice Harrington of Fredericton, which merely expressed sympathy with the unemployed and which also limited the power of the proposed committee to conferring and reporting on what steps, if any, might be taken to relieve such people.<sup>25</sup> Gone was the reference to evils resulting from the relationship of

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23 GSJP, 1896, p. 63.

24 Winnipeg Daily Tribune, 11 September 1896, p. 5.

25 GSJP, 1896, p. 63.

capital and labour; gone was the explicit acknowledgement that the Church had a duty to promote the temporal welfare of men and to overcome evils; gone was the obligation of the committee to promote practical solutions. Such "watering down" of resolutions, as we shall see throughout this study, was a common occurrence at Anglican Synods, and the division over Langtry's motion in 1896 is indicative of the division which would arise in the future between those Anglicans who wished the Church to speak out on economic issues and those who were satisfied with the status quo. In any case, whatever action this committee might have taken after its appointment in 1896, the journal of the next session, held in 1902, contains no report from the committee or any mention of it. Probably the more prosperous economic climate and increasing employment led the committee to conclude that after six years its terms of reference were no longer relevant.

What did occupy the attention of General Synods in the early years of this century was immigration. For the Church, the settlement of the West necessitated financial support for the mission parishes established for the newcomers. It also required the formation of new dioceses. Half the immigrants crowded into the cities and towns of central Canada, but there the Church was at least established and therefore more able to minister to new people. In 1910 Bishop Dumoulin of the Diocese of Niagara spoke highly of the

devotion and support of working people in Hamilton, and of the new churches built in his diocese for immigrants from England.<sup>26</sup> His statement indicates that even many immigrant working people were active church members; indeed no great gap seems to have opened up between the churches and the working people of Canada such as existed in Great Britain and in the United States.<sup>27</sup>

At the same time increasing industrialization, the formation of labour unions, and frequent strikes during the first decade of this century made churchmen more aware of the working-man and his problems. In the Methodist Church a Committee on Sociological Questions in 1906 condemned the existing economic conditions which had led to a few people amassing a large proportion of the wealth of the country and the money madness which led to the oppression of the unfortunate.<sup>28</sup> Similar Anglican concern found expression at the

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<sup>26</sup> The Official Report of the Opening of All Saints' Cathedral at Halifax N. S. The Canadian Church Congress and Other Proceedings at Halifax, Windsor and Annapolis Royal N. S. in connection with the Bicentenary Commemoration of the Church of England in Canada 1710-1910, Halifax, 1911, p. 155. Hereafter this work will be referred to as Bicentenary Report.

<sup>27</sup> This is the conclusion of Crysdale, The Industrial Struggle, p. 16.

<sup>28</sup> Journal of Proceedings of the Seventh General Conference of the Methodist Church, 1906, pp. 274-75.

Canadian Church Congress held at Halifax in 1910 to mark the bicentenary of the Church of England in Canada. Speakers on economic issues showed great sympathy with the cause of the workers, no agreement with the doctrines of Social Darwinism, and an open-minded attitude toward socialism. Speaking on socialism, Adam Shortt<sup>29</sup> claimed that the Church and socialism shared a common struggle against the forces that degraded life.<sup>30</sup> The Reverend W. W. Craig, speaking on socialism from the point of view of a parish priest, held that church leaders, in their roles as prophets, ought to support the constructive elements in socialism: its emphasis on brotherhood and on justice in the division of the profits of industry, and its desire to eliminate both the hopelessness of old age and the slaughter of children in the slums. He also called on the clergy to become more fully aware of how extensive and significant was the movement for social reform.<sup>31</sup> He urged them to show the world that they were on the side of right, not might; of the poor, the wronged, the oppressed, not of those who oppress; of "the powers that ought to be" and "not the powers that wrongly be [...]."<sup>32</sup> His paper might well represent the high point of desire for reform expressed by a Canadian Anglican before the First World War.

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29 Then chairman of the Civil Service Commission.

30 Bicentenary Report, p. 146.

31 Ibid., p. 150.

32 Ibid., p. 154.

In their ideas on socialism the various speakers stood very close to the tradition of Maurice and Kingsley, in that they favoured socialism as the economic expression of brotherhood and co-operation. Their papers on economic subjects may have offered little in the way of satisfactory solutions to the problems of the day, but the fact they were given at all reveals that some Canadian Anglicans recognized the need for some change in the economic system.

At the same time the speakers were not prepared to support revolutionary change. Craig warned churchmen to oppose forms of secular, materialistic socialism, which limit their objectives to this life. Bishop Dumoulin, who spoke on "The Workingman and His Problems," although ready to recognize a strong affinity between the Church and socialism in that both stood for "corporate action and the value of brotherhood,"<sup>33</sup> opposed any compulsion about joining unions on the grounds that no workman had the right to deprive a fellow worker of his freedom to work for as many hours as the latter wished to work and for whatever wages he was willing to accept. Doubtless he held the common view of the day, even among those who supported the workers' right to form unions, that the closed shop meant depriving men who wished to work of their right to do so.

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33 Ibid., p. 144.

In spite of the interest shown in 1910, concern over economic issues found only slight expression at the 1911 General Synod. A large part of the report of the Committee on Moral and Social Reform dealt with sexual immorality, temperance, and gambling.<sup>34</sup> Possibly influenced by the papers at Halifax, the Lower House approved a motion significant for its recognition that economic conditions were often behind the more obvious social evils. It requested that emphasis should be placed on so "altering economic conditions that girls shall no longer be tempted by the pressure of poverty to lead an immoral life [...]."<sup>35</sup>

In the years preceding the First World War then Anglican concern over social evils led to some consideration being given to the economic conditions which contributed a great deal to the degradation of human existence. Thus the Church was not without some preparation for the idealistic trumpet call for "a new world after the war" which was soon to sound and to which many churchmen responded with zeal and enthusiasm.

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34 GSJP, 1911, pp. 232-38.

35 Ibid., p. 235.

## CHAPTER IV

### WARTIME IDEALISM 1914-1918 I. ANGLICAN CONDEMNATION OF LAISSEZ-FAIRE CAPITALISM

During the First World War a number of prominent Anglicans in Canada denounced both the operation of laissez-faire capitalism and the principles which governed its operation. Such a condemnation of capitalistic practices and values was a prerequisite for eventual reform of the economic system. Anglicans attacked the existing order on the ground that the welfare of society took precedence over the freedom of the individual to act as he pleased within the law. One object of Anglican concern was to prevent revolution; to Anglicans reform should be the result of an evolutionary process.

When war broke out in August 1914, Canada was suffering from an economic depression which had begun the previous year. If the economic prosperity of the first decade of this century had continued without interruption until the outbreak of war, it is hardly likely that the war would have led to such a strong reaction against the way in which laissez-faire capitalism functioned. The depression, which brought unemployment and poverty to many of the working-class, led to questioning of the way individuals acted within the capitalistic system, as well as of the failure of governments to act.

By 1914 conditions were so bad that the Canadian Churchman<sup>1</sup> urged the municipalities and provinces to provide relief and public works because the churches could no longer cope with the need for welfare.<sup>2</sup> The same editorial asked that the banks relax their "tight money" policy, and described thirty recent proceedings to foreclose mortgages in Toronto as equivalent to robbery. The next week the editor wrote of the need for help for "The Deserving Poor,"<sup>3</sup> and a short time later he pointed out that the governments of Britain and Western Australia raised funds to help the unemployed.<sup>4</sup> He also criticized employers who gave large sums to welfare, but dismissed their own employees.<sup>5</sup>

These comments were all made in the early months of the Great War. Not until 1915 did recruitment and wartime production bring about a marked improvement in economic conditions. By this time many Canadians were becoming aware of the sacrifice and effort demanded by the war, especially from the

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1 The Canadian Churchman had been in existence since 1871. Although privately owned and operated, it occupied a semi-official position as the national Anglican journal for the Canadian Church. It was published weekly in Toronto.

2 CC, 10 September 1914, p. 583.

3 CC, 17 September 1914, p. 599.

4 CC, 1 October 1914, p. 631.

5 CC, 12 November 1914, p. 727.

troops overseas, and were beginning to object to the idea that their fighting men would probably return to economic hardship and unemployment. As one Anglican saw the situation, "the unselfish service and unstinted sacrifice"<sup>6</sup> of Canada's sons on the battlefields provided the inspiration for the years ahead. The war seems to have acted as a catalyst, clarifying and bringing to the surface the latent discontent with laissez-faire capitalism.

One consequence of this increased concern over social and economic problems was the development of church organizations to cope with these problems. Thus the 1915 General Synod of the Anglican Church approved a new canon which established the Council for Social Service.

This new Council did not come into existence without a struggle.<sup>7</sup> Strong opposition came from status quo churchmen. The Reverend E. R. Bartlett represented the evangelical position that the Church had no right to deal with social problems; it should restrict itself to letting the world know that it was the friend of publicans and sinners.<sup>8</sup> He was supported by

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<sup>6</sup> J. O. Miller, "Introduction," The New Era in Canada: Essays Dealing with the Upbuilding of the Canadian Commonwealth, Toronto, 1917, p. 5.

<sup>7</sup> See Montreal Star, 27 September 1915, p. 14; Toronto Globe, 27 September 1915, p. 7.

<sup>8</sup> CC, 30 September 1915, p. 622. For the reference to "publicans and sinners" see Matthew 9:11.

Canon Murray of Winnipeg, who argued that the Church should act as a leaven in society and would suffer if it took a strong stand on social problems. He held that it was the policy of "the heretical sects to invoke legislation against social evils, but not the policy of the Church of God."<sup>9</sup> Statements like that would hardly endear Anglicans to members of other churches.

Strongly supporting the creation of the Council were two groups. First there were the supporters of the prohibition movement, who expected the Council to be an instrument to forward their cause. The prohibition movement had been gaining in strength in British North America since the middle of the nineteenth century, but Anglicans continued to lack enthusiasm for it until the end of the century. By 1915 the idealism aroused by the war increased Anglican support for the legal proscription of the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquor. At the 1915 General Synod, the Reverend C. W. McKim of Edmonton complained "that the liquor men in Saskatchewan depended on the foreign vote and Anglicans to defeat prohibition."<sup>10</sup> He and many other synod members supported establishing the new Council in the expectation it would remedy this situation by working for prohibition.

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9 Ibid.

10 Montreal Star, 27 September 1915, p. 14.

The second group to support the Council consisted of truly reform-minded Anglicans who wished the Council to concern itself with the whole spectrum of social and economic issues. Leading this group was the Reverend L. N. Tucker,<sup>11</sup> who moved the adoption of the new canon and who argued that the Anglican Church needed to keep up with other churches in organizing to grapple better with the social and moral problems of the day.<sup>12</sup> He accused the Church of neglecting the problems of the working-man. He particularly desired the Church to be prepared to cope with the social and economic upheaval which he thought would follow the war. Tucker received strong support from the Reverend Robert Connell<sup>13</sup>

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11 Lewis Norman Tucker, 1852-1934, ordained deacon 1876, priest 1878; served in Diocese of Montreal 1876-94; incumbent of Christ Church, Vancouver, 1894-1902; founder of the Missionary Society of the Church of England in Canada and its first General Secretary 1902-11; rector of St. Paul's Cathedral, London, Ontario, 1911-34; and Dean of the Diocese of Huron 1919-34.

12 At its General Conference in 1914, the Methodist Church had replaced its Board of Temperance, Prohibition and Moral Reform with a Board of Social Service and Evangelism. The new name indicates the wider concern within Methodism for the whole range of social problems.

13 First ordained in 1895, Connell worked in the Diocese of Calgary before moving to the Diocese of British Columbia in 1901. In 1917 he became the first chairman of the Church Social League in Victoria, an organization whose purpose was to claim ultimate authority for Christian law in social practice and to study the application of Christian principles to contemporary social and economic conditions. See CC, 4 October 1917, p. 637. His work as CCF leader in British Columbia during the Great Depression will be considered later. After leaving politics he returned to active work as a priest.

of Victoria, who wanted no misunderstanding concerning the Church's position, namely that it stood for the fallen as well as for the well-to-do.<sup>14</sup> To Connell the Church, in organizing the Council, was only following the example of Christ, who both preached and went about doing good. To Canon H. P. Plumptre<sup>15</sup> the Council was too important for General Synod to postpone its creation for another three years until its next meeting. He expected that strong movements for social change would follow the war and he wanted the Church to be in a position to deal with them. Dr. Speechly, a lay delegate from Winnipeg, added a telling argument; he wanted to be in a position to give more than just his personal opinion on social problems; he wanted that personal opinion to have the support of official church policy. Doubtless he expected the Council to provide leadership for church members in support of social reform.

On 25 September 1915, after a spirited debate, General Synod approved Canon XIV, which authorized the establishment of the Council for Social Service and defined its objectives. This Canon charged the new Council with studying social

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<sup>14</sup> Toronto Globe, 27 September 1915, p. 7.

<sup>15</sup> Henry Pemberton Plumptre, ordained priest in England in 1896; chaplain at Wycliffe Hall, Oxford, 1897-1901; chaplain at Wycliffe College, Toronto, 1901-1903; curate at St. George's Church, Montreal, 1903-1908; rector of St. James' Cathedral, Toronto, 1909-35; died 1952.

problems with a view to finding a Christian solution to them, with working with immigrants, with seeking just conditions of living, and with promoting a Christian public opinion on social problems.<sup>16</sup>

The establishment of the Council for Social Service (CSS) meant that henceforth Canadian Anglicans would have an authoritative body to speak and act for them on social and economic issues. In speaking for the Church, the CSS adopted a position favouring moderate reforms by which it stood between the status quo members of the Church on the one hand and the more activist members on the other. That the Council fulfilled its role adequately and remained in step with the rank and file of the Church is evident from the lack of controversy over the Council's position on most issues. The exception to this generalization will be seen in the occasional criticism over the Council's caution which came from activist individuals and groups.

According to Canon XIV the CSS consisted of the Primate, as ex officio President, the Bishops of the Upper House, any executive officers appointed by the Council, and two laymen and two clergymen appointed by each diocese. By a revision of the Canon in 1918, twelve women appointed by

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16 GSJP, 1915, p. 350.

the Provincial Synods were added to its membership. The Council was required to meet annually, in conjunction with General Synod, or in the years when that body did not meet, with the Executive Council of General Synod. Between annual meetings, an Executive Committee of the CSS, consisting of four bishops, four laymen, four clergymen, and two women, (according to the revision of 1918) carried on CSS business. This Committee acted under the power and instructions of the Council, which appointed it, and was to meet at least quarterly each year. The Executive Committee also had the duty of reporting to General Synod and its Executive Council when either of these bodies met.

The key man in the functioning of the CSS was to be the executive officer known as the General Secretary. His function would be to guide the Council in its activities and to perform any duties assigned to him by the Council. Doubtless the preparation of annual reports fell on his shoulders, although the reports would need the approval of the Council's Executive Committee. Unfortunately the CSS lacked the money to appoint a Secretary until September 1918; at that time it chose the Reverend C. W. Vernon for the position.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> Charles William Vernon, ordained deacon and priest in 1896; assistant master at King's College School, Windsor, Nova Scotia, 1896-98; rector of North Sydney 1898-1903; secretary of the Church of England Institute, Halifax, 1907-13; editor of the magazine Church Work 1906-19.

The choice of Vernon was significant in that he, like the CSS itself, would represent the middle ground of reform opinion in the Church. Vernon remained General Secretary of the CSS until his death in January 1934. His successor, the Reverend W. W. Judd, held office from 1936 to 1955.

Before the appointment of Vernon the CSS undertook the publication of the Bulletin of the Council for Social Service of the Church of England in Canada<sup>18</sup> to help fulfill the Council's responsibility for educating and informing church people on social and economic issues. The views expressed in the Bulletin were those of its editor or of other individuals who wrote articles for it. At the same time the Church officially sponsored the paper through its CSS and therefore deserves credit for the work done by the Bulletin in educating church members on social issues. The CSS sent free copies to all Anglican clergymen in Canada, as well as to certain other individuals interested in social matters.<sup>19</sup>

The creation of the Council for Social Service was a practical act which helped to give some organized direction to Anglicans as they confronted social and economic problems.

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18 Hereafter called the Bulletin.

19 GSJP, 1918, p. 303. Of the first thirteen issues, a total of thirty thousand copies were sent out. The mailing list totalled 2,110. Two hundred copies of each issue went in small parcels to parishes which had requested them for use in study groups.

Probably just as important during the First World War was the rhetorical idealism by which the Canadian Churchman, bishops, other clergy, and laymen condemned laissez-faire capitalism and proclaimed the need for its reform. Their concern took the form of general denunciations of the individualism, materialism, and competitiveness which governed the operation of the economic system. Although much of this criticism was general in nature and offered few positive proposals for reform, nevertheless Anglican censures, besides revealing a readiness to welcome reform, embraced important principles on which, it was hoped, the new order would be based.

The Canadian Churchman provides a number of statements critical of laissez-faire capitalism. Its first wartime article dealing with economic reform was a paper given to a meeting of Church of England laymen.<sup>20</sup> The speaker had urged his audience not to shrink from openly applying Christian principles to public affairs. He condemned the greed of gain and "the great industrial complexes built on the ruins of a hundred smaller ones,"<sup>21</sup> as some of the evils of the day. His statement expressed resentment, not against business or industry per se, but against "big business," the giant corporations, established by men greedy for profits. It was critical

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20 Eugene Stock, "The Responsibility of the Church to the Nation," in CC, 4 March 1915, p. 131.

21 Ibid.

of the operation of the system, rather than of the system itself.

In 1917 the editor of the Churchman drew to the attention of his readers the Church of England Mission Conference, which had emphasized the responsibility of the Church for social reform. He added the comment that social reform required more than vague statements "which hurt no one and lead nowhere,"<sup>22</sup> and called on the clergy to be as outspoken in rebuking social sin as were the prophets of old, and on the laity to uphold them in so doing. Later the same year he reached the conclusion that after the war there must be no return to business as usual if it meant "the exploitation of the poor by the rich and free rein to the greed of men."<sup>23</sup> By the end of the war his feelings about the operation of capitalism had reached such a pitch that he could write:

How shall we use the peace which cost so much?  
 [...] "Business as usual?" No! Ten thousand times no, if business as usual means grinding the face of the poor, the exploitation of children, the curse of the sweatshop, and all that proclaimed the motto of life to be: "Every man for himself and the devil take the hindmost."<sup>24</sup>

Some bishops reacted in similar fashion to what they saw as the iniquities of laissez-faire capitalism, and they

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<sup>22</sup> "The Church and Social Reform," editorial in CC, 25 January 1917, p. 51.

<sup>23</sup> CC, 30 August 1917, p. 551.

<sup>24</sup> CC, 14 November 1918, p. 727.

supported with idealistic declarations the advent of a better economic order after the war. In 1915 Bishop Bidwell<sup>25</sup> interpreted the war as the judgment of God, the consequence of mammon worship and of the exaggerated respect and honour which men paid to the multi-millionaire.<sup>26</sup> Inasmuch as the goal of getting rich was the basis of capitalism, and the millionaire its product, Bidwell was condemning fundamental aspects of the capitalistic system. By 1918 he optimistically believed that materialism was clearly gone, never to return, and he looked forward to the removal, as far as possible, of "the present system of grinding competition."<sup>27</sup>

The Canadian Primate, Archbishop Matheson,<sup>28</sup> presented much the same attitude when, at the 1915 General Synod, he charged that Canada had been in danger of surrendering her soul to material things: "The selfishness which has affected so much of our social, industrial and national life stands to-day revealed in its true character and its inevitable circumstances."<sup>29</sup> He hoped that men would learn from God's

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<sup>25</sup> Edward John Bidwell, coadjutor Bishop of Ontario, 1913-17; Bishop of Ontario, 1917-26; Assistant Bishop of Canterbury, 1926-41.

<sup>26</sup> CC, 14 January 1915, p. 21.

<sup>27</sup> CC, 6 June 1918, p. 360.

<sup>28</sup> Samuel Pritchard Matheson, Assistant Bishop of Rupert's Land, 1903-1905; Archbishop of Rupert's Land, 1905-31; fourth Primate of Canada, 1909-31; died 1942.

<sup>29</sup> GSJP, 1915, p. 19.

judgment to change their ways. The crisis of the war was "either the death pangs of a decadent civilization, or the birth pangs of better things for our world."<sup>30</sup> Churchmen, with their faith, naturally chose the second option, and looked forward to a new order after the war.

Although the lesser clergy did not receive the same publicity for their statements as did the bishops, that they too were caught up in wartime idealism and the demand for a new world after the war is indicated by the 1917 meeting of the Wycliffe College Alumni. During a discussion of social service some of the clergy present made strong attacks on the past policy of the Church, contending that it had been "absolutely lacking in spirit and farsightedness in dealing with the problems of industrial and social injustice."<sup>31</sup> This group was of the opinion that the Church must fearlessly expose and denounce the great social evils of the day.

The demand for social reform grew even more pronounced as the end of the war drew near, doubtless because most Canadians were very conscious of the sacrifice of those who were winning the victory on the battlefields and wanted a better society for them when they returned. It is no wonder that, in such a climate of opinion, the first report of the

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30 Ibid.

31 CC, 1 November 1917, p. 699.

Council for Social Service to the General Synod, which met in September 1918, expressed a disillusionment with laissez-faire capitalism similar to that already enunciated by a number of Canadian churchmen. This report accepted as a fact of life in an imperfect world that there would always be flaws in society, but claimed "the abundant harvest of evils and abuses"<sup>32</sup> were evidence of just how imperfect was the social organization of the day.

The report attributed these evils to false ideas in the minds of men. It named Individualism, Competition, and Materialism as the three false conceptions which were the basis of modern civilization; all three stood condemned as being out of harmony with both nature and Christianity. The individualistic ideal was "in open conflict with the laws of God and of Society."<sup>33</sup> Competition, which was based on the doctrine that "nature is red in tooth and claw, and that its fundamental law is the survival of the fittest,"<sup>34</sup> had led to civil war in our industrial life and to catastrophe in international relations. To save itself from ruin, civilization was now being driven to put co-operation in the place of competition in industrial life. Materialism was also a major cause of war, according to the report, and in turn the war was a judgment upon our materialistic civilization.

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<sup>32</sup> GSJP, 1918, p. 320.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid., p. 321.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid.

Thus through rhetorical and idealistic statements Anglicans condemned the philosophy on which laissez-faire capitalism was based. Such condemnations of the economic system provided the rationale for those who put forward more definite and precise proposals for reform of the system.

Some Anglicans took literally the admonitions of bishops like Bidwell of Ontario and Du Vernet of British Columbia<sup>35</sup> that it was the Church's duty to bring its influence to bear on the practical social problems of the day.<sup>36</sup> These Anglicans were prepared to go beyond the enunciation of principles and to give their support to specific plans for changing the economic system.

A few Anglicans believed that socialism was the answer to the social and economic problems of the time. Indeed, whether or not he personally favoured socialism, Bishop Williams had reached the conclusion that a kind of socialism was already replacing individualism and that it was the Church's duty to see the new order built in harmony with Christian ideals.<sup>37</sup> It is therefore likely that an article

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<sup>35</sup> Frederick Herbert Du Vernet, Bishop of Caledonia, 1904-15; Archbishop of Caledonia and Metropolitan of British Columbia, 1915-24.

<sup>36</sup> CC, 6 June 1918, p. 360, and 27 June 1918, p. 408.

<sup>37</sup> CC, 6 May 1918, p. 312.

by the Reverend F. E. Mercer calling for church support for socialism found some support among Anglicans.<sup>38</sup>

Mercer was a socialist in the British tradition. While serving as a priest in the city of Edmonton, he took an active interest in unions and labour matters. He regarded the capture of the Socialist Party of Canada by revolutionary Marxian Socialists as a disaster and declared himself a member of the new Labour Party.<sup>39</sup> To Mercer socialism meant the social ownership of all means for producing wealth, in order that the wealth produced be used for the benefit of all the human race. He hoped to see this goal reached gradually through an evolutionary process.<sup>40</sup> He was, as he claimed, in the tradition of Maurice and Kingsley, in that he believed socialism and Christianity to be entirely in agreement: "the Christian Socialist can declare that Socialism is Christianity in action in politics."<sup>41</sup> At the same time he went beyond their co-operative type of socialism when he espoused state

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38 F. E. Mercer, "Why Churchmen Should be Socialists," The Church and Socialism, Bulletin No. 8, January 1918, pp. 3-9.

39 Ibid., p. 3. The Russian Revolution and the establishment of the Third Internationale affected many socialists toward support of Marxism. See Martin Robins, Radical Politics and Canadian Labour, 1880-1930, Kingston, 1968, p. 145. For the election of 1917 the Trades and Labour Congress of Canada endorsed candidates to run for the Canadian Labour Party, although this party hardly was more than a paper organization. Ibid., pp. 134-45, 144, 158.

40 Mercer, "Why Churchmen Should Be Socialists," p. 7.

41 Ibid.

ownership. Besides holding that Christianity and socialism were similar in that both were movements which sought to benefit humanity, Mercer argued that churchmen should support socialism in order that the Christian influence keep it from becoming corrupted by selfishness. He readily admitted that selfishness was all too prominent in the demands of labour.<sup>42</sup>

The same issue of the Bulletin which carried Mercer's article contained another which opposed church support for socialism.<sup>43</sup> Its author, the Reverend R. C. Blagrove, did not deny the right of individual churchmen to be socialists as a matter of personal conviction.<sup>44</sup> Because all human institutions became corrupted in time by human selfishness, Blagrove maintained that the Church should not adopt socialism as an official policy. If the Church became identified with one particular economic system, it would lose its independence and its ability to pass judgment on that system when the latter became an instrument of human selfishness.<sup>45</sup> Although Blagrove did not favour the socialist belief in public ownership, he did regard laissez-faire capitalism as completely

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<sup>42</sup> Ibid., p. 5.

<sup>43</sup> R. C. Blagrove, "Why the Church Should Not Adopt Socialism," Bulletin No. 8, pp. 9-16.

<sup>44</sup> Indeed Blagrove showed more sympathy for socialism in this article than he was to do in 1946.

<sup>45</sup> Blagrove, "Why the Church Should Not Adopt Socialism," p. 15.

discredited: "a species of industrial feudalism under modern industrial conditions [...]."<sup>46</sup> His practical, moderate solution to the abuse of capitalistic power was to provide an antidote to that power by making labour unions stronger.

Taking a position very similar to that of Blagrove was a prominent Anglican layman, G. Frank Beer, who recommended better planning of the economy. "Our aims," he wrote, "should be an organic process in which producers, distributors and consumers consciously find an ever-widening channel of common interests."<sup>47</sup> He believed that the benefits of the competitive system had reached their apex and that now "national co-operative methods and ideals" must replace "self-centred individualism."<sup>48</sup> To avoid the dangers which he believed nationalization would entail, he suggested that the interests of labour be put before those of capitalism.<sup>49</sup> Beer was a Liberal and a business man, a member of the Ontario Unemployment Commission, and was to serve on the National Industrial Conference of 1919. His ideas therefore indicate how far a

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<sup>46</sup> Ibid., pp. 11, 12.

<sup>47</sup> G. Frank Beer, "National Ideals in Industry," in J. O. Miller (ed.), The New Era in Canada: Essays Dealing with the Upbuilding of the Canadian Commonwealth, Toronto, 1917, p. 165. John Ormsby Miller, the editor of this volume of essays was an Anglican clergyman, principal of Ridley College, St. Catharines, convenor of the Social Service Council of the Diocese of Niagara, and Anglican representative on the Social Service Council of Canada.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid., p. 181.

prominent Anglican and citizen was prepared to go toward reforming the economic order.

Another reform-minded, non socialist Anglican, was the economist and political scientist, Homfray Michell, who, as editor of the Bulletin, was the chief spokesman for the Church on economic issues during the last two years of the war. Michell also dealt with the prospects facing the capitalist order.<sup>50</sup> Michell saw the world as faced with the task of building "a new and better social fabric."<sup>51</sup> He anticipated a "great fury for reconstruction"<sup>52</sup> after the war, involving a struggle between extreme radicalism and extreme reaction over what reforms should be made. Michell himself remained somewhat detached and restrained in his actual expectations for the post-war period. He forecast a period of industrial stagnation and unemployment, a situation which would be

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<sup>50</sup> Michell himself wrote articles dealing with economics or labour. See W. W. Judd, "The Vision and the Dream," Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society, VIII, 4 (December 1965), 76-118. Canon Tucker described the Bulletin, after some eight months of publication, as rendering valuable service, and its editor as "deserving the confidence and gratitude of the Church." CC, 7 February 1918, p. 87. A few months before, at the meeting of Wycliffe College Alumni, one member referred to "the splendid propaganda already launched by the CSS," and urged that the clergy read these pamphlets faithfully, make their contents known to their people, and encourage them to read them for themselves. CC, 1 November 1917, p. 699.

<sup>51</sup> Reconstruction I, Bulletin No. 12, May 1918, p. 3.

<sup>52</sup> Reconstruction II, Bulletin No. 13, May 1918, p. 12.

intensified by the returning soldiers and increased immigration.<sup>53</sup> His belief in inexorable economic laws made him doubt that any fundamental changes would be made in the economic system. He therefore gave more attention and support to the right of labour to collective bargaining and to legislation setting maximum hours and minimum wages.

Michell and other Anglicans who desired changes in the operation of laissez-faire capitalism anticipated a greater role for the state in responsibility for the welfare of all its citizens. One consequence of wartime needs was the beginnings of support among churchmen for the principle that the government should assume more control of the economic aspects of the life of Canadians. Archbishop Du Vernet even proposed that some government wartime measures like the tax on excessive business profits be continued into peacetime.<sup>54</sup>

One approach to reform which would have required government participation would have been the adoption of some form of social security. Although the concept of the welfare state as a system by which government assumed responsibility for an integrated plan of social insurances did not have its beginning in Canada until the Second World War, some aspects of social security began to receive support as a result of

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<sup>53</sup> Bulletin No. 12, p. 4.

<sup>54</sup> CC, 27 June 1918, p. 408.

the idealism aroused by the First World War. This support was usually associated with concern for the working-class, as was the case when Canon H. P. Plumtre presented a motion to the 1918 General Synod in which he included a clause requesting the Synod's support for labour's demand for state protection against unemployment.<sup>55</sup> Most likely he had in mind some form of unemployment insurance. The same Synod approved as a guide for study certain principles endorsed by the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America. These principles included a section which called for state provision for the elderly and the incapacitated, as well as for state action for the abatement of poverty.<sup>56</sup>

The closest Anglicans came to committing themselves to a definite programme of social security was through their membership in the Social Service Council of Canada, of which Canon L. N. Tucker was president in 1918. In October of that year the SSC officially declared itself in favour of mothers' pensions, and insurance against accidents, sickness, unemployment and old age.<sup>57</sup> The motive behind this stand was doubtless more concern for the needy than the expectation of any beneficial effects that social security benefits would have on the

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<sup>55</sup> Toronto Globe, 18 September 1918, p. 8.

<sup>56</sup> GSJP, 1918, p. 314.

<sup>57</sup> Canadian Annual Review, 1918, p. 598.

nation's economy. Not until the country had suffered its worst depression did churchmen recognize the economic as well as the social benefits of a programme of social security.

Although very little actual change in the operation of laissez-faire capitalism resulted from wartime idealism, the ideas stimulated by the war helped to prepare the ground for future reforms. Like many other Canadians certain Anglicans became much more aware of the defects of the capitalist system, and their disillusionment with operation of that system found expression in condemnations of the principles of selfishness, individualism, competition, and materialism on which the system seemed to be based. Certainly the first three of these principles were contrary to the conservative belief in the corporate unity of society, and all four were contrary to Christian beliefs. By denouncing these principles a number of Anglican leaders contributed to the general climate of opinion of the period favouring some kind of reform. Some Anglicans like F. E. Mercer sought to persuade their fellow churchmen to support a moderate type of socialism as an alternative to capitalism. Most reform-minded Anglicans, however, wished to revise the capitalist system rather than replace it. They desired to apply the principles of co-operation and service within the framework of the existing economic order. Among the most obvious defects of the system which they wished to remove were those which allowed widespread exploitation of the working-class.

## CHAPTER V

### WARTIME IDEALISM 1914-1918 II. ANGLICANS AND LABOUR

Before the Second World War, when Anglicans referred to the poor, the exploited, and the oppressed, they had working-class people in mind. Other than a minority of salary and wage earners, who belonged to strong and recognized labour unions or who had enlightened employers, workers in the early decades of the twentieth century eked out a mere livelihood during their working years, and subsisted in penury and dependence on others after their usefulness to the employer ended. Most employers decided unilaterally their workers' hours, wages, and working conditions. The result in some industries was what Anglican statements refer to as "sweated labour," the system under which employers took advantage of their employees' needs to drive them to the limit of their power to work, and to pay them unduly low wages.

Over the period covered by this study there were two methods for protecting workers. One was legislation which set minimum wages, maximum hours, and health standards. The other was to organize labour unions to bargain more effectively for the same objectives. Because he was motivated by profits the employer rarely accepted responsibility when his employee was laid off or lost time through sickness, accident, or old age.

After the Second World War Canadian governments gradually introduced a programme of social security; by the end of the First World War the idea of the welfare state in Canada was still in the stage of idealistic proposals on the part of labour and church organizations. What dominated Anglican thought on economic issues during this period was the relationship between capital and labour, between employer and employee.

The growing strength of labour during the war contributed in large measure to the greater interest which churchmen showed in labour's cause during this period.<sup>1</sup> The war resulted in a tremendous increase in the industrialization of Canada and in the strength and importance of labour unions. The steel industry, the base of an industrial economy, increased its capacity by 125 per cent between 1914 and 1918, from one million ingot tons to two and a quarter million.<sup>2</sup> Mining and refining also registered large increases, while secondary industries developed to meet the demand for goods no longer available through importation.<sup>3</sup>

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1 See R. C. Blagrove, "The Church and the Labour Problem," in CC, 22 August 1918, p. 540.

2 W. T. Easterbrook and Hugh G. T. Aitken, Canadian Economic History, Toronto, 1956, p. 519.

3 Ibid., pp. 518-520.

Both the labour force and organized labour unions experienced similar growth. After reaching a high point of 1,078 locals with 175,799 members in 1913, union strength declined temporarily as the result of the depression and wartime recruitment.<sup>4</sup> Wartime prosperity brought increasing strength to labour's position. By the end of 1917 membership in unions reached 204,630 in 1,974 locals, and by 1919 the figures were 378,047 in 2,847 locals, more than double the figures for 1913.

During the war organized labour became a force to be reckoned with. An economic order which led to workers and their employers being frequently at loggerheads became a subject for closer examination by persons interested in the welfare of society. The causes of strikes, the conditions under which employees lived and worked, the means by which they tried to better their lot, all these matters began to concern Anglicans to a far greater extent than ever before. Homfray Michell, editor of the CSS Bulletin, concluded that the agony and sacrifice of war would have been in vain if there should be no peace between capital and labour after the war.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Harold A. Logan, A History of Trade Union Organization in Canada, Chicago, 1928, pp. 123, 130.

<sup>5</sup> Industrial Unrest, Bulletin No. 7, December 1917, p. 8.

The first official expression of Anglican concern for working people at the General Synod level came in the last report of the Committee on Moral and Social Reform before this body was replaced by the new Council for Social Service. This 1915 report, in a series of questions, suggested the Church's obligation to take a practical interest in the wage earners of the country. It asked: "What are the conditions of the wage earning population, their nationality, their hours, their wages, their housing--are they such as make it possible for men to live? [...] What is the Church doing to alleviate distress?"<sup>6</sup> These questions were rhetorical, and the Committee went no further than to ask them. Only after the establishment of the CSS by this same General Synod was there a serious attempt to be concerned with the answers. Through issues of the Bulletin and articles in the Canadian Churchman, the Council began to educate the members of the Church in understanding the demands of working people for fair wages, reasonable hours, decent living and working conditions, and for collective bargaining as a means to achieve these other aims.

In one of the first issues of the Bulletin to deal with the conflict between capital and labour, Michell presented the arguments used by both sides. Labour, for its part, claimed that capital obtained both rent and interest,

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6 GSJP, 1915, pp. 258-59.

and then took the profits made at labour's expense as well.<sup>7</sup> In reply, the employer asserted that he took all the risks; if the business failed, he lost everything. In any case the profits of the good years only compensated for the losses of the bad years.

Such was the position of the two sides as Michell presented it. He then asked if the Church was called upon to pronounce a verdict in disputes between the two sides. Michell's position was that, human nature being what it is, both sides sought their own interests and each was blind to the other's viewpoint; therefore there was right and wrong on both sides.<sup>8</sup> Michell was speaking in general terms and did not illustrate what he meant with any examples from actual disputes. Although he held that the Church should not take sides, he thought it should try to act as a peacemaker and mediator, in the full knowledge that in so doing the Church might well draw the wrath of both sides. At the same time he rejected a neutral role for the Church when obvious evils were the issue, as when the profiteer grew rich on sweated labour. Then it was the Church's duty to tell the profiteer that he was as abominable "as the assassin and the incendiary."<sup>9</sup>

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7 Bulletin No. 7, p. 5.

8 Ibid., p. 9.

9 Ibid.

To Michell the working-man's dissatisfaction went deeper than a desire for what he considered to be his fair share of the profits. He was seeking a sense of partnership and equality in industry as much as higher wages. Unions were the one means through which the workers could achieve some degree of equality, and Michell therefore favoured stronger unions and the workers' right to collective bargaining. To encourage Anglicans to take a stand in support of unions, he referred to a report of the Episcopal (or Anglican) Church in the United States, which claimed the Church should support labour unions because they were essential to the well-being of working people.<sup>10</sup>

Michell urged both capital and labour to show consideration for the viewpoint and claims of the other. Where labour and management failed to reach agreement in the bargaining process, Michell favoured arbitration, rather than the strike, as a means for reaching a settlement. His position was that of the conservative who believed that the good of the whole of society should take precedence over the aims of particular groups concerned only with their own gain.

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<sup>10</sup> Ibid., p. 15. Michell is here referring to "The Report of the Joint Commission on the Relations of Capital and Labour," Journal of General Convention, 1904, Appendix III, Protestant Episcopal Church of America.

Michell also supported certain specific aims of labour such as the demand for a shorter working day.<sup>11</sup> He attributed much of the criticism of the working-man to the ignorance of his critics. He gave factual information on the laws of Great Britain and of those Canadian provinces which set limits to hours of work for employees. To justify the shorter working day to employers, he used the doctrine of diminishing returns to show that long hours injured the employers themselves, because workers with long hours produced even less than with the shorter day. British manufacturers, who had earlier claimed that restrictions on hours of work would ruin them, found this claim to be false when they reduced the hours of work. On the other hand, when employers required longer hours from British workers in an attempt to increase production in the early years of the war, production actually declined.

Michell also gave humanitarian reasons for the shorter working day.<sup>12</sup> Employees should have sufficient energy after work for recreation. In answer to the argument that workers would misuse leisure time, Michell claimed the evidence revealed just the opposite; it was when workers were exhausted

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11 The Shorter Working Day, Bulletin No. 17, October 1918.

12 Ibid., pp. 10-13.

by their labours that they spent their spare time drinking because they were too tired to do anything else. Michell's whole aim was to persuade Anglicans to accept shorter hours for workers, whether the aim was achieved through union action or government legislation.

But shorter hours implied the necessity of sufficient pay rates to provide a living wage. Michell approved the minimum wage laws already in effect in Great Britain and in the provinces of British Columbia, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Nova Scotia, and Ontario.<sup>13</sup> Although he recognized that a law establishing minimum wages "strikes at the whole concept of free competition,"<sup>14</sup> he still urged the adoption of such laws throughout Canada as a worthwhile experiment and as the only expedient for preventing employers from taking advantage of sweated labour.

On the three subjects of labour unions, shorter hours, and minimum wages, Michell presented Anglicans with affirmative, reasonable, and persuasive arguments for supporting workers in their demands. In so doing he was not alone in seeking to educate Anglicans in the justice of labour's cause. Another Anglican who supported labour on the basis of the conservative view that the corporate welfare of society takes

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<sup>13</sup> The Minimum Wage, Bulletin No. 18, November 1918, pp. 5-8, 13.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., p. 2.

precedence over special interests was R. C. Blagrave. The latter described unions as "an important asset in social righteousness and justice,"<sup>15</sup> and he called on the Church to recognize the rightful roles of unions. Workers had to deal with the very real and deadly greed and selfishness of the capitalist, even though the latter was not selfish because he was a capitalist, but because he was a human being. Still the greed was a fact which the workers had to deal with, and organization alone provided them with the means to do combat.

Blagrave also saw in the current tendency to give labour a voice in industrial management and a share in industrial success a means of reconciling the interests of capital and labour and thus of avoiding combat. He did not say what specific cases he had in mind, but it is possible that in the first instance he was thinking of the Whitley Councils in Britain. These were joint boards of employers and employees, established in industry by the British government as a means for settling disputes over working conditions during the war. The second reference seems to be to plans for profit-sharing.

Blagrave also cautioned the Church against wholehearted support for labour. Like Michell he held the

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<sup>15</sup> R. C. Blagrave, "The Church and the Labour Problem," Part 2, CC, 29 August 1918, p. 556. The first part appeared in the issue of 22 August 1918, p. 540.

conservative interpretation of human nature; workers were also human, and therefore, like capitalists, selfish and primarily concerned with their own interests. Even before the publication of W. L. Mackenzie King's Industry and Humanity which brought out the same point,<sup>16</sup> Blagrave reminded his readers of the existence of a large third party, the community itself, which had no organization to uphold its interests in industrial disputes. It was the Church's duty to recognize the rights and claims of this third party in any dispute between capital and labour.

Also in 1918 Canon Tucker urged his fellow clergy to establish friendly relations with labour organizations.<sup>17</sup> As if following his suggestion, Anglican clergy of the city of Toronto later sponsored a dinner to give them the opportunity to meet with local labour leaders.<sup>18</sup> Two outside bishops, J. C. Farthing of Montreal,<sup>19</sup> and J. C. Roper of Ottawa,<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> W. L. Mackenzie King, Industry and Humanity: A Study in the Principles Underlying Industrial Reconstruction, Toronto, November 1918, pp. 134-35.

<sup>17</sup> L. N. Tucker, "Social Service Plans," CC, 7 February 1918, p. 87.

<sup>18</sup> CC, 8 May 1918, p. 303.

<sup>19</sup> John Cragg Farthing, served in Diocese of Huron, 1885-1906; Dean of Ontario and rector of St. George's Cathedral, Kingston, 1906-1908; Bishop of Montreal, 1909-39; died 1947.

<sup>20</sup> John Charles Roper, Bishop of British Columbia, 1912-15; Bishop of Ottawa, 1915-33; Archbishop of Ottawa and Metropolitan of Ontario, 1933-39; died 1940.

also attended. P. M. Draper,<sup>21</sup> Secretary-Treasurer of the Trades and Labour Congress, told the clergy present that when there was labour trouble they should try to discover its cause. Another labour man, James Gunn, informed the gathering that labour was seeking industrial democracy, by which he meant that labour wanted a larger share of the profits which labour helped to create, and also, through its representatives, participation in the operation of industry.

Replying for the clergy, Canon H. P. Plumptre chose to answer critics who charged Anglicans with lacking concern for the working-man. To prove that Anglicans were not behind other denominations in their concern, he read some resolutions which he claimed had recently been approved by Anglican Churches in England, the United States, and Canada. According to Plumptre these resolutions called for a living wage, better housing, provision for the unemployed, recognition of workers as partners in industry, and greater opportunity for the children of workers to obtain an education.<sup>22</sup> Plumptre himself was ordained in England and he apparently drew no

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21 Patrick Martin Draper, 1868-1943; worked for the Government Printing Bureau in Ottawa, 1888-1933; in 1921 became Director of Printing; Member of Typographical Union 1888 and its President, 1893-1902 and again 1928-43; Secretary-Treasurer of Trades and Labour Congress of Canada, 1900-35, President, 1935-39; adviser to Prime Minister Borden on labour matters at Versailles, 1919.

22 CC, 8 May 1918, p. 305.

distinction between the various national branches of the Church. In his view Canadian Anglicans shared in the credit for resolutions passed by the English and American Churches. Whatever Canadian resolutions he might have had in mind, it was not until the following September that General Synod approved the reforms he mentioned at the dinner.

The Toronto dinner helped to prepare the way for the General Synod of 1918 to pay more attention to labour than any of its predecessors had done. The discussion on labour followed presentation of the CSS report, whose section on "Industrial Life" advocated that the Church be prepared to act as mediator and reconciler between capital and labour, as well as to show "its sympathy with all legitimate aspirations and ideals of labouring men [...]." <sup>23</sup> In order that their message might be intelligent and helpful to contemporary society, the report urged churchmen to study the principles underlying industrial operations.

In the discussion on the report the status quo element contended that it was not the duty of the Church to interfere in matters concerning capital and labour. <sup>24</sup> Anticipating this argument the CSS report pointed out that the physical conditions of life were inevitably intertwined with moral and

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23 GSJP, 1918, p. 309.

24 Toronto Globe, 18 September 1918, p. 8.

spiritual conditions. More penetrating still was the observation that, whereas the Church in the past had always believed itself responsible for the sick and the poor, it could no longer provide all the charity needed, and must therefore go to the causes of these evils: the slums, sweated labour, and low wages to girls, conditions which the report associated with working people.<sup>25</sup>

To some Synod delegates like Canon Plumptre the CSS report did not show enough concern for the working-man.<sup>26</sup> In an attempt to commit the Church to specific aims on behalf of labour, Plumptre gave notice of a motion which expressed sympathy with the demand for a minimum wage and for recognition of the status of the workman in industry. He included state protection against unemployment as another reform he would like to see instituted.

Before Plumptre's motion came up for debate, two lay delegates, G. C. Copley and C. J. Scott, presented another motion calling for a special study, "in view of unsatisfactory relations that too often exist between Capital and Labour, the employer and the employed [...]," with the objective of improving industrial conditions "and solving industrial

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25 GSJP, 1918, p. 312.

26 Toronto Globe, 18 September 1918, p. 8.

problems according to the teaching of Christ."<sup>27</sup> This motion omitted the specific recommendations of Plumptre's motion. It is apparent that the Synod wanted more than general resolutions, for the defect in the Copley-Scott motion was to some extent corrected by an amendment moved by the Reverend W. H. Vance and seconded by Bishop Charles D. Schofield, which added the words "and this Synod recommends as a guide to this study, the principles adopted by the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America as found [...] in [...] the report."<sup>28</sup>

These principles were much more comprehensive than the three points recommended by Plumptre. The American statement endorsed equal rights and complete justice for all men in all stations of life; the protection of workers from hardships caused by industrial change; the principle of conciliation and arbitration in industrial disputes; the protection of workers from the hazards of their work; the abolition of child labour; regulations to protect women; suppression of the sweating system; the gradual and reasonable reduction of hours of work to the lowest practicable point, with one day off in seven; and a living wage as a minimum, along with the highest wage each industry could afford.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> GSJP, 1918, p. 98.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., pp. 98, 99. The principles referred to had been included in the CSS report.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., p. 314.

The amended motion satisfied Plumptre, who withdrew his motion, and Synod approved the new motion. Synod also approved the CSS report, which included these principles, and thereby again expressed general approval of them. They provided standards against which churchmen could compare actual circumstances and by which they could judge the issues in actual conflicts between employers and employees. Also, if carried through, study would be more effective in awakening Anglican interest in labour conditions than a motion which endorsed specific reforms, but which also might be quickly forgotten.

The 1918 General Synod took a further step, one which might be classified as only public relations, but which is significant in that it further demonstrates the attitude of Anglicans to labour at this particular time. Perhaps as a consequence of the Toronto dinner, the Synod delegates decided to send greetings to the Trades and Labour Congress then in session. The Synod approved a resolution which conveyed warmest greetings to the Congress, commended labour for its contribution to the war effort, assured the Congress of the Synod's sympathy with all who sought to improve social conditions, and finally expressed a desire for more cordial and closer relations between the Church and labour.<sup>30</sup> One

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<sup>30</sup> Ibid., pp. 136, 239.

opponent of the motion was answered with cries of dissent when he contended that the Trades and Labour Congress should not be given credit for what had been done by individuals.<sup>31</sup> Nor did another delegate receive much support for his claim that the terms used in the resolution were too flattering.<sup>32</sup> Only six delegates voted against the resolution, a fact which shows how small was the hard core of churchmen opposed to the Church showing interest in labour matters at this time.

Thus wartime idealism among Anglicans found expression in their support for the right of workers to organize unions and to bargain through them, and to seek to improve their wages, hours of work, and working conditions, either through unions or through legislation. In supporting such practical measures on behalf of labour Anglicans indicated the path they would follow in the years ahead.

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31 Toronto Daily Mail and Empire, 20 September 1918, p. 5.

32 Toronto Globe, 20 September 1918, p. 5.

## CHAPTER VI

### BETWEEN WAR AND DEPRESSION I. FURTHER ATTACKS ON LAISSEZ-FAIRE CAPITALISM

The attacks on laissez-faire capitalism and the momentum to reform the economic order continued for about two years after the end of the war. Indeed, once the war was over, reformers in church and state were able to give more attention to the consideration of ways and means of improving the economic system. At the same time persons who desired to maintain the status quo also began to make their voices heard. The result was verbal conflict between the latter and the reformers. Ultimately the reform movement stalled and little was accomplished in the post-war decade.

Once the war was over some Canadians simply wished to return to what they thought were the good old days before the war.<sup>1</sup> The editor of the Churchman revealed his awareness of the situation. While admitting that "a false sense of moral earnestness was created by war conditions," he also strongly opposed certain elements who said: "The war is over. An end to all this business of reform. We do not have to consider it."<sup>2</sup> He still believed that the Church had to have

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<sup>1</sup> For the conclusion that this attitude was common to the victorious western nations see Edward Hallett Carr, Conditions of Peace, New York, 1943, pp. ix, x.

<sup>2</sup> CC, 27 February 1919, p. 131.

more to give the returning soldiers and the unemployed than the well-worn platitudes of contentment and resignation.

Even within the Church there was conflict over the issue of economic reform. In 1920 the Toronto Diocesan Council for Social Service refused to endorse the famous Fifth Report of the Church of England.<sup>3</sup> The Reverend T. F. Summerhayes explained the Council's attitude in a letter to the Churchman. Against the claim of the Fifth Report that competition was unchristian and that co-operation was the only Christian basis for trade, Summerhayes set the declaration of "our own Board of Commerce"<sup>4</sup> that competition was needed to relieve high prices. He declared himself ready to accept competition as entirely Christian, because competition would have the good effect of lowering prices. On the other hand he concluded that co-operation might be unchristian in aim, spirit, and method, because manufacturers "co-operated" to fix prices. But, as the Reverend William Westell pointed out, quoting Maurice and Kingsley to prove his point,

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<sup>3</sup> So named because it was the fifth in a series of reports made by five committees appointed by the English Archbishops during the Great War. The Fifth Report dealt with the role and attitude of the Church of England to the industrial problems of the day. R. H. Tawney was probably responsible for writing most of it. See M. B. Reckitt, Maurice to Temple: A Century of the Social Movement in the Church of England, London, n.d., p. 162.

<sup>4</sup> CC, 8 April 1920, p. 242.

Summerhayes was playing with words and twisting the meaning of the terms "co-operation" and "competition."<sup>5</sup> According to Westell, under a co-operative system factors other than competition would work to keep prices down for the consumer, whereas under the competitive system manufacturers charged the highest prices the market would stand.

Summerhayes had also argued that the Church had nowhere officially endorsed the Fifth Report. Indeed he claimed that a number of prominent English churchmen such as Dr. Headlam and Dr. Inge, as well as the Church of England newspaper, the Guardian, had actually condemned it. Summerhayes described these critics of the Fifth Report as leaders of modern progressive thought. To one modern scholar they represented the most reactionary element in the Church of England in their position on social issues.<sup>6</sup>

Expressions of support for laissez-faire capitalism such as that made by Summerhayes were rare among churchmen in the immediate post-war years. On the contrary many church leaders tried to arouse church members from their indifference.

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<sup>5</sup> Letter to editor, CC, 15 April 1920, p. 254.

<sup>6</sup> John Oliver, The Church and Social Order: Social Thought in the Church of England, 1918-1939, London, 1968, pp. 48-53, 91, 204. Also, two weeks after Summerhayes' letter appeared, a review of Inge's Outspoken Essays pointed out that Inge indicted both democracy and the labour movement. The reviewer concluded that Inge was out of touch with real men and women. See CC, 22 April 1920, p. 266.

Some even took the approach that reform was necessary to prevent a possible revolution within the nation. To Bishop Farthing of Montreal, speaking shortly after the end of the war, society was in the midst of the greatest revolution in the world's history. He saw unrest everywhere. "We all feel as if everything around us were inflammable, and the application of a match would set the whole mass ablaze."<sup>7</sup>

In the context of several other statements to be considered in this and the next chapter, this warning of revolution reveals more concern with the poor and the economically oppressed than it does fear. At the same time Farthing saw stable government as the prerequisite for dealing with the problems of the day. He also saw the removal of injustice as a necessary measure to avoid revolution, and one to which the Church should contribute. An Anglican layman expressed a similar point of view in a letter to the Churchman, in which he claimed that the answer to revolution was to seek out its causes and to try to direct the efforts of revolutionaries towards the removal of obstructions to reform.<sup>8</sup> Homfray Michell, editor of the CSS Bulletin, likewise believed that society had a choice between revolution and reform. Men could

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7 CC, 27 February 1919, p. 139.

8 W. F. Clarke, "The Spirit of Revolution and How to Meet It," CC, 13 February 1919, pp. 102, 103.

neither abolish the present system nor disregard its imperfections. To do the latter would open the way for its destruction.<sup>9</sup>

Probably the greatest cause of unrest among workers was wartime profiteering.<sup>10</sup> Indeed the high profits of some industries during the war aroused resentment that was widespread throughout the whole population. The editor of the Churchman expressed some of this feeling in an attack on the men who had made millions in the food, paper, leather, and clothing industries during the war. In his opinion their name would "always be spelt with a capital P for Profiteers."<sup>11</sup> Homfray Michell also blamed profiteering by industries both for high prices and for much of labour's resentment and unrest. In one of his articles<sup>12</sup> he referred to the testimony of W. E. Paton, manager of the Paton Manufacturing Company of Sherbrooke, Quebec, before the committee of the House of Commons investigating the high cost of living in June 1919. Paton frankly admitted, "Our [...] mill was not built to the glory of God, but to make money for the shareholders [...]."<sup>13</sup> His company,

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9 The Social Structure, Bulletin No. 45, April 1921,

10 CAR, 1918, pp. 327-30.

11 CC, 3 April 1919, p. 211.

12 CC, 26 June 1919, p. 409.

13 Journals of the House of Commons, Appendix to Volume XV, p. 341. Michell did not refer to Paton by name.

with a capital investment of \$600,000, made a profit of 197.91% in the period 1913-19. With regard to wartime profits, Paton testified, "I think a man who could not make a little money during the war with all the business he could handle-- there is something wrong with his intelligence."<sup>14</sup> Such remarks disgusted Michell, and he could understand why they aroused bitterness among wage-earners. Still, to Michell the methods of men like Paton were not a necessary and integral part of the capitalistic system; they were an evil accretion, to be removed by government legislation.<sup>15</sup> In taking the position that government should act to curb abuses in the free enterprise system, Michell revealed that he was no supporter of laissez-faire and that he wished to preserve capitalism by removing obvious evils connected with its operation.

Michell, in company with a great many Canadian Anglicans, found inspiration and direction for his desire to improve the economic system in the Fifth Report on "Christianity and Industrial Problems." To Michell this report was "admirable in every way--logical in its treatment, restrained in its language and eminently fair in its conclusions."<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> Ibid., p. 358.

<sup>15</sup> CC, 10 July 1919, p. 441.

<sup>16</sup> H. Michell, "Christianity's Industrial Problems," CC, 30 January 1919, p. 69.

To the Churchman it was a document which every intelligent church member should possess.<sup>18</sup> The Canadian Primate, Archbishop Matheson, in addressing the 1919 Synod of the Diocese of Rupert's Land, described the report as "an extremely masterly and luminous document,"<sup>19</sup> which left no doubt in the mind of anyone reading it as to where the Church stood. He saw it as the answer to critics who accused the Church of not taking a position on social and economic issues. By 1920 the report was being hailed as a "landmark defining with definiteness and courage the Church's attitude to social and economic problems,"<sup>20</sup> according to Canon Plumptre of Toronto. It also received strong endorsement from the Council for Social Service, which published the second chapter in an issue of the Bulletin,<sup>21</sup> and also used this issue as a text at church summer schools in 1920. The Council's report to the 1921 General Synod again recommended the Fifth Report for study by church members.

The Fifth Report traced the development of laissez-faire capitalism from the Industrial Revolution and the economic theories of Adam Smith, Thomas Malthus, and David

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18 CC, 30 January 1919, p. 69.

19 The Journal of the Synod of Rupert's Land, 1919, p. 34.

20 CC, 11 March 1920, p. 167.

21 Bulletin No. 35, April 1920.

Ricardo. It rejected the generally accepted premise that economic matters constituted an autonomous domain governed by its own laws and independent of other social and moral considerations. It denied as well that there could be a sharp distinction between the life of the individual and "the organised arrangements of society."<sup>22</sup> It described as "economic Machiavellianism"<sup>23</sup> the belief that economic and industrial activities could only be judged by economic results and had nothing to do with moral principles. In its analysis of laissez-faire capitalism and of the principles upon which that system was based, the Fifth Report constituted an effective denunciation of that system.

Another document which gave authoritative support to Canadian Anglicans who sought reform of the economic order was the report of the Committee on Industrial and Social Problems of the 1920 Lambeth Conference. After acknowledging its debt to the Fifth Report, this committee rejected as false the premise of free enterprise competitive capitalism that the greatest benefit came to society as the result of different groups and individuals following their own self-interest.<sup>24</sup> The consequence of following this principle was not justice,

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22 Ibid., p. 4.

23 Ibid., p. 5.

<sup>24</sup> Conference of Bishops of the Anglican Communion Holden at Lambeth Palace July 5 to August 7, 1920, Encyclical Letter from the Bishops with the Resolutions and Reports, London, 1920, 2nd ed., p. 67.

but a mere trial of strength. Capitalism had also constructed its edifice on the premise that economic laws which operated apart from people controlled the economic system. To the Committee on Industrial and Social Problems, this premise was an unreal abstraction. The Committee held that people, not laws, were responsible for the use of capital. If people who controlled capital were Christians, they must consider more than security and profit.

The Committee was not content to rely either upon such theoretical Christian individuals for improvement in the economic system or upon a piecemeal removal of economic injustice. Its Resolution 74, which the Conference endorsed, urged a fundamental change in the economic system, by which the principle of co-operation for the common good would replace the principle of competition for private gain.<sup>25</sup> In passing this resolution the Conference upheld the basic Anglican belief that the good of the whole of society was more important than its individual members.

Among Canadian Anglicans the Lambeth conclusions on economic issues received much favourable response. Bulletin No. 44 of March 1921 gave a résumé of the most important conclusions and wrote of the world-wide interest aroused by the Lambeth resolutions and reports. The Canadian Churchman gave a large

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<sup>25</sup> Ibid., p. 46.

part of one issue to the Lambeth Report, paying special attention to its conclusions on economic issues.<sup>26</sup> The Council for Social Service asked church members who planned to attend summer schools sponsored by the Council in 1921 to prepare to study the theme "The Social Task of the Church as seen by the Lambeth Conference" by studying Bulletin No. 44. In spite of this initial interest in the Lambeth findings, not much attention was paid to them for the rest of the decade, but with the renewed interest in economic reform aroused by the Great Depression and the Second World War proponents of reform frequently referred to the Lambeth Report of 1920 to support their position.<sup>27</sup>

The dependence of Canadian Anglicans on the Fifth Report and the Lambeth resolutions, both of which reflected English influence, suggests that there was little original thought among Canadian Anglicans on the subject of reform of the economic order. Nevertheless one Canadian did make some intellectual contribution to the subject. He was Homfray Michell, editor of the CSS Bulletin, who both defended

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26 CC, 2 September 1920, pp. 568-72, 586.

27 E.g., F. J. Moore, "The Challenge of this Hour," CC, 14 May 1931, p. 310; F. J. Moore, "Caesar and God," CC, 15 November 1931, p. 715; Christian Responsibility in a New World, Bulletin No. 101, November 1940, p. 5; Religion, Revolution and Restoration, Bulletin No. 103, February 1941, p. 1; Industrial Relations, Bulletin No. 114, 25 April 1944, p. 1.

capitalism and urged its reform. Michell suggested to critics of competitive capitalism that, before condemning this system completely, they should ask if any other system were possible.<sup>28</sup> His own opinion was that it was futile and harmful to think that competition could be abolished since it allowed for the imperfection of human nature. The Russian experiment, on the other hand, was bound to fail because it was founded on a misconception of man's fundamental nature.<sup>29</sup> The fallacy of most socialist programmes was the belief that man is naturally capable of perfect altruism and only evil systems have prevented him from attaining such a state.

Although Michell recognized some good in competition, he admitted that capitalism failed to allow for the co-operative side of human nature, which sprang from the social aspect of man's nature. Only by appealing to men's altruistic sensibilities could the obvious and undeniable faults in the capitalistic system be removed.<sup>30</sup> For capitalism did indeed need mending. If it was to be made to work, men had to eliminate its cruel, unjust, and inhuman faults.<sup>31</sup>

Michell, in his semi-official capacity as editor of the Bulletin and as the writer of the CSS articles which appeared in the Churchman, remained the chief spokesman for

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28 Bulletin No. 45, p. 7.

29 Ibid., pp. 8, 9.      30 Ibid., p. 14.      31 Ibid., p. 13.

the Church until he relinquished these responsibilities in 1923. Of course his was not the only voice which criticized laissez-faire capitalism and called for its reform during the decade between war and depression. Bishop Farthing of Montreal, for example, continued to speak out on the subject. In 1922, when unemployment was widespread, he concluded that there was something fundamentally wrong with the economic system when honest and industrious men could not find work.<sup>32</sup> In 1926 he claimed that the thousands on relief demonstrated the failure of our economic and social system.<sup>33</sup> Nothing, according to Farthing, was so dangerous as a laissez-faire policy in the face of present conditions. Implied in this statement was the same warning that the bishop had expressed in 1919, that revolution was a possibility unless reforms were implemented.

Between 1921 and 1926 the Canadian Churchman kept pressure on the Church to support changes by its intermittent criticism of the economic system. One editorial, which asserted that systems like communism and socialism were fundamentally attempts to meet the lack of fellowship in society, also condemned as a sin "this damned, heartless waste of wealth, and vulgar display and extravagance"<sup>34</sup> associated with

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<sup>32</sup> CC, 4 May 1922, p. 288.

<sup>33</sup> CC, 6 May 1926, p. 279.

<sup>34</sup> "Fellowship Not in the Church," CC, 10 March 1921, p. 149.

contemporary society. Later, when commenting on the General Synod of 1921, the editor declared that the Church must denounce political, social, and economic conditions which were contrary to the known will of God, or lose her life."<sup>35</sup>

Several editorials during these post-war years emphasized that it was the function of religion "not merely to save the individual and fit him for the life to come, but also to save, to regenerate society, and to fit it [...] for life, in its fullest meaning, here."<sup>36</sup>

The editor of the Churchman, the Reverend E. A. McIntyre, also recognized as a significant event the interdenominational Conference of Christian Politics, Economics, and Citizenship (generally referred to as COPEC) held in Birmingham, England, in 1924. Several months prior to the opening of the conference the editor described its background, as well as its aim, which was to discover how to apply the principles of Christianity to social and economic problems.<sup>37</sup> After the conference the Churchman published editorials on it and also extracts from the reports of the various conference

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<sup>35</sup> "The Business of General Synod," editorial in CC, 6 October 1921, p. 599.

<sup>36</sup> "Building the City of God," CC, 24 May 1923, cover; see also issues of 7 June 1923, p. 358; 26 July 1923, p. 476; 19 June 1924, p. 389.

<sup>37</sup> "C.O.P.E.C.," editorial in CC, 3 January 1924, p. 9.

committees,<sup>38</sup> thus showing the paper's continuing interest in economic reform. Although COPEC added little to the position of Anglicans on this subject, it helped to keep before churchmen the idea of bringing the social and economic order into harmony with Christian principles. It reaffirmed the goal of procuring the predominance of co-operation and service over the motive of gain, and of attaining a more just distribution of wealth.<sup>39</sup>

Nevertheless the demand for reform of the economic order lost almost all its vigour during the late 1920s. Doubtless Homfray Michell's retirement as editor of the CSS Bulletin in 1923 and the death of McIntyre of the Churchman in 1926 both contributed to the declining interest in economic reform among Canadian Anglicans. In spite of having a full-time General Secretary, the CSS paid little attention to this subject during the decade, nor did the General Synods of 1921, 1924, and 1927. Certainly after 1926, with the return of prosperity and less labour unrest, the Church's loss of interest reflected that of the country generally.

However, in the 1920s, the CSS and General Synod did show some interest in social security. The first social

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<sup>38</sup> Issues of 15 May 1924, p. 316, 22 May 1924, pp. 325, 334; 7 August 1924, p. 507.

<sup>39</sup> See The Proceedings of C.O.P.E.C., Being a Report of the Meetings of the Conference on Christian Politics, Economics and Citizenship, held in Birmingham, April 5-12, 1924, London, 1924, esp. p. 389.

security measure to receive support from Anglicans after the war was unemployment insurance. The International Labour Conference which met in Washington in 1919 had endorsed unemployment insurance as a necessary measure for the protection of workers.<sup>40</sup> Canon Vernon expected that the 1921 session of Parliament would consider unemployment insurance,<sup>41</sup> and the report on unemployment adopted by the Executive Committee of the CSS in December 1920 urged the government to bring forward such a plan to combat the hardships that the unemployed were then suffering.<sup>42</sup> To Homfray Michell the case for unemployment insurance was unassailable; it had proved a great success in practice in Great Britain.<sup>43</sup> He also saw it as a means of alleviating hardship during times of economic depression.<sup>44</sup> Yet, in spite of the support of Michell and the Executive Committee, the CSS in its report to the 1921 General Synod described the question of such insurance as still an open one. It merited earnest consideration, but might be found impracticable under Canadian

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<sup>40</sup> CAR, 1919, pp. 515-18. As part of the organization of the League of Nations such conferences were to be held annually.

<sup>41</sup> C. W. Vernon, "The Question of Unemployment," CC, 9 December 1920, p. 802.

<sup>42</sup> Unemployment I, Bulletin No. 42, January 1921, p. 19.

<sup>43</sup> Unemployment II, Bulletin No. 43, February 1921, pp. 7, 8.

<sup>44</sup> Work and Wages, Bulletin No. 49, August 1921, p. 12.

conditions.<sup>45</sup> As the report pointed out, the various recommendations of the International Labour Organization came under provincial jurisdiction. Of the Canadian provinces, only British Columbia had adopted them, subject to the other provinces doing the same. To facilitate agreement among the provinces in the matter, the Council recommended a federal-provincial conference.<sup>46</sup>

The Council went beyond unemployment insurance in its support for social security measures. Its 1921 report also called for "Widows' Pensions."<sup>47</sup> After General Synod had adopted this section of the report, it also approved a motion which congratulated those provinces which had already passed Mothers' Allowance legislation.<sup>48</sup>

Old Age Pension legislation was another important social security measure which had its beginning in Canada in the 1920s. The Canadian Churchman exhibited support for such a measure before it was approved by the House of Commons in May 1926.<sup>49</sup> Although such items would have little effect on government policy, they would help to win support from the paper's readers for that policy. It must be remembered that

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<sup>45</sup> GSJP, 1921, p. 380.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid., p. 375. <sup>47</sup> Ibid., p. 371. <sup>48</sup> Ibid., p. 95.

<sup>49</sup> See Fabius, "From Week to Week," CC, 25 March 1926, p. 185; "The Virtue of Old Age Pensions," editorial in CC, 1 April 1926, p. 205.

it took another year to win the Senate's approval for the bill, and that the plan itself required the provinces to participate and to pay their share of the cost. Therefore any statements which encouraged public support contributed to the ultimate acceptance of a pension scheme for needy Canadians.

This small beginning of social security measures in the form of Mothers' Allowances and Old Age Pensions, along with the demand for unemployment insurance, shows the development of some consensus among Canadians that the country should accept responsibility for needy citizens. Through the support of institutions like the CSS and the Canadian Churchman Anglicans made some contribution toward the development of that consensus.

Anglicans also contributed to reform of the economic order by their condemnations, early in the decade, of the operation of laissez-faire capitalism. Although the voice of criticism became muted in the years of prosperity, it soon revived with the onset of the depression. In the years of depression and renewed war, reform-minded Anglicans would have the base of these earlier criticisms of the economic system from which to launch a fresh attack on that system and to call for its reform.

## CHAPTER VII

### BETWEEN WAR AND DEPRESSION II. THE RISE AND DECLINE OF CONCERN FOR LABOUR

Anglican concern for labour continued longer into the post-war decade than did their demands for the reform of laissez-faire capitalism. This concern revolved around the issues of wages, hours of work, working conditions, and, most important of all, the relationship between labour and management.

In their attitude to labour Anglicans both showed general sympathy and support for the demands of labour, and also set limits to that sympathy and support. As in other matters of social concern, Homfray Michell was the chief spokesman for the Church on labour issues from 1919 until he relinquished the post of editor of the Bulletin in 1923. Michell stressed that the aim of industrial workers was to be treated as partners in industry, and not as mere hands. He had concluded that the battle over wages and hours was taking second place to labour's desire for greater participation and responsibility in the over-all operation of industry. Doubtless he was influenced by labour spokesmen like James Gunn, who made such a claim at the dinner for labour leaders sponsored by the Toronto clergy in 1918. He also found English writers on labour issues taking a similar position. In

reviewing Labour and Capital after the War<sup>1</sup> Michell discovered that all contributors agreed that not only must labour receive a larger reward in the future, "but must also be admitted to an ample share in the management of industry."<sup>2</sup> He especially liked R. H. Tawney's contribution, which claimed that the most important labour issue was not material benefits but status and that industry needed a constitution which would guarantee workers a voice in management. The Committee on Industrial and Social Problems of the 1920 Lambeth Conference likewise affirmed that "any system which regards men and women as mere instruments for the production of wealth"<sup>3</sup> deserved the condemnation of the Church. The same idea was again put before Canadian Anglicans by the Churchman, which in a 1922 editorial urged that workers be treated as human beings and not as a commodity.<sup>4</sup>

There was, of course, no expectation that status alone ought to satisfy workers or replace the material benefits which many Anglicans saw as labour's due. Michell proposed

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1 S. J. Chapman (ed.), Labour and Capital after the War, London, 1918.

2 CC, 10 April 1919, p. 234.

3 Conference of Bishops of the Anglican Communion Holden at Lambeth Palace July 5 to August 7, 1920, Encyclical Letter from the Bishops with the Resolutions and Reports, 2nd ed., London, 1920, p. 68.

4 CC, 7 September 1922, p. 577.

that the wages of workers should be regarded as coming, not from the expenses of industry but from the rewards.<sup>5</sup> Inasmuch as such a change would at least place the welfare of workers on an equal footing with the making of profits, this reform would indeed have been a practical implementation of the general principles "co-operation instead of competition" and "partnership in industry." Canadian bishops like Farthing of Montreal and Thornloe of Algoma also called for a better deal for labour. To Farthing, workers had the right, not merely to a living wage, but also to comforts, pleasure, culture, and protection against sickness and old age.<sup>6</sup>

Thornloe supported the working-man's desire for a fair share of the profits of industry and also of the pleasures of life.<sup>7</sup> These bishops found support in the recommendation of the Lambeth Conference that certain reforms for the benefit of labour such as security against unemployment, reasonable leisure, safeguards to health, and a living wage sufficient for "a decent and complete, a cleanly and a noble life"<sup>8</sup> be adopted as the first charge against any industry.

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<sup>5</sup> Collective Bargaining, Bulletin No. 32, January 1920, p. 15.

<sup>6</sup> Proceedings of the Sixtieth Annual Synod of the Diocese of Montreal, 1919, p. 47.

<sup>7</sup> CC, 24 June 1920, p. 411.

<sup>8</sup> Lambeth 1920, p. 71.

During the depression of 1921 Michell extended the principles of workers' welfare before profits and of their participation in the operation of industry to include industry's responsibility for workers during slack times and layoffs. He agreed with labour leaders who asked that capital share with labour the losses of periods of depression.<sup>9</sup> Labour saw employers cutting their losses during bad times at the expense of their workers. Michell agreed with labour's argument that the workers should share during bad years in the profits made in good years. Three years later the Royal Commission which investigated unrest among Sydney steelworkers endorsed a similar proposal.<sup>10</sup>

Much of Anglican support for unions came from the belief that only through strong unions could workers achieve the participation in industry which they sought. The Lambeth Committee on Industrial and Social Problems had reservations as to the feasibility of the democratization of industry; yet it accepted as clearly evident that workers must have an adequate say as to the conditions under which they worked. To

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9 Work and Wages, Bulletin No. 49, August 21, p. 12.

10 Report of Commission appointed under Order in Council (P. C. 1929), September 22, 1923, to inquire into the Industrial Unrest among the Steel Workers at Sydney, N.S., creating conditions which have occasioned the calling out of the Active Militia in aid of the Civil Power and their retention for a considerable period of time in the areas affected, Ottawa, King's Printer, 1924, pp. 23, 24.

achieve that say they required the right to organize into unions.<sup>11</sup> Bishop Farthing informed his 1919 diocesan synod that trade unions were essential for preserving the rights of workers. In answer to people to whom unions were "red," Farthing informed his synod that unions were not to be confused with Bolshevism. Homfray Michell saw strong unions as providing workers with a sense of participation in industry because unions enabled them to have more control over the conditions under which they worked.<sup>12</sup> He supported collective bargaining both as a means by which workers could obtain tangible benefits and also because unions made workers less the underdogs and more the equal with management.

For a time Michell also supported industrial councils as another way of giving workers a greater sense of participation in industry. These councils were a wartime expedient devised by a British Government Commission in 1917.<sup>13</sup> The idea was picked up and strongly supported by W. L. Mackenzie King,<sup>14</sup> and by the Methodist Committee on the Church, the War,

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11 Lambeth 1920, p. 69.

12 Bulletin No. 32, pp. 10-12.

13 According to John Oliver, The Church and Social Order: Social Thought in the Church of England, 1918-1939, London, 1968, p. 43, n. 9. This committee, under the chairmanship of J. H. Whitley, recommended that national and local industrial councils consisting of representatives from both capital and labour be established in order to improve relations in industry.

14 W. L. Mackenzie King, Industry and Humanity: A Study in the Principles Underlying Industrial Reconstruction, Toronto, 1918, pp. 455-58.

and Patriotism, which informed the 1918 General Conference that anything less than industrial councils as a means of giving workers a voice in the operation of industry was intolerable in Canada.<sup>15</sup> Even more important, the Royal Commission on Industrial Relations, appointed by the Borden government in April 1919 to investigate industrial relations and to report on how they might be improved, strongly recommended Whitley Councils and proposed a bureau for promoting them.<sup>16</sup> The National Industrial Council, consisting of representatives of the federal and provincial governments, as well as of labour and industry, which met the following September, also approved the establishment of Joint Industrial Councils.<sup>17</sup> There seemed to be a consensus at the time that the way to improve industrial relations was some organization through which workers and management could iron out disagreements and work together in co-operation. In February 1919, Michell used one of his columns in the Canadian Churchman<sup>18</sup> to comment approvingly on a memorandum published by a group

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<sup>15</sup> Journal of Proceedings of the Tenth General Council of the Methodist Church, 1918, p. 292.

<sup>16</sup> CAR, 1919, pp. 506-508. Although the Department of Labour did not establish a special bureau, it did encourage the creation of Industrial Councils.

<sup>17</sup> CAR, 1919, p. 512.

<sup>18</sup> "Social Service Notes and News," CC, 13 February 1919, p. 103.

of twenty British Quaker employers, which recommended the establishment of shop committees of workers. The role of a shop committee was to co-operate with the employer in the management and discipline of the industry in matters of wage rates, shop rules, hiring and dismissal of employees, holidays, hours, health, canteen, and social work. Although not quite the same in organization as Industrial Councils, this system probably worked out much the same way in practice.

As might be expected then, Michell was greatly interested in seeing an industrial council actually established at the Dominion Textile Company of Kingston, Ontario.<sup>19</sup> In the fall of 1918 the workers in this plant had organized a Textile Workers Trade Union. In December they went on strike to enforce demands for a 15% wage increase, union recognition, and an eight-hour day. After nine weeks they had obtained none of these demands. When the company promised to improve working conditions and to work out a system of shop committees along the lines of the Whitley Report, the employees returned to work. These committees were to have the right to consult with management on all questions involving the welfare of the workers. Michell admitted that the arrangement did not give the workers a direct share in the operation of the plant, but at least it provided them with a means for making representations

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<sup>19</sup> "Social Service Notes and News," CC, 27 February 1919, p. 133.

to management on an official basis. Believing the company would follow a policy of full co-operation with its employees, he described the settlement as a great advance. Michell's conclusion was, "The programme of the Whitley report comes from the most expert opinion on labour matters in England, and it appears to be the best solution of labour problems yet offered."<sup>20</sup>

In spite of this apparent enthusiasm for industrial councils, Michell was cautious enough to note that the Dominion Textile arrangement was still in the experimental stage and that its success or failure would hang in the balance for a long time. Time would indeed reveal the weakness of these councils from the workers' point of view. As the Dominion Textile settlement showed, employers favoured a shop committee or some form of industrial council over a union. After all, such committees could discuss grievances, but had no authority to call workers out on strike to enforce their demands. The employees at Dominion Textile probably accepted an industrial council as a compromise which at least gave them some voice in discussions with management; they

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<sup>20</sup> Ibid. Michell made what appears to be his last comment on industrial councils in connection with the approval given to their establishment by the National Industrial Conference of 1919. He now saw them as possibly meeting the workers' need for a sense of participation in industry, and helping to replace the pride and interest in their work which they formerly possessed when they could look at their finished product. Bulletin No. 32, p. 13.

probably hoped also that the council would work out in practice. The true nature of Whitley Councils is summed up in Oliver's comment that they were intended to make the status quo more tolerable, and for this reason Christian social thinkers in Britain criticized them harshly.<sup>21</sup> Canadian labour evidently came to the same conclusion, for many a strike in the 1920s on into the Second World War was fought on the issue of replacing shop committees and company unions with strong and well organized unions under the control of the workers. Supporters of industrial councils in 1918-19 appear to have hoped that labour-management relations could be based on co-operation rather than on power. In that case Michell had good reason to be cautious in his support of the Kingston experiment with an industrial council.

Although church spokesmen obviously gave a great deal of verbal support to labour in the post-war period, this support was not unqualified. The same spokesmen frequently enunciated the principle that the Church should not take sides between capital and labour. R. C. Blgrave had already stated it in 1918.<sup>22</sup> Bishop Farthing moderated his strong pro-labour stand of 1919 with the warning that the Church could not be on the side of capital or labour, but must be

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21 Oliver, The Church and Social Order, p. 43, n. 9.

22 "The Church and the Labour Problem," CC, 22 August 1918, p. 540.

on the side of right and justice.<sup>23</sup> Archbishop Thornloe, although generally sympathetic to labour's demands, accused labour of using the very weapons of force and tyranny in trying to achieve its rights that it condemned capital for using against labour.<sup>24</sup> The editor of the Churchman also noted that labour, as well as capital, could be unjust and autocratic; both sides were motivated by their own self-interest. The Church therefore could not take sides in disputes between them "except where actual injustice is involved."<sup>25</sup>

Taking these statements at their face value shows that the Anglicans who made them based their position on the belief that both sides in labour disputes were motivated by self-interest and therefore neither side was entirely in the right. Although these spokesmen avoided any reference to specific disputes, Thornloe and McIntyre of the Churchman implied that the rightness of their position was verified in actual experience.

Possibly the "red scare" and the anti-labour reaction following the strikes of 1919 had induced a greater caution among church leaders. Of these strikes the one in Winnipeg

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23 Montreal Proceedings of Synod, 1919, pp. 46, 47.

24 CC, 24 June 1920, p. 411.

25 CC, 7 September 1922, p. 577.

was the most significant. Homfray Michell, in a series of articles for the Churchman, became the chief spokesman for the Church on this issue. His articles reveal both his sympathy and support for labour as well as the limits on that support. He remained convinced that labour should be recognized as an important and integral part of the social body, and should receive the treatment which logically followed from such recognition. What he did not want was that labour gain a position where it, in its turn, could unbalance the just and harmonious functioning of the corporate unity of society.

To Michell the Winnipeg strike went beyond a simple matter of a capital-labour dispute. Although he dismissed as a "frightful bogey"<sup>26</sup> the idea that the strike was an attempt to establish a Soviet, he nevertheless saw the strike as anarchy,<sup>27</sup> as tantamount to revolution,<sup>28</sup> and as a pistol pointed at the head of society.<sup>29</sup> McNaught has described such views as symptomatic of the hysteria of the middle and upper classes,<sup>30</sup> but an examination of Michell's ideas shows that they were calmly and soundly formed.

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26 CC, 12 June 1919, p. 377.

27 CC, 26 June 1919, p. 409; 10 July 1919, p. 441.

28 Bulletin No. 32, p. 8.

29 CC, 29 May 1919, p. 344.

30 Kenneth McNaught, A Prophet in Politics: A Biography of J. S. Woodsworth, Toronto, 1959, p. 109.

Although Michell favoured collective bargaining, which he defined as the right of workers to bargain through a union rather than individually,<sup>31</sup> he opposed the whole idea of workers banding together to gain the ends of one or two local unions. Whether such banding together took the form of organizing "One Big Union," of a General Strike, or of a Sympathy Strike, did not really matter; inasmuch as the workers were uniting against the rest of society, such tactics resulted in a class struggle. Michell doubted the ability of labour to form One Big Union, but the Winnipeg strike, in his opinion, was a manifestation on a smaller scale of labour's attempt to unite as a social group against the rest of society. Although he readily admitted the workers' need to have sufficient power to bargain on more equal terms with their employers, he feared the excessive power which a group of workers would have if they could bring out other workers in a sympathy strike against the whole community as a means of forcing a particular employer to accept the demands of his employees. Michell regarded the Winnipeg strike as a revolution, not in the sense that its aim was to take over the government, but in that it introduced a revolutionary principle into capital-labour disputes and set one section of society against the rest. Although A. E. Smith no doubt

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31 CC, 29 May 1919, p. 344.

interpreted the 1919 strike according to his communist ideology, it is worth noting that he held an opinion similar to that of Michell. To Smith the Winnipeg strike "revealed more clearly than any other event in Canadian labour history the elemental factors of working class power."<sup>32</sup> Certainly not only power, but working-class power directed against society, rather than the power of a particular union directed against an employer, was involved in the Winnipeg General Strike. Even though the strikers and their families probably constituted a majority of the Winnipeg population, it was only by the effect of the strike on the remainder that the strikers could possibly hope to gain their objectives by means of a general strike.

Michell also opposed the sympathy strike because he believed it to be a tactical error; he feared such a use of the general strike would alienate many former sympathizers from the cause of labour.

As a conservative who saw the corporate unity of society threatened by the conflict, Michell looked to the federal government to intervene in the Winnipeg strike. He saw the purpose of this intervention to be not the defeat of the labour unions, but the achievement of a just settlement.

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<sup>32</sup> A. E. Smith, All My Life, Toronto, 1949, p. 51. Smith was a Methodist minister who left his church. He also joined the Communist Party.

He pointed to the example of Great Britain, where the government of Lloyd George, when a general strike seemed imminent, called a conference of representatives of capital and labour to resolve their differences. This government even pledged itself to put the conference's recommendations into effect.<sup>33</sup> Even after the Winnipeg strike had ended, Michell maintained that the problems of unrest remained unsolved and that only a commission like the Sankey Commission in England would be able to find a solution.<sup>34</sup> The general labour unrest of the post-war period had already led the government to appoint a Canadian Commission on Industrial Relations to investigate the causes of unrest. When this Commission presented its report, Michell expressed the hope that the government would act on its recommendations.<sup>35</sup> Among the latter were the promotion of industrial councils; minimum wages for women and girls; the eight-hour day, along with a weekly rest of twenty-four hours; state insurance against unemployment, sickness, and

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33 CC, 29 May 1919, p. 347.

34 CC, 26 June 1919, p. 411. Sir John Sankey was chairman of a commission set up to investigate wages and hours in the coal industry, as well as to report on the question of its nationalization. Although Lloyd George promised to implement recommendations of the Sankey Commission, when the Commission recommended the nationalization of the coal industry, the Prime Minister refused to put this recommendation into effect. See Oliver, The Church and Social Order, pp. 42, 43.

35 CC, 10 July 1919, p. 441.

old age; recognition of labour's right to organize and the right of unions to bargain for workers.<sup>36</sup>

As individual churchmen like Blagrove, Farthing, and Thornloe had claimed earlier, in 1921 the CSS also argued that the Church should remain neutral in industrial disputes. Neutrality certainly allowed church leaders to avoid issues which might cause division and conflict among church members. Although opposition to labour was not vociferous, that some existed is indicated by the accusation of one churchman that the Church was petting labour and preaching against capitalism.<sup>37</sup> In his opinion trade unions were a menace to civilization; he even claimed that tyrannical trusts were only formed as the answer to tyrannical unions. This attitude on the part of an element within the Church helps to account for the cautious approach of the CSS to the issue of capital-labour relations. Its report to the 1921 General Synod saw a risk for the Church in taking sides in industrial disputes in that the Church would thereby incur the wrath of the side with which it was forced to disagree. The report claimed that hasty judgments and angry accusations were too common; the Church must try to keep an open mind and to seek just solutions,

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36 CAR, 1919, p. 508.

37 "A Layman," Letter to editor, CC, 29 April 1920, p. 286.

which could be found only in the frank application of Christian principles to the industrial order. It was the Church's duty "to plead for investigation and calm consideration such as is likely to promote the spirit of true Brotherhood."<sup>38</sup>

The desire not to take sides actually makes the CSS appear almost indifferent in 1921 to reasonable demands by labour. The report of that year even claimed that the eight-hour day was "debatable ground."<sup>39</sup> It recommended that employers should not lay off workers except when absolutely necessary; employees were to give faithful service and to consider the needs of less skilled workmen; communities should try to provide work rather than relief. The report reserved its most practical advice for governments, which it asked to provide public works, vocational guidance, and unemployment insurance. The report prefaced these recommendations with the statement: "the Executive after careful consideration adopted the following carefully considered statement."<sup>40</sup> Certainly the CSS was being redundantly careful to let church members know how careful it was being.

No event reveals the cautious, uncommitted attitude of the CSS more clearly than when the bad conditions which had forced the Cape Breton employees of BESCO to strike in 1923

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<sup>38</sup> GSJP, 1921, p. 381.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid., p. 380.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid., p. 377.

were brought dramatically to the attention of Canadians by Canon **Frederick George Scott**.<sup>41</sup> Scott's role in the BESCO situation was that of an activist, whose participation on behalf of labour was the antithesis of the official church policy of neutralism as practised by the CSS. Of course an individual is much freer to take sides and to risk being wrong than is a church board, which has a responsibility to the whole Church to be sure of its ground before taking a positive stand. On the other hand, church boards can sometimes be so afraid of taking sides, whether from a fear of being wrong or from a fear of offending some church members, that their position on what would appear to be clearcut issues borders on the insipid or inane. It is hard to escape the conclusion that the position of the CSS on the Cape Breton strike of 1923 did just that.

Not only the CSS but also the general Canadian public was made aware of the conditions at Cape Breton by the publicity given to Canon Scott's statement after he had made a personal investigation. He supported the union demand for better wages and shorter hours. According to his calculations 40% of the steel workers made thirty-five cents an hour or less. He found that a large number of miners made about \$3.35 a day or \$80 a month. He also concluded that the hours of

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<sup>41</sup> For a detailed account of Scott's involvement in the Winnipeg and BESCO strikes see appendix C.

work were too long, consisting as they did of an eleven-hour shift by day and a thirteen-hour shift by night for men engaged in continuous operations. He found working conditions appalling. For example, workers in one mine had to walk five miles underground for the round trip back and forth to work, and much of the walking had to be done in a stooped position. Living conditions were so bad that, in Scott's view, if similar conditions had existed in the front line trenches during the war, the sanitary inspectors would have been shot.<sup>42</sup>

Scott's revelations showed that beyond any doubt a situation involving actual injustice existed in Cape Breton. Yet it seems likely that the CSS would have ignored Scott's efforts had it not been for a letter from the Reverend A. R. Kelley, the Council representative from the Diocese of Quebec and Scott's assistant at St. Matthew's Church, Quebec City, who wrote to the Council with regard to the Cape Breton situation.<sup>43</sup> The Council then appointed a committee to consider Kelley's letter. Then this committee reported later, the Council concluded that "the highest interests of the Dominion

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<sup>42</sup> Quebec Chronicle, 4 September 1923, p. 3. An account of Scott's disclosures appears in the Canadian Churchman, 13 September 1923, p. 590.

<sup>43</sup> CC, 17 September 1923, p. 638. Because the CSS files for this period have been destroyed, the actual contents of the letter could not be ascertained.

demand the closest co-operation of capital and labour."<sup>44</sup>

Thus with the vaguest and most sentimental of generalities did the CSS regret the situation and avoid taking a stand of any kind. The Council wished to see the cause of separation and suspicion removed, but was careful to avoid any reference to the cause of trouble, although Scott had clearly described the conditions which lay behind labour unrest at Cape Breton. The Council did rejoice in the appointment of a Royal Commission, trusted that it would deal promptly with the larger issues at stake, and promised to follow its work with the greatest interest. This statement, designed as it was to avoid taking any stand, except that of being "against sin," exemplifies the extreme caution which inhibited the CSS and kept it from playing a more positive and constructive role in the quest for a more just economic order during this decade between war and depression.

At least the Council kept its promise to follow the work of the Royal Commission. Its annual report of 1924 claimed that it had done so carefully and gave excerpts from the Royal Commission report on the relations between the company and the employees on hours of work, on wages and unemployment, and on calling out the militia.<sup>45</sup> The CSS

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<sup>44</sup> The Eighth Annual Report of the Council for Social Service, 1923, pp. 22, 23.

<sup>45</sup> The Ninth Annual Report of the Council for Social Service, 1924, pp. 28, 29.

still took no position on the issues involved and made no recommendations. Although troubles continued in Cape Breton, the Council's records reflect no further interest in them until 1931. The CSS report to the General Synod of that year gave credit to the report "The Survey of Labour and Living Conditions in the Steel Industry in Canada" by the Industrial Life Committee of the Social Service Council of Canada, for leading to shorter hours at the Sydney steel plant.<sup>46</sup> The way in which the CSS played up this achievement, contrasted with the way it had dealt with Scott's revelations, suggests that the Council saw more virtue in the slower methods of official organization than in the more forthright type of confrontation as made by Canon Scott. Yet it is unlikely that the report of the Social Service Council would have been as successful in leading to shorter hours had it not been preceded by the investigations of Scott and of Royal Commissions.

Except for the year 1924, the rest of the decade was marked by declining interest in labour on the part of Anglicans. One significant feature in Anglican concern for labour was the support the Canadian Churchman gave to postal workers who struck against a reduction in their wages in 1924. The paper's editor, E. A. McIntyre, who had earlier decided that the Church

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<sup>46</sup> GSJP, 1931, p. 246.

should not take sides in industrial disputes "except where actual injustice is involved,"<sup>47</sup> was ready to put his preaching into practice when he saw a situation which appeared to involve actual injustice. During the postal strike of 1924 he wrote of public sympathy for the strikers and of the universal sense of shame that the Civil Service Commission should "propose in cold blood"<sup>48</sup> that the pay of postal workers be reduced as an economy measure. Some later comments by the columnist "Spectator" expressed strong support for the postal workers and objected to the demotions and reduced wages which the government handed out to them when they returned to work after the strike.<sup>49</sup> Spectator's remarks came under attack from one correspondent, who was also horrified at the demand of the postal workers that the Civil Service Commission should now discharge all persons hired to replace the regular workers during the strike. This correspondent failed to appreciate that these persons were strike-breakers. His letter also claimed that the Civil Service Commission was a neutral body when it decided what wages should be paid. Far from being neutral in the sense that an arbitration board might be, the Commission was actually the employer of the workers.

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<sup>47</sup> CC, 7 September 1922, p. 577.

<sup>48</sup> CC, 10 July 1924, p. 437.

<sup>49</sup> "From Week to Week," CC, 24 July 1924, p. 471.

The Council for Social Service report for 1924 shows that the Council was more concerned with unemployment than with strikes at that time. The report expressed alarm over the possible situation in the coming winter and called for prevention rather than relief.<sup>50</sup> During the winter Vernon noted that the spectre of unemployment was still present and that the remedy was work, not relief.<sup>51</sup> He was writing in support of Tom Moore, President of the Trades and Labour Council, as expressed in an earlier CSS column in the Churchman. Moore had been more specific than Vernon in that he called for a greater effort on the part of the federal and provincial governments to increase public works and was critical of the federal government's refusal to grant permission to the Canadian National Railway to spend money for the completion of lines on which a profit was assured. For other public works projects he suggested the power development of the St. Lawrence River.<sup>52</sup> Vernon showed some sympathy with these suggestions and a desire to make them known to church members by seeing they were published in the Churchman.

By 1927 economic conditions had so improved that concern for labour passed completely from the scene as far as the CSS was concerned. The Council's report to the 1927

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50 GSJP, 1924, p. 296.

51 CC, 15 January 1925, p. 36.

52 CC, 3 April 1924, p. 222.

General Synod contained no section on "Christianity and Industrial Life" as was the case in previous reports. Immigration absorbed more and more of the Council's attention. The 1921 report contained twelve pages telling of the work of the Department of Welcome and Welfare<sup>53</sup> as against less than ten for the section on Christianity and Industrial Life.<sup>54</sup> In 1924 the ratio was seven pages to less than one-half page, and in 1927 the ratio was sixteen to nothing, except for the comment that the Council was glad to see more work and rising prices.<sup>55</sup> The same emphasis is to be seen in the minutes of the CSS Executive Committee meetings, the index of which, between 29 September 1926 and 20 November 1931, contains some ninety references to immigration, five to temperance, and eleven to unemployment. Most of the discussions on unemployment took place on or after 27 November 1930, well after the onset of the Great Depression.

By way of summing up Anglican concern for labour in the decade between war and depression, it may be said that, quite apart from the CSS, there was a great measure of interest in and support for labour, especially in the first half of the decade. This support had its roots in the Anglican view of society as a corporate unity. If one group such

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<sup>53</sup> GSJP, 1921, pp. 352-63.   <sup>54</sup> Ibid., pp. 372-82.

<sup>55</sup> GSJP, 1927, p. 267.

as labour suffered from exploitation, then all society suffered, and there was the ever-present likelihood that the exploited segment would disrupt the peace of society as it had in the case of the Winnipeg General Strike. That the responsibility for safeguarding the welfare both of society and of the exploited group lay with government was another aspect of the same belief. As we have seen, Anglicans like Homfray Michell, Canon Scott, editors of the Canadian Churchman, and members of the Council for Social Service looked to government to remove injustice and alleviate unemployment. This trend of affirming the role of government in economic matters was to receive far greater emphasis from Anglicans in the days of depression which lay ahead.

## CHAPTER VIII

### THE GREAT DEPRESSION I. THE "OFFICIAL" CHURCH AND CAPITALISM

The onset of the Great Depression of the 1930s revived concern among churchmen over economic evils. This chapter deals with the revival of concern over the functioning of the capitalistic system on the part of the "official" church, that is, General Synod and its Council for Social Service in particular. The urgency of the situation added a new dimension to the thinking of members of these bodies. They began to go beyond such general principles as "co-operation must replace competition" to a closer examination of the causes of disorder in the economic system and to suggested remedies. Still, most reform-minded Anglicans merely sought reform of capitalism; only a few sought its replacement with socialism. All looked to government, as the authoritative and responsible representative of the whole of society, to correct any imbalance in the economic order which favoured the few at the expense of the many.

The urgency of the situation can be seen in the social and economic effect of the depression. The stock market crash of October 1929 ended a period of high prosperity and of

intense speculation on the stock market.<sup>1</sup> Declining prices and decreasing exports rapidly followed and had a catastrophic effect on Canada's economy, dependent as the country was on world markets. Exports, which had reached a peak of \$1,368 million in 1929, fell to a low of \$528 million by 1933, and rose only to a little more than one billion dollars by 1938. Imports followed the same pattern: \$1,265 million in 1929, \$406 million by 1933, and only up to \$799 million by 1938.<sup>2</sup>

Declining foreign and domestic markets caused widespread unemployment in cities and towns, and low prices for farm produce. Drought and crop failures made the situation even worse for many western farmers. Soon between ten and twenty per cent of wage earners were unemployed, and more than a million persons in both rural and urban areas dependent on government relief and private charity for survival.<sup>3</sup> The cost to municipal, provincial, and federal governments of providing relief in its various forms rose from \$18.4 million in 1930

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1 It should be noted that unemployment was already on the increase before the stock market crash. See H. M. Cassidy, Unemployment and Relief in Ontario 1929-1932: A Survey and Report, Toronto, 1932, p. 117.

2 The above figures are found in the Canada Year Book, 1939, pp. 490, 492.

3 H. M. Cassidy, Unemployment Insurance for Canada, Bulletin No. 87, July 1931, p. 9.

to a high of \$172.9 million in 1935.<sup>4</sup> The outlays required of municipalities and of most of the provinces were beyond their capabilities, with the result that the federal government provided some forty per cent of relief costs and also made loans to the four western provinces to help them meet their particular situations.<sup>5</sup>

The economic disaster had political repercussions, beginning with the defeat of the federal Liberal Party led by W. L. Mackenzie King in 1930. When the Conservatives under R. B. Bennett failed to produce a programme satisfactory to the electorate, they too went down to defeat, and the Liberals returned to power in 1935. Most of the provincial governments which held power at the beginning of the depression were turned out of office when their time came for an election. The depression also brought forth two new federal political parties, Social Credit and the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation, each offering its own remedy to the economic disaster which had struck Canada.

Such an economic and political upheaval naturally had an effect on members of the various Christian denominations, including Anglicans. Although the latter continuously

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<sup>4</sup> Donald V. Smiley (ed.), The Rowell-Sirois Report: An Abridgement of Book I of the Royal Commission Report on Dominion-Provincial Relations, The Carleton Library No. 5, Toronto, 1963, p. 174.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., pp. 174-76.

expressed ideas on economic issues throughout the depression years, the General Synods of the period do provide focal points for the discussion which follows. Three General Synods met in this period, in 1931 in Toronto, in 1934 in Montreal, and in 1937 in Halifax.

Of course Anglican concern did not wait until the 1931 session of General Synod to find expression. It is apparent in the modest and reasonable suggestion that research to determine the cause and cure of economic problems was the first step toward dealing with those problems. One of the first Canadians to espouse the idea that government should sponsor research on economic problems was Canon Vernon, General Secretary of the Council for Social Service. Early in 1930 Vernon recommended both to his own Council and to the interdenominational Social Service Council of Canada that they support the idea.<sup>6</sup> About the same time the Anglican layman, G. Frank Beer, at the Second Biennial Conference on Social Work pointed out that Canadians did not know the facts on unemployment in Canada.<sup>7</sup> He proposed a National Institute of Economic and Social Research, which would be endowed by subscription and whose function would be to investigate the

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6 CC, 29 May 1930, p. 351.

7 "The Problems of Unemployment Insurance," Canadian Conference on Social Work Proceedings, Ottawa, Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, 1930, p. 23.

causes of unemployment in Canada.<sup>8</sup> In his annual report to the CSS the following September, Vernon stated that he had urged the Social Service Council of Canada to approve a motion requesting the National Research Council to undertake research on outstanding social and economic problems or, as an alternative, to establish a separate Canadian Council on Social and Economic Research.<sup>9</sup> Shortly afterwards the CSS Executive Committee went ahead on its own and wrote to the Prime Minister, the Minister of Labour, and the National Research Council, making the same request.<sup>10</sup> The replies informed the Executive that the matter would be considered.<sup>11</sup>

Although the government "considered" for some four years before taking action to set up such a research council, Prime Minister Bennett did recognize the importance of statistics for government planning. In defending delay in bringing in unemployment insurance legislation, he claimed to be waiting for figures on unemployment from the recent census in order to study them first, as "legislation must be based on knowledge."<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> The Toronto Globe approved his suggestion with the comment, "This is a sound view. Any malady must be diagnosed before it can be successfully treated." Issue of 1 May 1930, p. 4.

<sup>9</sup> CC, 25 September 1930, pp. 615, 617.

<sup>10</sup> CSS Executive Minutes, 27 November 1930, p. 2.

<sup>11</sup> CSS Executive Minutes, 12 February 1931.

<sup>12</sup> Canada, House of Commons Debates, 1931, p. 1103.

In the meantime G. Frank Beer and a number of other active and prominent Anglicans began to serve on an Unemployment Research Committee set up by the Ontario Government.<sup>13</sup> This Committee's report attributed fundamental importance to statistics for seeing those trends and developments which pointed the way to desirable changes in policy.<sup>14</sup> Pressure for economic research also came from a conference on unemployment sponsored by the Canadian Council on Child and Family Welfare in Ottawa in May 1931. Canon Vernon participated in the conference as one of four delegates from the Social Service Council. Provinces and municipalities had also been invited to send representatives especially concerned with relief. One of the conference's conclusions was that, in order to prevent recurring economic cycles and to provide for what seemed to be a permanent percentage of unemployed, the Dominion Government should consider appointing a permanent national committee or commission along federal-provincial lines to undertake the task of working out a more stabilized system of production and distribution.<sup>15</sup>

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13 Anglicans on this Committee included J. P. Bell of Hamilton, and Canon Quintin Warner of London, both members of General Synod at that time; Professor Homfray Michell, who was to return to General Synod in 1937; Mrs. H. P. Plumptre who was the wife of Canon Plumptre of Toronto; other known Anglicans were Kenneth Greene of Ottawa and W. A. Boys of Barrie.

14 Cassidy, Unemployment and Relief in Ontario, p. 288.

15 "Round Table Conference on Present Unemployment Conditions and Related Social Problems," Child and Family Welfare, May 1931, pp. 66-72.

Admittedly spurred by the findings of this conference,<sup>16</sup> Alfred Speakman, Progressive member for Red Deer, initiated in the House of Commons a motion to set up a National Council of Social and Economic Research.<sup>17</sup> J. S. Woodsworth seconded his motion.<sup>18</sup> H. H. Stevens, Minister of Trade and Commerce, did not receive this idea with enthusiasm, and the motion was talked out.

During the next year support for an economic research council increased. The General Synod of 1931 endorsed the recommendation of the Ottawa conference, as requested by the CSS report.<sup>19</sup> The Social Service Council also passed resolutions calling for a national body of experts to work on both short range and long range solutions for unemployment.<sup>20</sup> When Speakman reintroduced his motion at the 1932 session of Parliament, it received more support, including that of the Conservative, J. R. McNicol, member for Davenport, who gave France and Germany as examples of countries which already had economic research councils.<sup>21</sup> Support also came from Humphrey

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16 Canada, House of Commons Debates, 1931, p. 1242.

17 Ibid., p. 1238.

18 Ibid., p. 1244.

19 GSJP, 1931, pp. 254-55.

20 CC, 30 July 1931, pp. 488-89.

21 Canada, House of Commons Debates, 1932, p. 99.

Mitchell, an Anglican, who had entered the House after a recent by-election in Hamilton East, and then sat as a Labour member.<sup>22</sup> On the other hand Mackenzie King thought the government should use the National Research Council for economic research.<sup>23</sup>

Although Stevens now accepted the idea of an economic research council as one for earnest and sympathetic study by the government and promised a genuine effort to take some action, not until 1935 did the government introduce a bill to establish the Economic Council of Canada. Its role, according to Sir George Perley, would be to investigate and advise the government upon social and economic problems.<sup>24</sup> The bill passed, but did not stay in effect very long, for it was repealed the next year by the government of Mackenzie King. King's attitude was that he did not "[...] need an economic council to tell the present government what is necessary in the way of legislation."<sup>25</sup> He believed such a council superfluous; the government could call on members of the civil service to advise it at any time it so desired. King also commented that the Canadian people in the election had expressed

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<sup>22</sup> Ibid., pp. 2346-50.

<sup>23</sup> Canada, House of Commons Debates, 1931, pp. 1317-19; 1932, pp. 105-106; 1935, p. 1798.

<sup>24</sup> Canada, House of Commons Debates, 1935, pp. 1793ff.

<sup>25</sup> Canada, House of Commons Debates, 1936, p. 578.

their feelings on Bennett's legislation. The re-establishment of an economic council in 1963 indicates that the idea was a good one and that Vernon showed greater foresight in supporting it than did those politicians of his day who were either lukewarm or opposed.<sup>26</sup>

The demand for an economic council came from people who wished to see some changes in the economic system, but who were unable to propose any specific and fundamental reforms. Certainly not many Anglicans in the early years of the depression had any definite proposals on actual reforms. Nevertheless some soon came to the conclusion that capitalism was proving inadequate to the economic demands being made upon it by the complex industrial order of the twentieth century. Canon R. C. Blagrove expressed this viewpoint at the 1931 General Synod, when he described the economic order as having outgrown its clothes.<sup>27</sup> He might have been more accurate if he had simply acknowledged that the depression had revealed the deficiencies of capitalism.

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<sup>26</sup> One of the first acts of the Pearson government after taking office in 1963 was to set up the present Economic Council of Canada. For the Prime Minister's speech on the motion see Canada, House of Commons Debates, 1963, p. 791. An earlier Progressive Conservative attempt to establish a National Economic Development Board had Liberal support, but the defeat of the P. C. government on 5 February 1963 ended the debate on that bill.

<sup>27</sup> Toronto Mail and Empire, 25 September 1931, p. 5.

This 1931 General Synod displayed some degree of disillusionment with capitalism among Anglicans. The CSS report to this session reflected the influence of the 1930 Lambeth Conference, which Canon Vernon, General Secretary of the CSS, attended.<sup>28</sup> This 1930 conference had reaffirmed<sup>29</sup> the resolutions of that of 1920, which called upon the Church to convince its members that "nothing less than a fundamental change in the spirit and working of our economic life"<sup>30</sup> was necessary, and which advocated co-operation instead of competition. Vernon, in the CSS report, made fundamental reform of the economic system an issue for the General Synod to consider.

However, a number of Synod members were not satisfied with the CSS report, and regarded the resolutions contained within it as "too broad, vague, and grandiosely empty of real effort to cope with the problem."<sup>31</sup> In an attempt to push the Synod into taking a stronger **stand**, several delegates presented other motions for consideration. Prince and Blagrove,

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<sup>28</sup> CC, 23 October 1930, p. 688. Although not a bishop, Vernon probably attended as an observer.

<sup>29</sup> The Lambeth Conference 1930, Encyclical Letter from the Bishops with Resolutions and Reports, London, 1930, pp. 46, 47.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid., p. 107. The Resolutions of 1920 were repeated in the Report of the 1930 Lambeth Conference, pp. 107, 108.

<sup>31</sup> Toronto Mail and Empire, 23 September 1931, p. 5.

two of the clergy, asked the Synod to express its sympathy with all who suffer as the result of "an imperfect social and industrial order."<sup>32</sup> Although their motion referred to the Lambeth Conference of 1930, and indeed went no further than did Lambeth, the bishops in the Upper House defeated the resolution after the Lower House had passed it.<sup>33</sup> Another resolution moved by the Reverend H. W. Snell and seconded by Archdeacon Scott met defeat in the Lower House. This motion had called on General Synod to recognize that "[...] our economic life is based on self-interest" and to recommend "that the legislative, industrial, and other leaders of the Nation and of the world, take such action as may reform our economic system on the lines of Christ's teaching of unselfishness and brotherly love [...]."<sup>34</sup> The Synod rejected this motion, and in so doing marked out the limits of its approval for reform at this time.

These condemnations of the existing order aroused supporters of the status quo. Lay delegate G. B. Nicholson, Member of Parliament for Chapleau and a prominent business man in his riding, argued that the Church should limit its role to changing people: "When the Church gets its members on its [sic] knees, it will have gone as far as it is possible

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32 GSJP, 1931, p. 94.

33 Ibid., p. 95.

34 Ibid.

for it to go."<sup>35</sup> He went on to move that the resolutions before Synod on unemployment and the economic situation be referred to a committee to be harmonized with one another and toned down, "lest they be misquoted on Communist platforms all across the country."<sup>36</sup> The result was a comprehensive resolution which omitted any criticism of the existing system and which simply gave platitudinous approval to "the fullest application in the realms of business and industry of the social principles of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ [...]."<sup>37</sup>

Obviously from the debate a deep division existed between members like Blgrave, Prince, Snell, and Scott, who wished some reform of capitalism, and members like Nicholson, who supported the status quo, and who, by the results of the voting, seemed to be in the majority. In this situation the CSS tried to find a middle ground in favour of reform, which might receive the approval of the Synod. This division also shows why the official church as a body tended to be more cautious than were individual churchmen in their approach to economic reform. At the official level Anglicans were not ready in 1931 either to be very forthright in condemning the existing order or to propose specific remedies for the

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35 Toronto Mail and Empire, 23 September 1931, p. 5.

36 Ibid.

37 GSJP, 1931, p. 107.

economic malaise of the country. Although the 1931 General Synod accomplished little in the way of an official statement, the debate on capitalism was a healthy sign and indicative of the dissatisfaction with the economic system among some churchmen. Their attitude may be summed up as a recognition that something was wrong, but they did not know what, and therefore they did not know what the remedy might be.

As discussion continued in official circles, Vernon arrived at what he considered to be the crux of the problem. In his presidential address to the Social Service Council meeting in Winnipeg in 1932, he emphasized the need for a change in the spirit and working of much of economic and industrial life, both in production and distribution to bring them more into conformity with Christianity.<sup>38</sup> Possibly Vernon heard and was influenced by Professor R. C. Davison of the London School of Economics, who told another session of the Conference on Social Work that the philosophy of laissez-faire had done well on the productive side, but had failed on the distributive side, with the result that the gap between the rich and the poor grew ever wider.<sup>39</sup>

A similar criticism of capitalism appeared in Labour Day messages issued by the Commission on the Church and Social

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38 CC, 9 June 1932, pp. 361, 362.

39 R. C. Davison, "Social Problems of Industrial Civilization," Canadian Conference of Social Work Proceedings, 1932, pp. 24-27.

Service of the Federal Council of Churches in the United States. These messages appeared in the Canadian Churchman in 1931 and 1932, and were probably furnished by Vernon himself. The 1931 message called for a more equitable distribution of wealth in the United States where, it pointed out, ten per cent of the property owners held sixty-four per cent of the wealth.<sup>40</sup> It held that it was up to the Churches to demand fundamental changes in economic conditions in order to give economic security to the masses. The 1932 message went further in its description of the current distribution of wealth, which was not only unchristian, but was also "unscientific"<sup>41</sup> in that it did not furnish sufficient purchasing power to the masses to balance production and consumption in a machine age. Vernon thus showed that he was in touch with current thinking on reform of the economic order. In his annual report to the CSS in 1933 he again attributed the failure to adapt our social, economic, and industrial life to the age of plenty to not paying as much attention to distribution as we had to production.<sup>42</sup> He advocated a fundamental change by a process of evolution. Although he still

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<sup>40</sup> CC, 20 August 1931, p. 540.

<sup>41</sup> "Labour Sunday Message 1932," CC, 18 August 1932, p. 519.

<sup>42</sup> Eighteenth Annual Report of the Council for Social Service, 1933, pp. 6, 7; see also CC, 21 September 1933, p. 568.

believed that private property must survive, he now declared that it must be controlled in the interest of society.

In December 1932 the CSS Executive Committee began to show more interest in economic issues than it had to that time. At the December meeting Bishop Roper drew the attention of the other members to the "price-spread"<sup>43</sup> in the coal industry. Other members spoke of similar situations with regard to other commodities.<sup>44</sup> At the Executive's next meeting in February 1933, Bert Merson<sup>45</sup> urged that the Church give greater leadership on social and economic questions. The Executive promptly handed him the job of preparing a statement for the next meeting.<sup>46</sup> Merson prepared this statement and presented it to the Executive meeting the following May, where it was adopted after careful consideration and revision. After calling for the application of Christian principles in industry, labour, commerce, and government, the statement got

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<sup>43</sup> The term "price-spread" was in common use at this time to describe the wide difference between the price paid by the middleman for goods and the price at which he sold the goods. Not only were his large profits subject to criticism, but also the low wages which kept his costs down.

<sup>44</sup> CSS Executive Minutes, 15 December 1932, p. 3.

<sup>45</sup> Notice of the death of Bertram Merson appeared in the Ottawa Journal, 17 May 1971, p. 30. It stated that he was 81; that he was chairman of the Toronto Electric Commission, 1953-65; and that he had been retained by John Bracken as labour liaison officer during the Second World War, when Bracken was leader of the Progressive Conservative Party.

<sup>46</sup> CSS Executive Minutes, 15 February 1933, p. 4.

down to some specific recommendations, including legislation on stock exchange gambling, the regulation of interest rates and charges, and social welfare.<sup>47</sup> It also recommended the control of the prices of necessities in order to prevent unreasonable profits or a large spread between costs for producer and prices for consumer. From its interest in this last topic the Executive Committee must have been particularly gratified by the government's establishment of a commission to investigate profits and price spreads in Canada. The work of the Honourable H. H. Stevens in this connection stirred the Executive in April 1934 to send him a letter of appreciation for his efforts to prevent oppression and unfair competition.<sup>48</sup>

The General Secretary of the CSS continued his consideration of the need to reform the capitalistic system until a few months prior to his death in 1934. In a last article, published a year after his death, he gave a visionary picture of the goal to be achieved, rather than a blueprint on how to achieve it. Vernon once more emphasized that the new order must be attained "[...] by the slow process of evolution onward and upward, learning by past mistakes, sloughing off ancient evils, adding new gifts of the Spirit."<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> CSS Executive Minutes, 17 May 1933, p. 2.

<sup>48</sup> CSS Executive Minutes, 6 April 1934, p. 9.

<sup>49</sup> "A New Social Order," CC, 14 February 1935, p. 99.

The attainment of the new social order required men to adapt to a new age of plenty, in which distribution kept pace with production, resulting on the one hand in both adequate work and adequate leisure for all, and on the other hand in the elimination of the desire for unreasonable profits, of speculation, and of profiteering.

Vernon did not live to see it, but he would have been gratified by the phenomenon of a Canadian Prime Minister campaigning on a programme to reform the economic order along lines such as he proposed. In a series of radio addresses in January 1935, R. B. Bennett showed that he had at last recognized that "the economic system must be reformed."<sup>50</sup> The economist, Stephen Leacock, recommended the Prime Minister's policies as a means of diffusing purchasing power and stimulating industry.<sup>51</sup> Both Bennett and Leacock favoured reform leading to a regulated state which would preserve "the stimulus of individual reward, but with a fairer set of rules to apply it."<sup>52</sup> Vernon and other reform-minded Anglicans had been urging similar reform since at least 1932.

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<sup>50</sup> R. B. Bennett, The Premier Speaks to the People, Second Address, Ottawa, Dominion Conservative Headquarters, n.d., p. 8.

<sup>51</sup> Stephen Leacock, "Preface," to R. B. Bennett, The Premier Speaks to the People, First Address, Ottawa, Dominion Conservative Headquarters, n.d., p. 7.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid.

The General Synod of 1934 had nothing to say directly on the capitalistic system. Doubtless if Vernon had compiled the CSS report of that year, it would have contained some of the fruit of his thinking since the General Synod of 1931, and his ideas would certainly have sparked some debate. As it was there was no General Secretary to prepare and present the report of the Council, with the result that the report which was presented was very limited in ideas and scope.

About two years elapsed before the appointment of a successor to Vernon. At first the CSS Executive tried to persuade the Reverend S. H. Prince of Dalhousie University to accept the position of General Secretary, but he turned down the offer after informing the Council that he did not desire to devote his time to the work of "a glorified welfare bureau."<sup>53</sup> He held that the job of General Secretary called for interpreting the mind of the Church on the great social problems of the day. He had wanted to undertake an educational programme across the country in an attempt to awaken the social consciousness of the Church. He had an interview with the Primate, D. T. Owen, and Archbishop Roper, which left him unsatisfied, and one can only assume that those church leaders failed to give whole-hearted support to his plans.<sup>54</sup>

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<sup>53</sup> CC, 3 October 1935, p. 569.

<sup>54</sup> See the report on the General Secretary which follows the minutes of 28 May 1935 in the CSS Executive Minutes.

The next year, 1 May 1936, the Reverend W. W. Judd, rector of All Saints' Church, Hamilton, received the appointment of General Secretary of the Council for Social Service.

Judd's first report, presented to the General Synod of 1937, aroused little debate on the economic system. Perhaps in reaction to Prince's description of the Council as a glorified welfare bureau the CSS report held that the chief role of the Council was educational: the promotion of social welfare and sociological study, and the arousing of public opinion, especially among church people.<sup>55</sup>

The two events at this Synod which contributed to Anglican thought on the reform of the economic system were a resolution from the Synod of the Diocese of Huron and the report on the Oxford Conference of 1937 given by Canon McElheran.

The resolution of the Diocese of Huron aroused a heated discussion on the economic system. The resolution itself proposed that the best method of attacking communism was by the persistent teaching of the Christian faith.<sup>56</sup> Canon R. B. McElheran strongly objected to attacking communism on the grounds that if we were half as sincere as the communists we would not be faced with the present situation.<sup>57</sup> The

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<sup>55</sup> GSJP, 1937, p. 323.

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

<sup>57</sup> Halifax Chronicle, 3 September 1937, p. 1.

Reverend R. K. Naylor of Montreal also opposed the motion on the grounds that it should be directed against the causes of communism. Apparently these Anglicans believed that Canada should put its economic house in order before attacking other economic systems. After rejecting the Huron motion the Synod appointed a committee to present a resolution on "Communism and the Social Order." This resolution admitted that certain new forms of political organization, an obvious reference to communism, might have commendable aims, but did not approve their methods of individual and group dictatorship. Through this resolution the General Synod of 1937 acknowledged "the general maladjustment of the economic and industrial life in our rapidly changing order," and recognized the need for "a greater degree of co-operation among all groups in the field of production, a mutual responsibility in the operation of industry and a more equitable share in the fruit of their common labours."<sup>58</sup> This resolution did what the one passed at the 1931 Synod did not do; it acknowledged there was something wrong with the present system.

In giving to General Synod an official report on the findings of the Oxford Conference<sup>59</sup> Canon McElheran stated

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<sup>58</sup> GSJP, 1937, p. 68.

<sup>59</sup> So called because held at Oxford University. Officially it was the Universal Council of Life and Work. It was an interdenominational conference held in the summer of 1937, and dealt with the economic issues of the day: the nature of capitalism, the changes which ought to be made in the economic system, and the role of the Church in reform of the economic system.

that the Christian personality was challenged by the current emphasis on the acquisition of wealth, by economic inequalities among men, by the power of wealth being used irresponsibly, and by the loss of vocation to many who were caught in a complex industrial order.<sup>60</sup> His report distilled from the conference conclusions the alternatives from which society must choose: either to adapt the present system of private ownership so as to correct the faults of the system, or to set up a system of social ownership in its place. McElheran's report concluded that Christians could not identify either the status quo or any particular system with the Kingdom of God. Instead they were called upon "to test every phase of changing conditions by standards of the Christian Gospel."<sup>61</sup> Christians must also condemn the materialism of all systems.

Here McElheran's report failed to grasp one essential aspect of the Oxford Report. The latter placed Christians under the necessity of discovering the best available means of checking human selfishness and of increasing the possibilities and opportunities of love within a sinful world.<sup>62</sup> Whereas Oxford recognized the relativity of ethics in an

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60 GSJP, 1937, p. 246.

61 Ibid.

62 The Churches Survey Their Task: The Report of the Conference at Oxford, July 1937, On Church, Community, and State, London, 1937, p. 93.

imperfect world, McElheran's report used the "there is evil in all systems" cliché as a reason for the Church to avoid taking a definite stand on economic issues.

Canon Judd, the General Secretary of the CSS, derived more positive guidance from Oxford, as he showed when he reminded the clergy that it was their duty to see things as they were, to tell the community of the suffering, deprivation, and squalor which existed around them, and to denounce the sins causing those conditions.<sup>63</sup> Judd tried to see that church members were fully informed about the statements of the Oxford Conference on the economic order both through the Bulletin<sup>64</sup> and through articles in the Churchman.<sup>65</sup> In the Churchman articles he applied the Oxford findings to the Canadian situation and came to the conclusion that we would in time come to a greater degree of social ownership and to more democratic control of the means of production. He did not want Canadians to fear the implications of such ideas.

Many Canadian church people were indeed fearful of any ideas which bordered on socialism. The advent of the

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63 Bulletin No. 95, 17 February 1938, p. 1.

64 W. W. Judd, "The Economic Report from Oxford for Canadian Church People," Bulletin No. 95, pp. 6-9.

65 W. W. Judd, "The Church and the Economic Situation in Canada Against the Background of the Oxford Conference," CC, 27 January 1938, p. 55; CC, 3 February 1938, p. 68.

Co-operative Commonwealth Federation tended to polarize opinion for or against socialism. Among Anglicans there was also the fear of becoming identified with a particular party. Both fears together probably account for the rejection by the Toronto Synod of a motion presented by the Reverend G. O. Lightbourn and A. U'Ren, "That this Synod notes with approval the evidence of a growing demand for a more equitable distribution of material wealth and affirms its belief that Christianity should be a revolutionary and not a reactionary social force."<sup>66</sup> Instead the Synod adopted an amendment which approved "the evidence of a growing demand for a deeper understanding of Christian stewardship in the use of material wealth."<sup>67</sup> Whereas the original motion implied state compulsion to see that wealth be more equitably distributed, the amendment approved "Christian stewardship," which would mean the voluntary, unselfish, responsible use of one's wealth for the benefit of others. There would seem to have been much more demand for a more equitable distribution of wealth than for a deeper understanding of Christian stewardship.

In conclusion it must be admitted that the motion approved by the Toronto Synod provides an example of the

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<sup>66</sup> Journal of the Incorporated Synod of the Diocese of Toronto of the Church of England in Canada, 1938, p. 87.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid.

tendency toward compromise and caution in official church pronouncements. Although the evidence shows that many Anglicans were unhappy with capitalism and attacked its failings, synod motions that clearly condemned the economic system were diluted into generalities that could be applied to any economic system. In its pronouncements the "official" church made its weakest showing in working for an improved economic system.

The most likely explanation for Anglican hesitation and caution in official pronouncements during the depression lies in the lack of consensus on the kind of changes that should be made. Many Anglicans were indeed unhappy with the operation of capitalism, its putting profits before all other considerations, and the consequent evils of low wages, poverty, and unemployment, but until churchmen reached a consensus on what would be better, they hesitated to condemn the present evils as strongly as they might have done. Both statements in the Lightbourn-U'Ren motion might have been theoretically true; yet the members of the Toronto Synod probably thought that their approval of them might be opening the door for church approval of socialism. They could not accept socialism because to them it meant the end of private property.

Where Anglicans divided over statements which condemned the present order, they frequently united over specific reforms which would improve conditions for people, but which did not involve a radical change in the economic system. Thus

churchmen gave a great deal of support to projects like the creation of an economic council, slum clearance and housing, and later on to government social measures. By the end of the 1930s the attitude of the "official" church toward reform of the economic order was that, whereas the capitalist system required some changes to make it work better for all Canadians, it should not be replaced with socialism.

## CHAPTER IX

### THE GREAT DEPRESSION II. THE "UNOFFICIAL" CHURCH AND CAPITALISM

The factors which tended to make official bodies like Anglican Synods and the Council for Social Service cautious in their public statements on economic issues did not prevent individual churchmen from taking a more definite stand in condemning laissez-faire capitalism and in calling for its reform. Other prominent church members even endorsed socialism and worked for its adoption in Canada. This group found that the Church put no impediments in its way; indeed Anglican socialists probably found some private support in official circles. Although they did not meet with direct success in achieving a socialist Canada, the programme which they helped to draw up received considerable support. If adopted it would have resulted in a combination of private and public ownership, achieved by the use of democratic and evolutionary means.

As a privately owned paper the Canadian Churchman was part of the "unofficial" church. Its role is important because through its pages a number of individual Anglicans were able to make public their opinions on reform of the economic order. The paper itself sometimes came under attack for what some readers considered its neglect of economic problems. One correspondent, G. J. Bryan, wrote the editor to express

regret that during such a period of poverty and misery the Churchman's articles and letters did not reveal greater concern for human suffering caused by "[...] a disordered social and economic system [...]." <sup>1</sup> As the paper published a fair number of articles on economic issues during the depression it is difficult to agree completely with Bryan's criticism.

What did call for criticism was the lack of editorial support for such articles as the Churchman did publish. A penetrating judgment on the paper's editorial policy was made by Roy Durnford, a clergyman in British Columbia, who suggested that the Churchman's function should be to help Canadian Anglicans catch up with the Church of England, which led the way in matters of political, economic, and social life, as well as in theology. He could see little "in our solitary Canadian church paper which attempts to set forth the findings of new and great movements within the Church."<sup>2</sup> The editor did not see his role as Durnford saw it. Canon Armstrong, who succeeded Canon E. A. McIntyre in 1926, rarely commented on any article. He certainly maintained an air of neutrality toward any indictments of the economic order appearing in the Churchman, as if the paper printed such material merely as abstract

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1 "A Crusade for Economic Reform," letter to editor, CC, 13 April 1933, p. 232.

2 Letter to editor, CC, 3 December 1936, p. 694.

information. He ignored issues which were of particular interest and concern to Canadians, if those issues touched at all on politics. Thus the Churchman contained no editorial reference to the formation of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation and Social Credit parties, to the Stevens Parliamentary Price-Spreads Committee, or to the issues of the 1935 general election. At that time Armstrong was one of many Canadian Anglicans who believed that religion is religion and politics is politics and never the twain shall meet. Not until near the end of the decade, influenced by the conclusions of the Oxford Conference of 1937, did Armstrong modify his position and partially accept the view that religion might have some voice in practical economic and political affairs.<sup>3</sup>

The Churchman under Armstrong followed no strong and consistent policy on social issues; it even lacked a true editorial page, which should serve as the heart of any publication. Armstrong confined his efforts to a cosy, frequently sentimental "Chat with the Editor," to scrutinizing questionable articles, and to helping decide issues.<sup>4</sup> The actual work of getting out the paper, as he admitted several

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<sup>3</sup> CC, 27 January 1938, p. 50; 10 February 1938, p. 82; 17 February 1938, p. 98.

<sup>4</sup> CC, 16 June 1932, p. 370.

times,<sup>5</sup> fell on the shoulders of Mrs. McIntyre, the assistant editor.

In spite of the editorial vacuum the Churchman did provide a vehicle for the propagation of quite advanced proposals on changing the economic order. One of the more prolific contributors was the Reverend Harry R. Hunt. In his first article Hunt rejected both capitalism and communism because he considered both systems incompatible with Christianity.<sup>6</sup> Because the only god of capitalism was dividends, this system was just as atheistic as communism. Hunt favoured what he called "Christian Communism," which was to be based on consecration and co-operation. A year later in a lead article,<sup>7</sup> Hunt described society as having drifted into the depression and as continuing to drift in spite of distress. He saw no need for privation and unemployment. The answer to these problems lay in a realism which would uncover the evils of our social system, and in a determination to remould the system upon a more ideal pattern. Two years later Hunt burst forth with an attack on the clergy, whom he accused of siding

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<sup>5</sup> Ibid.; also CC, 30 July 1931, p. 486; 22 September 1932, p. 594; 2 June 1938, p. 342.

<sup>6</sup> "Capitalism, Communism and Christianity," CC, 28 May 1931, p. 344.

<sup>7</sup> "The Jerusalem Road," CC, 26 May 1932, p. 223.

with the powerful and privileged against the great mass of the people.<sup>8</sup> After another three months he committed himself as "a Christian socialist" to combat capitalism, "following the leadership offered by Hon. [sic] Mr. Woodsworth, and more recently, by Hon. Mr. Bennett."<sup>9</sup>

If Hunt did any further writing in this vein, it was not published in the Churchman. He certainly continued to take an active interest in reform of the economic order. In 1938, with F. Andrew Brewin and John F. Davidson, he signed a letter to the Churchman<sup>10</sup> inviting readers to join in discussions on the findings of the Oxford Conference. During the Second World War he was associated with the founding of Canada and Christendom, a newsletter dedicated to church involvement in social and economic issues.<sup>11</sup>

Another contributor of articles on economic reform was the Reverend F. J. Moore, who for a number of years before he moved to the United States was the assistant to Canon Plumtre at St. James Cathedral in Toronto. Moore began writing in response to a letter from four rectors in Brantford

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8 "Talks with a Communist," CC, 4 October 1934, p. 574.

9 H. R. Hunt, letter to the editor, CC, 7 March 1935, p. 149.

10 Issue of 27 January 1938, p. 57.

11 Hunt's writings and activities do not appear to have hurt his career, for in 1960 he became Suffragan Bishop of Toronto.

and Paris, Ontario, who were concerned with poverty and unemployment in their parishes. After recommending profit-sharing and unemployment insurance, they appealed to the statement of the 1930 Lambeth Conference that "a fundamental change in the spirit and working of our economic life" was needed.<sup>12</sup> Moore's response was that the Church ought to give a lead in working for a peaceful revolution in the social and economic order.<sup>13</sup> He hoped that the forthcoming General Synod would make a contribution to the achievement of the new order demanded by the times. He did not expect the Synod to work out a perfect economic scheme; it would fulfil its role through an association of Christians, who would work for changes in the present structure of society. Shortly before Synod met, Moore again expressed the hope that this body would make a pronouncement by which the Church would give a lead in economic reform.<sup>14</sup> As already seen, the Synod held a day-long debate on the issue, but no strong statement resulted.

In other articles Moore argued that the unity of all life required Christians to be concerned with the economic situation. God was behind all life, including the economic

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<sup>12</sup> C. H. P. Owen, W. A. Filer, Carew Hallowell, and Harry F. Cocks, letter to editor, CC, 30 April 1931, p. 285.

<sup>13</sup> F. J. Moore, "The Challenge of This Hour," CC, 14 May 1931, pp. 310, 316.

<sup>14</sup> "Bracelets and Earrings," CC, 10 September 1931, p. 583.

aspect.<sup>15</sup> He also claimed that to follow those who believed that the Church had no business to meddle in politics or in industrial problems, or to associate itself with particular programmes of social reform, would condemn the Church to the role of an onlooker who must always approve what the state is doing.<sup>16</sup> Old Testament prophets as well as the Lambeth Conference laid upon the Church an obligation, which could hardly be questioned, to speak out on social issues. Moore, like Hunt, favoured a programme of Christian Socialism. One of his articles told of the Christian Socialist movement in Britain, which had the support of several well known Church of England clergymen and of twenty-four members of Parliament.<sup>17</sup>

Canon H. P. Plumptre, Moore's rector at St. James, also contributed to the Churchman. In a series of articles he gave a brief history of the changing attitudes which led to the development of laissez-faire capitalism and of the awakening of the social conscience within the Church of England.<sup>18</sup> Even earlier he had defined his views on the role

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<sup>15</sup> "The Prophet of Japan," CC, 16 July 1931, p. 454. Moore here writes about Toyohiko Kagawa, the famous Japanese Christian, who worked through labour unions and co-operatives to improve social conditions in his country.

<sup>16</sup> "Caesar and God," CC, 5 November 1931, p. 715.

<sup>17</sup> "A Christian Social Order," CC, 20 August 1931, p. 535.

<sup>18</sup> "The Evolution of the Social Conscience," CC, 27 May 1937, p. 326; 3 June 1937, p. 342; 10 June 1937, p. 359.

of the Church in working for reform of the economic order.<sup>19</sup> He believed that the present task of the Canadian Church was to catch up with the Mother Church, and that in view of the world situation the responsibility for justifying their position lay upon opponents of change more than upon those who advocated radical adjustment in the economic order.

Plumptre was doubtless correct in claiming that the Church of England led the Canadian Church in episcopal support for social and economic reform through the years. Not many Canadian bishops have left utterances which could be construed as attacking capitalism, except during the First World War. Nevertheless during the depression Bishop Roper of Ottawa did go so far as to question publicly the right of business combinations to control for gain such necessities as coal and milk, so that neither producer nor consumer received his just share of benefits.<sup>20</sup> Another bishop who was also critical of the economic system, but far more frequently, was John Cragg Farthing, Bishop of Montreal from 1909 to 1939.

Farthing's attacks in the post-war period on the manner in which capitalism functioned have already been discussed. During the depression years he continued to denounce

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19 CC, 29 October 1936, p. 614.

20 "A Masterpiece of Church Statesmanship," news item in CC, 22 June 1933, p. 390.

the present system as one of selfishness and greed.<sup>21</sup> In his charge to his diocesan synod in 1933 he castigated the financial oligarchy for its desire for gain, and compared its members to bandits and gangsters.<sup>22</sup> At the same time he demanded a change in the economic system, a demand he repeated in ensuing years.<sup>23</sup> His stand helps to explain why the Diocese of Montreal produced one of the Church's most socially concerned groups during the Second World War.

As the views described above were published in the Canadian Churchman, they went into the homes of some of the most active supporters of the Anglican Church. These stimulating and often controversial statements and articles must have caused many readers to stop and question the operation of the capitalist system, especially during the depression years.

Certainly the economic distress of the period influenced a number of Anglicans, not only to question the operation of capitalism, but also to endorse socialism.

To these Anglicans, after the abortive Conservative attempt at reform, only the new Co-operative Commonwealth Federation appeared to offer the political means for bringing about what they saw as necessary changes in the economic

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21 CC, 19 November 1931, p. 748; 21 April 1932, p. 244.

22 CC, 27 April 1933, p. 260.

23 CC, 19 April 1934, p. 246; 31 January 1935, p. 66; 2 May 1935, p. 277.

system. Of course there were also many reform-minded Anglicans who did not agree with the CCF programme, but others like Andrew Brewin saw in this party a programme to which they could attach their hopes and idealism. Although the Church did not endorse socialism, there is every reason to believe that laymen who joined the CCF always felt at home in the Church, and that priests who worked actively for the party remained fairly comfortable in their ministry. An important aspect of Anglican relations with the CCF is that the Church at no time proscribed socialism, as happened in the Roman Catholic Church when Monsignor Georges Gauthier, Coadjutor Bishop of Montreal, sent a letter to be read in churches of his diocese on Sunday, 25 February 1934, warning against the CCF as a dangerous movement with a materialistic conception of the social order.<sup>24</sup>

One Anglican who was a prominent member of the CCF was M. J. Coldwell. Throughout his years as party leader Coldwell remained a practising member of the Church.<sup>25</sup> In the summer of 1932 he became leader of the newly formed Farmer-Labor Party in Saskatchewan.<sup>26</sup> Although he met

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<sup>24</sup> CAR, 1934, p. 53.

<sup>25</sup> Archdeacon C. G. Hepburn, former rector of All Saints' Church, Sandy Hill, Ottawa, informed the writer that Coldwell would come home from Parliament Hill to receive Holy Communion with his invalid wife when Hepburn went to minister to her.

<sup>26</sup> David Lewis and Frank Scott, Make This Your Canada: A Review of C.C.F. History and Policy, Toronto, 1943, p. 118.

personal defeat in the election of June 1934, in which the Liberals took forty-nine seats, his party won the remaining five and became the official opposition. In July it changed its name to the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation, Saskatchewan Section. Coldwell was personally more successful in the federal election of 1935, winning Rosetown-Biggar for the CCF. After the start of the Second World War he succeeded J. S. Woodsworth as party leader.

In time Andrew Brewin also became a prominent member of the CCF. He was the son of Canon F. H. Brewin, rector of St. Simon's Church, Toronto. During the depression and the war years, the younger Brewin acted as a lay delegate from St. Simon's to the Synod of the Diocese of Toronto.<sup>27</sup> He also served on the Toronto Diocesan Council for Social Service. From this experience and his concern for the unemployed came his article, "Our Attitude to the Unemployed," in the Canadian Churchman,<sup>28</sup> in which he described the demoralizing effects of unemployment. To Brewin it was the Church's function to provide the men who would work for economic reform by their participation in politics; churchmen per se were not especially qualified to pass upon the efficiency of the machinery of

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<sup>27</sup> Journal of the Incorporated Synod of the Diocese of Toronto of the Church of England in Canada, 1935, pp. 85, 142; 1936, pp. 92, 139, 140; 1937, pp. 24, 32. Brewin's name continued to appear until the Journal of 1945.

<sup>28</sup> Issue of 11 June 1936, p. 375.

monetary reform and upon state or private ownership.<sup>29</sup> To Brewin's statement may be added that it was government, not the Church, which had the power to curb the activities of financiers and industrialists, and to adapt the economic system so that it would provide greater justice and security for the working-class.

Another clergyman's son who became actively involved in the CCF during the depression was Frank R. Scott, son of Archdeacon **Frederick George** Scott, of whom a great deal has already been written in this study.<sup>30</sup> Although Pacey, in his study of Scott as a poet, claims that "sympathy for the unemployed, the poor, and the sick had led Scott to repudiate the respectable tradition out of which he himself had sprung [...],"<sup>31</sup> it should be remembered that his father had earlier repudiated the same respectable tradition for the same cause. Frank Scott recognizes also that he owes to his father his

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29 F. A. Brewin, "The Church and the Coming Struggle for Power," CC, 12 December 1935, p. 725.

30 Francis Reginald Scott, born August 1899; graduated from Bishop's College, Lennoxville, and attended Oxford on a Rhodes Scholarship. In 1924 he began to study law at McGill, and in 1928 he joined the Faculty of Law, later becoming its Dean. After his retirement from that position in 1964, he worked with McGill's French Canada Studies Programme.

31 Desmond Pacey, Ten Canadian Poets: A Group of Biographical and Critical Essays, Toronto, 1958, 1966, p. 232.

own commitment to duty and service, as the true purpose of life.<sup>32</sup>

Scott's introduction to socialism came at Bishop's University where a Professor E. E. Boothroyd required him to write an essay on the subject. While attending Oxford in the early 1920s, he became interested in the British Labour Party. He joined a study group which was considering the Lambeth Report of 1920, and an acquaintance with R. H. Tawney furthered his interest in socialism during this period. After his return to Canada his law studies took his attention for the rest of the decade, but the changed conditions of the 1930s turned his attention again to socialism as the remedy for the economic ills then afflicting Canadian society.

In 1931, while attending a conference on international affairs at Williamsburg, Massachusetts, Scott and Professor Frank H. Underhill discussed the need for a new Canadian political party based on Fabian principles. The two men decided to form study groups to provide an intellectual foundation for the proposed party. Scott formed a group in Montreal, Underhill, one in Toronto. In January 1932 both groups met in Toronto to form the League for Social Reconstruction (LSR), with J. S. Woodsworth as its Honorary

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<sup>32</sup> Personal interview in Frank Scott's office, Montreal, 12 June 1970, from which comes also much of the following information.

President.<sup>33</sup> The manifesto issued at this time defined the League as "an association of men and women who are working for the establishment in Canada of a social order in which the basic principle regulating production, distribution and service will be the common good rather than private profit."<sup>34</sup> The manifesto condemned the present capitalist system as "unjust and inhuman, economically wasteful and a standing threat to peace and democratic government,"<sup>35</sup> because it led to struggle for raw materials and to international competition in armaments. The manifesto advocated public ownership of public utilities, nationalization of banks, development of co-operative institutions for agriculture, social legislation such as medical insurance, and steeply graduated income and inheritance taxes.

In May 1932 the "Ginger Group" in the House of Commons<sup>36</sup> met with representatives of the LSR and decided to

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33 Besides Woodsworth, Underhill and Scott, members of the original executive were E. A. Havelock of Victoria College, J. F. Parkinson of the University of Toronto, King Gordon of Union Theological College, Montreal, and Miss Isobel Thomas, Secretary.

34 F. H. Underhill, "The League for Social Reconstruction," Canadian Forum, XII, 139 (April 1932), p. 249.

35 Ibid.

36 Under Robert Gardiner as farm spokesman and J. S. Woodsworth as labour spokesman, the "Ginger Group" consisted largely of remnants of the Progressive Party and the two labour men from Winnipeg, Woodsworth and A. A. Heaps; others of the group were William Irvine, Agnes McPhail, E. J. Garland, and Henry Spencer. See Lewis and Scott, Make This Your Canada, p. 115.

form a new political party. Later the same year the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation was born in Calgary. In July 1933 the new party held its first National Convention in Regina, where it adopted the party's programme, commonly called the Regina Manifesto. Both Scott and Underhill had a hand in the preparation of this programme. Scott was president of the LSR in 1935-36 and national chairman of the CCF from 1942 to 1950.

Frank Scott was also involved in laying the intellectual foundation for the CCF by contributing to Social Planning for Canada.<sup>37</sup> This work gave a detailed analysis of capitalism and of the reasons for its assumed failure as an economic system, chief among which was its inefficiency.<sup>38</sup> The second part of the book gave the meaning and described the application of social planning. Three years later members of the LSR collaborated in the authorship of Democracy Needs Socialism,<sup>39</sup> which might be described as a simpler version of the earlier work, aimed more at the average voter. The argument of

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<sup>37</sup> The Research Committee of the League for Social Reconstruction, Social Planning for Canada, n.p., Thomas Nelson, 1935. Others who accepted responsibility for this work were Eugene Forsey, J. King Gordon, Leonard Marsh, J. F. Parkinson, Graham Spry, and F. H. Underhill.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid., esp. Chapter VII, pp. 176-212.

<sup>39</sup> Democracy Needs Socialism, Toronto, 1938.

Democracy Needs Socialism was that, even though the depression to many people seemed to be over, inevitably it would return unless the economic system were changed to one based on socialism. Although it is unlikely that many individual voters read this book, it must have provided much useful material for CCF candidates during election campaigns and for argument and discussion among supporters of socialism.

Frank Scott did not confine his efforts to long range theoretical aspects of economic reform; he also made time for work on removing current evils. He put forward practical proposals to this end, which could be applied by any government. He joined with H. M. Cassidy to produce a report on the Men's Clothing Industry, which was presented to the Parliamentary Committee on Price Spreads and Mass Buying, chaired by the Honourable H. H. Stevens. Their report showed the effect of cutthroat competition and economic conditions on employees who endured seasonal employment, low wages, and sweatshop conditions. To Scott and Cassidy the only workable solution required government controls over the industry.<sup>40</sup> They recommended enforcement of existing laws dealing with wages, hours, and factory conditions, as the place to begin correcting the evils of the industry.

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<sup>40</sup> F. R. Scott and H. M. Cassidy, Labour Conditions in the Men's Clothing Industry, Toronto, March 1935, pp. 83ff.

Frank Scott also dedicated his gift as a poet to the cause of reform of the economic order. In 1932 the Canadian Forum published a collection of his verse satirizing capitalism.<sup>41</sup> The following lines provide a sample of his theme and method:

The great executive heads of this Company  
Follow the principles of sound conservative finances,  
By reducing wages, turning workers into the streets,  
And drawing upon reserves hidden away during prosperity,  
They have been able to continue paying full dividends.

A few years later, in answer to people who claimed that socialism would prove inefficient in comparison with capitalism, Scott wrote:

"Efficiency:1935"

The efficiency of the capitalist system  
Is rightly admired by important people.  
Our huge steel mills  
Operating at 25% of capacity  
Are the last word in organization.  
The new grain elevators  
Stored with superfluous wheat  
Can load a grain-boat in two hours.  
Marvellous card-sorting machines  
Make it easy to keep track of the unemployed.  
There is not one unnecessary worker  
In these textile plants  
That require a 75% tariff protection.  
And when our closed shoe-factories re-open  
They will produce more footwear than we can possibly  
buy.  
So don't let us start experimenting with socialism,  
Which everyone knows means inefficiency and waste.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> Frank Scott, "An Anthology of Up-to-date Canadian Poetry, Canadian Forum, XII, 140 (May 1932), 290-91.

<sup>42</sup> F. R. Scott, "Social Notes," Canadian Forum, XV, 174 (March 1935), 220.

As stated in the introduction to this study, one aspect of the Anglican contribution to reform of the economic order was to undermine support for laissez-faire capitalism. F. R. Scott certainly made a contribution to that end through his writings in poetry and prose during the years of the Great Depression and after.

One Anglican priest, whose difficult but interesting experience in Canadian politics on behalf of the CCF has been largely forgotten, was Robert Connell, who showed his interest in social issues during the General Synod of 1915 by his support for the creation of the CSS. A news item in the Canadian Churchman in 1933 told of his election as provincial CCF member for Victoria, British Columbia.<sup>43</sup> This report gave credit for the support which he received to his many activities, his public spirit, and his fearlessness. An editorial in the Victoria Daily Colonist<sup>44</sup> attributed his success to his being so well known and so highly respected. Long a supporter of Christian social action, Connell was to lead the first CCF official opposition in a Canadian legislature.

The 1933 election in British Columbia resulted in a resounding victory for the Liberals led by T. D. Pattulo, and almost wiped out support for the Conservative

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<sup>43</sup> CC, 28 December 1933, p. 789.

<sup>44</sup> Issue of 28 November 1933, p. 4.

government.<sup>45</sup> Although the CCF won only seven seats, this party formed the official opposition. In place of the party leader, W. A. Pritchard, who failed to win a seat, Connell was chosen to lead the party in the Assembly.<sup>46</sup>

Connell's period as CCF leader in the Assembly was neither happy nor successful. To the displeasure of the more radical elements in the British Columbia wing of the party, he rejected any dealings with the Communists, and insisted on following the Regina Manifesto. A move to displace him suffered defeat at the party's 1935 Provincial Convention.<sup>47</sup> This Convention then approved a platform which called for socialization of finance and credit. To Connell such a programme was impracticable. When he announced he could not support it, the Provincial Council suspended him from membership in the party, along with two Assembly members who supported him. It actually turned out that three Assembly members supported Connell, and the four men formed the Independent Socialist Party. The Speaker continued to recognize Connell as Leader of the Opposition.<sup>48</sup> Connell met defeat in the 1937 election, and the

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<sup>45</sup> For accounts of this election see the Victoria Daily Colonist, issues of 3 November 1933, p. 1, and 11 November 1933, p. 1.

<sup>46</sup> CAR, 1934, p. 53.

<sup>47</sup> CAR, 1935-36, p. 396.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid., p. 397.

Conservatives, by winning eight seats against seven for the CCF, became the official opposition.<sup>49</sup> The verdict of the electorate might possibly have been different if the split in CCF ranks had not occurred in 1935.

Whether their concern found expression in politics or in the spoken and written word, all the persons whose work has been described in this chapter represented the Church at work in the world. Being either clergymen or the sons of clergymen, except for M. J. Coldwell, who was also a staunch churchman, they would be deeply influenced by their church connection or commitment. Some, like Canon Plumptre and Bishop Farthing, confined themselves to speaking out on the iniquities of laissez-faire capitalism. Others like Scott, Hunt, Moore, Coldwell, Brewin, and Connell committed themselves to the cause of socialism as a substitute for the existing economic system. At that time neither a majority of Anglicans nor of Canadian voters were ready to exchange the evils of the known for the possible perils of the untried. Another programme, which would eventually prove more acceptable, began to win support during this decade of depression. It was the programme of social welfare and insurance, and this programme would provide the middle ground between socialism and capitalism, which before the Second World War had seen little government interference.

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<sup>49</sup> CAR, 1937-38, p. 495.

## CHAPTER X

### THE GREAT DEPRESSION III. SOCIAL SECURITY, RELIEF, AND PUBLIC WORKS

Prior to 1929 Workmen's Compensation and Old Age Pensions with a means test were in effect in most Canadian provinces, but compared to the achievements in Great Britain and Germany social security had made almost no progress in Canada. During the Great Depression social security measures came in for more serious and favourable consideration than they had hitherto received.

Even prior to 1914 some Canadian provinces<sup>1</sup> had passed Workmen's Compensation legislation, the main purpose of which had been to remove the onus which previously rested on an injured workman to prove that his employer's negligence had caused his injury. Under these Acts the employer had to pay compensation to the worker injured in his employ unless the injury resulted from a deliberate act on the part of the worker.<sup>2</sup>

Ontario's Workmen's Compensation Act, passed in 1914 and effective 1 January 1915, went an important step further in that it established a Workmen's Compensation Board with full authority to hear and decide cases. Other provinces

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1 Including New Brunswick, Saskatchewan, Manitoba, Nova Scotia, and Quebec.

2 CAR, 1909, pp. 419-20.

followed suit in creating boards or commissions with the same powers.<sup>3</sup> The effect of this step was to remove the issue of compensation from the courts and to make it an administrative matter. The result was to speed up the granting of help at a time when the workers and their families needed financial assistance.<sup>4</sup>

Old Age Pensions as provided by the Act of the Canadian Parliament in 1927 were very limited in their benefits. Only persons with a total income of \$365 or less, including the pension, were eligible for it, and the pension itself was limited to \$240. The central government paid one half the cost to those provinces which agreed to pay the other half. Only five provinces, Alberta, British Columbia, Manitoba, Ontario, and Saskatchewan, had taken advantage of the Act.<sup>5</sup> Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island had accepted the principle of the Act, although they had not yet put the pensions into effect. Quebec alone as yet had no legislation to provide pensions.

During the depression years certain Anglicans participated in the awakening of interest in social security. One

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<sup>3</sup> Nova Scotia, 1915; Manitoba, 1916; British Columbia, 1917; Alberta and New Brunswick, 1918; Saskatchewan, 1929; and Quebec, 1931.

<sup>4</sup> See E. E. Sparrow, "Workmen's Compensation," in Encyclopedia Canadiana, 1972, X, 364-65.

<sup>5</sup> Province of Quebec, Quebec Social Service Commission, Fifth Report, 1933, p. 148.

such Anglican was Archdeacon Scott, who in 1930 was appointed to the Quebec Commission on Social Insurance established to investigate matters of charity, social insurance, and industrial hygiene. One of its most positive recommendations was that the Province of Quebec take the initiative in encouraging a request from the provinces that the federal government set up an obligatory and contributory scheme of old age pensions.<sup>6</sup> When the Commission wanted expert advice on family allowances, it called in Charlotte Whitton, another Anglican.<sup>7</sup> Whitton claimed that it was not the function of the state to take from parents the responsibility for maintaining their children; rather it was the duty of the state to see that matters like the distribution of wealth, conditions of labour, and housing, were such that parents would find it possible to fulfil their obligations to their children.<sup>8</sup> The Commission agreed with her and concluded that the time was not opportune to institute family allowances in Quebec. Because in Europe family allowances were adapted to the payment of low wages, the Commission feared that such a measure would keep wages low in Canada.

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6 Ibid., p. 155.

7 Born 1896; M. A. (Queen's) 1917; Secretary, Social Service Council 1918-22; Secretary to Minister of Trade and Commerce, Canada, 1922-26; Founder of Canadian Welfare Council and Director 1926-42. Later in Ottawa civic politics, including five terms as mayor. Dr. Whitton is a member of St. Alban's Anglican Church, Ottawa.

8 Province of Quebec, Quebec Social Service Commission, Third and Fourth Reports, 1932, pp. 95-98.

One of the Commission's most interesting recommendations favoured an Employment Insurance Scheme, with both employers and employees paying the premiums. Under this plan insured workers, when out of work, would be offered work in special undertakings paid for from the funds collected, and planned by a commission of specialists. The Commission also favoured a scheme of unemployment insurance, but acknowledged that such insurance could be organized efficiently only on a national level.<sup>9</sup>

In considering unemployment insurance the Quebec Commission reflected a widespread demand which the Great Depression had aroused throughout the country. The Anglican Council for Social Service contributed to this demand by publishing a Bulletin written by H. M. Cassidy, which gave the history of unemployment insurance in relation to Canada.<sup>10</sup> Cassidy claimed that such insurance had already proved its worth in Great Britain, which adopted a plan in 1911, and whose example had been followed by a number of European countries.<sup>11</sup> In Canada the Mather Commission on Industrial Relations had recommended in 1919 the adoption of unemployment

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<sup>9</sup> Province of Quebec, Quebec Social Insurance Commission, Sixth Report, 1933, p. 176.

<sup>10</sup> H. M. Cassidy, Unemployment Insurance, Bulletin No. 87, July 1931, p. 8.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

insurance in Canada.<sup>12</sup> The same year the Canadian Liberal Party adopted a plank in its platform favouring such a scheme.<sup>13</sup> Like many other good intentions formulated under conditions of idealism aroused by the First World War, unemployment insurance fell by the wayside during the next decade. In 1928 the Industrial Relations Committee of the House of Commons did come out in favour of a plan which would require contributions from the state, employers, and employees, but when the federal Department of Labour sounded out the provinces it found them uninterested.<sup>14</sup> Such indifference disappeared quickly when the depression struck. Soon, not only the provinces, but also municipalities, labour organizations, churches, and social service groups began to clamour for the adoption of unemployment insurance.<sup>15</sup>

The Anglican Church joined in applying pressure on government to take action on unemployment insurance. The interest of the CSS went back to 1921.<sup>16</sup> Under the impact of the Great Depression the Council for Social Service, in its 1930 report, not only favoured rapid implementation of a plan, but also came out strongly for giving sufficient power to the central government to operate the plan. To Canon Vernon,

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12 Ibid.

13 Ibid.

14 Ibid.

15 Ibid., p. 6.

16 GSJP, 1921, p. 376.

General Secretary of the CSS, unemployment insurance was now within the realm of practical politics.<sup>17</sup> He believed that one of its most important benefits would be its effect upon morale. Unlike relief, which was demoralizing, unemployment insurance would be honourable, because the persons receiving benefits under the plan had earlier contributed to it. In his view the more the plan could be financed by contributions from employers and employees the better. At the same time he acknowledged that government aid was a practical necessity for the successful operation of the plan.

The CSS followed up on unemployment insurance with the Bulletin by Cassidy, already mentioned in connection with the history of past interest in a plan. The Honourable Peter Heenan, a former Liberal Minister of Labour, made particular mention of this article and used some of its material in a speech in favour of unemployment insurance in the House of Commons.<sup>18</sup> He agreed with Cassidy's proposal that the scheme must be national in scope.

The 1931 report of the CSS to the General Synod of that year called for "the establishment of a well devised federal plan of unemployment insurance [...]" which was to include farm workers.<sup>19</sup> In adopting this report, the General

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17 Ibid.

18 Canada, House of Commons Debates, 1932, p. 1019.

19 GSJP, 1931, p. 248.

Synod went on record as officially endorsing government action to put a plan into effect. It did so in spite of the opposition of a prominent member, Colonel W. F. Cockshutt of Brantford, who argued that such insurance was no remedy for unemployment because it did not strike at the root cause.<sup>20</sup> He blamed machinery for unemployment, and claimed that the remedy was shorter hours and a shorter week. Doubtless his point was well taken, and his remedies were worthwhile proposals for dealing with unemployment in the long term, as long as wages could be adjusted to compensate for the shorter work week. Nevertheless, although unemployment insurance was a short range remedy, it still merited support.

After 1931 Bert Merson of the CSS Executive Committee continued to press for unemployment insurance. In 1932 he obtained the support of the Diocese of Toronto for his motion that the Prime Minister be requested to consider for Canada a scheme of contributory unemployment insurance based on the plan in effect in Britain.<sup>21</sup> In 1933 he persuaded the CSS Executive to support unemployment insurance, along with health insurance, mothers' allowances, and contributory old age pensions, as measures the Executive would like to see adopted

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20 Toronto Mail and Empire, 23 September 1931, p. 5.

21 CC, 16 June 1932, p. 382.

in Canada by government action.<sup>22</sup> It appears the Executive favoured action by the central government, for its statement calling for legislation on social welfare also called for the amendment of the British North America Act if such a step were necessary to obtain legislation.

Two years later Prime Minister Bennett included unemployment insurance in his "new deal" legislation. Doubts about the legality of the federal scheme in an area of provincial jurisdiction proved well founded when, in 1937, the Supreme Court declared the Unemployment Insurance Act ultra vires of the federal government.<sup>23</sup>

In spite of this setback Canadian Anglicans continued to press for a plan of unemployment insurance. On at least one occasion, in 1938, the Synod of the Diocese of Montreal added its voice in support of unemployment insurance, and objected to the delay in its implementation.<sup>24</sup> The CSS with W. W. Judd as General Secretary continued its support, and also pressed for power for the central government to institute a plan. In 1940 the central government reached an agreement with the provinces on amending the BNA Act to permit the

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<sup>22</sup> Anglican Church Archives, Council for Social Service, Executive Minutes, 17 May 1933, p. 3. Hereafter referred to as CSS Executive Minutes.

<sup>23</sup> Neil L. McKellar, "Unemployment Insurance," Encyclopedia Canadiana, 1958, X, 174-77.

<sup>24</sup> Proceedings of the Seventy-ninth Annual Synod of the Diocese of Montreal, 1938, p. 42.

central government to administer a plan of unemployment insurance. When discussion arose in the press on the possibility of the government introducing a bill to put a plan into effect, Judd promptly wrote to the government to express the Church's interest and support.<sup>25</sup>

The Unemployment Insurance Act of 1940 followed the lines suggested by Vernon, Cassidy, and others some ten years earlier, in that the Act required contributions from employers, employees, and the federal government. As the insurance fund began in wartime and received the benefit of several years of high employment, it was able to build up a sizable reserve before heavy demands were made upon it.

Even if unemployment insurance had existed during the depression, direct relief would have been an urgent necessity for a large number of Canadians. Anglicans, through the Social Service Council, joined with other denominations in appealing to the federal government to accept the major responsibility for relief. In 1931 the SSC presented to Prime Minister Bennett and the Minister of Labour, Gideon Robertson, resolutions which urged the government to consider the depression an emergency as grave as any created by pestilence, famine, or war.<sup>26</sup> The SSC specifically proposed that a small national

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<sup>25</sup> CSS Executive Minutes, 29 May 1940, p. 4.

<sup>26</sup> CC, 30 July 1931, pp. 488-89.

board of experts plan and direct relief measures. Then, after dealing with the immediate emergency, this board should direct its efforts to seeking measures for stable employment. The SSC resolutions also called for drastic increases in income tax rates to raise the several hundred million dollars required for relief.

The Anglican General Synod of 1931 also made clear its conviction that responsibility for relief lay with government. This session supported the resolution of the Reverend A. P. Gower-Rees of Montreal that the nation was primarily responsible for the support of citizens who could not find work, and was also responsible for the dependents of these citizens.<sup>27</sup> The Synod later adopted as well a general resolution on unemployment which placed the onus on government to provide work where possible and adequate relief where necessary.<sup>28</sup>

Such resolutions probably reflected the fear that government, especially at the national level, might discontinue relief aid. After all, prior to the 1930 general election, Prime Minister King had made his famous statement in the House of Commons about not giving a cent--a few moments

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<sup>27</sup> GSJP, 1931, p. 96; see also the Toronto Mail and Empire, 23 September 1931, p. 5.

<sup>28</sup> GSJP, 1931, p. 106.

later raised to five cents--to any province with a Conservative government.<sup>29</sup> It is true that Bennett, immediately after winning the election, called a special session of Parliament to obtain approval for grants amounting to \$20 million to the provinces for relief projects and aid. Still, the assumption of public liability for relief was fairly recent and, in the present situation, dependent on the taxing ability of Ottawa. Therefore it seemed important to churchmen to keep pressure on the federal government to accept its obligation to continue aid for relief.

The extent to which the federal government accepted this responsibility may be gauged from the figures for certain years in this decade. Ottawa paid \$42,427,000 in grants to the provinces in 1931; \$25,993,000 in 1932; \$41 million in 1933; \$51,142,000 in the election year of 1935. The highest point was reached in 1937 when the federal government paid \$53,370,000 to the provinces for purposes of relief.<sup>30</sup>

Where government relief was lacking or inadequate to meet the needs of certain groups, Anglicans tried to supplement government aid. One group in special need consisted of unemployed single transient men. Because they took to the road in search of work, generally of a seasonal nature, and

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29 Canada, House of Commons Debates, 1930, pp. 1227-28.

30 Canada Year Book, 1940, p. 769.

because most municipalities required a year's residence before they would grant relief, these men were often in desperate straits. Without the help of churches and charitable institutions it is difficult to see how many of them could have survived. The Council for Social Service recognized their problem during the first winter of the depression, and suggested "Labour Homes" as a means of caring both for unemployed single men and for discharged prisoners.<sup>31</sup> At first the attitude of the CSS was the men should work in return for help given, because just to receive charity was bad for them. In its report to the 1931 General Synod the CSS recommended "a careful weeding out by the acid test of work of all slackers."<sup>32</sup> In practice those who operated hostels did not place much emphasis on making the men work; after all there were only so many chores the inmates could perform in a hostel. In any case the CSS itself did not operate any hostels; such projects were a diocesan responsibility.

One diocese which accepted this responsibility was Toronto, where the Diocesan Council for Social Service (DCSS) opened a hostel at the old Granite Club on Church Street. During five and a half months in the winter of 1931-32, those

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31 CSS Executive Minutes, 4 December 1929, p. 5.

32 GSJP, 1931, p. 248.

operating the hostel helped 520 men by providing them with bed and breakfast, and also found jobs for one hundred of them.<sup>33</sup> The city provided the other two daily meals. The hostel changed location several times before 1935, when the DCSS discontinued the work because of a lack of funds. Nevertheless it still gave aid to single men referred to it for assistance.<sup>34</sup>

Canon John Frank, a member of the Toronto Diocesan Council for Social Service, helped fill the breach left by the closing of the DCSS hostel when he opened the parish hall of Holy Trinity Church, Toronto, as a refuge for transients.<sup>35</sup> His efforts led to the establishment in 1938 of a properly equipped residence at 410 Sherbourne Street, with accommodation for one hundred men. Appropriately the Globe and Mail called it "John Frank's House."<sup>36</sup> This newspaper, which provided the beds and bedding, praised Frank for his kindness.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> Journal of the Incorporated Synod of the Diocese of Toronto of the Church of England in Canada, 1932, p. 164. Hereafter referred to as Toronto Synod Journal.

<sup>34</sup> Toronto Synod Journal, 1939, p. 143.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid., p. 180.

<sup>36</sup> "John Frank's House," editorial in Toronto Globe and Mail, 20 December 1938, p. 6.

<sup>37</sup> This journal was not as enamoured with Frank when he won election as a CCF alderman in Toronto. See ibid., 2 January 1943, pp. 1, 2. The next year the paper rejoiced at his defeat. Ibid., 3 January 1944, p. 6.

The Anglican Church also showed concern for single unemployed men who lived in work camps established by the central and provincial governments. The General Synod of 1931 offered the services of the Church in providing for the spiritual and social welfare of these men, and requested the various dioceses in which the camps were located to help provide these services.<sup>38</sup> At the time Ontario employed sixteen thousand men in camps in the northern part of the province, where the men did road work for which they received their keep and forty dollars a month.<sup>39</sup> The Minister of Northern Development, the Honourable W. Finlayson, met with representatives of the different denominations and offered board and lodging at these camps for a certain number of church workers. When, by 1932, the situation among the single unemployed men in the four western provinces became so bad that Ottawa opened camps for them under the Department of National Defence,<sup>40</sup> the churches arranged workers for these camps also. In British Columbia the Anglican and United Churches co-operated in this work.<sup>41</sup> These church workers not only held

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<sup>38</sup> GSJP, 1931, p. 261.

<sup>39</sup> CAR, 1930-31, p. 143; CAR, 1932, p. 105.

<sup>40</sup> Charlotte Whitton, "Dependency and Relief in Canada," in Dependency, Relief and Economics, Bulletin No. 95, February 1938, p. 2.

<sup>41</sup> CC, 16 June 1932, p. 380.

religious services, but also contributed to morale by arranging concerts and other forms of recreation.<sup>42</sup>

Not all Anglicans were satisfied with either the morale or the morals at the government camps. Still, when the Reverend W. T. Solly from Kootenay, at the 1934 General Synod, claimed that the camp system had a demoralizing influence and was breeding vice in its worst forms, he was answered with loud cries of "No!" from all parts of the floor.<sup>43</sup> Yet the same Synod showed a measure of agreement with Solly's criticism when it adopted a motion requesting the segregation of youths in camps separate from those for older men. The same motion urged both provincial and central governments to co-operate in providing activities for men in the camps. One idea was to replace "unsettling propaganda"<sup>44</sup> with constructive education given by unemployed teachers. This suggestion was probably inspired by a committee report of the Ottawa Conference on Relief, held the previous year, and in which representatives of the CSS participated. This report emphasized the necessity of supplying educational as well as recreational activities for the men.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> CSS Executive Minutes, 26 May 1932, p. 4.

<sup>43</sup> CC, 27 September 1934, p. 558.

<sup>44</sup> GSJP, 1934, p. 111.

<sup>45</sup> J. F. Morris and Bert Merson, "General and Unemployment Relief," CC, 6 July 1933, pp. 422-23. Morris and Merson, along with Archbishop Roper of Ottawa, represented the CSS at this conference.

The unsettling propaganda referred to was that of communists, whose agitation in the British Columbia camps was discussed in the Canadian Churchman in 1932.<sup>46</sup> Fear of communism and revolution could arouse a bitter reaction, as was shown in 1935 when Bishop Wells of Cariboo in British Columbia made known his unhappiness with relief camps. He now saw them as a breeding ground for lawlessness, bitterness, and discontent.<sup>47</sup> There were even men in them who wanted the whole social and economic system changed! Although Wells was ready to admit the system was not satisfactory, he thought such agitators should be sent back, either to the land of their birth or to that of their "political adoption."<sup>48</sup> The bishop did not recognize that, if agitators posed a threat in 1935, it was because they worked among desperate, frustrated, and disillusioned men. The same year the inmates in British Columbia camps decided to relieve their frustration by a march on Ottawa, only to be turned back at Regina by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police.

Because in 1936 the Department of National Defence closed its camps, the Church had to drop its chaplaincy work in them. Under an agreement between the Ottawa government and

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<sup>46</sup> Issue of 16 June 1932, p. 380.

<sup>47</sup> CC, 6 June 1935, p. 357.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid.

the railways the latter gave work to some ten thousand men on railway right-of-ways.<sup>49</sup> Under the new arrangement the men were organized in small groups of twenty-five to one hundred; the Church therefore asked local clergymen to minister to such groups working in their particular parishes.<sup>50</sup>

Anglicans remained concerned with the plight of the transient unemployed until the end of the decade. The work on the railroads did not provide jobs for all who needed them. The CSS Executive expressed concern over their situation of the unemployed in western centres like Calgary, where their plight was especially bad in the winter of 1936-37.<sup>51</sup> In 1939 Dr. Judd, General Secretary of the CSS, co-operated with the Canadian Welfare Council in drawing up a series of resolutions calling on the federal government to assume a greater degree of oversight and financial responsibility for these men. These resolutions were presented to the government in January 1939.<sup>52</sup> The same month, when there was an acute situation in Toronto over finding means to care for the transient unemployed, the CSS helped to make arrangements with the Dominion government to extend aid for them until

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<sup>49</sup> Whitton, Bulletin No. 95, p. 2.

<sup>50</sup> CC, 23 July 1936, p. 437.

<sup>51</sup> CSS Executive Minutes, 24 February 1937, p. 2.

<sup>52</sup> Toronto Synod Journal, 1939, p. 179.

31 March, or until 15 April in some cases.<sup>53</sup> Although the Second World War ended the problem of the transient unemployed by providing openings in the armed forces and in civilian jobs, the memory of their experiences aroused within them such bitter resentment that they resolved not to return to similar conditions after the war. In that resolve they had allies in many Anglicans who, whether from guilt or concern, took a stand in the early years of the war for a new world after the war.

Another case of dire urgency in which the Anglican Church took an active part in providing help was the situation among western farmers. In the Palliser Triangle of the prairie wheat farming area drought had increased the economic effects of the depression to the point of catastrophe. According to an advertisement for the "Western Drought Fund" in 1936, fifty thousand families had no crops and no incomes for five years.<sup>54</sup> Although governments made provision for food, fuel, and clothing, and for fodder for the animals, families lacked such necessities as blankets, stove pipes, window glass, and kettles. Children had to use newspapers and flour bags for covers at night.

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<sup>53</sup> Ibid., p. 180.

<sup>54</sup> Toronto Globe and Mail, 5 December 1936. This advertisement was sponsored by the Ontario Division of The Canadian Red Cross.

The Anglican Church, through its Council for Social Service, responded first with proposals for long range solutions to the problems of western farmers. In 1930 Canon Vernon suggested mixed farming and the establishment of factories and other projects to provide winter work.<sup>55</sup> When the situation worsened the next year,<sup>56</sup> the CSS made plans for a Special Western Relief Fund appeal. Launched through the Churchman in November,<sup>57</sup> the appeal was continued with numerous items on relief work in the west. In response church members contributed over \$17 thousand in cash, and Woman's Auxiliaries collected and shipped bales of bedding and clothing.<sup>58</sup> The Church carried on similar relief work throughout the years of drought. In 1936 church people responded to the call of the Governor General, who described the situation as a national emergency, by collecting 297 freight carloads of fruits and vegetables.<sup>59</sup> The railways co-operated in these years by transporting relief supplies without charge.<sup>60</sup>

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55 CC, 25 September 1930, p. 617.

56 One correspondent described for readers of the Churchman the conditions in the Diocese of Qu'Appelle, where seventy thousand square miles of wheat farming areas produced no crops. Issue of 24 September 1931, p. 632.

57 CC, 5 November 1931, p. 717.

58 GSJP, 1934, p. 260.

59 GSJP, 1937, p. 316-17.

60 GSJP, 1931, p. 260; GSJP, 1937, p. 317.

One interesting sidelight of conditions in the west was the reaction of the Reverend George F. Luxton of Calgary,<sup>61</sup> who adopted a typical western viewpoint when he blamed western troubles on tariffs and "hard" money.<sup>62</sup> He saw good wheat crops being handed over to "the sharks of finance, white-collared middlemen,"<sup>63</sup> who profited at the expense of both producer and consumer, and deprived the former of a living wage. His comment reveals how a local clergyman identified with the ideas and feelings of his parishioners.

In the early stages of the depression Anglicans tended to agree with those government leaders who held that relief should be provided as payment for work rather than as a dole. Churchmen were interested in public works because they contributed to morale. Without work men deteriorated; direct relief humiliated them. In the depression of the previous decade Canon Vernon had urged public works to alleviate unemployment,<sup>64</sup> and he continued to do so in the depression of the 1930s. The CSS report to the General Synod of 1931 called for a definite and well thought out plan of public

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61 Later Bishop of Huron, 1948-70.

62 By the latter he doubtless meant what is sometimes referred to as "tight" money policy, resorted to by the government to prevent inflation.

63 CC, 13 October 1932, p. 646.

64 C. W. Vernon, "The Question of Unemployment," CC, 9 December 1920, p. 802.

works at all three levels of government. It also approved the programme of road building and other projects undertaken by both federal and provincial governments.<sup>65</sup> Ontario, for example, was using relief grants to pay for work on the Trans-Canada Highway in northern Ontario.

By 1932 doubts arose as to the relative value of public works, and governments tended to discontinue them. According to the report Unemployment and Relief in Ontario the works that were being carried out were "wasteful and inefficient."<sup>66</sup> They required an outlay of two dollars in order to pay a worker one dollar in wages. The report favoured the principle of giving work rather than a dole as thoroughly sound when the work was instituted in the right way, that is, by governments in good financial position, and when the works were both necessary and waiting to be done. Payments for works of this kind would pump credit into the deflated economy and stimulate all sections of it.<sup>67</sup>

Representatives of the CSS participated in the conference sponsored by the Canadian Council on Child and Family Welfare to discuss "Problems in the Social Administration of General and Unemployment Relief" held in Ottawa in early May,

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<sup>65</sup> GSJP, 1931, pp..247-48, 251.

<sup>66</sup> Cassidy, Unemployment and Relief in Ontario, 1929-1932: A Survey and Report, Toronto, n.d., p. 268.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid., p. 280.

1933. This conference agreed that the change in government policy from one of public works to one of direct relief was probably necessary, but the conference now wanted public works revived. It especially recommended the elimination of railway level crossings, and the construction of houses, city halls, libraries, hospitals, and public buildings.<sup>68</sup>

One of the strongest Anglican advocates of housing as a public work project was the Honourable Herbert A. Bruce, during the years when he was Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario. Public housing appealed to Bruce, as it did to other Anglicans, for humanitarian as well as economic reasons. In May 1934 the City of Toronto Board of Control appointed a committee on housing with Bruce as its chairman.<sup>69</sup> In its report of the following year this committee estimated that between two and three thousand family dwellings in the city were unfit for habitation, and that some twenty-five thousand new houses were needed to meet the shortage. The committee recommended that the city initiate projects for slum clearance and the construction of low-cost houses. Its report attracted considerable attention during the next two years, and Bruce himself made eloquent appeals for action.<sup>70</sup> At a meeting sponsored by

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68 Morris and Merson, "General and Unemployment Relief," CC, 6 July 1933, pp. 422-23.

69 CAR, 1935, p. 193.

70 CAR, 1935-36, p. 267.

the Women's Auxiliary of the Diocese of Toronto, he strongly condemned bad housing and urged slum clearance.<sup>71</sup> Unfortunately little action was forthcoming as a result of the report. The Canadian Forum blamed the failure to implement the report's recommendations on property interests and public inertia. At the same time this journal praised the report as well as the Lieutenant-Governor for courageously supporting it.<sup>72</sup> The editor called on the churches to rise to the challenge.

Anglicans made a strong effort to get public approval for slum clearance. The Toronto Diocesan Council for Social Service gave wholehearted support to the recommendations of the Bruce Report, and at one of its meetings adopted a motion by Mrs. H. P. Plumptre, seconded by Andrew Brewin, which called for action to eliminate slums and build new houses. In its report to the Diocesan Synod the Toronto DCSS pointed out the beneficial economic results which would follow such actions, arguing that a great deal of unemployment could be attributed to inactivity in the building and construction trades. The result was that the Synod approved the motion earlier agreed on by the Diocesan Council.<sup>73</sup> Unfortunately governments and taxpayers were more concerned with economy

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71 CC, 13 June 1935, p. 372.

72 "Toronto's Slums," editorial in Canadian Forum, XV, 182 (March 1936), 5.

73 Toronto Synod Journal, 1935, pp. 85, 140-42.

than with the social and economic benefits of public housing. The Ontario government did go as far as to make a token contribution of \$40 thousand for the construction of fourteen model houses on pieces of land donated by municipalities in the Toronto area;<sup>74</sup> yet when St. James' Cathedral offered fifteen acres in the Moss Park area for housing, David Croll, Ontario Minister of Welfare, claimed that the province had no money for aiding cities in slum clearance and housing. The Toronto City Council refused to take any action on its own.<sup>75</sup>

The Reverend Samuel Prince, the leading Anglican advocate of public housing in Nova Scotia, had more success in that province, where the government took a more positive attitude. The Liberals under Premier Angus Macdonald in 1934 allotted \$200 thousand for public housing, and set up a Nova Scotia Housing Committee to administer the fund. One of its original members was Dr. Prince, who in 1939 became chairman of the Commission. Late in 1936 Prince presented a brief on housing to a citizens' meeting in Halifax. This group then formed a citizens' housing committee to plan slum clearance and rebuilding in the cleared areas. The committee completed plans for fifty units to be started in the spring.<sup>76</sup>

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74 CAR, 1935-36, p. 267.

75 Ibid.

76 CC, 21 January 1937, p. 37.

At least in Toronto and Halifax Anglicans vigorously supported slum clearance and public housing as practical public works for combatting depression and unemployment, as well as for improving living conditions for poorer people. That their efforts were only partly successful was the result of lethargy on the part of the general public and of government.

Thus Anglicans worked to alleviate the distress of Canadians most afflicted by the depression. Churchmen supported the adoption of unemployment insurance as a form of social security, adequate relief measures, and public works. What is particularly significant for the future is the emphasis which reform-minded Anglicans put on the role of municipal, provincial, and federal governments for putting into effect the measures which these Anglicans demanded.

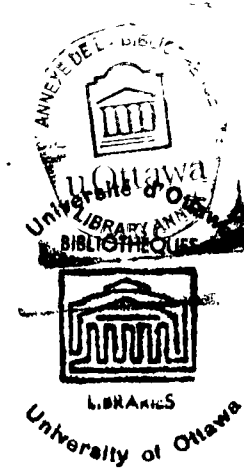
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THE ROLE OF ANGLICANS IN REFORM OF THE  
ECONOMIC ORDER IN CANADA 1914-1945

by Edward Alfred Pulker

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## CHAPTER XI

### THE GREAT DEPRESSION IV. LABOUR AND UNEMPLOYMENT

During the Great Depression Anglican interest in labour unions and their usual objectives of better wages, hours of work, and working conditions, went into eclipse. Indeed the lack of orders in industry and the large numbers of unemployed put labour in a weak bargaining position. Unemployment became the primary concern of most working people, and churchmen who hitherto had sympathized with labour now reflected this concern. Although Canon Vernon, General Secretary of the Council for Social Service, strongly advocated unemployment insurance, he doubtless recognized that the adoption of such a measure would have been of no practical help to the thousands already unemployed. Helping these people in their immediate need therefore received a large measure of his attention until his death in 1934. Later in the decade, when the arrival of the CIO brought some new life to the labour movement, few Anglicans showed any concern for the cause of labour unions.

In the first year of the depression Vernon put forward some suggestions for coping with the business cycles of prosperity and depression and their effect on the employment of labour.<sup>1</sup> After claiming that some firms guaranteed work for

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1 CC, 25 September 1930, p. 617.

their employees for forty-eight weeks of the year, he proposed that all industries follow their example. Industries should provide vocational guidance and training when there was insufficient work for their employees. When an industry introduced new machinery that resulted in more efficient production and the need for fewer workers, the industry should deal with this situation by shortening the hours of work for all, rather than by reducing the work force. Industries should also assume responsibility for older workers by providing them with lighter work and also by setting up pension schemes for their retirement.

The next year in the CSS report to the General Synod of 1931, Vernon published the current estimates on the number of unemployed. He reported that at the end of June, 1931, 16.2% of trade union members were out of work as against 10.8% at the end of June, 1930, and 3% at the same time in 1929.<sup>2</sup> He also gave the figure issued by the Honourable G. D. Robertson, federal Minister of Labour, who estimated that there were 530,000 unemployed persons out of a population of some ten million.<sup>3</sup> In the same report Vernon called on industry to help meet the situation by embarking on a policy of capital expenditure.<sup>4</sup>

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2 GSJP, 1931, p. 250.

3 Ibid.

4 Ibid., p. 248.

Whereas Vernon in the first years of depression looked to industry for initiative and to the government merely for constructive leadership, by 1933 the CSS Executive seems to have been looking more to government for legislative action when it proposed the adoption of a shorter work week to spread the work among more people and of a minimum age of sixteen for full-time employment so that more work would be available for the age groups which needed it the most.<sup>5</sup>

In addition to the above proposals, which he and the CSS hoped would make more jobs available, Vernon also advocated the resettlement of city families in rural areas on a large scale with government help. Like other supporters of "back to the land," Vernon believed that much unemployment was the result of too many people deserting farming as they searched for a better life in urban industry. There they might be better off for a time, but when bad times came they did not have the basic resources of shelter, food, and fuel, which the farm provided. These beliefs were current among Anglicans in the nineteenth century. At the 1896 General Synod one delegate proposed that the government take up whole townships and build houses in them in a plan to enable the unemployed of that day to take up farming.<sup>6</sup> Whenever times got bad in the

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<sup>5</sup> ACA, Council for Social Service, Executive Minutes, 7 May 1933, p. 3. Hereafter referred to as CSS Executive Minutes.

<sup>6</sup> Winnipeg Daily Tribune, 11 September 1896, p. 5. J. G. King of Port Arthur made the proposal.

twentieth century "back to the land" was bound to find advocates who regarded it as at least a partial solution for unemployment. It had in fact formed part of the programme of the Union Government for the rehabilitation of veterans of the war.

After the First World War Vernon became a strong supporter of the policy of "back to the land." However, when at the 1924 General Synod he urged a rural movement as the solution to urban congestion, one lay delegate objected to his plan on the grounds that farmers were already having difficulty selling their products.<sup>7</sup> Vernon was not easily dissuaded. The next year he gave a large part of his annual report to pushing "back to the land."<sup>8</sup> He pointed to Great Britain's use of this policy as an answer to urban unemployment. He wanted the Canadian government to make it as easy for Canadians to settle on Canadian land as it had made it for British immigrants, by providing the former with similar loans for transportation and equipment. He thought such a policy might decrease emigration to the United States.

It is therefore easy to see why Vernon supported the central government when it sponsored a "back to the land" movement during the Great Depression. Nor was he alone, for

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7 CC, 16 October 1924, p. 665.

8 The Tenth Annual Report of the Council for Social Service, 1925, p. 12.

the Ottawa Conference on Unemployment in 1931, in which Vernon participated, also supported this policy.<sup>9</sup> According to an article in Maclean's, the Honourable Wesley Gordon, Minister of Immigration and Colonization originated the movement as the answer to unemployment.<sup>10</sup> The same article claimed that six thousand families had been established in farming and six thousand single men in farm jobs, all without government subsidies or cash assistance.<sup>11</sup> In May 1932 the government decided to pay part of the cost of settlement for families which were eager to participate, but did not have sufficient capital. Contingent on the province and municipality contributing two thirds of the cost, Ottawa paid the other one third to a limit of six hundred dollars.

For some Anglicans "back to the land" meant a rejection of urban industrial society in favour of the rurally oriented society of the previous generation. At the 1934 General Synod the Reverend W. T. Solly claimed that the right

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9 "Round Table Conference on Present Unemployment Conditions and Related Social Problems," Child and Family Welfare, VII, 1 (May 1931), 71, 72.

10 Richard Churchill, "Back to the Land," Maclean's 15 March 1932, p. 26. As we have seen "back to the land" had been around for some time before Mr. Gordon entered the cabinet.

11 The previous month Gordon informed the Commons that to date 6,352 families had been settled on the land and 13,199 single men placed as farm labourers, for a total of 44,959 persons. Canada, House of Commons Debates, 1932, p. 610.

proportion of urban to rural population was forty to sixty, but by that time the proportion had been reversed.<sup>12</sup> To Solly the logical step was to send people back to the land even if the Royal Canadian Mounted Police had to be used to keep them there. Although Vernon would not have been so authoritarian, his support for "back to the land" resulted from his difficulty in recognizing the change taking place in agriculture. With modern methods of farming fewer people could produce far greater quantities of food than ever before, with the result that it was very difficult to find markets for the surpluses. In any case, "back to the land" was merely a palliative, a temporary measure seized upon by desperate families to tide them over a bad period while they waited for the return of prosperity. A comparison of the figures on land settlement in 1932 with those of 1937 shows that only about one thousand families remained on the land of the 7,098 who returned to the land in seven years, an indication of the limited success of the plan.<sup>13</sup>

In spite of food surpluses many people could not afford to purchase sufficient food for their needs. To help these people to produce their own food, the Council for Social Service in a series of articles in the Churchman recommended

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12 CC, 27 September 1934, p. 558.

13 Canada Year Book, 1939, p. 818.

the development of community gardens and of subsistence gardens.<sup>14</sup> The latter involved the settlement of a family on a plot of land where they could grow their own food. A part-time job was also required for cash income.<sup>15</sup> Community gardens required vacant land in or near a city where persons could grow vegetables to supply their families' needs. The Toronto Synod made sixteen acres available for community gardens in Toronto.<sup>16</sup> Doubtless these gardens helped a limited number of people to meet their own needs, and the time and effort involved must also have aided their morale.

Although Anglicans showed a great deal of concern for the unemployed and destitute, they neglected the welfare of those still employed, of labour organized and unorganized. Other than pressing for unemployment insurance the concern of Anglicans for workers tended to fall between the two stools of immediate relief and of the long range, generalized goals of a better economic order. That this is a fair analysis is born out by the editor of the Churchman who, in attempting to praise the CSS, claimed it was in the forefront in meeting

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<sup>14</sup> These articles were published some six months after the death of Vernon, but they are so much in line with his thinking it seems likely that he had done some preliminary work on them.

<sup>15</sup> "The Lure of the Land: II Subsistence Gardens," CC, 5 July 1934, p. 433.

<sup>16</sup> "The Lure of the Land: I Community Gardens," CC, 14 June 1934, p. 382.

immediate needs and also in seeking a permanent cure for depressions by urging the government to undertake research and unemployment insurance.<sup>17</sup>

Except for two issues of the Bulletin there were almost no official attempts to support labour in conflicts with capital throughout the decade. The first of these, issued a few months after the depression began, dealt with the harmful effects of long hours on workers.<sup>18</sup> The second contained messages in connection with Labour Day, 1937. One of the articles in this Bulletin gave reasons for church concern for labour, based on English material.<sup>19</sup> Another held that the Christian Church must seek to understand the point of view of the workers.<sup>20</sup> It blamed the competitive system for labour troubles, and called for new methods--co-operation, the sharing of profits and responsibility--to end them. This article also revealed the effect of English religious leadership on thought

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17 CC, 21 January 1932, p. 34.

18 Bulletin No. 85, February 1930, contained two articles by J. J. Holmes Jr.: "The Social Consequences of the Long Day in Industry," pp. 6-13, and "Christianity and Industry," pp. 14-20. The author was secretary of the General Works Committee, Employees Representation Plan, Dominion Iron and Steel Company, Sydney, Nova Scotia.

19 "Why the Church Is Concerned," Bulletin No. 93, 2 August 1937, pp. 1-2. It referred to a message of the Bishop of Bristol, to Christopher Dawson's Religion and the Modern State, and to an article by the Reverend G. C. Chambers in the Church of England Newspaper.

20 "The Burden of the Message for Labour Day," Bulletin No. 93, 2 August 1937, pp. 2-5.

in the Canadian Church, for it quoted a call by William Temple, the Archbishop of York, for a redistribution of power and wealth in Great Britain.

Although a few individuals attempted to arouse the interest of other churchmen in the actual conditions under which employees lived and worked, their efforts elicited little response within the Church during this period. In 1935 the clergy of the rural deanery of Cranbrook, in the Diocese of Kootenay, British Columbia, sent a resolution to the CSS Executive, asking that it have published a short pamphlet to educate church people to combat the evil of sweated and under-paid labour.<sup>21</sup> The Executive went no further than recommending that consideration be given to publishing a pamphlet outlining the legislation of Canada and other countries on the subjects of fair wages and hours.<sup>22</sup> To the request of the Cranbrook clergy that the CSS provide a list of business firms which might be safely dealt with as paying employees fair wages, the Executive responded that it would be impossible to secure such a list even if expedient.<sup>23</sup> During the strike of General Motors employees in Oshawa in 1937<sup>24</sup> Canon Plumptre suggested

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21 CSS Executive Minutes, 4 December 1935, p. 2.

22 CSS Executive Minutes, 19 February 1936, p. 2.

23 Ibid.

24 This strike involved the company in bargaining with the United Auto Workers, an affiliate of the Congress of Industrial Organizations or CIO.

to the editor of the Churchman that the paper arrange to publish two or three articles on the CIO.<sup>25</sup> He wanted objective articles, free of the "anti" bias of the Globe and Mail and of the "pro" bias of the Toronto Star, which would set forth the aims and objectives of the CIO and point out how these aims might be achieved in other and perhaps better ways. His appeal fell on deaf ears. Here was a vital and controversial issue, which lasted into the war years. Yet during the depression churchmen steered clear of it, doubtless because it would have been divisive among church members.

We have now completed our study of how the Great Depression affected Anglican ideas on economic issues. Looking at the whole picture it is obvious that Anglicans showed some real concern for the people most afflicted by the economic situation, and also made some real effort to help them in their time of need. The value of the projects to which Anglicans gave their support may be rated from very high, as in the cases of unemployment insurance and slum clearance and housing, to doubtful in the case of "back to the land."

Where churchmen fell down was in their failure to grasp with any intensity the hopelessness and frustration of the unemployed, especially in the case of transient single men. Anglicans showed little of the horror or moral indignation

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25 CC, 27 May 1937, p. 358.

over these matters compared with what they were to express during the Second World War. Similarly there was little concern shown for those still employed, many of whom had to work long hours for pitifully low wages; nor did many Anglicans show any interest in the cause of organized labour.

The significance of the Great Depression lies not so much in what was actually accomplished at the time in the reform of the economic order, but in the effect the economic conditions had in preparing the way for future changes. Although the principle that government had to play a more dominant role in the economy may not have won general acceptance in this period, certainly Anglicans emphasized the responsibility of government for the welfare of all citizens and for taking action to remove abuses. Relief, public works, the institution of unemployment insurance and other social security measures, "back to the land," were some of the areas where Anglicans called on government to take action. Thus, to the degree that Anglicans stood for greater involvement in and responsibility for economic matters on the part of government, Anglicans contributed to the eventual reform of the economic order.

## CHAPTER XII

### THE SECOND WORLD WAR I. THE DEMAND FOR A NEW ECONOMIC ORDER

During the Second World War the Anglican contribution to thought on the economic order followed the threefold pattern of the First World War. First there was the condemnation of laissez-faire capitalism, which is the subject of this chapter. Subsequent chapters will discuss the reform of capitalism by the adoption of social security, and the revival of Anglican concern for and support of labour. In all three aspects the Second World War saw a clearer definition of goals on the part of reform-minded Anglicans and a greater zeal to realize those goals.

Naturally these Anglicans were not alone in their opposition to returning after the war to the kind of economic system which resulted in the Great Depression. It soon became apparent that a similar determination was developing throughout Canadian society. Not only did these Anglicans share in this determination, but they also participated actively in its development. They called for the reform of capitalism by peaceful and evolutionary means, in order to end the evils of depression, extreme poverty, and unemployment.

During the first year of the war some Anglicans warned of the danger of returning to pre-war economic conditions. In spite of the rapidly improving economic conditions and the

increasing employment which followed the outbreak of war,<sup>1</sup> the memories of disappointment and hardship were too fresh for people to ignore the probability that, unless some preventive measures were taken, economic distress would follow this war as it had the previous one. Thus Robert Jefferson, newly consecrated Bishop of Ottawa,<sup>2</sup> in his first charge to his diocesan synod, voiced the hope that some machinery would be established to consider unemployment and post-war problems with a view to solving them before they became serious.<sup>3</sup> He went on to claim that there was general agreement that under the contemporary economic system the means of distribution had not been equal to modern conditions of production, and he thought attacks should be made on the system itself.

A former parishioner of Jefferson, M. J. Coldwell, was also thinking of long range plans. In an address to the 1940 National Convention of his party, Coldwell warned: "We

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1 In the first full calendar year after the start of the war there was a drop in the number of persons on relief from 808,040 at the end of 1939 to 508,995 a year later. (Canada Year Book, 1941, p. 669.) The number of employed climbed steadily thereafter. Imports increased from \$924,926,104 in 1939 to \$1,758,898,197 in 1944; exports from \$935,921,713 to \$3,439,953,165 in the same period. (Canada Year Book, 1945, p. 1163.)

2 Robert Jefferson, Bishop of Ottawa, 1940-55; formerly rector of St. Matthew's Church, Ottawa, where M. J. Coldwell worshipped for a number of years.

3 Journal of Proceedings of the Incorporated Synod of the Diocese of Ottawa, 1940, p. 57.

dare not return to the conditions Canada knew in former days. Then our young men were an unwanted generation wandering from place to place in a vain effort to find a useful path through life."<sup>4</sup> He asked for a parliamentary committee to draft plans for abolishing poverty and for assuring economic security.<sup>5</sup> In a similar vein the same summer Coldwell's colleague in the CCF, Frank Scott called for economic planning to abolish unemployment and the economic injustice of capitalism. He saw wartime planning and control of the economy by the government as preparing the way for a planned economy after the war. In taking this way of "war socialism,"<sup>6</sup> Canada was following the lead of Britain.

Indeed the real initiative for a new economic order came from Great Britain and especially from the Church of England. Had it not been for this initiative the warnings of the need for reform emanating from a number of Canadians would probably have gone unheeded for some time by the Canadian public and government. The Church of England produced the individual most influential in sparking the drive for change. He was William Temple, Archbishop of York from 1929 to 1942 and then

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<sup>4</sup> M. J. Coldwell, A New Order Shall Arise, Ottawa, National Office of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation, n.d., p. 12.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., p. 23.

<sup>6</sup> Frank Scott, "Social Planning and the War," Canadian Forum, XX, 235 (August 1940, 138).

Archbishop of Canterbury until his sudden death in 1944. Temple represents the culmination of the social tradition of the Church of England, which went back to Maurice and Kingsley. He showed his reform spirit early in his career. He joined the Labour Party in 1918, the year before becoming Bishop of Manchester,<sup>7</sup> and he continued to support Labour as the agent most likely to effect reforms in the economic order. Although his ideas encouraged Canadian proponents of reform before the war,<sup>8</sup> Temple's greatest impact came in the early years of the Second World War. His first move toward "a new world after the war" was an article in the form of a letter to J. H. Oldham, editor of the Christian News Letter of Britain. Entitled "Begin Now," this article was Temple's attempt to give direction to the still fluid Christian dissatisfaction with the capitalistic system and to the desire for international and social justice.

Canon H. P. Plumptre of Toronto drew the attention of Canadian Anglicans to "Begin Now" through the Churchman,<sup>9</sup>

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7 Stephen Mayor, The Churches and the Labour Movement, London, 1967, p. 370. Temple gave up his official membership in the Labour Party in 1925 because he disagreed with its foreign policy.

8 See, for example, Ernest Thomas, Christian Life in a Changing World, Toronto, 1937, pp. 1, 4, 5, 33, 34. Thomas was a United Church minister in the Social Gospel tradition and a member of the League for Social Reconstruction.

9 CC, 12 September 1940, p. 501.

and two months later the complete text appeared in the Bulletin of the CSS.<sup>10</sup> The article contained a diagnosis of the illness of capitalism, and pinpointed as its basic flaw the dominance of the profit motive. Temple did not condemn the existence of the profit motive as such. Nevertheless he claimed that in taking a dominant role in the operation of capitalism the profit motive had produced an inversion of the proper order of relations between finance, production, and consumption. To Temple the natural order was that "consumption should control production, and that production should control finance."<sup>11</sup> He saw that natural order inverted in that finance was the controlling force and the needs of men came last in consideration.

The next step in the British drive for reform of the social and economic order was made in December 1940, when the Archbishop of Canterbury (Lang) and Archbishop Temple joined with Cardinal Hinsley, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Westminster, and Dr. Walter H. Armstrong, Moderator of the Free Church Council, in sending a letter to The Times, in which they put forward ten points as the basis for a just and lasting peace. The first five dealt with justice between nations. The last

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<sup>10</sup> Christian Responsibility in a New World, Bulletin No. 101, 28 November 1940.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., p. 3.

five called for changes in the social and economic order: the abolition of extreme inequality in wealth, the provision of equal opportunities of education for all, the safeguarding of the family as a social unit, the restoration of a sense of vocation to daily work, and the use of natural resources as God's gifts to the whole human race, both present and future.<sup>12</sup> Thus the leaders of other churches joined the movement for "a new world after the war," and the desire for a new order gathered momentum.

It was the Malvern Conference, sponsored for and by Anglicans under Temple's leadership, which was to have the greatest influence in arousing enthusiasm among Canadian Anglicans for a new economic order after the war. Nor was the influence of Malvern confined to Anglicans, for this conference made a strong impact on many other reform-minded Canadians. Originally planned for November 1940 in London, but postponed because of German air attacks, the conference was ultimately held at Malvern College in January 1941. Although it was obvious to its sponsors that the German control of Europe meant a long war ahead, they called the conference at this time because they wanted to prevent post-war conditions similar to those which had resulted from inadequate preparations during

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<sup>12</sup> CC, 20 February 1941, p. 117.

the First World War.<sup>13</sup> Some twenty-three bishops, eight deans, and two hundred other clergy and laity attended. Participating speakers included such prominent members of the Church of England as Dorothy L. Sayers, V. A. Demant, J. Middleton Murry, Sir Richard Acland, Kenneth Ingram, Maurice B. Reckitt, and T. S. Eliot. In the words of Temple, the chairman, the aim of the conference was to consider "how far the Christian faith and principles based upon it afford guidance for action in the world of today."<sup>14</sup>

The Malvern Conference was more concerned with laying down sound principles than with a political programme. The discussions followed the ideas put forward earlier by Temple. They involved a diagnosis of the disorder of the economic system, and the conference found this disorder resulted from the perversion of certain functions. Whereas the proper end of work should be to satisfy human needs, and hence production should exist for consumption, in practice the chief end of production was profits. The result of this perversion was unemployment and war. The conference therefore concluded that the profit motive was contrary to God's plan for mankind. The true principle on which society must be organized was that

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<sup>13</sup> Malvern, 1941, The Life of the Church and the Order of Society, Being the Proceedings of the Archbishop of York's Conference, Toronto, 1941, p. ix.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., p. vii.

of the sacredness of the human personality. These principles challenged the assumption that the profit motive ought to be the primary basis for the economic system. Although neither Britain nor Canada have yet reached the point of surrendering the profit motive as the basis for the economic order, both countries have modified that order so that it provides a large measure of protection to the whole population.

Although Temple claimed that Malvern was more concerned with principles than with a specific programme, the resolutions adopted by the conference did include some fairly specific recommendations. For example, the conference held that, although property was necessary to the fulness of human personality, the rights of property should be modified, and if need be abolished, when those rights conflicted with the establishment of the general social welfare. The conference also decided that the monetary system should be changed so that the goods produced would be more easily available to all members of the community. It also urged the responsible use and preservation of natural resources.<sup>15</sup>

The Malvern Conference came in for criticism, and there were those who considered it a failure.<sup>16</sup> At the time

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<sup>15</sup> For the Malvern Resolutions see Malvern, 1941, pp. 215, 220-23. The resolutions were also summarized in The Malvern Findings, Bulletin No. 103S, February 1941, pp. 2, 3.

<sup>16</sup> Maurice B. Reckitt, Maurice to Temple: A Century of the Social Movement in the Church of England. Scott Holland Lectures 1946, London, n.d., p. 183.

Alec R. Vidler, a prominent Church of England priest, described it as inadequately prepared, incompetent to give the kind of lead required, and not representative of the Church as a whole.<sup>17</sup> In anticipation of this last criticism Temple had already justified the choice of speakers from the reform school of thought as intended to give coherence to the thinking in the short time available.<sup>18</sup> Malvern represented, after all, the Church speaking at the unofficial level, and if a certain group wished to give a lead on social issues, there was no point in choosing speakers who would be opposed to giving such a lead. Vidler had another criticism; he claimed only Temple's resourcefulness was able to cover up the chaotic character of the conference by producing, "like a conjurer out of a hat,"<sup>19</sup> the document which was supposed to represent the conclusions of the conference, although it even included matters not actually brought up in the discussions.

However justified these criticisms might have been, they were of little moment compared with the tremendous impact made by the Malvern Conference. M. J. Coldwell referred to it, as well as to Temple's "Begin Now," in a speech in the House of Commons in 1941.<sup>20</sup> For the benefit of

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<sup>17</sup> Religion, Revolution and Restoration, Bulletin No. 103, February 1941, pp. 8. 9.

<sup>18</sup> Malvern, 1941, p. 11.

<sup>19</sup> Bulletin No. 103, p. 9.

<sup>20</sup> Canada, House of Commons Debates, 1941, p. 3302.

Anglicans the Canadian Churchman provided much information on Malvern, including a report which had appeared in Time on 20 January, 1941<sup>21</sup> for which Time had given all five columns to its section on religion.<sup>22</sup> In February the CSS produced two issues of the Bulletin<sup>23</sup> in which Canon Judd, the General Secretary, discussed the conference which, in his opinion, showed that British Church people were facing the issues realistically, unlike their Canadian counterparts. Malvern indicated a bloodless revolution in England and was "the result of a long slow permeation into English life of Christian principles."<sup>24</sup> He warned that Canada needed to follow the British example, and that church, educational, and state leaders should be thinking more deeply about such matters, because "the status quo would not stand the test after the war."<sup>25</sup>

Other Anglicans joined in the praise for Malvern. One writer in the Churchman described the conference as giving

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21 CC, 13 February 1941, p. 101.

22 Issue of 20 January 1941, pp. 61-63. In a later issue Time's religious section claimed 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." Issue of 10 March 1941, p. 54.

23 Bulletin No. 103 and Bulletin No. 103S.

24 Bulletin No. 103, p. 30.

25 Ibid.

us "a thrilling lead."<sup>26</sup> To another it was the sign of "a bolder attitude toward the inevitable."<sup>27</sup> To the Primate, Archbishop Owen, the Malvern resolutions were a sign of the discontent which existed. He informed his people in the Diocese of Toronto that no one could be satisfied with the social and economic situation of the past twenty years, and he urged them to give their earnest prayer and best thinking to discovering what Christianity had to say about changing it.<sup>28</sup> Spring synods gave diocesan bishops further opportunity to refer to Malvern. In Toronto Owen again held up Malvern as an example of the Christian contribution to necessary changes.<sup>29</sup> To Sexton of British Columbia Malvern was the answer to the gibe that the Church of England was the Tory Party at prayer.<sup>30</sup> Carlisle of Montreal praised Temple and Malvern as he urged his audience not to repeat the international, social, and political mistakes which followed the First World War.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> W. R. Crummer, "Older People in the New Social Order," CC, 27 February 1941, p. 131.

<sup>27</sup> George Biddle, "The Parish and the New Social Order," CC, 20 March 1941, p. 179.

<sup>28</sup> These statements were made in a pastoral letter to the Diocese of Toronto, 3 February 1941. It was also published in Bulletin No. 103, p. 12.

<sup>29</sup> CC, 15 May 1941, p. 308.

<sup>30</sup> CC, 20 March 1941, p. 181.

<sup>31</sup> Proceedings of the Eighty-second Annual Synod of the Diocese of Montreal, 1941, p. 24. For an account of Bishop Carlisle's programme to study post-war problems, see John Irwin Cooper, The Blessed Communion: The Origins and History of the Diocese of Montreal, 1760-1960, Montreal, 1960, pp. 198-200.

Jefferson of Ottawa saw wartime experience in finances and economics as helping to end unemployment.<sup>32</sup>

In spite of this support for a new order after the war on the part of a number of church leaders, the Anglican Church was not yet ready to give official endorsement to any specific proposals. Although the CSS report of 1941 presented both Temple's "Begin Now" and the Malvern findings to the Council's annual meeting of that year, so much time was spent discussing immigration that the subject of a new order was hardly considered.<sup>33</sup> The determination not to return to the way things were before the war had not yet gripped the general membership of the CSS.

Before the next annual meeting of the CSS, the Reverend E. L. Wasson, himself a member of the CSS Executive, wrote to the Executive, requesting that the Canadian Church, through some official body, make a pronouncement similar to the one which had emanated from Malvern.<sup>34</sup> Judd, in his reply, pointed out the difficulty involved in the Church making such an official statement. Wasson had not taken into consideration that Malvern was a meeting at an unofficial level of a

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32 CC, 15 May 1941, p. 308.

33 Twenty-seventh Annual Report of the Council for Social Service, 1942, p. 26.

34 ACA, Council for Social Service, Executive Minutes, 20 May 1942, p. 2. Hereafter CSS Executive Minutes.

particular group of churchmen sharing a similar outlook on the economic system. Nevertheless Judd promised that the CSS Executive would deal with the subject to some extent in its next annual report.

In fulfilling this promise, the Executive in its report to the 1942 annual meeting of the CSS put forward the recommendations of an interdenominational commission set up by the churches in England. Entitled "An Economic Charter of the Commission of Churches in England," these recommendations had a more official status than did the Malvern findings. They 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 so as to enable industry to fulfil its function of supplying human needs.<sup>35</sup> The CSS Executive threw its weight behind these recommendations by commending them as a guide for action for legislative members, as well as for industrial, labour, and economic leaders.<sup>36</sup> However, the annual meeting weakened the Executive's recommendation by changing the words "for action" to "for careful and prayerful study."<sup>37</sup> In spite of this preference for prayer over action, the annual meeting

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35 Twenty-seventh Annual Report, 1942, p. 28.

36 CSS Executive Minutes, 20 May 1942, p. 10.

37 Twenty-seventh Annual Report, 1942, pp. 28, 47.

did approve the section of the report which indicted the present economic system for its tendency to enhance acquisitiveness, for creating inequalities of opportunity, and for centring economic power in groups which were not responsible to the community.<sup>38</sup>

By 1942 pressure for more action by the Church in the matter of social and economic reform was coming from unofficial groups within the Church, who were strongly critical of the operation of capitalism and especially of the dominance of the profit motive. One group, especially concerned with the failure of church spokesmen to take a stand on specific issues, was that initiated by the Reverend C. R. Feilding, Professor of Moral Theology and New Testament at Trinity College. Because the Canadian Churchman failed to provide constructive leadership on economic and social issues,<sup>39</sup> this group founded the newsletter, Canada and Christendom. Feilding, as editor, secured the help of an editorial board which included representatives from both Trinity and Wycliffe Colleges.<sup>40</sup>

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38 Ibid., p. 28.

39 For a description of the role of the Churchman and of its editor, Canon Armstrong, during the depression, see Chapter IX. Armstrong had come a long way in support of reform since the Oxford Conference, but always seemed to be just catching up with public opinion.

40 Among them were The Reverend W. G. Nicholson, F. W. Dillistone, Blake Wood, R. L. Seaborn, and W. Lyndon Smith

In the first issue of Canada and Christendom in January 1942, Feilding showed some toleration for the caution displayed by church officials. He recognized that church opinion limited their role in supporting specific reforms, so that the official pronouncements of the CSS could do "little more than set forth what it considers wise in its representative capacity."<sup>41</sup> On the other hand individual churchmen, whether speaking through the Malvern Conference or through Canada and Christendom, were freer to speak out more strongly and definitely on the issues of the day. As the war progressed Feilding became more critical of the circumspect positions taken by the House of Bishops and the CSS on social and economic issues. He showed his disgust when the CSS failed to support those Canadians of Japanese descent whom the federal government had not only moved from their homes on the west coast but left under threat of deportation to Japan at the end of the war as well. Quoting the statement on this issue in the 1942 CSS report which began, "Your Executive Committee expresses the hope,"<sup>42</sup> Feilding asked, "Can anyone in authority do more than venture to hope in these matters?"<sup>43</sup> When Feilding himself raised the subject of church action on behalf

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<sup>41</sup> Canada and Christendom No. 1, January 1942, p. 1.

<sup>42</sup> Twenty-seventh Annual Report, 1942, p. 18.

<sup>43</sup> Canada and Christendom No. 8, February 1943, p. 1.

of Japanese-Canadians with a member of the CSS, he was told that leadership must be left to the bishops. When he discussed the same subject with a bishop, the bishop told him that the CSS was doing such excellent work that he left such matters to it. As Feilding concluded: "While Bishops and Executive Committees chase each other's tails in this unedifying circle leadership is not given."<sup>44</sup> He saw this passing responsibility back and forth as an unnecessary travesty of both the episcopacy and the constitutional government of the Church.

Feilding also made some cogent observations on the tendency of Canadian bishops to couch their pronouncements in vague generalities. Whereas British bishops related their statements on Christian principles to bathrooms, banks, and bad houses, Canadian bishops in one pastoral letter used expressions like, "Hatreds, inequalities, racial antagonisms must go," and "that we may stand firm and true in this day of testing."<sup>45</sup> To Feilding this letter was "little more than a pontifical puff for the government war effort."<sup>46</sup> To him real leadership meant a direct attack on a particular injustice. Feilding's comments probably helped to prepare

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<sup>44</sup> Ibid.

<sup>45</sup> ACA, Owen Papers, Pastoral Letters 1940-1942, A Pastoral Letter from the Bishops to be read in Churches October 11, 1942.

<sup>46</sup> Canada and Christendom No. 6, November 1942, p. 1.

the way for the more definite position on economic reform taken by a number of bishops at the General Synod of 1943.

More vehement than Feilding in demanding that the Church play a positive role in working for economic reform was the Reverend S. L. Pollard of Montreal, who had been making his views known in the Canadian Churchman since 1941. To him the Church should be "the ferment and dynamite in the social structure."<sup>47</sup> He wanted the Church to do more than pick up "the derelicts of the ruthless competitive order to give them charity."<sup>48</sup> The Church should co-operate with those bodies which sought to substitute social justice for social injustice. Like other Anglican reformers Pollard recognized the danger of Christianity identifying itself with any particular social order, whether that order be utopian or free enterprise, but he also pointed out what the average churchman had failed to recognize, namely, that the Church was too closely identified with the current free enterprise system.

In urging the Church to cease its support of capitalism and to take a definite position against what he considered the evils of that system, Pollard worked within the Montreal Diocesan Social Service Committee. In 1943 he was a member

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<sup>47</sup> S. L. Pollard, "The Church's Task," CC, 29 January 1943, pp. 99. 100. Pollard's initials are here given incorrectly as E. L.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid., p. 99.

of the industrial sub-committee of this body, which bluntly told the Montreal Synod "that a society predicated on the dominance of personal economic profit rests upon an unchristian and impractical foundation."<sup>49</sup> The next year, following the Social Service Report, the Montreal Synod adopted a motion sponsored by two other militant members of the Social Service Committee, Dr. J. C. Flanagan and the Reverend J. O. Peacock, which declared none of politics, industry, commerce, or recreation to be outside the Kingdom of God, and which acknowledged that it was the duty of the Synod "to convince its members of the necessity of infusing the Spirit of Christ into the working of our economic life."<sup>50</sup> It seems likely that the purpose of this motion was to open the way for future attacks on particular aspects of capitalism, such as profits and the charging of interest.

In August 1943, on the invitation of the Reverend Ernest Reed, rector of the industrial parish of Saint John the Divine, Verdun,<sup>51</sup> Flanagan, Peacock, Pollard, and other socially concerned Montreal Anglicans, attended a conference at Dr. Flanagan's home at Arundel. From this conference and

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<sup>49</sup> Proceedings of the Eighty-fourth Annual Synod of the Diocese of Montreal, 1943, p. 101.

<sup>50</sup> Proceedings of the Eighty-fifth Annual Synod of the Diocese of Montreal, 1944, p. 100.

<sup>51</sup> Later Bishop of Ottawa, 1956-70.

later gatherings developed the Anglican Fellowship for Social Action, which soon became known in the Church as a radical group, dedicated, if not to the abolition of capitalism, at least to its drastic reform.<sup>52</sup>

The Toronto counterpart of the Arundel Conference was the Canadian Malvern Conference arranged by the Social Action Committee in the Diocese of Toronto, and held at Trinity College in August 1943. This conference supported the principle "that society has evolved to the point where the dominance of the profit motive in its present form can no longer continue to accomplish the progress demanded by the requirements of the present day."<sup>53</sup> It approved a planned economy on a national scale as a means of achieving a better functioning of both industry and agriculture and of establishing effective social security measures.

In addition to these unofficial Anglican organizations, several individual churchmen contributed to the demand for reform of the economic order through their personal writings or through their political affiliation. Among them

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<sup>52</sup> Clerical members of AFSA in 1946: W. J. Bishop, R. Bodger, K. N. Brueton, A. G. Elcombe, D. B. Harrison, J. C. Kirby, J. O. Peacock, S. L. Pollard, C. H. Powles, P. S. C. Powles, E. S. Reed, E. C. Royle, M. A. Stephens, J. F. Wagland, H. H. Walsh. Lay members: C. J. Champion, R. H. Corbett, Edna Entwistle, May Griffiths, William Holden, D. S. Penton, Mrs. C. H. Powles, Mrs. H. H. Walsh.

<sup>53</sup> Canadian Malvern Association, Canadian Malvern Conference, Toronto, n.d., p. 1.

was the author, Philip Child, of Trinity College,<sup>54</sup> who in 1942 joined with J. W. Holmes to write one in a series of pamphlets under the general title Behind the Headlines.<sup>55</sup>

Child and Holmes believed Canadians should be quick to define the kind of world they intended to create after the war, in order to strengthen their own morale. In Britain political leaders were promising a different world after the war. The authors pointed to the Malvern Conference as an example of church leadership. They concluded that Canadians, by comparison with the British, were lethargic, and attributed the difference to our sectional divisions, the British North America Act, and the lack of a Labour Party. They claimed that it was left to M. J. Coldwell among political leaders and to labour leaders to show the greatest interest in British social reform. The writers believed that Canadians were ready for a democratic social revolution.

Two prominent Anglicans who wrote for Canadian Forum in 1942 on the economic order were Professor the Reverend W. Lyndon Smith of Trinity College and Andrew Brewin of the CCF. Smith's article was an abbreviated version of an address given

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<sup>54</sup> Since 1942 Chancellor's Professor of English Literature at Trinity.

<sup>55</sup> Philip Child and J. W. Holmes, Dynamic Democracy, Vol. I, No. 9, Behind the Headlines, Toronto, 1942.

to the Worker's Educational Society.<sup>56</sup> In it he gave reasons why the Church should be concerned with the social order. He also claimed that the present economic system was to be condemned for its failure to recognize the priority of man and his salvation in the social order. Although Brewin's article<sup>57</sup> was largely a condemnation of Mitchell Hepburn as Premier of Ontario, he also emphasized the need for planners of the post-war world in Canada to have a social conscience as well as a constructive mind. They should care enough about human suffering to determine that the collective power of the community would be used to help the unfortunate and the helpless.

Other Canadian Anglicans were prominent in providing political leadership toward planning for the post-war society. M. J. Coldwell, leader of the CCF, was one of the early advocates of a new order after the war and he was quick to use church statements supporting his position and that of his party. Speaking in the House of Commons he expressed agreement with the Malvern statement that Christian doctrine must insist that production existed for consumption,<sup>58</sup> and with Temple's

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<sup>56</sup> W. Lyndon Smith, "The Church and the Social Order," Canadian Forum, XXI, 254 (March 1942), 365-67.

<sup>57</sup> F. A. Brewin, "Ontario's Problem Boy," Canadian Forum, XXI, 260 (September 1942), 169-70.

<sup>58</sup> Canada, House of Commons Debates, 1941, p. 3302.

denial of the right of investors in an enterprise to have a saleable right to levy a private tax on that enterprise forever.<sup>59</sup>

In the Conservative Party another Anglican, Richard A. Bell, played an important part in the adjustment of his party to planning for the post-war world through his participation in the Port Hope Conference in September 1942.<sup>60</sup> This conference represented a serious attempt on the part of a number of party members outside of Parliament to bring the Conservative Party up-to-date in its approach to contemporary problems.<sup>61</sup>

Bell, who shared with Sidney Smith the responsibility for the report to the conference on Immigration and Social Security, had made notes from Temple's The Hope of a New World,<sup>62</sup>

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<sup>59</sup> Ibid., p. 3303.

<sup>60</sup> Richard Albert Bell, b. 1913; private secretary to the leader of the opposition 1938-42; secretary of the National Conservative Convention and Convention Organizer 1942; National Director of the Progressive Conservative Party 1943-49; Member of Parliament for Carleton 1957-63, 1965-68; Minister of Citizenship and Immigration 1962-63.

<sup>61</sup> To the annoyance of some, no Members of Parliament were invited to attend. Among Conservatives who attended were Ray Milner of Edmonton, who acted as chairman, Rod Finlayson, Hugh Mackay, David Walker, Donald Fleming, Gunnar Thorvaldson, Richard A. Bell, and J. M. Macdonnell, through whose initiative the conference was organized. The Honourable Richard A. Bell was very helpful in discussing the conference with the writer.

<sup>62</sup> Mr. Bell provided the writer with a copy of excerpts he had taken from the Student Christian Movement edition of 1941. They are given in Appendix D.

and there were some striking similarities between Temple's ideas and the resolutions on the economic order adopted by the Port Hope Conference. The opening statement in the text of The Port Hope Proposals,<sup>63</sup> which reads, "We believe that the individual in his true historical interpretation is essentially a religious being, having a personal belief in God as the universal centre of order and authority," reflected the religious orientation of those present. Temple, who had warned that leaving God out of the picture resulted in economic disorder, saw the "I am a child of God" principle as the basis of freedom.<sup>64</sup> Bell's notes contain Temple's thoughts on the sacredness of human personality, as well as his observations on the Anglican belief that because men are self-centred their self-assertiveness needs to be restrained.<sup>65</sup>

In keeping with this last principle was the decision of the Port Hope Conference to support government action against such abuses as price-fixing combines, monopolies, and patent cartels. It also favoured government action in areas where private initiative fell short, such as slum clearance and long range, low cost housing programmes. Otherwise the

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63 A pamphlet of eight unnumbered pages, Public Archives of Canada, John Bracken Papers, M. G. 27 III C 16, vol. 13.

64 William Temple, The Hope of a New World (2nd ed.), London, 1941, pp. 9-16, 22-26.

65 Ibid., p. 92.

conference favoured individual initiative and free enterprise. Even here they were in harmony with the ideas of Temple, who believed that the best aspects of capitalism should be combined with the best aspects of socialism. Temple had reached the conclusion that socialism could involve bureaucracy, which could easily become "as stifling to one as grinding competition. We do not want one cast-iron system but the fullest attainable combination of order or planning with freedom or personal initiative."<sup>66</sup> In harmony with this twofold objective was the adoption by the Port Hope conference of a specific programme of social security for the new post-war society.

Anglicans also reflected the concern of members of the armed forces over what conditions would be like when they returned home. In 1943 Archbishop Owen, after a visit to the forces overseas, reported to the Toronto Synod some of the questions asked him by officers and men, such as, "What is going to happen after we get back?" and "How was Sir William Beveridge's Report received in Canada?"<sup>67</sup> The men knew, said Owen, what they were fighting against; now they wanted to know what they were fighting for. He saw the threat which lay in their refusal to return to conditions suffered by elder brothers, who wandered about on freight trains, or by their

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<sup>66</sup> Ibid., p. 52; also in Bell's notes.

<sup>67</sup> Journal of the Incorporated Synod of the Diocese of Toronto, 1943, p. 60.

fathers, who, after the last war, looked for work they could not find. To the service men the old days of bust and boom were not worth fighting for. They also believed that a better world was attainable. "If there are enough brains to organize for war, there must also be enough brains to organize for peace, [...] If there is enough money to finance a war, there is enough money to finance the peace," they told Owen.<sup>68</sup>

At the General Synod the following September other bishops took up the appeal of the service men. Sovereign of Athabaska challenged the Church to ensure that veterans would not have to sell shoelaces on street corners after the war.<sup>69</sup> Carrington of Quebec asked, "Are we going back to the hell which existed after the last war?"<sup>70</sup> He wanted to see all Anglicans support the party which proposed social security. The above statements reveal the concern at this time over the conditions which would face those who were then risking their lives, when they returned to Canada. There had been similar expressions of concern during the First World War. The difference now was that the demand for a better order had permeated society more thoroughly.

At the same time opposition to changing the economic system developed in Canadian society. Some of this opposition

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68 Ibid., p. 61.

69 Toronto Evening Telegram, 17 September 1943, p. 14.

70 Ibid.

provided a healthy balance of criticism for the proposed changes; other forms appear to have been reactionary and even fanatical.

The columns of the Canadian Churchman reflected some of the differences of opinion among Anglicans. James A. Kinney, Chancellor of the Diocese of Keewatin, reacted to Temple's "Begin Now" letter to Oldham with a combination of scepticism and sympathy.<sup>71</sup> He questioned whether any new social and economic order would follow as the result of the war. He agreed with the goal of a new order, but disagreed with the plans for achieving it. Temple's position on the profit motive bothered him. In his opinion changes could not be effected by planning, except under a dictator like Hitler; they usually came about by a process of slow development "for many good reasons."<sup>72</sup>

Other writers doubted just how far human nature would be willing to go in making the sacrifices required for a new order. One sermon published in the Churchman<sup>73</sup> alleged that men could not hope to abolish such evils as slums, poverty, and war without radical interference with the kind of life to

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71 James A. Kinney, "The Layman and the New Social Order," CC, 13 March 1941, p. 163.

72 Ibid.

73 J. B. Groser, "The New Order--Humbug or Reality?" CC, 27 March 1941, p. 195.

which they were accustomed. Only repentance would make men ready to pay the price of a new order of society. E. W. Abraham of Victoria even thought a "Second Coming" would be required to achieve a new social order.<sup>74</sup>

One prominent member of General Synod opposed to the current ideas for change was the Honorary Treasurer, J. P. Bell of Hamilton. Bell believed that fanatical reformers were leading churchmen down the garden path. A banker himself, he especially objected to proposals to nationalize the banks, claiming that such a policy would mean disaster for church trust funds. In any case, argued Bell, money and credit were being controlled, not by the banks, but by the state.<sup>75</sup> Why then, asked another correspondent, if the government controlled the money supply, was it not responsible for the inadequate supply during the depression, with the subsequent misery?<sup>76</sup> In reply Bell admitted the responsibility of the government, although he did not know if issuing more notes would have alleviated the depression.<sup>77</sup> Such correspondence was typical of the lively discussion on social and economic issues in the pages of the Churchman in 1943.

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<sup>74</sup> CC, 24 April 1941, p. 263.

<sup>75</sup> J. P. Bell, "The Church and the Social Order," CC, 22 April 1943, p. 326.

<sup>76</sup> Salome Halldoran of Oakville, Manitoba, letter to editor, CC, 27 May 1943, p. 326.

<sup>77</sup> Letter to editor, CC, 10 June 1943, p. 360.

Outside the Church defenders of the status quo were issuing numerous pamphlets defending capitalism. The Reverend A. H. Priest of Calgary was so annoyed at receiving this material, which was sent to the clergy, that he wrote to the Churchman in protest.<sup>78</sup> In answer Bell suggested that the writers of the pamphlets were possibly sincere in thinking that freedom was better than a socialized state like Germany, where freedom was suppressed.<sup>79</sup>

Though not as extreme as Bell's reaction to the movement for reform, some episcopal warnings the next year reflected fear of government domination in any new economic order. Bishop Seager of Huron, who acknowledged his fear of the possibility of paternalism through certain measures of social security, and of socialism in the form of widespread industrial nationalization, was reassured by the Progressive Conservative victory in the Ontario election of 1943.<sup>80</sup>

Such opposition to change could not stop the strong demand for change which had developed among the Canadian people by 1943. The Progressive Conservatives won their victory in Ontario on a platform which promised full employment

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78 Letter to editor, CC, 5 August 1943, p. 440.

79 Letter to editor, CC, 19 August 1943, p. 456.

80 CC, 18 May 1944, p. 319. Archbishop Adams of Kootenay also expressed apprehension of government regimentation after the war. CC, 13 July 1944, p. 415.

and social security.<sup>81</sup> The CCF with only four fewer seats became the official opposition. Also indicative of the public demand for change in 1943 was the news that nationally the CCF had passed both the Liberals and the Progressive Conservatives in popular support.<sup>82</sup>

Anglican support for a new economic order also reached its culmination in 1943. The General Synod of that year not only gave explicit support to social security, a subject to be discussed in the next chapter, but it also approved for action and study by church people a statement which claimed that even more fundamental changes were necessary for the post-war economic order.<sup>83</sup> This statement also held that the needs of all people both at home and in less privileged countries "must take precedence over the organization solely for profit and the ordering of finance to that end."<sup>84</sup> Although the statement criticized those who wished to return to the old industrial system, it held that the new order would be a combination of free enterprise and public control or ownership.

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<sup>81</sup> See their full page advertisement in CC, 22 July 1943, p. 432.

<sup>82</sup> G. Horowitz, "Conservatism, Liberalism and Socialism in Canada: An Interpretation," CJEPS, XXXII, 2 (May 1966) 143-71.

<sup>83</sup> "Report of the Council for Social Service," GSJP, 1943, p. 270.

<sup>84</sup> Ibid.

Thus, beginning with a few individual Anglicans calling for a new economic order after the war and then inspired by events in Great Britain, the movement for reform gathered strength among Canadian Anglicans. Prodded by individual churchmen and unofficial church organizations, the official church took a definite stand for reform at the 1943 General Synod. Until late in 1942 most Anglicans were vague about the particular changes they wanted, but by 1943 reform-minded Anglicans joined with many other Canadians to support a programme of social security as the most promising avenue to a better social and economic order.

## CHAPTER XIII

### THE SECOND WORLD WAR II. ANGLICAN SUPPORT FOR SOCIAL SECURITY

By 1942 there was a strong groundswell for a new social and economic order in Canada. Still to be decided was an acceptable programme for achieving this new order. Canadians were agreed on the ends, but they disagreed on the means.<sup>1</sup> Eventually to Canadians who desired reform the choice seemed to be between socialism and social security. In 1943, as a result of the Beveridge Report in Britain, there was a definite swing in favour of the latter, and among the groups which supported social security were the Anglicans.

Even before the Beveridge Report caught the imagination of the Canadian people there was support for social security among Anglicans. As early as May 1942, Dr. Judd, General Secretary of the Council for Social Service, advocated social security as an acceptable alternative to socialism. He predicted that socialization would not take place either in Britain or in Canada for a long time, if ever, and he approved social insurance as the British and Canadian way of

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<sup>1</sup> This view was expressed by Stephen Leacock in "A New Program for Canada," Saturday Night, 28 November 1942, p. 14.

meeting the need for a new economic order.<sup>2</sup> Although he believed capitalism would continue in Britain, he saw more hope for change in that country than in Canada. Yet, however far change might go in either country, he hoped it would be accomplished by constitutional and evolutionary means.

To Judd social insurance was a necessity under the current economic system, which distributed neither work nor profits fairly. Social insurance would meet human needs by redistributing income, a process he described as "socialization by social services."<sup>3</sup> His mind went back to the depression, when goods glutted the market, while at the same time people lacked the money to buy them. He believed that social insurance would increase the purchasing power of persons least able to help themselves: the unemployed, the disabled, the widows, and large families. Judd also saw that for Canada social insurance meant the redistribution of income regionally as well as among individuals. He urged a national viewpoint on the issue: "One of the great responsibilities of the Canadian people will be to see that welfare arrangements are established on a more equitable scale in and for every province in Canada."<sup>4</sup> To attain this objective, it might be necessary for the central government to levy and collect

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<sup>2</sup> Social Insurance and Material Aid in Canada, Bulletin No. 108, 2 May 1942, p. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

all personal income and corporation taxes in peacetime; at least the different levels of government would have to work out better fiscal arrangements than then existed. He also believed that the high wartime taxes, to which most working Canadians now contributed, were helping to prepare Canadians to accept the cost of social security. He warned his readers that as Christians they must be ready to put the welfare of people first, unlike during the depression, when politicians gave priority to economy.

As already mentioned, the Anglican R. A. Bell played an important role in the Port Hope Conference of Canadian Conservatives. With Sydney Smith he was responsible for the report on Immigration and Social Security. This report called for employment rather than relief, security in old age, and basic standards of health, nutrition, and social services, the cost of which would be met by taxation of the national income. On the basis of this report the conference approved a unified system of unemployment insurance, maintenance for the unemployed, retirement insurance with increased old age pensions until the plan became fully operative, and adequate mothers' and widows' allowances.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Public Archives of Canada, M G. 27 III C 16, Vol. 13, John Bracken Papers, The Port Hope Proposals.

This early support for social security aroused little public enthusiasm. Just as the British initiative awakened concern in Canada for a new world after the war, so Britain now played the most influential role in the Canadian decision to adopt social security as the basis for reform of the social and economic order. The particular event which turned the attention of Canadians to social security was the presentation of the report on Social Insurance and Allied Services by Sir William Beveridge tabled in the British House of Commons in December 1942.

Although Britain already had a far more extensive scheme of social security than had Canada, the British system had developed piecemeal, with the result that it contained a number of gaps and injustices.<sup>6</sup> The Beveridge report recommended a thorough revision aimed at eliminating want from among the British population. Briefly the plan called for contributory social insurance to cover unemployment, disability, sickness, and old age.<sup>7</sup> It would provide for special expenses resulting from birth, marriage, and death. One of its most important features was a plan of family allowances. Such comprehensive social security soon won the apt description

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<sup>6</sup> William Henry Beveridge, Social Insurance and Allied Services, Report by Sir William Beveridge, New York, 1942, p. 2.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid. See pp. 7-9 for the chief recommendation.

of "cradle to grave" and, more irreverently, "womb to tomb" security.

Canadian Anglicans shared in the widespread enthusiasm for the recommendations of the Beveridge report. Toronto alderman, E. C. Bogart, in describing Beveridge's proposals to readers of the Canadian Churchman, expressed the hope that "we in Canada would not let pass the opportunity which makes it possible now to introduce the same or a similar plan for the Dominion of Canada."<sup>8</sup> To Bogart such a plan gave expression to the "Freedom from Want" principle in the Atlantic Charter enunciated by Churchill and Roosevelt in December 1941. The Churchman itself was so interested in Beveridge's report and so sure of the interest of its readers that it offered, in the same issue as Bogart's article, to supply copies at \$1.15 each.

As might be expected after his earlier support for social security, Dr. Judd exploited the Beveridge report as fully as possible. In the report of the Council for Social Service to the 1943 General Synod Judd described it as the most important and striking event of the past year in the field of social welfare.<sup>9</sup> He summarized the Beveridge proposals and went on to urge the acceptance of social security

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<sup>8</sup> "The Beveridge Plan," CC, 25 February 1943, p. 118-19.

<sup>9</sup> GSJP, 1943, p. 258.

for Canada as "one of the democratic means for meeting the needs of a new day"<sup>10</sup> and for redistributing wealth. The Canadian equivalent, commonly known as the Marsh report,<sup>11</sup> which also proposed a broad scheme of social security, came in for a brief reference, but apparently was not considered worthy of the same attention as was given to its British counterpart.

In supporting a plan of social security for Canada the CSS report 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 assure a minimum income for all who were willing to work.<sup>12</sup> It disagreed with the argument of those who opposed such a plan that "the springs of initiative and enterprise would be sapped [...]"<sup>13</sup> and held that insecurity was more deadening than a reasonable degree of security. At the same time the report proposed that social security measures be so designed that they would preserve self-respect and initiative by having participants as well as government and employers contribute.

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10 Ibid., p. 260.

11 Report on Social Security for Canada Prepared by Dr. L. C. Marsh for the Advisory Committee on Reconstruction, Ottawa, King's Printer, 1943. Leonard C. Marsh was an economist employed from 2 July 1941 as a research adviser to the Committee on Reconstruction for the Canadian government.

12 GSJP, 1943, p. 271.

13 Ibid., p. 261.

During the debate on the CSS report, in a session which lasted until nearly midnight, the Synod "heard appeals for real leadership in religious matters and a great campaign for social justice."<sup>14</sup> According to the Reverend E. S. Reed people were looking for more than study; they were looking for leadership.<sup>15</sup> Bishop Ragg of Calgary made "an impassioned plea for social justice,"<sup>16</sup> and claimed that he would personally lead his people against any government that would not provide it. Philip Carrington, Bishop of Quebec and a native of New Zealand, pointed with pride to that country's record of social welfare.<sup>17</sup> These statements, along with others made with reference to returning members of the armed forces,<sup>18</sup> marked a departure from the caution and compromise which had characterized earlier General Synods in their discussion of economic issues. The 1943 session not only received the CSS "Statement on Social Welfare and World Order," it also commended this statement as a basis for deliberation and action,<sup>19</sup> and invited all diocesan Social Service Committees

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14 Toronto Evening Telegram, 17 September 1943, p. 14.

15 CC, 23 September 1943, p. 527.

16 Ibid., p. 531.

17 Ibid.

18 Toronto Evening Telegram, 17 September 1943, p. 14.

19 GSJP, 1943, p. 269.

to organize "Canadian Malvern Conferences," whose purpose would be to consider and act upon the statement's proposals. In spite of those church members who still opposed change, church leaders who had caught a vision of a better order of society after the war were prepared to support specific proposals which, in their judgment, would remove the worst defects of capitalism.

The value of church support for social security lay in the pressure which it put on government to institute the desired programme. The CSS report of 1943 revealed an awareness of Canadian politics when it called on the clergy and other leaders "to lead our legislators, or to strengthen their hands,"<sup>20</sup> in introducing social insurance. The CSS obviously foresaw the opposition to social security; indeed as the support for such a programme increased, the opposition became more vociferous, and it might well have made the government hesitate to propose measures of social security. Some of this opposition was based on scepticism,<sup>21</sup> and some represented a reactionary "rugged individualism."<sup>22</sup>

Far more rational in her opposition to any Canadian application of the Beveridge plan was Charlotte Whitton, the

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20 GSJP, 1943, p. 260.

21 See, for example, Bruce Hutchison, "Pie in the Sky Canadian Style," Maclean's, 1 April 1943, pp. 5, 6, 26, 28, 29.

22 Such as Edward Highe, Living Is Our Business, Toronto, n.d.

knowledgeable and respected welfare work executive and a former member of the Council for Social Service. In 1943 she submitted to John Bracken, leader of the Progressive Conservative Party, an analysis of the Beveridge and Marsh proposals, which she had prepared at Bracken's request. The latter had stipulated that her study should be non-political, and that, if critical of the proposals already made, her work should make alternative recommendations.<sup>23</sup> Whitton was indeed critical and did propose an alternate course of action.

As an expert in social welfare Whitton supported the general aims of the Marsh report, but she doubted that its application of the Beveridge plan in the social setting of Canada would accomplish the best results in this country. One of the chief targets of her criticism was family allowances, a measure recommended by Marsh, which was to receive priority in the government's long range plans to introduce a programme of social security. Marsh recognized family allowances as "only a redistribution, on better principles, of existing income [...]."<sup>24</sup> Although Whitton believed that

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<sup>23</sup> John Bracken, "Foreword," in Charlotte Whitton, The Dawn of Ampler Life, Toronto, 1943, p. iii.

<sup>24</sup> Report on Social Security for Canada, pp. 88, 89. The Marsh report also contained many other recommendations: public expenditure to provide work; insurance to meet contingencies such as sickness, disability, retirement and death. Over the next two decades Canadian governments introduced universal old age pensions, hospital insurance, medical insurance, and the Canada Pension Plan. Family Allowances was the only measure introduced during the period covered in this study.

children's needs ought to have priority in the development of Canada's welfare programme, she rejected the payment of cash grants to families. She argued that such a blanket disbursement of funds would not do nearly as much good as would specific planning directed towards health care, and the training, education, and protection of children.<sup>25</sup> She especially favoured aid for low cost housing for families with young children, and the extension of income tax exemptions for parents of minor children. She also claimed that Canada was spending on primary and secondary education less than half the amount which would be required for family allowances.<sup>26</sup> She suspected that family allowances would be substituted for higher wages. Indeed, in August 1943, J. W. Pickersgill, then in the office of Prime Minister King, anticipated that family allowances would offset labour's demands for higher wages.<sup>27</sup> Instead of family allowances, Whitton recommended that income security for Canadians be made dependent on the maintenance of prices and wages according to a careful calculation of national income.

Whitton's opposition to a Beveridge plan for Canada led her to object to the Council for Social Service giving

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<sup>25</sup> Whitton, The Dawn of Ampler Life, pp. 24, 25.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid., p. 23.

<sup>27</sup> J. W. Pickersgill, The Liberal Party, Toronto, 1962, pp. 33, 34.

its support to a programme of social security. She believed that the Council went beyond its proper sphere of influence in so doing. In a personal interview with Archbishop Owen she suggested that when the Council intended to make any statement on technical, social or economic matters, it should first have recourse to a panel of technical advisers.<sup>28</sup> She even recommended certain persons who might act in this capacity. Owen passed on her request to the CSS Executive, which considered it, but was not apparently ready to admit that the Council had ever gone beyond its proper role. It merely agreed to follow her suggestion if at any time the Council intended to pass "beyond the expression of Christian principles."<sup>29</sup>

Whitton's emphasis on the advice of experts left unanswered the question, "Which experts?". As Feilding pointed out on another occasion,<sup>30</sup> experts could be quoted on both sides of any live question, and the Christian must therefore accept the hazard of becoming his own expert and of making a choice between the often contradictory plans advocated by different economists and social scientists.

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<sup>28</sup> ACA, Council for Social Service, Executive Minutes, 16 February 1944, p. 2.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid.

<sup>30</sup> Canada and Christendom No. 9, May 1943, p. 1.

By 1943 most reform-minded Anglicans had decided to support the conclusions of those experts who favoured social security, of whom there were many. The Beveridge and Marsh reports were the work of experts. When Mackenzie King decided in 1944 to introduce family allowances as the first step in a government programme of social security, he relied to a great extent on the presentation of an expert, W. C. Clarke, Deputy Minister of Finance, to persuade his cabinet to support the measure.<sup>31</sup> Another government expert, J. R. Beattie of the Bank of Canada,<sup>32</sup> endorsed social security as a means of redistributing income and of increasing the purchasing power of the poorer sections of the population.<sup>33</sup> He answered the argument that social security would be impossible without full employment with the proposition that full employment might be impossible without adequate social security measures.<sup>34</sup>

Beattie also recognized that a programme designed to redistribute income through taxation on the one hand and cash payments on the other needed community support. He therefore

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<sup>31</sup> J. W. Pickersgill, The Mackenzie King Record, Vol. I, 1939-1944, Toronto, 1960, pp. 633-34.

<sup>32</sup> John Robert Beattie is an Anglican. In 1944 he was Chief of the Research Department; from 1954 until his retirement at the end of 1971 he was Senior Deputy Governor of the Bank.

<sup>33</sup> J. R. Beattie, "Some Aspects of the Problem of Full Employment," CJEPS, X, 3 (August 1944) 327-42.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid., p. 337.

concluded that the greatest problem in putting such a programme into effect might be the social or political issue of public opinion, rather than purely economic considerations.<sup>35</sup> People had to be willing to subordinate personal or group interests to the attainment of desired social and economic goals. Herein lay the political reality of the day. There is no evidence that public opinion would have supported Whitton's proposals to spend money on low cost housing for the poor and on education instead of on family allowances. There is a great deal of evidence that social security had caught the public imagination. Christian leaders like Canon Judd of the CSS were appealing to the idealism and conscience of church members to be ready to pay the cost of social security.<sup>36</sup> By 1943 the general public seemed ready to do so, and social security was politically attainable. When the government of the day pledged itself to such a programme and announced that the first step would be the introduction of family allowances, the way was open for the welfare state in Canada.

Although the General Synod of 1943 marked a climax in the Anglican demand for reform and in Anglican support for social security, such concern and support did not end at that point. The CSS continued to publish issues of the Bulletin

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35 Ibid., p. 328.

36 Bulletin No. 108, p. 2.

dealing with these subjects.<sup>37</sup> Bishops continued to refer to the need for reform.<sup>38</sup> Canada and Christendom continued publication and in the immediate post-war period became a column in the new church paper dedicated to reform, the Anglican Outlook. Nevertheless these publications and statements added little to the Anglican position on reform of the economic order and social security. Their objective was to keep these issues before the people and to keep up the pressure for a new order. The first step towards the realization of this goal came with parliamentary approval to the bill which instituted family allowances beginning in July 1945.

To Anglicans social security was a means of preserving the personal freedom and initiative allowed under capitalism and also of removing what many believed to be this system's fundamental weakness, the failure to distribute income fairly and adequately. Anglicans hoped therefore that social security would provide the answer to some extent to the twin problems of social injustice and economic depressions.

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<sup>37</sup> Private and Public Enterprise, Bulletin No. 113, 10 April 1944; Industrial Relations, Bulletin No. 114, 25 April 1944; Social Witness and Evangelism, Bulletin No. 116, 15 October 1944.

<sup>38</sup> CC, 24 February 1944, p. 119; 11 May 1944, p. 296.

## CHAPTER XIV

### THE CHURCH AND LABOUR 1939-1946

As well as giving a great deal of attention to social security during the Second World War, Anglicans also responded sympathetically to the demands of labour during this period. Anglican concern for labour took three forms: industrial chaplaincy, working conditions and wages, and mandatory collective bargaining. The industrial chaplaincy was a temporary form of concern, the consequence of one individual's response to the needs of workers under the conditions of war industry. The other two forms simply followed the pattern established by the end of the First World War, namely, support for the workers' right to a fairer share in the rewards of industry and to organize into unions of their choice as a means to obtain that share.

Although the industrial chaplaincy had no connection with working conditions or with unions, it was a by-product of church concern for the welfare of factory workers during the war. The one case of an industrial chaplaincy in Canada is another example of Canadian Anglicans following the British initiative. In 1943 H. Leigh Pink, assistant editor of the Churchman, urged Canadian Anglicans to follow the lead of the Bishop of Worcester, who was permitting some of his priests to do shift work with factory hands and others to act as

chaplains in local factories.<sup>1</sup> A short time later the Reverend S. W. Semple, rector of Thamesford, Ontario, in the Diocese of Huron, initiated such a chaplaincy at the Central Aircraft Manufacturing Company in London. Semple obtained the co-operation of management, and also had the interest and support of his diocesan, Archbishop Seager.<sup>2</sup> The work was an indirect form of personal evangelism and direct counselling, aimed at helping persons who had little church connection. The chaplain's role consisted of giving interviews to individuals with problems, who might arrange appointments with him in the same way they would with the plant physician. Semple was so convinced of the value of his work that he tried by articles and speeches<sup>3</sup> to persuade other members of the clergy to follow his example. There is no record of anyone having done so.

Although his work was an expression of concern for wartime factory workers, who had found it necessary to uproot themselves and their families and to settle in new communities, the factory chaplain had to remain neutral in industrial

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1 H. Leigh Pink, "Factory Evangelisation," CC, 17 June 1943, p. 373.

2 S. W. Semple, The Industrial Chaplain, unpublished address delivered to the Trinity College Alumni Association, 18 September 1945.

3 As, for example, at the Trinity College Clerical Alumni in 1945; see also news item in Anglican Outlook, December 1945, p. 3; S. W. Semple, "The Plant Padre," CC, 17 May 1945, p. 312; S. W. Semple, "Is Plant Padre to Proselytize?" CC, 21 June 1945, p. 376.

disputes. Whereas he worked with individuals with personal problems, other churchmen sought to help workers as participants in industry. Of these churchmen the best example is Charles Feilding, who frequently used Canada and Christendom to inform his workers of labour's side in industrial disputes.

During the first years of the war labour certainly needed supporters. As the war progressed the need for workers along with the phenomenal increase in union strength seemed to put labour in a good bargaining position. From the end of 1940 to the end of 1944 membership in labour unions rose from 365,544 to 724,188, and the number of locals from 3,268 to 4,123.<sup>4</sup> Nevertheless the ability of unions to bargain effectively was limited by the refusal of many employers to recognize them as bargaining agents, the patriotic unwillingness of workers to engage in prolonged strikes, and the restrictions placed by the federal government on wage increases.<sup>5</sup> In addition, the government machinery for settling disputes resulted in confusion and long delays,<sup>6</sup> and even after a

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<sup>4</sup> The Canada Year Book 1942, p. 698; The Canada Year Book 1946, p. 761.

<sup>5</sup> These three points are brought out by H. A. Logan, State Intervention and Assistance in Collective Bargaining: The Canadian Experience 1943-1954, No. 6 in a series of studies sponsored by the Canadian Social Science Research Council, V. W. Bladen (ed.), University of Toronto Press, 1956, p. 14.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., p. 12.

conciliation board had reported, Order-in-Council P.C. 7307 made it unlawful for workers to strike until a vote had been taken by the Department of Labour and was found to be in favour of strike action.<sup>7</sup>

When Feilding wrote in support of the striking gold miners at Kirkland Lake Feilding pointed out that the effect of government regulations was to keep strikes to a minimum. Besides, government policy on labour unions tended to favour the employers over the workers. On 19 June 1940 the federal government put into effect Order-in-Council P.C. 2685, which declared: "That employees, through the offices of their trade union or through representatives chosen by them should [italics mine] be free to negotiate with employers [...]."<sup>8</sup> To Feilding the use of "should" instead of "shall" indicated that the government had published a sermon without exhibiting the intention of putting it into effect.<sup>9</sup> The result was defeat for the strikers at the Kirkland Lake mines, who had been out from 18 November 1941 to 11 February 1942. Instead of obtaining recognition for their CIO local, they had to settle, under pressure from the Department of Labour, for the

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7 Ibid.

8 Canada Gazette, 28 June 1940, p. 4028.

9 Canada and Christendom, No. 1, January 1942, p. 4. See also Logan, State Intervention and Assistance, p. 11.

right to bargain through a committee of local employees in each separate company. To Feilding these committees were, in effect, company unions, and the settlement made a farce of the right of workers to collective bargaining through the union of their choice.<sup>10</sup> The Canadian Congress of Labour came to the same conclusion. According to a Memorandum signed by A. R. Mosher, president, and Pat Conroy, secretary-treasurer, "the failure of the government to protect the legitimate rights of the miners at Kirkland Lake to organize and bargain collectively [...] engendered [...] much resentment and hostility among large numbers of workers in all parts of the Dominion [...]." <sup>11</sup> Government policy not only lagged behind the demands of labour; it also lagged behind its own statements.

Feilding also attempted to explain how the resentment and hostility of workers led to outbreaks of violence during strikes. He saw as "a weakness of the watered down Christian ethic [...] that we tend to think worse of the man who uses personal and physical violence than we do of the man who exploits others by the use of his wits."<sup>12</sup> He blamed years of paternalism, which threatened the status of workers as human

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<sup>10</sup> Canada and Christendom, No. 2, March 1942, pp. 2-5.

<sup>11</sup> Memorandum submitted to the Dominion Government by the Canadian Congress of Labour, February 27, 1942, pp. 8, 9.

<sup>12</sup> Canada and Christendom, No. 2, March 1942, p. 5.

beings, as one of the chief factors behind both strikes and walkouts. In his view only a reasonable share in the control of industry would satisfy the demands of workers, who would no longer accept being treated as "hands." Such ideas were common at the time and represented an attempt to look below the surface in matters of labour unrest.

In the case of the steel strike against the Dominion Steel and Coal Corporation in Nova Scotia and Algoma Steel in Sault Ste. Marie in January 1943, Feilding was at a loss because he found the information in the press to be chiefly propaganda for the government and the industries.<sup>13</sup> For example, Prime Minister King asked why the men did not go back to work while the government considered their demands. Feilding claimed that the men had been going to work for fourteen months "since putting their demands into that creaky machinery"<sup>14</sup> of the government. In the midst of church statements in support of the war effort he wondered what the Church had to say about "this other war"<sup>15</sup> between the workers on the one side and the alliance of government and business on the other.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> C. R. Feilding, "A Note on the Steel Strike," Canada and Christendom, No. 7, January 1943, p. 6.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

<sup>16</sup> Feilding wrote his "Note" before the strike ended. It began 12 January 1943, and when it finally ended 28 January the government had granted the workers' demand for 55 cents an hour, up from the 43-1/2 and 45-1/2 cents they had earned before the strike. See Toronto Globe and Mail, 13 January 1943, pp. 1, 2, and 29 January 1943, p. 1.

In November 1943, Feilding once again attempted to present the case for labour by attaching to the current issue of Canada and Christendom a report prepared by the Montreal unit of the Fellowship for a Christian Social Order on conditions in the Quebec textile industry.<sup>17</sup> This report described the low wages and poor working conditions endured by the textile workers. Employees with eight months experience at the Colonial Branch of the Dominion Textile Company in Montreal worked for twenty cents an hour. Weavers who before the war handled thirty to thirty-five looms now handled up to eighty. Workers did ten and twelve hour shifts, even thirteen hours on the night shift, and they ate on the job. The same report showed how government machinery impeded the workers' attempts to obtain union recognition, more money, and paid vacations. In January 1943, a month after Montreal Cottons refused to negotiate, the United Textile Workers Union applied to the Regional War Labour Board for a Board of Conciliation. Not until July did the Regional Board make a decision, and this failed to meet the workers' demands. In August the Regional Board granted the workers the right to appeal to the National Board. By October the National Board had still not made a

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<sup>17</sup> The Labour Committee, Montreal Unit of the Fellowship for a Christian Social Order, Textile Workers Ask for Justice, Mimeographed Letter and Report to FCSO members across Canada, 10 November 1943.

decision on wages, and said that the matter of union recognition was to be decided by the Regional Board. The Regional Board had earlier refused to recognize the union or to let the employees hold a secret ballot on the issue.

Union recognition and mandatory collective bargaining became one of the major objectives of labour as the war progressed. The difficulty of federal and provincial jurisdiction in industrial matters was not as great in wartime as in peacetime. Now federal powers extended over industries whose products were deemed necessary for the prosecution of the war, and most of the provinces were ready to accept federal initiative in industrial relations.

Anglican support for labour during the war and in the immediate post-war period was a response to this growing demand on the part of labour for free collective bargaining. On two occasions, the annual meeting of the Council for Social Service in 1942 and the General Synod of 1946, Anglicans officially went on record as endorsing labour's right to free collective bargaining.

No doubt the support of Canada and Christendom for the Kirkland Lake miners affected the members of the CSS to support labour's demand for collective bargaining. The CSS annual report in 1942 defined "the exact issue at stake today"<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> The Council for Social Service of the Church of England in Canada, The Kingdoms Are Moved: Twenty-seventh Annual Report, 1942, p. 35.

to be the right of both workers and employers to bargain on equal terms through workers freely chosen by each group, and the meeting voted approval of "the principles of free collective bargaining."<sup>19</sup>

After this action by the CSS in 1942 it seems strange that the Council's report to the General Synod of 1943 contained no similar resolution for approval by the Synod. It may be that the Council Executive saw no reason to repeat itself on a subject the Council had already dealt with. More likely the great interest in social security led Judd and the CSS executive to concentrate on obtaining the Synod's approval for a programme of social security for Canadians, and therefore to omit any mention of support for mandatory collective bargaining. The CSS report did define as imperative "that Labour, Capital and Management share in the operation of production on a fairer division both of responsibility and of benefits."<sup>20</sup> It might be claimed that this affirmation was more radical than the more specific endorsement of free collective bargaining. To give labour actual responsibility in the operation of production would indeed put labour closer to equality with management. But the General Synod did not say how labour and management should divide responsibility;

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19 Ibid.

20 GSJP, 1943, p. 271.

nor is there any indication that labour wished to take on responsibility of this nature. Labour unions were concentrating on the achievement of effective bargaining power through which other benefits in wages, hours, conditions, and security could be obtained. Official endorsement of this major objective of labour by the Anglican Church had to wait for the next General Synod.

In the meantime, in 1944, the federal government used its wartime powers to give effect to collective bargaining legislation under Order-in-Council P.C. 1003, which proclaimed the right of the worker to join the union of his choice and which obliged the employer to bargain with the representatives chosen by the majority of the employees.<sup>21</sup> This legislation applied to interprovincial transportation and communication; industries wholly situated in one province, but declared by Parliament to be to the general advantage of all Canada; industries located in two or more provinces; works essential to the efficient prosecution of the war; and also to industries wholly under provincial jurisdiction in provinces where provincial governments agreed to apply the regulations.<sup>22</sup> Agreements made the legislation effective in the provinces of Nova Scotia,

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<sup>21</sup> Sheila Eastman, "Labour," Encyclopedia Canadiana, Vol. 6, 1958, pp. 31, 32.

<sup>22</sup> Logan, State Intervention and Assistance, p. 27.

New Brunswick, Quebec, Ontario, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and British Columbia.<sup>23</sup> Unfortunately the wartime machinery for dealing with labour disputes continued to delay negotiating procedures, and strikes continued to occur, although their number decreased from 402 in 1943 to 199 in 1944.<sup>24</sup>

Naturally many Canadians were concerned about strikes that hindered the war effort. Judd recognized that people were not sympathetic to labour using strikes in the midst of war in order to consolidate their power for the future. Nevertheless, in defense of labour, he reminded Anglicans of the struggle labour had been forced to wage for over a century to achieve the protection and benefits it then enjoyed.<sup>25</sup> The implication was that labour could hardly be blamed for seeking to strengthen its position for the post-war period.

Once the war was over there was less restraint on labour's desire to consolidate its position with regard to bargaining rights. Of the numerous strikes in the post-war period one of the most crucial on the issue of bargaining was that of Local 200 of the United Automobile Workers against the Ford Motor Company at Windsor, Ontario, over the closed

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<sup>23</sup> Ibid., p. 29, and The Canada Year Book 1945, p. 753.

<sup>24</sup> The Canada Year Book 1947, p. 645.

<sup>25</sup> Industrial Relations, Bulletin No. 114, 25 April 1944, p. 1.

shop and the checkoff of union dues.<sup>26</sup> The union sought compulsory membership in the union for all industrial employees in the plant. After a strike lasting more than three months both sides agreed to accept the decision of an arbitrator to be appointed by the federal government.

For this task the Minister of Labour appointed Mr. Justice Ivan C. Rand of the Supreme Court of Canada. At the end of January 1946 Justice Rand produced the famous "Rand Formula,"<sup>27</sup> which required the company to collect union dues from all employees, on the grounds that all benefited by union activities. On the other hand all employees were free to join the union or to refrain from joining. Whether they joined or not, all were to have the right to share in a strike vote. In its simple justice within its terms of reference the Rand formula seems to have offered a wise and acceptable solution to the problem of union fees and membership. The Rand findings also signified a victory for labour and a defeat for management, as far as the latter's attitude toward the status of labour was concerned. For much of the hostility

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<sup>26</sup> Canada, House of Commons Debates, 1945, Second Session, pp. 128-30. Here Humphrey Michell, Minister of Labour, outlined the history of the conflict between Ford and the union.

<sup>27</sup> Toronto Globe and Mail, 30 January 1946, p. 3. See also, "The Rand Formula," editorial in Toronto Globe and Mail, 31 January 1946, p. 6, which tells of the attention excited by the Rand judgment. It also expresses doubts as to how far the principle of receiving benefits could be carried in society.

of the employees toward Ford, Rand blamed the "absolutist concept of property,"<sup>28</sup> by which employers regarded the plant and business as belonging solely to the company, and labour as just a commodity with no direct interest in the conduct of the business. As we have seen, Anglicans from Coleridge and Southey to Homfray Michell, William Temple, and Charles Feilding were among those who had been saying that labour must not be regarded as a commodity and that labour must be regarded as an equal with capital and management in industry.

In its report to the 1946 General Synod the CSS report recognized the fairness of the Rand decision, not only to both sides in the dispute, but also to the public at large. The report also tended to be cautious, pointing out that the "strength or weakness of the principles enunciated by the decision will be realized only in action."<sup>29</sup> By contrast, the Synod, on a motion by Dr. J. C. Flanagan and the Reverend S. L. Pollard, officially endorsed both the principle of free collective bargaining and the findings of Mr. Justice Rand.<sup>30</sup> This resolution proclaimed the Rand formula to be in accord with democratic practice, and it prophesied that it would

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28 Toronto Globe and Mail, 30 January 1946, p. 3.

29 GSJP, 1946, p. 286.

30 Ibid., p. 61.

result in greater security for workers and a closer relationship between employers and employees.

In voting in favour of such a specific motion General Synod indicated the strong support within the Church for granting labour the legal right to collective bargaining and to collect union dues from all who benefited from union activities in an industry, so that labour could bargain on more equal terms with management. Doubtless labour had gained these objectives through its own efforts. At the same time, without the climate of opinion sympathetic to labour's goals, labour would have experienced much greater difficulty in achieving those goals. As we have seen, both individual Anglicans and the official church contributed to that climate of opinion.

## CHAPTER XV

### POST-WAR POLARIZATION

Anglican support for reform of the economic order reached its peak of public expression and commitment at the General Synod of 1943. There, by giving approval to a system of social security, the official body of the Anglican Church in Canada endorsed the continuance of the free enterprise system, in the expectation that its faults would in large measure be removed as plans of social security were put into effect by the government.

Yet many reform-minded churchmen did not consider that the task of working for reform of the economic order was ended. The Council for Social Service continued its moderate course of educating Anglicans on the need for reform along the lines approved by General Synod, and issued a number of Bulletins on the subject.<sup>1</sup> Other churchmen, who believed a more fundamental reform of capitalism was required than that which the Church had approved, formed groups through which they could press their views on the rest of the Church. These groups, made up of what we call activists, also believed the Church should be quite specific in pointing out and condemning

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<sup>1</sup> Besides those mentioned in Chapter XIII, p. 276, should be added the post-war issue, Christian Social Principles for Today, Bulletin No. 130, 1 December 1946.

what they considered to be economic injustice. As the activists became more penetrating and vehement in their attacks on capitalistic exploitation, they became something of an "out" group within the Church. In their reaction to the activists other Anglicans made it plain that they were ready to stop with the achievement of social security and of a better bargaining position for labour, and that they were unwilling to see the elimination of free enterprise and profit-making. The result was a process of polarization between the activists and the main body of Canadian Anglicans.

There were two elements in the origin of the wartime activist movement, although shortly after the war the two merged into one. They began in the two main centres of industry and finance: in Toronto, with Canada and Christendom, and in Montreal, with the Anglican Fellowship for Christian Social Action. What brought them together was the founding of a new Anglican paper, the Anglican Outlook.

Because Canada and Christendom was simply a mimeographed newsletter, and therefore restricted to a small group of subscribers, it could not adequately fulfil the role either of opposition or of complement to the Canadian Churchman. The fact that dissatisfaction with the Churchman was not confined to a small group in the Church was obvious in 1941, when the Executive Committee of General Synod granted five hundred dollars to help the paper out of its financial difficulties, and the next year appointed a committee to work with officials

of the Churchman to try to make "that paper more fully representative of the news and views of the Church of England in Canada."<sup>2</sup> It was with the declared purpose of providing the Church with the benefits of modern church journalism<sup>3</sup> that the Reverend J. Gregory Lee, a former student of Charles Feilding, and Charles Inder, an organist at St. John's Church, Ottawa, where Lee was then the assistant priest, decided to found a new church magazine. The Anglican Outlook was also destined to present Anglicans with stimulating and sometimes controversial ideas on social and economic issues. It was an ambitious enterprise on which the two men embarked with an investment of their own money. They inherited the subscription list of Canada and Christendom, which now became a column in the new paper.<sup>4</sup> The first issue appeared in November 1945.

Lee, the editor, began cautiously with the first issue. Obviously attempting to appeal to different schools within the Church, he balanced Feilding's column with another by Professor B. W. Horan of Wycliffe College. Whereas Feilding called for more social concern by the Church as part of the Gospel,<sup>5</sup> Horan claimed that the Church's greatest need was to

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2 GSJP, 1943, p. 100.

3 Anglican Outlook, 1 November 1945, p. 7.

4 For the story of the paper's beginnings, see Anglican Outlook, June-July 1960, p. 6.

5 Anglican Outlook, 1 November 1945, p. 4.

build up "the faith and worship of the congregation."<sup>6</sup> The cautious policy which characterized the early issues moved one of the activist Montreal clergy, John Peacock, to express his disappointment with the conservatism of the new journal as contrasted with the old Canada and Christendom.<sup>7</sup> The editor replied that the Outlook represented neither "the Conservative Party at Prayer" nor "the Communist Party at Mass."<sup>8</sup> Considering the financial risk involved and the need to appeal to as wide a clientele as possible, such initial caution can be appreciated

Peacock's criticism was not justified as far as the contents of later issues were concerned. The paper contained refreshingly progressive material on social issues in editorials, articles, and news items. By the time of the 1946 General Synod, many churchmen were beginning to look askance at this rather "socialist" paper which dared to include the word "Anglican" in its name. The new paper brought to a head the whole matter of Anglican journalism.

The 1946 General Synod rallied to the support of the Canadian Churchman, whose circulation had sunk to a low of

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6 Ibid., p. 10.

7 Letter to editor, Anglican Outlook, 1 March 1946, p. 15.

8 Ibid.

six thousand, compared with some fifteen thousand in the 1920s.<sup>9</sup> No wonder its editor, Canon Armstrong, although he commented favourably on the new national paper, wondered if the field should be divided between two papers; at the same time he also promised changes in the Churchman.<sup>10</sup> General Synod also favoured one paper, and its sympathies lay with the Churchman, which had given seventy-five years of "loyal service"<sup>11</sup> to the Church. This Synod appointed a committee to approach the publishers of both papers "with a view to having a definite voice in the policy of making a paper that shall serve the whole Church in Canada."<sup>12</sup> The Outlook could not go along with a policy which meant it would be swallowed up by "one General Synod paper under official General Synod sponsorship."<sup>13</sup> Thus, when the committee reported to the Executive of General Synod later in 1946, that body decided in favour of financial support to the Churchman until

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9 GSJP, 1946, p. 342. According to the recollection of the first business manager of the Anglican Outlook, Charles Inder, that paper's circulation might have reached five to six thousand. Inder to Pulker, September 1973.

10 CC, 15 November 1945, p. 2.

11 GSJP, 1946, p. 67.

12 Ibid.

13 "One Paper or None," editorial in Anglican Outlook, October 1947, p. 11.

arrangements could be made for General Synod to take it over. These arrangements were completed in 1948.<sup>14</sup>

Now that the Anglican Outlook could no longer look to General Synod for financial aid, the journal began to speak more critically of what it considered the caution of the 1946 Synod on social matters. One article described the CSS report to the Synod as "most disappointing" and "given over mainly to a review of ambulance work, [...]."<sup>15</sup> Later the paper editorially accused church leaders, church assemblies, and the church press of not taking any firm stand for or against such burning issues as "the control of the Atomic Bomb, relations with the Russian peoples, price and wage controls, the value of endowments, the socialization of industry [...]."<sup>16</sup> It defined church "timocracy" as "fear for its respectability as an institution,"<sup>17</sup> and claimed this fear was "robbing the church of its rightful heritage of leadership in opinion and action."<sup>18</sup>

This editorial aroused the Reverend R. C. Blgrave, the rector of St. Thomas' Church, Hamilton, to write a full

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<sup>14</sup> GSJP, 1949, p. 262.

<sup>15</sup> An Observer, "General Synod Comments," Anglican Outlook, 1 November 1946, p. 4.

<sup>16</sup> "Timocracy--Or Fence Sitting," editorial in Anglican Outlook, February 1947, p. 9

<sup>17</sup> Ibid.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid.

page article in reply.<sup>19</sup> To Blaggrave the paper's criticisms were similar to those made at General Synod by a certain group, "whose ideas about the Church's policies and attitudes were quite out of harmony with the feelings of General Synod."<sup>20</sup> He accused the Outlook of taking up the cause of socialism and of seeking "to condemn the Church if there are people in it who refuse to be tied to the chariot wheels of this modern materialistic security-philosophy."<sup>21</sup> Blaggrave went on to contrast the iniquities of that economic system with the blessings of capitalism. He compared the destitution in Russia with the prosperity in the United States, and blamed Communism for the difference. In this regard, Blaggrave was guilty of overlooking the vast amount of destitution in the States, and of ignoring such facts as the short period of time which had elapsed since the Soviet Union began to catch up industrially with the western nations, and the devastation wrought by four years of war on Russian territory.

The same issue carried a reply to Blaggrave.<sup>22</sup> The editor did not recollect having used the term "socialism,"

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19 R. C. Blaggrave, "Timocracy--Or Fence-Sitting: A Criticism of the February Editorial," Anglican Outlook, April 1947, p. 8.

20 Ibid. The only group that this description fits were the Synod members who also belonged to Montreal AFSA.

21 Ibid.

22 "A Challenge--Being a Rely [sic] to Dr. Blaggrave," Anglican Outlook, April 1947, pp. 9, 11.

but, since Blagrave had drawn such a clear line between socialism and capitalism, the paper pointed out that it stood in the good company of people like Maurice, Kingsley, Ludlow, Scott Holland, Gore, and Temple, "men who were acknowledged Christian Socialists and strong believers in Christian social action [...]." <sup>23</sup> Nevertheless there was nothing in the article to suggest that the Outlook supported socialism as an economic system; its whole position seemed to be that the Church should take a definite stand on the merits of specific issues. As things stood, in the Outlook's opinion, the pro-capitalist attitude of the Church affected its moral judgment on issues affecting capitalism. To the Outlook the Church of England was in fact espousing capitalism when a delegation headed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, Geoffrey Fisher, protested the plan of the new Labour government to nationalize the railways, because the Church held railway shares. <sup>24</sup> Two correspondents picked up the fallacy in the Outlook's position. Canon Judd pointed out that the Church did not protest nationalization, but was concerned only with compensation. <sup>25</sup> The Reverend F. C. Jackson, then rector of Campbellville in the Diocese of Niagara, also distinguished between protesting the policy of nationalization and protesting the

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23 Ibid.

24 Ibid.

25 W. W. Judd, Letter to editor, Anglican Outlook, June 1947, p. 18.

terms.<sup>26</sup> The editor's answer that protesting terms was a way of protesting policy might be true in some cases, but there is nothing to suggest that such a conclusion should be drawn in this particular case. It may be that the Outlook's anti-capitalist attitude affected its judgment in this argument. Still, in demanding that the Church should grapple with specific issues, the Anglican Outlook pinpointed a very fundamental cause of disagreement between the activist and the moderate elements in the Church, to say nothing of the difference between the activist and the status quo members of the Church.

In his article Blagrave also suggested that a connection existed between the Outlook and the Montreal AFSA.<sup>27</sup> He was right, for when General Synod and its Executive Committee refused to aid the Anglican Outlook financially, the new paper turned to help to the Anglican Fellowship for Social Action in Montreal.<sup>28</sup> In March 1949 the Fellowship took over publication, and later the same year, the Reverend H. H. Walsh, the Canadian church historian, became editor, a position he

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<sup>26</sup> F. C. Jackson, Letter to editor, Anglican Outlook, July 1947, pp. 16, 17.

<sup>27</sup> Blagrave, "Timocracy--Or Fence-Sitting: A Criticism," Anglican Outlook, p. 8.

<sup>28</sup> "Farewell--And Hail," editorial in Anglican Outlook, June-July, 1960, p. 6.

held until the paper became the interdenominational Christian Outlook in September 1960.

When started in 1943 the fledgling Anglican Fellowship for Social Action was very much in tune with the times in calling for reform of the economic order. In the same year the General Synod went as far as to support social security within a modified free enterprise system. Over the next few years AFSA members tried to persuade church councils to go further and to condemn certain aspects of the capitalist-industrial system. To many churchmen, AFSA appeared to be trying to force the Church to take a socialist position. Whereas individual Anglicans might not be criticized officially, and might even be admired for working for socialism by political and other means outside the Church, it was quite a different matter to try to get agreement from synods on measures which the majority of members considered socialistic.

In the Diocese of Montreal AFSA members S. L. Pollard and J. O. Peacock as clerical members of synod, and Dr. J. C. Flanagan, a Montreal dentist, as a lay delegate, took the most aggressive stand on economic issues. All three were also members of the Diocesan Council for Social Service (DCSS). In 1944, when the DCSS in its report to the diocesan synod would only go so far as to express opposition to the taking of interest from debtors in actual need, Pollard and Peacock moved the adoption of a minority report which claimed

that the present system of finance capital and interest "tends to fall under the Christian condemnation of usury"<sup>29</sup> and that production should be for use and not primarily for monetary profit. The original report was carried, the minority report merely received. The same synod also adopted a motion by Flanagan and Peacock which affirmed synod's recognition of its duty 'to convince its members of the necessity of infusing the Spirit of Christ into the working of our economic life."<sup>30</sup>

As this last motion shows, Montreal Anglicans could agree that there was need to make the economic order more Christian; disagreement still remained over the method and over what was meant in practice by "more Christian." The majority were satisfied with social security and a better deal for labour; a vigorous minority believed these steps did not go far enough. In 1946 Bishop Dixon, in his charge to his diocesan synod, acknowledged that it was the Church's duty to proclaim the great principles of Christianity in relation to human affairs, but in the same charge he warned against marring the Church's effectiveness by differences of emphasis in social and economic matters. With reference to the DCSS

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<sup>29</sup> Proceedings of the Eighty-fifth Annual Synod of the Diocese of Montreal, 1944, p. 100.

<sup>30</sup> CC, 11 May 1944, p. 296.

he confessed his scepticism "of the value of pronouncements on many matters especially when they call on somebody **other than ourselves to act.**"<sup>31</sup> Other than a section in the DCSS report which dealt with the Christian view of interest on capital and the recommendation of a national pension scheme there seems to be nothing to which the above remark could be applied. Certainly the DCSS was well within its proper function when it informed the synod that 223,000 persons were receiving unemployment insurance and that 218,000 heads of families earned less than five hundred dollars per annum and another 299,600 earned between five hundred and one thousand dollars.<sup>32</sup> The report did not belabour these figures, probably because the members of the DCSS thought that they spoke for themselves as an indictment of the economic system.

Later in 1946 two AFSA members, Pollard and Flanagan, also made their presence felt at the General Synod of that year. According to Archdeacon Wallace of Hamilton, the more radical members of the Synod got a hostile reception in 1946.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> Proceedings of the Eighty-seventh Annual Synod of the Diocese of Montreal, 1946, p. 33.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid., p. 104.

<sup>33</sup> W. F. Wallace, "The Meeting of the General Boards at Saskatoon," in the General Synod of the Church of England in Canada, The Year Book and Clergy List of the Church of England in Canada, Toronto, 1948, p. 22. Wallace is here showing the changes in attitudes on the part of the activists and their opposition between 1946 and 1948.

Although one motion by Pollard and Flanagan expressing the support of Synod for collective bargaining and the Rand report received approval, another which requested an inquiry into whether General Synod was informed of the labour policy, and the wages and working conditions of companies in which General Synod held shares, went down to defeat.<sup>34</sup>

Probably Bishop Dixon was somewhat embarrassed by the activities at General Synod of people from his diocese. In any case in 1947 in his opening charge to the Montreal Diocesan Synod he took the unusual step of lashing out quite strongly at his Diocesan Council for Social Service, which he accused of attempting to make the Synod a debating ground on political and economic techniques.<sup>35</sup> He expressed regret that the DCSS report ignored the distinction made by Archbishop Temple between the Church enunciating principles on the one hand and the Church committing itself to a programme of specific action on the other hand. Dixon wanted his Council to place more emphasis on social service, which, he claimed, was being neglected in the diocese, and which called for "much more

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<sup>34</sup> GSJP, 1946, p. 50.

<sup>35</sup> Proceedings of the Eighty-eighth Annual Synod of the Diocese of Montreal, 1947, p. 32. See also, "Bishop Hits Social Service Group for Involving Synod in Politics. Committee Headed by C. C. F. Adherent Is Target for Prelate's Guns," news report in Montreal Gazette, 23 April 1947, p. 3. Flanagan, then DCSS chairman, had run unsuccessfully for the CCF in the 1945 General Election.

sacrifice than reading books and telling other people what they should do."<sup>36</sup> What the bishop did not say was that social service was also a much less controversial area.

The bishop's criticisms set the tone for the attacks made on the DCSS report when it later came up for discussion. In a six-hour debate P. C. Armstrong, a lay delegate, led the opposition to the report, which he described as "part of the platform of the C. C. F. with some overtones of the Social Credit Party."<sup>37</sup> Dr. Flanagan defended the report, and claimed that the main opposition came from those who had "vested interest in secularism."<sup>38</sup> In spite of strong objections from a number of members of the Synod, several of the recommendations of the DCSS report received approval. They called for the government to raise minimum wages and to adjust them with the rise and fall of the cost of living, for the setting up of a Public Welfare Department prepared to give unemployment relief in Montreal, for subsidized housing, for a National Health Insurance Plan to be implemented without delay, and for increased pensions without a means test for the blind, and for widows and orphans.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> Montreal Proceedings of Synod, 1947, p. 32.

<sup>37</sup> Quoted in Montreal Gazette, 25 April 1947, p. 3.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid.

The Second World War also saw the rise of an activist group in the Diocese of Nova Scotia, where a group of young men, ordained during the war, became interested in the co-operative movement as developed in connection with the Extension Department of St. Francis Xavier College at Antigonish.<sup>40</sup> As a project in adult education this college trained farmers and fishermen to establish co-operatives and credit unions. While incumbent of the parish of Pugwash, C. R. Elliott joined the local Credit Union and began to work for a co-op store.<sup>41</sup> In 1945 the Credit Union managed to buy out a local merchant who was retiring. Elliott became the first president of the board of the new store. The project has thrived to the present day.<sup>42</sup> However, when another member of the group, the Reverend Ted DeWolf, supported the establishment of a co-operative store in his parish of Musquodoboit Harbour, he aroused the ire of one of his churchwardens, who himself operated another small store in the village. In reprisal, this churchwarden held up his rector's cheque, and DeWolf became dependent on his clergy friends for a time for help to survive. Elliott and his friends also took

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<sup>40</sup> Clark Russell Elliott, George Stavert Tanton, F. M. French, Karl H. Tufts, Bill Anthony, Ted DeWolf, and George Bickley.

<sup>41</sup> C. Russell Elliott to E. A. Pulker, May 1970.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid.

advantage of their membership on a diocesan committee on rural work, established in 1945, to promote the cause of credit unions.

In 1946 this same group organized an AFSA cell in affiliation with the Montreal group, and began circulating the diocese with AFSA literature, with the result that they soon aroused opposition within their diocese. Elliott does not remember what particular item was sent out in the fall of 1946,<sup>43</sup> but it resulted in the Bishop of Nova Scotia, G. F. Kingston, writing the members of AFSA and reprimanding them for operating through an unofficial organization. He asked them to cease such activities and to work through the Diocesan Council for Social Service in the future.<sup>44</sup> In reply the AFSA members asked the bishop for permission to continue their activities on the grounds that they were actually promoting church ideas in the same way that Temple had done through the Industrial Christian Fellowship in England. When the bishop did not reply they decided that they had tacit permission to carry on.

A group of laymen opposed to the ideas and activities of the AFSA group organized a group of their own. Apparently in the belief that their new group stood for the reasonable

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<sup>43</sup> Ibid.

<sup>44</sup> Elliott Files, Liverpool, Nova Scotia, G. F. Kingston to C. Russell Elliott, 14 December 1946.

position of the Lambeth Conference on social and economic issues they called themselves the Lambeth League. One AFSA member mimeographed a number of proposals of the 1948 Lambeth Conference, and without giving their origin distributed them in the meeting room of members of the Lambeth League. Upon discovering and reading them, Lambeth League members thought they were ASFA material and became very angry. According to Elliott they were quite shaken to find that the material they were condemning had originated with Lambeth.<sup>45</sup>

The process of conflict and polarization continued until, in January 1949, Archbishop Kingston (who had become Primate in 1947) called a joint meeting of AFSA and Lambeth League members. Dr. Judd and Dr. Prince also attended, and both defended the right of AFSA members to carry on their activities. On the other hand, according to Elliott's recollection of the meeting, one layman present described AFSA as a disturber of the peace, "which we cannot stand for"<sup>46</sup> and which seemed determined to dissipate the trust funds of the diocese. Elliott also notes that the worst insult which could be given anyone in the Church was to link them with "the Dr. Flanagans and the Dr. Walshes!"<sup>47</sup> Both these men were associated with the radicalism in the Diocese

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<sup>45</sup> Elliott to Pulker, May 1970.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid.

of Montreal, where they were members of the AFSA. The meeting eventually achieved the measure of unity and harmony which Archbishop Kingston desired. With Judd admitting that the AFSA members were his most ardent supporters, and Kingston admitting that they were his most faithful priests, the meeting ended on a note of reconciliation.

Thus before the end of the decade the process of polarization was ending, although, according to Archdeacon Elliott, even as late as 1970 the former members of AFSA in Nova Scotia were still regarded as dangerous, yet trustworthy, men.<sup>48</sup> Even by 1947 Archdeacon Wallace noticed a more conciliatory attitude on the part of the Montreal members on the Council for Social Service of General Synod at the Board meetings held that year in Saskatoon.<sup>49</sup> There the other members were willing to accept a resolution from the Montreal activists that the Church make a pronouncement of its social sympathies and attitudes in order to strengthen its evangelistic appeal.

The Anglican activist reformers, 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 to be obvious evils in the capitalistic system, aroused an antagonistic reaction

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<sup>48</sup> Ibid.

<sup>49</sup> W. F. Wallace, "The Meetings of the General Boards at Saskatoon," Year Book, 1948, p. 22.

from the moderate and status quo elements within the Church. Although by 1948 their own militancy had declined somewhat, through the Anglican Outlook they helped to keep alive within the Church the spirit of reform and of concern with social and economic issues.

## CHAPTER XVI

### A COMPARISON OF ANGLICAN AND METHODIST-UNITED CHURCHES<sup>1</sup> ON SOCIAL-ECONOMIC REFORM

Until this point this study has been dealing with Anglican ideas and actions in relation to reform of the social and economic order. As stated in the introduction, one reason for this study was to refute the commonly held belief that Anglicans had little to do or say in the matter of reform. Along with this belief has gone the hypothesis that the Methodist and United Churches led the way among Christians in demanding social and economic reform. In the light of what this study has already revealed and of what others have said by way of comparing the two church traditions, this chapter will discuss the roles of the two churches and attempt to explain some of the differences between them in their approaches to reform. It will deal with specific criticisms of the Anglican Church, especially those made by Stewart Crysdale and Richard Allen in their studies of the Canadian churches and social-economic reform in the twentieth century.

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<sup>1</sup> In this chapter the Methodist and United Churches are treated as one tradition. At church union in 1925, the Methodists were by far the largest body entering the new United Church, which also included about half the Presbyterians as well as the Congregationalist Church.

One reason Crysedale gives for "the social conservatism of the Anglican Church"<sup>2</sup> in the first decade of this century was "the coolness of the Church of England periodical to demands for social reform."<sup>3</sup> Allen also claims that Anglicans did not have the same interest in "Social Gospel concerns"<sup>4</sup> as did Methodists and Presbyterians, because the Canadian Churchman did not carry as many articles on the subject as did publications of the other two denominations.<sup>5</sup>

With regard to the Canadian Churchman both writers have probably been misled by the ascription "The National Church of England Weekly" on its masthead. Unlike the Methodist paper, the Christian Guardian, which was an official church paper, whose editor was elected by the General Conference as one of the officers of the Conference,<sup>6</sup> the Anglican paper was a private publication and had no official connection

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2 Stewart Crysedale, The Industrial Struggle and Protestant Ethics in Canada, Toronto, 1961, p. 24.

3 Ibid.

4 Alexander Richard Allen, The Crest and Crisis of the Social Gospel in Canada 1916-1927, unpublished doctoral thesis, Duke University, 1966, p. 55.

5 According to Allen's count the Methodist Christian Guardian printed 38 such items in 1918 and 87 in 1919 to 13 and 41 in the Churchman in the same years.

6 The Methodist Church, Journal of Proceedings of the First United General Conference, 1883, p. 45.

with the Church. In the period to which Crysedale refers, its editor and owner was Frank Woolton, who in the decade before his death in 1912 was an old man and apparently unable to keep up with current thought and conditions. After the change in ownership in 1912 the Churchman had editors who came out strongly for reforms in the economic order. The difference in the number of articles on social issues carried by the Christian Guardian and the Churchman may be partly accounted for by the difference in format of the two papers. The part-time editor of the Churchman often wrote only two or three editorials in one issue, sometimes only one long one, whereas the full-time editor of the Guardian often wrote a dozen or more, of which several short ones might be on social issues. In any case quantity is not the same as quality. Homfray Michell's articles on the Winnipeg Strike of 1919 in the Churchman<sup>7</sup> covered the issues far more thoroughly than did the greater number of short editorials on the subject in the Christian Guardian.

Nor does the Christian Guardian seem to have been any more sympathetic to the workers involved in the Winnipeg Strike than was Michell. On the whole the Guardian took rather a neutral and lofty attitude toward the strike. Although the

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<sup>7</sup> See H. M., "Social Service Notes and News," CC, 29 May 1919, pp. 344, 347; 12 June 1919, pp. 377, 379; 26 June 1919, pp. 409, 411; 10 July 1919, p. 441.

Reverend W. B. Creighton, editor of the Guardian, like Michell, favoured labour's right to collective bargaining, he did not believe that the present was the time for a fight to the finish, but one for compromise and agreement.<sup>8</sup> He believed that if wise men had been in control on both sides there would have been no strike.<sup>9</sup> Although Creighton described the object of the sympathy strike to be " general industrial paralysis so complete that the community in self-defense will be compelled to insist that the demands of the strikers be granted,"<sup>10</sup> and compared it to a blockade in war, he also hedged on saying whether the sympathy strike was good or bad. These were "not the days for the fighter, but for the peace-maker."<sup>11</sup> His position seems similar to that of Michell, who believed the use of the sympathy strike in Winnipeg was a mistake in tactics. Michell also came out against the principle of the sympathy strike.

Although the Christian Guardian, then, had several editorials on the Winnipeg General Strike, whereas the Canadian Churchman left discussion of this conflict to the greater competence of Homfray Michell, certainly the Anglican paper did not deal less adequately with the subject.

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8 Christian Guardian, 21 May 1919, p. 3.

9 Christian Guardian, 4 June 1919, p. 4.

10 Ibid., p. 5.

11 Ibid.

According to Crysdale, Anglicans were behind Methodists in commitment to social and economic reform because they did not establish their Committee on Moral and Social Reform until the General Synod of 1911,<sup>12</sup> whereas the Methodists established their Board of Temperance, Prohibition and Moral Reform in 1902.<sup>13</sup> It would seem, however, that the Methodist Church was motivated primarily by the desire to promote prohibition when it set up its Board, for the first report of the Board of Temperance, Prohibition and Moral Reform, made to the 1906 General Conference, dealt entirely with total abstinence.<sup>14</sup> The committee of the Conference appointed to consider this report brought forward resolutions which affirmed total abstinence and also condemned gambling and cigarette smoking.<sup>15</sup> It is true that in 1906 a Committee on Sociological Questions held that it was the work of the Church to set up the Kingdom of God among men, and condemned commercial greed and the money madness which led to the oppression of the unfortunate,<sup>16</sup> but the fact that this report was made by another committee shows that the Board of Temperance, Prohibition and Moral

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12 Crysdale, The Industrial Struggle, p. 30.

13 Ibid., p. 19.

14 Journal of Proceedings of the Seventh General Conference of the Methodist Church, 1906, pp. 434-37.

15 Ibid., pp. 218-20.

16 Ibid., pp. 274-78.

Reform was not expected to deal with all social problems. The same conclusion may be drawn from the report of this board to the 1910 General Conference, for it dealt only with such issues as temperance, treatment of prisoners, gambling, sexual immorality, and obscene literature.<sup>17</sup>

Not until 1914, under the new Board of Social Service and Evangelism of the Methodist Church, did all social issues come under the aegis of one board. Although this board called for reform of the economic order, it still placed its greatest emphasis on the liquor issue. In its report to the 1914 General Conference it reaffirmed the Methodist stand in favour of prohibition in these words:

We advise our people that the Methodist Church to-day, as in past years, stands resolutely, unchangeably, and aggressively in favour of absolute prohibition of the traffic for beverage purposes in intoxicating liquors, [...].<sup>18</sup>

Whereas Methodist support for prohibition had its roots well back in the nineteenth century, Anglicans before the First World War had refused to support prohibition, although they supported temperance, in the true meaning of

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17 "Report of the Committee on Temperance, Prohibition and Moral Reform," Journal of Proceedings of the Eighth General Conference of the Methodist Church, 1910, pp. 310-16.

18 "Report of the Committee on Social Service and Evangelism," Journal of Proceedings of the Ninth General Conference of the Methodist Church, 1914, p. 261.

the word.<sup>19</sup> The Canadian Churchman under Frank Woolton vigorously opposed prohibition, but this policy was changed by the new evangelical ownership after 1912.<sup>20</sup> This refusal of Anglicans to support prohibition might well be the origin of the idea that Anglicans were not as concerned with social problems as were the Methodists. At the General Synod of 1915 the Primate, Archbishop Matheson, referred to the Church as often being "accused of having no definite policy on public issues [...]."<sup>21</sup> The public issue to which Methodists had paid the most attention to at that time had been prohibition. When the General Synod of 1915, under the influence of wartime idealism, endorsed prohibition, the editor of the Churchman welcomed this step with relief, "because the Church has often been charged with being in the rear of the reform movement."<sup>22</sup>

The difference in the Anglican and Methodist attitudes to prohibition was characteristic of their respective attitudes to the Social Gospel. As shown in the first chapter of this

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19 See Report of the Royal Commission on the Liquor Traffic in Canada, Vol. I, Ottawa, Queen's Printer, 1895, pp. 969-70, which shows that Anglican clergy gave less support to prohibition than the ministers of any denomination, including Roman Catholic.

20 See Dominion Churchman (as the paper was called to the end of 1889), 10 February 1887, p. 331; CC, 21 July 1892, p. 451, for two of the many examples of the Churchman's position.

21 GSJP, 1915, p. 16.

22 CC, 30 September 1915, p. 615.

study, Anglicans were sceptical of the Social Gospel belief in the ability of men to establish the Kingdom of God on earth. Methodists, on the other hand, faced the new problems which accompanied industrialization in much the same spirit with which they faced the problems caused by liquor, that is, with a zeal which sprang from the conviction that the Kingdom of God could be established with the aid of appropriate legislation. As already mentioned, their Committee on Sociological Questions in 1906 spoke of setting up the Kingdom of God among men, and in 1914 the new Board of Social Service and Evangelism accepted the same goal in these words:

The thought that it is the business of the Church to set up on earth the Kingdom of God as a social organization based on the Golden Rule of Christ, has come to live in the conscience and in the hopes of the Church.<sup>23</sup>

Here was the Social Gospel in its most optimistic form, the Social Gospel which by the early years of this century had developed its own peculiar theology, which Anglicans could not fully accept and which United churchmen would eventually reject. Allen's The Crest and Crisis of the Social Gospel and Crysedale's The Industrial Struggle both bring out the apparent slowness of Anglicans to support social reform in comparison with Methodists, but neither works have gone into the matter of the difference in attitude to the Social Gospel within these churches.

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<sup>23</sup> Journal of Proceedings of the Methodist Church, 1914, p. 407.

The Methodist and United Churches also placed more emphasis on official church pronouncements than did the Anglican Church. A United Church minister, the Reverend Harvey G. Forster, probably had in mind such church pronouncements, when he alleged, shortly after the end of the Second World War, that the Anglican Church, apart from a few "left-wingers," had not taken a real constructive stand on social re-adjustment and industrial strife.<sup>24</sup> Although this study gives a number of instances of the Anglican Church taking a constructive stand on social and economic issues, there can be little doubt that the Methodist and United Churches were far more successful in passing definite official resolutions in favour of reform than was the Anglican Church.

The prime example between 1914 and 1945 of the Methodist-United Churches taking a strong stand for economic reform is seen in the recommendations presented to the Methodist General Conference in October 1918 in two separate reports. The Report of the Committee on Evangelism and Social Service condemned profiteering, and urged the nationalization of natural resources provided by mines, water-power, fisheries,

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<sup>24</sup> Anglican Outlook, 1 March 1946, p. 16. Forster was speaking to the Men's Club of Holy Trinity Anglican Church, Welland, Ontario. He had just praised the Anglican Church for its Book of Common Prayer, the episcopacy, its emphasis on education, and redeeming the "grand phrases of 'priest' and 'catholic' [...]."

and forests; of the means of communication and transportation; and of public utilities.<sup>25</sup> The Report of the Committee on the Church, the War, and Patriotism called for even more sweeping changes; it asserted that the present economic system stood revealed as one of the roots of war, and it demanded a complete change in its nature in these words:

The triumph of democracy, the demand of educated workers for human conditions of life, the deep condemnation this war has passed on the competitive struggle, the revelation of the superior efficiency of rational organization and co-operation, combine with the unfulfilled, the often forgotten, but the undying ethics of Jesus, to demand nothing less than a transference of the whole economic life from a basis of competition and profits to one of co-operation and service.<sup>26</sup>

A few paragraphs later this report suggested that the separation of capital and labour should be transcended either through co-operation or public ownership.

Some delegates interpreted these statements as giving church approval to socialism, but after a vigorous debate the General Conference gave its approval to the report with but four negative votes.<sup>27</sup> These recommendations for reform have

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<sup>25</sup> "Report of the Committee of Evangelism and Social Service," Journal of Proceedings of the Tenth General Conference of the Methodist Church, 1918, p. 342.

<sup>26</sup> "Report of the Committee on the Church, the War, and Patriotism," Journal of Proceedings of the Methodist Church, 1918, pp. 291-92.

<sup>27</sup> CAR, 1918, pp. 602-03.

given the Methodist Church a reputation for radicalism.<sup>28</sup>

Although Anglicans also called for co-operation and service to replace competition, the Methodist Church went so far as to call for nationalization in certain areas and to suggest it for the whole economy, as a way to realize that objective.

The United Church similarly had more success than the Anglican in passing radical resolutions in favour of reform. Yet during the Great Depression and the Second World War some members of the United Church came to the conclusion that such extreme statements did more harm than good. When the Toronto Conference in 1933 approved a motion favouring the adoption of socialism in Canada, the Reverend George Pidgeon, the first Moderator of the United Church, led a group of dissenters in bringing forward a minority statement. They acknowledged the need for reform, but claimed that statements like the one adopted were irresponsible and unworthy of the Church because they were filled with generalizations and because no one could tell where their implications would lead.<sup>29</sup> Professor **John** Webster Grant of Emmanuel College, Toronto, is another United churchman who has doubts as to the value

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<sup>28</sup> Allen, The Crest and the Crisis of the Social Gospel, pp. 46, 61; J. M. Bliss, "The Methodist Church and World War I," CHR, XLIX, 3 (September 1968), 213.

<sup>29</sup> John Webster Grant, George Pidgeon, Toronto, 1962, pp. 123-24.

of church statements on the reform of the economic order. He believes that a weakness of the United Church has been its tendency to give undue prominence to committee reports and expressions of opinion by church courts. In his view the reformers of the 1930s would have been wiser to have paid more attention to the education of the membership of the United Church and less to zealous attempts to get resolutions passed.<sup>30</sup> Because the reformers' success in passing resolutions had more effect in arousing the hostility of the business community than it did in winning the support of the average church member for reform, it had a somewhat fraudulent aspect.<sup>31</sup> As J. H. Oldham pointed out, when writing in connection with the forthcoming Oxford Conference of 1937, church statements, although they had several useful functions, could also be dangerous, sometimes a waste of time, and sometimes they diverted attention from what would be more effective methods of achieving reform.<sup>32</sup> In any case, he pointed out, they had to be honest in actually presenting the opinions of those the supporters of the statement claimed to represent.

In the light of these opinions on the value of church pronouncements it appears that there is some justification

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30 Ibid., p. 124.

31 Ibid.

32 W. A. Visser't Hooft and J. H. Oldham, The Church and Its Function in Society, Chicago, 1937, p. 208.

for Anglican caution when it came to supporting definite official pronouncements and for Anglican emphasis on study of social and economic issues by church people. On the other hand, an official church statement can provide a starting point for study. Indeed, to have any lasting effect, church statements must be only a starting point and not, in the words of Archbishop Worrall to the 1931 General Synod, "the fervent expression of a momentarily stirred, select company."<sup>33</sup> Yet if the United Church neglected, as Grant suggests, to pay sufficient attention to a programme of education, Canadian Anglican leaders frequently neglected to provide guiding principles on which to base the education of the general church membership. Fortunately the wider Anglican fellowship stepped in to help meet the need, as it did with the Fifth Report of 1919 and the Lambeth resolutions on social and economic reform in 1920. Indeed, Canadian neglect in this sphere might be partly the result of a sense of sharing in these pronouncements.

Whatever the value of official church statements on economic reform, certainly during the Great Depression and the Second World War the Anglican and United Churches tended to become more alike in the positions they both took on reform of the economic order. In 1934 the General Conference of the United Church, the equivalent of the Anglican General

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33 GSJP, 1931, p. 17.

Synod, took a more moderate position than that of the Toronto Conference in 1933. Its position on economic issues was similar to the Anglican, but it delved into the problems of reforming the economic order far more thoroughly and efficiently than did the latter. The reports of the Anglican Council for Social Service seem rather amateurish when compared to the United Church "Report of the Commission on Christianizing the Social Order," presented to the General Conference of 1934.<sup>34</sup> Although the value of long wordy reports might well be questioned, the brief summary which precedes this particular report provides a helpful digest of its contents. The report dealt first with Christian standards for social organization, secondly with modern industry in the light of these standards. After pointing out the gains achieved under industrialization, the second part emphasized such defects of the modern industrial system as want in the midst of plenty, fear and insecurity, unemployment, inequitable distribution of national income, the spiritual deprivation to the individual soul as the result of the emphasis in society on material aims, and the social and international conflicts which lead to war.

Like Anglicans, United churchmen now stressed the need for study. Probably the most relevant section of the

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<sup>34</sup> Record of Proceedings of the Fifth General Council of the United Church of Canada, 1934, pp. 235-47.

report is the one which dealt with "ways and means by which Christian principles may be applied to existing conditions."<sup>35</sup> This section urged both church members and ministers to study the practices of the existing social order, to arouse the Christian conscience when unjust conditions were discovered, and to seek for remedies which seemed most likely to remedy those conditions. It also provided some guiding principles for church people as they sought to follow these recommendations. To attain a society more in harmony with the Kingdom of God all persons capable of work should have the opportunity to work under humane conditions, along with freedom and leisure for decent living and personal growth. It was also essential that employees and employers be able to bargain on equal terms through their respective representatives. Industry should be so organized that the supply of material necessities should not be interrupted for sectional advantage.

This statement embodied principles which had been put forward in both the Anglican and the Methodist-United Churches since the First World War. Both Churches held that their work was to convert individuals, and to seek to make changes by changing public opinion. Both wished to see labour with greater bargaining power. Both refused to become identified with any particular party or programme. Nevertheless the

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35 Ibid., pp. 244-47.

United Church excelled the Anglican in producing more thorough reports and in giving more detailed analyses of economic issues both in 1934 and at succeeding General Conferences during the depression.<sup>36</sup>

During the Second World War the similarity of the Anglican and United Church positions on economic issues becomes even more marked. The 1942 report of the CSS and the report of the Board of Evangelism and Social Service to the General Conference of the United Church the same year both dealt with labour's right to collective bargaining.<sup>37</sup> Both reports referred to Order-in-Council P.C. 2685, which affirmed that labour should be free to organize in unions chosen by the workers; both quoted a statement made by Chief Justice Hughes of the United States Supreme Court, in which he claimed that workers had a fundamental right to representatives of their own choice for collective bargaining; both requested the government to give labour representation on boards and commissions related to labour. The United Church report went one step further than the Anglican, in that the former approved urging the government to secure enactment of

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36 Record of Proceedings of the Seventh General Council of the United Church of Canada, 1936, pp. 83, 84; Record of Proceedings of the Eighth General Council of the United Church of Canada, 1938, pp. 161-73.

37 For the latter, see "Report of the Board of Social Service and Evangelism," Record of Proceedings of the Tenth General Council of the United Church of Canada, 1942, pp. 84, 85.

collective bargaining legislation.<sup>38</sup> The General Council refused, however, to support the original section of the report which would make it mandatory for employers to bargain with the union freely chosen by the employees.<sup>39</sup>

In 1944 the United Church Board of Evangelism and Social Service took a position on the reform of capitalism similar to that taken by the Anglican CSS the previous year. Both expected the free enterprise system to continue, but in a modified form. Indeed the United Church report asserted that "the initiative, thrift, and inventiveness of free enterprise should be maintained."<sup>40</sup> The latter also reported that careful study had been given to reports on social security<sup>41</sup> and material on the subject mailed to (social service) conveners at the conference and presbytery levels. Indeed in both 1944 and 1946 the United Church placed a great deal of emphasis on the study of economic and social programmes.<sup>42</sup>

In 1936 a United Church minister had described the Anglican Church in Canada as moderate and cautious and

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<sup>38</sup> Ibid., p. 85.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid., pp. 63, 64.

<sup>40</sup> "Report of the Board of Evangelism and Social Service," Record of Proceedings of the Eleventh General Council of the United Church of Canada, 1944, p. 284.

<sup>41</sup> It mentioned the Beveridge, Marsh, and Whitton reports.

<sup>42</sup> See also Record of Proceedings of the Twelfth General Council of the United Church of Canada, 1946, p. 43.

unwilling "to be intoxicated by mere phrases."<sup>43</sup> During the Second World War, as the United Church became more moderate and the Anglican Church more committed to reform, the two churches seem to have drawn very close to each other both on support for labour and on reform of the economic order.

Thus the popular view that the Methodist-United Churches contributed significantly more support to economic reform than did the Anglican Church was the result of overestimating the role of the former and underestimating the role of the latter. As we have seen, the Methodist and United Churches gained their reputation as the result of official pronouncements, frequently inspired by the influence of the Social Gospel. On the other hand, the Anglican Church, most of whose leaders were deeply committed to a belief in the corporate unity of society, placed more emphasis on educating church members in the implications of that belief. The fact that the United Church during the Second World War to a great extent adopted the Anglican approach indicates a recognition within the United Church that Anglicans were making a worthwhile contribution to reform of the economic order in Canada.

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<sup>43</sup> The Reverend Claris Edwin Silcox, "Anglicans and Social Action," CC, 6 February 1936, p. 86. Silcox was General Secretary of the Social Service Council of Canada.

## SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Although some Anglicans in Canada had on occasion criticized laissez-faire capitalism before the First World War, during the war a number of churchmen were so influenced by wartime idealism as to question seriously the principles on which the contemporary economic system was based and even to denounce those principles fervently. At this time most of these critics went no further than rhetorical generalizations which expressed a demand that competition be replaced by co-operation, and selfishness by service as the basis of the economic system. Criticisms of capitalism continued into the post-war period, which was plagued by inflation and unemployment. This criticism disappeared with the prosperity of the late 1920s. The Great Depression brought forth a fresh outburst against the evils of capitalism, especially from a number of individual churchmen. Some of them openly espoused socialism and some provided leadership in the new Co-operative Commonwealth Federation. On the other hand, official church bodies avoided direct condemnation of the economic system, at least until 1937, when the General Synod acknowledged the existence of maladjustment in the economic and industrial order. Still there was widespread dissatisfaction within the Church over the operation of capitalism, and the Second World War brought this dissatisfaction to a head, with the result that the Beveridge Report of Great

Britain received enthusiastic support from Canadian Anglicans at both the official and unofficial levels of the Church. They saw in social security a way to mitigate the worst evils of the capitalist system.

Social security had been slow to gain a foothold in Canada. When the General Synod of 1918 showed a degree of approval for some measures of social welfare, there was no social security in Canada except for Workman's Compensation in some provinces. Anglicans approved social welfare measures in 1918 out of a desire to help persons in need, and not because they saw them as a way to reform the economic system. The same may be said for church approval for old age pensions, mothers' allowances, and unemployment insurance over the next two decades. Nevertheless, during the Great Depression, Canon Vernon of the CSS repeatedly proposed that the chief weakness of the economic system was the failure of distribution to keep up with production. When social security came to the fore in the Second World War, W. W. Judd, Vernon's successor, argued that its adoption would redistribute national income and thereby help to remedy one of the major failures of capitalism. For its economic effect, as a means of providing better for the material needs of all Canadians, and as a means of assuring that those serving in the armed forces would not be returning to the old days of "boom and bust" which marked the period between the wars, social

security received official endorsement in a wave of wartime idealism at the General Synod of 1943.

Anglicans were also concerned with another flaw in the capitalist system, namely the imbalance in favour of capitalism between those who provided capital for production and those who provided labour. To most churchmen labour unions provided the means to correct this imbalance. During the First World War and in the post-war period, Homfray Michell as the chief Anglican spokesman on labour supported the right of workers to form unions and to bargain collectively. At the same time he also drew the line at the possibility of an imbalance of power in favour of labour, a situation which he believed existed in the case of the Winnipeg General Strike of 1919. During the 1920s, whereas the CSS showed little support for labour unions, the Canadian Churchman and Canon F. G. Scott spoke out on behalf of the workers in specific conflicts. During the Great Depression, except for isolated expressions of concern, Anglicans were more concerned with unemployment and relief than with the bargaining power of unions. Their interest revived during the Second World War, culminating in the CSS endorsement of mandatory collective bargaining in 1942. In 1946 the General Synod officially approved the Rand version of the closed shop, by which employees at the Ford Company were not compelled to join the union, but had to pay union dues.

Obviously these attitudes of Anglicans to reform of the economic order did not develop in a social vacuum or independently of what other Canadians were thinking about reform. In condemning laissez-faire capitalism and advocating changes in its operation, Anglicans acted in harmony with the spirit of the times, as this study has shown by references to events in each of the periods discussed in this study. During the First World War the statements of the Methodist Church in 1914 and 1918 and W. L. Mackenzie King's Industry and Humanity both reflect the same desire to make the capitalist and industrial system more just and harmonious in its operation. In the post-war period the government's Royal Commission on Industrial Relations and the 1919 National Industrial Conference show continued public interest in economic problems. Some of Homfray Michell's ideas on the role of labour unions were worked out in the context of the Winnipeg General Strike. As long as public interest remained high in the post-war decade, as it did for a time under the pressure of high prices, unemployment and labour unrest, so did church interest; as public interest declined in the 1920s, so did that of the Church. Both public and church interest revived on a large scale with the Great Depression. Church discussions on issues like economic research, relief, public works, housing, unemployment insurance, all had their parallels in various conferences, in

discussions in the House of Commons, and in sessions of the General Council of the United Church. During the Second World War, Anglican support for social security and for collective bargaining for labour accompanied similar support in articles in periodicals, in speeches in the House of Commons, in United Church statements, and of particular importance in the concern among members of the armed forces. Anglican ideas on economic reform were moulded in the social matrix of economic and political conditions and the ideas which those conditions nourished throughout the country.

Many of the ideas adopted by Canadians between 1914 and 1945 originated in Great Britain, and the British influence remained strong, not only among Anglicans, but among most reform-minded Canadians. It can hardly be claimed that a colonial attitude on the part of Canadians accounts for this influence, although doubtless the admiration and affection for Britain that existed during the two world wars did not detract from the respectful attention given to how that country dealt with its economic and industrial problems. It seems more likely that Britain led the way because she had reached a stage of industrialization where reforms were essential, as shown by the rise of the Labour Party. Britain therefore was more ready to experiment in matters of economics and industrial relations. Close communications also made

Canadians aware of events in Britain. Thus, during the First World War, not only did industrial councils as proposed by the British Whitley Report arouse the interest of Homfray Michell, but they were also highly recommended by Mackenzie King and by the Methodist Committee on the Church, the War, and Patriotism in 1918.

Still, as would be expected, Anglicans were especially influenced by developments in Britain, particularly when the Church of England became involved in social and economic issues. Church of England reformers provided inspiration, and church statements provided reform-minded Canadian Anglicans like Plumptre, Moore, and Judd with a strong base from which to launch their own attacks on economic problems. It was difficult for supporters of the status quo among Canadian Anglicans to attack this base without seeming to attack the Church of England at its highest levels. The British influence reached its highest point during the Second World War. Inspired by the leadership of Archbishop Temple, stimulated by the call for a new economic order from the Malvern Conference and other statements of British church leaders, and provided with a concrete programme in the Beveridge Report, not only Anglicans, but large numbers of leading Canadians joined in the demand for "a new world after the war" for Canada, with the result that no government could have avoided promising some reforms in the economic and social system.

Although a conservative philosophy conditioned the Anglican approach to reform of the economic order, this same philosophy provided a positive basis for supporting reform. During the First World War and the Great Depression, it was the conservative and Anglican belief that society was a corporate unity which led a number of prominent Anglicans to condemn the laissez-faire, individualistic aspects of capitalism and to demand that co-operation replace selfish competition as the controlling principle of the economic order. The belief that all parts of the body social were mutually responsible for one another and that the health of one part depended on the health of all parts strengthened Anglican concern for the poor and needy and for the working-man. Thus Anglicans like Michell and Blaggrave supported labour unions as a means by which workers could achieve a healthy balance of power in dealing with their employers. These same Anglican spokesmen also regarded industrial conflicts as disrupting the functioning of the body social, and they called on employers to avoid such disruption by giving labour a greater share in the operation and profits of industry.

It was the same belief in the corporate unity of society which led the editor of the Churchman in 1921 to make the observation that communism and socialism were attempts to meet the lack of fellowship in society. Although

but a minority of Anglicans supported socialism, to do so was certainly in keeping with the conservative belief in the corporate unity of society. When the League for Social Reconstruction in 1932 put forward the principle that the economic system should be based on the common good rather than on private profit, and when the General Synod of 1943 approved putting the needs of people before profits, they were sharing a viewpoint which conservatives could accept. Probably the difference between Anglicans who supported socialism and those who sought the reform of capitalism lay in the degree to which each group believed that private profit was opposed to the common good. The latter group believed the two principles could be reconciled and accepted social security as a happy compromise, and one which gave expression to the principle of mutual responsibility.

In keeping with the conservative outlook Anglicans also gave increasing support to the role of government in implementing desirable reforms in the economic system. Government was the only agency with the power to enforce justice between opposing groups in society and to control the selfishness which put private gain before the common good. Thus Anglicans looked to governments, federal or provincial, whichever had jurisdiction in any particular instance, to stop profiteering at the end of the First World War; to introduce legislation setting minimum wages and

maximum hours; to step in to settle the Winnipeg General Strike; to provide relief, public works, and housing during times of economic depression; to establish old age pensions, mothers' allowances, unemployment insurance, and eventually a complete plan of social security. When Andrew Brewin declared in 1942 that planners of the post-war Canada must care enough about human suffering to see that the collective powers of the community be directed to helping the unfortunate, he was expressing the conservative mind of Anglican reformers.

The Christian belief, and one shared with conservatives, that selfishness is an integral aspect of human nature also conditioned the Anglican approach to reform of the economic order in two ways. First it kept churchmen from setting utopian goals, and second it made them ready to set limits on human freedom to act selfishly. One argument which Homfray Michell put forward in support of capitalism was that this system allowed for the imperfection of human nature; at the same time he wanted the cruel and unjust faults of capitalism eliminated. He claimed that socialism assumed men to be capable of perfect altruism; in his opinion human acquisitiveness could not be abolished by substituting socialism for capitalism. As we have seen, other Anglicans pointed out on several occasions that all systems become corrupted in time by human selfishness. The Anglican view

of human nature also comes out clearly in statements on the relations of capital and labour. Whereas it was usual for labour to denounce the selfish aspects of capitalism, Anglicans claimed that selfishness was also a factor in the objectives of labour. Even a strong supporter of labour like the Reverend F. G. Mercer in 1918 described selfishness as a prominent motive behind the demands of labour. The difference between capital and labour was, of course, that capital had the power to enforce or maintain its selfish objectives to the detriment of labour. For this reason Blgrave, Michell, and editors of the Churchman, although they saw labour as motivated by selfishness, still supported unions as a means by which workers could combat the selfishness of capitalists. At the same time they all believed that the good of society must take precedence over the selfish interests of both parties.

Finally on the subject of Anglican conservatism, Anglicans believed in evolutionary change and opposed revolutionary change. During the months of unrest after the First World War some Anglicans warned that revolution was a real threat in Canada. Although events showed that actual revolution was unlikely, Anglican spokesmen like Michell and Farthing cannot be accused of an ostrich-like "it can't happen here" attitude. They seemed to use the unrest as a goad to press for evolutionary change. Again, when the

economic situation in the 1930s brought social unrest, Canon Vernon of the CSS explicitly called for evolutionary change in the economic system. However, the strongest evidence of the Anglican belief in evolutionary reform lies in their actual support of gradual change between 1914 and 1945.

Whereas the conservative philosophy of Anglicans provided a positive basis for reform, other factors circumscribed the support which the Church could officially give to reform. To begin with, the Church is not like a political party, which can commit itself to a specific platform and fail or succeed at the polls on the basis of that platform. Political parties in Canada may themselves be divided into left, right, and centre groups. Nevertheless these parties possess a certain homogeneity of membership and support based on a common political outlook and a programme in keeping with that outlook. But within any church and especially in one as identified with the whole of society as is the Anglican Church, there exists the same wide spectrum of political, social, and economic opinions as is present in society as a whole. Therefore between 1914 and 1945 the official church always faced the problem of finding a position on economic issues acceptable to the majority of its members.

During the periods of crisis discussed in this study the problem of finding an acceptable position was increased by the aggressiveness of activists who urged the

Church to endorse specific reforms of a controversial nature and by the resistance of supporters of the status quo who opposed church involvement in economic concerns. Between these groups were the moderates, who believed in the necessity and rightness of church support for reform, and also recognized the danger in ecclesiastical politics of going too far too fast. The "men in the middle" very often were the bishops and the members of the Council for Social Service, although most members of General Synod were usually ready to support a compromise which avoided confrontations and divisions within the Church on economic issues. The direction in which the moderates leaned seemed to depend on the pressure exerted by circumstances and the relative strength of the activists and the supporters of the status quo. Thus in 1918, although Canon Plumtre failed to obtain official General Synod endorsement for specific reforms, the CSS report and the General Synod took a fairly strong stand on economic issues, against which the supporters of the status quo were able to muster very few votes. In 1921, when demand for reform was diminishing, the CSS report leaned toward support for the status quo. In 1931 the attempt to have General Synod condemn the existing economic order was vitiated by the strong resistance of members opposed to church involvement in economic issues, and the Synod compromised with a weak statement on the economic system. During the Second World

War the strong and widespread demand for reform overwhelmed the support for the status quo. In 1942 the CSS and in 1946 the General Synod specifically supported collective bargaining, and in 1943 the majority of General Synod joined the activist camp in support of the adoption of social security for Canada. A more normal state of affairs returned as resistance arose to activist attempts to obtain church support for more fundamental reform of the economic order.

In spite of these internal differences Anglicans made a creditable contribution to reform of the economic order and one which compares favourably with that made by the Methodist and United Churches. Anglicans sought to deal with a lack of consensus on economic issues within the Church by a process of education. In a democracy changes in social and economic practices, other than those resulting from a natural adaptation to changing social forces, depend on government action, and government, in turn, acts in response to public opinion. The public needs to be provided with ideas and policies and then persuaded to support policies thought desirable by their sponsors. Official church statements may contribute to that process, but, as this study has pointed out, they may not be as effective as their supporters would like to think. Such statements may even be dishonest if they are supposed to represent the mind of the church, but are in reality out of touch with the ideas

held by the general membership of that particular church. Official statements were not a strong point in the Anglican contribution to reform. It was through education by means of the CSS Bulletin and articles in church journals that Anglicans sought to permeate the general membership with reasons for reforming the economic order and to provide leadership on the direction that reform should take. The implementation of reforms was the work of politicians, and of these not a few were influenced by their Christian upbringing and by the ideas on reform found through their fellowship in the Anglican Communion.

This study has recognized the greater emphasis on social and economic issues found within the Methodist and United Churches, and the more definite and thorough statements they made on economic reform. That these churches are treated as the criterion by which to evaluate the Anglican role testifies to the high regard of many people for the stands which these churches have taken over the years. At the same time, when one considers what John Webster Grant has concluded about the relative value of statements and education, the Anglican emphasis on education probably contributed at least as much to reform as did the statements of the other two churches. Whereas the 1918 General Council of the Methodist Church endorsed a measure of public ownership, the 1918 Anglican General Synod endorsed a statement

of more moderate reforms for study by Anglicans, and in subsequent years the CSS sent to the clergy and study groups material based on the Fifth Report and the Lambeth resolutions of 1920, and used this material at summer study camps. During the Great Depression, the United Church Department of Social Service and Evangelism or its committees emphasized the need for church members to study economic problems and to that end presented long and thorough reports on the subject to the biennial General Councils, beginning in 1934. The Anglican Council for Social Service, whose General Synod usually met triennially and even missed meeting in 1940, filled the same role through the Bulletin and articles in the Churchman, which dealt with the same subjects as did the United Church reports: the inequitable distribution of income, relief, unemployment insurance, collective bargaining, and social security. As already shown, during the Second World War the two churches were very close both in the changes they advocated and in their emphasis on the need to educate church members to support reform. Their similarity in these matters indicates their contributions to reform were also very similar.

The same may be said for the contribution of individuals from the two traditions. Counting heads would be pointless. It is sufficient to point out that Methodist J. S. Woodsworth and Anglican Canon F. G. Scott both stood

up for the Winnipeg strikers in 1919;<sup>1</sup> the same J. S. Woodsworth became the first leader of the CCF Party, the Anglican M. J. Coldwell, the second.

This thesis set out to show that Anglicans, as conservative reformers, played a constructive role in supporting reform of the economic order in Canada. Its contribution to historical study lies in its more thorough examination of the Anglican role in economic reform than any study yet completed, especially in dealing with the role of the "unofficial" church and with the intellectual basis for the Anglican approach to reform. It particularly challenges the assumption of Crysedale and Allen that the value of a church's role in reform depended upon the degree to which it accepted the Social Gospel. Doubtless the scope of this study has meant the omission of some important aspects of the subject, and also an inadequate treatment of other aspects. In any case a number of topics suggest themselves as areas for further research. Brief limited studies on the social involvement and ideas, including ecumenical co-operation, within certain dioceses would doubtless be worth looking into. Certainly the lives of S. H. Prince and F. G. Scott offer promising topics for investigation. Any biography of M. J. Coldwell should not neglect the influence of the Church on his social ideas.

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1 Dealt with in Appendix C.

This study concludes with the claim that the evidence shows that Anglicans in Canada, far from being opposed or indifferent to reform of the economic order, continuously urged the need for change on government and on the general membership of the Church. Inasmuch as the majority of Canadians have eventually supported reforms earlier endorsed by the Anglican Church, it would seem that Anglicans made a worthy contribution to the achievement of a more just and equitable economic order in Canada.

## APPENDIX A

### CHURCH ORGANIZATION

The basis of organization in the Anglican Church is the local parish, in which the parish priest and two churchwardens form the legal corporation of each congregation.<sup>1</sup> The priest has responsibility for the conduct of services of worship and for ministering to the spiritual needs of the parishioners; the churchwardens for raising financial support and for the care of the church property. In their work the wardens are subject to the decision of the vestry of the congregation, which during the period of this study consisted of all adult members of the local church, and which must meet at least once a year to approve the parish financial accounts. The churchwardens are appointed at this annual vestry meeting, one by the clergyman, the other by the lay people attending the meeting.

A number of parishes together form a diocese. The dioceses vary greatly in geographical area and church population. As a general rule, the larger the church population, the smaller is the area of the diocese. Each diocese has its own synod or assembly, which meets annually

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<sup>1</sup> Often there are two or more congregations and churches in a parish, especially in rural areas, sharing the same priest. The latter is usually called the rector in self-supporting parishes, the incumbent or missionary in mission parishes, which are those receiving financial support from diocesan funds.

to deal with diocesan affairs. It has power to pass canons or church laws dealing with all diocesan matters, but subject in turn to canons of its provincial synod and of General Synod. The diocesan synod is comprised of the bishop, all clergymen in parishes or administrative positions in the diocese, and lay delegates chosen by vestry meetings in the parishes.

At the head of each diocese is the bishop. He is the Father in God of his people and also chief administrator with the help of an Executive Council. After being chosen as bishop, usually by the diocesan synod, the bishop is consecrated by his Metropolitan or archbishop, with the assistance of at least two other bishops. In a few more affluent dioceses there might also be a suffragan or coadjutor bishop<sup>2</sup> to share episcopal duties, including the administration of Confirmation and the Ordination of deacons and priests.

From their local delegates diocesan synods choose a certain number of clerical and lay delegates to represent them at their provincial synod.<sup>3</sup> Since before Confederation

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2 Both types are assistant bishops, but the latter has the right of succession.

3 Provincial synods have no necessary relationship to Canadian provinces. According to ancient practice, the Church was divided into provinces or patriarchates consisting of a number of dioceses. Over each province was a senior bishop called the Metropolitan, usually with the title of Archbishop or Patriarch, who was the chief consecrator of new bishops within his province.

there had been two ecclesiastical provinces in Canada, called Canada and Rupert's Land. Shortly before the First World War both were divided, the former into Canada and Ontario, the latter into Rupert's Land and British Columbia. As social and economic issues received little consideration at provincial synods, their activities have not entered into this study.

When General Synod was established in 1893, its delegates were also chosen by the diocesan synods. Like Parliament, General Synod was divided into two houses. The Upper House comprised the bishops, who sat there by virtue of their office; in the Lower House sat the clergy and laymen elected by the various dioceses to represent them.<sup>4</sup> General Synod was a legislative body, whose members could move and discuss, pass or reject, resolutions on the concerns of the whole Church in Canada. Its business covered social issues, as well as matters of worship, discipline, religious education, and missionary activity. Synod resolutions had to pass both Houses before taking effect. General Synod usually met every three years, although several times in the 1914-1945 period, there was a longer interval between sessions.

An Executive Council carried on the work of General Synod between sessions. At first it consisted of all the

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<sup>4</sup> E.g., in 1931, there were twenty-six dioceses, which sent a total of 130 delegates of each order to the Lower House.

bishops in the Upper House and one clerical and one lay delegate from each diocese. In 1927 the latter representation was increased so that larger dioceses had more representatives according to the number of their licensed clergy.<sup>5</sup> The Executive Committee met at least once a year, and an attendance of twenty-five, as long as all three orders were represented, constituted a quorum.

During the period of this study much of the work of the Church was under the guidance of three boards: the Missionary Society of the Church in Canada (MSCC), the General Board of Religious Education (GBRE), and the Council for Social Service (CSS). The basic membership of each board consisted of two clergy and two lay delegates from each diocese. Ideally each diocese had its counterpart to each of the three boards. Many of the dioceses set up Diocesan Councils of Social Service (DCSS) within a few years after the establishment of the CSS by General Synod in 1915.

Two titles which turn up frequently in any account of the work of the Church are "Canon" and "Archdeacon." In Canada the former is almost always an honorary title, given in recognition of faithful service and entitling the bearer to a special "Canon's Stall" in the Cathedral Church of the diocese. An Archdeacon, on the other hand, has a

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<sup>5</sup> GSJP, 1927, p. 385.

responsibility in diocesan administration, to help the bishop in supervising a certain area within the diocese.

## APPENDIX B

### THE OWNERSHIP OF THE CANADIAN CHURCHMAN

This study has already pointed out that Frank Woolton was the owner and editor of the Canadian Churchman from 1877 until his death in 1912. It has also dealt with the events which led to General Synod taking over the paper in 1949. The question of the ownership of the paper in the intervening years is important for understanding its role in the Church between 1914 and 1945, and the purpose of this appendix is to provide supplementary information on the subject.

After Woolton's death a Mr. Evelyn Macrae bought the paper. Macrae belonged to the low church parish of the Church of the Epiphany in Toronto.<sup>1</sup> During at least part of this period his editor was the Reverend W. H. Griffith Thomas, who had earlier come from England to teach Old Testament at Wycliffe College. Thomas was enough of an evangelical fundamentalist to be acceptable as a lecturer at the Toronto Bible College.<sup>2</sup> The result was that, although

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1 CC, 5 June 1924, p. 362.

2 A pamphlet entitled Holding Forth the Word of Life, published by the Toronto Bible College, no date, mentions Dr. W. H. Griffith Thomas as among the men who left their mark on the college. It also describes the college as "exclusively committed to the study of the Bible as the inspired, inerrant and infallible Word of God." In June 1968 this college became the Ontario Bible College.

Macrae's intention was to produce a paper acceptable to all schools of thought within the Church, a certain degree of prominence was accorded to articles which emphasized the views of evangelicals and their role in the Church.<sup>3</sup>

In 1916 Macrae sold the paper to a group of churchmen, who formed a limited liability company to publish it. With this change the paper became even more closely identified with Wycliffe College. The first president of Canadian Churchman Limited, George B. Woods, was also a member of the Executive Committee of Wycliffe.<sup>4</sup> The vice-president, Thomas Mortimer, who succeeded to the presidency in 1934, was described at his death as the oldest living member of the Executive of Wycliffe College and as "an ardent and staunch supporter of evangelical principles."<sup>5</sup> Another adherent of evangelical principles connected with the Churchman until

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<sup>3</sup> For examples, see CC, 13 November 1913, p. 734; 25 June 1914, p. 411; 9 July 1914, p. 444; 20 January 1916, pp. 37, 38.

<sup>4</sup> Woods was president of the Continental Life Insurance Company. He apparently was dedicated in the service of the Church and the community. After his death the editor of the Churchman credited him with having saved the paper for the Church. (CC, 28 June 1934, p. 410.) His other activities included membership in the Toronto Diocesan Synod, the Ontario Provincial Synod, and General Synod. He was treasurer of the Council for Social Service, Rector's warden at the Church of the Redeemer, Toronto, and a member of the Provincial Parole Board. (CC, 30 April 1925, p. 281; 11 February 1933, p. 658.)

<sup>5</sup> CC, 23 December 1937, p. 742.

she died in 1924 was Ellen Mary Knox, first principal of Havergal College, a private Anglican girls' school in Toronto. Her obituary described Miss Knox as "a shareholder, a frequent contributor and a constant reader"<sup>6</sup> of the paper.

As might be expected under the circumstances, the editors of the Churchman through most of the 1914-1945 period were closely associated with Wycliffe College. In 1917 the Reverend W. T. Hallam, a Wycliffe graduate, became editor, continuing at the same time as professor of New Testament at Wycliffe. When Hallam became principal of Emmanuel College, Saskatoon, in 1922, another Wycliffe professor, the Reverend Edward A. McIntyre, succeeded him. Both these editors were broad, tolerant, and knowledgeable men, and both were concerned with social and economic issues. McIntyre also had, for a brief period each, two capable young Wycliffe graduates, F. G. Lightbourn and W. F. Barfoot, a future Primate, as assistant editors. When McIntyre died in 1926, his widow, Clara, carried on the work of getting out the paper. A short time later the directors appointed the Reverend Robert E. Armstrong as editor-in-chief, probably to continue the policy of having a clergyman at the helm. Armstrong, also a Wycliffe graduate, was rector of the Church of the Redeemer,

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<sup>6</sup> CC, 31 January 1924, p. 65. Her brother, E. A. Knox, was the strongly low church Bishop of Manchester. His son, Ronald, became a well known Roman Catholic priest.

Toronto, to which Woods belonged. Mrs. McIntyre carried on as his assistant editor. It was unfortunate that during the critical era of the Great Depression and the Second World War the editor was not equipped to deal satisfactorily with the great social and economic issues which should have engaged a large part of his concern. Instead he paid little attention to them.

Not all Anglicans were satisfied with the private ownership and control of the leading church paper. As early as 1905 some members of General Synod had tried unsuccessfully to gain the support of the Synod for an official church paper.<sup>7</sup> After the First World War a strong movement developed within the Church to gain control of the Churchman at a time when it had a circulation of about fifteen thousand.<sup>8</sup> The General Synod of 1921, after a four hour debate, passed by a large majority a motion which authorized negotiations for joint control and support of the paper by the boards of General Synod and the present shareholders.<sup>9</sup> The motion also provided for the outright purchase of the Churchman if the church boards thought this action advisable. The

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7 GSJP, 1905, pp. 94, 95.

8 According to the claim of the editor, CC, 10 November 1921, p. 683.

9 CC, 13 October 1921, p. 615.

executive committees of these boards agreed that the Church should purchase the Churchman and asked General Synod to acquire ownership of the paper.<sup>10</sup>

When no progress had been made in this direction by 1926, the annual meeting of the General Board of Religious Education asked that the matter of a church paper "representing the whole Church of England in Canada"<sup>11</sup> be referred to the Executive Council of General Synod for consideration at its next meeting. This body in turn recommended the establishment of a newspaper which would be "under the direct auspices of the Church,"<sup>12</sup> and asked the General Board of Religious Education to investigate the matter and report back. A committee of this board approached the officials of the Churchman on the matter of taking over the paper, but the shareholders, in an unanimous decision, refused to sell.<sup>13</sup> When the GBRE recommended that the Church publish its own weekly paper, General Synod decided that such a venture would not be desirable at that time.<sup>14</sup> The issue then became dormant until after the Second World War, when financial difficulties led to the owners of the

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<sup>10</sup> Seventh Annual Report of the Council for Social Service, 1922, p. 9.

<sup>11</sup> GSJP, 1927, p. 72.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., p. 73.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., pp. 74, 75.

Churchman turning to General Synod for aid and to the eventual takeover of the paper by the Church.

The Canadian Churchman therefore remained a privately owned and operated paper throughout the whole of the period covered by this study. The Anglican Church had no control over its policy or, what was more important, over the qualifications, abilities, and interests of the men responsible for editing the paper. That the paper as a result grew more out of touch with the ideas and interests of church members is indicated by the drop in circulation to some five thousand after the Second World War.

## APPENDIX C

### CANON SCOTT'S INVOLVEMENT IN SOCIAL ISSUES

The role of Canon Scott in the BESCO strike of 1923 was dealt with briefly in Chapter VII above. Research for this thesis turned up a great deal of information on Scott's involvement in this dispute as well as in other social issues in the decades between the wars. Much of this information did not fit into the development of the theme of this study, and yet seemed too valuable to ignore. It is therefore included in this appendix. To avoid interrupting the continuity of this account, on occasion there may be a slight repetition of material presented in the main body of the thesis.

Frederick George Scott<sup>1</sup> is remembered primarily as "the beloved padre" of the First World War<sup>2</sup> and as a poet and hymnist. One writer, who also described him as having a magic which overcome barriers of hostility and indifference toward religion, has extolled his courage and concern

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1 Born in 1861; ordained deacon in 1884, priest in 1886; from 1887 to 1896, rector of Saint George's Church, Drummondville; 1896-99 curate of Saint Matthew's, Quebec City; 1899 until his retirement in 1933 rector of the same church. He died in January 1944.

2 See John Coates, "Canon Scott, Beloved Padre of World War I," Saturday Night, 29 January 1944, p. 16.

as qualities which aroused the love and admiration of the men whom he served as Senior Chaplain of the First Canadian Division.<sup>3</sup> That Scott showed the same courage and concern in the case of certain social issues has been largely forgotten. Whereas many men might have been afraid of dissipating a high reputation by the espousal of unpopular causes, Scott spoke and acted for what he considered to be truth and justice with the same indifference to his personal welfare that he had shown in the battle-fields of France.

#### 1. The Winnipeg General Strike.

Scott's first attempt at intervention in a social crisis came less than a year after the end of the First World War, when in June 1919 he travelled to Winnipeg in the hope of contributing to mediation in the General Strike. On Sunday evening, 8 June, he joined F. J. Dixon and J. S. Woodsworth on the platform of the "Labor Church" meeting in Victoria Park. According to the Western Labour News account "Wild enthusiasm rocked the multitude when the Reverend Canon Scott rose to speak."<sup>4</sup> In his address Scott endorsed the principle of collective bargaining and blamed, as the

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<sup>3</sup> Hubert Evans, "Canon Scott," Maclean's, 1 November 1938, p. 5.

<sup>4</sup> Special Strike Edition No. 21, 10 June 1919, p. 4.

initial mistake leading to the strike, the employers' refusal to grant the workers the right to form an organization which was quite legal. He supported the workers' right to take an intelligent interest in industry and to share in the profits, and he urged those present to stick together until they obtained their just rights and until those on strike were reinstated. Later the same week Scott presided at a meeting of representatives of the Strike Committee and a group of anti-strike veterans led by Captain F. G. Thompson. This meeting came to nought as the result of Thompson's belligerent attitude.<sup>5</sup>

Some mystery surrounds Scott's departure from Winnipeg at the end of the week. The evidence suggests that he left under military or federal police orders and perhaps with a military escort. The Western Labour News reported that he received orders to leave because "he unhesitatingly and fearlessly espoused the cause of the worker."<sup>6</sup> A Winnipeg barrister, I. P. Pitblado, wrote to Scott to assure him that no member of the Citizens' Committee had anything to do with his recall to Quebec.<sup>7</sup> Although no one then knew

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<sup>5</sup> D. C. Masters, The Winnipeg General Strike, Toronto, 1950, p. 99.

<sup>6</sup> Special Strike Edition No. 28, 18 June 1919, p. 4.

<sup>7</sup> McCord Museum, McGill University, Scott Papers, Winnipeg Strike Documents and Kingston Penal Reform, I. P. Pitblado to Reverend Canon Scott, 21 June 1919.

exactly what had happened, there were certainly some reports going the rounds in Winnipeg that Scott had been forced to leave.

Scott's military superiors appeared annoyed at his action in going to Winnipeg. The Commanding Officer of District No. 5 requested a written report from him explaining his reasons for leaving the District without authority and proceeding to Winnipeg.<sup>8</sup> Scott appears to have tried to placate Labbe by giving a military reason for his trip, for he answered that he had gone to see some of his thousands of friends who belonged to the Canadian Corps in France and also to look into the labour question which had caused a split in the Great War Veterans' Association.<sup>9</sup>

The following September Charles Gavin Power, Liberal Member of Parliament for Quebec South, wrote Scott to request permission to mention in the House of Commons the circumstances of the latter's departure from Winnipeg.<sup>10</sup> In reply Scott asked Power not to mention his "deportation"<sup>11</sup> in the

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<sup>8</sup> Ibid., Major M. H. Labbe to Lieutenant-Colonel F. G. Scott, 20 June 1919.

<sup>9</sup> According to the draft of Scott's reply written on the back of Labbe's letter.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., Charles G. Power to the Reverend Colonel Scott, 8 September 1919.

<sup>11</sup> According to the draft of Scott's reply written on the back of Power's letter.

House as he was just settling down to parish work and wished to keep out of the limelight. He also stated that the government made a mistake in its treatment of him, concluding, "They will never solve the labour question by such Prussian methods."<sup>12</sup>

What is probably the true story came out the next year when Alderman Heaps of Winnipeg informed a meeting of the Workers' Defence League in Montreal that near the end of the week of Scott's stay in Winnipeg, "mounted" police officers entered the room where Scott was staying, searched it for seditious literature, and told him to leave or he would be deported out of town by the military; Scott was deported the next day. Heaps claimed that Scott had given him permission to tell the story, and when Scott was interviewed by the press on Heaps's story, he refused to comment.<sup>13</sup>

It would appear that his involvement in the Winnipeg General Strike awakened Scott's concern for the welfare of the working-class and the underprivileged. In 1919 he was fifty-eight years old and he had not previously shown an interest in labour disputes. Doubtless his visit to Winnipeg was more the result of his concern for his returned soldiers than of an interest in social theories.<sup>14</sup> Yet on several

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12 Ibid.

13 Montreal Gazette, 22 May 1920, p. 4.

14 Masters, The Winnipeg General Strike, p. 91.

occasions in succeeding years he made the headlines as the result of his involvement in economic and social issues.

## 2. The BESCO Strike of 1923.

Canon Scott played his most prominent role as the defender of the underdog in 1923 when he took the part of the steelworkers in their strike against the British Empire Steel Corporation of Nova Scotia (BESCO). Unrest among BESCO workers went back to January 1922 when the company announced a wage reduction of 37 1/2 per cent.<sup>15</sup> Scott's interest in this situation was reflected in the sermon he preached to the Synod of the Diocese of Montreal in April 1923, when he specifically referred to the appalling conditions of labour in our mines, to bad housing in industrial areas, and to unemployment and starvation during bad times, and he called on his hearers to speak boldly as Christ spoke against oppression of the weak by the strong.<sup>16</sup>

Eleven weeks after this sermon BESCO steelworkers struck in an attempt to gain a twenty per cent wage increase, union recognition with the checkoff for collecting union

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<sup>15</sup> Kenneth McNaught, A Prophet in Politics: A Biography of J. S. Woodsworth, Toronto, 1959, p. 173.

<sup>16</sup> CC, 26 April 1923, p. 265. Scott was to bring out the matters of mine conditions and housing after his visit to Sydney.

dues, and the eight-hour day.<sup>17</sup> The company refused the first two demands and the union dropped the third.<sup>18</sup> Disturbances in the strike-bound areas led to their occupation by the police and militia. At midnight, 3 July 1923, eight thousand Cape Breton miners walked out in sympathy with the steelworkers and also to force the withdrawal of the police and troops. In this action the miners did not receive the support of John L. Lewis, their international president, and when some of their leaders were arrested on charges of sedition, they returned to work 21 July 1923. The steelworkers held out until 1 August and then they too returned to work. Their leaders accused the press of suppressing the truth and complained that every man's hand was against them.<sup>19</sup>

Such was the situation when two Anglicans stood up for the workers and helped to make known the workers' side of the story. While the strike was still in progress, Scott invited the Reverend J. D. Hamlin, rector of St. John's Church, Newport, Rhode Island, to preach at St. Matthew's, Scott's church in Quebec City. On his way to Quebec Hamlin toured Nova Scotia and visited friends in Cape Breton. Finding the strike in progress, "and the whole place in

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17 Halifax Herald, 4 July 1923, p. 2.

18 Quebec Chronicle, 2 August 1923, p. 3.

19 Ibid.

possession of troops,"<sup>20</sup> he decided to investigate the situation for himself. On Sunday, 29 July, he described to the congregation of St. Matthew's what he had found, emphasizing the squalid condition of company tenement houses, unpainted and dirty, without plumbing and sanitary conveniences, and lining roads deep in cinders and mud. When a reporter later interviewed Scott about Hamlin's sermon, the latter contrasted the Cape Breton situation with the far better conditions he had seen in the French mining districts. He thought that Canadians should call for a complete investigation by the government.<sup>21</sup>

Although the Sydney steelworkers, on the day after this interview, voted to return to work, discussion of the issues continued in eastern Canada for some time afterwards. Aroused by the criticisms of Hamlin and Scott, BESCO officials invited the latter to come and see the actual conditions for himself.<sup>22</sup> They offered him complete facilities for a full personal inquiry, including permission to see houses, to study conditions of work, as well as access to company payroll records.

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20 Quebec Chronicle, 31 July 1923, p. 5.

21 Ibid.

22 CC, 13 September 1923, p. 590. See also "Was Canon Scott Invited?" editorial in Halifax Herald, 12 September 1923, p. 6.

On Monday, 20 August 1923, with the headline "Canon Scott on Crusade to Cape Breton," the Quebec Chronicle<sup>23</sup> announced that the local rector of St. Matthew's Church had accepted the challenge of the BESCO officials. Before leaving for Cape Breton, Scott called on the federal government for a satisfactory explanation of its action in sending troops into the strike area. He regarded this act as further justification for his investigation, in that it made the affairs of BESCO a matter of interest to all Canadians. The federal government apparently came to the same conclusion, for it used the need for the militia to justify the appointment of a Royal Commission to investigate industrial unrest among Sydney steelworkers.<sup>24</sup>

Scott spent about a week in Cape Breton, during which time he refused to be interviewed.<sup>25</sup> One news report claimed that, unlike some other investigators, he was maintaining an almost Spartan independence and refusing favours from either side in the dispute.<sup>26</sup> Not until the Sunday after his

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23 Quebec Chronicle, 20 August 1923, p. 5.

24 Report of the Commission appointed under Order in Council (P. C. 1929), to inquire into the Industrial Unrest among the Steel Workers at Sydney, N.S., creating conditions which have occasioned the calling out of the Active Militia in aid of the Civil Power and their retention for a considerable period of time in the areas affected, Ottawa, King's Printer, 1924. Hereafter referred to as Report of Commission on Industrial Unrest.

25 Quebec Chronicle, 27 August 1923, p. 5.

26 Quebec Chronicle, 29 August 1923, p. 7.

return to Quebec did Scott make known his findings and conclusions. He spoke first to his own congregation in a sermon in which he urged Canadians to become aware of the conditions under which some citizens had to work.<sup>27</sup> His more detailed observations were made known to a wider public through a press interview carried in a number of newspapers.<sup>28</sup>

In general Scott agreed with everything that Hamlin had said. He supported the union demand for better wages and shorter hours. He worked out the wage percentage and found that forty per cent of the steelworkers made 35 cents an hour or less and that a large number of miners made about \$3.35 a day or \$80 a month. He concluded that the hours of work were too long, consisting as they did of an eleven-hour shift by day and a thirteen-hour shift by night for men engaged in continuous operations. These long shifts meant that certain operations could be carried on continuously by the use of only two shifts a day, instead of the three which the eight-hour day would require. Scott found that even men on the blast furnaces had to work the same long shifts "with

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27 CC, 13 September 1923, p. 590.

28 The following papers carried the story on 5 September 1923: Toronto Globe, p. 2; Halifax Morning Chronicle, p. 9; Halifax Herald, p. 5, which also published a picture of Scott in military uniform; Montreal Daily Star, p. 4; the Quebec Chronicle, 4 September 1923, carried the original story.

never a day's rest unless they take it themselves and few, at the low rate of pay prevailing, can afford to do so."<sup>29</sup>

Working conditions also came in for harsh criticism from Scott. In the steel mill he witnessed the drawing off of the molten metal from the furnaces; he found the heat scorching, and "the sulphur fumes reminded one of the gas on the battle front of France."<sup>30</sup> Every two weeks, when workers changed shifts, one shift had to work right through, enduring these conditions for each drawing off during a twenty-four hour period.

When Scott went to visit the Sydney mines, company officials invited him to inspect one which was regarded as, in Scott's words, "in many respects a model mine."<sup>31</sup> He chose instead to see two other mines which had been the cause of more complaint among the men because they required long underground walks before and after work, about five miles for the round trip in one, about half that distance in the other; much of this walking had to be done in a stooped position. Another cause of complaint at the mines was the lack of sanitary provisions. At one mine, according to Scott, "absolutely no latrine was provided for the use of five hundred men who work in the mine. They were simply thrown back into the habits of cave-dwellers."<sup>32</sup>

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29 CC, 13 September 1923, p. 590.

30 Ibid.

31 Ibid.

32 Ibid.

Sanitary conditions were also unsatisfactory in the company housing; indeed Scott found the housing to be even worse than Hamlin's description implied. He found that some steelworkers did live in satisfactory houses, but many others lived in a district called the "Bier" where conditions were very poor. According to the more detailed description Scott gave of the housing provided for the miners, there was one area occupied by fifteen hundred people, where drainage from kitchen sinks passed out into open gutters. In another area there was no water supply in the houses; each family was allowed so many buckets a day to carry home. In his forthright way Scott declared that if similar conditions had existed in the front line trenches during the war the sanitary inspectors would have been shot.<sup>33</sup> Other aspects of the housing mentioned by Scott were dilapidated latrines, no storm windows or doors, repairs needed, and the generally depressing effect of living under such conditions. Three years later a Nova Scotia Royal Commission was to describe the same living conditions in a similar vein.<sup>34</sup>

Scott also defended the workers against the criticism levelled at them in the press. The Montreal Daily Star in a

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33 Quebec Chronicle, 4 September 1923, p. 3.

34 Report of Royal Commission Respecting the Coal Mines of the Province of Nova Scotia 1925, Halifax, King's Printer, 1926, p. 10. Hereafter referred to as Report Respecting Coal Mines.

Labour Day editorial blamed the strike on "reckless and irresponsible leaders, who influenced the passions of their followers by the Red doctrines with which they declare themselves in sympathy."<sup>35</sup> The next day the same paper quoted Scott's claim that the "red element" was of very little importance except for the use made of it "to blind the eyes of the public to the real issues and bad conditions under which people live."<sup>36</sup> Indeed Scott was surprised to find that "foreigners, whose sympathies he apparently expected to lie with communism, were only about ten per cent of the population. The majority were Scottish, Irish and Newfoundlanders, who, according to Scott, were "the very finest type of humanity."<sup>37</sup>

In suggesting a solution for labour troubles in Cape Breton, Scott adopted a conciliatory approach. He called for "the application of a broader spirit of human fellowship."<sup>38</sup> He believed that BESCO affairs could be so managed that peace and happiness would replace discord and the workers assured of a decent living. At the same time his expectation that the iron hand of compulsion would be needed

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<sup>35</sup> Montreal Daily Star, 3 September 1923, p. 4.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid., 4 September 1923, p. 4.

<sup>37</sup> CC, 13 September 1923, p. 590.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid.

in the velvet glove of conciliation appeared when he expressed the hope that the government would have power to enforce the decisions of the Royal Commission. He recognized that the only way likely to improve conditions for the workers and their families would be "to insist, if necessary, upon the application of a broader spirit of human fellowship."<sup>39</sup> In his conclusions Scott again placed himself, figuratively speaking, on the same platform with J. S. Woodsworth, who repeatedly called for government intervention during the years of industrial strife in Cape Breton. In 1925 the common concern of the two men appeared again when Woodsworth quoted an appeal which Scott made to Prime Minister King in connection with the miners' strike against BESCO.<sup>40</sup>

Inasmuch as the chief value of Scott's statements lay in the hope that the publicity given to his revelations would arouse public and political support for change, which in turn would put pressure on BESCO to improve living and working conditions for its employees, newspaper reaction to Scott's investigation is very important. This reaction was strongest in Nova Scotia and in Quebec City, where Scott

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39 Ibid.

40 J. S. Woodsworth, "Brothers in Need: The Larger Issues of the Miners' Strike in Nova Scotia," Social Welfare, VII (August and September 1925), 217-18.

lived. Montreal papers showed some interest, and the two morning papers in Toronto showed very little.

In Halifax both the strike and Scott's statements became the subject for what appeared to be a battle in a long standing vendetta between the Halifax Morning Chronicle and the Halifax Herald. When the former wondered editorially<sup>41</sup> why Scott should make a personal investigation and report when others more competent would hesitate to do so, the Halifax Herald took delight in informing its rival that Scott went to Cape Breton on the invitation of BESCO officials.<sup>42</sup> The Chronicle appears to have been committed to support of the company and of the Liberal governments in Ottawa and Halifax to the point of complete indifference to the welfare of the workers.<sup>43</sup> It accused Scott of meddling in "industrial affairs here which in nowise concern him as a Quebec preacher."<sup>44</sup> The Herald, in supporting him, seemed equally interested in scoring points against its rival. It apologized to Scott in the name of the people of "this British province [...]" for the bitter and uncalled for attack made upon him in the editorial columns of an organ

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41 Halifax Morning Chronicle, 6 September 1923, p. 6.

42 Halifax Herald, 12 September 1923, p. 6.

43 See editorial "Another 'On the Spot,'" Halifax Morning Chronicle, 6 September 1923, p. 6, which refers to the "relatively trifling subject of earnings [...]."

44 Halifax Morning Chronicle, 11 September 1923, p. 4.

of propaganda published in this city."<sup>45</sup> Not only did he have the invitation of BESCO, said the Herald, he had also earned the right to investigate the conditions of men with whom he had shared "hell on earth."<sup>46</sup> The paper went on to describe Scott as eminently qualified as a humanitarian to investigate a human situation; it claimed his name would go down in history as one to be remembered and revered. Although the Chronicle struck back editorially, the Herald was able to quote the Liberal Globe of Toronto, which described Scott as an impartial observer whose comments on labour conditions the employing interests would do well to heed.<sup>47</sup>

The employing interests decided not to heed Scott's comments, preferring instead to issue a rebuttal to them. In a formal statement BESCO officials charged him with being "insufficiently acquainted with industrial conditions" and as having "an eye only for conditions that seemed to permit only of criticism [...]."<sup>48</sup> Perhaps these statements

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<sup>45</sup> Halifax Herald, 7 September 1923, p. 6.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid.

<sup>47</sup> Halifax Herald, 12 September 1923, p. 6, quoting "Notes and Comments" in Toronto Globe, 6 September 1923, p. 4.

<sup>48</sup> Among the newspapers to publish BESCO's reply on 7 September 1923 were the Quebec Chronicle, p. 7; Halifax Herald, p. 3; Montreal Daily Star, p. 4; the Halifax Morning Chronicle, which placed Scott's report on the second to last page two days earlier, put BESCO's reply on page one.

indicate what the company hoped to accomplish by inviting Scott to carry out his personal investigation. Certainly its officials would have been happier if Scott had an eye only for what they wanted him to see, such as mine No. 2, the model mine.

In the matter of wages the company claimed that its wages, allowing for change in the purchasing value of the dollar, were higher than at any previous time. The daily rate of \$3.35, quoted by Scott, applied only to the lowest category, which included boys and old men. The average for all classes was \$5.10, and forty per cent received an average of \$6.46 a day. Judging by the newspaper accounts of its reply, the company preferred to ignore the long hours the men had to work for this pay. With regard to the company houses, the company pointed out that the average rent was six dollars a month. It also came out later that the company sold coal to employees at \$2.25 a ton, a price probably 75 cents below the cost of production.<sup>49</sup>

What Scott left unsaid in his first report, probably in an attempt to be conciliatory, came out in a sharp reply to the BESCO statement. He readily accepted the charge that he was not qualified to judge in industrial matters as an

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<sup>49</sup> According to the testimony of F. L. Waklyn, a company official, before the federal Royal Commission, Journals of the House of Commons, LXI, 1924, p. 25.

excuse for not having made stronger accusations against the company in his original statement. In it he had merely touched on the financial questions which he believed to be behind the labour unrest, in the hope that the government commissioners would be allowed to enquire into them. In his second statement he agreed that he was ignorant of the methods of high finance. He regretted that he was not qualified "to have investigated the principles on which the great merger was brought about."<sup>50</sup> He believed that the workers were paying in poor wages and working conditions for the watered stock involved in the merger. He hoped that the Royal Commission would investigate matters for which he was not qualified, such as the means used by BESCO to secure enormous rights from the Nova Scotia government, the amount of money made by the original promoters of the merger, and whether or not the company had a \$2 million surplus the previous year or had any federal and provincial subsidies.

There seems to have been little reaction to Scott's second statement. The charges of watered stock had been made before and would be made again, especially by J. S. Woodsworth.<sup>51</sup> Woodsworth also repeated many of the accusations made by Scott in connection with wages, hours of work,

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<sup>50</sup> Halifax Herald, 8 September 1923, p. 3.

<sup>51</sup> Canada, House of Commons Debates, 1922, p. 2246; 1924, pp. 62, 63.

and working conditions.<sup>52</sup> The Liberal government in Ottawa argued that the British North America Act prevented it from intervening in what was constitutionally a provincial matter. Opposition members put great pressure on James Murdock, the Minister of Labour, and ultimately, on 23 September 1923, the government appointed a Royal Commission, whose terms of reference restricted it to inquiring into the industrial unrest among the Sydney steelworkers.

The Report of this Commission, which the Prime Minister tabled in the House of Commons 3 March 1924,<sup>53</sup> was, of course, the result of a more thorough investigation than Canon Scott had been able to make, but it did vindicate his statements concerning working conditions, hours of work, and wages. The commissioners concluded that employees were entitled to adequate wages and regular employment. For as much as the company in the prosperous years between 1916 and 1921 had cleared \$7 million after all depreciation, interest, and dividends had been looked after, and had used this surplus to pay interest and dividends on preferred stock in the leaner years after 1921, the commissioners recommended that such surpluses should be used to protect the interests of the workers as well as of shareholders.<sup>54</sup> As an

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52 Ibid.

53 Journals of the House of Commons, LXI, 1924, p. 18.

54 Report of Commission on Industrial Unrest, pp. 23, 24.

alternative they recommended that "in the public interest some competent authority be directed to investigate and report upon the use which is made of such surplus funds of the company."<sup>55</sup>

Both Scott and the Royal Commission discovered the same facts and came to the same conclusion with regard to the hours of workers who were involved in the continuous operation of the furnaces. The report described the twelve-hour day as inhuman and called for the elimination of the twenty-four hour changeover period and of the seven-day week, as well as for careful consideration of the three-shift plan in departments which required continuous operation. The Commission also recommended a maximum of ten hours a day for other workers.<sup>56</sup>

The Royal Commission favoured what would have amounted to union recognition by the company. Its report claimed that BESCO had not paid enough attention to the human element, and implied that the company still regarded its workers as hands, and in the same category as its machines.<sup>57</sup> The result of this attitude was a breakdown in communications between operators and workers. In the words of the report, the company was "not willing to

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<sup>55</sup> Ibid., p. 24.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid., p. 22.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid., p. 20.

let any form of recognition or control by the Union be accepted."<sup>57</sup>

Not even the Royal Commission influenced BESCO at this time to take steps to improve relations with its workers. Within two years the coal miners were on strike over a reduction in wages. Various churches had enough sympathy for the strikers to raise contributions to aid them in this time of hardship.<sup>58</sup> At this time the new Conservative ministry in Nova Scotia under Premier E. N. Rhodes appointed a Royal Commission to investigate the mines of the province. This Commission gave most of its attention to the BESCO operations, as this corporation was responsible for eighty-five per cent of the coal output in Nova Scotia.<sup>59</sup>

This Commission's report, completed early in 1926, described the miners' living and working conditions in much the same terms that Scott and Hamlin had used in 1923. It found the housing deplorable with "the badly rutted streets, the straggling fences, and the outside privies" adding "to the unattractiveness of the general picture."<sup>60</sup> Because BESCO had inherited the role of landlord, the company

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<sup>57</sup> Ibid., p. 16.

<sup>58</sup> CC, 7 May 1925, p. 293.

<sup>59</sup> Report Respecting Coal Mines, p. 7.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid., p. 42.

appeared responsible for these conditions; yet during the previous six years it had spent \$800,000 more on its houses, including \$340,000 for repairs, than it had taken in from rents.<sup>61</sup> The Commission therefore did not place all the blame on the company; it also pointed out that municipal authorities were responsible for roads and sanitary conditions, and suggested that the province use some of the royalties which it received from coal mining to aid the local government in making improvements. It also recommended that the company get out of the housing business, preferably by selling its houses to its own employees.

The provincial Royal Commission was empowered to enquire into the capitalization of the company, which had come under fire from Scott and Woodsworth. The commissioners concluded that everything had been done according to common Canadian procedure,<sup>62</sup> and because no dividends had been paid on common shares or on second preference shares, the wage fund was not adversely affected by the changes in capitalization. But it was precisely because BESCO was not able to pay dividends on the shares it had issued that the company resorted to financial subterfuges and to cutting expenses, especially through wages paid to workers.<sup>63</sup> There would

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61 Ibid.

62 Ibid., pp. 51-54.

63 George Lemaître, Vie économique de la Nouvelle-Ecosse, Paris, 1931, p. 176.

seem to be some truth in the charges of watered stock, even if the practice were a "common Canadian procedure."

Two Royal Commissions then, one federal and one provincial, supported Scott's description of living and working conditions of the steelworkers and miners employed by the British Empire Steel Corporation. Scott's role in the Cape Breton situation is an outstanding example of the activist role of an individual churchman attempting to improve living conditions for some of his fellow men, who to all appearances deserved better treatment than they were receiving from their employer. Scott's actions stand out even more favourably when contrasted with the apparent lethargy of the Council for Social Service of the Anglican Church at this particular time.

### 3. The 1931 General Synod.

Now officially Archdeacon of Quebec instead of a Canon, Scott at seventy years of age attended his last General Synod as a representative of the Diocese of Quebec in 1931. Here he made his presence felt during the debate on unemployment, a subject which naturally took a great deal of time for discussion since this was the first General Synod since the onset of the Great Depression. As we have seen he seconded the motion asking Synod to recognize that "the spirit and working of our economic life is based on

self-interest [...],"<sup>64</sup> a motion which the Synod did not approve. During the discussion Scott urged churchmen to get the labour point of view, exclaiming, "I would give everything if the whole house of bishops were in the mines of Nova Scotia."<sup>65</sup> When Scott in his remarks made a reference to the Beauharnois scandal, Bishop Farthing, the acting chairman, interrupted him for getting off the subject. Scott replied that he would "stick to the scandal of the Church of England not raising its voice against scandal in high places, scandals tolerated by governments which ought to be looking after the people."<sup>66</sup> Scott also denounced "mergers by successful financiers who were the men behind the troubles of the day; for their efforts they receive titles and were considered leaders of Canada."<sup>67</sup> To Scott it was the duty of the Church to speak out on specific issues as well as to lay down principles to guide men in their social and economic relations.

#### 4. The 1932 Riots at Kingston Penitentiary.

In 1933 Scott became embroiled in what was a very specific and controversial issue, the dispute over conditions

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64 GSJP, 1931, p. 95.

65 Toronto Mail and Empire, 23 September 1931, p. 5.

66 Ibid.

67 Toronto Globe, 23 September 1931, p. 12.

in the federal penitentiary at Kingston, where serious riots had taken place in October 1932. The following summer, in seeking to bring out extenuating circumstances on behalf of one of the convicted rioters he was defending, Major W. M. Nickle put other prisoners on the witness stand. These prisoners testified that certain cruel and inhumane punishments were inflicted on inmates who broke penitentiary rules. Scott had already written to some newspapers in connection with the treatment that another prisoner claimed to have received. Nickle now appealed to Scott to raise his voice to see if something could not be done to help prison inmates: "Because I realise that, if you do speak, the men of the Canadian Corps, the soldiers of yesterday, the citizens of today, will take heed to your words, and perhaps something will come of your efforts."<sup>68</sup>

The Sunday after he received Nickle's letter Scott devoted his sermon to conditions in Kingston penitentiary. Quoting Nickle's letter Scott repeated the claim of prisoners that there were eight punishment cells below ground in which difficult prisoners were shackled with their hands above their heads for more than seven hours a day. Their only nourishment was bread and water; they had no sanitary conveniences and almost no ventilation. Other prisoners

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<sup>68</sup> Quebec Chronicle-Telegraph, 17 July 1933, p. 3.

were paddled or strapped for minor offences. Scott's reaction was that "the brand of shame rests upon our Department of Justice and the public must raise its voice against this public scandal."<sup>69</sup> He called on the government to name a Royal Commission to go into the whole question of prison methods; he urged that some of the commissioners be experts in penology and that at least one be from England, where methods of dealing with crime were resulting in the closing of prisons.

The Department of Justice, in a report based on its own investigation, denied the charges made against the Kingston institution, and Scott, in turn, attacked the Department's report. The Toronto Globe, with page one headlines, "Beloved Padre of Soldiers Analyzes 'Highlights' of Ottawa's Denials--Hits Report by Officialdom,"<sup>70</sup> used Scott's reply as an article and supported him in his demand for a Royal Commission as the only way to arrive at the truth of the situation. At the next session of Parliament J. S. Woodsworth and Agnes MacPhail used Scott's sermon and Nickle's letter as they pressed the Honourable Hugh Guthrie, Minister to answer the charges and to set up an impartial investigation.<sup>71</sup>

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<sup>69</sup> Quebec Chronicle-Telegraph, 17 July 1933, p. 3. This paper gave three columns to Scott's sermon.

<sup>70</sup> Toronto Globe, 1 September 1933, p. 1.

<sup>71</sup> Canada, House of Commons Debates, 1934, pp. 4293-96, 4585, 4602.

Guthrie denied the description of the punishment cells as given in Nickle's letter.<sup>72</sup> Prisoners had not been shackled for the past two years and they had a covered bucket for a toilet. The cells were well ventilated; only when the prisoner in isolation made a noise which disturbed other prisoners was the wooden door shut over the steel bars. Paddling was used only as a last resort on unmanageable prisoners, and now only with the approval of the Department in each case.

Guthrie acknowledged that he had received over fifty thousand messages concerning prison conditions--no small tribute to the publicity for which Scott was partly responsible. Deputations from the Social Service Council of Canada, the Prisoners' Welfare Society, and the John Howard Society had also waited on him and Prime Minister Bennett. On Bennett's suggestion these organizations had sent representatives to visit Canadian prisons to see conditions for themselves. According to Guthrie these representatives made a report generally approving the system and administration of the penitentiaries. When challenged on this point by Agnes MacPhail,<sup>73</sup> Guthrie admitted that their report contained recommendations for improvements which, he claimed, the Department was trying to implement, especially in the

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72 Ibid., pp. 4610-16.      73 Ibid., p. 4616.

matter of segregation of prisoners at Kingston. He hoped eventually to have psychiatrists working in the penitentiaries. The Department of Justice had also removed some officials from their posts and had dismissed Warden Megloughlin because he had not carried out policies of segregation and of training staff officers and guards.

Although some improvements were already made, as Guthrie claimed, by 31 December 1932, there can be no doubt that the riots and the subsequent publicity given to penitentiary conditions led to continuing changes for the better. In the words of Agnes MacPhail, "But it took all this, the riot, Major Nickle's letter, whether it is correct in every detail or not, and Canon Scott's preaching about it and our talking about it in the house to get to the stage where remedies were applied."<sup>74</sup>

##### 5. On Church Involvement in Social Issues.

What was probably Archdeacon Scott's last public controversy also took place in 1934. In January of that year he expressed strong disapproval of resolutions emanating from a large Montreal Church.<sup>75</sup> These resolutions

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<sup>74</sup> Ibid., p. 4623.

<sup>75</sup> Scott did not identify the church, and a search of the Montreal papers of the period failed to produce any evidence of its identity or action.

sought to restrict the role of the pulpit to the spiritual direction of the people, claiming that when the pulpit inveighed against social and economic wrongs it was going beyond the spiritual realm into the political. To Scott "to accept such a position was intolerable."<sup>76</sup>

Scott wrote to secular newspapers on this subject as well as to the Canadian Churchman. In supporting him editorially the London Advertiser described the corporation which passed the resolutions as a wealthy United Church, which had also attacked resolutions passed by United Church Conferences in favour of social and economic reform.<sup>77</sup>

This journal contrasted Scott's attitude with that of Dr. Cody, President of the University of Toronto, who warned both ministers and university professors against "leaping into the arena of practical politics on active economic and industrial questions."<sup>78</sup> The same editorial found it refreshing to see Professor Rogers of the Department of Political Science at Queen's University defending the duty of the Church, the university, and the state to be involved in such questions.

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76 CC, 1 February 1934, p. 4.

77 London Advertiser, 18 January 1934, p. 4.

78 Ibid. Cody was also a Canon of the Anglican Diocese of Toronto and a former rector of St. Paul's Church, Bloor St., Toronto. He served as Ontario Minister of Education, 1918-19.

Scott's conviction that it was the duty of the Church to become involved in social issues developed after his experience as a wartime chaplain, which led in turn to his involvement in the Winnipeg Strike shortly after his return from overseas. After that experience he seems to have become deeply committed to the principle that he, as a priest of the Church, had a personal duty to raise his voice against the economic and social injustices of the day. Other than his service on a Royal Commission appointed by the Quebec government in 1930 to inquire into and to report on matters of social insurance, for the most part his approach to working for improvements was individualistic. It seems unlikely that he appreciated the roles of groups like the League for Social Reconstruction and the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation, with their plans and organization for effecting reform, and in which his son, F. R. Scott, played a leading part. Nevertheless, for his day and considering his age, Scott in his own way made a useful and effective contribution to human betterment by exposing evil and condemning injustice forthrightly and courageously. To return to the title by which his wartime comrades always knew him, "Canon" Scott deserves to be remembered, not only as the "beloved padre" and as a poet, but as an activist in the cause of social and economic reform.

## APPENDIX D

The Honourable Richard A. Bell furnished the following extracts copied during the Second World War from William Temple, The Hope of a New World.<sup>1</sup> These selections are important because of their influence on Mr. Bell, who in turn influenced the recommendations accepted by the Port Hope Conference of certain prominent members of the Conservative Party, held in 1942, and later the party platform adopted at the Party Leadership Convention in Winnipeg.

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<sup>1</sup> William Temple, The Hope of a New World, London, 1940.

Extracts from "THE HOPE OF A NEW WORLD" by William Temple, Archbishop of York, Published by Student Christian Movement Press 58 Bloomsbury Street, London, W.C.1.

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et seq.

"It is easy to infer from this that some form of Communism or State Socialism is the ideal system. But these ignore the fact that a man is still a human being in his activity as a producer and not only as a consumer; he ought to have free play for his personality, as far as may be, in the act of production-- and this is the root-truth of individualistic capitalism. Our task must be to do justice as far as possible to the truth of capitalism, as well as to the truth of socialism.

"To this end the State, as the representative of the whole community and, therefore, of the consumer, must undertake the planning of our economic life, taking care, as far as may be, that all essential needs are met, and that there is no glutting of the market so that stoppage occurs in that process of production whereby most men earn their livelihood.

"There may be some industries which are best conducted by management directly responsible to the State, as the Post Office is. But this should probably be rare and confined to services indispensable to the whole community. For State management involves bureaucracy, and this easily becomes as stifling to free personality as grinding competition. We do not want one cast-iron system but the fullest attainable combination of order or planning with freedom or personal initiative."

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"....In one way or another it should be secured that no one by investing capital alone can become possessed of a permanent and saleable right to levy a tax upon the enterprise in which he invests his money together with a voice in the control of it. Thus the grip of profit-seeking capital upon industry will be loosened."

"We must go further. The investor gets his interest: the workman gets his wages. There is no reason why the former should also get a share in the control and the latter should not. Labour has historically been very reluctant to accept a share in the control of industry or the direction of its policy. It is doubtful whether Labour at present would generally

accept its proportion of places on the Board of Directors or make a very good use of those places if it did. There is need on any showing for a new enterprise of planning in Industry and this must obviously be undertaken by the State. It may be that Labour will best exercise its control, at any rate at first, through the organ of Government responsible for this.

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et seq.

"Meanwhile great transformations are going on before our eyes. There is growing up a great section of society--Industrial Management--which has many of the characteristics of a profession or a civil service. In a planned economy, Management would inevitably be responsible to the State as much as to Directors representing shareholders, and the State would have to nominate members of the Board of Directors. Thus alike in the general plan and in the particular administration the consumer through the State would have his effective voice.

"One more modification of the present system may be mentioned as required by social justice: wherever limitation of liability is granted it should be accompanied by limitation of profits. The Articles of Association should provide for the allocation of surplus profits to such purposes as these: an equalization fund for the maintenance of wages in bad times, even though hours of work be reduced; a similar fund for the maintenance of interest to shareholders at a specified minimum; a sinking fund for the repayment of invested capital; a fund for the extension of fixed capital, and so forth. Thus investor and workman gain greater security and the urge to secure maximum profits is mitigated."

"If we are to move in this direction some action is required now. The first is an act of resolve that the controls over private enterprise, established for wartime purposes, shall be retained when peace returns. They will, of course, call for modification; but they must not be abolished. Secondly, they must be used at once to ensure deferred spending, so that inflation may be avoided and the wealthier classes may not appropriate an unfair share of the now limited amount of available goods. Justice seems to require that this should be accompanied by a scheme of Family Allowances--to begin, perhaps, with the third child born in one family."

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"They" (i.e. Trade Unions) "are concerned to maintain standards of hours, wages and conditions for those who are in work. This was once the chief need of the working-class; it is still a real need but no longer the chief. The chief need now is to gain security of employment."

"This scheme for limiting profits where liability is limited was keenly advocated by the early Christian Socialists when Joint Stock Companies were beginning to be formed. It would have saved the world much evil if their warnings had been heeded."

#### The Principles of Reconstruction

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et seq.

"The relevant principles, I think, are these:

"(1) Every man is a child of God and as such has a status and dignity independent of his membership in any earthly state.

"(2) Consequently, personality is sacred, and freedom in whatever is most personal (worship, thought, expression) is to be safeguarded as among the primary ends for which the State exists.

"(3) As children of God, men are members of one family, and life should be ordered as far as possible with a view to the promotion of brotherly fellowship among all men, while each is called upon to use his freedom in the spirit of "membership" on pain of forfeiting his moral right to it.

"(4) But men are not dutiful children of God. They are from birth self-centred and remain so in lesser or greater degrees. They can be delivered from this evil state only by the active love (grace) of God calling out surrender and trust (faith). So far as this has not happened or has incompletely happened (i.e. universally)--they need to be restrained in their self-assertiveness and induced by appeals to their self-interest to respect justice in their mutual dealings.

"(5) Nations exist by God's providential guidance of history and have their part to play in His purpose; but man's self-centredness infects his national loyalty, which in its own nature is wholesome, so that the nation is made an object of that absolute allegiance which is due to God alone. Thus, if there is to be

any approach to a brotherly fellowship of nations before all men are converted to a life of perfect love, it must be by the same method of so organizing their relationship to one another that national self-interest will itself urge justice in action.

"Approaching the matter in this way .....  
.....It is a main ground of hope for the Rebirth of Christendom in the future."

.....

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"Finance ought never to be in positive control. It exists for the sake of production. And production exists for the sake of consumption. The hungry and needy public ought to be the controlling group. Finance may rightly exercise a check, calling a halt to avoid bankruptcy; but for positive control it is functionally unfitted. Yet it exercises such control to a very large extent."

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"But I would advocate a vast extension of public control of private enterprise; especially I would advocate a wide extension of the limitation of profits wherever liability is limited--a model scheme could be found before the war in the great glass-works at Jena."

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