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# The Political Economy of *fin-de-siècle* Christian Socialism

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Daniel Budden

Submitted to Swansea University in fulfilment of the requirements  
for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Swansea University

2011

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# Abstract

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The term 'Christian Socialism' carries two meanings: firstly, it denotes an abstract political and theological idea; and secondly, it refers to the various figures and organizations who laid claim to the term throughout history, and who fought for social justice under its banner. It is the latter definition given above that describes the theoretical scope of this thesis, but on the basis of the research some tentative thoughts are offered on Christian Socialism as a political philosophy.

Few works of scholarly literature have sought to critically analyse the history of the movement without also explicitly or implicitly advancing particular notions of what the 'essence' of Christian Socialism was, and what it ought to be. This thesis aims to address this historiographical imbalance by investigating the social, political, and economic ideas of the *fin-de-siècle* Christian Socialists in light of their historical context.

To do so, the thesis conceives of Christian Socialist political economy not in terms of its leaders' theories, but as it was expounded by the movement's leading theorists as they engaged with contemporary socialist and economic discourse. These theorists were the editors and authors of the movement's political literature, which comprised numerous sermons, pamphlets, novels, textbooks, and magazines, as well as periodicals such as *The Economic Review*.

These sources have been used to trace the Christian Socialists' attempts to challenge popular conceptions of the poor, of socialism, and of political economy, as well as their attempts to forge a Christian economics based on their understanding of contemporary strands of economic and socialist thought.

The thesis uncovers several previously marginalized aspects of the history of Victorian and Edwardian Christian Socialism, such as: the movement's interaction with and use of the ideas of J. A. Hobson, Alfred Marshall, Karl Marx, and the historical school of economics; the movement's popularization of economic theory and secular socialist doctrines; and the movement's promulgation of collectivist economic socialism throughout the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century.



# Declarations

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A number of individuals have aided the progression of this thesis and have provided guidance in the formulation of my ideas. While these individuals are named here in order that I may express my gratitude to them, I am solely responsible for any errors, shortcomings, and inconsistencies in the final work.

As the supervisor of this thesis, Noel Thompson has generously shared his abundant academic expertise, and he has sacrificed many hours engaging with and helping to make sense of my jumbled ideas and unintelligible drafts, always with good humour and formidable intellectual precision. I thank him for both his warmth and for his tough questions. From our first encounter when I visited the University of Wales Swansea (as it was then known) as an A-Level student, Noel has had a profound influence on my way of thinking; without him it is fair to say that it would have been inconceivable for me to have produced even a fraction of this thesis.

In preparing the thesis I have benefited also from the insight and personal support of dozens of scholars, amongst others Chris Williams, Louise Miskell, Gerard Charmley, and Helen Steele at Swansea University, and from the academic community associated with the Institute of Historical Research, especially the Modern British History seminar group and the Postgraduate forum based at the IHR, the 'History Lab'.

I am grateful to Chris Minns, Steve Hindle, and Alexandra Mitchell from the Economic History Society for reading and listening to a draft of a paper that later fed into the third and fourth chapters, and for their constructive feedback and encouraging remarks. My thanks extend also to the organizers of the Economic History Society and the Economic and Business Historical Society for giving me the opportunity to test my ideas by presenting at their conferences, and to the delegates at these conferences for their helpful comments.

The primary research required the use of various libraries and archives; these are listed in the bibliography, and their archivists were without exception knowledgeable and hospitable. I am extremely grateful to Steve Latham at the Westbourne Park Baptist Church for kindly allowing me to freely peruse the records of the Church for information on John Clifford and his publications and activity.

Finally, it is almost certain that the thesis, and perhaps its author, would have succumbed to the intellectual, mental, and emotional challenges involved in undertaking such a project without the love of my family, who have supported me in everything I have chosen to do, and of my partner Natalie. In sharing the burden of an enterprise not of her choosing, it is Natalie above all who deserves my eternal gratitude. No lines in the following chapters were as difficult to compose, no words as difficult to find, as those that could fairly articulate the myriad ways in which she has been kind, loving, understanding, and supportive throughout our years together.



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# Abbreviations

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BSP	British Socialist Party
CSL	Church Socialist League
CSM	Christian Socialist Movement
CSU	Christian Social Union
CSURC	Christian Social Union Research Committee
GSM	Guild of St. Matthew
ILP	Independent Labour Party
SDF	Social Democratic Federation
SQS	Socialist Quaker Society





# Religion, capitalism, and the rise of Christian Socialism

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As one commentator remarked in 1899, ‘somehow the expression “Christian Socialism” has come into the world’.<sup>1</sup> By that time the expression was quite widely known, but his words reflected nineteenth-century confusion about the meaning of the term and uncertainty about its logical coherence.

In both its modern-day and historical contexts, the term ‘Christian Socialism’ has been used loosely to refer to the religious spirit of the British Labour movement in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Indeed, many calls from nineteenth-century social reformers themselves for a ‘Christian Socialism’ were made in order to propose greater Christian intervention in social affairs.<sup>2</sup> While a more precise definition of the term is desirable at the outset of this thesis, the importance of Christianity in the story of the early labour movement should not be underestimated. It is true that this was a time when influential socialist Christians such as Keir Hardie were infusing their rhetoric with a religious flavour, when socialist reformers were gathering in a weekly ‘Labour Church’, and when the chapel provided the first debating platform for many social reformers. With good reason have commentators since suggested that the early labour movement owed more to Methodism than to Marx.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, recent scholarship has illustrated how the socialist and labour movements shared many features with the religiousness of Christianity, highlighting how both socialists and Christians were converted to the cause, how they conceived of themselves and their mission, and how they expressed their creed.<sup>4</sup> However, it would be misleading to cite these phenomena as examples of ‘Christian Socialism’; rather they were manifestations of the dovetailing of socialist and Christian culture and experience. While there were many nonconformist Christian Socialists, and while the nonconformist churches provided a platform for a Christian Socialist creed that rejected clericalism, the history of Christian Socialism should nonetheless also be distinguished from that of labour’s faith, encapsulated by the nonconformity of the Independent Labour Party.

Christian Socialism was a separate, though not dissimilar, phenomenon to ‘the social Gospel’; while they shared a common fund of religious ideas the latter term, as noted by

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<sup>1</sup> ‘Christian Socialism’, *The Weekly Standard and Express* (Blackburn: 4 March, 1899), 3289th edition.

<sup>2</sup> See, for example, ‘The Condition of the poor: Conference of Religious Bodies’, *Daily News* (London: 4 April, 1884), 11849th edition.

<sup>3</sup> The phrase’s origins are usually attributed to Morgan Phillips, who was cited by Harold Wilson in a work published in 1964. See Peter Caterall, ‘The Distinctiveness of British Socialism? Religion and the Rise of Labour, c.1900-39’ (chapter) in Matthew Worley ed., *The Foundations of the British Labour Party, Identities, Cultures and Perspectives, 1900-39* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), 131.

<sup>4</sup> These issues were examined by, amongst others, Caterall in ‘The Distinctiveness of British Socialism? Religion and the Rise of Labour, c.1900-39’; Graham Dale, *God’s Politicians: The Christian Contribution to 100 Years of Labour* (London: HarperCollins, 2000); Stephen Yeo, ‘A New Life: The Religion of Socialism in Britain, 1883-1896’, *History Workshop*, no. 4 (Autumn 1977).

scholars, is used more accurately either to refer loosely to the reforming zeal of the established and nonconformist churches in Britain or to describe a more strongly defined movement in the United States.<sup>1</sup> It was, in short, ‘social Christianity’ rather than Christian Socialism. Christian Socialism should also be distinguished from the Labour Church, although there were overlaps in terms of their activities and membership. The Labour Church was not an outlet for Christianity, but instead was based, as its founder John Trevor said, ‘simply on the conception of the Labour Movement as being itself a religious movement’.<sup>2</sup> The Christian Socialists were divided over the merits of the Labour Church. In 1906, F. Lewis Donaldson wrote that the Labour Churches had, in their hymnals, ‘reaffirmed some of the cardinal doctrines of the Catholic Church’, against whose ‘apostasy’ they existed to protest. However, in 1910, James Adderley argued that ‘there is something intensely pathetic about the institution of the “Labour Church”’. It means that Socialists, many of them, yearn for a religion, and finding nothing to satisfy them in the Church invent a religion of their own’.<sup>3</sup> In fact, as Jacqueline Turner has argued in a recent work, although the Labour Church was intended to be a religious movement, and subscribed to the same Immanentist theology as the followers of F. D. Maurice, ‘its purpose was increasingly hijacked to meet political ends’. Turner argued that the Labour Church was ‘an entirely secular, political and [was] barely [a] Christian organization’.<sup>4</sup>

While history abounds with examples of ‘social Christianity’, British Christian Socialism as a self-conscious movement began in the mid-nineteenth century. ‘Christian Socialism’ was the term coined by C. B. Dunn and John Sabine for the movement led by the clergymen F. D. Maurice, Charles Kingsley, and John Ludlow that attempted to ‘Christianize’ Chartism and attract the working classes back to the Church. The mid-century Christian Socialists, as Maurice’s group shall henceforth be referred to, produced numerous works, including a magazine entitled *The Christian Socialist*, but the movement’s activity had peaked by 1860. Despite its brevity, and its perceived reluctance to embrace political ideas (exemplified by the so-called ‘system-phobia’ of Maurice), the mid-century movement laid the intellectual foundation for their *fin-de-siècle* successors. Its theological arguments made to justify social action included the belief that Jesus Christ and the church fathers practiced communal ownership of their possessions, and that Christian worship espoused socialist ideals. Their most salient argument was based on the doctrine of Divine Immanence, which proclaimed that ‘God’s presence everywhere, in nature and in man, destroys the artificial distinction between the “sacred” and the “secular” worlds’.<sup>5</sup> Maurice

<sup>1</sup> Peter D’A. Jones, *The Christian Socialist Revival, 1877-1914* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968), 456.

<sup>2</sup> John Trevor in *Labour Prophet* Vol. V, No. 56 (1896), 123-127 qu. Jones, *Christian Socialist Revival*, 30.

<sup>3</sup> James Granville Adderley, *The Parson in Socialism: Jottings from my notebook* (Leeds: Richard Jackson; London: Mowbray & Co., 1910), 64.

<sup>4</sup> Jacqueline Turner, ‘Labour’s Lost Soul? Recovering the Labour Church’ (chapter) in Matthew Worley, *The Foundations of the British Labour Party, Identities, Cultures and Perspectives, 1900-39* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), 168. At the time of writing, Turner is preparing an MPhil dissertation thesis entitled ‘*The soul of the labour movement: rediscovering the Labour church, 1891-1914*’. (University of Reading).

<sup>5</sup> Jones, *Christian Socialist Revival*, 86.

took this idea to its logical conclusion: if the Kingdom of God was on earth, the role of the church was both to tend to man in the temporal world and to prepare him for eternal life in the spiritual world.<sup>1</sup>

The end of the Victorian period witnessed economic turbulence alongside growing socialist activity in Britain. Though its extent is debated, the ‘Great Depression’, which encompassed shifts in wages and prices and increased competitive pressures on industry, undoubtedly contributed to the social dislocation and degradation associated with urbanisation, overcrowding, exploitation, and unemployment. Moreover, despite a rise in living standards over the longer term, there remained significant disparities in the conditions in which people lived and laboured. Meanwhile, the economic consensus upon which Victorian prosperity had been founded was starting to unravel. The second half of the nineteenth century saw developments in the field of economics, such as the rejection of the wage-fund doctrine, the Marxian challenge to classical economics, the German and English historical schools, the Marginal Revolution, and the Marshallian synthesis. These developments, as well as the emergence of an academic discipline with its own periodicals and university chairs, signified the field’s transformation from political economy into economics.<sup>2</sup> In addition, the continued existence of abject poverty, the liberal and socialist critiques of capitalism’s social failures, as well as the new approaches to the study of political economy, all called the scientific veracity and moral sanctity of Smithian political economy into question. One scholar has noted the Victorians’ ‘conviction that the industrial organization which had yielded rent, interests and profits on a huge scale had failed to provide a decent livelihood and tolerable conditions for a majority of the inhabitants of Great Britain’.<sup>3</sup> In this environment *laissez-faire* economics could be challenged, remoulded, or even dispensed with.

It was against this background that the revival in Christian Socialism occurred during the 1880s, following a generation of relative dormancy. At least nine Anglican and non-denominational Christian Socialist organizations were founded between 1877 and 1918, each differing in terms of scale, platform, political economy, and methods. Despite its adoption of the term, however, the new Christian Socialist movement was not a simple restatement of its antecedent. As Peter d’A. Jones wrote, the *fin-de-siècle* Christian Socialists’ ‘greater range of methods reflected the more advanced state of evolution of British socialism and the labour movement in the late-Victorian era as compared with the 1850s and the greater complexity of the social and economic problems posed by structural historical changes’.

<sup>1</sup> Cheryl Walsh, ‘The Incarnation and the Christian Socialist Conscience in the Victorian Church of England’ in *Journal of British Studies* Vol. 34, No. 3 (1995), *passim*.

<sup>2</sup> Keith Tribe, ‘Political Economy and the Science of Economics in Victorian Britain’ (chapter) in Martin J. Daunton, ed., *The Organisation of Knowledge in Victorian Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 116-117.

<sup>3</sup> P. T. Cominos, ‘Late Victorian Sexual Respectability and the Social System’ qu. Stephen Yeo, ‘A New Life’, 10.

*Fin-de-siècle* Christian Socialism encompassed a wide range of social doctrines, but its theorists all highlighted the concern expressed by Jesus and in the Sacraments for mankind's material condition, and argued that Christian principles – brotherhood, co-operation, and justice – were congruent with, or even necessitated, various strains of economic socialism. From the 1880s the movement aimed to deliver material, as well as spiritual, salvation to the disadvantaged, while a number of Christian Socialist theorists challenged what they believed were the dominant theological, moral, and economic orthodoxies of the day. In particular they condemned the notion that Christian social doctrine could be reconciled with the wealth-maximizing principles of economic man: a stance that sanctified the invisible hand of the market and proclaimed that 'ye have the poor always with you'.

The *fin de siècle* Christian Socialists were prompted to engage in the study of social and economic problems after witnessing the misery of the working classes associated with the new wave of capitalist industrialization. Their critiques of capitalism bore the imprint of John Ruskin, William Morris, Robert Blatchford, Leo Tolstoy, the Fabians, Henry George, Laurence Gronlund, Karl Marx, and the late nineteenth-century social philanthropists. In their sermons, lectures, and written material the Christian Socialists denounced many aspects of nineteenth-century industrial capitalism, among them: unemployment and homelessness; poor working conditions coupled with long hours, low wages, and poor job security; the destruction of the social bonds associated with artisan production as a result of industrialization; the degradation of labour caused by relentless factory toil; the absence of self-determination in the face of the power of capital; overcrowded and unsanitary living and working spaces; unhealthiness, and mortality; the working classes' unwholesome leisure activities and low artistic values; the lack of education and spiritual fulfilment available to the working classes, and finally, the working classes' loss of faith in God. The Christian Socialist theorists almost universally believed that working-class abandonment of Christianity, as they saw it, was a consequence, and not a cause, of the working-classes' material strife. As one put it, 'it is the ambition of Christian Socialism to create those conditions that will give religion a chance'.<sup>1</sup>

So, a number of Christian Socialist organizations were founded, whose aims and activities, sizes and styles all varied considerably. The principal organizations are listed below.

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<sup>1</sup> Noel Thompson, 'Socialist Political Economies and the Growth of Mass Consumption in Britain and the United States, 1880 to 1914', *Review of Radical Political Economics* Vol. 39, No. 2 (June, 2007), 240.

**Table 1: Christian Socialist organizations, 1877-1914**

<u>Denomination</u>	<u>Name of organization</u>	<u>Years active</u>
Anglican Church	The Guild of St. Matthew (GSM)	1877-1909
Anglican Church	The Christian Social Union (CSU)	1889-1919
Anglican Church	The Church Socialist League (CSL)	1906-1923
Nondenominational	The Christian Socialist Society	1886-1892
Nondenominational	The Ministers' Union and The Christian Socialist League	1894-1898
Swedenborgian	New-Church Socialist Society	1895-1901
Quaker	Socialist Quaker Society (SQS)	1898-1924
Nondenominational	Christian Social Brotherhood	1898-1903
Congregationalist	League of Progressive Thought and Social Service	1907-?
Free Church	The Free Church Socialist League	1909-1912

These organizations responded to the social problems described above in a number of ways. Firstly, by direct ameliorative measures such as soup kitchens, charity funds, and mission halls; measures of the kind which were sometimes derided by Christian Socialists in principle but which were nonetheless always carried out or supported in practice. Linked to these were efforts to educate the working classes and to increase the moral content of their leisure and cultural activities; these endeavours often took place through bodies such as John Clifford's Westbourne Park Institute and his Social Progress Society. Secondly, there were efforts to 'make socialists' of their mostly middle-class congregations, via a series of studies of living and working conditions along the lines of *The Bitter Cry of Outcast London* (1883) and through passionate appeals from the pulpit.<sup>1</sup> Thirdly, there were cultural criticisms of industrial society, such as hymns, poems, and stories with socialist themes, such as the hymns of Percy Dearmer and James Adderley's novel, *Stephen Remarx* (1893).

The ameliorative activities and narrative histories of these organizations is of only incidental interest to the scholar concerned with fleshing out patterns and dichotomies in the movement's social and economic ideas. Moreover, even if extensive research into these organizations was not precluded by considerations of time and space, it is doubtful that information of any substantial historical value could have been unearthed that has not already been recorded by the extant literature. For convenient reference to this background information, Appendices One and Two include some further detail on the Christian Socialist organizations and their main protagonists based on both the secondary literature and on research undertaken for the preparation of this thesis.

This thesis aims to delineate a further Christian Socialist response to the social question, namely their attempts to outline, explain, defend, and implement various strands of

<sup>1</sup> Note, for example, Charles William Stubbs's sermons preached in Wavertree Parish Church and in St. Bridget's Chapel of Ease, Liverpool. His congregations consisted largely, he noted, of 'prominent Liverpool citizens and businessmen'. Charles William Stubbs, *Christ and Economics; in the Light of the Sermon on the Mount* (London: Isbister & Co., 1893), 8.

socialism. *Fin-de-siècle* Christian Socialism encompassed a wide range of social doctrines, but, as stated, its theorists all highlighted the concern expressed by Jesus and in the Sacraments for mankind's material condition, and they argued that Christian principles – brotherhood, co-operation, and justice – were congruent with, or even necessitated, various strains of economic socialism. It is argued that Christian Socialist political economy took the ideas of secular economists and socialists and, to a greater or lesser extent, infused them with a Christian ethos. It was the view of Peter d'A. Jones that 'the economic and political proposals of the Christian Socialists lacked a particular unifying principle'.<sup>1</sup> Research certainly supports the view that Christian Socialist prescriptive socialist thought was diverse. For instance, some Christian Socialists believed that if the playing field could be levelled through legislative reforms, more radical or revolutionary change could be avoided; here, Charles William Stubbs's support for Trade Union rights was a notable example. Others outlined various non-Fabian, yet socialist positions. Henry Scott Holland and John Carter believed that enlightened consumers could change society through the mechanisms of a moralized marketplace. J. C. Kenworthy, wished to withdraw from the economic system altogether in order to construct a Morrisian co-operative commonwealth, while his colleague J. Bruce Wallace attempted to build a grass-roots Christian trade network, in order to substitute a new co-operative economy for *fin-de-siècle* industrial capitalism. There were also Christian Socialists who espoused more conventional 'socialist' doctrines. E. D. Girdlestone, for example, proposed the nationalization of the land according to Alfred Russel Wallace's model, along with a series of social liberal reforms. Charles Marson bought into Marxian ideas, and wished to nationalize land and capital. N. E. Egerton Swann and Conrad Noel both advanced socialist economies that mixed public ownership of the means of production, distribution, and exchange with varying degrees of decentralism. Other protagonists tended towards a socialism established and managed by the workers. Indeed, by the end of the period examined by this thesis, there was a resurgence in Christian Socialist support for non-state conceptions of socialism, embodied most notably by J. N. Figgis and Maurice Reckitt, who embraced Guild Socialism. However, it was only in 1915 – a year after the end of the period covered by this thesis – that Reckitt was able to convince the Church Socialist League to adopt a Guild Socialist platform.<sup>2</sup>

An introduction to Christian Socialism should give a broad sense of the geographical scope of the movement, as well as its connections to, and dialogue, with social reformers in order to situate it within the contemporaneous intellectual environment. The British Christian Socialist movement extended across the country, but there were particular locations that acted as its hubs, and these places helped to define its outlook and character. Much Christian Socialist activity took place in the East End of London – Stewart D. Headlam, for example,

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<sup>1</sup> Jones, *Christian Socialist Revival*, 448.

<sup>2</sup> Gary Taylor, *Socialism and Christianity: The Politics of the Church Socialist League* (Sheffield: Sheffield Hallam University Press, 2000), 29-32

worked in St. Matthew's, Bethnal Green and in Shoreditch, and James Adderley worked in Poplar – or otherwise in and around the other metropolitan churches where particular Christian Socialists were based. These included: Westbourne Park Chapel in Paddington, founded by John Clifford; the Brotherhood churches of Kenworthy and Wallace in Croydon, as well as the former's colony in Purleigh, Essex; St. Mary's, Primrose Hill, where Percy Dearmer was vicar between 1901-1915; the Congregational City Temple, where R. J. Campbell preached his 'New Theology'; St Paul's, where Henry Scott Holland was Canon; and St Mary the Virgin's Church on Charing Cross Road.

Important centres of Christian Socialism outside the capital included: Oxford, where the Christian Social Union was founded; Mirfield, the location of Charles Gore's Community of the Resurrection; and Thaxted, Essex, the Red Church of Conrad Noel. There were also branches of Christian Socialist organizations in many cities and towns, including (notable figures given in brackets): Durham (Brooke Foss Westcott), Liverpool (Charles William Stubbs), Bristol (E. D. Girdlestone, Enid Stacy, and her husband P. E. T. Widdrington), Leicester (F. Lewis Donaldson), Birmingham (James Adderley, following stints in Mayfair and Marylebone, Charles Gore), Hambridge, Somerset (Charles Marson), Limavady, Ireland (J. Bruce Wallace), and Leeds (D. B. Foster). Christian Socialism's geographical reach can also be determined by the distribution of its printed materials, a topic of interest in Appendix Three, which considers the fate of the movement's periodicals.

It will be observed that little is said in this thesis of international Christian Socialism and its connections with the domestic movement. Such subjects have been omitted for two main reasons. Firstly, conducting a scholarly study of Christian Socialism in Europe and the United States, and its links to the British movement, would require a great deal more time, and would result in a much longer study, than that permitted. The scale of the necessary work is well attested by the length of the comprehensive accounts by Nitti and Cort, to which those interested in the matter are directed.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless it can be noted that, as Jones recounted, John Carter helped W. D. P. Bliss to establish an American Christian Social Union. This union 'grew to a membership of about one thousand, with members and branches all over the US', and there was also a Canadian offshoot.<sup>2</sup> For further reading there are the contemporary comparisons of the American and British Christian Socialist movements by Monroe and Spargo in *The American Journal of Sociology*.<sup>3</sup> Interested scholars may also peruse the British Christian Socialist periodicals, which frequently commented on the activities of co-operative enterprises and to a lesser extent social Christian activities in Europe, the colonies, and the Americas.

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<sup>1</sup> Francesco S. Nitti, *Catholic Socialism* (London: Swan Sonnenschein, 1895) [<http://www.archive.org/details/catholicsociali00nittigoog>]; John C. Cort, *Christian Socialism: An Informal History* (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 1988).

<sup>2</sup> Jones, *Christian Socialist Revival*, 190-2.

<sup>3</sup> Paul Monroe, 'English and American Christian Socialism: An Estimate', *The American Journal of Sociology* Vol. 1, No. 1 (July 1895); John Spargo, 'Christian Socialism in America', *The American Journal of Sociology* Vol. 15, No. 1 (July 1909).

The second reason that international Christian Socialism does not feature to a great extent in this thesis is that, it was considered too Catholic, too Puritan, or too socially conservative by British Christian Socialists for it to have an impact on their thinking. Moreover, there was little discussion of international Christian Socialism beyond the accounts of the history of socialist thought written by Mauritz Kaufmann, a German emigrant. The attitudes of the British Christian Socialists towards their international counterparts is summed up well by the editor of *The Christian Socialist*, who wrote in that journal in 1890 that 'the points of divergence between German and English Christian Socialists are as marked as ever'.<sup>1</sup>

*The Christian Socialist*, the official organ of the Christian Socialist Society, was well known amongst contemporary British socialists, whose articles and letters appeared in its pages. However, it was not the only periodical to provide a platform for Christian Socialist ideas, a forum for their debate, and a focal point for socialist news and literature during the years of the movement's revival. These publications were important not just because they disseminated socialist ideas and news of Christian socialist activities, but also because, unlike sermons, they did not claim to echo the voice of God. As such, they promoted debate and the collaborative formation of ideas. As one Christian Socialist wrote, 'the preacher's prerogative of not being answered is a disadvantage. The sermon does not allow of an exhaustive treatment of all objections'.<sup>2</sup> One might say that these periodicals enabled the Christian Socialists to speak from the soapbox (or perhaps the armchair) rather than from the pulpit. For supplementary information, see Appendix Three which considers the Christian Socialist periodicals in more detail, and offers some insight about their political stance, as well as their place within and contribution to the contemporary economic discourse. In the meantime, it is useful to introduce here the principal organs of Christian Socialist organizations or individuals, as well as some periodicals to which they regularly contributed.

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<sup>1</sup> *The Christian Socialist: A Journal for Those Who Work and Think* (London: Christian Socialist Society) Vol. 8 (July 1890).

<sup>2</sup> Wilfrid John Richmond, *Christian Economics [Sermons and Essays]* (London: Rivingtons, 1888), vi.



**Table 2: Christian Socialist and related periodicals, 1877-1914**

<u>Periodical</u>	<u>Links with</u>	<u>Years of publication</u>
<i>Brotherhood</i>	J. Bruce Wallace; the Christian Socialist Society (organ)	(1887-1931)
<i>The Christian Commonwealth: Organ of the World-wide Progressive Movement in Religion and Social Ethics</i>	R. J. Campbell	(1881-1918)
<i>The Christian Socialist: A Journal for Those Who Work and Think</i>	Christian Socialist Society (organ)	(1883-1891)
<i>The Church Reformer: An Organ of Christian Socialism and Church Reform</i>	Guild of St. Matthew (unofficial organ)	(1882-1895)
<i>The Church Socialist Quarterly or Optimist, later The Church Socialist Quarterly (Formerly The Optimist)</i>	Church Socialist League (organ)	(Vols. 4-6, 1909-1911),
<i>The Church Socialist: For God and the People</i>	Church Socialist League (organ)	(Vols. 1-10, 1912-1921)
<i>The Commonwealth: A Social Magazine</i>	Christian Social Union (organ)	(1896-1932)
<i>The Economic Review</i>	Christian Social Union (organ)	(1891-1914)
<i>Goodwill: A Monthly Magazine for the People</i>	James Adderley	(1894-1910)
<i>The New Age: A Weekly record of Christian culture, social service, and literary life</i>	Guild Socialist movement	(1894-1938)
<i>The New Order</i>	J. C. Kenworthy	(1897-1899)
<i>The Optimist</i> (See also, <i>The Church Socialist Quarterly</i> , above)	Church Socialist League (organ)	(Vols. 1-3, 1906-1909; Vols. 7-12, 1912-1917)
<i>The Ploughshare</i>	Socialist Quaker Society	(1912-1919)
<i>The Westbourne Park Chapel Monthly Record and The Westbourne Park Record</i>	John Clifford	(1897-1905; 1906-1912)

The Christian Socialists also produced a number of pamphlets, tracts, leaflets, reports, and handbooks, as well as contributing to those produced by contemporary socialists. Those that have survived include the following:

**Table 3: Christian Socialist and related serials, 1884-1918**

<u>Name</u>	<u>Examples</u>
Brotherhood series pamphlets	J. C. Kenworthy, <i>Slavery, Ancient and Modern, Brotherhood Series No. 1</i> (London: Brotherhood Publishing Company; The Clarion; William Reeves, 1895) L. N. Tolstoy, <i>The triumph of labour ... authorised translation.</i> (Croydon: Brotherhood Publishing Co., 1900).
Christian Social Union Lent in London sermons	Henry Scott Holland, <i>A Lent in London. A Course of Sermons on Social Subjects Organized by the London Branch of the Christian Social Union ... [Edited] with a Preface by H. S. Holland</i> (London: Longmans & Co., 1895) Wilfrid John Richmond, <i>Economic Morals. Four Lectures ... With a Preface by ... H. S. Holland</i> (London: W. H. Allen & Co., 1890), which was based on his Lent sermons for the Christian Social Union.
Christian Social Union pamphlets and branch leaflets	John Carter, <i>Commercial Morality, Christian Social Union Pamphlets</i> (London: Rivingtons, Percival & Co., 1893) Percy Dearmer, <i>The Social Teaching of the Catechism, Christian Social Union Pamphlet No. 8</i> (London: A. R. Mowbray for the Christian Social Union, 1907) Spencer James Gibb, <i>The irregular employment of boys</i> (London, 1903). Brooke Foss Westcott, <i>The Christian Law</i> (Oxford: Christian Social Union, 1896)
Christian Social Union Handbooks	Henry Scott Holland, <i>Our Neighbours. A Handbook for the C. S. U.</i> (Christian Social Union, 1911) A. J. Carlyle, <i>Wages, Christian Social Union Handbooks</i> (London: A. R. Mowbray & Co., 1912).
Christian Social Union Research Committee Reports	Christian Social Union Research Committee, <i>Report on the conditions of labour in fruit-preserving factories</i> (London: C.S.U.R.C., 1898) <i>Report on the conditions of labour in the fish curing trade</i> (C.S.U.R.C., 1898) <i>Report on the conditions of labour among out-workers in the brushmaking trade</i> (C.S.U.R.C., 1902) <i>Report on the application of the particulars section of the Factory and Workshop Act to piecework trades</i> (C.S.U.R.C., 1905) <i>Report on inquiry into employment of women after childbirth prepared by the Christian Social Union Research Committee.</i> (C.S.U.R.C., 1908) <i>Report on inquiry into employment of school children issued by the Research Committee</i> (C.S.U.R.C., 1909) <i>Report of inquiry into the wages of women and girls, etc.</i> (Manchester: C.S.U.R.C., 1918).
Christian Socialist Society pamphlets and tracts	Christian Socialist Society, <i>Manifesto</i> (London, 1885) <i>Social Reformation on Christian Principles, Tract No. 1</i> (London: W. Reeves, 1900) <i>What is Christian Socialism? Leaflets No. 4.</i> Leicester Christian Socialist Society, <i>Public lecture</i> (Leicester: Leicester Christian Socialist Society, 1891)
Church Socialist League propaganda committee, pamphlets, penny and halfpenny series	James Granville Adderley, <i>Is Socialism Atheism?: A Prejudiced Answer, Church Socialist League Series No. 4</i> (London, 1910) <i>Answers to Christian Fears about Socialism</i> <i>Bible Texts Quoted Against Socialism</i> <i>Socialism and the Seven Sacraments</i> <i>Why are you a Christian?</i> <i>Why we are Churchmen and Socialists</i> were all Church Socialist League Leaflets (Church Socialist League, 1914) G. H. Ten Bruggenkate, <i>Catholicism and Socialism, Church Socialist League Pamphlets Penny Series No. 4</i> (Thaxted: Church Socialist

<u>Name</u>	<u>Examples</u>
	League, 1913)
	Cecil Chesterton, <i>The Basis of Socialism, Church Socialist League Halfpenny series No. 1</i> (London: E. T. W. Dennis & Sons, Ltd., 1905)
	Church Socialist League, <i>The Church and Socialism: A Report of the Speeches Given at the Annual Meeting of the Church Socialist League on June 2nd, 1908, in the Church House, Westminster</i> (Sunderland: T. Summerbell, 1908)
	<i>The Petition of the Church Socialist League to the Upper House of the Convocation of the Province of Canterbury</i> (Church Socialist League, 1912)
	<i>The National Mission: Message of the Church Socialist League, 1916</i> (Church Socialist League, 1916).
	Donald Hole, <i>Materialism</i> (Church Socialist League, n.d.)
	C. Stuart Smith, <i>The Socialist and the Church</i> (London: Propaganda Committee of the Church Socialist League London Branch, 1910)
	N. E. Egerton Swann, <i>The What and the Why of Socialism, Church Socialist League Series No. 3</i> (Thaxted: Church Socialist League, c1909-13?)
	N. E. Egerton Swann and M. B. Reckitt, <i>Christianity and socialism: a syllabus for study circles</i> (Church Socialist League, c1916?)
Clarion pamphlets, and Clarion press 'Pass on' pamphlets	Percy Dearmer, <i>Christian Socialism, Practical Christianity, Clarion Pamphlet No. 19</i> (London: The Clarion, 1897)
	Kenworthy, <i>Slavery, Ancient and Modern</i>
	George Lansbury, <i>Socialism for the Poor, Pass On Pamphlets No. 12</i>
	Conrad Noel, <i>Socialism and Church Tradition, Pass On Pamphlets No. 17</i> (London: Clarion Press, 1909)
	A. R. Wallace, <i>The Remedy for Unemployment Pass On Pamphlets No. 8</i>
Community of the Resurrection Penny Manuals and its quarterly review.	Aelred Stubbs and Community of the Resurrection, <i>C.R. Chronicle of the Community of the Resurrection</i> . (Mirfield: Community of the Resurrection, 1904).
Fabian tracts	John Clifford, <i>Socialism and the Teaching of Christ; Socialism and the Churches, Fabian Tract No. 139</i> (London: Fabian Society, 1908)
	<i>Soslialaeth a'r Eglwysi Fabian Tract No. 141</i> (London: Fabian Society, 1909) [Welsh translation of Tract No. 139]
	Percy Dearmer, <i>Socialism and Christianity, New ed., Fabian Tract No. 133</i> (S.I.: Fabian Society, 1907)
	Stewart D. Headlam, <i>Christian Socialism. A Lecture. Fabian Tract No. 42</i> (London: Fabian Society, 1899)
Socialist Quaker Society tracts	Socialist Quaker Society, <i>Socialism an essentially Christian movement</i> (Socialist Quaker Society, 1901)
	<i>War and social reconstruction</i> (Socialist Quaker Society, 1915)

Through the publications above, as well as their lecture tours, the Christian Socialists made an impression that was deemed worthy of comment by the popular and socialist presses. Appendix Four gives a representative, rather than an exhaustive, list of newspapers and periodicals in which the activities of 'Christian Socialism', the movement, was reported on, and 'Christian Socialism' the idea was discussed. These publications also printed various Christian Socialist contributions and correspondence, and therefore acted as a secondary channel for the dissemination of ideas espoused in their pamphlets and periodicals.

While they were prolific in making a contribution to literary socialist discourse, the

Christian Socialists also sought to engage in personal debate with various representatives and constituents of Victorian public life. This engagement included firstly, their dialogue with the Fabian Society, of which many Christian Socialists were members, most notably John Clifford and Stewart D. Headlam. An early member of the Fabian Society, Headlam served on its executive committee for three periods between 1890 and 1911, while Charles L. Marson founded the Society's first Australian branch in 1889.<sup>1</sup> Secondly, they carried the Christian Socialist banner to many all-encompassing Christian conferences, most notably the Third Lambeth Conference (1888), the Pan-Anglican Conference (1908), and the various denominational conferences.<sup>2</sup> Thirdly, debates with like-minded but not yet converted souls, such as atheist socialists, non-socialist Liberals and Christians, Members of Parliament, and scientific societies.<sup>3</sup> Finally, the Christian Socialists attempted to engage with working-class labourist organizations and political societies. To do so, they gave speeches to societies such as The Democratic Club, the Warwick and Leamington Women's Liberal Association, and the Cardiff Workmen's Liberal Institute.<sup>4</sup> They also joined labour marches, addressed striking workers, and played an active role in various political campaigns.<sup>5</sup> Perhaps the most successful of these was the campaign to elect George Lansbury, who for a time presided over the Church Socialist League, in the 1910 election, but many other Christian Socialists also played an active role in municipal politics.

Finally, it is worth concluding this summary of Christian Socialism's activity in its intellectual and political environment by highlighting some pertinent links between Christian Socialists and other social thinkers. Firstly, the aforementioned Christian Socialist members of the Fabian Society were well connected with the likes of Shaw, Besant, Wells, and the Webbs. Secondly, the Christian Socialists built relationships with prominent labour and socialist political figures through their periodicals. For example, Ramsay MacDonald contributed to *The Commonwealth*, the Labour MP Thomas Summerbell wrote in *The*

<sup>1</sup> Jeremy Morris, 'Headlam, Stewart Duckworth (1847–1924)', Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/37527>, accessed 15 Aug 2007]; Hugh Anderson, 'Marson, Charles Latimer (1859–1914)', Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, Oxford University Press, Sept 2004; online edn, Oct 2006 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/57227>, accessed 21 Jan 2008].

<sup>2</sup> Delegates in the Conference on The Condition of the Poor, in Memorial Hall, London, April 1884 included, amongst others: Clifford, Adderley, Hugh Price Hughes, the Liberal M.P. Samuel Smith and Lord Shaftsbury; Pan-Anglican Congress, *Capital and Labour*, Pan-Anglican Papers SA 4 & 5 (Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1908); Pan-Anglican Congress, *Morality in Commercial and Social Life*, Pan-Anglican Papers S. A. 3 (Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1908).

<sup>3</sup> E. D. Girdlestone, *Our Misdirected Labour Considered as a Grave National and Personal Question in Regard to Its Amount, Consequences, and Causes: A Paper Read at a Meeting of the Weston-Super-Mare Social Science Club* (Weston-Super-Mare, 1876); National Association for the Promotion of Social Science (Great Britain) and Social Science Congress (1884), *Art and Hand Work for the People: Being Three Papers Read Before the Social Science Congress, September, 1884* (London, 1884); Edward Bibbins Aveling, Charles L. Marson, and S. D. Headlam, *Christianity and Capitalism: An article by E. Aveling, a reply by C. L. Marson, a note by S. D. Headlam, and a rejoinder by E. Aveling. (Reprinted from 'To-Day')* (London: Modern Press, 1884); Samuel Smith, *Fallacies of Socialism Exposed: Being a Reply to the Manifesto of the Democratic Federation: ... to Which Are Added Letters in Reply to a Christian Socialist* (London, 1885); Brooke Foss Westcott and John Carter sent a memorial to the Home Secretary regarding the Interim Report on Dangerous Trades, Christian Social Union, ed., *The Commonwealth: A Social Magazine* (London: Gardner, Darton & Co) Vol. 2, (1897), 79; Frank G. Jannaway and N. E. Egerton Swann, *Which is the remedy? Verbatim Report of Debate on Socialism*, 2nd edn. (London: Smith, 1909).

<sup>4</sup> 'Christian Socialism. Address by the 'Radical Parson' at Cardiff', *Western Mail* (Cardiff, 24 October), 6377th edition.

<sup>5</sup> Rob Lee noted that Brooke Foss Westcott 'held regular discussion groups at Auckland Castle with employers, clergymen, literary men and workers' representatives'. Amongst these was the miners' leader John Wilson, from whom Westcott won complete respect. W. R. Lee, *The Church of England and the Durham Coalfield 1810-1926 Clergymen, Capitalists and Colliers* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell & Brewer, 2007), 172.

*Church Socialist Quarterly*, whilst socialists and political thinkers of all hues corresponded with the editors of the other periodicals. Finally, the Christian Socialists were personally acquainted with many of the most well-known and well-connected socialists: James Adderley knew Robert Blatchford, Charles William Stubbs knew Joseph Arch, and J. C. Kenworthy knew Keir Hardie, Leo Tolstoy, and William Morris, (as well as corresponding with Alfred Russel Wallace).<sup>1</sup> Moreover, all the Christian Socialists who had the opportunity to meet John Ruskin and William Morris seemed to have done so. The same was true of left-leaning economists: Henry George met with the Guild of St. Matthew; J. A. Hobson met with the Christian Social Union; and Hobson and P. H. Wicksteed gave University Extension Lectures at John Clifford's Westbourne Park Chapel. Personal links such as these were also extended beyond British shores. As every history of the movement is obliged to note, J. Bruce Wallace and F. R. Swan's 'Brotherhood Church' in Hackney hosted the Fifth Congress of the exiled Russian Social Democratic Labour Party, becoming for three weeks the headquarters for Lenin, Trotsky, Gorki, Stalin, and Rosa Luxemburg. During this time the Russians were met by Ramsay MacDonald, H. M. Hyndman, and other eminent British socialists.<sup>2</sup> The correspondence that went on between Mauritz Kaufmann and Marx, between J. Bruce Wallace and Michael Flürscheim, and between John Carter and Richard Theodore Ely further evince the claim that the Christian Socialist movement in Britain reached out beyond the parishes of its protagonists.<sup>3</sup>

The account above is not exhaustive, yet it serves to reiterate an important element of Christian Socialism first remarked upon by Peter d'A. Jones: its middle-classness. Despite the work of figures such as John Clifford, Charles L. Marson, and Conrad Noel to bring the working classes into their churches, Christian Socialism was a movement *for* the labouring poor, not *of* it. And, as such, not only was its thought subject to the unknowable and unquantifiable constraints and formative influences of class sensibilities and historical cognitive structures, but also the best possibility for the movement to effect change was always likely going to be its ability to influence its well-heeled connections. This latter result of the middle-classness of Christian Socialism was an important factor on the language and methods of delivery of its political economy.

Similarly, the boundaries of Christian Socialist thought were circumscribed by its lack of a strong female voice throughout most of the period considered. It is not sufficient, but it is nonetheless correct, to note that Christian Socialist theorists tended to be male. There were, in fact, a number of notable female Christian Socialists, such as Gertrude Tuckwell, Enid Stacy, Mary O'Brien, and E. R. Mansell-Moullin but they tended to enunciate their feminist thought outside of Christian Socialist channels. Only Mansell-Moullin made any significant attempt to challenge Christian Socialism's gendered conception of socialist

<sup>1</sup> Charles William Stubbs, *Village Politics: Addresses and Sermons on the Labour Question* (London: Macmillan and Co, 1878).

<sup>2</sup> Jones, *Christian Socialist Revival*, 338.

<sup>3</sup> Karl Marx, *Collected Works Vol. 45* (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1982).

political economy, and she quickly became disenchanted with the movement's lack of focus on feminist questions. The male Christian Socialist theorists, meanwhile, did attempt to move beyond the traditional conceptions of gender roles prominent in early Christian Socialism, but they tended to advance women's rights alongside their socialism, rather than developing anything approaching a socialist feminism.

# Literature review

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## Christian Socialist historiography

While there are myriad texts about how Christianity and socialism interact, coalesce, and come into conflict in the historical and theoretical spheres, it is possible to select from these a number concerned with the history of Christian Socialism in Britain.

Substantial insight can be gained from the movement's introspective literature, the autobiographies, biographies, studies, and obituaries written by its protagonists. For example, there were the works of Maurice B. Reckitt, produced between 1932 and 1968, that recounted the activities of various Christian Socialists and charted the development of their ideas.<sup>1</sup> However, the advent of an independent Christian Socialist historiography can be traced to the studies written in 1896, by Francesco S. Nitti, who was Professor of Political Economy at the University of Naples, and in 1903 by Arthur V. Woodworth, a commentator who also published works for the Toynbee Trust.<sup>2</sup> The former was a comprehensive account of Christian Socialism as it was interpreted in Europe and America, and the latter was a more concise work that identified the key figures and organizations in England. These texts were followed by a history focused on the mid-century movement, written by Charles Earle Raven (1920) and D. O. Wagner's account of social Christianity (1930) which featured a sketch of the principal Anglican Christian Socialist organizations active in the late nineteenth century based on literature and interviews with key protagonists.<sup>3</sup>

However, in terms of delineating the scope and framing the debates of modern Christian Socialist historiography, the seminal work was *The Christian Socialist Movement in England: An Introduction to its History* (1931), by Gilbert Clive Binyon.<sup>4</sup> This volume combined the use of biography and personal testimony with critical analysis of the movement's published material in order to outline a narrative of nineteenth-century Anglican Christian Socialism in England. It aimed to situate Christian Socialism within a history of social Christianity, but it also paid close attention to the movement's activities and its attempts to engage in political and social debate. Binyon introduced and expanded upon a number of key themes in the study of Christian Socialist history, such as the tension between

<sup>1</sup> Maurice B. Reckitt, *Faith and Society. A Study of the Structure, Outlook and Opportunity of the Christian Social Movement in Great Britain and the United States of America* (London: Longmans & Co., 1932); M. B. Reckitt, *Maurice to Temple. A Century of the Social Movement in the Church of England. Scott Holland Memorial Lectures, 1946* (London: Faber & Faber, 1947); M. B. Reckitt, *P. E. T. Widdrington. A Study in Vocation and Versatility* (London: S. P. C. K., 1961); M. B. Reckitt, ed., *For Christ and the People: Studies of Four Socialist Priests and Prophets of the Church of England Between 1870 and 1930* (London: S.P.C.K., 1968).

<sup>2</sup> Nitti, *Catholic Socialism*; Arthur V. Woodworth, *Christian Socialism in England* (London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co., 1903); D. H. Macgregor, 'Review: Arthur V. Woodworth, Christian Socialism in England', *International Journal of Ethics* Vol. 15, No. 1 (1 October, 1904), 128-129.

<sup>3</sup> Charles Earle Raven, *Christian Socialism, 1848-1854* (London: Macmillan & Co., 1920); Donald O. Wagner, *The Church of England and Social Reform Since 1854, Studies in History, Economics and Public Law No. 325* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1930).

<sup>4</sup> Gilbert Clive Binyon, *The Christian Socialist Movement in England. An Introduction to the Study of Its History* (London: S. P. C. K., 1931).

the spiritual focus of Christianity and the materiality of social reform.

Nevertheless, the scope of Binyon's history was limited to Christian Socialism as it was practiced in the Established Church of England. Therefore, the most pertinent and useful volume for the study of Christian Socialism in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries is *The Christian Socialist Revival 1877-1914* (1968) by Peter d'A. Jones. This text introduced the nonconformist Christian Socialist organizations into the history of the movement, and discussed the activities and ideas of Anglican and non-denominational Christian Socialists in comprehensive detail. It raised numerous pertinent questions for debate, successfully posited answers to most of these questions, and highlighted avenues for future research. Few would dispute that *The Christian Socialist Revival* defined the field of Christian Socialist historiography. While the present text aims to challenge some of Jones's conclusions and to examine the movement through a different lens, the conception of this project, let alone its commencement, would have been impossible without Jones's formidable work.

There have been a number of more recent volumes which have built upon the work of Jones. *The Victorian Christian Socialists* (1987, 2002), by Edward Norman, recounted nineteenth-century Christian Socialism in terms of nine key figures, from F. D. Maurice to Brooke Foss Westcott.<sup>1</sup> Some of Norman's conclusions prompted a response from Cheryl Walsh in *The Journal of British Studies* (1995).<sup>2</sup> There was also *Christian Socialism: An Informal History* (1988), by John C. Cort, which along with Nitti's volume provides an account of Christian Socialism as it was interpreted worldwide, and the scholar might also draw upon several other texts that focused solely on the mid-century manifestation of Christian Socialism in England.<sup>3</sup>

The re-emergence of Christian Socialist rhetoric in the Labour Party during the 1990s stimulated a call for the history of the antecedents of the modern Christian Socialist Movement (CSM). This call was answered by Chris Bryant, chair of the CSM (1993-1998) and later Labour MP for Rhondda, who wrote *Possible Dreams: A Personal History of the British Christian Socialists* in 1997, and by Canon Alan Wilkinson, whose 1998 Scott Holland Lectures were published that year as a book entitled *Christian Socialism: Scott Holland to Tony Blair*.<sup>4</sup>

The texts above constitute the framework of Christian Socialist historiography, but they are fortunately supplemented by a number of more narrowly-focused accounts of various aspects of the movement written by academic scholars and enthusiasts alike.<sup>5</sup> These

<sup>1</sup> Edward R. Norman, *The Victorian Christian Socialists* 2nd edn. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), *passim*.

<sup>2</sup> Walsh, 'The Incarnation and the Christian Socialist Conscience in the Victorian Church of England', *passim*.

<sup>3</sup> Cort, *Christian Socialism: An Informal History*; ; Torben Christensen, *Origin and history of Christian socialism, 1848-54* (Aarhus: Universitetsforlaget, 1962); Brenda Colloms, *Victorian visionaries* (London: Constable, 1982).

<sup>4</sup> Christopher Bryant, *Possible Dreams: A Personal History of British Christian Socialists* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1997); Alan Wilkinson, *Christian Socialism: Scott Holland to Tony Blair* (London: SCM, 1998).

<sup>5</sup> John Orens, *Stewart Headlam's Radical Anglicanism: The Mass, the Masses, and the Music Hall, Studies in Anglican history*



include biographies of better-known Christian Socialists, many of which were written in the last decade or so in order to update studies published shortly after the death of the subject, and some of which remain works in progress to date. There are also several studies of particular organizations within the Christian Socialist movement, including: 'J. C. Kenworthy and the Tolstoyan Communities in England' (1957) by W. H. G. Armytage; M. J. De K. Holman's chapter 'The Purleigh Colony: Tolstoyan Togetherness in the late 1890s' (1978); *A History of the Brotherhood Church* (1982) by G. Higgins; and Gary Taylor's *Socialism and Christianity: The Politics of the Church Socialist League* (2000).<sup>1</sup> It is possible also to draw upon the unpublished theses of several scholars, such as Ashley Ann Eckbert's, *The Social Thought of the Christian Social Union, 1889-1914*, as well as the numerous recent texts on the mid-century Christian Socialists.<sup>2</sup>

Christian Socialism also features in a range of other historiographical fields. As might be reasonably expected, the movement appears in various studies of the relationship between Christianity and the labour and socialist movements in Britain, most notably those written by Mark Bevir, Graham Dale, Jane Garnett, David Nicholls, Stephen Yeo, John Callaghan, and Peter Caterall.<sup>3</sup> Christian Socialism was also commented upon in various ecclesiastical and religious histories, including those by Stanley G. Evans, K. S. Inglis, Arthur Michael Ramsey, Bernard M. G. Reardon, and William L. Sachs.<sup>4</sup> Some of the movement's more eminent figures also feature in various histories of Victorian attitudes and sensibilities (which focus on extraordinary characters), social histories (which focus on the movement's involvement in the settlements and working-class education), and in tertiary and popular

(Urbana, Ill: University of Illinois Press, 2003); G. F. Grimes, *Liberal Catholicism: Charles Gore and the Question of Authority, Latimer Studies No. 40* (Latimer House, Theological Work Group, 1992); Graham A. Patrick, *The Miners' Bishop: Brooke Foss Westcott*, 2nd edn. (Peterborough: Epworth, 2004); David Sutcliffe, *The Keys of Heaven: The life of Charles Marson, Socialist Priest and folk song collector* (Nottingham: Cockasnook Books, 2010).

- <sup>1</sup> W. H. G. Armytage, 'J. C. Kenworthy and the Tolstoyan Communities in England', *American Journal of Economics and Sociology* Vol. 16, No. 4 (July 1957), pp391-405; A. G. Higgins, *A History of the Brotherhood Church* (Stapleton: Brotherhood Church, 1982); M. J. De K. Holman, 'The Purleigh Colony: Tolstoyan Togetherness in the late 1890s' (chapter) in Malcom Jones, ed., *New Essays on Tolstoy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978); Taylor, *Socialism and Christianity*.
- <sup>2</sup> Ashley Ann Eckbert, *The Social Thought of the Christian Social Union, 1889-1914* (Unpublished M. Litt Thesis, Oxford University, 1990); John Harvey Foster, *Henry Scott Holland 1847-1918* (Unpublished PhD Thesis, Swansea University, 1970); Peter Christopher Grosvenor, *A Medieval Future: The Social, Economic and Aesthetic Thought of A. J. Penty (1875-1937)* (Unpublished PhD Thesis, London, 1997); Philip R. Hart, 'The Social Conscience of English Baptists in the Later Nineteenth Century: With Special Reference to the work of Dr. John Clifford' (Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1962); John H. Heidt, *The Social Theology of Henry Scott Holland* (Unpublished D.Phil Thesis, Oxford, 1975); I. Goodfellow, *The Church Socialist League 1906-1923 Origins, development and disintegration. [electronic resource]* (Unpublished Thesis: University of Durham, 1983).
- <sup>3</sup> Mark Bevir, 'The Labour Church Movement, 1891-1902', *The Journal of British Studies* Vol. 38, No. 2 (April 1999), pp217-245; Graham Dale, *God's Politicians*; Alan Kreider and Jane Shaw, eds., *Culture and the Nonconformist Tradition, Religion, culture and society* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1999); Noel Thompson, *Political Economy and the Labour Party: The Economics of Democratic Socialism, 1884-2005, 2nd edn.* (London: Routledge, 2006); 'Socialist Political Economies'; Willard Wolfe, *From Radicalism to Socialism: Men and Ideas in the Formation of Fabian Socialist Doctrines, 1881-1889* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1975); John Callaghan, *Socialism in Britain since 1884* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1990); Yeo, 'A New Life'; Caterall 'The Distinctiveness of British Socialism? Religion and the Rise of Labour, c.1900-39'.
- <sup>4</sup> Stanley George Evans, *The Social Hope of the Christian Church* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1965); K. S. Inglis, 'English Nonconformity and Social Reform, 1880-1900', *Past & Present*, No. 13 (April 1958), pp73-88; K. S. Inglis, *Churches and the Working Classes in Victorian England, Studies in Social History* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1963); Michael Ramsey, *From Gore to Temple: The Development of Anglican Theology Between Lux Mundi and the Second World War 1889-1939, Hale Memorial Lectures* (S.1.: Longmans, 1960); Bernard Morris Garvin Reardon, *Religious Thought in the Nineteenth Century; Illustrated from Writers of the Period.* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1966); Bernard Morris Garvin Reardon, *Religious Thought in the Victorian Age: A Survey from Coleridge to Gore* (London: Longman, 1980); William L. Sachs, *The Transformation of Anglicanism: From State Church to Global Communion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

histories (which generally, but not always or necessarily, situate the Christian Socialists in a well-established trope of the Victorian ‘do-gooders’).<sup>1</sup> Such texts are helpful for gaining a more rounded perspective on individual personalities within the movement, but their direct application to the research underpinning this thesis has been limited.

With some noteworthy exceptions, Christian Socialism tended not to be discussed in any great depth by historical accounts of labour and socialist activity and thought in Britain published to date.<sup>2</sup> The scholars who did discuss the movement in their histories of labour and socialist history have, however, recognised its contribution to these histories. Willard Wolfe highlighted the Christian Socialist endeavours to present their ideas in a palatable form for secular social reformers, especially the Fabian Society, while Stanley Pierson noted the impact of the Church Socialist League in supporting electoral candidates in 1907.<sup>3</sup> Henry Pelling’s account of the origins of the Labour Party called attention to the major Anglican Christian Socialist organizations, Stewart Headlam’s Fabian tracts, the *Economic Review*, J. Bruce Wallace, and the Brotherhood Church, and Pelling also contrasted the approach of Christian Socialism to that of the Labour Church.<sup>4</sup> Moreover, Noel Thompson highlighted the movement’s articulation of social ideas in two historical contexts: the formation of the Labour Party’s political economy, and the socialist responses to working-class consumption.<sup>5</sup>

There is a final sphere of historical research that has recognised the historical impact of Christian Socialism. This field explores the historical development, professionalization, discourse, and social context of the branch of knowledge known as economic thought, highlighting the ‘limitations of more conventional histories of economics which tend to concentrate on the stars rather than the supporting players’.<sup>6</sup> Works such as John Maynard Keynes’s *Essays in Biography* fall into this category, and they add useful insight into the formation of the academic discipline of economics.<sup>7</sup> However, this field of academic enquiry really emerged in the 1950s and 1960s, adopting the umbrella term ‘sociology of economics’ after the pioneering work by A. W. (Bob) Coats. With regard to the impact of Christian Socialism, Coats highlighted: the personal support accorded to the *Economic Review* by Alfred Marshall, who nonetheless wished its title had more clearly stated its purpose so that it would be known as a companion rather than a competitor to *The Economic Journal*;<sup>8</sup> the

<sup>1</sup> Edward Royle, *Victorian infidels the origins of the British secularist movement, 1791-1866* (Manchester: University of Manchester Press, 1974); Gordon Marsden, *Victorian values personalities and perspectives in nineteenth-century society, 2nd edn.* (London: Longman, 1998); ‘Britain’s Moral Makeover, Suffer the Little Children, Sinful Sex and Demon Drink’, edition of television series *Jan Hislop’s Age of the Do-Gooders* (Broadcast BBC Two, December 2010).

<sup>2</sup> Accounts that only touch upon Christian Socialism include: Geoffrey Foote, *The Labour Party’s Political Thought: A History, 3rd ed.* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1997); E. J. Hobsbawm, *Worlds of Labour: Further Studies in the History of Labour* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1984); J. H. Stewart Reid, *The Origins of the British Labour Party* (Minneapolis: University of Minneapolis Press, 1955); Paul Adelman, *The Rise of the Labour Party 1880-1945 3rd edn.* (London: Longman, 1996); Andrew Thorpe, *A History of the British Labour Party 2nd edn.* (Houndmills: Palgrave, 2001).

<sup>3</sup> Wolfe, *From Radicalism to Socialism*; Stanley Pierson, *British Socialists: The Journey from Fantasy to Politics* (Cambridge, Mass; London: Harvard University Press, 1979).

<sup>4</sup> Henry Pelling, *The Origins of the Labour Party, 1880-1900 2nd edn* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1965), 125-145.

<sup>5</sup> Thompson, *Political Economy and the Labour Party*; ‘Socialist Political Economies’.

<sup>6</sup> Coats, ‘Sociological Aspects of British Economic Thought, 726.’

<sup>7</sup> John Maynard Keynes, *The collected writings of John Maynard Keynes, Vol.10 Essays in biography.* ([S.l.]: MacMillan, 1972).

<sup>8</sup> A. W. Coats and S. E. Coats, ‘The Social Composition of the Royal Economic Society and the Beginnings of the British

icier reaction of the rest of the ‘Cambridge school’ of economists to the *Review*;<sup>1</sup> and the political economy and academic activity of John Elliotson Symes, an ally of Stewart D. Headlam in the Guild of St. Matthew.<sup>2</sup> Coats was also behind the reissue of the *Economic Review* in 1995 as a set of bound volumes.<sup>3</sup> Coats’s work has opened a field of enquiry that a number of historians have recently aimed to cultivate. In his chapter ‘Political Economy and the Science of Economics in Victorian Britain’, as well as his contribution to a 2001 volume edited by Augello and Guidi, Keith Tribe touched upon, but did not explore in depth, the Christian Social Union’s *Economic Review*.<sup>4</sup> The *Review* also featured in Alon Kadish’s chapter ‘Oxford Economics in the Later Nineteenth Century’, in a volume edited by Kadish and Tribe, *The Market for Political Economy: The Advent of Economics in British University Culture, 1850-1905* (1993).<sup>5</sup>

There have also been a number of studies that examined the relationship between Christianity and classical economics. Although they did not investigate Christian Socialism directly, it is worth noting that such texts are situated within an historiographical trend that investigates the social context of scientific and intellectual knowledge more generally. Works by A.M.C. Waterman, Boyd Hilton, and Salim Rashid have referred to Christian Socialism in their accounts of the religious theorists who advanced theological justifications for the precepts of classical political economy in the early nineteenth century.<sup>6</sup> T. W. Heyck and Stefan Collini examined the creation of ‘the intellectual’, and more recently, Martin Daunton’s edited volume, *The Organisation of Knowledge in Victorian Britain* (2005) considered how knowledge was defined, discovered, and disseminated in the period.<sup>7</sup> The last decade has also witnessed a concurrent development of a field of enquiry known as the ‘sociology of ideas’. This field, of which the principal scholars are Charles Camic and Neil Gross, is similar but not related to the ‘sociology of economics’. It is, in fact, a branch of, and challenge to, traditional sociology; it grew out of the more wide-ranging ‘sociology of knowledge’ and was also informed by the theory of the normalization of ideas advanced by Michel Foucault in *Discipline and Punish* (1975). This thesis does not adopt the methods of this branch of academic enquiry, but it does share its belief that ideas are inseparable from

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Economics ‘Profession’, 1890-1915’, *The British Journal of Sociology* Vol. 21, No. 1 (March, 1970), pp75-85.

<sup>1</sup> A. W. Coats, ‘Sociological Aspects of British Economic Thought’, *The Journal of Political Economy* Vol. 75, No. 5 (October, 1967), 726.

<sup>2</sup> A. W. Coats, *The sociology and professionalization of economics, Vol. 1* (London: Routledge, 1993), 289-312.

<sup>3</sup> Christian Social Union (Great Britain) and A. W. Coats, *The Economic Review*. (London: Routledge/Thoemmes Press, 1995).

<sup>4</sup> Massimo M Augello and Marco E. L. Guidi, eds., *The Spread of Political Economy and the Professionalisation of Economists: Economic Societies in Europe, America and Japan in the Nineteenth Century* (London: Routledge, 2001); Daunton, *The Organisation of Knowledge in Victorian Britain*.

<sup>5</sup> Alon Kadish and Keith Tribe, eds., *The Market for Political Economy: The Advent of Economics in British University Culture, 1850-1905* (London: Routledge, 1993).

<sup>6</sup> A. M. C. Waterman, *Revolution, Economics and Religion: Christian Political Economy, 1798-1833* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); A. M. C. Waterman, *Political Economy and Christian Theology Since the Enlightenment: Essays in Intellectual History, Studies in Modern History* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004); Boyd Hilton, *The Age of Atonement: The Influence of Evangelicalism on Social and Economic Thought, 1795-1865* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1988); Salim Rashid, ‘Richard Whately and Christian Political Economy at Oxford and Dublin’, *Journal of the History of Ideas* Vol. 38, No. 1 (March 1977), pp147-155.

<sup>7</sup> Thomas William Heyck, *The Transformation of Intellectual Life in Victorian England, Croom Helm Studies in Society and History* (London: Croom Helm, 1982); Stefan Collini, *Public Moralists: Political Thought and Intellectual Life in Britain 1850-1930* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1991); Daunton, *The Organisation of Knowledge in Victorian Britain*.

their social context.

In short, Christian Socialism is not absent from the extant scholarly literature, but neither has it attracted the kind of sustained forensic investigation that can contribute to these strands of historical enquiry.

## Themes and critiques

A number of common approaches prevail in the principal histories of Christian Socialism. They have generally aimed to construct a narrative account of the movement across their chosen time periods, their focus has been on the leading figures of the movement and their activities and theological doctrines, and such texts have generally based their accounts on these individuals as well as the organizations which they founded and led. Nonetheless, these largely biographical accounts were to a greater or lesser extent infused with a critical analysis which has raised a range of key questions. Those pertinent to this thesis are discussed below.

One major preoccupation of the extant historiography was to uncover the principal motivating factors of the movement's concern for social reform. Scholars of the movement are generally agreed that F. D. Maurice's theology created an intellectual platform for the coalescence of Christian principles and the critique of competitive capitalism. The Christian Socialists were thus able to claim that it was Man, not Divine Providence, who created the social problems associated with competitive capitalism, including but not limited to: the abject poverty of the workers, their physical exploitation by capital, the debasement of spiritual life, and the degradation of living and working conditions. These effects were not the will of God, but of a society of men who did not follow God's word. Scholars have, however, disagreed on what constituted the most formative influences on the movement's *socialism*. Norman has argued that the Christian Socialists simply latched onto whatever fashionable currents of opinion presented themselves, but Walsh maintained that the Christian Socialists were able to derive a platform for social reform from their theological position. Others, such as Binyon, Edward Royle, and Bryant, have highlighted the influence of 'social Christianity', and have traced Christian Socialism's roots to John Ball, Thomas More, the Levellers, Samuel Taylor Coleridge, and Thomas Carlyle.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, the influence of Tory paternalism on Christian Socialism has been identified by most scholars: Norman argued that the Christian Socialists' 'aim of social fellowship was not dissimilar to (and in some cases was actually related to) the old Tory desire to restore the benevolent relationships of the past'.<sup>2</sup>

In terms of the movement's socialism, time and again the historiography has cited the many instances when the Christian Socialists *themselves* highlighted the formative influence

<sup>1</sup> Binyon, *The Christian Socialist Movement in England*; Royle, *Victorian infidels*; Bryant, *Possible Dreams*.

<sup>2</sup> Norman, *Victorian Christian Socialists*, 9.

of Maurice on their doctrines. While it is true that they did so, critical examination reveals that their political and social thought was almost entirely disconnected from that espoused by Maurice. While it is possible to discern similarities between the social doctrines of some 'revival' Christian Socialists and those of Maurice's contemporary, J. M. Ludlow, who advocated mutual co-operatives, the revival Christian Socialists had their own contemporary inspirations for such ideas. Jones's work, despite introducing the notion of a 'Christian Socialist revival', affirmed that the Christian Socialists of the late nineteenth century espoused a social creed which was fundamentally different from that proffered by Maurice and his contemporaries. In terms of social, economic, and political ideas, it can be argued that rather than a 'revival', the late nineteenth century witnessed an evolution, a mutation, and a proliferation of Christian Socialism. 'Revival' remains a convenient chronological indicator, but when used in this thesis as such it aims to encompass the wider definition suggested above.

Rather than claiming the 'revival' Christian Socialists espoused Mauricean social doctrine, in fact, the extant historiography has identified a wide range of social thinkers who influenced the Christian Socialists. However, it has argued that the non-theological doctrines of Christian Socialism were of little historical value. Binyon wrote that many Christian Socialists believed that they could count on experience and the 'teaching of the spirit' to find solutions to the social problem.<sup>1</sup> Peter d'A. Jones noted that many Christian Socialists were 'curiously naïve in matters of theory', and that they did not provide a 'startling advance or breakthrough in the evolution of socialist thought'.<sup>2</sup> Finally, Edward Norman has remarked that most Christian Socialists were 'wary' of ideology, and 'reticent about ideological expression' in their social beliefs, though his account was heavily weighted towards the mid-century Christian Socialists, some of whom rejected ideology altogether.<sup>3</sup> In short, such authors contend that the Christian Socialists' made few, if any, original contributions to economic and socialist theory. For these authors, Christian Socialism's main achievements included its amelioration of the misery of the working classes, its theological developments and output, and its role in mollifying other Christians' contempt for the poor, for socialism, and for social reform.

The scholarly conclusions above are not incongruous with the history of a significant part of the Christian Socialist movement. However, new developments in historical theory and practice mean it is now possible and, it is argued, desirable, to approach the study of Christian Socialist history in different ways. We need not search for 'startling advances or breakthroughs' in economic theory if our interest lies in the Christian Socialist contribution to the sociology of economics or to the historical experience of socialist activity. The former

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<sup>1</sup> Binyon in John Lewis, Donald Kingsley Kitchin, and Károly Polanyi, eds., *Christianity and the Social Revolution* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1935).

<sup>2</sup> Jones, *Christian Socialist Revival*, 6.

<sup>3</sup> Norman, *Victorian Christian Socialists*, 142.

was a nascent field of enquiry when Jones was producing his work, while the latter field has only recently emerged as the poststructuralist approaches of Stedman Jones, Joyce, and Biagini and Reid, have sought to investigate working-class experience of socialism as well as socialism's intellectual continuities with so-called 'plebeian liberalism'.<sup>1</sup> Other scholars' studies of the religiousness of labour and socialist activity have aimed to, in the words of one writer, 'deconstruct the dominant historical narrative' of labour and socialist histories, which are built around themes such as 'growing class conflict, modernisation and secularisation'.<sup>2</sup>

Whilst no historiography can future-proof itself against such academic developments, it is nonetheless the case that certain characteristics of the histories of Christian Socialism have prevented them from contributing significantly to these new fields of enquiry. That some of the authors of these histories were part of the modern-day Christian Socialist Movement (CSM) does not detract from the academic worth or rigour of these works, but it does suggest that the scope of these authors' work, and thus the boundaries of its research, were preconceived.<sup>3</sup> There has been a tendency to overlook the movement's social thought amongst Christian Socialist scholars, perhaps because these authors were more interested in unearthing the movement's enunciation of the essence of Christian Socialism rather than fleshing out its temporal ideas. While they were not quite examples of Whig history, the narrative of certain volumes nonetheless had a prefigured destination in mind – the CSM – and aspects of the movement's social and political ideas that were superfluous to this narrative were often overlooked.

Similarly, in some more recent examinations of the intellectual heritage of the Labour Party, their evaluation of Christian Socialist thought was circumscribed by the aim of the texts. The history of Christian Socialist thought was used, in effect, to support the notion that the absence of a meaningful and intellectually coherent socialist political economy in the post 'Clause IV' Labour Party was largely congruous with the 'roots' of the British Labour movement.<sup>4</sup> This notion tends to resurface during times when the Party's ideological trajectory, and thus its intellectual heritage, is being debated. While it is not argued here that historiographical re-interpretations of socialism's intellectual heritage are unnecessary, the teleological approach taken by *some* of these texts reinforces the notion that Christian Socialism lacked a coherent socialist political economy, because 'Christian Socialism' tends to be used as a key example of an ethical, non-state, and non-collectivist socialist vision.

Nevertheless, research has revealed that for many years Christian Socialists did espouse an economic vision of socialism that, though it was inspired by religious principles,

<sup>1</sup> For an account of these historiographical developments, see Keith Laybourn, *The Rise of Socialism in Britain*, xi.

<sup>2</sup> Worley ed., *The Foundations of the British Labour Party*; Bevir, 'The Labour Church Movement, 1891-1902'; Yeo, 'A New Life'.

<sup>3</sup> Chris Bryant was a Chairman of the Christian Socialist Movement (CSM), and Graham Dale was Director of the CSM. In addition, Canon Alan Wilkinson was Diocesan Theologian at Portsmouth Cathedral.

<sup>4</sup> See, for instance, Richard Woolly, *The Ethical Foundations of Socialism: The influence of William Temple and R. H. Tawney on New Labour* (Lampeter: The Edwin Millen Press, 2007); Matt Beech and Kevin Hickson, *Labour's Thinkers, The intellectual roots of Labour from Tawney to Gordon Brown* (London: Tauris Academic Studies, 2007).

was more or less secular in its content and outlook. Moreover, it is argued that a fundamental issue for the *fin-de-siècle* Christian Socialists was the establishment of a 'true' meaning of economic socialism, a pursuit that impelled them to produce a wealth of literature and engage with contemporary socialist and economic discourse. They were not the only groups engaged in this pursuit, as 'Socialism' was a highly provocative and contested term throughout the Victorian and Edwardian periods. In fact, one protagonist, borrowing a phrase from Humpty-Dumpty in Lewis Carroll's *Through the Looking-Glass*, argued that when nineteenth-century social reformers used the word socialism, they used it to mean whatever they chose it to mean.<sup>1</sup> While socialism's various strands are now better understood, the idea of socialism remains a contested construct, and historical enquiry should not be engaged in the task of unearthing which particular meaning of contested ideas 'is to be master'. Instead, it should attempt to illustrate historical ideas, situate these ideas in the contemporary discourse, and, as much as possible, analyse them in terms of that discourse. Examining the past according to preconceived notions of what is being sought, the historical gaze will only peer through history's looking glass darkly.

The existing Christian Socialist historiography has also been subject to inevitable limitations of scope that prevented sustained examination of the rich history of Christian Socialist thought. Edward Norman's account of Victorian Christian Socialism is limited to nine protagonists, an approach he justified on the grounds that there was nothing as 'coherent or durable' as a Christian Socialist movement or tradition, as its only common feature was a rejection of the existing social evils. However, Norman also argued that his chosen characters were deemed worthy to represent the development of Victorian Christian Socialists' ideas.<sup>2</sup> The two approaches are incongruous: Christian Socialism cannot be too diverse to be a coherent movement and yet be sufficiently homogenous that its story can be limited to a few protagonists. Like several other accounts of Christian Socialism, Norman's account was firmly in the 'great men history' tradition of Thomas Carlyle (who, fittingly, featured heavily in Norman's account). It takes only a cursory perusal of the richness of thought included in Bryant's and Jones's work to see the flaws of this approach. However, although Bryant's account of the movement was more comprehensive, his work spanned such a long chronological period that inevitably there was insufficient space to explore the richness of Christian Socialist published material. The narrower scope of Jones's work did enable him to discuss Christian Socialist economic thought, but the volume had so much new historical ground to cover, most notably the story of non-conformist Christian Socialism, that to this day there remains scope to conduct a deeper investigation into the movement's political economy in the *fin-de-siècle* period.

<sup>1</sup> Reckitt, *For Christ and the People*, 116; Lewis Carroll, *Through the Looking-Glass, and What Alice Found There ... With Fifty Illustrations by John Tenniel* (London: Macmillan & Co., 1871).

<sup>2</sup> To justify leaving out important figures such as Charles Gore and Henry Scott Holland, Norman argued that although such figures were 'arguably better social analysts than [Brooke Foss] Westcott...their coincidence of views... was sufficiently close [to Westcott's] to enable the least accomplished of them... to speak for their particular contribution'. *Victorian Christian Socialists*, 4.

The aims of these works shaped the kind of source material used in their research. The examination of Christian Socialist thought tended to focus on theology, the forte of the movement's leading figures, as recorded in works such as *Lux Mundi* (1889), a collection of essays by the leading figures in the Christian Social Union which sent shockwaves through the Anglican Church, and which was republished fifteen times in a year.<sup>1</sup> When the movement's political economy was considered, insight was often gained from a few key texts or the official platforms of Christian Socialist organizations.<sup>2</sup> However, these platforms misrepresent the richness, variety, and radical nature of these organization's executive committees, let alone their wider membership. Moreover, there is a sense that the corpus of Christian Socialist historiography has become too reliant on Jones's research, some of which is based on outdated secondary literature. In any case, the new sources that have emerged in the last fifty or so years, many of which have been digitised, means there is scope to refresh the data upon which Christian Socialist historiography is based. With this in mind, it is interesting to note Norman's approach to his sources. Having argued that previous works have 'tended to depend upon the interpretation of one or two important texts in relation to the (better known) theological writings of particular men', Norman aimed to use 'lesser-known and occasional writings' in order to show that the Christian Socialists' 'political and social ideas have a greater clarity than has sometimes been assumed'.<sup>3</sup> Clearly, Norman was a 'great men' but not a 'great text' historian. His use of a wider range of sources is to be applauded; however, as his study considered only Stewart Headlam and Brooke Foss Westcott from the 'revival' Christian Socialists, much work remains to be done.

To sum, the extant historiography has lucidly recounted the historical narrative and the theological ideas of the leading figures of Christian Socialism in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. However, less attention has been paid to the movement's political, economic, and socialist doctrines. This is partly because these doctrines lay outside the narrative scope of these histories, and partly because they were considered to be too vague, contradictory, and intellectually unsophisticated to merit sustained scholarly attention. The richness and variety of the movement's ideas has been neglected also because much existing history has focused on its official platforms and its leading figures. However, while the latter made attractive leaders, partly because they were well respected outside the movement, and while they were competent theologians, their interest in socialism and economics was often minimal.

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<sup>1</sup> Charles Gore and Robert Campbell Moberly, *Lux mundi: A series of studies in the religion of the incarnation* (London: John Murray, 1889).

<sup>2</sup> For example, Bryant summed up the Christian Socialist Society using its call for 'a system of production for us, not profit... [and] public control of the land'. *Possible Dreams*, 86.

<sup>3</sup> Norman, *Victorian Christian Socialists*, 4.



## Aims and approaches

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The term 'Christian Socialism' carries two meanings: the first, to denote a theoretical political and theological idea; the second, to refer to the various figures and organizations who laid claim to the term, and who fought for social justice under its banner. Accounts of the latter, the historical movement, are inevitably framed by writers' preconceptions of the 'correct' meaning of the former, the idea itself. Very few works of scholarly literature have sought to critically analyse the history of the Christian Socialist movement without also advancing, explicitly or implicitly, a particular interpretation of the essence of Christian Socialism. This thesis aims to address the balance by investigating the social, political, and economic ideas of the *fin-de-siècle* Christian Socialists in their historical context. That is to say, they are examined in terms of the religious and secular thinkers that influenced them, as well as their contribution to social and economic discourse of the period.

The thesis identifies the formative influences of Christian Socialist political economy, and examines its ideas, critiques, and prescriptive doctrines. It conceives of Christian Socialist political economy not in terms of its leaders' theories, but as it was expounded by the movement's leading theorists as they engaged with contemporary ideas. These theorists were the editors and authors of the movement's social literature, which comprised numerous sermons, pamphlets, novels, books, magazines, and journals. That the Christian Social Union's *Economic Review* was the first specialist economic periodical published in Britain evinces the historical significance of these sources.<sup>1</sup>

Although it is not the principal aim of this thesis, a critical analysis of the ideas propounded by these Christian Socialists can incidentally throw light on the debate about the congruity and coherence of the *idea* of Christian Socialism itself. It is argued that without a clear expression of socialist principles, Christian Socialism offers little more than a restatement of Christianity's social doctrine and a theological rationale for a Morristan critique of capitalism. In fact, research has revealed that the *fin-de-siècle* Christian Socialist theorists attempted to forge a Christian political economy that could underpin the various socialist schemes to which they subscribed. Those who espoused the moralisation of the market and the Christianisation of commercial relations, or who proposed the taxation or appropriation of unearned income, or who advocated state nationalization of land and capital resources, or who produced anarcho-socialist blueprints bearing the imprint of Morris, could all reasonably point to a theological justification for these ideas, even if such ideas were largely informed by secular political economy. That such ideas are all valid, if perhaps more tenuous, avenues for Christian Socialist constructive policy is too often forgotten by those

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<sup>1</sup> *The Economic Review* was first published in January 1891, with the better-remembered *Economic Journal* following in March of the same year.

who currently define Christian Socialism only in terms of its critique of capitalist principles and its espousal of Christian social virtues.

The thesis is shaped by four principal goals:

Firstly, to add more depth to the historiography of the movement between 1884 and 1914, by outlining the political and economic ideas of various Christian Socialists in greater detail. The defining aim here is to draw together extensive primary research with recent developments in the historiographical field, and to make a noteworthy and original contribution to the latter body of literature. In short, this thesis aims to supplement and challenge the historiography of Christian Socialism, of which *The Christian Socialist Revival 1877-1914* by Peter d'A. Jones is taken to be the principal work.

Secondly, to highlight the richness and intellectual sophistication of Christian Socialist political literature, and to situate this literature within contemporary socialist and economic discourse. The historiography has either undervalued these sources, or has not effectively located them with respect to historical economic discourse, and yet a recent JISC project has highlighted the importance of nineteenth-century pamphlets to historical enquiry.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, this literature played an important historical role in the dissemination of radical ideas; the movement's periodicals are participants in the historical narrative of Christian Socialist political economy, rather than convenient repositories from which to extract discrete nuggets of insight. The essays that make up Appendix Three give a detailed account of the periodicals and magazines published by the Christian Socialist movement, but these and similar sources are used here to drive, rather than supplement, the narrative.

Thirdly, to offer some insight into the dissemination of Christian socialist economic theory in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and to offer tentative suggestions as regards its reception. As one recent scholar has argued, 'issues having to do with the dissemination and reception of knowledge should be central to intellectual and cultural historians'; while there are useful works on the thought of the academic elites, 'it is time to go to the next step and try to connect that work to Victorian society in general'.<sup>2</sup> While some Christian Socialists were amongst the 'cranks, quacks, outsiders, and marginal men' of economic debate, it was such characters whom A. W. Coats argued 'sometimes exert[ed] an important influence on the development of economic theory, and who, like the journalists and popularizers, play[ed] a vital role in the propagation of economic ideas'.<sup>3</sup> To help address this historiographical need, Chapters Three and Four examine the scope, methods, and general theories of Christian Socialist political economy.

Finally, the thesis aims to contribute to the new avenues in the historiography of

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<sup>1</sup> 'Pamphlets played an important role within the great debates of the 19th century... as a medium for academic or other discourse, expressing personal beliefs, or responding to major societal issues... and are a valuable but underused primary resource'. Alastair Dunning, <http://www.jisc.ac.uk/whatwedo/programmes/digitisation/pamphlets.aspx>

<sup>2</sup> Thomas William Heyck, 'Review', *Victorian Studies* Vol. 49, No. 1 (October 1, 2006), pp165-167.

<sup>3</sup> Coats, 'Sociological Aspects of British Economic Thought', 726.

British socialism, which concern the nature of the rise of socialism in Britain in terms of the actual experience of the movement's diverse protagonists and organizations.<sup>1</sup> Scholarly study of the working classes has departed from its prior preoccupation with labour activism, and its notion that working-class history can be traced through the labour movement alone.<sup>2</sup> While no sustained attempt has been made here to analyse whether or not the Christian Socialists' ideas were received and understood by the *working* classes in particular, this work does offer tentative suggestions as regards the dissemination of these ideas, and it may throw light on this field of study by identifying a fresh historical source for working-class popular knowledge. The thesis may therefore constitute useful reference points and case studies for those interested in redefining the history of 'working-class consciousness'.

The scope of this thesis is limited to the thirty year period between 1884 and 1914, for the following reasons. While 1884 was a significant year in the history of British socialism, which saw the emergence of the Fabian Society and the Social Democratic Federation, it is chosen as the starting point here because Stewart Headlam's 'Priest's Political Programme' tied the Guild of St. Matthew to an explicitly socialist platform for the first time that year. The chronological scope of the thesis ends at 1914 partly because the First World War disrupted the practical activities of the Christian Socialist movement, but more so because the conflict posed significant ideological challenges to Christian Socialist thought in terms of its attitudes towards empire and war, and as the war economy presented the merits, or drawbacks, of an economy planned by the state. To cover the Christian Socialist responses to these challenges in adequate detail would require a much longer thesis, as these issues continued to be discussed throughout the 1920s.

The thesis adopts a different structure to much of the extant literature. Firstly, it focuses less on the Christian Socialists who acted as figureheads, or those who made an impact on ecclesiastical history through their theology. So, many of the more well-known Christian Socialists are largely absent from this thesis. Some Christian Socialist leaders did contribute to the movement's economic thought, and therefore it has been necessary to include figures such as Headlam and Holland in the story, but the account is nonetheless weighted towards those whose lives and work have attracted less historiographical attention. This thesis concentrates on those who made the greatest contribution to the corpus of Christian Socialist political economy, and the research has predominantly focused on these 'Christian Socialist theorists'.<sup>3</sup> These were the editors and authors of the movement's social literature, comprised of numerous pamphlets, novels, books, magazines, and journals, and they were those who propagated economic and socialist theory in their sermons, lectures, and educational workshops. By examining the ideas expounded in this literature, the thesis

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<sup>1</sup> For a summary of these debates, see Keith Laybourn, *The Rise of Socialism in Britain 1881-1951* (Stroud: Sutton, 1997), x-xxv.

<sup>2</sup> John Benson, *The Working Class in Britain, 1850-1939, Themes in British Social History* (London: Longman, 1989), 1.

<sup>3</sup> The term is sometimes used interchangeably with 'Christian Socialists'. This thesis will make it clear when the argument refers instead to 'mainstream', 'moderate', or 'orthodox' Christian Socialists rather than the Christian Socialist theorists.

contributes to a field of inquiry that considers the nature of Victorian printed culture. While much work has been done regarding the dissemination of ideas through books and newspapers, as one contributor to the *Victorian Periodicals Review* recently suggested, the history of nineteenth-century periodicals remains a 'Great Unexplored Continent'.<sup>1</sup>

Secondly, the approach taken by the thesis rejects the compartmentalization of Christian Socialist thought into its constituent organizations. Whilst it is true that each organization espoused distinct variants of socialism and social liberalism, and promoted distinct activities as a result, there are also good reasons for not structuring an account of the movement's political economy around them. As stated above, the platforms of these organizations often fail to represent the richness, complexity, and radicalism of much Christian Socialist political economy. Moreover, it is worth noting that it was not unusual for individuals to have been members of more than one organization, and while the lives of each organization did overlap with each other, most Christian Socialist theorists moved from one to another as their ideas changed. James Adderley, for example, was a member of the Guild of St. Matthew, the Christian Social Union, and the Church Socialist League. Indeed, such organizations were often established in order to formalise the socialist stances of such thinkers. This thesis does not ignore the importance of these organizations, but conceives of them as expressions, rather than progenitors, of Christian Socialist political economy. For similar reasons, this thesis is less concerned with the theological dichotomies of Christian Socialist thought, and how the protagonists' religious outlook steered them down a particular political path, as such questions have been addressed in depth by the extant literature.

The thesis explores two broad, interconnected themes, and therefore it is structured around two parts. Part One examines the Christian Socialists' efforts to promulgate socialist and economic theory in order to challenge and modify widely-held beliefs and perceptions of the poor, political economy, and socialism. It is subdivided into the following thematic chapters:

Chapter One examines the Christian Socialists' attempts to overcome the disdainful popular attitudes towards the poor that they believed acted as a barrier to social reform. It identifies the main aspects of the Christian Socialist portrayals of working-class life and labour, and their responses to the notion that poverty was providential.

Chapter Two considers the attempts by Christian Socialists to deconstruct the overwhelmingly negative meaning of 'socialism' and to challenge middle- and upper-class perceptions of socialists and labour agitators themselves. It traces their account of the history of socialist theory, their arguments that socialism was inherently Christian, and their responses to the opponents of socialism and Christian Socialism.

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<sup>1</sup> Rosemary T. VanArsdel, 'The Great Unexplored Continent of 19th-Century Studies: Victorian Periodicals', *Victorian Periodicals Review* Vol. 41, No. 1 (Spring 2008), 1-5.

Chapter Three traces the Christian Socialist theorists' attempts to change widely-held perceptions of political economy as regards its scope, and method. It considers their justification for attempting to engage with the discipline, before continuing with their critiques of the morality and theoretical assumptions of political economy itself, as well as the version of it that they believed was actually subscribed to by the public. Finally, it considers the Christian Socialist calls for a 'Christian Economics' which would replace political economy in the spheres of theory and practice, and their contention that the 'new' schools of political economy vindicated their Christian Economics doctrine.

Chapter Four delineates the theory of political economy as understood by the Christian Socialists. It evaluates their understanding of theories of value, production, and wages, as well as their interpretations of economic phenomena such as capital, rent, and interest. It outlines their non-moral critique of the mechanism of the market, and its claimed ability to register demand, facilitate exchange, and distribute wealth. Finally, it identifies the formative influences on their thought as well as the degree to which their theories were understood.

Part Two examines the Christian Socialists' prescriptive, socialist schemes for substituting a socialist New Jerusalem for competitive capitalism. Though the following are thematic sub-sections, they are arranged in a loose chronological order.

Chapter Five outlines the Christian Socialists' schemes for changing society that were predicated on the assumption that the individual should be the agent of change. It considers the Christian Socialists conceptions of contested ideas such as charity and duty. The chapter goes on to consider the role of the established and non-conformist churches, as well as their settlements and urban missions, in the formation of working-class Christian character. It concludes with an examination of their arguments for a moral economy, and the way it would be established by endeavours such as 'Commercial Morality'.

Chapter Six examines the efforts of the Christian Socialists to establish a nationwide co-operative commonwealth. These schemes still required the conversion of individuals, but they emphasized the need for voluntary self-organization. Instead of relying upon the aggregate effects of atomised ameliorative action, they relied on the strength of collective Christian conduct in the social and economic arenas. The chapter examines the Christian Socialists' schemes to escape from or outperform the competitive market, as well as the economic thought that underlined them.

Chapter Seven draws together the ideas of Christian Socialists who fundamentally rejected competitive capitalism and who favoured greater state intervention in order to overcome it, rather than to mitigate its worst effects. It highlights the range of political reforms sought by the Christian Socialists, including the Single Tax, before concluding with an examination of Christian Socialist calls to nationalize the means of production, distribution, and exchange. The chapter explains the formative socialist influences on these

ideas and the Christian Socialists' attempts to reconcile their collectivist economic socialism with their Christian principles.

Chapter Eight traces the impact of an important event on Christian Socialist thought: the electoral success in 1906 of a Labour Party that adopted an explicitly socialist platform. The chapter examines the Christian Socialists' re-evaluation of the meaning of socialism and of Christian Socialism in response to this event, and explains why many of them repudiated the term 'Christian Socialism' soon afterwards. The chapter argues despite their repudiation of the term, they nonetheless continued to be Christian Socialists because they attempted to provide a theological rationale for the strands of socialism to which they subscribed. However, it is argued that it was socialist influences that shaped their thought in terms of the methodology for change, the social and economic structure they proposed, and their vision for the future society. The chapter concludes by offering some thoughts on the impact of Guild Socialism on the movement before 1914. It suggests that the Christian Socialists' 'collectivist' models of socialism had encompassed decentralization of power and mixed economies as a result of the challenge of Guild Socialist ideas, and therefore before Guild Socialist ideas had captured the movement's attention.

For reference purposes, the reader may turn to the appendices:

Appendix One gives an overview of the principal Christian Socialist organizations with which the thesis is concerned.

Appendix Two comprises brief biographies of the key Christian Socialist theorists and serves, therefore, as a *dramatis personae*.

Appendix Three attempts to situate the Christian Socialist periodicals within the contemporary social and economic discourse. It illustrates the periodicals' purposes, political platforms, main contributors, and, where evidence was forthcoming, their geographical and sociological dissemination.

Appendix Four traces the imprint of Christian Socialism in the mainstream and the socialist printed press.

## Part One: Challenging Conceptions

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In the early years of the Christian Socialist revival, the movement's protagonists were struck by the depth and pervasiveness of hostile attitudes towards the poor. In their view, the churches, theologians, and middle-class congregations that together made up the Victorian Christian outlook, had overwhelmingly bought into a moral framework that made the poor culpable for their poverty. This moral framework was informed by the self-help doctrines associated with Samuel Smiles and by the prevailing notion that man's social and economic position was, to a greater or lesser extent, determined by his 'character'. In intellectual terms, this moral framework was underpinned by the notion that Christian theology was consistent with the wealth-maximizing principles espoused by classical economic theory.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, this moral framework was circumscribed by the widespread faith in the scientific veracity, and therefore in the Divinity, of the 'iron laws' of political economy. The outcome of this moral framework was an applied Christianity that sanctified the invisible hand of the market whilst proclaiming that 'ye have the poor always with you'.

It was this intellectual and moral framework that the Christian Socialists believed they needed to contend with if they were to have any hope of improving the lives and labours of the lower classes. If the poor were to be saved from poverty, the Christian Socialists thought it necessary to deconstruct the derogatory conceptions of the working classes that they believed had a purchase on the popular imagination. Moreover, the Christian Socialists believed that the classical economic doctrines that contributed to the framing of these conceptions had been popularly misunderstood, and had as such been elevated into moral principles. Therefore, they felt compelled to engage with economic theory in order to distinguish between its descriptive contentions (that which could be accepted or rejected on the grounds of inductive or deductive reasoning) and its prescriptive implications (that which was founded upon the value judgements supposedly borne out of scientific economic enquiry). By doing so, they aimed to forge a 'Christian economics' that combined scientific analysis with a virtuous social doctrine. Moreover, they believed that it was their duty to transmit this economic knowledge to middle-class Christians and to the subjugated working classes.

In challenging popular conceptions of the poor and of economic ideas, the Christian Socialists were inspired and informed by contemporaneous socialist literature. However, when attempting to promulgate the ideas of this literature, the Christian Socialists found that socialism was met with, in one protagonist's words, much 'unreasonable prejudice'. To engage fully with social and political ideas before judging them, several Christian Socialists

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<sup>1</sup> Waterman, *Revolution, Economics and Religion; Political Economy and Christian Theology Since the Enlightenment*; Hilton, *The Age of Atonement*; Rashid, 'Richard Whately and Christian Political Economy at Oxford and Dublin'.

of the early revival period set out to elucidate socialist ideas, in order to give them a fair hearing. As time went on, however, the Christian Socialists grew frustrated by what they perceived to be widespread popular resentment and hostility towards the ideas of socialism and towards socialist and social reformers themselves. Having developed a relationship with many socialist figures as a result of their reform work, the Christian Socialists aimed to overcome the negative portrayals of socialists in the arts and popular press, and to challenge the conception of them that they felt prevailed in upper- and middle-class circles. The Christian Socialists also rejected the antipathy of the popular press towards socialism, and argued that it constituted deliberate propaganda against a perceived threat to the interests of the publications owners and readers. Moreover, given that many of the critical examinations of classical economics that informed Christian Socialist political economy had been written by prominent socialist theorists, if socialist thought and socialist men and women were to assist in the construction of the New Jerusalem, Christian Socialists believed it was necessary to critically engage with the assumptions promulgated in Christian anti-socialist discourse.



# Chapter One: The poor

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The consideration of our diseased social conditions is no fit occupation for sane and wholesome minds, but a hateful task... [that] must be laboured at by those who would be physicians to, healers of, society.<sup>1</sup>

J. C. Kenworthy, 1894

What [the conservative] needs to do is know the lives of the poor, and the views of the poor, and then... they will be openly in favour of the existence, strength, and health of Unions. They will support all laws, imperial or local, which make for the health and are against the helplessness of the governed. They will speak frankly about the sin of low wages, pigsty houses, contentment with bad conditions, careless passing by on the other side, selfish snatching of individual benefits.<sup>2</sup>

Charles L. Marson, 1914

The existing historiography has documented what in its view were the main aims of nineteenth-century Christian Socialism. These comprised promoting Christian values such as brotherhood and co-operation, attracting the working classes back to the Church of England, and improving the lot of the urban and agricultural poor. This final aim, scholars have established, arose for several reasons. Firstly, because they adopted a theology inspired by F. D. Maurice that called for the building of Heaven upon earth; secondly, because their interpretation of scripture promoted a concern for the disadvantaged and finally, because they believed that the eradication of poverty would improve the lives of everyone in society.<sup>3</sup> Many scholars have noted the Christian Socialist desire to counteract the diminution in the proportion of working-class churchgoers which, scholars argued, was a consequence of the dislocation associated with industrial urbanisation.<sup>4</sup> Some Christian Socialists argued that the established Church had, as one protagonist wrote, not made sufficient effort 'to enter into the feelings and understand the wants of the working people'.<sup>5</sup> The historiography has also commented in depth on the resulting Christian Socialist endeavours to improve the material lot of the labouring classes, and therefore little will be said regarding such efforts here. Instead, the aim of this chapter is to draw attention to the reasons why several Christian Socialist writers produced a wealth of literature regarding the condition and position of the poor, and to comment on the themes addressed by these authors, in order to throw light upon how their conception of the poor informed their political and social doctrines.

The initial reason why the Christian Socialists chose to write about the lives of the poor was, simply, in order to document their findings and recommendations. They were inspired to perform this research partly to emulate Charles Booth, Octavia Hill, Benjamin Waugh, Arthur Sherwell, Walter Besant, and the like, and partly to supersede them, because

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<sup>1</sup> Kenworthy, *From Bondage to Brotherhood: A Message to the Workers* (London, 1894), 10.

<sup>2</sup> Charles L. Marson, *God's Co-Operative Society: Suggestions on the Strategy of the Church* (London: Longmans, Green, 1914), 106.

<sup>3</sup> J. C. Kenworthy, *The Anatomy of Misery: Plain Lectures on Economics* (S.l.: J. C. Kenworthy, 1893), 17-20.

<sup>4</sup> Inglis, *Churches and the Working Classes in Victorian England*.

<sup>5</sup> James Granville Adderley, *Christ and Social Reform. An Appeal to Working-Men* (Published under the Direction of the Tract Committee) (London: S. P. C. K., 1893), 15-16; James Granville Adderley, *Looking Upward: Papers Introductory to the Study of Social Questions from a Religious Point of View* (London: Wells Gardner, Darton, 1896), 136-144.

the clergy were, as J. C. Kenworthy noted, the rightful 'healers of society'. However, the Christian Socialists were also able to bear witness to the lives of the working poor via their urban missions, East End settlements, and curacies in working-class districts, so it is likely that publications would have been forthcoming without the inspiration of Booth and the rest. Nonetheless the Christian Socialists tapped into the Victorian reforming *zeitgeist*, and their studies of working-class life included sections in the style of scientific social-study co-opted from their secular counterparts, alongside passionate passages prepared for delivery from the pulpit.<sup>1</sup> A second, more compelling, reason to produce studies of working class life was that if the poor were to be saved from poverty, the Christian Socialists believed that the comfortable classes must be prompted into social action. If only Christians would get to know the lives and views of the poor, the Christian Socialists believed, their social conscience would be awakened. Only then could the influence of those who studied the social problem 'without passion or prejudice' be felt 'in the legislature, the local boards, [and] in society'.<sup>2</sup> And, as will be shown in Part Two, the success of 'Commercial Morality' and similar schemes depended upon well-to-do consumers becoming aware of the consequences of their economic actions in terms of the workers' lives.<sup>3</sup>

Although the literature they produced in order to achieve these goals won many converts to the Christian Socialist cause, its authors were dispirited as regards its lack of wide-ranging impact. In this regard there were, in their view, several obstacles to overcome.

Firstly, it was argued that during times of social discontent, sensible debate became difficult, and ignorant statements tended to carry weight if reiterated by respected persons with enough force. As one protagonist wrote, the noble and conservative Christian was likely, when discussing the social question, to become 'peevisish, to charge blindly at things he knows nothing about, and to furnish cogent arguments for the very flow which he deploures'.<sup>4</sup>

Secondly, it was argued that the wealthy resided in 'selfish indifference' to the poor.<sup>5</sup> Late nineteenth-century industrialization, which moved production processes out of the artisan's workshop and into the sweatshop and factory, had driven the classes apart. As a result, the Christian Socialists argued that there was an absence of direct knowledge of the labouring classes; the poor in popular imagination existed as 'silent masses' or 'human bees' who thronged in the hives of industry.<sup>6</sup> Much Christian Socialist literature regarding the poor

<sup>1</sup> Tuckwell, *Christian Socialism and Other Lectures, Delivered on Sunday Evenings in the Town Hall, Birmingham* (London: Simkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent and Co, 1891), 4.

<sup>2</sup> M. Kaufmann, *The Housing of the Working Classes and of the Poor* (London, 1907), 6-7.

<sup>3</sup> Adderley, *Christ and Social Reform*, 10-13, 29; *Quis Habitabit-Psalm Xv. A Meditation for Christian Socialists. Being the Substance of Three Addresses Delivered to the Christian Social Union ... 1901* (London: S. C. Brown & Co., 1903), 26; *God's Fast. Considerations for the Use of a Serious Christian in View of Social Perplexities, Etc* (London: T. Hibberd, 1896), 13-14, 19-21; *A New Earth. Sermons, Addresses and Lectures*, World's Pulpit Series. (London: S. C. Brown, Langham & Co., 1903); *A Little Primer of Christian Socialism* (London: Mowbray, c1909), 13-15.

<sup>4</sup> Marson, *God's Co-Operative Society*, 106.

<sup>5</sup> Kaufmann, *The Housing of the Working Classes and of the Poor*, *passim*. 'Caste', wrote William Tuckwell, is the 'great social curse of the whole community in England', *Extracts from the Speech of the Rev William Tuckwell Delivered to the Members of the Warwick and Leamington Women's Liberal Association, Women's Gazette Pamphlets and Leaflets No. 1* (London, 1890), 12.

<sup>6</sup> Kaufmann wrote that 'half the world does not know how the other half lives, and in what kind of homes', *The Housing of the*

set out to argue, therefore, simply that sweated trades continued to exist into the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.<sup>1</sup>

Thirdly, the Christian Socialists' studies of the lives of the poor failed to resonate with the wealthy, they believed, because the comfortable classes had bought into a conception of the poor cultivated by various 'interpretative forces', namely the arts, fiction, and the popular press. The lives of the poor were known to the rich only as 'fictions' which, Charles Marson argued, were 'dinned into their ears and eyes from their earliest days... assumed in conversation, mixed with the alphabet and the arithmetic table, kneaded into their bread, sung to them in concerts, and shouted in the press'.<sup>2</sup>

The Christian Socialists therefore turned their attention to challenging the way in which the poor were represented in the arts and media.<sup>3</sup> However, as Mauritz Kaufmann, Marson, and others argued, the poor were often considered by producers of artistic works to be unfit for representation in paintings, novels, music or poetry.<sup>4</sup> Whilst most art and literature reflected the interests of its composers and its audience – no painter, Marson said, would paint the engine-driver when the director of the railway was his patron; such works served to defend traditional notions of beauty in the face of the Pre-Raphaelite challenge.<sup>5</sup> While the working classes were ignored by art and literature, they appeared frequently in the printed press. However, the Christian Socialists believed that the reliance placed on stereotypes by the press meant that the 'fine Christian character' of much of the working classes was overlooked. At times the Christian Socialists condemned the publications themselves for indulging in lazy portrayals of the poor; more often they reserved their criticism for those who bought into such representations. The images commissioned by *Punch* magazine were a case in point: Marson enquired whether *Punch* ever portrayed the poor as 'otherwise than contemptible, half cretinous, and wholly ridiculous'.<sup>6</sup> Similarly, Charles William Stubbs was concerned that the 'Land Reformers of our city debating clubs' forgot that the 'efficient agricultural labourer [wa]s not in reality the dull chaw-bacon sort of

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*Working Classes and of the Poor*. See also: M. Kaufmann, *Socialism: Its Nature, Its Dangers, and Its Remedies Considered* (London: H.S. King & Co., 1874); Kenworthy, *From Bondage to Brotherhood*, 1-3; Marson, *God's Co-Operative Society*, 109.

<sup>1</sup> Gertrude Tuckwell argued that sweating continued as the sweated workers of the late-nineteenth century had 'returned to dismal tenement and mean street, or have passed away to give place to fresh hordes of sweated workers'. Gertrude Tuckwell, 'Sweating' in Pan-Anglican Congress, *Morality in Commercial and Social Life Pan-Anglican Papers S. A. 3* (Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1908), 1; A. J. Carlyle, *Religion and Wages, Pan-Anglican Papers, Christian Social Union Leaflets No. 11* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1908), 2.

<sup>2</sup> Marson argued that the clergy 'ought to be correcting the unworthy caricatures of the poor which fill the press, the table-talk of diners out, the art galleries, the bookshops, and... ignorant minds' *God's Co-Operative Society*, 106-8.

<sup>3</sup> Research into this complicated and nuanced topic has recently been undertaken by Carol J. Erwin at Texas Tech University in pursuit of a PhD thesis entitled *In search of the labouring body: Victorian representations of working-class men* (Texas Tech University: Unpublished PhD thesis, August 2010).

<sup>4</sup> While the 'great nation' was left untouched by art, Marson wrote, the rich had a 'hundred prophets, the Court Chaplains of King Mammon, who are ceaselessly speaking in every corner of the City, with all the persuasiveness of all the Arts, and the monopoly of the Press'. Musical works, Marson went on, were 'meant for the non-productive nut and the non-producing women of society, for after-dinner relishes, to be the spiritual liqueurs of jaded folk with much to eat and nothing to do'. Moreover, novels concerned themselves only with 'a thousand romances of the well-groomed exquisite, who has cash in plenty and marries the fair loafer', while the 'exaltations, agonies, colour passages, and oglings' of the poets were 'never concerned with men in the wet, the oil, the dust, and the smut'. *God's Co-Operative Society*, 103-8.

<sup>5</sup> See Susan P. Casteras, 'Pre-Raphaelite Challenges to Victorian Canons of Beauty', *Huntington Library Quarterly* Vol. 55, No. 1 (January 1, 1992), 13-35.

<sup>6</sup> 'Is there one picture', Marson went on, 'in any of the exhibitions which shows manual work correctly, or the manual worker as the strong, athletic, and graceful person he so often is? Even to notice the correct use of tools is a task too hard for the draughtsman's eye'. *God's Co-Operative Society*, 103.

person of a *Punch* cartoon, but [was] one of the most highly skilled of English workmen'.<sup>1</sup> That said, at least one Christian Socialist praised how 'the King of all the comic papers in London' portrayed the working classes, claiming that its 'blows... struck at the middlemen' proved decisive to the victorious Dockers' Strike.<sup>2</sup>

Their varying reception of satire aside, the Christian Socialists universally believed that before any scheme of social action could be proposed, it was necessary to overcome the negative perceptions of the working classes that prevailed in the popular imagination. This was the clergy's 'new and interpretative duty... [though one] seldom admitted, and still more rarely undertaken'.<sup>3</sup> That many within the Christian Socialist movement, and not just its prolific authors, undertook this duty is evidenced by the breadth of art, poetry, music and literature published in its periodicals.<sup>4</sup> Furthermore, the Christian Socialists continued a trend begun by Charles Kingsley by publishing a number of notable semi-fictional works of social commentary.<sup>5</sup> These included: *Tom Brown's Schooldays* (1857), by the Liberal MP and Christian Socialist Thomas Hughes;<sup>6</sup> *Stephen Remarx* (1893), in which James Adderley told the similar story of an Eton- and Oxford-educated clergyman struggling to challenge the moral assumptions of his class;<sup>7</sup> and *Turnpike Tales* (1897), and *Village Silhouettes* (1914), both collections of short stories, by Charles L. Marson, which focused on the lives of working people.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Charles William Stubbs, *The Land and the Labourers: Facts and Experiments in Cottage Farming and Co-Operative Agriculture* (London: S. Sonnenschein, 1893), ix-x.

<sup>2</sup> 'Of all the London weeklies or dailies', wrote J. Bruce Wallace in *Brotherhood*, 'none have, in recent times, done more signal service to the poor, the suffering, and the oppressed than funny, jeering, good-natured *Punch*'. *Brotherhood: A Magazine of Faith, Optimism, and Forward Thinking* (Limavady) Vol. 4, No. 5, 151.

<sup>3</sup> Marson, *God's Co-Operative Society*, 109.

<sup>4</sup> For examples, turn to almost any volume of *The Christian Socialist*, *Church Reformer*, *Brotherhood*, *Goodwill*, *The Commonwealth*, or *The Optimist*. James Granville Adderley's *Goodwill Stories* were sometimes printed as stand-alone publications.

<sup>5</sup> Though his work falls outside the chronological scope of this thesis, it is interesting to note that Charles Kingsley's novels denounced Malthusian population theory and criticised charity for doing nothing about 'the oppression that goes on all the year round'. Charles Kingsley, *Yeast: A Problem* (London, 1888) qu. Norman, *Victorian Christian Socialists*, 41. See also *Alton Locke, tailor and poet* (Cambridge, 1850).

<sup>6</sup> *Tom Brown's School Days* had seen fifty-three editions by 1892, and has since been adapted numerous times for cinema and television. The main protagonist in the novel was based on Hughes's brother George, but the awakening of his social conscience throughout the *Tom Brown* novels reflects the author's personal experience of the snobbery and cruelties of Victorian public schooling. The novels were, as one scholar has noted, 'moral tracts', which praised the virtues of 'social harmony... and, above all, in helping the less fortunate to achieve dignity and independence'. Charlotte Mitchell, 'Hughes, Thomas (1822-1896)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, Sept 2004; online edn, May 2006 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/14091>, accessed 29 Aug 2008]; Adaptations were made in 1916, 1940, 1951, 1971, and 2005; *Ibid.*, 82.

<sup>7</sup> James Granville Adderley, *Stephen Remarx. The Story of a Venture in Ethics* (London: E. Arnold, 1893). One extract reads: Stephen would love to sit in the garden with his mother, and listen to her as she taught him the Catechism in her old-fashioned way. 'Who are my betters?' the boy would ask. 'Well, my dear,' the Countess would reply, 'you have not many of them, that part of the Catechism is written for the lower orders: in fact, you are yourself a 'better' and they must order themselves lowly and reverently to you.' 'I see,' said Stephen, though he felt somehow his mother was wrong. Adderley followed this work with *The New Floreat, A Letter to an Eton Boy on the Social Question* (London: Wells Gardner & Co., 1896), a record of his correspondence with an upper-class acquaintance in which the latter's conceptions of the poor were brought under scrutiny.

<sup>8</sup> Each story in *Turnpike Tales* had a moral message. Themes such as illness and the struggle for acceptance in a new society reflected Marson's own life. Most notable is the fourth tale, 'The Bishop' where the protagonist goes on a trip around in the parish in cognito in plain clothing, getting to know the poorer people of the country villages, which ends with the Bishop employing 'Sandy' the cobbler as a chaplain upon his return. *Village Silhouettes* was first published in 1914, with a second edition in 1916. Like *Turnpike Tales*, it was based around semi-fictional characters. Examples of its chapters included 'John Moore: The Village Musician' and 'Ann Wainford and Deborah Pollard: The Village Spinners'. Marson wrote in this book that differences in appearances between two different people should not cause disdain. The townspeople, he said, think the countryfolk are dim but it their 'dim-wittedness' was explained by the fact that, essentially, they spoke two different languages. Moreover, middle-class, metropolitan manners were 'an acquired habit' resulting from 'a false scramble after wealth and importance'. Charles L. Marson, *Turnpike Tales*. (London: E. Mathews, 1897); *Village silhouettes* (London: Society of Ss. Peter & Paul, 1914).

## Working-class life

The Christian Socialists produced such idealised portrayals in order to challenge the contemporary conception of working-class life in the construct of the popular imagination. However, if the comfortable classes were to support social change the Christian Socialists needed to help them, as Marson wrote, to get to know the lives of the poor. With such an audience in mind, time and again the Christian Socialists denounced the close proximity in which abject poverty and conspicuous wealth were located whether in the parishes, towns, or the great cities.<sup>1</sup> Although public consciousness was occasionally aroused to this inequality by events such as the publication of the Congregational pamphlet *The Bitter Cry of Outcast London* (1883), the Christian Socialists frequently bemoaned the cyclical nature of public sympathy.<sup>2</sup> The Christian Socialists also refuted the notion that the social problem had been addressed; Adderley, for example, cited J. A. Hobson to argue that 'poverty is not gradually disappearing'.<sup>3</sup>

The Christian Socialists were keen, therefore, to make raising awareness of such inequality part of the established Church's official work. With this aim in mind, a resolution, raised in the Third Lambeth Conference (1888) by the Christian Socialists, announced a 'solemn affirmation' denouncing the 'excessive inequality in the distribution of this world's goods: vast accumulation and desperate poverty side by side'.<sup>4</sup> Moreover, the Christian Socialists continued to publish accounts of working-class life which blended their first-hand experience of the slums with statistical information provided by respected authorities. In addition, there was also a Christian Social Union Library, which held in its collection many books 'giving the results of careful investigations of the conditions of life in great cities'. These books were, according to the CSU's own records, 'frequently borrowed'.<sup>5</sup> That the Christian Socialists often highlighted the credibility of the research upon which their studies were based might suggest that their more emotive, semi-fictional accounts had been met with suspicion. In fact, there was no need for, as Kaufmann wrote, 'over-statement, the addition of realistic colouring, nor for special pleading in the monitory style' when the facts could speak for themselves. And there were myriad spokespersons from whom facts could be gained: Royal Commission reports, government Blue Books, Fabian pamphlets, articles by Political Economists and reform associations, and the social studies of Booth, Chiozza, and others

<sup>1</sup> 'The squalid mews', Kaufmann wrote, 'in close proximity of Belgravian residences remain unobserved, the tumble-down tenements fit for the inhabitation of bats in the respectable environs of Regent's Park, or the sickening sights of dwellings 'cribbed, cabined, and confined' near the Green Lanes of Stoke Newington, with their 'low-roofed' life within, fail to attract the notice of their rich neighbours'. Kaufmann, *The Housing of the Working Classes and of the Poor*, 7. See also: J. C. Kenworthy, *The Christian Revolt: Essays and Addresses* (London, 1893), 12, 32; *From Bondage to Brotherhood*, 12-14; Charles William Stubbs, 'For Christ and City!' *Liverpool Sermons and Addresses* (London: Macmillan, 1890), 7; Adderley in Arthur St. John Adcock, *East End Idylls ... With an Introduction by the Hon. and Rev. J. G. Adderley* (London: J. Bowden, 1897).

<sup>2</sup> Throughout the period covered by the thesis there were numerous attempts to amplify the findings of the *Bitter Cry*. The pamphlet was quoted at length in the first Christian Socialist Society tract *Social Reformation on Christian Principles*; Kaufmann waxed lyrical on the 'periodical fits of social morality' point in 1907, and called for the 'Bitter Cry' to sound once again. *The Housing of the Working Classes and of the Poor*, 7.

<sup>3</sup> Adderley, *A New Earth*, 34.

<sup>4</sup> John Carter, *Christian Socialism* (Oxford: Horace Hart, 1905), 7.

<sup>5</sup> *Christian Social Union Annual Report and List of Members* (London: Christian Social Union Depot, 1905), 17.

were all consulted by the Christian Socialists.<sup>1</sup> The Christian Socialists were not just consumers of this literature; they also helped to create it. For instance, J. A. Hobson's 'ground-breaking' *The Social Problem* (1901) was, in fact, originally a series of lectures presented to the London branch of the Christian Social Union.<sup>2</sup> The Christian Socialists' studies of working-class life shifted their focus following their use of this material; moving from impassioned accounts of the hardship endured by the idealised individual worker towards the dissection of society's ills. Typical passages claimed that one person in twenty was a 'pauper', or that thirty percent of people lived 'in the grip of perpetual poverty', or that there were thirty-thousand prostitutes in London.<sup>3</sup> As is shown in Part Two, this shift in focus encouraged the Christian Socialists to adopt more systemic measures to deal with the social question.

Engaging with societal concerns both reflected and stimulated the Christian Socialists' interest in addressing theories of society. Scholars have commented upon the influence of T. H. Green on the Christian Social Union, and research suggests that many Christian Socialists conceived of an 'organic society' following the popularization of these ideas by Wilfrid Richmond.<sup>4</sup> Labour was a core component in the Christians Socialists' conception of society; 'the root of society', J. C. Kenworthy wrote, 'is labour, and when the root is stricken, the tree is hurt throughout'.<sup>5</sup> Moreover, like John Ruskin, Kenworthy argued that because the act of labour itself was such 'a powerful agent in human progress and development', it was crucial that working conditions promoted the labourers' well-being.<sup>6</sup> 'Labour is not', said Mauritz Kaufmann, citing Ruskin, 'like every other economic commodity, to be appraised by the quotations of the market, or what is worse, sacrificed at the altar of... the Goddess of Get-on'.<sup>7</sup> The influence of Ruskin and Morris was clearly discernible when the Christian

<sup>1</sup> The Christian Socialist Society tract entitled *The Present State of Society*, for example, quoted statistical figures from J. S. Mill, Mazzini, Herbert Spencer, and Cairnes regarding the unequal distribution of wealth. *Brotherhood* Vol. VI (1892), No. 5, p55; Kaufmann drew upon 'Blue Books, George Haw, Dr E. Bowmaker, T. Lock Worthington, Henry R. Aldridge, Secretary of the National Housing Reform Council, Mr Hecht, the Secretary of the Land Reform Association, Secretaries of the National Union of Women Workers of Great Britain and Ireland, and Miss Eharton of the Rural Housing and Sanitation Association, the Fabian Society, and the most valuable repertoire of reliable information, W. Thompson's *Housing Handbook*'. Kaufmann, *The Housing of the Working Classes and of the Poor*, v. See also: Stubbs, *Village Politics*, 95-100; *Christ and Economics*, 89; John Clifford, 'How to Deal With Poverty' speech at the CSU Conference, in Alfred Griffiths, ed., *The Westbourne Park Record* (London: Kingsgate Press & Burt & Sons) Vol. IX, No. 1, p9; Henry Lees, *A Christian's Duty Towards Socialism* (Manchester: Labour Press Society, 1895), 7; Adderley, *Parson in Socialism*, 91; John Clifford, *The Housing of the Poor*. (London: National Council of the Evangelical Free Churches, 1902), 2-6.

<sup>2</sup> J. A. Hobson, *The Social Problem: life and work* (London: J. Nisbet & Co., 1901); Michael Freeden, 'Hobson, John Atkinson (1858-1940)', Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2009 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/33909>, accessed 14 March 2011].

<sup>3</sup> According to Kenworthy, land ownership was concentrated in the top 1/300<sup>th</sup> of society, yet rents equalled 1/6<sup>th</sup> of national income, and the share to capitalists equalled 1/5<sup>th</sup> of national income. As regards income itself, for every £100 earned, £64 went to one rich man with the rest shared unequally between the comfortable and the poor. *The Anatomy of Misery*, 61-5. Tuckwell argued that society was divided thus: 10% paupers, 10% 'rich beyond all precedent and all reason,' 20% prosperous, and finally 60% 'whose toil supports all the rest'. Only 25% of the wealth from agricultural land went to 'the half-fed workers who create it' with the remaining 75% going to the 'idle peer'. *Christian Socialism and Other Lectures*, 10.

<sup>4</sup> Richmond, *Christian Economics*, 51. Others, in particular E. D. Girdlestone, likened the body politic to a physical body; both suffered, and must therefore be tended to, in a holistic fashion.

<sup>5</sup> Kenworthy, *From Bondage to Brotherhood*, 18. Richmond argued that the combination of labour was vital to the health of society because as no individual could support themselves by working alone. *Christian Economics*, *passim*.

<sup>6</sup> The means of production, namely the 'methods, tools, and machinery', Kenworthy wrote, should not only produce 'the greatest Wealth with the greatest ease' but should be 'at the same time the most beneficial to the Labourer, developing his body and mind, and not conflicting with beauty and the fullness of life'. *The Anatomy of Misery*, 28.

<sup>7</sup> M. Kaufmann, *Socialism and Modern Thought, Social Questions of To-day No. 16* (London: Methuen & Co., 1895), 56. Moritz Kaufmann was a German clergyman and academic who lived in England and who published widely on Socialism, political economy, and Christianity. He was an affiliate member of the Christian Social Union, and he lived in Norfolk and

Socialists argued that industrial mechanization did not ease the burden of the worker but simply allowed employers to extract more of his labour in a shorter time.<sup>1</sup>

However, some argued that while mechanised production de-humanised the worker, diminished the artisanal skill, deadened his mind, and prevented his intellectual expansion, mechanization in general had made it cheaper to produce essential material goods and therefore made them more affordable for the poor.<sup>2</sup> This latter point, that mechanization had benefited the consuming poor, while causing harm to the poor as producers, had parallels with J. A. Hobson's argument that machinery had to some extent alleviated the worker from hardships associated with material scarcity. It echoed also the 'irreconcilable conflict' of Ruskin's thought, according to one scholar, epitomised by his disdain for 'machinery and its smoothly finished products that had raised the hope of deprived millions'.<sup>3</sup> However, the Christian Socialists argued that any benefit from cheaply-made food, clothing, or furniture was outweighed by the physical harm caused by adulterated or shoddy wares, and the spiritual depravation associated with living amongst mass-produced, inelegant articles. As a result of the 'corrupted nature of labouring and living under capitalism', working-class consumption had become characterised by degenerate tastes and impoverished desires. On this point the Christian Socialists reflected the socialist discussion of how consumption reflected the depravation of working-class identities, sensibilities, and ambitions.<sup>4</sup> This discussion was advanced by socialist thinkers such as Morris, William Clarke, and Robert Blatchford – all of whom were connected to the Christian Socialists through their correspondence or by organizations such as the Fabian Society.<sup>5</sup>

Like the members of the arts and crafts movements, the Christian Socialists believed that labour was in itself virtuous, a notion that had roots in the Christian work-ethic.<sup>6</sup> However, just as the lives of the wealthy were juxtaposed with the suffering of the poor by the Christian Socialists, their studies of working conditions highlighted the schism between the ideals and the reality of labour. Once more the Christian Socialists were informed by

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Devon. He is sometimes mentioned in socialist histories as an early popularizer of Marx in England, but research has revealed that while he admired Marx's intellectual vigour, Kaufmann was no Marxist. He was widely-read amongst Christian Socialists, and was well enough known to be asked to contribute a piece to Palgrave's *Dictionary of Political Economy*. Some of this information is derived from literature concerning the 'Friend and Foe: Anglo-German Affinities and Antipathies in the Long Nineteenth Century' exhibition held at the University of London Library 7<sup>th</sup> November 2003 – 2 April 2004 <http://www.shl.lon.ac.uk/exhibitions/anglogerman.pdf>

<sup>1</sup> See, amongst other works, Tuckwell, *Christian Socialism and Other Lectures*, 17.

<sup>2</sup> Girdlestone wrote that mechanisation had benefited only the 'cost-cutting capitalists' instead of making work easier for the labourer, *Christian Socialism versus Present-day Unsocialism* (Limavady: Circle Co-Operative Printing Co., 1887); Kenworthy, *The Anatomy of Misery*, 32; M. Kaufmann, *Social Development Under Christian Influence, Being the Donnellan Lectures Delivered before the University of Dublin in 1899-1900* (Dublin: Hodges, Figgis & Co., Ltd., and London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Truber & Co., 1900), 35; Tuckwell, 'Sweating' in Pan-Anglican Congress, *Morality in Commercial and Social Life*, 1.

<sup>3</sup> McLean notes that many of Ruskin's followers avoided the paradox; J. A. Hobson, for example, believed that machinery had to some extent alleviated the worker from hardships associated with material scarcity, Robert Simpson McLean, 'Altruistic Ideals versus Leisure Class Values: An Irreconcilable Conflict in John Ruskin', *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* Vol. 31, No. 3 (Spring 1973), 347-8.

<sup>4</sup> Thompson, 'Socialist Political Economies', *passim*.

<sup>5</sup> Peter Weiler, 'William Clarke: The Making and Unmaking of a Fabian Socialist', *The Journal of British Studies* Vol. 14, No. 1 (November 1, 1974), 77-108.

<sup>6</sup> For example, Richmond wrote that agricultural labour consisted of 'most often sunburnt, stalwart men, gathering the precious gifts of God, with the sunlight of His blessing on their toil... Work accomplished, duty done. Rest after labour is the only rest... Wages for work done come as an added good; they are a blessing most of all to those whom work itself is a privilege and a blessing'. *Christian Economics*, 99-102.

their own investigations and by the articles and reports produced by government, political economists, and philanthropists.<sup>1</sup> The Christian Socialists portrayed labour as an experience where the worker was 'always hungry and ill-clothed, usually physically undeveloped, suffering from frequent illness, and living short and maimed lives'.<sup>2</sup> In terms of working practices, they argued that the employment of 'casual' unskilled labour and of payment by piece not only exacerbated working-class unemployment, but demoralized the worker because such employment offered little if any long-term security.<sup>3</sup> Given that they highlighted the ill-effects of the free labour market, it is interesting to note that the Christian Socialists drew comparisons between the experiences of late-nineteenth-century labour and of chattel slavery. 'Slavery' was, in fact, a familiar trope in published Christian discussion, as many describing themselves as 'social Christians' highlighted the role played by Christian conscience in ending the Atlantic slave trade, while calling attention to a modern phenomenon, 'white slavery'. However, the Christian Socialist theorists had a different perspective on this matter. Kenworthy, J. Bruce Wallace, and A. J. Carlyle all argued that slavery and serfdom disappeared not because of Christian agitation, but because it was demanded by economic and political interests. Regarding the abolition of the slave trade, Kenworthy wrote that 'the pocket and the conscience were agreed; here was a great opportunity for glorifying God on the cheap'.<sup>4</sup> When comparing late-nineteenth-century labour to slavery, Kaufmann, Tuckwell, Kenworthy, and Carlyle argued that while the market value of slaves gave their owners an incentive to take an interest in their maintenance, casual workers and wage-earners had no ties to their employer beyond the cash nexus. As such, the latter were no better off than the bonded slaves, except 'sentimentally and potentially'.<sup>5</sup> One should avoid placing too much weight on such statements: although they touched on the truth, they were likely to have been rhetorical devices intended to castigate capitalism's treatment of the working class. Nevertheless, the discussion of modern slavery by certain Christian Socialists evinces further their shift in focus, from highlighting the effects of capitalism on poor individuals to describing its wide-ranging consequences in societal terms.

<sup>1</sup> For example, Adderley referred to the Committee Report on Physical Deterioration, which concluded that 'the evil circumstances under which [agricultural labourers] are largely compelled to live and work are the cause of physical deterioration'. *A Little Primer of Christian Socialism*, 27. Adderley also took figures from Alfred Marshall's *Principles* to show that workers' wages did not cover the amount needed to purchase both 'strict' and 'conventional' necessities; William Tuckwell reproduced a table of labourers' wages from *Land and People* by Major Cragie in 1889. William Tuckwell, *To the Agricultural Labourers of Cambridgeshire and the Adjoining Counties, Liberal Publication Department Leaflets No. 1510* (London: Liberal Publication Department, 1889), 1; Adderley, *A Little Primer of Christian Socialism*, 20.

<sup>2</sup> Carlyle, *Religion and Wages*, 2.

<sup>3</sup> See, for example, Frederic Lewis Donaldson, *The Unemployed, Pan-Anglican Papers; Christian Social Union Leaflet No. 14* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1908), 1. Donaldson, a well-known figure in the CSU, was renowned for leading the so-called 'March of the Unemployed'; William Tuckwell, (Allotments and Small Holdings Association), *Allotments and Small Holdings, Conference at Wellingborough: Speeches by Mr Channing MP, Sir Walter Foster MP, and the Rev W. Tuckwell* (Wellingborough, 1889), 25; Kenworthy, *The Anatomy of Misery*, 58; Carlyle, *Wages*, 7.

<sup>4</sup> Wilberforce, it was argued, managed to abolish slavery only because the owners of estates and of the Lancashire cotton-mills had discovered the 'enormous economic superiority of free labour over servile labour' and 'old chattel-slavery'. Kenworthy, *Slavery, Ancient and Modern*, 8-12; Carlyle, *Wages*, 9-13.

<sup>5</sup> Kaufmann wrote that 'under a legal fiction of free contract, the labourer was reduced to modes of subjection more galling than in his less independent position, and with less security of obtaining the bare means of subsistence', *Social Development Under Christian Influence*, 27-8; According to Tuckwell, the roots of contemporary political culture were sown in the economic system of slavery; the 'slave-owner had grown into the Lord, or had become the King', he wrote, while the slave became the serf, then the wage-labourer, differing from the slave in name only. Tuckwell, *Christian Socialism and Other Lectures*; Tuckwell, *Allotments and Small Holdings*, 25; Kenworthy, *The Anatomy of Misery*, 58; Carlyle, *Wages*, 7.



Carlyle, Kaufmann, and Kenworthy, for example, all regarded modern industrial slavery in class terms; they spoke of ‘the slave class’ rather than of slaves.<sup>1</sup>

The prevailing conditions of the physical space in which labour was conducted was, as has been seen, a frequent topic for Christian Socialist discussion. Attempting to analyse this further by splitting the domestic and working lives of the poor into separate spheres would be both difficult and anachronistic because much labour continued to be undertaken in the home. As such, Christian Socialist accounts of working conditions were sometimes incorporated into their studies of working-class life but as the movement grew they often concentrated on documenting in detail the working-class experience of labour in the home, the tenant-farm, the workshop, and the factory. These studies were published in Christian Socialist periodicals or as stand-alone books, pamphlets, and leaflets; their findings were presented in sermons, in public lectures, and in meetings of the Pan-Anglican Congress. The Christian Social Union’s Research Committee (CSURC) was especially prolific in this regard in the early twentieth century.<sup>2</sup> The reports produced by Gertrude Tuckwell, Henry S. Holland, and Ethel M. Beaumont on working conditions, frequently those endured by women and children at home and in the factory, were sent to the Home Secretary, to factory inspectors, and to the press.<sup>3</sup>

Several other Christian Socialists also took an interest in the organization of women’s labour. Headlam’s Guild of St. Matthew, for example, was formed out of a pressure group that worked to improve the treatment of theatre and ballet girls, a cause which the GSM continued to advocate throughout its existence. Charles William Stubbs called for the 1890 Church Congress to recognise ‘our duty in regard to the organization of women’s labour’, highlighting the Women’s Trade Union league and the Liverpool Tailoresses Union.<sup>4</sup> He also called attention to the anguish of unemployed women in Liverpool; his description of ‘women clad in unwomanly rags shivered and cowered before the blast, their feet numb, their faces livid with cold and want’ appeared in the *Liverpool Daily Post*.<sup>5</sup> Edith Ruth highlighted the plight of sweated women in the East End of London under the auspices of the Church Socialist League. In addition, before Gertrude Tuckwell was politically active her father William called for the Warwick and Leamington Women’s Liberal Association to administer the force of women towards achieving social reform. Tuckwell argued that the female voice had been ‘useless’ because it had historically lacked organization and because

<sup>1</sup> Kenworthy, *Slavery, Ancient and Modern, passim*; Kenworthy, *The Anatomy of Misery*, 4, 13, 59-60.

<sup>2</sup> See the bibliography for works produced by Henry Scott Holland, Gertrude Mary Tuckwell, and the Christian Social Union Research Committee. London Branch. These pamphlets and more are located in The Gertrude Tuckwell Collection [TUC Library Collections, London Metropolitan University] and in Lambeth Palace Library.

<sup>3</sup> Gertrude Tuckwell, daughter of William Tuckwell, was also Secretary of the Women’s Trade Union League. Jones, *Christian Socialist Revival*, 184.

As Angela John wrote, Tuckwell also edited the WTUL journal, and succeeded her aunt Lady Dilke to the presidency in 1905. In 1908 she became president of the National Federation of Women Workers. She helped to form the National Anti-Sweating League, gave evidence to the 1907 Select Committee on home work, and also sat on the executive committee of the International Association for Labour Legislation from 1906, founding a British section with Sidney Webb as chairman. Angela V. John, ‘Tuckwell, Gertrude Mary (1861–1951)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, Sept. 2004; online edn, May 2006 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/36572>, accessed 6 July 2010]. There is substantial material on Tuckwell’s work housed in the Gertrude Tuckwell Collection in Brighton.

<sup>4</sup> Stubbs, *Christ and Economics*, 254.

<sup>5</sup> According to Charles William Stubbs, *A Creed for Christian Socialists, with Expositions* (1897), 58.

the lack of political education available to women meant that they invariably perpetuated ignorant class attitudes. William Tuckwell's attitudes towards gender politics and gender roles reflected his time. Ladies, he believed, were well suited to the work of political reform, because they had 'a moral enthusiasm which places righteousness before expediency', were more disposed than men to be horrified by cruelty, and because they had grown up free from the 'debasement influences of sport and gambling'. However, he also noted that due to his experience as a university examiner, he knew that female students were usually equal or better than the best male students, and he claimed to be influenced by great women such as Fry, Nightingale, Somerville, Eliot, Martineau, Hill, Besant, and Lady Dilke (Gertrude's aunt). Moreover, Tuckwell actively supported women's suffrage, claiming that 'the absurdity of their present exclusion is such as no man can defend'.<sup>1</sup> William Tuckwell's sympathetic yet paternalistic and conservative conceptions of woman, and of the place of women in society and the socialist struggle, were typical of late-nineteenth Christian Socialist attitudes. For example, one Christian Socialist wrote that instead of being crowded into unhealthy factories, girls should be taught 'womanhood', while Marson regretted that in society 'the wife has lost her broom and her spinning-wheel, her still-room, mash-tub, oven, and broidery frame'. He argued that 'the industrial revolution has taken from her not only her work, but the usefulness and the dignity and much of the honour of her life!'<sup>2</sup>

## Culpability and the doctrine of self-help

In their battle to challenge popular perceptions of the poor, the Christian Socialists felt they must also critique the moral framework that explained and justified the level of inequality in society. Though this moral framework was nuanced and complex, two notions in particular spoke towards the condition and position of the poor: 'the poor ye have always with you' and the doctrine popularized most notably by Samuel Smiles in *Self-Help* (1859). The former notion implied that the clergy could and should not intervene to change the structure of society, and as such is considered in more detail in later chapters.<sup>3</sup> The doctrine of self-help, meanwhile, was beginning to lose its former eminence by the late-nineteenth century. However, it continued to resonate with the kind of people the Christian Socialists hoped to attract. Moreover, by highlighting that 'Heaven helps them who help themselves' and espousing the virtues of hard work in the face of struggle, the doctrine of self-help implied that the poor were partly, even entirely, culpable for their position and condition. This would have been an attractively convenient and plausible explanation of poverty for those who could lay some claim, however weak, to being a self-made man.

<sup>1</sup> Tuckwell, *Extracts from the Speech... Delivered to the Members of the Warwick and Leamington Women's Liberal Association*, 1-6.

<sup>2</sup> Rev. Ernest John B. Kirtlan, *Socialism for Christians: A Lecture, Pioneer Pamphlets No. 1* (Northampton: Northampton Pioneer, 1906), 12; Marson, *God's Co-Operative Society*, 76.

<sup>3</sup> The Christian Socialists denounced those who argued that moral shortcomings on the part of the poor explained their poverty. As Charles Marson wrote, while there existed those who 'consider that poor people are poor because they are wicked, and rich people, per contra, are plump because they are virtuous', such interpretations of God's word 'were quite as hard to digest as the worst Christian readings of the exposition of S. Athanasus'.

The Christian Socialists did not attack Smilesean values directly. None would have argued against the principles after which Smiles's follow-up works were named: *Character* (1871), *Thrift* (1875), and *Duty* (1880). In fact, John Clifford, Charles William Stubbs, and Wilfrid Richmond were amongst those who wrote about the responsibilities and duties of the labouring poor.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, while 'thrift' was a virtuous Christian principle, it was an utterly inadequate tool in the fight against continued unemployment and casual labour. Adderley, Girdlestone, and J. Bruce Wallace argued that thrift was a meaningless notion amidst the misery of urban squalor, where the poor succumbed to overcrowding, malnourishment, and degrading labour. 'Poverty' wrote Girdlestone, rested upon 'social causes so deeply founded that no amount of individual abstinence, thrift, temperance, or other virtues, can possibly find a way to escape it!'<sup>2</sup> Furthermore, as Kenworthy, Carlyle, and Clifford wrote, the 'grind of unremitting toil' left the workers with insufficient time for self-improvement, insufficient remuneration for savings, and insufficient strength to survive the demands of industrial labour.<sup>3</sup> The Christian Socialists did not attack the principles of self-help but argued that they were inapplicable in the contemporary socio-economic environment. Therefore they sought to uncover why the nation could no longer benefit from a Smilesean doctrine which shared many virtues with Christianity.

Firstly, the Christian Socialists argued along the lines of the 'new liberalism', that the ancient notion of English liberty had been corrupted according to the interests of capitalists. This line of reasoning highlighted the destruction of the old social bonds, which meant that, as Kaufmann wrote, the concept of freedom in modern industrial life amounted to the 'liberty of the rich to fleece the poor, and a subjection of proletarians by means of the all powerful money bag'.<sup>4</sup>

Secondly, the Christian Socialists argued that, throughout the nineteenth century, the established Church had failed to provide the moral guidance necessary for the poor to act, and to be treated, in accordance with Christian principles.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Stubbs wrote the labourer had a duty to earn his wages, and not to 'withhold the fair day's work... [and moreover] to prove himself worthy of being called a free man, by practising the free virtues – justice, honesty, thrift, self-denial, self-reliance, self-government'. *Village Politics*, 12; Richmond argued that his aforementioned ideal of labour (performed by 'sunburnt, stalwart men') was a life which men 'know to be the best, and which they should 'strive in some measure to attain'. *Christian Economics*, 99-102.

<sup>2</sup> Girdlestone drew upon the work of G. R. Sims, W. Besant, Beddoe, Symes, and Scott Russell. E. D. Girdlestone, *Thirty-Nine Articles of Belief, Proposed as the Profession and Programme of Christian Socialists* (Bristol: J. W. Arrowsmith, 1886), 23; Girdlestone, *Christian Socialism versus Present-day Unsocialism*, 25; J. Bruce Wallace, *Preparing for the Twentieth Century: Being the Fifth Edition, Revised, of Towards Fraternal Organization* (London, 1897); Adderley, *Looking Upward*, 207.

<sup>3</sup> Clifford, *Socialism and the Teaching of Christ*; Carlyle, *Religion and Wages*, 2.

<sup>4</sup> M. Kaufmann, *Socialism and Christianity, Present Day Tracts, Second Series No. 59* (London: Religious Tract Society, 1889), 14; Kaufmann, *Socialism: Its Nature, Its Dangers, and Its Remedies Considered*, 61. Adderley wrote that 'we trusted that it would all come right if the individual was set free to act for himself [but this trust] has resulted in a vast crowd of human beings becoming less free than ever'. Adderley, *Parson in Socialism*, 21. Similarly, Girdlestone argued that it was 'largely owing to our misuse of the great measure of personal liberty that has been given to us prematurely i.e. before we knew how to employ it well and wisely, that we suffer from our present social sickness!' The true test of Liberty, he wrote, was found in the work of H. Spencer. Spencer claimed that man was free in accordance to the degree in which the work he did was for 'his own' or for 'another's' benefit. 'I am afraid,' remarked Girdlestone, 'that under our present system of monopolies of Land and Capital, very few among us can claim to be really free in Herbert Spencer's sense!' Girdlestone, *Christian Socialism versus Present-day Unsocialism*, 66, 190.

<sup>5</sup> 'Whenever you find a low state of well-being in a country, there is also a low state of religion', claimed Charles William Stubbs, and for this low state of religion the clergy were to blame, because their sermons failed to tell people 'what is good, and how to be and do it'. *Village Politics*, 99-100.

Thirdly, they argued that the moral consensus founded upon the principles of political economy created social barriers which blocked social mobility. The widespread acquiescence amongst commercial actors to the selfish maxims of competitive capitalism seemed to condone the subjugation of the poor.

Fourthly, the Christian Socialists argued that the ruling classes' monopoly control of the means of production prevented the workers from acquiring their own means of economic independence (as illustrated in Chapter Four). They argued that although a degree of effort was required on their behalf, the working-classes could not be expected to alleviate their condition themselves; the systemic faults were too acute for the working classes to pull themselves up by their bootstraps.

The fifth reason that Smilesean principles could not be applied, according to the Christian Socialists, was the lack of education of the disadvantaged. In short, the Christian Socialists espoused a Fabian 'social rent of ability' which argued that the privileged classes' exclusive access to education and its associated opportunities enabled them to entrench their advantage. According to Kenworthy, Girdlestone, Adderley, and others, the lack of working-class education prevented them from realising that overcoming their political and economic oppressors was necessary and possible. Moreover, the little education available was compromised by the ideological aims of the ruling class. 'How could the children of the poor learn 'the bitter truth about Kings and Governments' from the 'lying history books'? How could they learn to 'detect the cheat of commerce?' Kenworthy demanded to know.<sup>1</sup>

Finally, some Christian Socialist theorists believed that there were further *institutional* factors that prevented Smilesean social mobility from occurring. Some highlighted the narrow social strata from which the Established Church clergy were drawn, and argued that as a result the Church defended the interests of the powerful, who did not wish to see the workers rise up as a result of their self-improvement.<sup>2</sup> Kenworthy and his followers, in particular, distrusted the State when its instruments of power were controlled by the 'classes,

<sup>1</sup> Citing Ruskin, Kenworthy argued that 'the rich not only refuse food to the poor; they refuse wisdom; they refuse virtue; they refuse salvation'. *From Bondage to Brotherhood*, 4-6; See also Adderley, *The New Floreat*, 21; Girdlestone and Adderley highlighted the inequality of educational opportunities across social classes, with the protagonist in the latter's Stephen Remarx noting the 'rich young men wasting their time, throwing away the priceless opportunities of Oxford, which many poor men would give their very eyes to have'. Girdlestone, *Christian Socialism Versus Present-Day Unsocialism*, 35; *The What and Why of Christian Socialism in Christian Socialist (September 1889 – April 1890)*, 58; Adderley, *Stephen Remarx*, 6.

<sup>2</sup> F. Lewis Donaldson, James Adderley, G. H. Ten Bruggenkate, and Charles Marson all argued that the Church of England had become a class institution, whose clergy was drawn exclusively from 'scions of their class' graduating from Eton, Oxford, and Cambridge, and which was allied to the selfish and greedy in order to preserve their interests. That the future priests of the 'class ministry' were taught that the Church was 'best served by him who can bowl a maiden over' meant that, Marson argued, children were taught only the names of Huppim, Muppim, and Ard rather than the (socialist) morality of Christianity necessary to undermine the power of the rich. F. Lewis Donaldson in William Henry Hunt, ed., *Churchmanship and Labour. Sermons on Social Subjects. Preached at S. Stephen's Church, Walbrook, by ... Canon. H. Scott Holland ... G. W. E. Russell ... F. L. Donaldson ... Compiled by ... W. H. Hunt* (London: Skeffington & Son, 1906), 98; Adderley, *Parson in Socialism*, 75; Bruggenkate, *Catholicism and Socialism*, 10; Marson, *God's Co-Operative Society*, 58. criticised examination questions for deacons, set by the co-operative society of examining bishops. These included, he wrote, 'What date would you assign to the Epistle of St. James' and 'Translate a few snacks of St. Augustine, of the Kings in Hebrew, and of the same book from the LX'. The training of the clergy, he argued, included 'not a word about reading, voice-production, music, not a suggestion of slums, sweating, soup kitchens, balance sheets, truck acts, sanitation, allotments, diseases, and school teaching'. Meanwhile, the nonconformist Kenworthy argued that 'the classes' endeavoured to convince 'the masses' of the righteousness of the status quo, employing for such a task the 'priests and philosophers of Mammon', namely 'the clergy of the Church of England'. *From Bondage to Brotherhood*, 26, 35.

the idlers, the gentlefolk'. In such an environment, the poor were simply ignored if they demanded an improvement in their condition; in the event that they demanded to truly live in happiness, Kenworthy argued, 'every voice of authority and the well-to-do would rage in protest!'<sup>1</sup>

Although one cannot say that all the explanations above resonated throughout the entire Christian Socialist movement, in general there was a discernible shift in attitudes as regards the culpability of the poor for their position and condition. Whilst the moral fibre of the poor still required stiffening from the improving force of Christianity, the poor were no longer perceived as entirely responsible for their own inability to lift themselves out of poverty by embracing Smilesean doctrine. The authors of Christian Socialist studies of working-class life and labour helped to convince the rest of the movement that poverty was caused not just by individual deficiencies of character but also by systemic maladies. Moreover, they helped to direct the Christian Socialist gaze, so that it considered the ill health of the nation itself alongside the suffering of the nation's people. As a result, the Christian Socialists began to conceive of a society composed of rich and poor, haves and have-nots, idlers and workers, and of beggars, workers, and thieves: In short, they adopted a class-centric conception of society.<sup>2</sup> The Christian Socialists defined class according to various criteria, including: whether or not one sold one's labour in order to survive; whether or not one lived 'by the sweat of other men's brows'; whether or not one could claim ownership to reserves of land or capital; or even in terms of the nature and quantity of one's income, the morality of one's business, and one's criminality or lack thereof.<sup>3</sup> The range of Christian Socialist interpretations of class evidences the contestable and variegated nature of the concept in late nineteenth-century Britain.

The Christian Socialists and social Christians were not the only social reformers striving to challenge widely-held perceptions of the poor. It was also a principal task for the various

<sup>1</sup> Kenworthy, *From Bondage to Brotherhood*, 4-6. Control of the political, educative, and moral authorities could, Kenworthy argued, all be purchased in the name of 'investment'. Kenworthy, *The Anatomy of Misery*, 77.

<sup>2</sup> Kenworthy, *From Bondage to Brotherhood*; Tuckwell, *Christian Socialism and Other Lectures*, 3; Adderley, *Parson in Socialism*, 91.

<sup>3</sup> Kenworthy, for example, saw only two classes: the Privileged and the Unprivileged; the Haves and the Have-nots, between whom there was 'always veiled or open war'. The former included Landlords, Capitalists, Merchants and Traders, Lawyers, Doctors and Clergy. The Have-nots were the 'great rank-and-file of workers with hand and brain; whose sole possession is that power to Labour which is common to all'. Nevertheless, there existed numerous 'lesser parasites', such as managers, artists, writers, doctors, and parsons. Though such respectable labourers of hand and brain may not perceive their true position, they were nonetheless 'whited sepulchres, beautiful outwardly, but filled with dead man's bones and uncleanness'. *The Anatomy of Misery*, 38-44; *From Bondage to Brotherhood*, 26; Many other Christian Socialists simply placed skilled workers, farmers, teachers, small-scale traders, artists, and the clergy in the 'working class', despite the fact that they often, as Tuckwell observed, 'supported the class whose interests were directly opposed to [their] own'. Tuckwell, *Allotments and Small Holdings*, 25; For Girdlestone, workers of hand or brain were equally reliant upon their wages to survive, and so they constituted the 'workers' in a system of workers, beggars, and thieves. Those who lived 'by the sweat of other men's brows' were either beggars or thieves: the former included the old, sick, and very young; the latter included those who lived upon rent or interest. *Society Classified*, 4-5; *Thirty Nine Articles of Belief*, 26; For Stubbs it was the relationship to the land, rather than labour, that determined class: the proprietor furnished land and capital; the farmer, capital and superintending labour; the labourer, labour only – though he argued for revision of the laws which made this arrangement possible; Others further stratified the class structure, sometimes at the cost of consistency. Clifford's four classes, for example, were distinguished in terms of the nature and quantity of their income, the morality of their business, and their criminality. John Clifford, *God's Greater Britain. Letters and Addresses* (London: J. Clarke & Co., 1899) Letter VIII, Dec 9, 1897.

men, women, and organizations that fought under the socialist banner. That the socialists themselves, as well as their ideas, were also the subject of negative stereotyping and misrepresentative portrayals exacerbated in turn the disdain with which the poor were regarded. It is to the Christian Socialists' attempts to challenge popular perceptions of socialism that the thesis now turns.

## Chapter Two: Socialism

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Socialism, in the soul of it, is divine. It is of God. He is behind all, and in all, and through all, working out His great redemption of mankind. God has his plan in every generation.<sup>1</sup>

John Clifford, 1912

It is quite a simple matter, to reconcile, if, indeed, it needed any reconciling, the Christian religion with Socialism. It is not so easy to reconcile many Christians with Socialism, or many Socialists with Christianity.<sup>2</sup>

G. H. Ten Bruggenkate, 1911

Since it had emerged in Britain in the mid-nineteenth century, the Christian Socialists believed that it was their duty to understand socialism. Their motives were not always benign. Some feared the ‘rapidly advancing’ social movement, begotten by the spectre of communism, and whose effects would be felt throughout British society; as the nation’s spiritual custodians the clergy sought to investigate and rebut this challenge to Christian hegemony. Also, F. D. Maurice and some of his mid-century contemporaries believed that a working knowledge of the socialist movement would assist them in ‘Christianising’ the working classes. Those who were more accommodating to its ideas nonetheless believed it was necessary to define a common position as regards socialism.<sup>3</sup> As Jones noted, Henry Scott Holland introduced a discussion of socialism during the Pan-Anglican Conference of 1888 with this aim in mind.<sup>4</sup>

During the course of their investigation of socialism, the Christian Socialists of the revival period started to believe that the ideas, spokespersons, and literature of socialism were subject to considerable ‘unreasonable prejudice’.<sup>5</sup> The Christian Socialists noted the antipathy of the press towards socialism, and argued that it constituted deliberate propaganda against a perceived threat to the interests of the publications’ owners and readers. As one protagonist wrote, although socialism was a straightforward concept, ‘neither the *Spectator* nor the *Daily Express* could understand it in a thousand years *because they do not want to, and do not want their readers to*’.<sup>6</sup> Moreover, the Christian Socialists were concerned that the clergy and laity had unquestioningly subscribed to unfavourable conceptions of socialism advanced by the popular press.<sup>7</sup> Many Christian Socialists, therefore, simply wished to give socialism a fair hearing in the battle of social and political ideas.<sup>8</sup> However, it quickly

<sup>1</sup> John Clifford in *Westbourne Park Record* Vol. 20, No. 5 (1912), 7.

<sup>2</sup> Bruggenkate, *Catholicism and Socialism*, 1.

<sup>3</sup> Lees, *A Christian’s Duty Towards Socialism*.

<sup>4</sup> Jones, *Christian Socialist Revival*, 130, 175.

<sup>5</sup> M. Kaufmann, *Utopias, or, Schemes of Social Improvement. From Sir Thomas More to Karl Marx* (London: C.K. Paul & Co., 1879), vi; One Christian Socialist wrote that the ‘wilful misunderstanding and misrepresentation... [arose] because anti-Socialists are still bent on proving, or trying to prove, that Socialism is “undiluted atheism, theft, and immorality”’. Bruggenkate, *Catholicism and Socialism*, 1.

<sup>6</sup> Conrad Noel, ‘Economic Socialism’ *The Church Socialist Quarterly* (London) Vol. 4, No. 1 (Jan 1909), 3.

<sup>7</sup> The antagonism between socialism and the social movement on the one hand and the clergy on the other was well expressed by Adderley in his novel *Stephen Remarx*. When the eponym asked his vicar if Tom Mann and Ben Tillet ever came to visit, the response was ‘I would as soon admit a convict to my house as them’. An invitation to any of the above parties was unlikely to be forthcoming.

<sup>8</sup> Kaufmann, for example, aimed to ‘remove such misconceptions’ by giving ‘a fair hearing [to] the propounders of social

became apparent to the Christian Socialists that, if the New Jerusalem was going to be built upon earth, it would be necessary to critically engage with and deconstruct the assumptions promulgated throughout Christian anti-socialist discourse. This chapter considers the Christian Socialists' attempts to challenge popular perceptions of socialists and socialism, as well as their response to the claim that socialism was incompatible with Christianity.

## The socialist movement

The Christian Socialists were aware that ideas were often associated with, and even denoted by, the men and women through which such ideas were conveyed. Indeed, the spokespersons for socialism were an important and useful gateway to understanding its ideas. Emulating the approach taken by many real-life Christian Socialists, Stephen Remarx, the protagonist in James Adderley's semi-autobiographical novel, invited his Vicar to study the social question by getting to know 'exactly what the leading men on the labour side think and say'.<sup>1</sup> However, this approach was problematic because such leading men were alien to many Christians, especially those in the upper circles of the Anglican Church. As one Christian Socialist wrote, clergymen naturally struggled to understand how socialism could be sanctioned by Christianity if they had 'never met a live Socialist in the flesh'.<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless, it was felt that their ignorance was better than their potential repugnance, as in the recent past, Adderley wrote, the rich had conceived of socialists as 'bloodthirsty villains who might at any moment make a raid on the West End, break the windows in Belgrave Square, and carry off their booty'.<sup>3</sup> The Christian Socialists believed it was crucial, therefore, to affirm the good character of the social reformers, socialists, and labour agitators.

As will be shown in Chapter Four, the Christian Socialists argued that the concepts of collective bargaining and labour agitation were morally and economically justifiable. However, they also outlined a number of arguments to defend the working-class participants in the battle between capital and labour. The trade unions were an important focal point of this debate. The Christian Socialists argued that, firstly, the unions developed out of the medieval guilds, with which the Church had shared a long-standing history of unity.<sup>4</sup> Secondly, they asserted that socialists and trade unionists were quiet, respectable, orderly people; they were even conceived of as brave heroes, devoted to upholding the sanctity of honest labour, an important Christian virtue. Thirdly, they argued that trade unionists had done a tremendous amount of good for society, by lowering the levels of crime and pauperism.<sup>5</sup> Fourthly, it was argued that consumer co-operatives and working-class societies

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schemes who have left a mark in history'. *Utopias*, vi.

<sup>1</sup> Adderley, *Stephen Remarx*.

<sup>2</sup> Bruggenkate, *Catholicism and Socialism*, 1.

<sup>3</sup> Adderley, *Looking Upward*, 2.

<sup>4</sup> See, for example, Stubbs, *Christ and Economics*.

<sup>5</sup> Adderley, *The New Floreat*, 72-3; *Looking Upward*, 19; *A Little Primer of Christian Socialism*, 51; Stubbs, *Village Politics*, 190; Tuckwell, *Extracts from the Speech... Delivered to the Members of the Warwick and Leamington Women's Liberal Association*, 9.



had enabled the workers to learn about trade and politics; endeavours whose style corresponded with the well-established Victorian fondness for industriousness and self-improvement.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, the self-educative nature of these organizations made up for any of their shortcomings.<sup>2</sup> Fifthly, and similarly, the Christian Socialists argued that such social movements promoted Christian virtues, by fostering a brotherly spirit amongst the working classes and encouraging self-reliance, enterprise, temperance, purity, thrift, and independence.<sup>3</sup> The class consciousness arising from the unionization of the working classes should not be feared, some argued, because it represented the development and cultivation of selflessness and brotherly love amongst the workers. Such arguments corresponded with Chamberlain's claim that friendly societies had 'promoted habits of thrift and providence amongst poorer people... [who had] raised their conception of duty to their families and the community' – they were, as he said, 'the best form of Christian Socialism'. Moreover, as one Christian Socialist argued, these character traits were essential to the practice of Christian living. Even class consciousness, it was argued, was not 'evil' but 'something good and absolutely necessary', for if man did not love those around him, how could he be expected to love God, whom he had never seen?<sup>4</sup> The Christian Socialists argued that not only were co-operative schemes good for imparting these virtues to the poor, they also enabled labour to become the spiritual haven that Jesus, Ruskin, and Marx had claimed it should be.<sup>5</sup> Finally, the Christian Socialists highlighted the religiousness of many socialists, such as Keir Hardie, and of organizations such as the Labour Church.<sup>6</sup>

Of course, the Christian Socialists were not blind to the militant nature of several unions and agitators, and they were also alarmed by the combative nature of strikes. In 1878, Stubbs had warned that striking 'must necessarily foster a feeling of antagonism between the employer and the employed' and this attitude would have been shared by many Christian Socialists throughout the 1880s.<sup>7</sup> Nevertheless, the Christian Socialists' attitudes towards strikes changed as a result of their contact with late nineteenth-century labour agitation, most notably during the London match-girls' strike (1888) and the London Dockers' strike (1889). Support for these strikes appeared in the pages of the *Church Reformer*, *The Commonwealth* and *The Christian Socialist*.<sup>8</sup> Noteworthy advocates of the strike included Stubbs himself, as

<sup>1</sup> Kenworthy, *From Bondage to Brotherhood*, 136; Donaldson in Hunt, ed., *Churchmanship and Labour*, 83.

<sup>2</sup> For example, though he was overwhelmingly supportive of the unions, Adderley believed that they could sometimes lack 'self-control and encourage tyranny'. *Christ and Social Reform*, 29; For the softening of his position, see *Looking Upward; Parson in Socialism*, 71-3;

<sup>3</sup> Kenworthy wrote that unions were founded not by compulsion but through 'proper perception of the common ground; and they are held together by the honesty and goodwill of the members', while Adderley noted their Christian brotherly spirit. Kenworthy, *From Bondage to Brotherhood*, 135; Adderley, *The New Floreat*, 76; *A Little Primer of Christian Socialism*, 51; Stubbs, *Village Politics*, 190; *For Christ and City!*, 7; *Christ and Economics*, 254-9.

<sup>4</sup> Donaldson in Hunt, ed., *Churchmanship and Labour*, 85-6.

<sup>5</sup> Kenworthy cited Marx to argue that 'when the labourer co-operates systematically with others, he strips off the fetters of his individuality and develops the capabilities of his species'. Kenworthy, *From Bondage to Brotherhood*, 113.

<sup>6</sup> See, for example, James Adderley, *Is Socialism Atheism? A Prejudiced Answer*. *Church Socialist League Series No. 4* (London: Church Socialist League, 1910), 10-12.

<sup>7</sup> Stubbs, *Village Politics*, 36.

<sup>8</sup> The *Church Reformer* referred to the Bryant and May matchgirls strike as the 'most encouraging event of this depressing summer'. *The Church Reformer: An organ of Christian Socialism and Church reform* (London) Vol. 7 (Aug, 1888), 171.

well as John Clifford, James Adderley, Stewart Headlam, and Brooke Foss Westcott.<sup>1</sup> As the Bishop of Durham, and the first president of the Christian Social Union, Westcott was renowned for his work as an arbitrator in the 1893 Durham coal strike, and the so-called miners' Bishop' has with good reason attracted the attention of scholars.<sup>2</sup> Thus the Christian Socialists came to regard the unions in more positive terms, believing that their militancy was mitigated by their good character as well as their purpose, and that unions existed to prevent strikes just as an army existed to prevent war.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, the Christian Socialists believed that *anti*-unionism was incongruous with Christian principles. As one argued, there was 'nothing un-Christian' about 'condemning the workman who stands outside his union' who brought poverty to the rest of his class by working for starvation wages, despite having benefited from the liberty won on his behalf by the unions.

Nevertheless, the Christian Socialists still believed they had to contend with a widely-held assumption amongst the rich, namely that 'trade unions, strikes, [and] socialism' were all 'axiomatically wicked'.<sup>4</sup> Stubbs rounded on the merchants and businessmen in his congregation, who he believed held such views, declaring that

It is all very well for you to speak of the Labour leaders and the Trade agitators, and the Socialists, and the Anarchists, as the 'dangerous classes'. No! It is you who are the dangerous classes – if your superfluities and luxuries tempt the passions of the destitute, if your opulence, instead of being a grand means, a solemn trust, a grave responsibility, is merely a source of sensual indulgence and vacant worthlessness... it is you, and not the Socialists, who are the subverters of society and the torch-bearers of revolution.<sup>5</sup>

In order to effectively overcome negative conceptions of socialism, the Christian Socialist theorists proffered numerous arguments to attest its moral worthiness. These arguments interpreted both Christian doctrine and socialist theory in various ways, and the more salient among them are considered in more detail below. Before this, it is important to examine Christian Socialist attempts to explain what socialism was, and what it stood for, because their understanding of this matter informed the rest of their social thought. Moreover, their work in this field helped to frame the concept of socialism in the popular consciousness at a time when its meaning was contested.

While there were many theorists who had developed British socialist theory throughout the nineteenth century, during the 1880s the modern British socialist movement itself was still embryonic. As Adderley wrote in 1894, though socialism was 'a more or less definite and an entirely serious proposal to solve the social problem', it was a 'formulated system in its infancy' whose solution would emerge 'probably not of our lifetime'.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> James Adderley collected £800 for the striking dockers. N. C. Masterman, 'Adderley, James Granville (1861–1942)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/54554>, accessed 17 March 2011]; Headlam called the 1889 Dock Strike as a 'marvellous experience... the beginning of the great movement'. S. D. Headlam 'Annual Address to the Guild of St. Matthew' in *Church Reformer* Vol. 8, No. 10 (Oct, 1889), 219.

<sup>2</sup> Patrick, *The Miners' Bishop*; Lee, *The Church of England and the Durham Coalfield*.

<sup>3</sup> Adderley, *The New Floreat*, 73; *A Little Primer of Christian Socialism*, 51.

<sup>4</sup> Adderley, *Parson in Socialism*, 73.

<sup>5</sup> Stubbs, *Christ and Economics*, 167.

<sup>6</sup> Adderley, *The New Floreat*, 67-9.

Therefore, the Christian Socialists believed that as the socialist voice was only beginning to make itself heard in popular arena, it had to overcome the understanding of socialism that had emerged from other sources.

Although he was more 'liberal socialist' than Christian Socialist, Mauritz Kaufmann was a prolific figure in terms of early Christian Socialist attempts to understand and define socialism. He was also an important representative of the movement, as his work was reviewed by a range of mainstream newspapers including *The Daily Telegraph*, *Church Times*, *The Pall Mall Gazette*, and the *Glasgow Herald*.<sup>1</sup> He also contributed to the first volume of R. H. Inglis Palgrave's *The Dictionary of Political Economy* in 1894.<sup>2</sup> As such, he was seen by Christian Socialists in the early revival years to be something of an expert in socialism and political economy. Kaufmann outlined a history of socialist theory in a series of volumes published in 1874, 1879, 1895, and 1906, most of which were read and recommended by the Christian Socialist movement's leading figures.<sup>3</sup>

Kaufmann's history of socialist thought enunciated in these volumes encompassed the ideas of Plato, Sir Thomas More, St. Simon, Babeuf, Fourier, Robert Owen, Proudhon, Hegel, Auguste Comte, Henry George, and J. S. Mill. While all these figures were said to advance socialism, the 'latest socialistic theory', Kaufmann argued, was propounded by the works of Laurence Gronlund and Karl Marx. In 1879 Kaufmann's *Utopias...* included a chapter consisting of a short biography of Marx and an explanation of his theories of wages and capital. Marx, as Kaufmann wrote throughout his work, was 'rigidly logical in his deductions from the first principles of political economy', namely that labour was the source of all value, and as a result he determined that 'all appropriation of wealth on the part of those who do not work must be malappropriation'. Marx also criticised the profit and wages system, which robbed labour to enrich capital, meaning that the labourer was forced to take market-price for his labour, and never received its full worth. In addition, Kaufmann outlined Marx's historical materialism. Over time, Marx had argued, the capitalist system would implode, due to the increase of monopolization which would 'eat the smaller capitalists'. Though capitalism had produced an abundance of material goods and had improved living conditions for most, as a system it was fundamentally flawed because class antagonism would lead eventually to revolution.<sup>4</sup> The work of Moritz Kaufmann was, therefore, a

<sup>1</sup> Kaufmann, *Socialism and Modern Thought Second Edition, Revised and Enlarged* (London: Methuen, 1906); "Christian Socialism" by the Rev. M. Kaufmann", *The Pall Mall Gazette* (London, July 16, 1888), 7279th edition; 'The Quarterlies', *Glasgow Herald* (Glasgow, October 23, 1884), 254th edition.

<sup>2</sup> M. Kaufmann, 'The Influence of Protestant Thought on Economic Opinion and Practice' in Robert Harry Inglis Palgrave, *Dictionary of Political Economy* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1894), 285-7.

<sup>3</sup> *Socialism: Its Nature, its Dangers, and its Remedies Considered; Utopias, or Schemes of Social Improvement; Socialism and Modern Thought; Socialism and Modern Thought (Second Edition)*.

<sup>4</sup> In one volume Kaufmann documented the socialist critiques of capitalism as follows:  
The incompetence and corruption of the ruling class.

That great capitalists in land and money greedily devour small trades and farms.

That the tyranny of capital degrades wage-labourer into a slave of the machine.

That the lust of gain defrauds the workman of a considerable share of his time.

That every commercial crisis resulting from unprincipled overproduction renders employment uncertain, and a livelihood precarious.

That work carried on in factories and workshops was monotonous and depressing. The Labourer's sole property, his power to

fundamental source of knowledge of Marxian doctrine, as well as the life of Marx himself, for the Christian Socialist movement. His accounts undoubtedly contributed to the prevalence of Marxist ideas amongst Christian Socialists during the 1890s, a time when they were also influenced by another prominent popularizer of Marx, namely Laurence Gronlund.

Kaufmann's account of contemporary socialism was not confined to the Marxian tradition; it also discussed anarchism, co-operation, and statist and communist collectivism. For Kaufmann all these existed under the broad umbrella of socialist thought, but there were important distinctions between them. The Christian Socialists were keen to point out that it was anarchism, not socialism, that proposed the dismantling of the state. This was because some, such as Kenworthy, themselves advocated anarcho-communist ideas while others, such as Adderley, sought to distance Christian Socialism from the violent, revolutionary methods that they and others associated with contemporaneous anti-state agitation. Distinguishing socialism from communism proved more complicated because both ideas were continuously contested and both terms were used ambiguously by social reformers. The term 'communism' was used both to describe the act of bringing public property into shared ownership and to denote a state of society in which private property was abolished.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, the latter definition could be sub-divided. For example, Kaufmann used the terms to distinguish between three social schemes: 'Communism', which concentrated capital property in the hands of the state; 'Semi-Communism, or properly called, Socialism', which allowed each individual a share in the common product in proportion to the talent, capital, or labour contributed'; and the 'Christian, or humanitarian Socialism' embodied in a 'liberal community of goods contributed by spontaneous love, brotherly kindness, or humanity'.<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless the confusion seemed to resolve itself over time. By the time of its publication in 1912, most Christian Socialists would have concurred with the definition outlined in the Church Socialist League leaflet *Answers to Christian Fears about Socialism*. The leaflet argued that while communism sought to abolish private property, socialism advocated collective control of whichever property 'is found to be best to hold collectively, for the benefit of the community'; usually public utilities such as lighting, gas, trams, and water.<sup>3</sup> The Christian Socialists' re-evaluation of the contested meaning of socialism after the turn of the century is considered in more depth in the seventh and eighth chapters of this thesis.

The Christian Socialists also endeavoured to make sense of the various societies and organizations that provided a platform for socialist ideas. The prevailing focal point was

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work, entirely at the mercy of the enterprising capitalist, who turns it to his own profit after paying starvation wages fixed by the haggling of the market.

That a formidable class of impoverished proletarians is rising up by the side of a diminishing number of a few plutocrats and landed proprietors.

The gulf between masses and monied few was growing vaster and deeper daily.

Time was approaching when the many will bear their conditions no longer and the few will be at their mercy, when at last the expropriators will be expropriated, and the social revolution will put an end to the present state of things.

Appendix C – The Attitude of the Church Towards Social Democracy in *Social Development Under Christian Influence*, 182-3.

<sup>1</sup> Girdlestone, *Christian Socialism versus Present-day Unsocialism*, iii.

<sup>2</sup> Kaufmann, *Socialism: Its Nature, its Dangers, and its Remedies Considered*, 3.

<sup>3</sup> Adderley, *Answers to Christian Fears about Socialism*.

Britain: Kaufmann's mention of the International, which held Congresses in London, Geneva, Lausanne, and Basle, was an exception rather than the rule in Christian Socialist literature, and references to European socialist organizations were few and far between.<sup>1</sup> However, Christian Socialist literature often found room for an account of British socialist organizations. It frequently cited and recommended *The Labour Annual* (later the *Reformers' Year Book*) which contained socialist news, biographies, platforms of various organizations (including some Christian Socialist organizations), and short articles.<sup>2</sup> Summaries of this information were also compiled by Christian Socialists such as E. D. Girdlestone, whose *The What and Why of Christian Socialism* (1889-1890) referred to the following socialist organizations. Firstly, The Fellowship of the New Life, who concentrated their efforts 'chiefly on the moral and spiritual side of socialism and on the alteration which is required in personal disposition and ideal'. Secondly, The Social Democratic Federation, who were more concerned, Girdlestone argued, with material issues and who pressed for legislative and economical reforms 'by preaching the gospel (so-called) of discontent to the struggling masses... by way of ballot-box but through force if necessary'. Thirdly, the various Social Anarchists, who favoured no state or legislation. (Girdlestone believed that one day men may be ready for Social Anarchism, but, as most socialist critics had pointed out, there was a lack of adequate legislation to curb individualist exploitation under an anarchist system.) Finally, Girdlestone highlighted the work of the Fabian Society, who favoured 'delay' and 'slow and sure' methods, but whose members were also, he wrote, 'as wide awake as other Socialists to the need of both external and internal alterations on the most extensive scale'.<sup>3</sup>

Documenting and explaining a wide range of ideas and organizations in this manner made it difficult for the Christian Socialists to outline a clear definition of socialism. There was debate over whether socialism espoused moral or political change, whether it advocated evolutionary or rapid reform, and whether or not it advanced the inevitability of socialist progress.<sup>4</sup> More fundamentally, the Christian Socialists debated whether 'socialism' denoted a moral position, an economic scheme, or a vision of the future society. This debate witnessed a turning point around 1906, after which time the Christian Socialists began to conceive of socialism as an economic system and method for change, which would enable Christian principles to flourish. However, before this time most Christian Socialists subscribed to the notion that, as Kaufmann wrote in 1889 and 1890, the essence of socialism was its 'principle of association as opposed to individualism'.<sup>5</sup> Moreover, there was a broad consensus that socialism was truly defined by its moral and spiritual vision for a harmonious

<sup>1</sup> Kaufmann, *Social Development Under Christian Influence*, 182-3.

<sup>2</sup> Joseph Edwards, ed., *The Labour Annual. A Year Book of Industrial Progress and Social Welfare*. (1895-1900) and *The Reformers' Year Book* (1901-1909) (Manchester/London & Wallasey, 1894). The Labour Annual printed a biography of J. C. Kenworthy in 1895, and an account of J. Bruce Wallace's Brotherhood Churches and Co-operative Brotherhood Trust in 1901.

<sup>3</sup> Girdlestone, *The What and Why of Christian Socialism*.

<sup>4</sup> Letters from George Gilbertson, a 'Christian and Socialist', in Smith, *Fallacies of Socialism Exposed*.

<sup>5</sup> Kaufmann, *Socialism and Christianity*, 3; Kaufmann in James Samuelson, ed., *Socialism, Labour, and Capital, Subjects of the Day No. 2* (London: George Routledge and Sons, Limited, 1890).

future society, characterised by brotherhood and equal opportunities, where everybody laboured and where there was no idleness.<sup>1</sup> Several Christian Socialists, especially those active in the early years of the revival, denounced the interpretations of socialism which had no cultural value, and which sought merely to escape the 'restraints, privations, and humiliations' of the present, and which desired solely the satisfaction of the body.<sup>2</sup>

However, other Christian Socialists subscribed to a more all-encompassing definition of socialism, one which accommodated materialistic concerns. Wilfrid Richmond's *Economic Morals* (1890) proffered the clearest explanation of a position taken by many Christian Socialists.<sup>3</sup> Socialism, Richmond wrote, comprised three elements: 'Principles, Theories, and Measures'. The principles declared that all men ought to labour and all ought to enjoy the fruits of their labour, its theories concerned 'moral considerations in economic matters', and its measures prescribed the communisation of land and capital.<sup>4</sup> Similar views were suggested by Kaufmann, perhaps as an attempt to establish a universal theme in his wide-ranging accounts of socialist theories. Socialism was 'the more or less articulated wish of society to improve itself, expressed by its spokesmen the social idealists of all ages'. The socialist movement, he argued, was almost as old as civilised society itself, and it merely adapted its methods according 'to the prevailing conditions at the time of its appearance'. It could therefore include 'every systematic effort under whatever name to improve society according to some theory more or less explicitly defined... sometimes in the form of promise and prophesy, at other times with the precision of economic precept'.<sup>5</sup>

## Christian Socialism and its opponents

Conceptions of socialism of the kind outlined by Richmond enabled the Christian Socialists to highlight the values it shared with Christianity. However, the meaning of Christianity was, of course, also a hugely contested subject. Well-known Christian Socialists such as Gore, Westcott, Dearmer, and Holland engaged in considerable theological debate with Christians and other Christian Socialists. Indeed, the debates regarding issues such as the interpretation of scripture and God's will often overshadowed any discussion of the social movement itself and the bulk of secondary literature on Christian Socialism has focused upon the movement's theology and its realignment in response to socialism and industrial capitalism.

It is difficult to determine the causal relationship between these two major aspects of Christian Socialist doctrine, namely Christianity and socialism. The question has

<sup>1</sup> Adderley, *The New Floreat*, 61.

<sup>2</sup> Kenworthy, *The Christian Revolt*, 40.

<sup>3</sup> From Peter d'A. Jones's study it is known that Richmond was a founder-member of PESEK, the forerunner to the CSU which Henry Scott Holland founded in order to turn Richmond's *Christian Economics* (1888) and *Economic Morals* (1890) into action. However, all Jones tells us about Richmond's works is that they owed a debt to Ruskin, Marshall, Toynbee, Cunningham, and Walker (as admitted by Richmond himself in the preface to *Christian Economics*), that they conceived of political economy as a branch of morals, and that they made competition subordinate to co-operation, but without favouring full collectivization. Edward Norman makes no mention of Richmond in his history where even Henry Scott Holland hardly appears, while Christ Bryant adds little to the story not already said by Jones.

<sup>4</sup> Richmond, *Economic Morals*, 1.

<sup>5</sup> Kaufmann, *Socialism and Christianity*, 3; *Socialism, Labour, and Capital*.

preoccupied most scholars of the movement: did the Christian Socialists' religion inform or did it reflect their socialism? Examples can support either position. On the one hand, it is clear from their accounts that their consumption of socialist ideas and their witnessing of the suffering of the poor at first hand prompted the Christian Socialists to redefine their interpretation of Christian notions such as Divine Providence. On the other hand, the Christian Socialists frequently cited their intellectual debt to the theology of F. D. Maurice, and were able to construct theological arguments for their socialist positions.<sup>1</sup> It is likely that their socialism and their Christianity were mutually reinforcing influences upon their entire moral and social philosophy, and that their importance relative to each other varied on a case-by-case basis. In any case, as Jones wrote, attempting to distinguish between these two formative influences on their thought is 'patently absurd, for it involves judgments of the depth and sincerity of the religious convictions of individuals'.<sup>2</sup> The task here, then, is to illustrate *how* the Christian Socialists attempted to reconcile their various socialist positions with Christianity.

Peter d'A. Jones wrote that Christian Socialism was defined by its theological justification for various socialist doctrines and it is worth citing his succinct, excellent summary in full.

'Christian Socialists stood usually for one or more of the following theological arguments, or slight variations upon them:

1. '*From patristics*: that many of the church fathers were socialists and communists.
2. 'From the New Testament and the ethics of the Sermon on the Mount: that Jesus Christ was a socialist.
3. '*From the sacraments and the Book of Common Prayer*: that the modern church in its worship, symbol, and ritual exhibits a socialist faith.
4. '*From the doctrine of Divine Immanence*: that God's presence everywhere, in nature and in man, destroys the artificial distinction between the "sacred" and the "secular" worlds, sanctifies the material life, and supports the socialist call for a Kingdom of God *on earth*'.<sup>3</sup>

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the Christian Socialists produced a considerable amount of literature that advanced variations of these four arguments.<sup>4</sup>

However, it is important to note that a great deal of this literature simply argued that there were religious and theological grounds for denouncing industrial capitalism and its

<sup>1</sup> Even so, the extant scholarship has somewhat overstated Maurice's legacy on late-nineteenth-century Christian Socialist social doctrine.

<sup>2</sup> Jones, *Christian Socialist Revival*, 434.

<sup>3</sup> Jones, *Christian Socialist Revival*, 86-7.

<sup>4</sup> See, amongst others, Adderley, *Christ and Social Reform*, 17; *Looking Upward*, 153; *Socialism and the Seven Sacraments*; Anon., 'Did Jesus Christ Teach Socialism?', 1894; Clifford, *Socialism and the Teaching of Christ*; R. W. Cummings, *The Gospel of Socialism, Socialist Arrows from Christian Bows No. 1* (Withernsea: Lunn), 5-6; Deamer, *The Social Teaching of the Catechism*; M. Gass, *The Socialism of Jesus* (Glasgow: Labour Literature Society, 1893); Andrew Gibson, *Socialism for all: Did Jesus Teach Socialism?* (Andrew Gibson, 1896); W. B. Graham, *The Lord's Prayer: The Aim and Life-work for all True Christians* (Wakefield: Wakefield Independent Labour Party, 1909); Dennis Hird, *Jesus the Socialist* (London: Clement Wilson, 1896); Elbert Hubbard, *Jesus was an Anarchist* (1890); Kirtlan, *Socialism for Christians*; Lees, *A Christian's Duty Towards Socialism*; Charles L. Marson, *Charity Organization and Jesus Christ: One View of Almsgiving* (London: Scientific Press, 1897); Marson, *God's Co-Operative Society*, 79-101; Noel, *Socialism and Church Tradition*; Deamer, *The Social Teaching of the Catechism*; Allan W. Ricker, *The Political Economy of Jesus* (1904); Smith, *The Socialist and the Church*; Paul Stacy, *The Socialist Meaning of the Church's Facts* (Elland: Marmaduke Pilling, 1907); Stubbs, *Christ and Economics*; John Wynn, *The Carpenter of Nazareth's Message to the Unemployed* (John Wynn, 1906).

effects on society. Much of this literature did not go on to highlight the religious or theological grounds for adopting a particular strand of *socialism*. The same is true for some of the other protagonists cited by Jones in his description of ‘sacramental socialism’.<sup>1</sup> As Noel Thompson wrote, the Christian Socialists included those ‘whose “socialism”, in practical terms, stopped a long way short of what would normally be anticipated from such a label’. While bodies such as the Church Socialist League, he went on, ‘embraced a political economy that demanded nationalization of the means of production, distribution and exchange’, the Christian Social Union ‘preached in effect a ‘social-unionism’ that condemned the instincts unleashed by the competitive system and looked to measures that would advance and inculcate a spirit of fellowship’.<sup>2</sup> Before the advent of the Church Socialist League in 1906, the authors of the literature cited above pointed to several aspects of Christian history and teaching in order to justify a fundamentally Morrisian conception of socialism. They denounced pecuniary gain as a motive for production and exchange, by highlighting Jesus and the Church fathers’ rejection of the pursuit of wealth. They sought to substitute mutual co-operation and love for the cash nexus as the means by which employer and employee engaged with each other, citing Christian principles such as brotherhood, justice, and co-operation. And they espoused voluntary, small-scale common ownership of goods, by highlighting that the disciples practiced communal ownership of their possessions. Therefore, one might reasonably and more usefully regard this literature as examples of ‘Morrisian Christian Socialism’, ‘social-unionism’, or ‘Christian anti-Capitalism’ rather than of ‘sacramental socialism’. Nevertheless, as a result of research using new source material, it is argued that there were also many Christian Socialists who, on the basis of Christian principles and teaching, espoused socialist economic doctrines including the nationalization of the means of production, distribution, and exchange. An account of the arguments propounded by these Christian Socialists is given in the four chapters that make up Part Two of the thesis.

It is important to note also the context in which the Christian Socialists outlined their definitions of socialism. From a reading of John Clifford’s Fabian Tract, *Socialism and the Churches* (1908), one might reasonably take the view that Clifford rejected the notion that socialism prescribed certain political and economic positions. ‘Socialism is a movement, and not merely a theory or a set of theories’ he wrote, it was ‘a pushing forward of the inner soul of humanity towards its predestined goal’. However, the sermon that formed the basis of this tract originally appeared in *The Westbourne Park Record* as *The Churches and Socialism*. The subtle change of title gives a hint of its original incarnation, namely a sermon for the

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<sup>1</sup> Adderley, *Looking Upward; Francis, the Little Poor Man of Assisi. A Short Story of the Founder of the Brothers Minor ... With an Introduction by P. Sabatier* (London: E. Arnold, 1900); *Monsieur Vincent. A Sketch of a Christian Social Reformer of the 17th Century* (London: E. Arnold, 1901); *Socialism and the Seven Sacraments*; T. Brock Richards, *Socialism and the Catholic Church* (Birmingham, 1901); John Clifford, *Address; delivered on the occasion of the unveiling of the memorial to George Jacob Holyoake, in Highgate Cemetery, London, November 9th, 1907.* (Manchester: Co-operative Union Limited, 1907).

<sup>2</sup>Thompson, *The Political Economy of the Labour Party*, 54-55.



London Baptist Association, for whom it was entirely appropriate for Clifford to focus on how socialism's spiritual aspects might appeal to the churches. However, extrapolating Clifford's socialist doctrine from this and similar texts gives a misleading impression of his ideas. From his other contributions to the *Record* it is clear that Clifford later conceived of socialism as the 'collective ownership of the means of production by the community democratically organized'.<sup>1</sup> Whether or not the Christian Socialists were able to proffer unique and coherent theological or religious grounds for the adoption of this position is discussed in Part Two.

The discussion of the importance of considering the context of Christian Socialist printed material raises the following question: when outlining their socialist vision, what sort of critical reception did the Christian Socialists face from other Christians? Mainstream Christianity's opposition to socialism was not entirely founded upon their overwhelmingly negative conceptions of its spokespersons, nor did it always take up a position in direct opposition to the Christian Socialist planks mentioned above. The arguments made by the Christian opponents to socialism were as follows (loosely arranged from the general and theoretical to the specific and consequentialist).

First, that Christianity was concerned with the spiritual and not the material domain to which socialism would be applied. Second, that poverty was providential, and therefore any social schemes to alleviate poverty were against the will of God. Third, that the scriptures denounced the principles that later underpinned socialism. Fourth, that socialism was inherently atheist, as well as promoting atheism in its application. Fifth, that socialism would unravel the Christian fabric of society by destroying the social institutions that bound it together. Sixth, that socialism entailed enforced constraints on behaviour, or so-called 'compulsion', while Christianity espoused charity on a voluntary basis. Seventh, it was argued that (state) socialism would discourage initiative, industriousness, and individuality. Eighth, that even if social action was justified by Christianity, the latter prescribed charitable individual conduct, and neither collective nor political action. Ninth, it was frequently argued that parliamentary legislation would not, and could not, reform individual character. Tenth, and finally, many critics of socialism argued that establishing socialism would be impractical or impossible.

The Christian Socialists advanced a range of responses to these arguments, and frequently collated them into publications outlining Christian 'fears' of socialism.<sup>2</sup> In addition, they attempted to engage with conservative Christians in correspondence and debates. Similar debates between clergymen and secular socialists also occurred, for example

<sup>1</sup> Clifford, *Socialism and the Churches*; 'The Churches and Socialism' in *Westbourne Park Record* Vol. 26, No. 7 (1908), 104-7.

<sup>2</sup> Girdlestone, *The What and Why of Christian Socialism*, 178-9; Adderley, *Christ and Social Reform*, 14; Adderley, *A New Earth*, 32-5; *Bible Texts Quoted Against Socialism; Answers to Christian Fears about Socialism*; Clifford, *Socialism and the Teaching of Christ*, 2-3.

that between Rev. Father Day and John Edwards, President of the Liverpool Fabian Society.<sup>1</sup> Indeed, many of arguments used by Christian opponents to socialism were also raised by secular socialists in their own quest to secularise the social movement. In such cases, the Christian Socialists directed their response to both conservative Christians and atheist socialists, an approach which sometimes served to alienate them from both parties as their response was satisfactory to neither of them. A summary of the Christian Socialists' responses to each of the arguments outlined above forms the basis for the concluding section of this chapter.

The first important point of opposition to the idea of Christian Socialism was based upon certain beliefs as regards the proper duties of the clergy. Simply put, it stated that because the clergy should be concerned only with spiritual matters, it could not speak on matters regarding socialism and political life, still less declare a social movement to be Christian. This whole approach was, argued John Clifford, 'flat Paganism, and is as anti-Christian as it is misleading and delusive'.<sup>2</sup> As noted at the beginning of the previous chapter, the Christian Socialists advanced the theology of F. D. Maurice to argue that the clergy had a duty towards man's material, as well as his spiritual welfare.<sup>3</sup>

There was no reason why the clergy could not become politically active in order to carry out this duty. When it was right 'to give a pudding to a starving family', James Adderley asked, why was it wrong 'to organize a trades union which might prevent the family from starving at all' or to 'set the sanitary inspector to mend the drains, to join a reform union to fight the landlords... or to agitate against Jerry-building'. Although Adderley noted that the Church should not align to a political party, it 'may, and ought, to declare herself distinctly on a particular side where the point at issue is clearly a moral one'. Moreover, he argued that while great Christian men had acted in major national reforms – such as the abolition of the slave trade, prison reform, the repeal of the Corn Laws, the Factory Acts, the development of Trade Unionism and Co-operation – the Church was wrong to remain silent and inactive.<sup>4</sup>

Nevertheless, the Christian Socialists continued to agitate against the notion that social, political, and economic life had all been determined by the will of God, who had put the rich man in his castle and the poor man at the gate. Here one may usefully draw upon Rob Lee's account of the Church of England's activity in the Durham coalfield during the nineteenth century, which included a summary of the sociological attitudes of the established Church: attitudes against which the Durham clergy fought. The Church believed that: firstly, the social order was providential; secondly, that wealth had a corollary duty of care, and that

<sup>1</sup> John Edwards and S. J Day, *Socialism and the Catholic Church verbatim report of debate between Mr. John Edwards (President Liverpool Fabian Society) and Rev. Father Day, S.J. (of St. Francis Xavier's, Liverpool) St. Martins Hall, Liverpool. Monday, 3rd February, 1908.* (Liverpool: Liverpool Fabian Society, 1908).

<sup>2</sup> Clifford, *Socialism and the Teaching of Christ*, 1-3.

<sup>3</sup> Kenworthy, *The Anatomy of Misery*, 17-20

<sup>4</sup> Adderley, *Looking Upward; Parson in Socialism*, 76.

charity was also part of the divine plan; and thirdly, that God intended that the wealthy would control and reform the weak, sinful masses.<sup>1</sup> While socialist Christians such as Keir Hardie believed that ‘there was not, and could not, be any antagonism between Christianity and the Labour movement’, atheist socialists, such as Belfort Bax and Edward Aveling, denounced Christianity’s involvement with the socialist movement based on the Church attitudes described above.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, the labour movement distrusted the established Church, the so-called ‘Tory party at prayer’, which seemed to function for the interests of the privileged class. In fact, many nonconformist Christian Socialists were sympathetic to this view. For example, Philip Snowden, a Wesleyan Methodist, contrasted Jesus with ‘the modern bishops who draw big salaries while thousands of their countrymen starved’.<sup>3</sup>

However, the Anglican Christian Socialists would not abandon the Church, but instead aimed to rescue what they called ‘the most socialistic of all communities’ from the elitist, conservative theology which it had espoused for a millennium. Indeed, it was not any ‘natural irreligion’ of the labouring classes, they believed, that had caused the divorce between the Church and great Labour movements. They argued also that secularism had minimal influence on the working classes, arguing that it ‘never touched their imagination nor their hearts’, it was ‘dead, if not buried’, and that ‘Blatchford’s recent attempt at a resuscitation of “determinism” has utterly failed to provoke any genuine response amongst the poor’.<sup>4</sup>

The Christian Socialists maintained that Christianity should play a strong part in the social movement, and it was argued that atheist socialists had a wrongheaded understanding of Christianity. Such attacks were based, it was argued, upon ‘something which may be called Christianity by a few fanatics, but which most sober Christians of the present day would repudiate as heartily as the Editor of *The Clarion* himself, though perhaps not in his language’.<sup>5</sup> Even the ‘Socialists who deny Christianity but work for the people’s good,’ wrote another protagonist, ‘are worth a hundred, aye, and a thousand of *professing* Christians who hate their neighbours and care not who starves or suffers as long as they become rich’.<sup>6</sup> Kaufmann argued that it was not Christianity that was flawed but ‘the spirit in which it is understood’ by people such as Bax, and the ways in which it was ‘applied by some of its professors’ in the Church of England.<sup>7</sup> Many Christian Socialists supported the view that atheists had been brought up by a ‘narrow little sect’ of ‘Godless’ Christian teachers, and they strove to remind them that both Christians and socialists laboured ‘night and day for a “Jerusalem in England’s pleasant land”’.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Lee, *The Church of England and the Durham Coalfield*, 11.

<sup>2</sup> Binyon, *The Christian Socialist Movement in England*, 180; Aveling, Marson, and Headlam, *Christianity and Capitalism*.

<sup>3</sup> Pierson, *British Socialists*, 48.

<sup>4</sup> Donaldson in Hunt ed., *Churchmanship and Labour*, 93-101.

<sup>5</sup> Adderley, *Answers to Christian Fears about Socialism; Parson in Socialism*, 27, 30-1; Stubbs, *The Land and the Labourers*.

<sup>6</sup> Richards, *Socialism and the Catholic Church*, 5.

<sup>7</sup> Kaufmann, *Socialism and Modern Thought*, 15-16.

<sup>8</sup> Bruggenkate, *Catholicism and Socialism*, 2; Adderley, *Parson in Socialism*, 51.

James Adderley was also aggrieved about the misrepresentations of true Christianity by ‘sceptics of various kinds’, and he participated with other clergymen in delivering a course of sermons to deal with Bible criticism.<sup>1</sup> In a debate with the socialist Edward Aveling, Charles Marson and Stewart Headlam argued that outdated theology could not justify the rejection of Christianity, just as political economy should not be rejected outright because of ‘Malthus and his mischief’. Moreover, Marson’s and Headlam’s rejoinders tended towards a rejection of the holiness of Christianity; both suggested that the spiritual side of Christianity was much less important than its social message, prompting Aveling to invite them to renounce Christianity altogether. Reporting on the debate, the *Methodist Recorder* declared that

To conciliate the infidel these clergymen are prepared to throw overboard everything really distinctive of Christianity... The reverend gentlemen have taken lodgings in the Sodom of unbelief; they find themselves in strange company, but are determined to hob-nob heartily with their new associates and make themselves thoroughly agreeable to the atheistic, revolutionary, blaspheming crew.

Its incendiary rhetoric aside, the *Recorder* had pertinently questioned the faith of Marson and Headlam, and it prompted Marson to respond that ‘imbecile writers in inferior Church papers’ advanced a Christianity that was not just ‘heretical, but also... based upon nothing except the witless fancies of faithless theologians... unworthy of the name even of Theism’.<sup>2</sup> Similarly, in his writings E. D. Girdlestone argued that not all Christian Socialists were Christian ‘in either the ecclesiastical or the vital and spiritual meaning of that term’, and nor did they need to be. Christian Socialists were merely socialists ‘within the limits of Christian Morals and Politics – on Christian principles – and employing only Christian methods’.<sup>3</sup> He asserted that:

Neither belief in Christ as a Supernatural Being forms any part of our meaning when we apply that name for ourselves as a body, but only a discipular regard for Christ as a teacher, in our judgement, of the highest – the most precious – the most fruitful, Moral and Political truth.<sup>4</sup>

Girdlestone recognised that his position challenged the foundational doctrine of the Guild of St. Matthew, which stated that ‘in order to become a Christian Socialist, a man must first become a member of the Christian Church’, and he went on to defend the validity of both Anglican and nonconformist interpretations of Christian Socialism.<sup>5</sup> In addition, while J. C. Kenworthy maintained his faith in a higher power, it was the values of Christianity that he sought to promote, values which ‘might have had the same value, coming from Jesus, Buddha, Socrates, Comte, Karl Marx, or any other prophet’.<sup>6</sup> And as Jones noted, several

<sup>1</sup> James Adderley, *Jesus Christ To-Day Oxford House Papers 14* (London: Rivingtons, 1886), 9, 12; Adderley, ed., *Critical Questions. Being a Course of Sermons Delivered in St. Mark's Church, Marylebone Road, N.W.* By Rev. A. F. Kirkpatrick, D.D., Rev. H. B. Swete, D.D., Rev. R. J. Knowling, D.D., Rev. A. Robertson, D.D., Rev. W. Sanday, D.D., Rev. A. C. Headlam, M.A. With a Preface by Rev. J. Adderley (London: S. C. Brown & Co., 1903).

<sup>2</sup> Aveling, Marson, and Headlam, *Christianity and Capitalism*.

<sup>3</sup> Girdlestone, *Thirty-Nine Articles of Belief*, iv; *Christian Socialism versus Present-day Unsocialism*, 16.

<sup>4</sup> Girdlestone, *Thirty-nine Articles of Belief*, iv.

<sup>5</sup> Girdlestone, *The What and Why of Christian Socialism*, 162.

<sup>6</sup> Kenworthy, *From Bondage to Brotherhood*, 73-9, 111-2, 121; *Slavery, Ancient and Modern*, 11.

Christian Socialist Society members wished to exclude 'Christ-worship' altogether.<sup>1</sup> One Christian Socialist, for example, said that so long as the Christian world was 'wrapped up in selfishness and indifference to the material salvation of the people', he would more likely align with Freethinkers who 'display[ed] a more Christ-like spirit'.<sup>2</sup>

The Christian Socialists also argued that certain Christians had more calculated and cynical reasons for their belief that suffering was providentially ordered. As Adderley wrote in the late nineteenth century, 'Churchmen feel ashamed that they are not in the social movement, so they pick holes in Socialism, because they cannot reconcile the brotherhood of man with their own manner of luxury'. It was the Christian Socialists' mission to challenge the 'unhumble, comfortable people, who with amazing effrontery call the present state of things beautiful and God-ordained!'<sup>3</sup> And, as Marson wrote, expressing disbelief in socialism may be 'a very pretty way of saving spiritual trouble, of making a smart retort to the upbranchings of conscience, of refusing to render an account of our lives which Christians ought to be always doing'.<sup>4</sup>

Nevertheless, the Christian Socialists also outlined more broad responses to the notion that poverty was providential. John Clifford, Adderley, Kenworthy, Girdlestone, Stubbs, Conrad Noel, and others proffered the ideas of John Ruskin, Charles Kingsley, and Sir Arthur Helps to argue that poverty was not an arrangement of providence but was caused instead by man's disobedience to the teachings of Christ.<sup>5</sup> In fact, the claim that the 'earth is not equal to the comfortable support of all its inhabitants', Kenworthy wrote, was 'a blasphemy which accuses the Creator, the Father of Men, of bringing children into a world short of subsistence for them'.<sup>6</sup> Time and again they argued, as Girdlestone put it, that 'the existing injustice in regard to Land and Capital monopoly... are of purely human origin, and not even of universal prevalence... man, who made, can also alter these arrangements'.<sup>7</sup> In fact, it could be argued that it was not poverty but socialism and the social movement that was providential. In 1912 in his parish magazine John Clifford wrote that 'Socialism...is the plan of God. Socialism, in the soul of it, is divine. It is of God. He is behind all, and in all, and through all, working out His great redemption of mankind. God has his plan in every

<sup>1</sup> Jones, *Christian Socialist Revival*, 434.

<sup>2</sup> Gilbertson in Smith, *Fallacies of Socialism Exposed*.

<sup>3</sup> Adderley, *Looking Upward*, 26-7, 134.

<sup>4</sup> Marson, *God's Co-Operative Society*, 110.

<sup>5</sup> Clifford, *Socialism and the Teaching of Christ*, 4; Adderley, *Stephen Remarx, passim*; Kenworthy, *The Christian Revolt*, vii; Girdlestone, *Christian Socialism versus Present-day Unsocialism*, 21; Conrad Noel and Frank George Jannaway, *Ought Christians to be Socialists? (Report of a debate between the Rev. Conrad Noel and Frank G. Jannaway)* (London: New Age Press, 1909); Stubbs, *A Creed for Christian Socialists*, 4. One Christian Socialist noted that the separation of the religious and the economic spheres allowed the 'Exploiter' to 'follow the Prince of Peace in Religion, while conserving competitive strife in Politics'. Cummings, *The Gospel of Socialism*, 8.

In the Oxford Dictionary of National Biography John R. DeBruyn writes that 'Helps was active in the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science from its foundation in 1857, and his last published work *Social Pressure* (1875) was a plea for ameliorative social legislation. On 9 June 1860, on the recommendation of Lord Granville, Helps was named clerk of the privy council, a post which he held until his death. This brought him into close association with the royal family as well as Gladstone and Disraeli when prime ministers.' John R. DeBruyn, 'Helps, Sir Arthur (1813-1875)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/12876>, accessed 8 March 2011].

<sup>6</sup> Kenworthy, *From Bondage to Brotherhood*, 1-7.

<sup>7</sup> Girdlestone, *The What and Why of Christian Socialism*.

generation'.<sup>1</sup> The social movement was directed by God as a challenge to the Church to rediscover its true Christianity. As Adderley and many others said, God was 'in Socialism, speaking to His Church'.<sup>2</sup>

However, many opponents to the idea of Christian Socialism went on to cite the scriptures as part of their claims that if poverty existed, it was providential. Had the Parable of the talents not taught that rewards accrued to the industrious seekers of wealth, not the feckless and lazy, and that the former traits were therefore holy? It was scripture that was frequently used as a tool not just to argue that social and economic life was providentially ordered, but also to argue against socialism more generally. Time and again the Christian Socialists felt compelled to return to this debate. For example, in a series of works, Charles William Stubbs made the scriptural case for the kind of Christian anticapitalist notions referenced above.<sup>3</sup> The use of scripture could work both ways. As Adderley said to his opponents, 'if we wanted to quote texts on our side we could give you four hundred for your four'.<sup>4</sup> The Lord's Prayer was also employed in this argument in the same way.<sup>5</sup> However, there is no need to cover the whole four hundred texts here, as in any case the notion of a scriptural justification for social reform has been covered by Jones and other scholars.

However, less attention has been paid to the times when Christian Socialists, including those from the Church of England, played down the importance of the Bible itself. For Adderley, the Bible was not a 'mine of little texts out of which anybody can make a religion which suits him' nor was it a 'cast-iron system of laws and precepts... which the Church is seeking to impose upon mankind', but a collection of Christian principles which were 'far more compatible with our economic proposals than with... blind acquiescence in the present commercial system'.<sup>6</sup> Moreover Marson argued that the Bible was 'not the rule of faith' nor was the Church founded upon it.<sup>7</sup> Girdlestone argued that the New Testament only filled in the gaps in a well-known dominant morality of the time, and so to take spiritual teaching from these precepts alone would be a 'skewed representation of holy morality'.<sup>8</sup>

The historical context of biblical quotes was of fundamental importance, as Adderley argued in his Church Socialist League leaflet *Bible Texts Quoted Against Socialism*: Luke iii. 14 was an argument against looting, not a justification for 'placid contentment under injustice'; Luke xii. 13 did not prevent the establishment of socialism in a legal, orderly manner, which would prevent petty disputes in the future; while Matthew vi. 33 did not

<sup>1</sup> John Clifford in *Westbourne Park Record* Vol. 20, No. 5 (1912), 7.

<sup>2</sup> Adderley, *Parson in Socialism*, 44.

<sup>3</sup> Stubbs, *Village Politics*, 123; *A Creed for Christian Socialists; Christ and Economics*.

<sup>4</sup> These four hundred included the passage 'it is easier for a camel to go through a needle's eye than for a rich man to enter into the Kingdom of Heaven'. Adderley, *Christ and Social Reform*, 11; *Bible Texts Quoted Against Socialism*.

<sup>5</sup> Girdlestone, *The What and Why of Christian Socialism*; Charles William Stubbs, *The Paternoster of the Christian Socialist: A Sermon Preached Before the Nottingham Church Congress at the Concluding Service in S. Mary's Church, October 1st, 1897* (London: Bemrose, 1897).

<sup>6</sup> Adderley, *Christ and Social Reform*, 11; *Bible Texts Quoted Against Socialism*.

<sup>7</sup> Marson, *God's Co-Operative Society*, 33; Marson, 'II' Chapter in Aveling, Marson, and Headlam, *Christianity and Capitalism*, 14.

<sup>8</sup> Girdlestone, *The What and Why of Christian Socialism*.

prevent concern with material goods, something only required because we had not obeyed our Lord's command to seek to establish God's kingdom and God's justice on earth. Of course, Adderley, as well as Girdlestone and others, argued that just because the poor 'were always with us', Jesus actually implied that it was up to the people on earth to help them.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, as Kenworthy argued, contemporary priests had corrupted the Bible's message. The Book of Exodus, he wrote, had clearly outlined the society of Brotherhood, in which there was to be no State, police, prisons, nor soldiers, and where both the private ownership of land and the lending at interest were forbidden. 'Real Christianity', as one Christian Socialist wrote, was 'never opposed to true socialism'.<sup>2</sup>

The Christian Socialists' tendency to weave Biblical criticism into their socialist literature made it possible for their opponents to claim that socialism was antagonistic to Christianity, because socialism promulgated an account of historical forces that, at best, left religion aside and, at worst, conceived of Christianity as an example of man's false consciousness. The views of Blatchford, and later of Marx (as they eventually became known about in Britain), on the subject of religion were soon cited by conservative Christians as evidence that the socialist movement and socialist ideas were necessarily and fundamentally anti-Christian. The Christian Socialists responded in a number of ways. The first, more positive, approach was to argue that Socialists embraced Christian principles, as highlighted above. In terms of defining the theoretical relationship between Christian Socialism and secular socialism, Wilfrid Richmond had the greatest influence upon the Christian Social Union during its formative years. The principles of Christianity, and therefore of Christian Socialism, Richmond argued, were the same as those of socialism (supremacy of morality in economic matters, all ought to labour and enjoy the fruits of their labour). He contended that the word 'socialism' in the term 'Christian Socialism' signified the fact 'that they are principles as to which the Socialists have done much to teach Christians'.<sup>3</sup> Similarly, several Christian Socialists would call attention to the harmony between socialism and Christianity by suggesting that socialists were 'among the prophets'.<sup>4</sup>

The second approach adopted by the Christian Socialists in order to respond to the claim that socialism was atheist was to argue the anti-religious views of one or two Socialists were misrepresentative of the movement as a whole. A third, more defensive, approach was to argue that it was superfluous to contend that socialism was fundamentally atheist because socialism simply had nothing to say on religion. Clearly, this sort of argument was incongruous with the notion that socialism and Christianity shared common principles, as well as with the British experience of socialism in the late nineteenth century. However, the claim that socialism was solely an 'economic plan for the re-organization of society on

<sup>1</sup> Adderley, *Bible Texts Quoted Against Socialism*; Girdlestone, *The What and Why of Christian Socialism*, 178-9.

<sup>2</sup> Richards, *Socialism and the Catholic Church* (my emphasis).

<sup>3</sup> Richmond, *Economic Morals*, 20.

<sup>4</sup> For example, see Adderley, *God's Fast*, 78.

collective lines', and therefore had nothing to say about religion was made by James Adderley, Conrad Noel, and others with increasing frequency after the turn of the century.<sup>1</sup>

Nevertheless the Christian Socialists did concede that socialism often lacked a spiritual element and that it tended to neglect the importance of character and Christian virtue in favour of materialist concerns. However, they no longer wished to engage in the conflict with the 'unChristian socialists' as F. D. Maurice had done, but argued that 'the motive for Christian Socialism' was to move socialism to a higher spiritual plane, and to guide the overly materialistic social movement towards conversion rather than coercion.<sup>2</sup> Without this spiritual and ethical influence, every scheme for social improvement was doomed to failure: 'Socialism', said William Tuckwell, 'is a term incomplete unless [it includes] Christian Socialism'.<sup>3</sup> For such reasons, Adderley argued that it would be a 'bad day for English Christianity' if by 'short-sightedness and prejudice we cause a final separation between Socialists and the faith of Christ'.<sup>4</sup>

Christian opponents to socialism did not just react against its perceived inherent characteristics, but they also outlined numerous arguments regarding what they believed would be its socially destructive consequences. Often these arguments were raised in the context of formal debate, either in person or in the pages of Christian Socialist periodicals. A typical example was the debate between Samuel Smith, a nonconformist Liberal MP who opposed Socialism and the 'Christian and Socialist' George Gilbertson, regarding the Democratic Federation's *Socialism made plain* (1883).<sup>5</sup> Smith denounced socialism on the grounds that it was 'theft, anti-Christian, ruinous, anti-marriage, [and] anti-prosperity', and he argued that equalization of wages would arrest the cultivation of individual character and would stifle industry as capital fled the nation.<sup>6</sup> Such arguments demanded a suitably comprehensive response, not least because many Christian Socialists shared similar concerns, especially with regard to the effect socialism might have on Christian institutions such as matrimony and the family unit.

The Christian Socialists responded by citing socialist literature that promoted family life, such as the works highlighted by Kaufmann in his *Social Development Under Christian Influence* (1900). Kaufmann delineated the arguments of Fourniere's *La Famille Ideale*: when the socialist community or state provided adequate welfare and education, marriages would form out of 'natural affinity, mutual affection and esteem' rather than for economic reasons. However, Kaufmann himself claimed that it was Christianity rather than socialism that led the emancipation of women. Christianity's theory of the relations of the sexes was,

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<sup>1</sup> Adderley, *Is Socialism Atheism?*; Noel and Jannaway, *Ought Christians to be Socialists?*; Cecil Chesterton, *The Basis of Socialism*.

<sup>2</sup> Clifford, *Socialism and the Churches*, 107.

<sup>3</sup> Tuckwell, *Christian Socialism and Other Lectures*, 23-6; Adderley, *A Little Primer of Christian Socialism*, 84-5; *Looking Upward*, 98, 133; Kaufmann, *Socialism and Modern Thought*, 165.

<sup>4</sup> Adderley, *A Little Primer of Christian Socialism*, 85.

<sup>5</sup> Smith, *Fallacies of Socialism Exposed*.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*



he argued, superior to 'socialist and other neo-pagan theories', because it espoused the notion of a 'common human relationship founded on the fatherhood of God'. By promoting the family unit at the core of society and restraining the 'severities of fatherly correction', Christianity had elevated the position of women and had fostered the growth of the social organism.<sup>1</sup>

Similarly, James Adderley maintained that the Church was the special guardian of family life, that insisted on justice for both men and women as regards their health, education, labour, and domestic lives.<sup>2</sup> However, unlike Kaufmann, he insisted that in the modern industrial climate Christian ideals of family life could only be protected by socialism. Far from abolishing family life, he wrote, socialism aimed 'to make it a real and beautiful thing'. Moreover, if the poor were to enjoy the family life which God intended for them, they required rescuing from slum life and the Poor Law system; only socialism could achieve this.<sup>3</sup> Rather than outlining visions of communal kindergartens, kitchens, and laundry rooms, the Christian Socialists initially framed socialist female emancipation in terms of their freedom to remove themselves from the labour market. Indeed, as Adderley, E. D. Girdlestone, John Clifford, and others argued, instead of destroying the family, socialism made family life possible because mothers would be able to spend time at home instead of in the factories. For Clifford, this could only be achieved by socialism's promise to ensure the 'removal of all uncertainty and anxiety as to income'.<sup>4</sup> As he argued with respect to its collectivist strand, socialism was not 'the absorption of the individual by the state; or the suppression of the family; or the total extinction of private property'.<sup>5</sup>

Nevertheless, some Christian Socialists did note socialism's position regarding the economic equality of the sexes. J. C. Kenworthy was notable for expressing his desire for a time when marriage for economic reasons would be unnecessary, when women 'shall no longer be a house-drudge, a man's slave, but free, as he is, to live as she pleases; and in all, the equal of men'.<sup>6</sup> Similar sentiments were expressed more often by Christian Socialists after the turn of the century. The Church Socialist League's *Definition of Socialism*, for example, argued that one of socialism's most fundamental ideas was 'the total abolition of the dependence of individuals upon other individuals or upon particular classes or sections of society [which] involves the sex emancipation of women quite as much as the class emancipation of the proletariat'.<sup>7</sup>

Other opponents of Christian Socialism argued that while Christianity espoused voluntary help, socialism involved forceful or insurrectional change (so-called

<sup>1</sup> Kaufmann, *Social Development Under Christian Influence*, 1-10.

<sup>2</sup> Adderley, *Socialism and the Seven Sacraments*.

<sup>3</sup> Adderley, *Parson in Socialism*, 31-2.

<sup>4</sup> Clifford, *Socialism and the Churches*. The pamphlet started life as a sermon, which explains why its tone was perhaps more moderate than some of Clifford's other writings. See *Westbourne Park Record* Vol. 16, No. 7 (1908), 104-107 under the title 'The Churches and Socialism: An Address given to the London Baptist Association'.

<sup>5</sup> Clifford, *Socialism and the Teaching of Christ*, 9.

<sup>6</sup> Kenworthy, *From Bondage to Brotherhood*, 54, 139; Girdlestone, *Christian Socialism versus Present-day Unsocialism*.

<sup>7</sup> Swann, *The What and the Why of Socialism*, 7.

'compulsion'), and also that if implemented, socialism would discourage initiative, industriousness, and individuality. These points of Christian opposition to socialism were of the kind that impelled the Christian Socialists to outline the meaning of socialism and to distinguish it from communism. That the abolition of all private property would lead, as Girdlestone wrote, to 'an ultimate cessation of that home life on which... our national strength, morality and happiness very largely depend', was a principal element in many Christian Socialists' rejection of communism.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, Girdlestone argued that it was both unjust and inexpedient to confiscate in the name of the common good the produce of those who insisted on working harder than the idle.<sup>2</sup> Responding to the charge that socialism discouraged initiative, industriousness, and individuality, many Christian Socialists advanced some central tenets of the 'new liberalism', namely that socialism would create the conditions that would enable the initiative, industriousness, and individuality of all to flourish. In addition, socialism would give the individual a chance to be free, as it would 'abolish poverty; reduce the hungry to an imperceptible number, and systematically care for the aged poor and the sick'.<sup>3</sup> The notion that socialism promoted freedom was important also to Kenworthy. He argued that when Jesus said the 'truth shall set you free', He had referred not just to spiritual liberty, but meant 'free in every particle of possible social, economic, and political significance of the word'.<sup>4</sup>

Moreover, some Christian Socialist theorists tended towards the ideas of early twentieth-century liberal socialism in responding to the arguments noted above. For example, Kaufmann's view that the abandonment of the market would lead industry to 'lethargy and indolence' because the driving force of the profit-motive would be lost, was a harbinger of J. A. Hobson's *Incentives in the new industrial order* (1922).<sup>5</sup> Similar points were raised in the Christian Socialists' theories of wages, considered in Chapter Four, and in J. Bruce Wallace's proposals for his *Brotherhood* co-operative network, considered in Chapter Six.

Nevertheless, several points raised in opposition to socialism resonated with the Christian Socialists. While the thinking behind their responses to these critiques informed the Christian Socialists' prescriptive doctrines, such thinking was subject to change over time. A summary of these trends reveals some of the intellectual developments to be examined in more detail in the chapters that make up Part Two.

While the notion that socialism involved compulsion has already been discussed above, there were also those who maintained that even if Christianity permitted or necessitated social reform, it did not prescribe collective or political agency. Indeed, some of

<sup>1</sup> Girdlestone, *The What and Why of Christian Socialism*, 145-6; Adderley, *Looking Upward*, 152, 228; *Parson in Socialism*, 118; Adderley, *Answers to Christian Fears about Socialism*; Clifford, *Socialism and the Churches*.

<sup>2</sup> Girdlestone, *The What and Why of Christian Socialism*, 145-6.

<sup>3</sup> Adderley, *Answers to Christian Fears about Socialism*; Clifford, *Socialism and the Teaching of Christ*, 10.

<sup>4</sup> Kenworthy, *Slavery, Ancient and Modern*, 1.

<sup>5</sup> Kaufmann, *Socialism and Christianity*, 38; Thompson, *Political Economy and the Labour Party*, 41.

the better known Christian Socialists argued that social reform should occur as a result of the collective action of individuals, not the single action of the collective. However, as will be shown later, the dividing lines between the two were not clear cut until, it is argued, after 1906, when the Christian Socialists began to favour various forms of political and economic collectivism. However, the Christian Socialist theorists responded directly to the claim that Christianity prescribed individual rather than collective action. Echoing many of his peers, Adderley wrote that 'Christianity is social or nothing', and Clifford wrote that collectivism had strong affinity with the 'high ideals of the individual and social life given by Christ'. Moreover, Clifford believed that though Christianity was 'intrinsically an individual message', restricting it to individual conduct was 'a fragmentary perception of the truth'. His was an Aristotelian world view that man was a social animal.<sup>1</sup> Christianity 'had to do with the organized and collective life of man, it was political, it was social', and it was in this sphere that religion's biggest failures had been evident.<sup>2</sup> Political life was 'only a part of religious life'.<sup>3</sup> Kaufmann argued that although the socialists claimed ownership of the notion that individual interests were subordinate to the needs of society, the idea actually evolved 'out of the religious consciousness of Christian society'.<sup>4</sup> Alternatively, the Christian Socialists could elide the issue. Girdlestone, who also argued for the nationalization of land and capital, argued that it did not matter whether or not the Gospel prescribed collective action. The Christian Socialists' opposition to *laissez-faire* was, as he saw it, based 'not upon any 'distinctly Christian' feeling or doctrine, but upon simple morality and common justice'.<sup>5</sup>

Questions over the causality of social reform continued to occupy the minds of Christian Socialists throughout the *fin-de-siècle* period, and it is arguable that they were never able to reach a satisfactory conclusion. Was moral reform of individuals necessary before society as a whole could be changed, or was it necessary to change society through legislative action before it was possible to save individual souls? The obvious, perhaps noncommittal, response was to claim that both approaches were required, and they made up an iterative process of reform. After all, one would be useless without the other: Adderley said that 'we believe in improvement of material conditions just as we believe that God's will is that men should live in bodily health and happiness, but we freely recognise that very much more is needed if society is to be saved. *Sin* must be got rid of'.<sup>6</sup> Nonetheless, several Christian Socialists did argue that emphasis should be placed upon legislative action. Girdlestone argued that the system in its current state made it impossible for people to

<sup>1</sup> John Clifford, *Social Worship: An Everlasting Necessity, Small Books on Great Subject No. 14*. (London: J. Clarke & Co., 1899), 6.

<sup>2</sup> As examples he named Luther, as he did not introduce Christian principles to social conduct, and Wesley, as he did not sympathise with the colonists' struggle for freedom. John Clifford, 'Christmas Day Sermon 1904' in J. Stewart, ed., *The Westbourne Park Chapel Monthly Record* Vol. 13, No. 1 (1905), 87.

<sup>3</sup> Clifford, *The Housing of the Poor*, 9; Clifford, 'The Churches and Socialism' in *Westbourne Park Record* Vol. 16, No. 7 (1908), 106-7.

<sup>4</sup> Kaufmann, *Social Development Under Christian Influence*, 37.

<sup>5</sup> Girdlestone, *The What and Why of Christian Socialism*, 178-9.

<sup>6</sup> Adderley, *Looking Upward*, 118; John Clifford 'Is Christian Socialism Practicable' in *Westbourne Park Record* Vol. 15, No. 1 (1907), 4-7.

change their character, and in later years Adderley claimed that Christ 'believed in a new environment... [and] judged the character of a nation by the test of whether it looked after the sick and offered a new life to unhappy, uncomfortable people'.<sup>1</sup>

Even if the Christian Socialists were able to overcome all the points of opposition highlighted above, they were still often met with the claim that it would be impossible or impractical to implement some or all of the prescriptive doctrines of socialism. The Christian Socialists were not unsympathetic to this view; they recognised that the socialist commonwealth portrayed in the works of figures such as William Morris and Edward Bellamy was far removed from the kind of society that they could hope for in their lifetime. However, they rejected the notion that because this was the case, utopian literature discredited the practicability of socialist ideas. As Kaufmann wrote, 'there exists much unreasonable prejudice against socialistic literature, as containing *nothing but* idle dreams and fancies quite unworthy of the serious attention of social reformers, practical politicians, philanthropists, and the intelligent public generally'.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, the Christian Socialists argued that although there would be difficulties in the road ahead, God was on the side of the socialists. In addition, so-called 'minor points' regarding the implementation of socialism would be, Christian Socialists frequently argued, dealt with 'when the time arose' or would resolve themselves 'naturally'. Vagueness, wrote Kaufmann, is 'only what we must expect in all theorists', because in a 'natural division of labour', the social philosophers propound theories while the politicians were left to give them effect. The Christian Socialists were visionaries not implementers, or in Kaufmann's words, they were 'like Archimedes and Newton, not like architects or civil engineers'.<sup>3</sup> While the Christian Socialists recognised the difficulties of establishing socialism, Girdlestone, Adderley, and others frequently cited J. S. Mill to argue that if competitive capitalism or Communism were the only alternatives, 'all the difficulties, great or small, of Communism would be but dust in the balance'.<sup>4</sup> In fact, the Christian Socialists argued that rather than being an impossible fantasy, profound social reconstruction was on the horizon. As Kenworthy argued, the present system would shortly be destroyed by some combination of peaceful and violent means, and therefore it was the Christian Socialists' task to steer socialism towards the former. Moreover, as Stubbs remarked, 'if men cannot get the Socialism of Jesus Christ, they will get the Socialism of the Devil'.<sup>5</sup> For such reasons, the Christian Socialists argued that it was important that Christianity permeated the Labour movement, whatever one's feelings regarding the desirability or feasibility of socialism.

<sup>1</sup> Girdlestone, *The What and Why of Christian Socialism*, 178-9; Adderley, *Answers to Christian Fears about Socialism; Looking Upward*, 90.

<sup>2</sup> Kaufmann, *Utopias*, vi, (my emphasis).

<sup>3</sup> M. Kaufmann, *Christian Socialism* (London: K. Paul, 1888), 33.

<sup>4</sup> The original words by Mill appeared in Book II of his *Principles of Political Economy*. Girdlestone, *Christian Socialism versus Present-day Unsocialism*, 26, 137; *Thirty-nine Articles of Belief*, 26.

<sup>5</sup> Kenworthy, *From Bondage to Brotherhood*, 133.

Much of the Christian Socialists' literature and activity in the late nineteenth century arose from their endeavours to challenge popular conceptions of socialists and socialism. It was a task in which they faced opposition from Christian anti-socialists, as well as secular and atheist socialists who wished to distance themselves from religion. The principal obstacle, however, was the pervasiveness of the derogatory conception of the socialist movement that had been purveyed by political leaders and writers, and by the popular press. This conception of socialism not only regarded its supporters as militant, atheist, and ungentlemanly rabble-rousers, but regarded its ideas as incompatible with the 'iron laws' of political economy. To overcome the denigration of socialism Christian Socialists therefore needed to engage in a debate about the scope, methods, and theories of political economy. Their efforts to do so are considered in the next two chapters.



## Chapter Three: The scope and method of political economy

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Competition... is not only the parent of the present awful contrast between the condition of the few superfluously Rich, and the many miserably Poor... but must always, necessarily and by logical consequence, be productive of such hideous results.<sup>1</sup>

E. D. Girdlestone, 1886

Christian Socialism is spoken of as if it were... analogous to making the earth stop moving, or trying to persuade men that two and two equal five... The so-called laws of political economy are not laws like those of astronomy or mathematics. Comfortable people exalt them into laws of God, because it suits them to do so.<sup>2</sup>

James Adderley, 1896

The professional economists have... not only recognised far more explicitly the strict limitations of the abstract science of political economy, but also in many influential quarters they are more or less in accord with the principles of Christian Socialism.<sup>3</sup>

John Carter, 1905

In the late nineteenth century the study of man's behaviour in the economic sphere began to regard itself as an academic discipline in its own right. During early years of the Christian Socialist revival, however, 'political economy' inhabited an interdisciplinary cognitive space, reflected in the variety of periodicals in which it was published. Therefore, in order to engage with economic theory, the Christian Socialists were required to venture into the 'scientific' domain.

### Engaging with science and political economy

The Victorian period witnessed significant advances in the natural and physical sciences, but it should not be assumed that scientific breakthroughs, such as the development of evolutionary theory, were universally perceived as a challenge to Christian theology. In fact many Christian thinkers sought not only to reconcile their religion with the ideas propounded by the new science, but also to use the latter to strengthen the foundations of their faith.<sup>4</sup> Scholars have noted Charles Kingsley's attempts to embrace the new science in the mid-nineteenth century, as he believed it could hasten social progress whilst reinforcing Christian faith and upholding traditional social values.<sup>5</sup> Research has revealed that several Christian Socialists attempted such a task.<sup>6</sup> During the later period with which this thesis is concerned, several Christian Socialists acted as the spokespersons of the new science. Mauritz

<sup>1</sup> Girdlestone, *Thirty-Nine Articles of Belief*, 6.

<sup>2</sup> Adderley, *Looking Upward*, 21.

<sup>3</sup> John Carter and Henry Scott Holland, *Commercial Morality* (Oxford: Horace Hart, 1905), 13-14.

<sup>4</sup> W. H. Brock and R. M. Macleod, 'The Scientists' Declaration: Reflexions on Science and Belief in the Wake of "Essays and Reviews" 1864-5', *The British Journal for the History of Science* Vol. 9, No. 1 (March 1, 1976): *passim*.

<sup>5</sup> Though, Turner argued, Kingsley's *Alton Locke* may not have produced a coherent vision of the reformist future, his outlook would have been shared by most of his contemporaries. Frank M. Turner, *Review of Alan Rauch 'Useful knowledge: the Victorians, Morality, and the march of intellect'* in *Victorian Studies* (Bloomington) Vol. 45, Issue 1 (Autumn, 2002), 155.

<sup>6</sup> For example, John Llewelyn Davies, *Social Questions from the point of view of Christian Theology*. (London: Macmillan & Co, 1885); 'Social Questions', *The Morning Post* (London, August 28, 1885), 35315th edition.

Kaufmann outlined detailed expositions of developments in the social sciences throughout his books; E. D. Girdlestone promoted the theory of evolution as defined by Alfred Russel Wallace; and John Clifford frequently demonstrated a commitment to working-class education in the natural sciences through his Social Progress Society.<sup>1</sup> These figures all sought to reconcile Christianity with the notion of 'natural selection'. Clifford's *Typical Christian Leaders* (1898) included a chapter on Charles Darwin in which it was argued that, for the children of God, 'the survival of the fittest' described the eternal salvation of those who espoused Christian virtues.<sup>2</sup> However, Kaufmann and Girdlestone contended that a man-made 'artificial environment', namely the cash nexus through which industrial capitalism operated, prevented the operation of such theological Darwinism just as it helped arrest the application of Smilesean doctrine.<sup>3</sup>

Nevertheless, many mainstream clergy did not welcome the new wave of scientific enquiry, nor did they wish to enter into economic discussion. Many amongst the well-known Christian Socialists believed that, as Percy Dearmer wrote, 'if our Lord had taught economics, instead of religion... he would never have led the world to brotherhood at all'.<sup>4</sup> However, the social theorists of the late-nineteenth century Christian Socialist movement did seek to engage with political economy, and they did so for a number of reasons. Firstly, they believed that the clergy had a duty to provide moral leadership for the nation and therefore had to a duty to 'know social science, political economy, politics, commerce, agriculture', to 'study the laws of political economy', and to 'educate themselves in economics, in labour and agricultural disputes'.<sup>5</sup> Secondly, they believed that studying political economy would improve their understanding of the social problem and would enable them to deliver their gospel, that Christ was the 'answer to the social question', in accordance with contemporary socio-economic circumstances.<sup>6</sup> Finally, many Christian Socialist theorists, especially those associated with the Christian Social Union, believed that the study of mainstream economic ideas and 'the working of the economic system' was necessary in order to accomplish an important Christian duty: the creation of an economic morality.<sup>7</sup> Moreover, and as shown in more detail below, the Christian Socialists believed that the classical economic doctrines were both misrepresented by social agitators and misunderstood by the proponents of

<sup>1</sup> Clifford spoke fondly of his own science classes in University College in 1858, writing that 'science was one of the formative forces of the future... the teachers of Christianity... would do well to make themselves practically acquainted with the methods pursued by scientific men' such as Huxley and Darwin. *Typical Christian Leaders* (London: H. Marshall & Son, 1898); See also Kaufmann, *Utopias*, 21-4.

<sup>2</sup> Clifford claimed that Darwin's reputed disbelief in the Revelation could be explained by a punctuation error and that Darwin's explanation of the origin of men was 'in perfect accord' with the Bible. *Typical Christian Leaders*, 215-235. The book received favourable reviews from the *Daily News*, *British Weekly*, *Westminster Gazette*, *Methodist Times*, *Christian Endeavour*, *The New Age*. See *Westbourne Park Record* (1898).

<sup>3</sup> Kaufmann, *Socialism and Modern Thought*, 21-8; Girdlestone, *Christian Socialism versus Present-day Unsocialism*, 162.

<sup>4</sup> Dearmer, *Socialism and Christianity*, 13.

<sup>5</sup> Stubbs, *Village Politics*, 10-11; *Christ and Economics*, 254.

Henry Scott Holland wrote that 'there must be many who, like myself, know just enough of political economy to find themselves hopelessly confused, whenever they are brought into face of the concrete facts'. Henry Scott Holland, 'Preface' in Richmond, *Economic Morals*, vii.

<sup>6</sup> Adderley, *Looking Upward*, 197.

<sup>7</sup> As Henry Scott Holland wrote in his preface to Wilfrid Richmond's *Economic Morals*, 'I conceive it then to be our duty to study and preach economic morality. For this purpose we must read economics, as a description of the working of the economic system'. Richmond, *Economic Morals*, 15.



capitalism's moral principles.

It was important, therefore, for the Christian Socialists to critically engage with the ideas of the political economists themselves as well as with the actors in the economic sphere. Thus, in a number of books and articles, the Christian Socialist theorists explained and critically examined the economic ideas of figures such as Smith, J. S. Mill, Ricardo, Malthus, Marx, W. Cunningham, J. A. Hobson, W. J. Ashley, John Neville Keynes, Henry George, Francis Amasa Walker, and Alfred Marshall.<sup>1</sup> The Christian Socialists were keen to stress that their work was based upon these thinkers. Richmond's *Christian Economics*, for example, acknowledged its debt to Marshall, Toynbee, Cunningham, and Walker.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, they attempted to situate their work within the discourse associated with these thinkers by framing their work as a direct response to them. Often this was most easily done by adopting the same title of an important text. A Christian Social Union leaflet, for example, entitled *The Scope and Method of Political Economy* declared that it was based on Keynes's work of the same name.<sup>3</sup> In Clifford's words, the Christian Socialists believed that they should not stand 'apart from the economists, but with them'.<sup>4</sup>

In order to examine economic ideas, the economic treatises produced by Christian Socialist theorists often began with an historical account of the ways in which political economy was practiced over time. The historical and contemporary purposes of political economy were vigorously debated topics in late-nineteenth-century universities and periodicals, so it was not unusual that the Christian Socialists' perspectives on the matter were wide-ranging. For example, J. C. Kenworthy argued that political economy first emerged as a response to the increasing division of labour associated with the industrial period. Its purpose was, firstly, to understand the processes of production, distribution, and exchange, and secondly, to develop and promote virtuous 'Principles of Conduct' in order that such processes supported the sustenance of life.<sup>5</sup> In Mauritz Kaufmann's translation and exposition of a work by Albert Schäffle, it was agreed that economic commodities were 'instruments for the substance of life' but it was suggested that 'political economy' specifically described the nation-state's concern for the creation, dispersion, and circulation of such goods.<sup>6</sup> Girdlestone agreed on the latter point, noting that the classical economists

<sup>1</sup> The Christian Socialists suggested texts for recommended reading. Stubbs recommended, amongst others, a number of works by W. Cunningham, E. de Laveye, Arnold Toynbee, and Herbert Spencer, as well as J. A. Hobson's *Problem of Poverty*, W. J. Ashley's *English Economic History*, J. K. Ingram's *History of Political Economy*, and Alfred Marshall's, *Principles of Economics*. J. C. Kenworthy named Ruskin's *Unto This Last*, Morris's *Signs of Change and News From Nowhere*, J. S. Mill's *Principles of Political Economy*, Henry George's *Progress and Poverty*, Thorold Rogers's *Six Centuries of Work and Wages in England*, and Book I of Marx's *Capital*. Girdlestone recommended the Fabian Tract 'Facts for Socialists'. See Stubbs, *Christ and Economics*; Kenworthy, *The Anatomy of Misery*; Girdlestone, *Christian Socialism versus Present-day Unsocialism*.

<sup>2</sup> Jones, *Christian Socialist Revival*, 176.

<sup>3</sup> See notices in *The Commonwealth* Vol. 3, No. 2 (1898). The leaflet also cited Marshall's *Principles* and Toynbee's *Industrial Revolution* as formative influences.

<sup>4</sup> Clifford, *Socialism and the Churches*, 107.

<sup>5</sup> 'Seeing that life itself is dependent upon the proper carrying out of these processes, it is of overwhelming importance that men should come to an understanding and agreement as to the ends most desirable to be gained in Production and Distribution, and the Principles of Conduct which will best attain those ends'. Kenworthy, *The Anatomy of Misery*, 22.

<sup>6</sup> Kaufmann, *Socialism: Its Nature, Its Dangers, and Its Remedies Considered*, 10.

compared the state's economic stewardship to the patriarchal governance of a family.<sup>1</sup> Unlike Kaufmann, however, Girdlestone contended that those who had taught and applied political economy throughout the nineteenth century had not been concerned about the usefulness or superfluity of exchangeable commodities.<sup>2</sup> Because they were not concerned with the social value of a good, nineteenth-century political economists were, Girdlestone argued, predisposed towards extolling *laissez-faire* principles. Similarly, Wilfrid Richmond and Charles William Stubbs identified historical trends in the development of economic thought, of which the most recent, 'Cobdenism or *laissez-faire*', venerated above all social ideas the freedom of individuals to 'pursue their private interest'. Richmond, Stubbs, and several other Christian Socialists contrasted the mercantilist and capitalist eras with medieval times, during which as Stubbs wrote, 'English economic life was moulded in accordance with ideas common to all Christendom' by authorities such as the King, the Church, and the guilds. The principles of medieval economic life, they argued, were encapsulated in the *Summa Theologica* of St. Thomas Aquinas; that this text influenced Christian Socialist understanding of certain economic concepts is considered in more detail in Chapter Four.<sup>3</sup>

## The laws of political economy

The Christian Socialists' treatment of economic history was inspired by proponents of the historical school of economics, most notably William Cunningham, Arnold Toynbee, William Ashley, and Thorold Rogers.<sup>4</sup> The inductive study of economics proved that, as Stubbs wrote, 'the existing phase of industrial society, founded on unlimited competition... is an essentially modern thing, evidently modifiable, or even removable, if found harmful to the social body'. If society was variable, then so were the economic principles that claimed

<sup>1</sup> Girdlestone highlighted the work of Richard Jennings, whose *Social Delusions concerning wealth and want* (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1856), argued that the principles of political economy were used by leaders to govern nations just as they were used by the head of the Swiss Family Robinson to govern his family. Girdlestone's reiteration of Smith, 'what is prudence in the conduct of every private family can scarcely be folly in that of a great kingdom,' and J. S. Mill, 'Political economy is to the State what Domestic Economy is to the family', shows that the fallacy of composition was alive and well in the years before Keynes outlined the paradox of thrift during the 1930s. Though it has been argued that J. M. Robinson proposed an earlier form of the paradox in *The Fallacy of Saving* (1892), one might reasonably speculate that the author's aggressive secularism would have prevented his underconsumptionist ideas from resonating with the Christian Socialists. *Christian Socialism versus Present-day Unsociability*, 3; *Thirty-Nine Articles of Belief*.

<sup>2</sup> Girdlestone aimed to highlight 'fundamental maxims of the orthodox and accepted system of political economy, as it has been taught in our colleges and applied in our Parliaments, since the time of Adam Smith'. These maxims were propounded, he wrote, by figures such as J. R. McCulloch, the first Professor of Political Economy at University College London, and Sir T. Twiss, former Professor of Political Economy at Oxford. 'It signifies nothing to the main purposes of trade,' they said, 'how superfluous the articles which it furnishes are; whether the want of them be real or imaginary, whether it be founded on nature, or opinion, or fashion, or habit, or emulation, it is enough that it is actually desired and sought after'. *Christian Socialism versus Present-day Unsociability*, 4-7.

<sup>3</sup> Richmond, *Christian Economics*, 1-10; Stubbs argued that the 'root principles' of *Summa* were that 'property is a trust to be exercised for the good of the community', and that 'trading can only be justified on... the convenience of society, and never by the merely personal desire of accumulating wealth'. Moreover, the end of this regime had been caused by 'a series of happy accidents'. In the modern era, he went on, capitalists owed their success not to their own labour, dedication, or risk-taking, but to technological advance and the growth of banking. Stubbs, *Christ and Economics*, 160-162. See also Stubbs, *For Christ and City!*, 54.

<sup>4</sup> It is important to note that the term 'historical school' may not have resonated with the Christian Socialists. Though Richmond wrote that 'historical political economy' was just a history 'of the progressively successful means by which men and nations have sought wealth, and have achieved the wealth which they sought', he broadly subscribed to the methods of the historical school of economics. *Christian Economics*, 25.

N. B. The Bishop William Stubbs of Oxford, who influenced Ashley during his time at Balliol, should not be confused with Bishop Charles William Stubbs, the Christian Socialist who features frequently in this thesis.

to describe the mechanics of society. And the most significant of such principles, if one wished to change society, was the notion that 'it is impossible to interfere with the natural action of the law of supply and demand'.<sup>1</sup>

Many Christian Socialists commented on how the principles of classical political economy had become widely understood as 'iron laws'. William Tuckwell, Charles William Stubbs, and James Adderley argued that individuals were educated by private schooling, universities, and the established Church to believe that it was impossible to 'fight against' the iron laws of political economy: one might as well 'make time go backwards' than attempt to counteract the iron law of wages, for example.<sup>2</sup> Girdlestone highlighted the claims made by classical economics' apologists, firstly that 'the laws of the market... are precisely those which tend best to the universal benefit', and secondly that the universality of economic laws escalated them into laws of nature.<sup>3</sup> On the other hand, other Christian Socialists argued that popular subscription to the notion of the iron laws of political economy simply permitted widespread indifference to the social question. Citing Charles Gore, Adderley wrote, the nation 'preferred Ricardo to Christ'.<sup>4</sup>

While the Christian Socialist responses to the attitudes above is considered in more detail below, it is important to note that many Victorians considered it quite unnecessary to distinguish between the doctrines of Ricardo and Christ at all. As Adderley, Kenworthy, and others often noted, the advocates of classical political economy claimed that because society itself was ordained by God, the laws of political economy were therefore divine.<sup>5</sup> Moreover, political economy's apologists argued that scriptural passages such as 'ye have the poor always with you' reinforced the notion that one could not hope to interfere with the divine laws of political economy. The Christian Socialists' response was to argue that Christ simply intended to lay down man's duty to help the poor by proclaiming that they would remain after his own passing. This idea was reiterated with sufficient frequency to suggest that 'ye have the poor' was widely considered to be a fundamental justification for the divinity of the

<sup>1</sup> Stubbs, *For Christ and City!*.

<sup>2</sup> James Adderley's *Stephen Remax* characterised the attitudes of the established Church as regards the immovable 'iron laws'.

In the story, the protagonist Stephen has dinner with his vicar, whom he tries to convince to meet social agitators. The vicar responds that he has no wish to meet Tom Mann or Ben Tillet, nor to study the social question because he had already 'studied Adam Smith, Mill, and Ricardo', and their ideas made social agitation redundant. Social agitators, the vicar went on, 'might just as well try to fight against the clock, and attempt to make time go backwards, as fight against the laws of Political Economy... I am quite convinced that the modern attempts which are being made by the revolutionary party to raise wages artificially, and to drive capital out of the country, must end in terrible disaster and the ruin of England'. Later in the story, Stephen tries to convince his aunt about the responsibility of factory owners to their employees' welfare, saying that 'at Smith and Jobley's shop... the shop-girls are never allowed to sit down, and that they work ninety hours a week. Only last night, I was at the death-bed of a poor girl who used to work there', to which the aunt replies 'I cannot do anything; Alf says that political economy teaches us that we must let things go on, and that you cannot fight against what he calls the "iron laws"'. *Stephen Remax*, 16, 58-60. See also by the same author *A Little Primer of Christian Socialism*, 31.

William Tuckwell argued that individual capitalists were 'taught at home and school to look upon themselves as rightful monopolies... they learn from the so-called political economist at college that the conditions of both are resultants of an iron law, against which it is foolish to contend'; Tuckwell, *Christian Socialism and Other Lectures*, 18, 27.

<sup>3</sup> Girdlestone, *Christian Socialism versus Present-day Unsocialism*.

<sup>4</sup> Adderley, *Parson in Socialism*, 62; Also, Stubbs said that, 'a Nottingham merchant who stopped me in the street this morning said to me... "What good can we do by setting our faces against political economy which seems to tell us that there are some men for whom nature has placed no plate at the banquet of life, but only commands them to go away, for they are redundant on the earth?" *The Paternoster of the Christian Socialists*, 7.

<sup>5</sup> Adderley, *Looking Upward*, 21; *The Creed and Real Life ... With Introduction by the Right Rev. Edward Lee Hicks* (London: Wells Gardner & Co, 1913), 13; Kenworthy, *Slavery, Ancient and Modern*, 10.

iron laws. However, as Girdlestone wrote, even John Stuart Mill believed that this line of thinking was contemptible.<sup>1</sup>

For a well-articulated Christian Socialist rebuttal of this argument one may turn to Wilfrid Richmond's two volumes on political economy, *Christian Economics* (1888) and *Economic Morals* (1890). In the former volume Richmond claimed that man's Christian conscience was the principal 'agent of the Divine Will'. It was 'at least an unconsciously hypocritical delusion' to plead that God would account for the results if one disregarded the authority of conscience. By pursuing one's own interests alone, Richmond wrote,

we are leaving [the consequences] to God in the same sense in which a mother, who stifles the instincts of love and abandons her child, is leaving her child to God. We are neglecting our duty, and leaving God to deal with and remedy the evil consequences of our neglect.<sup>2</sup>

In Richmond's view, the principles of classical political economy were not iron laws but 'laws of Divine allowance – allowance of evils which we are left to cure'. Moreover, he believed that political economy was descriptive not prescriptive. It simply 'describes how exchange *does* take place, how prices and wages, and interest and rent *are* fixed. It does not profess to say what price or what wages ought to be paid'.<sup>3</sup> These sorts of ideas had already been introduced to the Christian Socialists by John Ruskin, and they would later be restated by R. H. Tawney in *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism* (1926) but they were consolidated and fleshed out into economic precepts by Wilfrid Richmond in the late nineteenth century. Although Richmond's work made an immediate impact throughout Christian Socialism, the social theorists of the movement quickly realised that they could not simply reject classical political economy in favour of Christian economics. If the Christian Socialists wished their economic treatises to be taken seriously, it was necessary to construct a more exhaustive critique of political economy.

This was one of the aims of *Economic Morals*, Richmond's follow-up volume, in which he argued that political economy had 'isolated one aspect of the facts, and dwelt upon it, ignoring, for its own scientific purpose, the others. Richmond went on to argue that political economy's fundamental assumptions regarding man's behaviour in the economic sphere were flawed. Man acted according to a range of motivations and interests: while political economy 'assumes... that in buying and selling every man acts for himself alone', man also acted 'to find that fuller enjoyment in social combination and the interchange of

<sup>1</sup> See Graham, *The Lord's Prayer*; Kirtlan, *Socialism for Christians*, 11; Girdlestone, *Christian Socialism versus Present-day Unsociability*, 21; Stubbs, *A Creed for Christian Socialists*, 7; Stubbs, *Christ and Economics*, 63-65. Stubbs was adamant that 'if there [was] a text in the Bible which [said] "The poor ye have with you always" there was also one which spoke of the time "when there shall be no poor among you"'. Stubbs contrasted 'The Political Economy of the Sermon on the Mount' with the maxims of political economy. Where the former said 'Be merciful and give good measure,' 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself,' and 'Ye cannot serve God and Mammon,' the latter said, respectively, 'It is impossible to interfere with the law of supply and demand,' 'Every man for himself, and the Devil take the hindmost,' and 'Buy in the cheapest market and sell in the dearest, and you may drive to church with an easy conscience and a carriage and pair'.

<sup>2</sup> Richmond, *Christian Economics*, 1-10, 38.

<sup>3</sup> 'Political economy' Richmond wrote, 'is a doctrine of judgement on sloth, on luxury, on waste, on shortsighted selfishness, on crass stupidity, on rash and inconsiderate pride... it exhibits the steady pressure of: reward and punishment, by which men are won from lower to higher ways of life; of the guidance... under which the blind instincts of the tribes of men grope their way out of the darkness of mistrust and mutual war into the clear light of mutual faith and loyal fellowship. *Christian Economics*, 39, 68, 84-5. See also *Economic Morals*, 7.

good'. Whereas in his earlier volume Richmond accorded a divinity of sorts to classical political economy, in *Economic Morals* he argued that the principles of political economy could only claim to be *divine* when, 'in their true character', they described 'a system of life... built up by the working of a moral principle'. The so-called iron laws of political economy described simply the 'working of selfishness as opposed to divine law'. Moreover, as Richmond argued, whilst the political economists recognised that self-interest was not the sole or universal motive of economic conduct, they nevertheless constructed their science upon the abstraction of an 'economic man' who acted according to self-interest alone.<sup>1</sup>

Having identified the foundational assumption of classical political economy, the Christian Socialists set about attacking it using a number of arguments that were not dissimilar to an embryonic version of the theory of behavioural economics. Richmond, Girdlestone, and others wrote that economic man was simply unable to act in the economic sphere according to self-interest alone.<sup>2</sup> Some wrote, somewhat optimistically, that man's economic decisions were fundamentally based upon Christian morality, and so ultimately economic questions were resolved into religious questions.<sup>3</sup> However, when others made claims that, as Kenworthy wrote, 'all Economic questions are wholly dominated by Moral considerations', they did so in order to argue that economics should not limit its consideration to rational wealth-maximization but should encompass all 'motives and rules of conduct'. Moreover, the Christian Socialists claimed that because their economic essays adopted this methodology, such essays could claim to be *more* scientific than those written by the classical political economists. 'The science in the volume', wrote Henry Scott Holland in his preface to Richmond's *Economic Morals*, for example,

succeeds in being ethical, without ceasing to be scientific. The ethical principle does not appear as outside the economic, entering on the scene merely as a sentiment to check, and to limit, and to correct it, but it is itself the intelligent and constructive force which builds up from within the scientific principles.<sup>4</sup>

The Christian Social Union's adoption of Richmond's political economy is well illustrated by its twenty-sixth leaflet, *The Scope and Method of Political Economy* (1896), in which it was argued that the foundation of economic science - 'economic man' - bore little resemblance to man's actual behaviour, and that the changes in man's behaviour would undermine the 'laws' of political economy. While it was wrong, therefore, to found principles of conduct upon political economy, the leaflet explained that an alternative school conceived of political economy as an art, one which was 'concerned with what ought to be as well as what is'. This was the conception of political economy to which the Christian Social Union, and most contemporaneous Christian Socialists, subscribed. As is shown in the next

<sup>1</sup> 'Whatever may be the motives which have brought [industrial society] into being... it is a vast system of co-operation, a world-wide association for mutual help of men by men, and that every detail in it is, to every member of it, a channel, an occasion, an opportunity of love'. Richmond, *Economic Morals*, 7, 11-13, 98-103, 246-260.

<sup>2</sup> Richmond, *Economic Morals*, 7, 103; Girdlestone, *Thirty-nine Articles of Belief*, 6; Adderley, *Looking Upward*, 22; 'Christian Socialism', *The Bristol Mercury and Daily Post* (Bristol, November 17, 1886), 12016th edition.

<sup>3</sup> Adderley, *Looking Upward*, 22; Kenworthy, *The Anatomy of Misery*, 21.

<sup>4</sup> Richmond, *Economic Morals*, xii-xiii.

chapter, the movement's thinkers attempted to forge a Christian economics; this was a task which similar to that which *The Scope and Method of Political Economy* proposed should occupy the minds of all 'practical economists':

The ideal of the practical economist is the supreme end for which society exists. It is something higher than the decision of the question how wealth is best produced and accumulated. It is also something more than an enquiry into the most equitable method of distributing wealth. It seeks to direct the economic activities of the State and of individuals with a view to the completest realization of their well-being.<sup>1</sup>

## The values of political economy and their moral consequences

The Christian Socialists believed that not only were the principles of political economy inherently flawed, but that its resultant precepts were subsequently used to justify and reinforce its *presupposed* moral principles. The principles of political economy were, in short, begging the moral question. 'Laissez-faire', wrote Stubbs, 'had been almost universally accepted... as a regulative principle from which positive maxims can be deduced'.<sup>2</sup> However, as Charles L. Marson, Adderley, Kenworthy, Girdlestone, Stubbs, and others wrote, the Christian Socialists did not hold the political economists themselves responsible for this state of affairs.<sup>3</sup> Though Smith, Ricardo, Malthus, and Mill may have 'propounded maxims of greed', their conclusions had been 'exalted into a creed' by the landlords, the capitalists, manufacturers and businessmen, the Manchester School, conservative Christians, and the government.<sup>4</sup> All the latter protagonists had taken certain passages of the classic texts out of context and aggrandized them into moral principles, disregarding the philosophical context, such as Smith's *Theory of Moral Sentiments* (1759), in which the limitations of classical economics were delineated. Social agitators, the

<sup>1</sup> Christian Social Union, *The Scope and Method of Political Economy, Leaflet No. 26 in The Commonwealth* Vol. 3, No. 2 (1898).

<sup>2</sup> Stubbs, *Christ and Economics*, 160. See also Richmond, *Christian Economics, passim*.

<sup>3</sup> Adderley wrote that 'John Stuart Mill expressed himself disgusted with "the trampling, crushing, elbowing and treading on each other's (sic) heels which form the existing type of social life"'. Adderley, *Parson in Socialism*, 48; *The Creed and Real Life*, 36.

Girdlestone claimed that Herbert Spencer's *The Morals of Trade*, spoke out against 'the manufacture, wholesale, not only of "Goods" but of "Bads" in the shape of Cheating and Lying Shopmen - compelled to cheat and lie, on pain of dismissal, by their competing employers!' Girdlestone, *Christian Socialism versus Present-day Unsocialism*, 141.

John Carter looked back to the arguments of Charles Kingsley, one of the original Christian Socialists, who had 'believe[d] political economy to be all but the highest and most spiritual of sciences; the science of organising politics, and of making men good citizens'. Kingsley even believed that the political economy of Bentham, Mill and Ricardo could 'learn how to cure... evils.' Carter, *Christian Socialism*, 5.

As Henry Scott Holland wrote in the preface to Richmond's *Economic Morals*, the 'isolated science' of political economy had 'set itself to be as abstract as possible', was 'most purely deductive' in its reasoning, dealing only with 'isolated laws acting "in vacuo"', and thus was 'least capable' and 'did not profess to admit' of 'direct application to human life'. Henry Scott Holland, 'Preface' in Richmond, *Economic Morals*, viii-ix.

<sup>4</sup> Kenworthy wrote that Smith, Ricardo, and Mill 'saw the truth much more clearly than is generally supposed and they must not be held wholly responsible for the mis-deeds of the history-defining capitalists of the Manchester School; who in the name of political economy, have blindly plundered and trodden down their fellow countrymen'. *The Anatomy of Misery*, 18; *From Bondage to Brotherhood*, 36.

The landlord, wrote Stubbs, 'is still too often clinging in the nineteenth century to conceptions of landed property and its social duties which are more worthy of the twelfth... His principles of government are those of 'the beneficent-paternal-despotism' character. His theory of the true relations of rich and poor is that of protection on the one side, obedience on the other'. *Village Politics*, 154;

Girdlestone highlighted the 'art of legislation' that applied the doctrines of the science of political economy, recounting Cobden's remark that 'the mischief practically wrought by a single sentence of John Stuart Mill's more than outweighed, in his opinion, all the benefit which had accrued from all Mill's other writings put together!' *Christian Socialism versus Present-day Unsocialism*, 132;

See also Marson, *Charity Organization and Jesus Christ*, 17; Adderley, *A New Earth*, 17-18; Tuckwell, *Christian Socialism and Other Lectures*, 18, 27.

Christian Socialists argued, were therefore wrong to denounce classical political economy without taking into account how it was popularly understood. No doubt these ideas were at least partly inspired by J. A. Hobson's lectures to the Christian Social Union, but similar views can be traced back to the Christian Socialists of the mid-nineteenth century.<sup>1</sup>

In addition, Richmond, Marson, and Noel proffered a more nuanced explanation for the circular arguments that promoted economic precepts into moral principles. Firstly, they argued that moral economic discourse, which had flourished from the time of Aristotle to Thomas More, had vanished following the advent of classical political economy. In the absence of 'laws of obligation in the field of economic action', the 'generalisations' of political economy 'are made to do duty for moral principles, and the general impression is that the moral end is attained'.<sup>2</sup> Secondly, if repeated often enough the maxims of political economy became self-fulfilling. 'You cannot make statements', Richmond wrote, 'as to the probable results of a given course of action without practically affecting the question whether men shall take that action or not'.<sup>3</sup>

While the Christian Socialists made serious efforts to critique the logic of political economy on its own terms, they also spent considerable time proscribing the popular understanding of its normative values which had become, as outlined above, widely-accepted moral principles. On the one hand, the Christian Socialist theorists denounced these values for their inherent moral repugnance. The competitive ethos, they argued: promoted greed of an animalistic, and therefore unChristian, nature; eroded man's charitable spirit by encouraging the accumulation of wealth for 'mere accumulation's sake'; and promoted the purchase of extravagant and unwholesome luxuries.<sup>4</sup> Similar critiques had been delineated by John Ruskin, but after the turn of the century the Christian Socialists highlighted the emergence of similar critiques amongst economists. For example, in 1910 Adderley noted that the consumption of luxuries was condemned by 'political economists' such as Marshall and Laveleye, as well as by C. F. G. Masterman (whose best known work, *The Condition of*

<sup>1</sup> As Hobson wrote in *The Social Problem* (1901), 'From Adam Smith's broad platform smaller men borrowed a few planks, to improvise a neat, convenient little system of their own. Mostly hardheaded men, with a narrow outlook, financiers, manufacturers, academic professors, political managers, they took the principles of industrial freedom with which Adam Smith sought to break down old forms of tyranny, and to secure genuine liberty for labourers, in an age when labour was still of paramount importance in production, and applied these principles to secure the domination of rising capitalism.' *The Social Problem* (1901), 21.

In 1851 John Ludlow, one of the original Christian Socialists, declared that 'all our great economists, Adam Smith, Malthus, Ricardo, Mill, have been and are men full of the deepest and most genuine interest in the condition of our toiling and suffering masses' and that 'nothing can be more striking... than the contrast between the sentiments of these men themselves, and those of the many who only borrow from them a few axioms and phrases for the sake of systematising their own selfishness'. Carter, *Christian Socialism*, 4-6; F. D. Maurice and Charles Kingsley also spoke out about the abuse of the teachings of political economy, as recounted in Norman, *Victorian Christian Socialists*, 15-16, 40-1.

<sup>2</sup> Richmond, *Christian Economics*, 18.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 16-17.

<sup>4</sup> Adderley argued that God would judge the means and spirit of the acquisition of lawful property. The Tenth Commandment, he wrote, was broken by 'making Haste to get rich [and] gaining at the expense of others, such as by sweating or by gambling' as much as by Covetousness. James Granville Adderley, *The Goodwill Catechism: A Simple Statement of Christian Doctrine and Practice in the Form of Question and Answer* (Oxford, London: A. R. Mowbray & Co., 1904), 53-4; Girdlestone, *Christian Socialism versus Present-day Unsocialism; The What and Why of Christian Socialism*; According to Kenworthy, the maxim 'buy in the cheapest market, sell in the dearest market' was, in fact, a 'disastrous perversion of the true principle, which is "Produce to the best advantage and distribute where most needed."'

The spirit of competition had set, as Girdlestone and Kenworthy argued, 'one Lady spending and dressing against another - to outshine her' in an effort to 'fill their vacant lives by purchasing extravagant pleasures [and] unwholesome luxuries'. Girdlestone, *Christian Socialism versus Present-day Unsocialism*; Kenworthy, *The Anatomy of Misery*, 68.

England had been published a year earlier).<sup>1</sup>

On the other hand, the Christian Socialists highlighted the destructive *moral consequences* of compliance with the principles of political economy as they were popularly understood. They argued that these values and their consequences were as follows:

Firstly, that ‘unbridled competition’ and the ‘gladiatorial’ contest for selfish gain had divided the world into antagonistic nations, sects, and individuals.<sup>2</sup> The Christian Socialists’ perspective on this matter was shaped by events, by their experiences, and by theory. In his responses to the Spanish-American War, the Phillipine-American War, and the Anglo-Boer Wars, John Clifford argued that the individualistic ethos of capitalism had translated into aggressive foreign policy.<sup>3</sup> Furthermore, when responding to the onset of the First World War at the age of 78, Clifford enunciated a Marxian critique of economic imperialism. He cited J. A. Hobson to argue that ‘industrial potentates are not only directing companies of arms builders but controlling the Parliaments of Europe. For though war does not pay the nations which engage in it, these manufacturers become millionaires by making the instruments of war’.<sup>4</sup> In fact, the Christian Socialists believed that antagonism permeated all society’s relations but, as argued in the previous chapter, towards the turn of the century they began to conceive of society in class terms. Therefore they increasingly painted a picture of class warfare between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, the ‘haves and have-nots’, or the ‘possessing and expropriated’ classes.<sup>5</sup>

Secondly, the Christian Socialists argued that popular compliance with the principles of political economy had dehumanised the relationships and labour required to carry out industrial production and trade.<sup>6</sup> As Kenworthy, Kaufmann, Westcott, and others wrote: working men, women, and children had come to be regarded as ‘hands’, or instruments of production, ‘as commodities to be bought and sold like butter and cheese’.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Adderley, *Parson in Socialism*, 110.

<sup>2</sup> Competition, Girdlestone wrote, ‘necessarily leads to antagonism in interest and feeling between class and class in the same community, between individual and individual in the same class, between the buyer and the seller, between the wholesale dealer and the retail, and between the Employer and Employed’. Capitalism was ‘a system under which the interests of different classes in the same community are opposed to each other to [an] incredible extent’. Later he wrote that society was characterised by battles of ‘Workers vs. Workers, Employers vs. Employers, Workers vs. Employers, Trader vs. Trader, Manufacturer vs. Manufacturer, Retailer vs. Retailer, and the last three all against each other’. Girdlestone, *Christian Socialism Versus Present-Day Unsocialism*, 144; *Thirty-nine Articles of Belief*, 10; Clifford, *Socialism and the Teaching of Christ*, 7; Adderley, *Parson in Socialism*, 48; Richmond, *Christian Economics*, 49-58.

<sup>3</sup> Clifford ‘Annual Address’ 1898 and Clifford, ‘Brotherhood and the War in South Africa, New Year’s Day message, 1900’ in *Westbourne Park Chapel Monthly Record* (London: Parlett, 1900).

<sup>4</sup> John Clifford, *The War and the Churches. [A Sermon.]* (London: J. Clarke & Co., 1914).

<sup>5</sup> For instance, Kenworthy wrote about the agitation, strikes, riots, and rebellions that characterised the relations between the ‘two classes’. *The Anatomy of Misery*, 37. Marson wrote that England had become a battlefield between ‘the Haves and Have-nots... the former masterful and sometimes incredibly insolent, the latter becomes sullen, despairing, even madly anarchic’. *The Church and Democracy: A Sermon* (Hambridge, 1890), 6; *God’s Co-operative Society*, 76; N. E. Egerton Swann argued that the capitalist system set the ‘possessing and [the] expropriated class’ against each other. Jannaway and Swann, *Which is the remedy?*; Charles William Stubbs who, in the late 1870s-early 1880s, conceptualised class in terms of one’s relationship to the land, began by 1890 to identify, thanks to the influence of Dr Hatch, the ‘rise of an educated proletariat’ against the backdrop of political dis-equilibrium and class separation. Stubbs, *Christ and Economics*, 82.

<sup>6</sup> The competitiveness of the market, said Richmond, ‘deprives it of its character as an intercourse between the members of a community of moral and spiritual beings; it degrades all those who play any part in a system which declines to rise to the human level’. Richmond, *Christian Economics*, 221.

<sup>7</sup> Adderley, *The New Floreat*, 17; *A Little Primer of Christian Socialism*, 12, 70; *The Creed and Real Life*, 35; Kenworthy, *Slavery, Ancient and Modern*, 12; Kaufmann, *Social Development Under Christian Influence*; Tuckwell, ‘Sweating’ in Pan-Anglican Congress, *Morality in Commercial and Social Life*, 1; Brooke Foss Westcott said industrialization had destroyed



Thirdly, they argued that acquiescence in the notion that workers should compete against one another for employment had driven the masses into urban squalor and into, as Girdlestone wrote, 'these great unhealthy tumours we call Cities'.<sup>1</sup>

Fourthly, as Kaufmann and Clifford argued, the nation's conscientious energy had become exhausted because a struggle for existence had pervaded the middle classes.<sup>2</sup> This had caused the extensive 'apathy of the country with regard to the moral and spiritual condition of the nation'.

Fifthly, and similarly, the Christian Socialists argued that the widespread worship of Mammon would eventually lead to the destruction of the sanctity of the family and of the sacraments, as people would attend church or become married simply in order to 'get on in life'.<sup>3</sup> Adderley, for example, highlighted the work of George Robert Sims and of the NSPCC, arguing that industry coming into 'direct conflict with domestic life and [industry] threatens to break up the family and the home, the very foundation of society itself'.<sup>4</sup>

Finally, the Christian Socialists highlighted a further consequence of popular compliance with the principles of political economy, one that was contemptible in both moral and material terms. Widespread adherence to *laissez-faire* economics had permitted the rise of an idle class, whose wealth was denounced both because it was unearned by their labour and because it depressed the working classes. The 'class of idlers' were distinguished from 'brain workers' by the Christian Socialists, who no doubt wished to reaffirm the importance of their intellectual labours. While brain workers in industry and commerce may make no *material* contribution to the commonweal, the Christian Socialists argued that remuneration for managers reflected their organizational labour, and should be distinguished from the profiteering of the owners of capital.<sup>5</sup> (The following chapter considers the Christian Socialists' understanding of the remuneration of factors of production in more detail.) Nevertheless, the Christian Socialists reserved their most damning critiques for the 'parasitic' idle class.<sup>6</sup> Moreover, they continued to proclaim that the consequences of popular understanding of political economy, in this case encouraging widespread assent to the

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the 'old relations between employer and employer' as well as the 'personal relations which gave human interests to business in the old order'. Harvester 1896:51; Westcott, *The Christian Law*, 6-7.

<sup>1</sup> Girdlestone, *Christian Socialism versus Present-day Unsocialism*, 143-144. J. Bruce Wallace and J. C. Kenworthy were also strongly anti-urbanisation.

<sup>2</sup> Kaufmann, *Utopias*, 2; John Clifford, *A Call to Free Churchmen*. (London, 1898), 1-2.

<sup>3</sup> John Clifford, *A Call to Free Churchmen*, 1-2; Girdlestone, *Christian Socialism versus Present-day Unsocialism*; Kaufmann, *Social Development Under Christian Influence*, 8-9.

<sup>4</sup> Adderley, *A Little Primer of Christian Socialism*, 42.

<sup>5</sup> Girdlestone, *Thirty-nine Articles of Belief*; Tuckwell, *Christian Socialism and Other Lectures*, 22.

<sup>6</sup> Kenworthy proscribed the 'class of idlers – the Rich', whose 'historical characteristics are selfishness, injustice, ignorance, pride, and corruption', and who idled or worked at their pleasure. At the same time the poor 'drudge on at nameless and dishonoured tasks, earning at most a bare subsistence for their broken lives, and not always that'. Still worse off were the criminal class who, he wrote, were 'creatures sunk in misery, in huge degradation, unspeakable, heart-breaking to those who know it'. Kenworthy, *The Anatomy of Misery*, 37.

Father William claimed that the aim of Christian Socialism should be 'to abolish that swarm of parasites who live in incomes for which they do not work'. Father William, *The Love of Man: The Anniversary Sermon of the Guild of Saint Matthew* (London: Guild of St. Matthew, 1907), 11.

N. E. Egerton Swann denounced 'the minority of the community [who took] hundreds of millions of pounds year after year for doing nothing at all, unless they choose to'. Jannaway and Swann, *Which is the remedy?*, 26.

See also Richmond, *Christian Economics*, 269; Cummings, *The Gospel of Socialism*, 13.

existence of an idle class, contradicted the arguments of the classical political economists. In a number of volumes, for example, E. D. Girdlestone cited Cairnes and J. S. Mill to argue that 'no public benefit of any kind arises from the existence of an idle rich class'.<sup>1</sup> As J. Bruce Wallace wrote, drawing upon the work of the German economist Michael Flürscheim, 'unearned riches at one end inevitably involved low wages at the other end of the social scale'.<sup>2</sup>

Indeed, the Christian Socialists argued that conformity to the popular understanding of political economy was a direct cause of the material strife endured by the urban and agricultural poor; something considered in the previous chapter. A few Christian Socialists, such as Kaufmann and Richmond, conceded the possibility that general living standards may have improved as a result of competitive capitalism. However, many others, observing the legion of legislative measures introduced to ameliorate the ill-effects of capitalism, asked why such measures were required at all if competition always tended towards universally beneficial outcomes? The answer was that they were required to stop the strong taking advantage of the weak, the rich taking advantage of the poor.<sup>3</sup> In fact, one Christian Socialist argued that as a result of legislation such as the Factory Acts, the 'laws of Political Economy' were being 'perpetually' modified.<sup>4</sup> Nevertheless, not every act of exploitation could be legislated against, and as such, the popular understanding of political economy continued to underpin injustice in the absence of an alternative code of conduct. Moreover, it was argued that political economy did not qualify its doctrines nor did it identify the point at which 'restrictions must be introduced upon the action of the ruling principle'. So, as Girdlestone wrote, 'murder with a knife or pistol is prohibited, and forgery and pocket-picking also, although no objection is raised to working men losing either half the wages of their labour by process of exploitation, or half the years of their life by lack of sanitation'.<sup>5</sup>

## A 'true' political economy

So, the Christian Socialists believed that political economy was flawed because its deductive methodology did not accurately reflect man's behaviour. In addition, they believed that society had nonetheless raised the precepts of a flawed political economy into moral

<sup>1</sup> J. S. Mill said that the 'mischief to society' arising from those who lived in perpetuity on large fortunes, however gained, outweighed any value to society arising from the incentive to work for such fortunes. Girdlestone, *Christian Socialism Versus Present-Day Unsociability*, 49, 206; *The What and Why of Christian Socialism*, 34; *Society Classified, etc.*, Fifth edition, revised. (London: W. Reeves, 1886), 16-19.

<sup>2</sup> J. Bruce Wallace, *The Exchange Circle of the Cooperative Brotherhood Trust Limited: by-laws and forms passed by the Committee of the C.B.T. and a practical exposition of them*. (London, 1890), 3; William, *The Love of Man*, 11; Kenworthy, *The Anatomy of Misery*, 66.

<sup>3</sup> Girdlestone listed 'Our "Factory" and "Mining" and "Workshop Regulation" Acts, our St. Lubbock holidays and the whole network of our "Public Health" legislation... the abolition of slavery at the cost of twenty millions sterling... the "Plimsoll Loadline" painted upon merchant vessels... [and] every "Poor Law" and every "Education Act"' as examples of such legislation. 'Socialists,' said Girdlestone, 'say that experience has proved, what indeed good sense might have anticipated, that for everyone to seek only his own interest is the worst, not the best course with a view to the general welfare. The deny therefore that competition is "beneficial!"'. Girdlestone, *Christian Socialism versus Present-day Unsociability*, 161; Clifford, *Socialism and the Teaching of Christ*, 7.

<sup>4</sup> Tuckwell, 'Sweating' in Pan-Anglican Congress, *Morality in Commercial and Social Life*, 4.

<sup>5</sup> Girdlestone, *The What and Why of Christian Socialism*, 28.

principles. Even allowing for the misrepresentation of the classical economists' conclusions, the Christian Socialists argued that an economic science that dealt with the aggregate consequences of contemporary abstractions could never lay the basis for moral prescription. And, if contemporary economics could not help to guide man's social and economic conduct towards virtuous outcomes, then it was useless. As Girdlestone wrote, an economics which 'cannot be trusted to furnish wise and wholesome principles for practical application' was as worthless as a 'Theory of Geometry which, when applied to the practice of Land Surveying led only to confusion and mistake'.<sup>1</sup> Therefore in his two economic volumes Richmond set out to construct 'a political economy as a branch of morals – a systematic view of economic duties, of how men ought to behave to one another in the complex relations of modern commercial and industrial life'.<sup>2</sup> In a range of books, articles, lectures, sermons, and pamphlets, other Christian Socialist theorists followed suit.

What did the Christian Socialists believe should be the basis for man's economic conduct? To address this question, Christian Socialists from all sides of the movement looked to the ideas of John Ruskin. Brooke Foss Westcott, Henry Scott Holland, Charles William Stubbs, John Clifford, and many others all argued that society existed for the sake of the people of whom it was composed: the economic question was 'not about wealth, but about men'.<sup>3</sup> Many Christian Socialists attempted to flesh out Ruskin's maxim with Christian virtues, but this often resulted in the indeterminate suggestion that economic affairs should always be conducted in accordance with principles of love, brotherhood, co-operation, and justice. In fact, the need for more definitive instruction was recognised by figures such as Charles Gore and Stubbs, the latter appealing for a new 'Cathedral Canon... whose duty shall be the promotion of the study of Christian Sociology, and of Commercial and Trade Casuistry'.<sup>4</sup> In addition, the Christian Socialists did produce an abundance of literature that prescribed virtuous conduct in the economic sphere, but as shall be shown in Part Two, these prescriptions were promulgated using single-issue pamphlets, lectures, campaigns, and in the context of support for political causes. However, as a result of their debates and correspondence with secular social agitators and religious conservatives, the Christian Socialist theorists knew that their social propositions still required a firm foundation in

<sup>1</sup> Girdlestone, *Thirty-nine Articles of Belief*, 9; Girdlestone's comparison echoed Ruskin, who likened political economy to 'a science of gymnastics which assumed that men had no skeletons.', John Ruskin, Edward Tyas Cook (ed.) and Alexander Dundas Ogilvy Wedderburn (ed.) *The Works of John Ruskin 39 vols.* (London: George Allen, 1903) 17:26; Similarly, Symes's Political Economy was compared in the *Church Reformer* to an 'investigation of the problem "if the law of gravitation were by a miracle suspended for five minutes, what would be the effect on London?"' Vol. 6, No. 2 (Feb 1887), 131.

As Wilfrid Richmond wrote, political economy could not 'tell us how to deal with beggars', nor 'how to pay the right price, and not to support the 'overwork and underpay [that] are regular incidents in the production of cheap wares'. *Christian Economics*, 10-12, 25;

Henry Scott Holland wrote in the preface to *Economic Morals* that 'economic laws, being merely statements of fact as to the actual behaviour of men in economic matters, can in no way bar our right to assert the supremacy of moral principles in economic conduct. *Economic Morals*, 14.

<sup>2</sup> Richmond, *Christian Economics*, 26.

<sup>3</sup> Stubbs, *The Land and the Labourers*, 32; *A Creed for Christian Socialists*, 71; *Christ and Economics*, 160; *For Christ and City!*, 54; Westcott, *The Christian Law*, 13; In addition, see almost any edition of *The Commonwealth: A Social Magazine*; John Clifford, 'Is Christian Socialism Practicable?' *Westbourne Park Record* Vol. 15, No. 1 (1907), 4-7.

<sup>4</sup> Stubbs, *Village Politics*, 175; *Christ and Economics*, 50-53, 163; *A Creed for Christian Socialists*, 71.

mainstream economic theory. There were a number of places where the Christian Socialists believed they could find it, and this is considered below.

Reflecting on the recent developments in economic thought towards the end of the nineteenth century, the Christian Socialist theorists argued that following a period of fragmentary chaos the discipline had resolved itself into two schools. These intellectual streams were not given consistent labels by the Christian Socialists, but the distinction was broadly defined by the belief that political economy was either a science or an art: with knowledge of modern terminology, the Christian Socialists may have chosen 'positive' and 'normative' economics to describe the two schools of thought.<sup>1</sup> Before the turn of the century, the Christian Socialists tended to conceive of these schools in terms of the moral principles with which their constituent economic ideas had been identified. In short, the classical economists were juxtaposed with those who challenged the ethics of capitalism (whom it is convenient for us to label 'normative economists'). Kenworthy, for example, placed spokesmen for the 'maxims of greed', Smith, Ricardo, and Mill in the positive school, while Robert Owen, Ruskin, and Marx belonged in the normative school. The Christian Socialists sometimes placed other social thinkers, such as William Morris and Edward Bellamy, in the 'normative economists' category, even though such thinkers may have publicly eschewed the study of political economy. It is important to note, also, that for a period before the turn of the century, the Christian Socialists were convinced that the economic teaching of the normative thinkers above had superseded the positive school in terms of popular endorsement. For example, in 1893 John Carter, an editor of the *Economic Review* and an influential thinker in the Christian Social Union, conducted a series of interviews with businessmen on the subject of commercial ethics, concluding that 'it is now generally admitted that the "economic man" is a pure abstraction, and therefore that the motives and conduct ascribed to this phantom have no moral authority'.<sup>2</sup> Indeed, many other Christian Socialist theorists argued that, as Stubbs wrote throughout the 1890s, 'the age of Individualism, that is, the morals of Adam Smith are coming to an end'.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, they believed that the ideas of Owen, Ruskin, Morris, and Bellamy were 'becoming more and more verified [both] by economic experiences and by the newer schools of Political Economy'.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Kenworthy, *The Anatomy of Misery*, preface.

<sup>2</sup> Like many other Christian Socialists, he found the animalistic spirit of competition shameful, but more importantly, he regarded it as outdated. 'We still find men', he wrote, 'attempting to justify their actions by arguments which would only be valid if society had degenerated into a herd of "gold-seeking animals"'. Carter, *Commercial Morality*.

<sup>3</sup> Stubbs, *For Christ and City!*, 41; Stubbs later wrote that 'the prevailing system of Individualism based as it is on the general theory that human interests are best promoted by each man attending to his own, is breaking down' and that the 'old-fashioned Manchester School of competition and its devil-take-the-hindmost theory of industrial organization' had lost its authority'. Stubbs, *Christ and Economics*, 70, 249.

<sup>4</sup> Henry Scott Holland, 'John Ruskin' in *The Commonwealth* Vol. 1, No. 7 (1896), 244; Emily Collvyns, 'The New Political Economy and its Relation to Individual Charity' in *The Commonwealth* Vol. 5, No. 4 (1900), 118; Stubbs, *For Christ and City!*, 54; Kenworthy wrote in 1894 that, while it previously thought equated wealth with coin, the 'progress of the science' of political economy was evinced by its new Ruskinian conception of wealth: 'Wealth (from weal, well) comprises those products of Labour which are good to be used and enjoyed by man'. This Ruskinian conception included food, clothing, houses, tools, books, and pictures. *The Anatomy of Misery*, 24; Stubbs wrote in 1893 that 'we are rapidly coming to the time when no longer the political economy of John Stuart Mill and Richard Cobden, but the economic ethics of John

Therefore, the question is raised: whose ideas composed the ‘newer schools’ that the Christian Socialists believed had verified the normative economists’ ideas? Firstly, there was the marginal revolution, the fundamentals of which were communicated to the Christian Socialists in texts by Richmond and Conrad Noel, and in the movement’s periodicals, most notably in the *Economic Review* and in articles by P. H. Wicksteed.<sup>1</sup> Although (as the next chapter shows) the Christian Socialist theorists’ engagement with Jevons was relatively insubstantial, they did recognise that marginal theories constituted a potent challenge to the economic orthodoxy. Secondly, there was the historical school of economics, composed of Cunningham, Comte, Toynbee, Ashley, and others whose influence on the Christian Socialists has been outlined above. According to Girdlestone, for example, Cunningham had proved that a ‘true political economy would aim at demonstrating the fittest, rather than describing the existing, method of procuring and dealing with National wealth’.<sup>2</sup> Thirdly, there was the work of John Neville Keynes, whose *The Scope and Method of Political Economy* (1891) was a formative influence on the social theorists of the Christian Social Union, such as John Carter. The CSU argued in their own leaflet, named after Keynes’s volume, that ‘the old view of the antagonism between the two methods of Political Economy has now given way to the more correct opinion that induction and deduction go hand in hand and are mutually dependent upon one another’.<sup>3</sup> Finally, the Christian Socialists believed that normative economics was legitimized by the work of Alfred Marshall along similar lines to the historical school.

The Christian Socialists frequently cited Marshall as an authority on contemporary poverty and its causes.<sup>4</sup> However their contention that the father of neoclassical economics affirmed their normative political economy, and did so in ways analogous to the historical school, might seem peculiar to the modern-day reader. Nevertheless, time and again the Christian Socialists did evince this argument, citing passages from Marshall’s work to do so. Moreover the Christian Socialists believed that by framing their political economy around Marshallian ideas, their social doctrines acquired the much sought-after foundation in

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Ruskin in his *Unto This Last*, or of William Morris in his *News From Nowhere*, is beginning to be discussed, when no longer the social philosophy of Jeremy Bentham or Herbert Spencer, but of Laurence Oliphant and General Gordon, and the author of *Looking Backward* is beginning to be considered’. Stubbs, *Christ and Economics*, 70; Nevertheless later Christian Socialists believed the debate had continued. In 1908, one wrote that ‘we all stand at a moment of time when the echoes of the polemics between Mill, Ricardo, and Herbert Spencer on the one hand, and Burke, Matthew Arnold, Ruskin and the best of the Fabians on the other, are still sounding’. Warwick H. Draper, ‘The Principles of State Interference’ in Pan-Anglican Congress, *Capital and Labour*, (my emphasis).

<sup>1</sup> Richmond, amongst others, frequently referenced Jevons’s *Theory of Political Economy* throughout his work, and Conrad Noel referred to the idea of a Jevonian Socialist in *The Church Socialist Quarterly*. Wicksteed’s work appeared in the *Church Reformer* and the *Christian Socialist*, and he was well known to the Christian Socialists due to his involvement with the University of London Extension Lectures. Richmond, *Economic Morals*; Noel, ‘Economic Socialism’, 3.

<sup>2</sup> See also Stubbs, *For Christ and City!*, 54.

<sup>3</sup> Christian Social Union Oxford Branch, *The Scope and Method of Political Economy, Leaflet No. 26* (Oxford: Christian Social Union).

<sup>4</sup> For example, in 1907 G. Algernon West cited Professor Marshall to argue that the causes of poverty did not lie with the individual. G. Algernon West, ‘What is the Social Problem?’ in Reginald Proudfoot, ed., *The Optimist A Review Dealing with Practical Theology, Literature, and Social Questions in a Christian Spirit* Vol. 2, No. 2 April (1907), 109-110. See also, the defence of the taxation of land values based upon arguments made in Marshall’s *Economics of Industry* in the *Church Reformer* Vol. 7, No. 8 (Aug 1888), 174. See also J. E. Symes’s review of Marshall’s *Principles of Economics Church Reformer* Vol. 9, No. 10 (Oct 1890), 231; and P. E. T. Widdrington, ‘The Church and the Problem of the Unemployed’ *The Optimist* Vol. 3, No. 3 (Jul, 1908), 232.

respectable economic theory. This is evidenced by the frequency with which they declared that as Professor of Political Economy at Cambridge and the author of the much-respected *Economics of Industry* and *Principles of Economics*, Marshall was the nation's 'leading economist'.<sup>1</sup> Their praise for Marshall may be partly explained by the CSU's attempts to repair its relationship with him, which had suffered when the CSU's *Economic Review* beat the British Economic Association's *Economic Journal* to becoming the first scholarly periodical dedicated to economics in Britain (see Appendix Three for further details, including the reaction to this news from the BEA).

However, the Christian Socialists often cited Marshall's ideas in order to substantiate their critique of political economy.<sup>2</sup> They argued that Marshall vindicated their claims as follows: Firstly, that the existence of a subservient class was neither necessary nor desirable.<sup>3</sup> Secondly, that 'economic man' was an inaccurate abstraction of man's behaviour and was therefore an inappropriate analytical unit in the field of economics.<sup>4</sup> Thirdly, that economic science 'should recognise moral forces at work in the material with which it deals'.<sup>5</sup> Fourthly, that selfish wealth-maximization was not a part of human nature, and therefore one should not regard 'the present experience of mankind as [having] universal validity'. Like iron, the laws of political economy were malleable.<sup>6</sup> Fifthly, that the descriptive aspect of economic science could, and should, be used as a tool to highlight injustice and to prescribe virtuous social conduct.<sup>7</sup> Finally, the Christian Socialists cited Marshall to argue that the descriptive principles of classical political economy had been distorted by landlords, capitalists, and the idle rich – so-called 'hangers-on of the science' – in order to keep the working classes 'in their place'.<sup>8</sup>

The Christian Socialists argued that not only did Marshall propound a normative political economy, but also that the arguments he used to justify doing so had been anticipated by Christian Socialism. Kaufmann argued that, in terms of the true purpose of economics, it was Christian Socialism that had first substituted 'the moral and mental

<sup>1</sup> Adderley, *A New Earth*, 17.

<sup>2</sup> One wonders if the late nineteenth-century Christian Socialists were aware of Marshall's time in the 'Grote Club', led by the Father of Christian Socialism F. D. Maurice after the death of the club's founder Reverend John Grote. Marshall recollected his time there as follows: 'Sidgwick devoted himself to drawing out Maurice's recollections of English social and political life in the 'thirties, 'forties, and 'fifties. Maurice's face shone out bright, with its singular holy radiance, as he responded to Sidgwick's inquiries and suggestions'. Alfred Marshall, 'Henry Sidgwick: A Memoir' qu. John Maynard Keynes, *The collected writings of John Maynard Keynes, Vol. 10 Essays in biography* (London: MacMillan, 1972), 167.

<sup>3</sup> Adderley, *God's Fast*, 42.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> Wilfrid Richmond, 'The Moral Factor in Economic Law' in Christian Social Union, *The Economic Review* (Published for the Oxford University Branch of the Christian Social Union by Percival & Co., 1914) Vol. 1 (1891), 41.

<sup>6</sup> Girdlestone invited the advocates of the 'iron laws' to 'one of their own classics', namely Marshall's *Economics of Industry*, in which Marshall had argued that 'The economist must avoid the error of regarding the present experience of mankind as of universal validity, mistaking temporary or local phases of human nature for human nature itself; having no faith in the Wonderful pliability of the human mind; deeming it improbable – in spite of the strongest evidence – that the earth can produce human beings of a different type from that which is familiar to him in his own age, and even perhaps, in his own country.' Girdlestone, *Christian Socialism versus Present-day Unsociability*, 122.

<sup>7</sup> In *Economics of Industry*, noted Adderley, Marshall claimed that 'normal action is not always morally right; very often it is action, which we should use our utmost efforts to stop'. Later, in *Principles of Economics*, Adderley cited Marshall as follows 'the existence of a considerable supply of labour ready to make match-boxes at a very low rate is normal in the same way that a contortion of the limbs is a normal result of taking strychnine. It is one result, a deplorable result, of those tendencies the laws of which we have to study. Adderley, *Looking Upward*, 44.

<sup>8</sup> Adderley, *Parson in Socialism*.

development of the race' for the 'process of getting and spending' upon which the 'ordinary theory of political economy' was founded.<sup>1</sup> In a memorable passage, James Adderley compared the thoughts of Brooke Foss Westcott and Alfred Marshall. He noted that Westcott had argued the following:

- i. Economic Laws are generalisations from the observation of the conduct of average men at particular times and places under a particular aspect.
- ii. Such 'Laws' declare what actually is *not* what ought to be: they convey limited information, and not either moral judgements or commands:
- iii. We must therefore take account of them, but not necessarily accept them as determining our action.<sup>2</sup>

Whereas Marshall had later written that:

- i. An Economic Law is a statement that a certain course of action may be expected under certain conditions from the members of an industrial group...
- ii. It is not the function of any science to lay down practical precepts or to prescribe rules of life. Economic laws are merely statements of tendencies expressed in the Indicative mood and not ethical precepts in the Imperative...
- iii. Of course an economist retains the liberty... of expressing his opinion that a certain course of action is the right one under given circumstances, and if the difficulties are chiefly economic he may speak with a certain authority. But so may a chemist with regard to other problems, such, for instance, as some of those connected with sanitation... and yet the Laws of Chemistry are not precepts.<sup>3</sup>

That the above passages appeared as an obscure footnote in just one of Adderley's myriad works evinces the failure on the part of the Christian Socialists to promulgate these ideas effectively. Nevertheless, throughout the early 1900s the Christian Socialists continued to argue not only that 'the orthodox economics of the middle of the nineteenth century has for some time been quite dead', but that 'professional economists' recognised its death and that 'in many influential quarters they are more or less in accord with the principles of Christian socialism'.<sup>4</sup> The Christian Socialist interpretation and employment of neoclassical economics therefore supports the thesis advanced by Elisabeth and Richard Jay, who wrote that 'the new methods developed by Jevons and Marshall... provided reinforcement for...humanitarian reformism... Armed with more sophisticated techniques of economic analysis... the basis for a practical science of social welfare and social policy-making by legislators appeared to have been laid'.<sup>5</sup>

By interacting with the theory of political economy the Christian Socialists were able to construct challenges to its nature, scope, and method. Ultimately they believed that the analytical framework and the prescriptive maxims of classical economics were flawed and

<sup>1</sup> Kaufmann, *Christian Socialism*, xvii, xiii, 32.

<sup>2</sup> Adderley, *Looking Upward*, 260

<sup>3</sup> Adderley, *Looking Upward*, 260.

<sup>4</sup> Carter, *Christian Socialism*, 13-14; Henry Scott Holland, 'The Morality of Control of Capital by Legislative Action' in Pan-Anglican Congress, *Capital and Labour*, 8; Adderley, *Parson in Socialism*, 168; A. J. Carlyle, 'Religion and Wages' chapter in Pan-Anglican Congress, *Capital and Labour*, Pan-Anglican Papers SA 4 & 5 (Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1908), 1.

<sup>5</sup> Elisabeth Jay & Richard Jay eds., *Critics of Capitalism: Victorian Reactions to 'Political Economy'* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 14-15.



sought to challenge popular perceptions of political economy. The Christian Socialists should also be noted for their endeavours to engage with the emerging historical school of economics, and their later attempts to argue that the work of Alfred Marshall vindicated their Christian normative economic doctrines.

By the early 1900s, the Christian Socialists had become fond of citing Arnold Toynbee's claim that 'the bitter argument between economists and human beings has ended in the conversion of the economists'.<sup>1</sup> The Christian Socialist theorists' understanding of the nature, purpose, and method of political economy, along with their understanding of its principles and theories, helped to frame their social and socialist doctrines. It was believed that the conversion of the economists meant that the centrality of man's welfare was no longer considered to be 'a rotten foundation' for the construction of a socialist political economy.<sup>2</sup> The building blocks of this political economy – theories of rent, interest, wages, value, and prices – are considered in the next chapter.

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<sup>1</sup> Adderley, *Parson in Socialism*, 168; Carter, *Christian Socialism*, 14.

<sup>2</sup> Adderley, *Parson in Socialism*.



## Chapter Four: Towards a Christian economics

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Our present economical system, however successful it may have been as a producer of wealth, fails, and has ever failed, most signally as its distributor.<sup>1</sup>

E. D. Girdlestone, 1886

The borrower of money, like the hirer of a cab, ought to pay his fare... The lender, who does not work, should not eat the labour of other men's hands.<sup>2</sup>

Charles L. Marson, 1914

Adam Smith's statement that wages are determined by the balance of economic forces, and that the amount of the wage is fixed by a contract between two parties whose interests are different, does not, I think, correspond with the abstract economic theory, but it does quite clearly correspond with the actual character of the industrial world.<sup>3</sup>

A. J. Carlyle, 1912

As the branch of moral philosophy known as 'political economy' sought to transform itself into a science of economics during the late nineteenth-century, economic discourse became more specialised and narrowly-defined, both in terms of its language and with respect to where debate was conducted.<sup>4</sup> Meanwhile, as well as attempting to challenge popular perceptions of the nature, scope, and method of economics, the Christian Socialists endeavoured to utilise aspects of mainstream economic theory that would aid in the construction of their socialist doctrine.<sup>5</sup> Moreover, they believed that it was their duty to transmit their conception of economic knowledge to conscientious middle-class Christians and to the working classes.<sup>6</sup> However, there was little attempt by the Christian Socialists to engage directly with the working classes or to seek their views in the construction of their Christian economics. Knowledge would be transmitted from the top down. After all, as one protagonist wrote, the 'man in the street' has

neither the knowledge which would enable him to test [arguments] by reference to other authorities, nor any idea of what are the authorities or where he can find them. He is dependent upon the newspapers he reads, the books he happens to come across, or the men he chances to meet.<sup>7</sup>

Therefore the numerous texts on the theory of political economy produced by Christian

<sup>1</sup> Girdlestone, *Thirty-nine Articles of Belief*, 19. See also, E. D. Girdlestone's *Our Misdirected Labour*, which begins with table showing average annual incomes of the manual labour class (£19), middle class (£22), and the upper class (£200).

<sup>2</sup> Marson, *God's Co-Operative Society*, 84.

<sup>3</sup> Carlyle, *Wages*, 81.

<sup>4</sup> 'The Split between History and Theory in Europe, 1870-1914' gives an overview. Roger E. Backhouse, *The Penguin History of Economics* (London: Penguin, 2002).

<sup>5</sup> By writing in short chapters, it was Kenworthy's hope that his work could be used as a 'guide to the teaching of Economics in classes, as well as a statement of principles which they will feel justified in putting into the hands of those whom they wish to convert to the better way'. *The Anatomy of Misery*, preface;

As Henry Scott Holland wrote in the preface to Richmond's *Economic Morals*, Richmond's work provided the practical guidance which we urgently need'. Henry Scott Holland, 'Preface' in Richmond, *Economic Morals*, viii-ix.

<sup>6</sup> Kenworthy's work was intended to be read not just by the clergy, but by 'the man of intelligence and of ordinary information'. Kenworthy also hoped that his work could be read by the oppressed working classes. 'Class-politicians and class-teachers', he wrote, 'have kept you, and would still keep you, in ignorance and doubt about these truths; the one hope of you, the People, is that you may know them, and realise them in practice'. *The Anatomy of Misery*, preface, 17;

William Tuckwell's lectures were similarly aimed towards the working classes, the removal of whom from political economic and social science was, he wrote, 'the great problem of the age'. *Christian Socialism and Other Lectures*.

<sup>7</sup> *The Optimist* Vol. 2, No. 4 (Oct 1907), 307.

Socialists were designed to be accessible, and they were usually an outgrowth of, or accompanied by, a series of sermons, lectures, or workshops. The various forms of publication included, firstly, economic treatises from a Christian perspective, the most comprehensive of which were produced by Kenworthy, Stubbs, Richmond, Girdlestone, and Marson.<sup>1</sup> Secondly, the countless articles and serials on economic theory found in Christian Socialist periodicals.<sup>2</sup> Thirdly, the Christian Social Union's *Economic Review*, 'primarily intended for the study of duty dealing with what may be called Economic Morals from the point of view of Christian teaching'.<sup>3</sup> Fourthly, pamphlets that reproduced the proceedings of conferences, congresses, and other meetings.<sup>4</sup> Finally, the Christian Social Union 'Handbooks' on various social subjects included political economy, for example *Wages* (1912) by A. J. Carlyle.<sup>5</sup>

That the language of much of this literature was unsophisticated reflected the non-specialist backgrounds of the Christian Socialists. Indeed, scripture and theology continued to be conceptual frameworks within which they engaged with economic ideas, as evinced by the title of Stubbs's work, *Christ and Economics: In the Light of the Sermon of the Mount* (1893). Typical Christian tropes through which economic phenomena were, at least initially, often conceived included the Golden Rule, the Incarnation and Divine Immanence, the notion that it was God not Mammon which should be the subject of worship, and the actions of Jesus in the Temple. Nevertheless, the Christian Socialists endeavoured to engage with economic discourse by highlighting their own connection to the science. Kenworthy stated that he had ten years' experience 'in the study and teaching of Economics' while Richmond declared that he was not afraid to 'take technical terms' or 'adapt the language of political economy'. Consequently Richmond was considered by Holland to be an 'expert' in the science of economics.<sup>6</sup> In fact, the Christian Socialists benefitted from the work of a genuine expert amongst them, A. J. Carlyle, who lectured on politics and economics in University College, Oxford from 1893.<sup>7</sup> The following chapter is an attempt to explain and critically examine the main themes and ideas that can be drawn out of the corpus of Christian Socialist political economy.

## Defining value

The Christian Socialists' economic treatises tended to begin not with theories of value but with a historical consideration of property rights and productive processes. Nonetheless, their

<sup>1</sup> Richmond, *Christian Economics; Economic Morals*; Stubbs, *Christ and Economics*; Kenworthy, *The Anatomy of Misery*; Girdlestone, *Society Classified*; Marson, *God's Co-Operative Society*.

<sup>2</sup> For example, Wallace, "Political Economy Lessons for the People"; Girdlestone, *The What and Why of Christian Socialism*.

<sup>3</sup> The *Review* relied heavily on contributions from figures such as R. H. Tawney, as well as those outside the Christian Socialist movement; included amongst these were Cunningham, Laveleye, the Webbs, J. A. Hobson, and W. J. Ashley. *Economic Review* Vol. 1 (1891), 1.

<sup>4</sup> For example, Carlyle, *Religion and Wages*.

<sup>5</sup> Carlyle, *Wages*.

<sup>6</sup> Kenworthy, *The Anatomy of Misery*, preface; Richmond, *Economic Morals*, x, 213.

<sup>7</sup> F. M. Powicke, 'Carlyle, Alexander James (1861–1943)', Rev. K. D. Reynolds, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/32291>, accessed 23 Oct 2009].

various conceptions of value determined much of their understanding of other aspects of political economy, most notably the distribution of wealth through rent, interest, and wages. They also informed their constructive policy, thus creating one of the most fundamental issues in the political economy of Christian Socialism: whether it was possible, indeed necessary, to effect change through the mechanism of the market.

A central notion in early Christian Socialist conceptions of value was the distinction between 'value in use' and 'value in exchange', a distinction which they derived from Aristotle, Thomas Aquinas, and Adam Smith. Unlike Smith, however, the Christian Socialists' initially aggrandized the importance of 'value in use'. Their earlier publications recognised that certain forces determined market prices, but argued that an article's worth constituted its true value. A major influence on early Christian Socialist economics was the art and social critic John Ruskin. Ruskin argued that Smith, Mill, and Ricardo made a 'grave error' by concentrating on exchangeable value, and he claimed articles, such as commodities or stretches of land, were only valuable in as much as they helped to sustain life. 'The study of wealth [wa]s a province of natural science', he wrote, therefore it should be concerned with 'the essential properties of things' and not with the patterns of the market.<sup>1</sup> It is easy to understand why such ideas would have resonated with the Christian Socialists, many of whom paraphrased Ruskin's definition of wealth on a regular basis.<sup>2</sup> God had, they believed, furnished the earth with many things, some of which nourished and sustained life, while others were harmful to it.

Nonetheless, it was recognised that an item's ability to minister to the life of man could change depending on time and circumstance. Ruskin had dealt with this problem by arguing that use-value comprised two elements: a good's potential use, which was fixed; and man's capacity to make use of it, which was determined by his situation. Ruskin believed that whatever the case, 'value is independent of opinion'.<sup>3</sup> But, perhaps having been influenced by J. A. Hobson's lectures, the Christian Socialists came to regard circumstance as a necessary determinant of *use*-value.<sup>4</sup> Ruskin had, however, also claimed that true wealth

<sup>1</sup> Ruskin, *Works* Vol. 17, 152.

<sup>2</sup> Mauritz Kaufmann, who discussed value in terms of human desires and the state of the market later in the same volume, nonetheless wrote in his exposition of Albert Schäffle's work that the most demanded, and therefore most valuable, goods were 'most adapted for the furtherance of life... [as] without human life there could be no value in things... their real value consists in the power of sustaining and re-producing human life-vigour'. Kaufmann, *Socialism: Its Nature, Its Dangers, and Its Remedies Considered*, 21-22.

In his *Creed for Christian Socialists* Stubbs argued that 'national wealth ought always to be treated with constant reference to national life... and that no money therefore is legitimately earned which is not an exchange value for actual services rendered – services which minister to Life and help on the Common Good'. *A Creed for Christian Socialists*, 5.

In 1900, a contributor to *The Commonwealth*, a Christian Socialist periodical, wrote that Ruskin's *Unto This Last* and *Munera Pulveris* were the 'only economic theories compatible with Christian ethics'. *The Commonwealth* abounds in Christian Socialist restatements of the Ruskinian conception of wealth.

<sup>3</sup> Ruskin, *Works* Vol. 17, 152, 187.

<sup>4</sup> 'When an article', Kenworthy wrote, is 'produced and distributed there is a certain amount of need for it; it can be put to certain uses; it is worth so much to the community. This is its true Value'. But in circumstances where food is scarce, the manufacture of bread rather than whiskey would be a better, more valuable use of grain. Kenworthy added that true value could also be determined by 'subsequent worth in use'. *The Anatomy of Misery*, 27; Hobson wrote of Ruskin's claim that 'value is independent of opinion': By thus making value attach as a permanent immutable property, Ruskin falls into an error similar to that which he assails, and one inconsistent with the tenor of his teaching. The value of a thing, in the sense of its power of contributing to human welfare, is not "independent" either of opinion or of quantity. *The Social Problem*, 48.

should not be associated with an abundance of money, of which the latter was often more highly regarded by society than the former. This argument retained its influence amongst the Christian Socialists, several of whom outlined a Ruskinian critique of money, whilst highlighting its convenience as a medium of exchange.<sup>1</sup> However, Kenworthy argued that the convenience of money was responsible for its monopolization of the means of facilitating exchange and social mobility. Wealth could now only be obtained by 'money-purchase', he wrote, while the desire for money as a means of escaping poverty was intensified by the 'ease, power, and security obtained by riches'.<sup>2</sup>

Only a couple of Christian Socialist theorists developed a more thorough interest in the subject of money as a medium of exchange. Kenworthy, who wished to escape from the use of money altogether, noted the 'crowning abuse of money' represented by the exchanges, where 'national interests... [and the] peace of the world... [are] gambled for the profit and amusement of the rich'.<sup>3</sup> However, it was J. Bruce Wallace, Kenworthy's associate in the *Brotherhood Church*, who wrote most frequently on the question of money. He argued in *Gold, Silver, and Labour* that the currency question was fundamentally important to 'any practical economist studying to promote the welfare of making and the progress of true civilisation'.<sup>4</sup> Wallace's interest in the currency question was at least partly driven by events in the United States, such as the Panic of 1893 and the presidential election of 1896, both of which generated substantial debate regarding bimetallism. Wallace argued that because nations' gold reserves were insufficient to redeem the paper currency, bank notes were in effect merely disguised barter-notes.<sup>5</sup> Moreover, because the value of gold tended to appreciate over time (assuming demand outstripped supply, notwithstanding the possibility of a fruitful gold rush), he argued that borrowers repaying their debts in monetary terms would find themselves 'not a bit forwarder'. Therefore the backing of paper currency by precious metals was flawed, because it empowered rich creditors 'through the accident of the appreciation of gold, to draw from us double the original labour value of their loan to our government'. So, while bimetallism could assuage such extortion in the short-term, Wallace argued that only the use of labour-backed barter-notes would prevent humanity from being 'crucified as a sacrifice to mammon' because they would not appreciate in value.<sup>6</sup> Wallace's proposals for such a system are considered in more detail in Part Two.

Like Wallace, the Christian Socialist theorists began to examine the nature of value in more depth, developing ideas that superseded their reliance on Ruskin. Laurence Gronlund,

<sup>1</sup> 'Money is not all', wrote Adderley to his old Etonian correspondent, it was goodness and justice that were noble, while Richmond wrote that money was only 'a convenient and portable shape' by which means the 'great system of mutual help' allowed man to pursue true wealth: 'the only true well-being of the soul and body of man is love'. Adderley, *The New Floreat*; Richmond, *Christian Economics*, 152-8; Kaufmann, *Socialism: Its Nature, Its Dangers, and Its Remedies Considered*.

<sup>2</sup> Kaufmann, *Socialism: Its Nature, its Dangers, and its Remedies Considered*; Kenworthy, *The Anatomy of Misery*, 75-6.

<sup>3</sup> Kenworthy, *The Anatomy of Misery*, 85.

<sup>4</sup> J. Bruce Wallace, *Gold, Silver and Labour* (London, 1900).

<sup>5</sup> That £20-30 million in cheques passed through London Clearing House brought into prominence 'the fact that the redeemability of our paper currency in gold is largely a fiction'.

<sup>6</sup> Wallace, *Gold, Silver and Labour*, 1-3, 7, 14.

the Danish-American socialist scholar, was a major influence on Christian Socialist thought in the later years of the nineteenth century. His *Co-operative Commonwealth* (1884) was 'widely quoted' by Christian Socialists such as Girdlestone and Stubbs. Gronlund lectured to the Christian Socialist Society in 1887, and articles outlining his ideas appeared in several Christian Socialist periodicals.<sup>1</sup> He was, as Kaufmann remarked, a popularizer of the ideas found in Marx's *Capital* and like Marx, he constructed a critique of the exploitative nature of capitalism.<sup>2</sup> Gronlund contended that an item's value was eventually reflected in its market price, which in turn was determined by 'the quantity of common human labor, measured by time, which on average is requisite by the implements generally used, to produce a given commodity'.<sup>3</sup> He went on to outline a Marxian delineation of the expropriation of surplus value by capitalist employers. Many Christian Socialists were happy to accept Gronlund's explanation of market prices but some continued to take issue with his overall conception of the meaning of value.

Laurence Gronlund was an important, but not an exclusive source of Marxian ideas for the Christian Socialists, many of whom cited Marx himself. The significance of Christian Socialist dissemination of Marxian ideas rests upon its chronological context. As noted in the *Contemporary Review* (October 1881), 'the country where Karl Marx is least known, is that in which he has for the last thirty years lived and worked'.<sup>4</sup> Several scholars have since commented on the slow reception of Marxian ideas in nineteenth-century England, including Willis who highlighted a pair of articles in the *Fortnightly Review*. The first, 'Ferdinand Lassalle, the German Social-Democrat' (April 1869) by the mid-century Christian Socialist J. M. Ludlow, noted that Lassalle's ideas 'can in great measure be traced [to] Dr. Karl Marx', and the second, 'Karl Marx and German Socialism' (March 1875) by Sir John Macdonnell, delineated Marx's life and political economy.<sup>5</sup> As Thompson has noted, articles regarding Marxian political economy also appeared in the *Contemporary Review* (1881), before H. M. Hyndman 'really brought the great German's work to England' in *England for all* (1881) and *The historical basis of socialism in England* (1883).<sup>6</sup> Nevertheless it has been claimed that by 1883 Marx was 'still largely unknown and unhated' in England.<sup>7</sup>

As such, it is important to note the Christian Socialist endeavours to popularize the life

<sup>1</sup> Girdlestone, *Christian Socialism versus Present-day Unsocialism*, 145; Jones, *Christian Socialist Revival*, 323-4. Although his ideas did not resonate with Stewart Headlam and his supporters in the Guild of St. Matthew, their *Church Reformer* welcomed the new edition of his 'excellent book', noting that 'personal acquaintance with him has shown us that... the points of difference are less marked than we supposed when his work was first reviewed in these columns'. *Church Reformer* Vol. 5, No. 2 (1886), 32.

<sup>2</sup> Kaufmann, *Socialism and Christianity*. In fact, it was not a simple restatement; as Gronlund rejected Marx's dialectical materialism as the driving force of progress. Jones, *Christian Socialist Revival*, 323; 'Our exposition of value', Gronlund wrote, 'is none other than that of David Ricardo'. Laurence Gronlund, *The Co-operative Commonwealth in its outlines: An Exposition of Modern Socialism* (Boston: Lee and Shepard Publishers, 1884., 16.

<sup>3</sup> Gronlund, *Co-Operative Commonwealth*, 19.

<sup>4</sup> John Rae, 'The socialism of Karl Marx and the Young Hegelians', *Contemporary Review*, xL (Oct. 1881), 585 qu. Kirk Willis, 'The Introduction and Critical Reception of Marxist Thought in Britain, 1850-1900', *The Historical Journal* Vol. 20, No. 2 (June, 1977), 419.

<sup>5</sup> In a footnote, Willis also touched upon the work of Moritz Kaufmann to evince how Marx was connected with German Socialism. 'The Introduction and Critical Reception of Marxist Thought in Britain', 428.

<sup>6</sup> Thompson, *Political Economy and the Labour Party*, 10-11.

<sup>7</sup> William Irvine, 'George Bernard Shaw and Karl Marx', *The Journal of Economic History* Vol. 6, No. 1 (May, 1946), 54.

and work of Marx. As explained in an earlier chapter, the German-born Moritz Kaufmann outlined the value theories of Marx in two sizable volumes published in 1874 and 1879, of which the latter dedicated a whole chapter to Marx, a 'star in the first magnitude'.<sup>1</sup> Stubbs was one of several Christian Socialists who cited *Capital* (published in English in 1886) as a text for recommended reading.<sup>2</sup> The life and work of Marx was also a frequent subject in *The Christian Socialist: A Journal for those who Work and Think*, where the staunchest defence of Marxian theory appeared as a series of articles, probably written by the editor Charles Marson. 'The Death of Karl Marx' (1883) outlined the principles underlying surplus value, noting that Marx's ideas relied upon classical economics, and a leading article, 'Surplus Value' (1884), went into further detail.<sup>3</sup> This sort of literature would have disseminated Marxian ideas amongst the churches and homes of ordinary Christians, who might otherwise have taken the anti-religiousness of Hyndman and Marx as grounds for outright rejection of their work.

As well as popularizing Marx in general, Christian Socialist publications also provided a platform for critical debate regarding the labour theory of value.<sup>4</sup> Indeed, although Kaufmann clearly held Marx in high regard, he remained critical of his labour theory of value, calling it an 'erroneous notion', Kaufmann argued that there was no 'direct proportion between value and abstract social labour' nor did the laziest worker produce the most valuable items.<sup>5</sup> The latter paradox had troubled the Christian Socialists since it was raised in Ruskin's *Unto This Last* (1862). Moreover, Kaufmann argued that it was practically impossible to measure 'average social labour', a criticism also raised by the *Church Reformer* throughout its review of Gronlund's *Co-operative Commonwealth*.<sup>6</sup> Although respected figures from within and without Christian Socialism produced compelling critiques of the labour theory of value, it continued to provide a useful field of discourse not least because it continued a tradition of thought stretching back to Aristotle and St. Thomas Aquinas, it outlined a simple and convincing explanatory framework for the subjugation of the workers, and it proffered an emotive rhetoric for exigent action.<sup>7</sup> Girdlestone and Marson continued to advocate Marxist ideas, and William Tuckwell spoke for several Christian Socialists when, in 1891, he argued that 'all wealth is the result of human labour applied to

<sup>1</sup> Karl Marx's work was based on 'a sound knowledge of facts, and the result of careful observation'. Kaufmann, *Socialism: Its Nature, its Dangers, and its Remedies Considered; Utopias*.

<sup>2</sup> Stubbs, *Christ and Economics*.

<sup>3</sup> *Christian Socialist* Vol. 1, No. 2 (1883), 22. The article also commented on the lack of news coverage regarding Marx's death, and called for an English translation of *Capital*. Another edition of the magazine proclaimed that 'it is universally acknowledged by the political economists that the source of value is labour', Vol. 3, No. 26 (Jul 1885), 18; Vol. 2, No. 4 (1884), 18.

<sup>4</sup> For example, there was Joseph Rickaby's *Socialism: A Reply to Laurence Gronlund*, which received a critical review in the December 1885 edition of the *Christian Socialist*. January's number saw Rickaby's defence of his claims that it was supply and demand that determined value. Rickaby also claimed that Marx must have conceived of socially useful labour, which meant that it was the quality, not the quantity that determined costs. Marson's rejoinder provided a somewhat unsatisfactory attempt to reconcile use-value and exchange-value, and the debate continued into the correspondence pages into February. *Christian Socialist* Vol. 3, No. 31 (1885), 100-4; Vol. 3, No. 32 (1886), 120-2; Vol. 3, No. 33 (1886), 133-8.

<sup>5</sup> Kaufmann, *Socialism: Its Nature, its Dangers, and its Remedies Considered*, 182.

<sup>6</sup> Kaufmann, *Utopias*, 259; *Church Reformer* Vol. 4, No. 6 (1885), 128.

<sup>7</sup> The philosopher, H. W. B. Joseph wrote as regards the enduring popularity of the labour theory of value in his critique 'Karl Marx's Theory of Value' in *Economic Review* Vol. 20 (1910), 61.

land or the products of land', and that the capitalists expropriated the 'wealth which his slave's unpaid labour had created'.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, *The Optimist* returned to the discussion of surplus value in 1908, its successor *The Church Socialist Quarterly* defended the 'controversial' labour theory of value against 'utility' in 1909, and J. Bruce Wallace went on to establish a co-operative network using 'labour notes' to reflect true value.<sup>2</sup>

Nevertheless, such labour theories were just one of several ways in which Christian Socialists conceived of the notion of value. Some, like Adam Smith, distinguished between the labour used to produce an article and the labour that would be required to reproduce the same article sometime in the future. While labour determined value, other factors, such as the availability of an item, could also influence its price in the market. As Gronlund wrote: 'People are not in the habit of finding diamonds in the highways, and if they were, diamonds would soon be as cheap as pebbles'.<sup>3</sup> The correspondence in Christian Socialist periodicals suggests that a proportion of the movement regarded supply and demand as a determinant of value, because it would affect the quantity of required labour.

However, many Christian Socialists began to argue that labour costs were just one of several factors that determined value. The 'value of all commodities', Kaufmann wrote in 1879, 'must in a measure depend on the social circumstances of time and place, and the varying condition of the individuals who require them'.<sup>4</sup> Kaufmann, Kenworthy, and James Adderley all recognised that the interaction of supply and demand was integral to determining firstly, whether and what commodities were produced, and secondly, the subsequent market value of those commodities.<sup>5</sup> Nevertheless, the Christian Socialists were reluctant to subscribe to the economic discourse associated with the notion of 'supply and demand'. Not only did its language and tone echo the maxims historically used to justify working-class subjugation and the degradation of labour, but it also carried connotations of the 'iron laws' of political economy, because it seemed to disregard the power of human agency. As shown in the previous chapter, the Christian Socialists believed that the modern schools of economics had discredited such notions, and on these grounds they frequently opposed 'the doctrine of supply and demand'. Many contributors to *The Commonwealth* argued that the people should support 'a more humane doctrine... that those who produce things wanted or needed by society should receive enough out of the cost of that production

<sup>1</sup> Tuckwell, *Christian Socialism and Other Lectures*, 13.

<sup>2</sup> *The Optimist* Vol. 3, No. 1 (1908), 78-9; *The Church Socialist Quarterly* Vol. 4, No. 2 (1909), 151-3.

<sup>3</sup> Gronlund, *Co-Operative Commonwealth*, 20.

<sup>4</sup> Kaufmann, *Utopias*, 259.

<sup>5</sup> Kaufmann, *Socialism: Its Nature, its Dangers, and its Remedies Considered*, 29.

J. C. Kenworthy wrote that market value depended upon 'Money-cost and Supply and Demand... If the Demand is greater than the Supply, the Market-Value advances; if the Supply is greater than the Demand, the Market-Value recedes'. He added that 'it is clearly wasteful to produce an article which Costs more in Labour than its subsequent Value in Use'. *The Anatomy of Misery*, 27, 84.

Richmond wrote that 'the service done, the commodity or useful thing produced, must be repaid with the equivalent of what it took to produce it'. Furthermore, he wrote that while 'the cost of production fixes the price... [it] varies with the amount demanded and accordingly produced. Thus any demand which is effectual... helps to govern the price which is paid'. Richmond, *Christian Economics*, 214.

to enable them to live decent and wholesome lives'.<sup>1</sup>

For those Christian Socialists who rejected theories of value founded upon labour-cost or upon the interaction of supply and demand, the marginal revolution offered a third field of enquiry. As the previous chapter argued, the Christian Socialist theorists did not widely absorb marginal utility theory as outlined by Jevons. The *Christian Socialist* did comment on Wicksteed's defence of Jevonian theory in *To-Day*, but the *Economic Review* did not dedicate an article to the subject until 1908. In this article, 'The Present Position of the Marginal Utility Theory', W. W. Carlile outlined the main principles of the theory, and argued that it was erroneous because it removed the 'psychological basis' for value; some things were simply worth more than others regardless of the buyer's circumstances.<sup>2</sup>

Nevertheless the Christian Socialists tapped into the economic discourse of utility value theories, and in the process they uncovered a concept upon which they believed they could forge a social economics. Notwithstanding the difficulty with which it was calculated, the concept of utility ultimately rested upon the collective will of man. So, the notion that man's *estimation* of an item's worth was eventually reflected in its market price reinstated, they argued, human agency as a determinant of value. Moreover, to the Christian Socialists who *were* concerned with market prices, the emergence of a theory of value founded upon man's estimations of utility was another indicator of the convergence of Christian Socialist principles and mainstream economic theory. Christian Socialist theorists such as Kaufmann and Richmond argued that both the buyer and seller's estimations of a commodity's cost, relative usefulness, and exchangeability all interacted in order to determine a 'final utility' which 'fixes the price' at which the commodity will be sold.<sup>3</sup> That the price paid for commodities fluctuated not just according to supply and demand but also according to man's caprice meant that, in turn, the diminution of the returns to labour was not necessarily caused by capitalist expropriation of surplus value but by the driving down of prices by consumers. As Richmond argued, both 'the standard of what is the comparative usefulness to men of this or that commodity' and 'the standard of what is fair repayment of the pains that it takes to produce the things we need' had altered because 'men have learned to change their estimate'.<sup>4</sup> It was this synthesis of the Aristotlean 'fair price' and their interpretation of the

<sup>1</sup> *The Commonwealth* Vol. 1, No. 5 (1896), 168, my emphasis. A later contributor would write that 'dealings *should not* be based on... laws of supply and demand'. *The Commonwealth* Vol. 5, No. 4 (1900), 118, (my emphasis).

<sup>2</sup> He argued also that even Marshall was inconsistent in his use of the term 'marginal'. W. W. Carlile was the founder of the Church Army, and was second cousin of the Christian Socialist lecturer on political economy A. J. Carlyle. 'The Present Position of the Marginal Utility Theory' in *Economic Review* Vol. 18 (1908), 302-314.

<sup>3</sup> The value of an item, wrote Kaufmann, 'is nothing more or less than the estimate we form of it after carefully weighing, considering, appreciating, and calculating the amount of pleasure and pain represented by it from the point of view of *those who enjoy and those who create it respectively*'. *Socialism: Its Nature, Its Dangers, and Its Remedies Considered*, 21; Later, Richmond argued that 'on either side there enters into the force that fixes what is paid, a man's estimate of what is to be paid'. Moreover, he edged towards the interaction of supply and demand curves. 'The price', he wrote 'is fixed by the exact estimate on the part of a number of buyers, who are able to buy at the cost it takes to produce the thing, of the comparative usefulness of this and other things; on the other side by the exact estimate on the part of a number of sellers of what it will take to repay them for the trouble of producing the thing'. The comparison of services or commodities in terms of their relative worth to himself or the satisfaction of [man's] various needs and desires' was, for Richmond, that 'which fixes the price' at which a man will buy them, and is called 'its final utility'. Richmond, *Christian Economics*, 214.

<sup>4</sup> Richmond, *Christian Economics*, 70.



utility theory of value that underpinned the Christian Social Union's 'Commercial Morality' campaign (outlined in more detail in Part Two) as well as its faith that such schemes would succeed where the co-operative ventures of the mid-nineteenth century Christian Socialists had failed.

## Critiques of the market

The Christian Socialist theorists' discussion of the meaning of value impelled them to consider the merits and drawbacks of the capitalist free market in terms of its function as an indicator of consumer demand and an effective distributor of goods and services. The Christian Socialist theorists' differences of opinion on this matter represented shifts in focus rather than outright division, as they were overwhelmingly critical of the free market – with one exception. Moritz Kaufmann's exposition of Schäffle's work defended the free market, doing so on the following grounds. Firstly, it was economical, because it prevented the production of goods whose cost exceeded their market value. Secondly, it was efficient, because it compelled manufacturers to produce according to their talents. Thirdly, he argued that it was self-sustaining, because the profit-motive drove investment towards cost-effective enterprise. Fourthly, it was self-correcting, because it always returned to equilibrium. Finally, Kaufmann argued that the market accurately reflected consumer demand. All of these functions, he argued, were beneficial to society.<sup>1</sup> Along with technical progress, the market was also responsible for ensuring that food and other consumables were affordable for the working classes. Whilst Kaufmann recounted the Socialists' critiques of the market, he maintained that the main cause of its failures was the 'moral and intellectual inferiority' of a working class which had long been denied sufficient education. The division of labour, mechanised industry, mass production, and factory toil had degraded the worker as a producer, but the worker as a consumer had, it was argued, benefited from the ability to purchase cheaper foodstuffs, clothing, and other staple commodities. The free market, Kaufmann wrote, should 'only be denounced altogether when social theologians shall have discovered a better *modus operandi* than capital'.<sup>2</sup> However, the other Christian Socialist theorists went on to outline a series of critiques of the free market's ability to perform the functions highlighted by Kaufmann.

As shown in the previous chapter, many Christian Socialists believed that the existence of extreme poverty, as well as the legislation required to prevent it, disproved the notion that the free market was universally beneficial. The Christian Socialists argued that demand for goods and services did not accurately reflect, as Kaufmann and the classical

<sup>1</sup> The market, Kaufmann wrote, is 'a sort of regulator of the social movement...[It performs this task in a] most effective manner for the good of society. Demand and supply are not blind forces, but represent the demands of man, communicated through the market. This means that the interests of capital, are in fact, the interests of society, as the capitalist seeks a profit, i.e. the signal that the best use for capital is being sought. Moreover, labour organized by the state is bound to be less efficient than the market. Kaufmann, *Socialism: Its Nature, Its Dangers, and Its Remedies Considered*, 27-30, 43-56.

<sup>2</sup> Kaufmann, *Socialism: Its Nature, its Dangers, and its Remedies Considered*, 30-38, 52.

economists contended, the true needs of society. Richmond said that because the market considered only what had been demanded in the past, rather than what was actually desired, it was incapable of reflecting the wishes of the people and translating them into the production of goods and services.<sup>1</sup> Many others applied a Morrisian distinction between 'actual' and 'true' demands, and Kenworthy, Girdlestone, and others argued that the market was incapable of reflecting 'true' demand because those with greater purchasing power were able to distort the market according to their own interests.<sup>2</sup> And, as Kenworthy wrote, 'men's needs, and their supply of money, are in most cases extremely disproportionate'. The result was that the workers on low incomes, who made up the majority of society, were able to demand only 'stale meat and coarse bread', while farmers and manufacturers concentrated production on the most profitable wares.<sup>3</sup> The market was unable to respond to the working-classes' 'true' demand for wholesome, unadulterated goods while it remained more profitable to produce other things.

The Christian Socialists argued that the distortion of the market towards the interests of the rich had deleterious consequences for the morality and health of the nation. Competition for higher and more easily accessible profits compelled manufacturers to favour the production of luxury goods. Christian Socialism denounced the desire for and pursuit of luxuries on moral terms, as outlined in the previous chapter, but also highlighted the material effects of this production and desire on the condition of the working classes. The argument that the production of luxury goods kept the workers in employment was rejected. Several Christian Socialists also cited Ruskin's version of the broken window fallacy which contended that the production of luxuries created employment only in the same sense as a 'bull in a china shop, who smashes the contents and so brings work to the potter'.<sup>4</sup> In short, the production of luxuries was detrimental to the well-being of society as a whole because it diverted productive labour away from more socially-useful enterprise. Moreover, in a series of works, Adderley quoted from Marshall, J. A. Hobson, and Cunningham to argue that luxury was not only bad for trade, but was a chief factor of working-class poverty.<sup>5</sup> Girdlestone cited Kropotkin to argue that money spent by the rich on, for example stables, wasted human labour 'which might be used (under a better social organization) for supplying with comfortable homes those who are compelled now to live in dens!' Also, he argued that 'misdirected labour', employed in response to the demands of rich consumers, occurred to

<sup>1</sup> By 'declining to take into account any individual variations from the average... demand', he wrote, dealers were 'lowering themselves to the level of a stupid and undiscerning machine'. Richmond, *Christian Economics*, 221.

<sup>2</sup> Thompson, 'Socialist Political Economies', 235.

<sup>3</sup> Kenworthy argued that the market 'diverts the Labour which could supply... [these needs] into other channels... while bread is wanting, hot-house grapes are grown... while the Son of Man hath not where to lay his head, desolate palaces are maintained'. Luxury production, he continued, was responsible for both the overwork and idleness of labour. *The Anatomy of Misery*, 68-69, 74, 79.

<sup>4</sup> Girdlestone, *Our Misdirected Labour*, 14; Girdlestone, *Christian Socialism versus Present-day Unsocialism*, 99-102. The 'broken window fallacy' is more generally associated with Frédéric Bastiat, whose *That Which is Seen and That Which is Unseen* (1850) advanced the notion that although people are employed to fix them, leading to the illusion employment is created, broken windows cost society because labour is diverted from other more useful and productive activities.

<sup>5</sup> Adderley, *A New Earth*, 90-1; *A Little Primer of Christian Socialism*, 78; *Making Up Your Mind. Subjects for Thought and Prayer for Those Who Wish to apply their religion to everyday life*. (London: Wells Gardner & Co, 1914), 42-5.

such a degree that it made society conform to Malthusian population theory. Although, he wrote, there were enough raw materials on earth to support many times the present population, the 'necessaries' required for the sustenance of the working classes were prohibitively priced due to their scarcity. This scarcity was, in turn, caused by the misdirection of labour towards the production of luxury goods, as well as by the need for the workers to produce 'necessaries' not only for themselves but for the consumption of the middle and upper classes.<sup>1</sup>

If the market was skewed in favour of the rich, the corollary to prohibitively priced necessities was the overproduction of unsold goods. Some Christian Socialists advanced an interpretation of overproduction inspired by Henry George. For example, R. J. Campbell proclaimed that he did 'not believe there is such a thing as over-production; there is [instead] over-proportional production', and he argued, therefore, for greater regulation of industry.<sup>2</sup> However, many Christian Socialist theorists subscribed to a Hobsonian interpretation of overproduction, highlighting its injustice and 'waste of productive force', and arguing that overproduction was wasteful for the labourers and capitalists alike.<sup>3</sup> Indeed, like the Fabians, many Christian Socialists denounced the 'enormous inefficiency' of the free market. Resources were wasted on competition, through advertisements or the duplication of services such as the railways, while one Christian Socialist noted the waste in 'capital, skill, strength, and time' arising from the competition for 'employment, subsistence, and profits'.<sup>4</sup>

The wastefulness of the free market was contemptible, the Christian Socialists argued, not just as a matter of principle, but also because its mitigation necessarily limited the rewards to production. The free market therefore impelled the spread of evils such as unemployment and the adulteration of goods, as well as forcing traders and manufacturers to run up deficits in order to conduct business.<sup>5</sup> As J. Bruce Wallace, Tuckwell, and Kenworthy argued, widespread reliance upon credit led to further unemployment, because business

<sup>1</sup> Four out of eleven million workers were devoted to the 'production of what to simple minds in healthy bodies are the merest superfluities'. As the number of 'misdirected workers' numbered 11 million, these necessities were simply not being produced in great enough quantities. Moreover, by satisfying their thirst for luxuries, the middle and upper classes were consuming but contributing nothing to society's total wealth. Girdlestone cited Herbert Spencer to argue that, in order for any citizen to 'behave as not to deduct from the aggregate welfare, it is needful that he shall perform such function, or share of function, as is of value equivalent at least to what he consumes'. Girdlestone, *Our Misdirected Labour*, 8-9.

<sup>2</sup> R. J. Campbell, *Socialism: An Address* (London: Independent Labour Party, 1907), 11.

<sup>3</sup> Hobson argued in *The Social Problem* that 'Irregularity and mal-apportionment of labour-time constitute a... source of waste of labour-power.' *The Social Problem*, 9; Tuckwell wrote that 'warehouses are choked with unsold clothe-stuffs, while hundreds of thousands are shivering in rags' and he condemned the 'waste of productive force' endemic to capitalism, arguing that capitalists compete until the market is glutted, bringing ruin to the smaller enterprises. *Christian Socialism and Other Lectures*, 18; That there was plenty of food, clothing, and shelter which did not reach the majority constituted, for Kenworthy, a major charge against 'so-called civilisation'. *From Bondage to Brotherhood; The Anatomy of Misery*, 30; Girdlestone cited Marshall and the essayist W. R. Greg to argue that the glutting of markets would cause Britain to suffer the fate of the United States, where 'three fourths of those who engage in trade become insolvent in the course of the first five years!' *Christian Socialism versus Present-day Unsocialism*, 140-5.

<sup>4</sup> Kenworthy, *The Anatomy of Misery*, 32-3; Girdlestone highlighted the 'friction' between the various parts of the 'great national machine', the 'waste of power' which was indicative of a lack of 'organization'; the social system which lacked the 'symmetry of structure and harmony of action which a skilful artist would have endeavoured to embody in his plan'. *Christian Socialism versus Present-day Unsocialism*, 8, 141-2; Wallace, *Preparing for the Twentieth Century*, 2, 9; Tuckwell, *Christian Socialism and Other Lectures*, 28; See also Thompson, *Political Economy and the Labour Party*, 25.

<sup>5</sup> Kenworthy pointed to the 'adulterants of food and drink, unhealthy and effeminating luxuries; debased art; [and] material of war' produced under capitalism. *The Anatomy of Misery*, 31; Girdlestone remarked upon the cheapening of Manchester cotton, English muslin, compasses, and iron rails, noting Laurence Gronlund's exposition of adulteration in America. *Christian Socialism versus Present-day Unsocialism*, 145; Wallace, *The Exchange Circle of the Cooperative Brotherhood Trust Limited*, 4.

interests desired the existence of a 'reserve army' of unemployed workers in order to protect themselves against 'speculation, chances, fluctuations, and crises'.<sup>1</sup> Research has revealed remarkably few other Christian Socialist interpretations of the international finance system and the notion that it would precipitate a crisis in capitalism. The work of John Clifford was a notable exception. Clifford discussed the Free Trade debate in a number of sermons around the turn of the century, arguing that support for the principles of Free Trade could be found in the Sermon on the Mount, as well as in the writings of Ruskin, Cobden, and Bright. The supporters of Protection, Clifford argued, constituted a 'selfish and unpatriotic conspiracy'; the two greatest enemies of mankind, he went on, were war and the tariff.<sup>2</sup> Other than Clifford, a number of Christian Socialists would have been present at 'The Stock Exchange and Gambling' discussion in the 'Morality in Commercial and Social Life' session of the 1908 Pan-Anglican Congress, and others would have read the subsequent article. In the article that followed the debate, the anonymous author distinguished between stockbroking, stock-jobbing, bull and bear markets, speculation, the South Sea Bubble and the subsequent Resolution of the House of Commons. The author argued that although the stock exchange amounted essentially to gambling, the Stock Exchange Committee had strict rules and codes that maintained business security 'the like of which, perhaps, do not prevail elsewhere in other spheres of commerce'. Without speculation, the author went on, 'commerce and industry would not make the headway which is necessary for the welfare of the world'; and without the apparatus of the stock exchange the nationalization of major industries such as the railways would be impossible.<sup>3</sup>

## Factors of production

Heretofore the structure of this analysis of Christian Socialist political economy has aimed to draw out some salient dividing lines within, and principal elements of, their theoretical understanding. This structure would have appeared unusual to the Christian Socialist theorists of the *fin-de-siècle*, whose starting point was usually either an historical account of economic ideas or an attempt to explain the disparity of wealth from an economic and political perspective. To undertake the latter it was considered necessary to critically engage with the notion of property rights. While their conceptions of value precipitated tensions in their economic thought, the Christian Socialists' conceptions of the nature and effects of property rights were broadly consistent. They believed that the existing system of property rights, consecrated by the state, underpinned the unequal distribution of land and capital and

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<sup>1</sup> Wallace, *The Exchange Circle of the Cooperative Brotherhood Trust Limited*, 4; Wallace, *Preparing for the Twentieth Century*, 2; Kenworthy, *The Anatomy of Misery*, 32; The existence of unemployed ranks meant that 'the idle few can legally rob and plunder the working many... [Hence the] unlabouring employer lives upon the propertied labourer'. Tuckwell, *Christian Socialism and Other Lectures*, 15.

<sup>2</sup> Girdlestone, *The What and Why of Christian Socialism*, 161; Clifford 'The Coming of a New Era' *Westbourne Park Record* Vol. 17, No. 12 (1909), 189.

<sup>3</sup> Anon., 'The Stock Exchange and Gambling' in Pan-Anglican Congress, *Morality in Commercial and Social Life*.

so played a major role in determining the condition and position of the working classes.<sup>1</sup> The Christian Socialists were compelled, therefore, to investigate the meaning and origin of these rights.

Few would have disputed the notion that man irrefutably claimed ownership over that which he had laboured to produce, either because this idea had roots in scripture or because they believed such ownership was an inalienable 'Natural right'.<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless, without the assent of society the notion of property rights was fictitious. As Wilfrid Richmond wrote, private property was a 'social fact' created by society and constituted by law; 'it is truer to say, without society no property, than without property no society'.<sup>3</sup> Though many Christian Socialists highlighted the historical permanence and universal benefits of the institutionalisation of property rights – Stubbs, for example, believed it was essential for working-class independence and self-determination – others contended that society permitted private property, not the other way around.<sup>4</sup> Moreover, figures such as Wallace, Kenworthy, Marson, Girdlestone, William Tuckwell, and others distinguished between the 'moral' and the 'legal' right to property, arguing that the latter was used by landlords and capitalists to deny the former to the agricultural and urban working classes.<sup>5</sup> The ruling classes, it was argued, employed several methods to ensure that private property law reflected their interests. Firstly, they maintained control of government by denying access to the working classes and by using, as Kenworthy wrote, 'organized physical force'.<sup>6</sup> Secondly, this institutional protection enabled the ruling classes to enforce their corruption of the right to property on a personal level, especially in rural areas where the authorities were in league with each other. 'If any one of the underpaid but overworked 'should attend a radical meeting, vote for a radical candidate, [or] remonstrate against the foul surroundings of his

<sup>1</sup> Though the capitalist system had produced wealth 'beyond all precedent', Girdlestone cited John Stuart Mill to argue that the 'injustice of Distribution' had its roots in the unjust distribution of property. Girdlestone, *Christian Socialism versus Present-day Unsociability*, 8.

<sup>2</sup> As several Christian Socialists argued, every man had an indisputable 'right to work' for his subsistence, and since land was of 'first necessity to every human life', all men had an 'equal right' to benefit from it. Tuckwell, *Extracts from the Speech... Delivered to the Members of the Warwick and Leamington Women's Liberal Association*, 8; Kenworthy, *The Anatomy of Misery*, 62; Girdlestone, *Thirty-Nine Articles of Belief*, 17; Marson, *God's Co-Operative Society*, 28; *Charity Organization and Jesus Christ*, 20; Stubbs, *Christ and Economics*, 116; Bruggenkate, *Catholicism and Socialism*, 12. However, there were a small number of Christian Socialists who believed that the 'sacred rights of property' were a 'vulgar creed'. See, for example, Cummings, *The Gospel of Socialism*, 5.

<sup>3</sup> Richmond argued that while 'property comes from creation, from labour, or by gift from someone's previous labour... what is most important is man's acceptance of this principle, institutionalising it through law'. Richmond, *Christian Economics*, 298-201; *Economic Morals*, 40.

<sup>4</sup> Stubbs argued that 'under all civilisations, after a certain stage of social development, all human societies seem to come inevitably to the institution of private property, nearly always to private property in land, invariably to private property in moveable things'. If 'the best authorities' were to be trusted, then private property had always been around, despite 'the imaginative Utopias of our Socialist friends, from Plato down to William Morris'. Stubbs, *Christ and Economics*, 106-110.

<sup>5</sup> Kenworthy, *From Bondage to Brotherhood*, 22-3; Girdlestone, *Christian Socialism versus Present-day Unsociability*, 61; Henry Lees, *A Christian's Duty Towards Socialism*, 9; Wallace, *Preparing for the Twentieth Century*, 2; Marson, *The Church and Democracy*, 5; *God's Co-operative Society*, 24; John Tamlyn, *Practical Socialism and A New Sermon from an Old Text* (Manchester: Labour Press Society, 1900), 3.

<sup>6</sup> Law, Kenworthy wrote, no longer expressed 'the Will of the People... [but] the Will of a Privileged Class maintained by violence over the rest'. Government was dominated by the propertied classes, who used the State to protect the propertied through 'Organized Physical Force', the police and armies, protectors of 'property, not of human welfare'. *The Anatomy of Misery*, 29, 43; 'Of what use is the vote', Kenworthy asked, 'when the labourer has no opportunity to cast it for a man who is on his own side; when the issue is made clear to him; and when he is victimised by professional diplomats and promise-breakers?' Kenworthy, *From Bondage to Brotherhood*, 43. Marson, *The Church and Democracy*, 6; One Christian Socialist proclaimed that 'the title deeds of many large estates are smeared with the blood of our murdered forefathers'. Lees, *A Christian's Duty Towards Socialism*, 9.

home', Tuckwell wrote, 'to my knowledge [he] often was told that his services were no longer required'.<sup>1</sup> Finally, the ruling classes were able to raise and collect taxes in order to finance the state machine. Even the more moderate John Clifford argued that the 1909 'People's Budget' served the interests of the ruling rather than the working classes.<sup>2</sup>

The influential figures behind such ideas were clearly Tolstoy, Proudhon, Kropotkin, and William Morris, all of whom were cited by the Christian Socialists at various times. However, other explanatory frameworks for the destructive qualities of property rights were used, especially when the Christian Socialists began to consider the unequal ownership of land and capital. In terms of the land, many Christian Socialists argued that because God was the creator of all the land and its resources, man could claim to act only as its steward and not its owner. As such, he had a duty to employ the land and its products according to Christian principles. How the Christian Socialists attempted to translate this principle into practical precepts is considered in Part Two.

The demise of the English yeoman was a frequent trope in Christian Socialist literature, one which built upon the Chartists' use of the 'Norman Yoke' as a conceptual framework for feudal oppression.<sup>3</sup> As Stubbs – who, it will be recalled, subscribed to the historical permanence of property rights – argued, the historical distribution of land ownership as a reward for military service was irreconcilable with Christian principles.<sup>4</sup> Moreover, the sole benefit to the nation of this distribution, namely the obligation to provide a (military) service to the crown, began to vanish from the time of Tudor reign. The implication of the Enclosure Acts was that it became more profitable to employ land in the farming of sheep than in the feeding of men; its result was a legacy of 'English pauperism'.<sup>5</sup> Several other Christian Socialists cited statisticians, government blue books, and the National Agricultural Labourers Union to comment on how enclosures impelled the inefficient use of land which, in turn, led to the impoverishment of the agricultural labourers.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> William Tuckwell, *Reminiscences of a Radical Person* (London, 1905), 10-11. Tuckwell argued that the exploiters were 'secure from legal interference because many of the guardians who would wield[ed] the rural sanitary authority [we]re themselves owners of cottage property... while the masses were cut off from education and from political power'. Tuckwell, *Christian Socialism and Other Lectures*, 5-7.

<sup>2</sup> Kenworthy argued that the purpose of taxation was to 'permit so much Labour to be diverted from [the payers'] service, to the service of Government'. The rich were happy with this arrangement for it was necessary for the protection of private property and of 'National interests', both of which were 'wholly class interests'. *The Anatomy of Misery*, 86; In later years John Clifford's critique of the 1909 Budget declared that taxes were not 'sacrifices' but were 'payments for value received from peace and order', whereas 'the religion of Jesus Christ demands that a Nation's Budget shall be based on broad and remedial philanthropy'. 'The Religion of the Budget' *Westbourne Park Record* Vol. 17, No. 6 (1909), 96.

<sup>3</sup> Stubbs regarded the demise of yeomanry with independent means to produce as 'not only one of the saddest social facts in the modern history of England, but is also the fruitful source of most of the great social evils of the nineteenth century'. Stubbs, *Christ and Economics*, 280; Tuckwell, *Christian Socialism and Other Lectures*, 8; Kenworthy, *The Anatomy of Misery*, 63. See also Malcolm Chase, 'Chartism and the Land: 'The Mighty People's Question' (chapter) in Matthew Cragoe and Paul Readman, *The Land Question in Britain, 1750-1950* (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), pp57-73.

<sup>4</sup> As Stubbs highlighted, scripture declared that 'Ye cannot serve God and Mammon', 'A man's life consists not in the abundance of things which he possesseth', 'It is easier for a camel to go through a needle's eye, than for a rich man to enter into the Kingdom of God', 'Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth' and 'Blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth'. *Christ and Economics*, 63-5, 111.

<sup>5</sup> Stubbs, *Village Politics*, 163.

<sup>6</sup> William Tuckwell, *Allotments: The Solution of the Agricultural Problem*, 3rd edn. (London: Jarrold, 1888), 6-8; Kenworthy, *From Bondage to Brotherhood*; Lees, *A Christian's Duty Towards Socialism*, 7.

John Stuart Mill was the architect of a further explanatory framework for the critique of property rights that became popular amongst Christian Socialists. Figures such as Girdlestone and Kenworthy cited Mill time and again to argue that because ‘no man made the land, and it is the original inheritance of the whole species, so its appropriation is only a question of general expediency’.<sup>1</sup> As is shown in Part Two, Girdlestone believed that the concept of ‘expediency’ could underpin extensive reform of land ownership, and he argued that it formed the basis of Alfred Russel Wallace’s scheme for the ‘nationalization of the land’.<sup>2</sup>

The Christian Socialists’ explanations and analyses of the ownership of capital passed through similar stages to their treatment of the land question. They outlined some historical perspectives on the matter, illustrating the change in productive techniques from the ownership of slaves to the increasingly complex division of labour and capital ownership.<sup>3</sup> They contrasted the teachings of political economy (‘capital is the result of saving, and is a prime requisite of production’) with those of Christianity (‘lay not up treasure on earth’).<sup>4</sup> And they argued that ownership of capital carried duties as well as rights.<sup>5</sup> Despite these similarities, the Christian Socialists conceived of capital as being distinct from land, for the following reasons. Firstly, capital differed from land in its origins: as Moritz Kaufmann, Stubbs, Conrad Noel, and many others argued, while land and resources were created by God, capital represented accumulated labour.<sup>6</sup> Secondly, it differed in its purpose: Several Christian Socialists argued that capital was a starting point for trade as well as for production, and that it could be categorised into raw materials, and fixed and floating capital.<sup>7</sup> Finally, capital differed from land in its nature: That capital could be used, saved, and transferred more easily than land was clear, but the Christian Socialists debated whether or not capital was self-perpetuating. For example, Stubbs claimed that because wages were eventually spent, saved, or reinvested, capital was ‘like a fountain ever flowing and ever refilling itself from its own stream, which keeps augmenting’.<sup>8</sup> However, Tuckwell argued that capital was always the product of the workers, and he proclaimed that ‘people talk of invested capital as of something which possesses inherent powers of reproduction: they seem to think, with Shylock, that gold and silver breed together like ewes and rams’.<sup>9</sup>

For all the disagreement over the nature of capital, the Christian Socialists were more

<sup>1</sup> For example, see Girdlestone, *Society Classified*, 19; *Thirty-nine Articles of Belief*, 6, 28; Kenworthy, *The Anatomy of Misery*, 47.

<sup>2</sup> See his *Christian Socialism Versus Present-Day Unsocialism* (1887) and *The What and Why of Christian Socialism* (1889-90), which are discussed in detail in Chapter Seven.

<sup>3</sup> Kenworthy, *The Anatomy of Misery*, 64.

<sup>4</sup> Stubbs, *Christ and Economics*, 63-5.

<sup>5</sup> For example, Stubbs argued that ‘wealth does not release the rich man from his obligation to work, but only enables him to do unpaid work for society’. *Ibid.*, 117.

<sup>6</sup> Citing Annie Besant, Girdlestone argued that ‘Capital is obtained by a process of confiscation of the results of labour’. Girdlestone, *Christian Socialism versus Present-day Unsocialism*, 70-71; *Thirty-nine Articles of Belief*, 29-30.

<sup>7</sup> Kaufmann, *Socialism: Its Nature, its Dangers, and its Remedies Considered*, 13.

<sup>8</sup> Stubbs, *Christ and Economics*, 130.

<sup>9</sup> Tuckwell, *Christian Socialism and Other Lectures*, 21; Moreover, Kenworthy maintained that capital was perishable as the ‘means of production wear out, and must be renewed’. Kenworthy, *The Anatomy of Misery*, 66.

or less united in their belief that it was not capital itself that was evil, but its monopolization. The Christian Socialists used the term 'monopoly' in a variety of ways and in some cases any technical nuances were disregarded as the term was used simply to describe the concentration of ownership, control, or power in the political or economic spheres. However, the Christian Socialists most often used the term to refer to two of capitalism's flaws: firstly, the tendency for trades to become dominated by a single producer, and secondly, the exclusive control of the factors of production by the ruling classes. As noted above, the Christian Socialists argued that the property laws that permitted the latter type of monopolies to develop were either sanctioned by society or had arisen from the capture of the state machinery by the ruling classes.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless the resulting disparity of power was also apparent in the economic sphere, most notably during the strikes and lock-outs to which the Christian Socialists had lent their support. Many Christian Socialists noted that the capitalists had the advantage in any labour dispute for, as A. J. Carlyle put it, they can 'afford the losses endured for waiting out while the workman cannot' and because, unlike the workers, they could 'legally combine'.<sup>2</sup> In the battle between the capitalist and the workers, Kenworthy wrote that 'his luxury is at stake, their bread is at stake... and the Laws fight for him'.<sup>3</sup>

Many Christian Socialists espoused a critique of monopolization that was essentially Fabian, though it lacked the important Fabian notion that landlords and capitalists monopolized *non-marginal* resources.<sup>4</sup> They argued that it was the ruling classes' monopoly control of land and capital that allowed them to dictate the terms of employment, thus depressing the workers to the position of slaves. It was this monopoly, also, that circumscribed social mobility and nullified the virtuous powers of self-help, thrift, and independence. Almost all the Christian Socialist theorists so far mentioned attested the impossibility of saving from one's wages in order to obtain access to the raw materials and the instruments required for their extraction and manufacture.<sup>5</sup> It was simply inconceivable that the worker could become his own capitalist without substantial assistance. That the labouring poor were left with no choice but to sell their labour in order to survive meant that, as Adderley wrote, the 'rich employing class... have got the poor man in its grip, and can practically destroy his chance of a true life'.<sup>6</sup> The monopoly of the factors of production was

<sup>1</sup> For examples of these opposing views, see Richmond, *Christian Economics*, 122; Kenworthy, *The Anatomy of Misery*, 65.

<sup>2</sup> Richmond, *Christian Economics*, 118; Carlyle, *Wages*, 18-19; Tamlyn, *Practical Socialism*, 4; Smith, *The Socialist and the Church*, 5; Kirtlan, *Socialism for Christians*, 2.

<sup>3</sup> 'The Capitalists' absolute control of Capital' wrote Kenworthy, 'is evidenced when, by the will of a single individual, hundreds, or maybe thousands, of workers are 'locked out' and the factory gates are held against them by police and soldiers. Here is naked monopoly; the will of one man, who seeks his private profit, overrides the will of the people.' Kenworthy, *The Anatomy of Misery*, 45, 50-1, 60-2, 66.

<sup>4</sup> Thompson, *Political Economy and the Labour Party*, 23.

<sup>5</sup> The following is a representative rather than an exhaustive list of examples. Kaufmann, *Socialism: Its Nature, its Dangers, and its Remedies Considered*, 37; Girdlestone, *The What and Why of Christian Socialism*; Tuckwell, *Christian Socialism and Other Lectures*, 15; Kenworthy, *Slavery, Ancient and Modern*, 10; Swann, *The What and the Why of Socialism*, 2; Marson, *God's Co-Operative Society*, 102; Stubbs, *Christ and Economics*, 280.

<sup>6</sup> James Granville Adderley, *Making Up Your Mind. Subjects for Thought and Prayer for Those Who Wish to apply their religion to everyday life* (London: Wells Gardner & Co, 1914); *Why are you a Christian?*; William, *The Love of Man*, 5; Swann, *The What and the Why of Socialism*. Marson and those within the Christian Socialist Society had long conceived of employment relations in terms of the selling of labour power, but this term became increasingly common amongst Christian Socialists after the turn of the century.



highlighted as an important root cause of the social problem because it enabled the degradation of labour and prevented the workers from liberating themselves by economic means from unemployment and urban squalor. For J. Bruce Wallace, the market was flawed not least because the tendency for trades to become monopolized and, in modern terms, clustered, meant that middlemen were able to extort 'between thirty and forty per cent of the price of goods paid by the consumer', while the primary producers received little despite doing the hardest share of the work. Trade monopolies, the Christian Socialists argued, also shielded the capitalists from competitive pressures, enabling them to inflate prices and profits by artificially producing below optimum levels of output.<sup>1</sup> Monopoly, therefore, forced the working classes into an environment which, as was shown in Chapter One, fostered the moral and material debasement of life. As Tuckwell wrote, 'the disease corroding the vitals of English life is the monopoly of wealth'.<sup>2</sup>

## Distribution of wealth (I): Rent, interest, and profit

The Christian Socialists argued that the landlords, capitalists, and employers had monopolized the land, capital, and industry respectively.<sup>3</sup> Each struggled to get the greatest share: landlords by raising rents via the Corn Laws; capitalists and employers by advocating free trade, which would allow the price of food, and therefore labour, to diminish, enabling interest and profits to increase.<sup>4</sup> Both strategies either relied on or caused a diminution in the level of wages. As William Tuckwell wrote, 'luxury and poverty increase in equal rates: because every sovereign which goes into the pockets of the idle rich men represents a proportional deficiency in the pockets of the defrauded poor man'.<sup>5</sup> The Christian Socialists, therefore, attempted to uncover theories which would explain what really determined the level of the returns to land and capital.

If monopoly had created the environment for subjugation, the extraction of rent, interest, and profits were the means by which the ruling classes could exercise their power over the poor. The amount appropriated in land rents, one Christian Socialist argued, was roughly equal to half of the nation's total production of wealth.<sup>6</sup> The Christian Socialists' conceptions of land rent in the *fin-de-siècle* period were influenced by Ricardo, Henry George, and J. S. Mill, and an increasingly sophisticated and explicitly Ricardian delineation

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Swann wrote that, 'as Karl Marx accurately put it, it is not their labour but their labour-power which they are forced to sell... they are literally bought up at a price and then used at the mere will of others'. Swann, *The What and the Why of Socialism*; Similarly, G. H. Ten Bruggenkate wrote that men, divorced from ownership, were forced by sheer economic necessity into such a position that their labour power is all that they can give in return for a bare subsistence living'. *Catholicism and Socialism*, 8.

<sup>1</sup> Richmond, *Christian Economics*, 114; Kenworthy, *The Anatomy of Misery*, 84; Girdlestone, *Christian Socialism versus Present-day Unsocialism*, 145.

<sup>2</sup> Girdlestone, *Christian Socialism versus Present-day Unsocialism*, 143; Tuckwell, *Christian Socialism and Other Lectures*, 6.

<sup>3</sup> Tuckwell, *Christian Socialism and Other Lectures*, 8.

<sup>4</sup> Kenworthy, *The Anatomy of Misery*, 83.

<sup>5</sup> Tuckwell, *Christian Socialism and Other Lectures*, 8.

<sup>6</sup> Wallace, *Preparing for the Twentieth Century*, 15; Gold, *Silver and Labour*, 4-5; Girdlestone, *The What and Why of Christian Socialism*, 34.

of rent appeared more frequently as time went on.<sup>1</sup> As illustrated above, many Christian Socialists believed that value reflected labour or a service rendered, and according to this principle they distinguished between two meanings of rent. On the one hand, land rents represented the 'tenant-right' or 'earnings of management' to remunerate superintendence of land, and on the other hand, rents were payments accruing from the 'unique command of resources' which enabled the landholder to demand 'a price not proportioned to any service done'.<sup>2</sup> As Tuckwell, Girdlestone, and J. Bruce Wallace frequently argued, the land values were increased by random fortuitous events, such as the discovery of 'natural materials' or improvements in infrastructure nearby, as well as the 'enterprise and the energy of the community'. Therefore, the 'unearned increment' represented by rent belonged, 'of right, to the community, and not to any individual occupier'.<sup>3</sup> The manifest influence of Henry George on these ideas has been covered at some length by Peter d'A. Jones, who recounted George's connections with Christian Socialist organizations, as well as the authors who cited his work.<sup>4</sup> However, it should also be noted that the Christian Socialists were essentially restating a Fabian socialist theory of rent, a theory that they would have encountered from their personal links with Webb and other Fabians, as well as their consumption of Fabian tracts. It is also interesting to note that for Girdlestone, it was J. S. Mill who provided the idea that the 'unearned increment should be nationalized' on the grounds of expediency.<sup>5</sup> Moreover, Henry George's interpretation of capital and interest did not resonate as strongly amongst the Christian Socialists. His theories continued to influence the Guild of St. Matthew, and most Christian Socialists still respected him as a social critic, but many either explicitly rejected his social theories or abandoned his Single Tax doctrine altogether.<sup>6</sup>

As regards interest, Kenworthy, Tuckwell, and others all denounced what they regarded as opportunistic extortion 'under the guise of the reward of capital'.<sup>7</sup> Indeed, it may have been supposed that given the long-standing Christian tradition of condemning 'usury', the Christian Socialists would have been opposed to the concept of interest altogether. Nonetheless, the prohibition of interest for anything over and above remuneration for wear and tear would, as Stubbs wrote, 'undoubtedly undermine the basis of all modern

<sup>1</sup> Richmond, *Christian Economics*, 116; *Economic Morals*, 81; Kenworthy, *The Anatomy of Misery*, 62; Tuckwell, *Reminiscences*, 102; Campbell, *Socialism: An Address*, 8.

<sup>2</sup> Richmond, *Christian Economics*, 116; Girdlestone, *Christian Socialism versus Present-day Unsocialism*, 50.

<sup>3</sup> 'Rent (in the true scientific sense of the word)' wrote Wallace, 'is always *unearned* value, and that consequently it cannot rightfully be *private* income but ought to be public *income* (sic) – a revenue belonging to the entire community jointly'. J. Bruce Wallace 'Rent' in *Brotherhood* Vol. 1, No. 1 (April, 1887), 19-20; See also Tuckwell, *Reminiscences*, 104; Girdlestone, *Thirty-nine Articles of Belief*; Girdlestone, *Christian Socialism versus Present-day Unsocialism*, 50.

<sup>4</sup> Jones, *Christian Socialist Revival*.

<sup>5</sup> The service to society was rendered by the land, not the landlord, Girdlestone argued, and so it would be at least, if not more productive if 'it belonged to the Tenant-Farmer, or the Labourers on it, or to any other person'. Girdlestone, *Christian Socialism versus Present-day Unsocialism*, 58; Girdlestone, *Society Classified*, 10-11.

<sup>6</sup> Kenworthy, for example, recommended George's *Progress and Poverty* but 'only on the Land question as his treatment of Capital' was 'unsound and misleading', while others such as Stubbs and Marson openly rejected George's ideas in their publications. Jones's categorisation of Stubbs as a 'Georgeist' is therefore misleading. Jones, *Christian Socialist Revival*, 135.

<sup>7</sup> Lees, *A Christian's Duty Towards Socialism*; Tuckwell, *Christian Socialism and Other Lectures*, 21; Kenworthy, *From Bondage to Brotherhood*, *passim*; Girdlestone, *Christian Socialism versus Present-day Unsocialism*, 71.

commerce'.<sup>1</sup> Though the Bible said 'lend, hoping for nothing in gain', it was important, Stubbs argued, to consider the 'social background' and 'social details' of the teaching of Christ.<sup>2</sup> In Stubbs's era, usury was defined by lending when 'the rate of interest is determined, not in accordance with the service rendered by the lender, but in accordance with the need felt by the borrower', a measure that tended towards exploitative rates.<sup>3</sup>

Whilst land rents were always extortionate, in terms of the returns to capital the Christian Socialists were keen to distinguish between the remuneration of management and conventional interest.<sup>4</sup> Many moderate Christian Socialists, especially amongst the Christian Social Union, argued that the organization, direction, and management of capital and resources was a useful function which deserved reward (though perhaps not at the levels enjoyed by the most successful capitalists). After all, as clergymen they were also in receipt of funds without having produced any tangible, material commodities. Several moderates conceived of interest as a payment in advance for services which the gentleman-employer could be trusted to provide, a notion that sat comfortably alongside their position of benevolent paternalism.<sup>5</sup> The Christian Socialists identified several other conceptions of interest, as follows.

Firstly, interest was simply the 'price paid for permission to use capital'.<sup>6</sup> After all, a value could only be placed on the lent funds when 'the advantage to the borrower is evidently as great or greater than it is to the lender'.<sup>7</sup> Secondly, the Christian Socialists noted the political economists' claim that interest represented a reward for the lender's forbearance of their own consumption. However, few were convinced that monetary recompense was necessary for the realization of a key Christian virtue, namely saving. For example, Conrad Noel argued that the taking of interest was sinful even if the lender of capital had foregone the opportunity to profit.<sup>8</sup> Similarly, Girdlestone denied that the 'mere postponement of immediate enjoyment' was 'an act of such heroic virtue' that it demanded remuneration 'at the cost of the lifeblood of others' when, in fact, 'the postponement of enjoyment from the present to the future comes with its own reward'. Nevertheless, Girdlestone also argued that interest was justified 'if the lender of money or of tools is able to shew that he would have used them himself, and with profit to himself, in case he had not lent them'.<sup>9</sup> Interest was only usurious, therefore, if there were no opportunity costs associated with the lending of

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<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, 146.

<sup>2</sup> Stubbs, *Christ and Economics*, 63-65.

<sup>3</sup> The idea that usury was sinful was the established moral code at the time of Jesus, Stubbs argued, and it arose from 'moral repugnance to the practice from what they saw and felt of its evil effects on the social and economic life of their own time, when all money-lending at interest was from the rich man to the poor man, to meet the poor man's necessity, and therefore too often associated with cruelty and hardship'. *Christ and Economics*, 147. See also pages 63-5, 150-3.

<sup>4</sup> As Richmond wrote, some economists 'speak of the profits of capital, grouping under the single name the wages of the labour of management, and the interest on the resources which the power of management enables the master or capitalist to command. Others distinguish the two elements in profits, as earnings of management and interest'. Richmond, *Christian Economics*, 113.

<sup>5</sup> Stubbs, *Christ and Economics*, 117.

<sup>6</sup> Campbell, *Socialism: An Address*.

<sup>7</sup> Stubbs, *Christ and Economics*, 159, 164.

<sup>8</sup> Noel, *Socialism and Church Tradition*, 10.

<sup>9</sup> Girdlestone, *Christian Socialism versus Present-day Unsocialism*, 71; *Thirty-nine Articles of Belief*, 29.

capital. Thirdly and finally, interest could be justifiably raised in order to compensate the lender against risk, though research has revealed relatively few Christian Socialist references to this notion.<sup>1</sup>

The Christian Socialists' conceptions of interest had two main implications. Firstly, if interest was a price paid for some sort of service, it raised the difficult question of determining a price that was fair to both parties. As Charles Marson wrote, 'the borrower of money, like the hirer of a cab, ought to pay his fare [but] the lender, who does not work, should not eat the labour of other men's hands'.<sup>2</sup> While Marson argued that lending should become a state function, the Christian Socialists' initial response to his 'moral problem' was to argue that interest levels should be set in accordance with Christian conscience and the Canon Law, but they did not always elaborate on how this would be done.<sup>3</sup> Secondly, several Christian Socialists argued that the payment of interest was not necessarily required to unlock capital despite the fact that it was often the case in practice. Girdlestone rejected the notion that *interest* facilitated the creation of wealth, arguing that production depended upon the existence of capital rather than upon capitalists. He argued that it was an 'indubitable fact of history', recorded by J. S. Mill, Kaufmann, and others, that workers were once able to start production with 'only a few tools' bought with 'small sums of money collected from their savings' or lent by 'other working men still poorer than themselves'. The ruling classes' monopoly control of the means of production not only acted to stop men becoming their own capitalists, but it also threw into sharp relief the superfluity of the capitalist class.<sup>4</sup>

## Distribution of wealth (II): Wages

Whilst their exclusion from the means of production relegated the working classes to their lowly position in the social body, the Christian Socialists argued that the magnitude, regularity, and security of one's wages were fundamental determinants of the condition of working-class life. As noted in Chapter One, the Christian Socialists witnessed the immorality of wage inequality first-hand during their investigations into the life and labour of the poor.<sup>5</sup> Moreover, the social studies carried out by Booth, A. L. Bowley, G. H. Wood, and the Board of Trade ensured that the level of wages continued to be an important topic for debate.<sup>6</sup> Inadequate levels of wages highlighted a profound failure of capitalism: citing Cairnes, Girdlestone argued that 'our present economical system, however successful it may have been as a producer of wealth, fails... as its distributor' and 'industrial progress' tended

<sup>1</sup> Girdlestone, *Christian Socialism versus Present-day Unsocialism*, 71; *Thirty-nine Articles of Belief*, 29; Kaufmann, *Socialism: Its Nature, its Dangers, and its Remedies Considered*, 176, 13.

<sup>2</sup> Marson, *God's Co-Operative Society*, 84.

<sup>3</sup> Richmond, *Christian Economics*, 132-140; *Economic Morals*; Stubbs, *Christ and Economics*, 159-165.

<sup>4</sup> Girdlestone, *Christian Socialism versus Present-day Unsocialism*, 62-65, 69; *Society Classified*, 10; *Thirty-nine Articles of Belief*, 28.

<sup>5</sup> Wallace, *Preparing for the Twentieth Century*, 13.

<sup>6</sup> Charles Feinstein, 'What Really Happened to Real Wages?: Trends in Wages, Prices, and Productivity in the United Kingdom, 1880-1913', *The Economic History Review* Vol. 43, No. 3, New Series (1990), 329-355.

'towards an inequality greater still'.<sup>1</sup> The Christian Socialists' interest in the theory of wages was also a response to developments in economic discourse, most notably the Marxian critique of the 'iron law of wages', brought to light by Kaufmann, Marson, and Girdlestone, as well as the debates following J. S. Mill's perceived recantation, and Henry George's rejection, of the former's wage-fund theory.<sup>2</sup>

That the determination of the level of wages was a contested concept was reflected in the variety of angles from which it was regarded by the Christian Socialist theorists. For instance, Girdlestone appeared to affirm several contradictory theories of wages. Firstly, he seemed to argue that a worker's wages actually were 'equivalent to the service he originally rendered'.<sup>3</sup> But, in a later series of articles in *The Christian Socialist*, he stated that he had, in fact, been expounding an aspirational rather than a descriptive conception of wages.<sup>4</sup> Indeed, Girdlestone later wrote that 'under the law of Competition' workers 'drive each other's wages down' to 'the old starvation point'.<sup>5</sup> Many Christian Socialists argued that although wages should reflect a service, in reality the competition for employment tended to drive wages down to the 'subsistence point'.<sup>6</sup> However, as the previous chapter illustrated, the Christian Socialists rejected the notion that such economic laws were set in stone, or rather, forged in iron. As Richmond argued, 'we are no longer to be scared by the fear that any rise in wages will be followed by an increase in population which will absorb it', nor would a wage rise engender a 'multiplication of paupers'.<sup>7</sup> In fact, David Ricardo, who came to represent the iron law of wages in the popular consciousness, had included salient qualifications to his subsistence theory of wages. However, as later authors adapted the law, making it more binding and restrictive, Ricardo became associated with the crude version not its qualifications. And it was this crude version that has continued to make its presence felt in political discourse: As J. K. Galbraith argued, the iron law of wages was a distinctive feature not just in the history of economics, but also in the history of ideas and popular knowledge.<sup>8</sup>

It was not until the publication of A. J. Carlyle's *Wages* (1912) that an in-depth Christian Socialist study of the matter appeared, which took account of both the

<sup>1</sup> Girdlestone, *Thirty-nine Articles of Belief*, 19. See also, E. D. Girdlestone's *Our Misdirected Labour*, which begins with table showing average annual incomes of the manual labour class (£19), middle class (£22), and the upper class (£200).

<sup>2</sup> Francis Amasa Walker, *The Wages Question. A treatise on Wages and the Wages Class*. (New York, 1876); Jr. J. Don Miller, 'Wages-Fund Theory and the Popular Influence of Economists', *The American Economic Review* Vol. 30, No. 1 (March 1, 1940), 108-112; William Breit, 'The Wages Fund Controversy Revisited', *The Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science / Revue canadienne d'Economie et de Science politique* Vol. 33, No. 4 (November 1, 1967), 509-528; E. G. West and R. W. Hafer, 'J. S. Mill, Unions, and the Wages Fund Recantation: A Reinterpretation', *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* Vol. 92, No. 4 (November 1, 1978), 603-619; and Robert B. Ekelund and William F. Kordsmeier, 'J. S. Mill, Unions, and the Wages Fund Recantation: A Reinterpretation—Comment', *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* 96, no. 3 (1981), 531-541.

<sup>3</sup> The claim, equivalent in money, to an equal amount of service in the future remained 'undiminished in strength and value by any lapse of time' unless evildoers fooled or persuaded us otherwise. Girdlestone, *Society Classified*, 3; *Thirty-nine Articles of Belief*, 27.

<sup>4</sup> Girdlestone, *The What and Why of Christian Socialism*, 134.

<sup>5</sup> Girdlestone, *Christian Socialism versus Present-day Unsocialism*, 127-8, 144.

<sup>6</sup> Kenworthy, *The Anatomy of Misery*, 58, 83; Tuckwell, *Christian Socialism and Other Lectures*, 15-18; *Reminiscences*, 102; Campbell, *Socialism: An Address*, 8; Kaufmann, *Socialism: Its Nature, its Dangers, and its Remedies Considered*, 164.

<sup>7</sup> Richmond, *Christian Economics*, 15-19, 219.

<sup>8</sup> John Kenneth Galbraith, *A History of Economics: The Past as the Present* (London: Penguin, 1987), 84-85.

qualifications and implications of Ricardian doctrine.<sup>1</sup> An examination of *Wages* throws light on the state of popular understanding of economics at the turn of the century: it is important to note that Carlyle felt it necessary to explain and qualify Ricardo at length, almost a century after Ricardo had first published his *Principles*.<sup>2</sup> It is worth, therefore, interrupting this account of Christian Socialist theories of wages in order to examine this cardinal text.

Carlyle's *Wages* recounted the development and division of wage theory in political economy. Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, Carlyle wrote, introduced the conception of wage rates as something determined by the ratio between the available capital and the number of labourers, and constrained by the need to match the level required for subsistence. The consolidation of the former property of wages in political economy occurred following the advent of Malthus' population theory. Malthus had argued that population increased up to a point where it was 'limited, either by starvation, or by vicious living, or by deliberate restraint'. Meanwhile food increases could not keep up with population due to the law of diminishing returns, with the result that further population increases produced grinding poverty. Many commentators, Carlyle added, had argued that Malthusian population theory had taken effect in the Victorian period, but he believed that its onset had been delayed by the repeal of the Corn Laws, which enabled food to be imported at an affordable price.<sup>3</sup> Nevertheless, Carlyle argued that employers were able to pay 'inadequate wages' because the incomes of the workers were 'constantly supplemented... by the community' through the Poor Law, charity, or family.<sup>4</sup> Carlyle cited the Webbs to argue that 'a great many trades are really parasitic'. Gertrude Tuckwell was a notable advocate of this idea, writing in 1908 that the Poor Law, neighbours, Churches and Missions all contributed to stave off starvation; through supplementation of wages, she wrote, 'we perpetuate a system' in which 'the reward received from the employer is habitually insufficient'.<sup>5</sup> Moreover, as J. A. Hobson argued in *The Industrial System* (1909), labourers drew upon a 'maintenance fund' made up from the supplementary wages paid to women and children as well as the sources of income above.<sup>6</sup>

Carlyle's history of wage theories went on to explain how Ricardo had assembled a

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<sup>1</sup> Alexander James Carlyle (1861-1943) was a rector, Oxford academic, historian, social reformer, and Christian Socialist. Born the son of a Free Church minister, Carlyle was educated at Exeter college, Oxford, and began his clerical career in St. Stephen's, Westminster, in 1888, before being elected to a fellowship at University College, Oxford in 1893. After vacating his fellowship after only two years due to marriage, Carlyle remained as a lecturer in politics and economics and as the college chaplain. His rectorship was at St. Martin and All Saints in the city of Oxford. Carlyle was known to early twentieth-century contemporaries as one of the authors of *History of Mediaeval Political Theory in the West* and *Political Liberty*, works which were over forty years in the making. As F. M. Powicke and K. D. Reynolds recount, Carlyle enjoyed a successful lecture career in Europe and the United States between the world wars. During the fin-de-siècle, Carlyle's Christian Socialist activity took place under the auspices of the Christian Social Union, which published his works on religion and wages. He was closely connected with Henry Scott Holland, Charles Gore, and his old Exeter college peer John Carter, and he became a formative influence on their economic ideas after Ruskin, Richmond, and J. A. Hobson. Writing as an Oxford academic, his high-wage theories allowed the CSU to substantiate its 'Commercial morality' doctrine with a credible economic credo. Carter was also well-connected with the socialist movement; as Powicke and Reynolds note, he was friendly with Sidney and Beatrice Webb, and Sidney Ball. Despite the major role Carlyle played in steering CSU economic thought in the early twentieth century, he did not feature in the histories of the movement written by Jones or Bryant. Scholarship on Carlyle's life and work has been limited to his ODNB entry by Powicke and Reynolds, as well as a biography by Powicke published in 1943.

<sup>2</sup> Carlyle, *Wages*, 43.

<sup>3</sup> Carlyle, *Wages*, 34-36, 37-38.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 86-88.

<sup>5</sup> Tuckwell, 'Sweating' in Pan-Anglican Congress, *Morality in Commercial and Social Life*, 3.

<sup>6</sup> J. A. Hobson, *The industrial system an inquiry into earned and unearned income* (London, 1910), 85.

coherent theory of wages out of the materials provided by Smith and Malthus. Ricardo, wrote Carlyle, distinguished between the 'natural' and the 'market' rate of wages. The natural rate was the point towards which wages always tended, and which was required to 'enable the labourers... to subsist and to perpetuate their race without either increase or diminution', while 'the market price... is the price which is really paid for it, from the natural operation of the proportion of the supply to the demand'. Carlyle outlined the Ricardian notion that in a free and fair labour market, wages would always return to equilibrium. Ricardo said that if the market rate of wages climbed above their natural rate, it would enable the working-class population to grow. This would, in turn, increase the supply of labour, and the subsequent competition for employment would ensure that wages returned to the natural rate. If the market rate of wages fell below the natural rate, the opposite would occur. Carlyle added that Ricardo's theory of wages included several important qualifications, some or all of which had been forgotten by those who claimed his laws were immutable. Ricardo had argued that: firstly, subsistence costs depended on 'the habits and customs of the people'; secondly, the workers could voluntarily check population growth, therefore maintaining the current supply of labour and corresponding wage rates; and thirdly, such voluntary checks could be encouraged through the 'desire for the comforts and enjoyments of life'. This meant that in nations where luxury goods were available and desired, the working classes could enjoy increases in their wages without precipitating a debilitating growth in their population.<sup>1</sup>

However, as Carlyle wrote, classical economics had advanced an additional strand in its theory of wages: the wage-fund doctrine. Carlyle noted that wage-fund notions had appeared in embryonic form in Smith's work, and were developed partly by Ricardo, but it was J. S. Mill who delineated the doctrine as it was widely understood.<sup>2</sup> Mill argued that wages depended on the proportion between labourers and circulating capital. 'Wages', Mill wrote in *Principles in Political Economy*,

cannot rise but by an increase of the aggregate funds employed in hiring labourers, or a diminution in the number of the competitors for hire; nor fall, except either by a diminution of the funds devoted to paying labour, or by an increase in the number of labourers to be paid.<sup>3</sup>

Carlyle argued that Mill's error was not his identification of an indubitable determinant of wage rates, but the degree of significance which it was accorded. Mill had drawn out one part of Smith's wage theory, 'dogmatically' arguing that it was the principal determinant, whilst 'omit[ting] Ricardo's distinction between the natural and the market rates of wage', he argued. Nevertheless, Carlyle wrote that behind the 'crude theory' lay a 'cruel fact': whilst in the long term wage-fund theory was rebutted by capital's capacity to increase indefinitely, in the short term wages did fluctuate according to the ratio of available capital to labour.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Carlyle, *Wages*, 40-47.

<sup>2</sup> The wage-fund doctrine as a distinct statement first appeared in the work of James Mill, but it was the younger Mill that drew the attention of Carlyle.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 51.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 52-54, 76-79.

It was important to dissect these theories, Carlyle argued, not only because the important differences between them had been overlooked, but also because they continued to inform popular knowledge of the determinants of wage rates. The wage-fund doctrine, Carlyle argued, was no longer affirmed by modern economists, including Mill who (Carlyle argued) had recanted it in the 1869 edition of his *Principles*. However, it was still the notion ‘which probably nine persons out of ten would more or less definitely put forward if they were asked which factors determined the rate of wages’.<sup>1</sup> He argued that employers were ‘to a large extent ignorant of their own interests’ because they paid attention to a ‘superficial fact’, that lower wages reduced costs, but ‘not what lies behind it’. Popular ignorance and confusion as regards the determinants of wage rates aggrieved Carlyle, because he believed that political economy actually advanced a high-wage theory.

According to Carlyle, Adam Smith had highlighted the effect that the productivity of labour had on determining wage rates, but this had been ‘completely neglected until comparatively late in the nineteenth century’. Although workers tended not to be paid by piece, Smith had argued that wages actually reflected worker productivity.<sup>2</sup> A productivity theory of wages was alluded to by John Ruskin whose *Unto This Last* espoused a proto-reciprocity wage theory in the context of remunerating domestic servitude. However, a high-wage theory was fleshed out, Carlyle wrote, ‘in a more technical form in some chapters of a very modest but really revolutionary work’ entitled *Work and Wages* (1872) by Thomas (later the first Earl) Brassey.<sup>3</sup>

As Carlyle recounted, responding to the popular sentiment that labour costs were greater in Britain than in Europe, Brassey had said that ‘when people hold this view it is due to their being unfamiliar with the economic realities of the matter’.<sup>4</sup> Brassey had distinguished between the real and the nominal costs of labour, arguing that the railway industry evidenced the notion that ‘high wages do not necessarily imply dear labour, just as... low wages do not of necessity make labour cheap’. Productivity of labour was the principal consideration not just in terms of setting wage rates but also in circumscribing working hours. ‘The rate of production’, he had argued, ‘of labourers who work short hours is frequently very much higher than that of labourers who work long hours’. Carlyle contended that Brassey’s work paved the way for the American economist Francis Amasa Walker to abrogate the wage-fund doctrine. In *The Wages Question* (1888), Walker declared that wages were not paid out of a ‘fund’ but ‘must be calculated from the result of the productive

<sup>1</sup> Carlyle, *Wages*, 49.

<sup>2</sup> Smith argued that although piece-rates were more effective than time-rates in encouraging productivity, the former tended to compel workmen to ‘overwork themselves, and ruin their health and constitution in a few years’. Carlyle, *Wages*, 28-30.

<sup>3</sup> Thomas Brassey, 1st Earl Brassey GCB, JP, DL, TD (11 February 1836 – 23 February 1918) was a British Liberal Party politician, Governor of Victoria, Australia, and author of *Work and Wages* (1872), *Foreign Work and English Wages* (1879), *British Seamen* (1877), *The British Navy* (1882–3), and *Sixty Years of Progress* (1904). His *Brassey’s Naval Annual* was ‘for many years the most authoritative survey of naval affairs throughout the world’. V. W. Baddeley, ‘Brassey, Thomas, first Earl Brassey (1836–1918)’, rev. H. C. G. Matthew, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2006 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/32047>, accessed 16 March 2011].

<sup>4</sup> Carlyle, *Wages*, 65.



process'.<sup>1</sup>

Although to the modern reader the next logical step would be to discuss the marginal productivity theory, Carlyle's *Wages* did not discuss the concept of the marginal worker, or the effect that the addition of another worker would have on productivity and therefore on wages. Possibly he thought it was a concept that might have gone too far for the casual reader. In any case the Christian Socialists would have been aware of the idea from the work of J. A. Hobson and P. H. Wicksteed, who both had close ties with the movement.<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless, Carlyle's defence of productivity as a determining factor underlying wage rates and his denunciation of the wage fund theory were important because they closely and critically engaged with classical political economy. 'Most modern economists', Carlyle had argued, 'would agree that if the employer and the labourer did wholly and completely understand their interests and followed them, wages would be determined primarily by the consideration of what rate of wage tends actually to make the labourer more productive'.<sup>3</sup> However, Carlyle was under no illusions as regards the theory of wages to which the participants in contemporary capitalism subscribed. 'We must not', he wrote,

like some careless people, suppose that because we can construct a theoretical harmony like this, therefore this harmony is realised in practice... Adam Smith's statement that wages are determined by the balance of economic forces, and that the amount of the wage is fixed by a contract between two parties whose interests are different, does not, I think, correspond with the abstract economic theory, but it does quite clearly correspond with the actual character of the industrial world.<sup>4</sup>

In fact, Smith's contention that both the workers and employers were disposed to combine in order to raise or lower the wages of labour constituted, Carlyle argued, 'the original form of the theory of the class war'. Carlyle's conclusion, that society was characterised by 'conditions of war', echoed the words of many Christian Socialists before him.<sup>5</sup>

Nevertheless, not all Christian Socialist literature conceived of the establishment of wage rates in terms of class conflict. Stubbs argued in *Village Politics* (1878) that wages, the price at which labourers agreed to sell 'a certain commodity called labour', were fixed simply by what labour 'will fetch in the open market'. That wages were regulated by the 'law of supply and demand' meant that both parties could expect to make a fair exchange. In fact, *Village Politics* warned the labourer that because the farmer was under no obligation to employ him, he should not 'hold back' from giving a full and fair day's labour in exchange for his wage.<sup>6</sup> However, Stubbs went on to say that, given the social and political

<sup>1</sup> Carlyle, *Wages*, 68-71.

<sup>2</sup> J. A. Hobson, *The economics of distribution* (New York: Macmillan, 1900); *The Social Problem; The industrial system an inquiry into earned and unearned income*; Freedon, 'Hobson, John Atkinson (1858-1940)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; Philip Henry Wicksteed, *An essay on the co-ordination of the laws of distribution* (London: Macmillan & Co., 1894); Ian Steedman, 'Wicksteed, Philip Henry (1844-1927)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/38802>, accessed 16 March 2011].

<sup>3</sup> Carlyle, *Wages*, 32, 81.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> Carlyle, *Wages*, 17, 82; Tuckwell, *Extracts from the Speech... Delivered to the Members of the Warwick and Leamington Women's Liberal Association*, 9.

<sup>6</sup> Stubbs, *Village Politics*, 20-23.

circumstances, the notion that the laws of supply and demand produced a fair level of wages was a 'mere bête noir to throw at a poor man's head'. Employers, he claimed, habitually came to a 'tacit agreement' not to raise wages during social functions such as 'the market dinner', while the labourers were prevented by the Poor Laws and their poverty from exercising their right to take their labour to the best market.<sup>1</sup> In a later work Stubbs denounced the employers, rather than the labourers, because they desired to 'give unto this last the very least wage that the haggle of the market makes possible'.<sup>2</sup> Like Carlyle, Stubbs denounced the misreading, ignorance, and misapplication of political economy by the controllers of land and capital. He wrote that although the farmer had 'not been slow to learn' the 'convenient phrase of the political economist', namely that wages were determined by supply and demand, he thought it was a law 'of which the buyer and not the seller [of labour] is the sole administrator'.<sup>3</sup>

Other Christian Socialists were keen to flesh out and to disseminate their understanding of the latest wage theories. Indeed, Carlyle was not the first Christian Socialist to highlight classical economics' rejection of the wage-fund theory. An incredibly influential text on British socialism in the 1880s, namely Henry George's *Progress and Poverty* (United States 1879, England 1880), had rejected the 'false idea' of the wage-fund. Nevertheless, it is argued that on this particular question the Christian Socialists valued George's insight less than that of political economists who, because they were employed in British universities, spoke for the reputable 'orthodoxy'. It was important to cite these latter sources in order to successfully challenge people's perceptions of the determining forces of wage levels. Citing Jevons's *Theory of Political Economy*, Wilfrid Richmond wrote that 'political economists seem to me to be more and more disposed to get rid of all quasi-mechanical solutions of economic problems, such as the wage-fund and similar views of wages, and to be resolving them into questions of supply and demand – that is, into questions of exchange'.<sup>4</sup> Richmond's *Economic Morals* (1890) contained a detailed critical examination of the notion that the interaction of supply and demand resulted in a fair level of wages. He outlined the idea that wages would always return to equilibrium, however, he cited Walker to argue that the following evidence undermined the theory. Firstly, the buyer of labour was always more powerful than the seller; that they were able to distort the labour market (as well as other markets) according to their interests was 'so obvious a fact that it may be said to constitute the economic problem'. Secondly, the downward equilibrating shifts in wage rates left the labourers 'worse fed, worse clothed, [and] worse housed' to the extent that they were unable to answer to the increased demand for labour when it came: 'men who have so easily sunk cannot so easily rise'. Finally, Richmond argued that instead of reinvesting surplus funds into production, the capitalist instead 'takes a better house; he gets a carriage and pair; he takes a

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., 25-6.

<sup>2</sup> Stubbs, *Christ and Economics*, 63-5.

<sup>3</sup> Stubbs, *Village Politics*, 138.

<sup>4</sup> Richmond, *Economic Morals*, 54-5.

holiday in Switzerland or in America; he comes to his office an hour later in the morning, and goes home an hour earlier in the afternoon'.<sup>1</sup> Although it may be argued that such enterprises required the services of labourers, the Christian Socialists believed that the demand for labour arising from this sort of spending was minimal.

Given the social, political, and economic circumstances in which the labourers found themselves, the Christian Socialists argued that it was natural and justifiable for them to combine into unions.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, it was noted also by Kaufmann that criminalisation of unions would only serve to drive them underground, making them more dangerous and thereby increasing the antagonism between capital and labour.<sup>3</sup> However, they also attempted to make an economic case for collective bargaining. Carlyle argued that trade unions could 'lay foundations of increased effectiveness without injuring the trade, and can act as a stimulus to the employer to adopt more efficient methods'. Whilst it was impossible to raise wages 'beyond the limit of efficiency, or the industry would fail', collective bargaining was also 'economically justifiable 'because [a minimum standard of wages] ... actually provides the only basis upon which you can build up an efficient system of labour'. Moreover, it was the employer rather than the economist, Carlyle went on, who rejected the workers' right to bargain collectively.<sup>4</sup>

However, there was one final, crucial concept in the determination of wage rates that merited discussion amongst Christian Socialists: talent. Wilfrid Richmond tackled the issue by attempting to unearth where talent came from, and how it had been dealt with by political economists. He argued that while Adam Smith had implied that talent was more often than not attributable to environmental factors, Richmond's own position echoed 'St. Paul, Plato, and Fawcett', namely that the causes of talent were 'partly nature, partly nurture'. In *Economic Morals*, Richmond went on to outline a conventional restatement of the Fabian theory of rent of ability. 'In the rent of brains', he wrote, 'as in the rent of land, there is such a thing as unearned increment'.<sup>5</sup> For Richmond and a number of other Christian Socialists, it was immoral to demand higher remuneration, whether in the form of wages or profits, as a result of one's rent of ability.<sup>6</sup>

Nevertheless, the response of several other Christian Socialist theorists was different. In fact, the positions taken on the matter by three protagonists were somewhat incongruous with the rest of their social and economic ideas. Kenworthy, who established a co-operative colony in order to escape competitive capitalism and the cash nexus altogether, seemed to argue in favour of rewarding talent. He believed that, in the free market, those whose wages

<sup>1</sup> Richmond, *Economic Morals*, 74-6.

<sup>2</sup> Stubbs, *Village Politics*, 29; Adderley, *The New Floreat*, 71; Kenworthy, *From Bondage to Brotherhood*, 8.

<sup>3</sup> Kaufmann, *Socialism: Its Nature, Its Dangers, and Its Remedies Considered*, 8. Kenworthy argued that the criminalisation of the Trade Unions was an example of 'Ruling Class control'. Kenworthy, *The Anatomy of Misery*, 58.

<sup>4</sup> Carlyle, *Wages*, 116-7.

<sup>5</sup> 'Those who can apply a higher degree of capacity receive a gain which is more or less of the nature of rent and, like rent, puts its receivers into a position of advantage towards those with whom they compete or those with whom they agree for a share in the product of industry.' Richmond, *Christian Economics*, 180-196; Richmond, *Economic Morals*, 82.

<sup>6</sup> See, for example, Campbell, *Socialism: An Address*, 8-9.

rose above subsistence were the workers ‘whose superior skill and ability have a scarcity value, and command a superior price’. The difficulties of replacing such a market with a Christian brotherhood, as was Kenworthy’s aim, were manifest, because he believed that the ability to claim higher rewards in accordance with one’s skill and effort ‘must be recognised in [alternative methods of] distribution’. However, he believed it would be practically impossible to measure the value of a particular labourer’s work without relating it to the price of commodities, something which was determined in an arbitrary fashion.<sup>1</sup> At the other extreme, Mauritz Kaufmann, who defended the ability of the capitalist market to tend towards universal benefit, argued in 1906 that talented individuals’ superior abilities required them to give ‘greater services to be rendered to humanity, without claim for superior remuneration by society’.<sup>2</sup> Girdlestone sat somewhere in between. Puzzled over whether higher wages should reward effort, as argued by Edward Bellamy, or skill, as argued by Schäßle, Girdlestone attempted to reconcile the two positions. However, his proposal that wages should reward effort rather than natural ability, whilst at the same time recompensing labour time rather than productivity, carried little conviction.<sup>3</sup>

Making sense of the various aspects of Christian Socialist political economy is a difficult but not an unrewarding task. It is challenging because their discussion of economic topics was often haphazard, widely dispersed, confused, confusing, and occasionally plain contradictory. Sometimes a lack of clarity was caused by their desire to cover every angle of a topic within a treatise. More often, the apparent contradictions in an individual Christian Socialist’s political economy reflected a conscious change and development of their ideas over time. A similar explanation of the variety of Christian Socialist ideas forms the basis of Part Two of this thesis, in which the Christian Socialists social doctrines are examined.

Nonetheless it is possible to discern a number patterns and common positions within Christian Socialist political economy. Their approach was to subject initial deductive reasoning to inductive interrogation, and in doing so they adopted the ideas of various classical economists and the historical school respectively. Although they were divided into two schools of thought as regards their theory of value – one founded upon the notion of surplus value, the other founded upon an interpretation of utility theory – both believed that respected social thinkers and economists advocated their cause. That said the Christian Socialists believed that the popular understanding of the principles of political economy was deleterious to society. Also, the influence of the Fabian theory of monopoly was apparent throughout their critiques of the market and in their conceptions of productive forces, although it was a simplified understanding. However, the concept of the margin had little

<sup>1</sup> Kenworthy, *The Anatomy of Misery*, 34-5, 58.

<sup>2</sup> Kaufmann, *Socialism and Modern Thought Second Edition*, 205.

<sup>3</sup> Girdlestone, *The What and Why of Christian Socialism*, 160; *Christian Socialism versus Present-day Unsocialism*, 26.

purchase upon Christian Socialist political economy, whether it was marginal utility, marginal productivity, or the marginal fertility of land.



## Part Two: Changing Society

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The *fin-de-siècle* Christian Socialists recognised that they owed a debt to their mid-century predecessors, especially as regards the theology of Maurice, the so-called 'Father of Christian Socialism'. During the 1880s many Christian Socialists regarded themselves as part of a continuation of the Mauricean tradition, a perspective reflected in some of the secondary literature. However, in terms of constructive thought, although Maurice was renowned for his 'system-phobia', various co-operative schemes were advocated by the mid-century Christian Socialists, most notably J. M. Ludlow who had links with E. V. Neale.

Nevertheless, the economic and socialist thought of the 'revival' Christian Socialists constituted a break from the Mauricean past. While the mid-century movement aimed to change the character and sensibilities of the working classes, the *fin-de-siècle* movement was defined by its common mission to change society. It was an approach that sought common ground with socialism, rather than acting on the basis that it must necessarily require 'Christianizing'. Christian Socialism, Kaufmann wrote, 'addresses itself to the solution of the social problem' and shared socialism's grand aim: the establishment of 'a perfect commonwealth'.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, Christian Socialism sought the 'regeneration of society' and a 'complete transformation of industrial economy'.<sup>2</sup> That Kaufmann thought this is particularly illuminating because he was amongst those who unequivocally rejected state socialism.<sup>3</sup>

Few Christian Socialists resisted the temptation to allude to their utopian vision at one point or another. For an example of a detailed exposition of the Christian Socialist ideal one can look to William Tuckwell's *The New Utopia or England in 1985* (1885). This was written, as Tuckwell noted, a number of years before the publication of Bellamy's *Looking Backward, 2001-1887* (1887; it was also serialized in J. Bruce Wallace's *Brotherhood*) and Tuckwell's work was influenced by the *Utopia* of More, a 'bold progenitor of Henry George'. The '1985' of Tuckwell's story combined the rural idyll with electric technology; the State owned the land, and managed the Church, the banks, the schools, and the railways on behalf of the community; the workers owned the factories, and worked eight-hour days before spending their fairly-determined wages in the communal village storehouses.<sup>4</sup> These utopian visions were often intended to be a satirical critique of contemporary society rather than a basis for future policy, as Kaufmann pointed out in his history of the utopian schemes

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<sup>1</sup> Kaufmann contrasted socialism with Christianity as follows: 'The former applies force externally, the latter internally; the former works by mechanical means, the latter by means of spiritual dynamics; the former is destructive, the latter constructive; the former is revolutionary, the latter is reformatory; the former adopts the authoritative, the latter the voluntary, principle of action in the endeavour of establishing a perfect commonwealth.' *Christian Socialism*, xvii, xiii, 8-9, 32, 18 (my emphasis).

<sup>2</sup> Kaufmann, *Christian Socialism*, xvii, xiii, 8-9, 32, 18.

<sup>3</sup> His pamphlet *Christian Socialism* (1888), dedicated to E. V. Neale, claimed that co-operation was the 'beloved offspring' of Christian Socialism.

<sup>4</sup> 'The New Utopia or England in 1985' in Tuckwell, *Christian Socialism and Other Lectures*, 37.

of figures from Sir Thomas More to Karl Marx.<sup>1</sup> However, the Christian Socialist theorists did outline a series of proposals to achieve the perfect 'social and industrial organization'; the nature of these proposals is the subject of the following four chapters.

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<sup>1</sup> Kaufmann, *Utopias*, 10.



## Chapter Five: Making socialists

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If you do not want the Kingdom, do not pray for it: but if you do, you must not only pray, you must work for it.<sup>1</sup>

James Adderley, 1910

My friends, do not let us forget that the Golden Year can only be won for the race by the daily victories of the individual.<sup>2</sup>

Charles William Stubbs, 1890

There is a story of a man with one wooden leg, who stole a pair of boots and gave away the odd boot in charity. The devotion to charity of the superfluity of wealth unscrupulously gained is not commonly supposed to condone any dishonesty in the means by which it is acquired, but there is a good deal of one-legged morality in the common practice, and still more in the common theory of commercial life.<sup>3</sup>

Wilfrid Richmond, 1888

### The Christian Socialists' clarion call

The *fin-de-siècle* Christian Socialists advocated a number of proposals in order to assist in the work of changing society. As identified by previous scholars, some Christian Socialists tended to place their trust in the power of God, whose Divine plan for society would ensure that society would inevitably organize itself according to Christian principles. However, the Christian Socialist theorists argued that it was God's will that man actively worked to inculcate society with the Divine principles revealed to him by his Christian conscience.<sup>4</sup> God has allowed man to use free will because, as Stubbs wrote in 1878, 'without liberty there can be no morality... no free choice between good and evil'. God-given liberty was not 'the right to choose what one likes, but perfect freedom to do what one ought'.<sup>5</sup> Therefore it was incumbent upon man to actively seek to establish the Kingdom of God on earth. As Adderley said to his contemporaries, citing Ruskin, 'if you do not want the Kingdom, do not pray for it: but if you do, you must not only pray, you must work for it'.<sup>6</sup>

Moreover, while it has been argued that the Christian Socialist theorists increasingly conceived of the social problem in systemic terms, in the early years of the revival it was individual Christians who would be the agent of change.<sup>7</sup> There were several reasons for the Christian Socialist focus on the individual during the earlier years of the revival. Firstly, individual Christians were considered to be the most appropriate audience for a message delivered from the pulpit. Though the Christian Socialists believed that Christianity was, as shown above, a 'social religion... it treats us as members of the larger society of the world' it

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<sup>1</sup> Adderley, *Parson in Socialism*, 46.

<sup>2</sup> Stubbs, *Christ and Economics*, 242-3.

<sup>3</sup> Richmond, *Christian Economics*, 30.

<sup>4</sup> Adderley, *Christ and Social Reform*, 12; Richmond, *Christian Economics*, 1-10, 38.

<sup>5</sup> Stubbs, *Village Politics*, 111.

<sup>6</sup> Adderley, *Parson in Socialism*, 46.

<sup>7</sup> Stubbs, *Christ and Economics*.

nevertheless 'always speaks to individuals'.<sup>1</sup> Secondly, it was believed that 'social evils', as Kaufmann wrote, could 'only be alleviated by the inspiration of a better hope, [and] the danger of social dissolution c[ould] only be overlaid by an increase in brotherly love'.<sup>2</sup> Thirdly, the Christian Socialists argued that man owed a debt to society because its security, its civilizing influence, and its wealth of resources and knowledge had enabled him to flourish and prosper. This was the case even for the 'most strictly self-made man'.<sup>3</sup> Fourthly, Adderley and Richmond amongst others argued that the sacred right to property, meaningless without society to enforce it, had been enshrined in law by society with the proviso that property was used for the public good. Thus the Christian Socialists spoke of the 'duty' and 'privilege', as well as the right, of property.<sup>4</sup> Fifthly, and similarly, other Christian Socialists such as Marson and Stubbs argued that it was God who was the owner of everything on earth, and who had enabled the creation of the social environment in which property could be used and enjoyed. Therefore, man was simply a steward of God's wealth; responsible for its correct use, which 'must be insisted upon as a religious duty' and to use it for the common well-being'.<sup>5</sup> Finally, the Christian Socialists argued that individual agency was the most logical and practical agent of change. As Richmond wrote in *Christian Economics*, the solution to the social question would arise from the overall result of the actions of many individuals. Girdlestone, Richmond, and others highlighted the importance of reciprocity in determining human conduct, something, they noted, which had been recognised by the classical economists. For example, citing Smith, Richmond wrote that 'though a man may only desire his own good, he cannot get it without doing some good to others'. Moreover, the interdependence of modern society offered further hope; as the 'world-wide web' grew, Richmond argued, there would be increased opportunities for mutual help.<sup>6</sup>

All Christian Socialists claimed, at one time or another, that the diffusion of Christian principles was necessary in order to change society for the better. However, there were certain theorists who made the claim more strongly, and more frequently, than others, and who came close to arguing that it was sufficient, as well as necessary. Christianity, Kaufmann argued, would 'transform the character of men and women, and so restore health to the whole body of society'.<sup>7</sup> And, while society could mitigate some of capitalism's evils by writing its collective will into law, the eventual success of such legislation depended on the moral quality of the nation's citizens and their recognition of their personal responsibility. Kaufmann, Stubbs, and others argued that 'men may easily re-make institutions, but they do not so easily re-make themselves', and that 'we might all be safely

<sup>1</sup> Richmond, *Christian Economics*, 265.

<sup>2</sup> Kaufmann, *Social Development Under Christian Influence*, 80.

<sup>3</sup> Richmond, *Christian Economics*, 121, 209; *Economic Morals*, 39.

<sup>4</sup> Adderley, *The New Floreat*, 85; Richmond, *Christian Economics*, 121, 209; Richmond, *Economic Morals*, 39.

<sup>5</sup> Marson, *God's Co-Operative Society*, 28; *Charity Organization and Jesus Christ*, 20; Stubbs, *Christ and Economics*, 116; Bruggenkate, *Catholicism and Socialism*, 12.

<sup>6</sup> Richmond, *Christian Economics*, 261-5; Girdlestone, *Christian Socialism versus Present-day Unsocialism*, 161.

<sup>7</sup> Kaufmann, *Social Development Under Christian Influence*, 80-1.

Socialists tomorrow', Stubbs wrote, 'if we were only really Christians to-day'.<sup>1</sup> Such views would prevail throughout Christian Socialist theory until they were challenged towards the turn of the century. It was important, meanwhile, to the Christian Socialists that they practised what they preached. Kenworthy was inspired by Tolstoy, the only Christian who had 'embodied his principles in his life' while Adderley urged the Christian Social Union (CSU) in 1903 that 'we need to *practise* faith', not just recite the creed'.<sup>2</sup>

Nevertheless, the Christian Socialists looked to their creed to inform their code of social conduct. As has been stated previously, the Christian Socialists focused on the inspiration of Christ's message, teaching, and principles, 'foundational' truths which determined the way for each Christian to follow.<sup>3</sup> For the members of the CSU, the basis for a Christian Socialist political economy was established by Wilfrid Richmond, whose lectures in 1898 and 1899 were the seminal works to outline the CSU's approach. Richmond's underlying argument was that it was Christians' duty to 'spiritualise the whole of our life'. As Maurice had argued that there should be no separation between man's eternal and his temporal life, so Richmond argued that there should be no separation between man's attitudes and conduct in his spiritual and his economic life. As he wrote in *Christian Economics*, there were not 'one set of laws for the life of a man as a member of the society of the Christian Church, and quite another set for his life as a member, say, of the family, of the state, or of society in any other aspect'. Christian principles should be applied to worldly matters, to everyday dealings with worldly men.<sup>4</sup> Such arguments were not merely designed to wake the Church from its material slumber, but to furnish Christian Socialism with a framework for action that was consistent with its economic theory. Freedom, wrote Richmond, was the 'keynote of the gospel of the political economy of Adam Smith'; Christian Socialism, therefore, 'set forth a new demand, that the economic motive should be... free to attain the result at which it really aims, happiness in the enjoyment of wealth' by all of society.<sup>5</sup> Henry Scott Holland hoped that Richmond's ideas could provide the foundation for 'a form of social conduct which shall be, equally and at once, the issue of economic law, and the fulfilment of the Christian ideal'.<sup>6</sup> Indeed, Richmond argued that his work intended to provide 'governing principles' to Christians, whose adoption of them must be 'fearless, absolute, universal'.<sup>7</sup> In their pamphlets and sermons the Christian Socialists encouraged their congregations to recognise the 'Christian duty to build up, as far as [their] influence extended the life of the great civic brotherhood to which [they] belonged, and of

<sup>1</sup> Kaufmann, *Socialism and Modern Thought*, 50; Stubbs, *Christ and Economics*, 113-4, 214.

<sup>2</sup> Kenworthy, *From Bondage to Brotherhood*, 68; Adderley, *Quis Habitabit-Psalm Xv*, 15 (my emphasis); Richmond, *Economic Morals*, 24.

<sup>3</sup> Stubbs, *Christ and Economics*, 113-4, 214; Adderley, *Jesus Christ To-Day*, 4, 13-18; *Salvation by Jesus: An Address to a Penitent Soul Concerning Conversion, Repentance and Grace. With an Appendix on Sacramental Confession* (Wells Gardner & Co, 1899); Adderley, *Christ and Social Reform*, 12.

<sup>4</sup> Richmond, *Christian Economics*, 169.

<sup>5</sup> Richmond, *Christian Economics*, 268.

<sup>6</sup> Holland in Richmond, *Economic Morals*, xiv.

<sup>7</sup> Richmond, *Christian Economics*, 264.

every sphere of action which it contained, justice, righteousness and the fear of God'.<sup>1</sup> This chapter examines the Christian Socialists' ideas about how individuals could apply these governing principles to the material world.

## Redefining charity

Although they are not the main focus of the thesis, research revealed a relatively small number of Christian Socialists who believed that spontaneous and voluntary charity constituted not just the defining essence of Christian Socialism but also the only way to address the social problem.

The pamphlet *Christian socialism Versus State Socialism* (1887), by 'A North Country Woman', illustrates that the rise of statist socialism prompted some Christian Socialists to outline a social doctrine in which their fear of collective action was even more pronounced than F. D. Maurice's had been. The pamphlet's author argued that state provision for the nation's destitute children would not only pauperise the nation, but it would 'deaden' their ability 'to help themselves by withdrawing the stimulus to action'. Any palliative measures should be paid for by the children undertaking 'industrial work', while 'cultivated men and women' had a duty to voluntarily provide moral instruction. Once this duty was undertaken, the author argued, 'we shall find that Christian Socialism works better than State Socialism'.<sup>2</sup> It was noted in Chapter One that the Christian Socialists identified several reasons why the working classes were not able to apply Smilesean self-help principles in order to drag themselves out of poverty. Nonetheless, some Christian Socialists argued that Christian charity should not also act as a barrier to this as a result of 'unthoughtful almsgiving'. Charles William Stubbs argued that the best approach of all was 'to *help men to help themselves*, by stimulating every effort which shall bear fruit in time to come'.<sup>3</sup> Stubbs cited Sidgwick, whose *Principles of Political Economy* was, he argued, the 'accepted authoritative text-book on this subject at our Universities', in order to argue that the

common view of these dangers [was] now more clear, definite, and systematic... if a man's gifts are supplied by gift when he might have supplied them himself by harder work and greater thrift, his motives to industry and thrift tend to be so far diminished, and not only his motives but the motives of all persons in like circumstances are thereby led to expect like gifts for themselves.<sup>4</sup>

Nevertheless, Stubbs maintained that there were still barriers to the free application of Smilesean self-help, and therefore in such circumstances unthoughtful almsgiving was 'still

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<sup>1</sup> Stubbs, *Christ and Economics*, 8.

<sup>2</sup> As a rule, she wrote in a revealing passage, slum children had no more idea of how to put into practice that which they learned in school as 'a trained animal has of going on performing the tricks he has learnt when he is free of the circus ring and his master'. Legislation may 'compel every man to maintain decently the children he brings into being', but there was no place here for the poor to raise themselves up through co-operative ventures. Instead, free dinners should be paid for by children partaking in 'industrial work' ('nothing could be more desirable for this class than to train them to habits of industry as soon as possible'), while their moral training would be delivered by 'cultivated men and women who are Christians and patriots' on a voluntary basis. A North Country Woman, *Christian socialism Versus State Socialism: The Penny Dinner Problem: How may hungry children be fed without pauperising parents?* (London: Walter Scott, 1887).

<sup>3</sup> Stubbs, *Christ and Economics*, 63-5, 175, 180-5 (my emphasis).

<sup>4</sup> Stubbs, *Christ and Economics*, 175.

better than nothing’.

Other Christian Socialists advocated an ‘unthoughtful’ and a more ‘indiscriminate’ use of charity. In *Charity Organization and Jesus Christ* (1897), for example, Charles Marson argued that had Jesus himself been subjected to the ‘49 Questions’ designed to identify the deserving poor, charity would have been denied to Him on account of his perceived ‘lack of thrift, industry, and temperance, His violent language and the bad company He kept’. Marson denounced the moralizing culture associated with late-Victorian charity, a culture exemplified by ‘the sleek and muttoney foreman of the works in his Sunday Suit, reading the Teetotal Ramshorn’.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, it was the place of God, not the philanthropist, to judge the recipients of charity; the Christian’s duty was to give aid freely where it was most needed.

Marson also went on to argue that modern times called for going beyond ‘occasional almsgiving’. In the era of industrial capitalism Christian benevolence meant justice rather than charity. While Marson would go on to use this idea to defend state ownership of land and capital, before the turn of the century many Christian Socialists including Stubbs, Adderley, Kenworthy, and others, framed justice in terms of a range of social liberal state reforms of the conditions of life and labour.<sup>2</sup> Many of the Christian Socialists who had worked in the movement’s settlements, or had conducted in-depth studies of living and labouring conditions, cited their experience to argue in favour of justice over charity. For example, Gertrude Tuckwell, who had conducted a number of studies of working conditions under the auspices of the Christian Social Union Research Committee, argued that ‘sometimes the ignorant attempts at help on the part of the charitable intensify the evil’.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, the Christian Socialists rejected the use of charity as ‘an *excuse* for the well-to-do to say they have done their duty’; in Richmond’s words, ‘one-legged morality’.<sup>4</sup> While Marx had remarked that ‘Christian Socialism is but the holy-water with which the priest consecrates the heart-burnings of the aristocrat’, many Christian Socialists rejected the advocacy of charity over justice on similar grounds.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Kenworthy, *From Bondage to Brotherhood*, 17; Marson, *Charity Organization and Jesus Christ*, 32.

<sup>2</sup> To be charitable, Adderley wrote, was to ‘provide better houses for the poor, to reform the sanitary condition of large towns, to rescue women and children from overwork, to provide for the aged poor, to foster the growth of village and civic social life, and to assist in solving the problems connected with the desire for shorter hours and fairer wages’. Adderley, *Christ and Social Reform*; Kenworthy, *From Bondage to Brotherhood*, 17; *The Anatomy of Misery*, 37; Andrew Reid, ed., *Vox Clamantium. The Gospel of the People. By Writers, Preachers and Workers. Brought Together by A. Reid* (London: Innes & Co, 1894).

<sup>3</sup> Tuckwell, ‘Sweating’ in Pan-Anglican Congress, *Morality in Commercial and Social Life*, 1; Adderley, *Looking Upward*, 5; J. C. Kenworthy, *The Christian Revolt*, 34-9.

<sup>4</sup> Kenworthy, *From Bondage to Brotherhood*, 17; Richmond, *Christian Economics*, 30; Stubbs, *Christ and Economics*, 189.

<sup>5</sup> Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party. Authorized English Translation* (London: William Reeves, 1888), 24; Stubbs’s final words on the subject in *Christ and Economics* were taken from Turgeneff’s poem, ‘Two Rich Men’ ‘When men in my presence extol Rothschild, who out of his vast revenues allots whole thousands for the education of children, the cure of the sick, the care of the aged, I laud and melt in admiration. But... I cannot refrain from recalling a poverty-stricken peasant’s family which received an orphaned niece into its wretched, tumble-down little hovel. ‘If we take Katka,’ said the peasant-woman; ‘we shall spend our last kopeks on her, and there will be nothing left wherewith to buy salt for our porridge.’ ‘But we will take her .... and unsalted porridge,’ replied the peasant-man, her husband. Rothschild is a long way behind that peasant-man!’

## The role of the Church of England

As Chapter Two has shown, the Christian Socialists were criticised for attempting to engage their churches in temporal, material, political matters when, most Christians argued, the churches' true function was to guide man's spirit towards the eternal truth of Christianity. However, many Anglican Christian Socialists envisaged a more active role for the Established Church in the reorganization of society. Marson renounced the 'popular misconception' that the Church should limit itself to saving man's souls; the Church, he argued, was 'framed for the express purpose of interfering, or (as irreligious men will say) meddling with the world'.<sup>1</sup> Bishop Charles Gore, a founding member of the CSU, was one of the most influential Christian Socialists as regards the role of the Church on account of his works such as *The Social Doctrine of the Sermon on the Mount* (1892) and *The Mission of the Church* (1899).<sup>2</sup> It was Gore, Adderley wrote, who had shown that there should be no limit to the sphere of the Church's action. The Church offered 'the most powerful inspiration and the most matured and permanent organization for social reform', and if only the 'great bulk of the working people' would not 'hold aloof' from the Church, it could, as 'one great labour leader' had said, work wonders for social reform.<sup>3</sup>

However, it is important to note the context in which these sentiments were expressed. Highlighting the positive role that the Church could play in the socialist movement was a technique the Christian Socialists frequently used to build closer bonds with the working classes and to steer the Church leaders towards taking an interest in social reform. The latter was an important function of the organizations which the Christian Socialists established in the late nineteenth century. As Marson said, there was no need for the clergy to join the emerging socialist organizations such as the Fabian Society, because the Church was the most socialistic of all communities. However, it was 'entirely necessary for a great many of our clergy to join one of our Socialist Societies'.<sup>4</sup> Many Anglican Church Christian Socialists, in fact, subscribed to a more balanced view of the Church's achievements in the sphere of social reform. Stubbs, Marson, G. H. Ten Bruggenkate, and others all pointed to the 'failure' of the Established Church, a view that was echoed by many non-conformist Christian Socialists.<sup>5</sup> And, as Jones has noted, during the First World War, even Gore would declare that he 'hated the Church of England' on account of its failure to seize the

<sup>1</sup> Marson, *God's Co-Operative Society*, 71-2, 106-8; Stubbs, *For Christ and City!*, 39.

<sup>2</sup> Charles Gore, Brooke Foss Westcott, and Percy Dearmer, *The social doctrine of the Sermon on the Mount [And other pamphlets concerning the church and social issues]* (London: A. R. Mowbray & Co. Ltd. for the Christian Social Union, 1892); Charles Gore, *The mission of the church, four lectures delivered in June, 1892, in the Cathedral Church of St. Asaph* (London: John Murray, 1899).

<sup>3</sup> Adderley, *Christ and Social Reform*, 23-5; *Looking Upward*, 74-6, 84; *A Little Primer of Christian Socialism*, 63.

<sup>4</sup> Marson, *God's Co-Operative Society*, 106.

<sup>5</sup> Stubbs, *Village Politics*, 155, 175; Stubbs adapted his take on Church history depending upon his audience. When he spoke to the Church, urging it to do more for the labouring poor, he was critical of its past. But when speaking to Liverpool businessmen, he highlighted the Church's positive role in helping the labouring poor. Stubbs, *Christ and Economics*, 267; Marson, *God's Co-Operative Society*, 66; G. H. Ten Bruggenkate, *Catholicism and Socialism*, 9-10; Kenworthy, *The Christian Revolt*, 1-5; *From Bondage to Brotherhood*, 74.

opportunity to help the disadvantaged.<sup>1</sup>

Nevertheless, the Christian Socialists maintained that the Church should play an active role in social reform. They called for the Church to grapple with social problems such as pauperism, sweating, the drink traffic, and the housing of the poor; to denounce the principles of political economy and the 'evil of buying in the cheapest market'; to secure 'the spiritual element of Socialism'; and to reunite the 'antagonistic elements of society' by 'permeat[ing] all classes'.<sup>2</sup> As will be shown in subsequent chapters, many Christian Socialists later proposed that the Church of England should play a more active role in the establishment of the socialist commonwealth.

## Church, character, and the classes

Given the Church's mission outlined above, it was important that the Christian Socialists developed a message outlining the duties of those at both ends of the social spectrum. While there was much work to be done in improving the character of the working classes, it was important also to preach to those responsible for the condition of the poor: the landlords, capitalists, traders, employers, and masters.<sup>3</sup> As Adderley said, 'why should an employer want to give higher wages, or a landlord to paint up his cottage or mend the drains, unless he has some idea of the beauty of justice or the need to love one another?'<sup>4</sup> As noted in Chapter Three the Christian Socialists denounced competitive capitalism's destruction of the social bonds between employer and worker, bonds that they believed ensured the fair treatment of the latter. However, there was no reason why the economic principles of capitalism should, Stubbs argued, 'stand in the way of the exhibition of the most generous and sympathetic dealings between master and men'.<sup>5</sup> It was argued by the Christian Socialists, especially those in the CSU, that the employing classes required a moral re-education that only Christianity could provide. Christianity, Kaufmann believed, 'will help in creating a new chivalry among the 'Captains of Industry'<sup>6</sup> Indeed, Adderley noted that he had 'often said the Church should be more concerned about the soul of Dives than the sores of Lazarus'.<sup>7</sup>

These notions had roots in Tory paternalism and in Ruskin's thought. Ruskin's *Time and Tide* (1867) had called for mutual understanding between employer and employed, and a 'just and benignant mastership' of trades and industry rather than industrial democracy. The Christian Socialists believed that the Church and its clergy should play an active role in

<sup>1</sup> Jones, *Christian Socialist Revival*, 222.

<sup>2</sup> Stubbs, *Christ and Economics*, 50-3; Clifford, *Socialism and the Churches*, 107; Kaufmann, *Christian Socialism*, 12.

<sup>3</sup> Adderley, *A Little Primer of Christian Socialism*, 63.

<sup>4</sup> Adderley, *Looking Upward*, 188.

<sup>5</sup> Stubbs, *Village Politics*, 158.

<sup>6</sup> Christianity was 'best calculated in the future to improve the mutual relationships between employer and employed, and help, by upholding high ideals, in liberating the minds of both from sordid views of self-advancement and narrow class prejudices. Materialistic views of life', he continued, 'have their root in the slackening of religious restraints, and the weakening of religious beliefs... [The] humanising influences of Christianity' were needed to 'soothe the susceptibilities of both [employer and employed] by reminding them of the higher aspirations after peace and joy which the world cannot give, and the world cannot take away'. Kaufmann, *Social Development Under Christian Influence*, v, 28.

<sup>7</sup> Adderley, *Parson in Socialism*, 79.

arbitrating in disputes between capital and labour. Stubbs argued that in terms of trade disputes, 'there is probably no class of men in the country who are more pre-eminently qualified to express judgement than the parish clergy', and he went on to cite the success of Westcott as evidence for his claim.<sup>1</sup> Responding to the 1874 lock-outs in the eastern counties, Stubbs wrote that 'Christian principles, so far from standing in the way of an equitable adjustment of wage disputes, on sound economical principles, will rather be found eminently conducive to such an adjustment'.<sup>2</sup> In historiographical terms the Christian Social Union's involvement in the 1889 Dock Strike and the Miners' Strike of 1892 has been well recorded by Jones, amongst others. And the activities of the 'Miners' Bishop' Brooke Foss Westcott as an arbitrator in industrial disputes in Durham during the 1890s have been documented by Graham Patrick and Rob Lee.<sup>3</sup> As such, there is little scope for recounting these endeavours in full here. However, it is worth noting Lee's claim that Westcott's success was 'borne out by the fact that the settlement eventually reached in 1892 – a wage reduction of 10% - was almost identical to the proposal made by Westcott five days in advance of the meeting'.<sup>4</sup>

It is important to note, also, that the more moderate Christian Socialists – Stubbs, Kaufmann, and suchlike – believed the onus of responsibility fell on the workers as much as the employers. That the labourer had duties, as well as rights, and a responsibility to work hard was a point made frequently by Stubbs in his early works. 'Woe unto you and your future, working men', he wrote in 1878, 'should the respect you owe to Individual Rights ever blind you to the higher reverence which is due to Social Duty'.<sup>5</sup> Kaufmann shared and retained this attitude towards the working classes. He hoped that Christianity would teach them to 'demand [only] their proper share in [labour disputes] without bitterness and without insolence... to study and be quiet, minding their own business... to approach all questions of dispute, when they arise, in a conciliatory spirit'.<sup>6</sup> Moreover, in his *Christian Socialism* (1888) Kaufmann argued that labourers were 'in a condition of lamentably retarded advancement, materially and morally', and so while it was important to remove 'the artificial hindrances which now prevent a more equitable distribution of national wealth', there was the deeper question of removing 'the mental and moral disabilities which form the main obstacles of social improvement in the future'.<sup>7</sup> Kaufmann, Adderley, Stubbs, and others argued that the socialists had not fully grasped the demands on human character made by their proposed schemes, nor did they fully appreciate man's moral deficiencies. The social

<sup>1</sup> Stubbs, *Christ and Economics*, 234.

<sup>2</sup> Stubbs, *Village Politics*, 85; For a contemporary account, see Frederick Clifford, *The Agricultural Lock-out of 1874. With Notes upon Farming and Farm-labour in the Eastern Counties* (Edinburgh, 1875); For a more recent study, see J. P. D. Dunbabin, 'The "Revolt of the Field": The Agricultural Labourers' Movement in the 1870s', *Past & Present*, no. 26 (November 1, 1963), 68-97; More generally, see Matthew Cragoe and Paul Readman, *The land question in Britain, 1750-1950* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010).

<sup>3</sup> Patrick, *The Miners' Bishop*.

<sup>4</sup> 'Westcott's mediation in the 1892 coal strike remains an icon of the Church's relationship with the coal industry, commemorated in stained glass in the nave of Durham Cathedral'. Lee, *The Church of England and the Durham Coalfield*.

<sup>5</sup> Stubbs, *Village Politics*, 114.

<sup>6</sup> Kaufmann, *Social Development Under Christian Influence*, 29.

<sup>7</sup> Kaufmann, *Christian Socialism*.



problem would not be solved by constructing an earthly paradise and populating it with 'nineteenth-century Adams and Eves'. Kaufmann hoped not to substitute 'the former tyranny of the aristocracy and the plutocracy' with 'the intolerable yoke forced upon society by the ignorant and fickle crowd, so easily led astray by deluded or designing demagogues'.<sup>1</sup> While comments such as these illustrate the Christian Socialists' anxieties about the moral standard of working-class character, their context should be taken into account. The Christian Socialists were eager to clearly outline the urgency and seriousness of their movement's purpose at a time when the idea of Christian Socialism was, as highlighted in previous chapters, under attack from all sides. Moreover, these comments were counterbalanced by the Christian Socialists' endeavours to challenge disdainful portrayals and perceptions of the working classes.

Nevertheless, the Christian Socialists argued time and again that only Christianity could provide the formative moral influence required if the socialisation of economic life was going to be successful. Only Christianity recognised that 'man himself is selfish... lazy, [and] indolent'. Social readjustment required 'a moral and intellectual training which only a powerful religious institution in full sympathy with the masses can supply'.<sup>2</sup> Therefore Christianity, argued Adderley, must push itself 'into the social movement to save it and make it godly before it is too late'.<sup>3</sup> Other Christian Socialists agreed. Kaufmann, for example, criticised Hyndman's calls for the reorganization of production and exchange in the interests of the producing class, and wrote at length about the need for the 'cultivation of spirit and self-sacrifice' and the 'high sense of devotion to social duty'.<sup>4</sup> Kaufmann remained an advocate of the view that 'selfish propensities cannot be curbed and unselfish impulses cannot be created by a change of social forms and governmental direction. They require, on the contrary, a complete inner change'.<sup>5</sup> And on this point Girdlestone disputed a tenet of one of his major influences, Laurence Gronlund, writing that though the prevention of the negative effects of competition was necessary, the spirit of competition could 'only be slowly dealt with by an education of a moral, social, and non-competitive kind'.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Kaufmann, *Social Development Under Christian Influence*, 32.

<sup>2</sup> Christianity and the Church were a 'force in social dynamics, able to raise ... the working man, in forming character and habits', they 'raise[d] the workman into the position of an ethical person, with corresponding claims and duties towards the rest of the community. Kaufmann, *Christian Socialism*, 10-12; Adderley hoped the working man would welcome Christianity 'as the only system which seems to offer a real prospect of success in dealing with the social question'. Adderley, *Christ and Social Reform*, 5.

<sup>3</sup> Adderley, *Christ and Social Reform*, 27-9, 7; *Looking Upward*, 100, 189, 26.

<sup>4</sup> Kaufmann, *Social Development Under Christian Influence*, 32, 93-4, 187.

<sup>5</sup> Kaufmann, *Socialism and Christianity*, 38.

<sup>6</sup> Girdlestone, *The What and Why of Christian Socialism*, 59. In his review of Gronlund's *The Co-operative Commonwealth* which appeared in *Brotherhood*, Girdlestone wrote that 'I admit that no lesson of modern science is more valuable – more rightly humbling to individual conceit – that the great lesson taught us of the immense power and influence of a man's environment and circumstances as compared with the narrow limits of his own free choice and will. But, altogether to deny that individuals have any power over their own and others' destiny – is to deny not only what happens to be one of the plainest lessons of Biography and History, but one of those facts of consciousness which many individuals... feel to be the most vivid and certain, and have found to bear most crucial testing as well as does any truth accepted among men of science... I should differ from him [Gronlund]: for, while it is undeniable that a man's economic position has a tendency to react upon both his religious feelings and his moral character, it is still more true, and it is a truth of much greater fruitfulness – especially from the viewpoint of a Christian Socialist – that the Religious and Moral principles of a community affect its "economic" constitution... however we [Girdlestone and Gronlund] are agreed that Socialism involves a fundamental change in all the great elements of human life – religious, moral, economical'.

## Rosewater for the plague

The Christian Socialists argued that their movement had the necessary experience to undertake the reformation of working-class character. Certainly, they had close contact with the disadvantaged, having taken up clerical positions in the poorer areas of Birmingham, Liverpool, and Leicester, and in London districts such as Poplar, Hackney, Shoreditch, Soho, and Paddington. They were also heavily involved in the settlement movement: Oxford House was led by Adderley 1885-7, Marson and Holland had worked in the Charity Organization Society, and J. C. Kenworthy had worked in Mansfield House. Oxford House's President was Arthur Winnington-Ingram, the Bishop of London, and its University Club had over 1,000 members. Mansfield House was a nonconformist mission which attracted 3-400 men on a Sunday afternoon for discussion of religious and social subjects. Its 'Poor Man's Lawyer and Brotherhood Society' was 'a kind of vigilance committee on sanitary and educational matters'.<sup>1</sup>

These settlements had drawn critique from contemporaries for perpetuating the 'slumming trend', for failing to reach the working classes, and for functioning as a means to assuage middle-class guilt. Even some contributors to *The Christian Socialist* borrowed the Fabian William Clarke's phrase to dismiss settlements as 'rosewater for the plague'.<sup>2</sup> However, the Christian Socialists of the CSU rejected these critiques. Adderley defended Oxford House against the latter charge, citing its chairman, Charles Booth, who said that it was 'ambitious and strict in confining membership to the working class' for whom it provided co-operative stores, bookshops, acting and debating societies, and a band.<sup>3</sup> Adderley was later Curate-in-Charge of the Christ Church Mission in Bromley-By-Bow which combined Bible Classes and Temperance work with a working men's club with cheap dinners. He campaigned for a new building to increase the mission's capacity beyond 150, as the present church had become too crowded.<sup>4</sup> The Christian Social Union established various mission halls and had its own subscription library. And discussion groups, debates, and weekly lectures were a staple of all Christian Socialist organizations. The need for study was emphasised by Adderley, who wrote that the CSU 'insisted on study and research, method and order in dealing with the application of Christianity to social reform'. That it was founded 'just as the slumming craze was beginning to wane' caused fear amongst Christians that 'we were only another batch of slummers with dangerous inclinations towards state socialism'. Though by 1903 those attitudes had 'passed away', Adderley said to the CSU that 'we must not lose the better side of the slumming spirit... The Bitter Cry of Outcast London

<sup>1</sup> Adderley, *Looking Upward*, 8, 12-18.

<sup>2</sup> Jones, *Christian Socialist Revival*, 326.

<sup>3</sup> Adderley, *Looking Upward*, 8, 12-18.

<sup>4</sup> Henry Parry Liddon, *The Vision at Corinth. A Sermon [on Acts XVIII. 9-10] Preached ... on Behalf of the Christ Church Mission at Poplar, Etc. [With an Appendix "The Christ Church Mission in East London" by the Hon. J. G. Adderley.]* (London: Rivingtons, 1889).

may need to sound again'.<sup>1</sup>

So, the Christian Socialists set out to provide moral, intellectual, and spiritual guidance to the working classes. Kenworthy hoped that his economic literature would empower the working classes to throw off their shackles and to reorganize society, and within these volumes he advertised his courses of lectures on 'Religious, Social, and Economic' subjects.<sup>2</sup> Following Kenworthy's lead, J. Bruce Wallace hosted a 'Social Questions Conference' in his Brotherhood Church every Sunday. However, while Kenworthy and Wallace hoped to raise the workers' position, a few Christian Socialists had more conservative goals. As Kaufmann wrote, in an illuminating passage, 'the spread of Christian knowledge and the formation of Christian character among the labouring classes under Church influence would go far towards *reconciling them to their present position* whilst at the same time enabling them to improve it by their own exertions'.<sup>3</sup>

Taking William Morris's distinction between the position and condition of the working classes, it is clear that the Christian Socialists of the early revival period directed their energies towards the latter: that is to say, they focused on improving the material, intellectual, and spiritual quality of labouring life rather than overcoming the structural subjugation of an entire class. As it was put in an 'Occasional Paper' of the Guild of St. Matthew, 'there is an increased demand for lecturers who will deal with the great social questions from the Christian standpoint, and... there is a great opportunity for arousing the people to a consciousness of their Christian Churchmanship'.<sup>4</sup> The *Westbourne Park Record* provides a detailed account of the work undertaken by John Clifford and his colleagues in this spirit. The Westbourne Park Chapel in Paddington became a centre for education and social activity. It hosted University Extension Lectures by the London School of Economics lecturer J. A. Hobson, and others such as G. Armitage Smith, on subjects like 'The Structure of Modern Industry', 'The Making and Sharing of Wealth', and 'Money and the Theory of Exchange'.<sup>5</sup> Inspired by the efforts of the Fabian Society and the Professors of Sociology in the University of London's Schools of Economics and Political Science (now the LSE), Clifford established his own centre of learning at the chapel. The Westbourne Park Institute hosted lectures by P. H. Wicksteed and Mary Kingsley (daughter of Charles Kingsley). Sundays witnessed an Afternoon Conference on social subjects and an Evening Sermon. The

<sup>1</sup> Adderley, *Quis Habitabit-Psalm Xv*, 46. In *Looking Upward* Adderley wrote that 'the fashionable slumming of eight years ago is given up as a wholesale practice... [the East End was] no longer a sufficiently mysterious place to explore'. He went on to attack 'those provoking rich people who come down East and are disappointed that it is not 'slummy' enough', adding that 'we know the people now, our own flesh and blood, thanks to university settlements'.

<sup>2</sup> Subjects included: 'The Social Teaching of Jesus'; 'Socialism, Communism, and Anarchism: What are They?'; 'Public Morality'; 'Socialism and Co-operation'; 'The Roots of Society'; and 'Jesus and Labour'. See the inside covers of Kenworthy, *Slavery, Ancient and Modern*.

<sup>3</sup> Kaufmann, *Christian Socialism*, xii.

<sup>4</sup> 'Occasional Paper of the Guild of St. Matthew' No. 34 (London: 1906).

<sup>5</sup> One lecture series, for example, was entitled 'Poetry and Reform in the Nineteenth Century'. But there were also lectures by Beatrice Webb on 'The Neglected Child' and by Miss Stawell on Mazzini whom she described as a 'prophet rather than a poet... his mission was to stir the nation to action, and only so far as it did that would he regard beauty as an essential part of the universe'. He grasped that 'humanity has a collective life, a collective aim'. He recognised the 'magnificent conception of true nationality'. *Westbourne Park Record* Vol. 18, No. 2 (1910), 25.

Institute had 1,354 members in 1897, and its other ventures included a domestic mission, a gym and sports clubs, temperance and anti-gambling societies, mothers meeting, orchestral choirs, and a Teachers' Social Union composed of 29 teachers and 220 scholars.<sup>1</sup>

The Westbourne Park Institute suffered at turn of the century from the Free Schools brought in by the London School Board, and the Paddington Technical Institute opened by London County Council in 1903. The Institute had already required new buildings; now much of its purpose was being met by municipal institutions. The sports and social activities still attracted a large following, and this was seen to be a good thing; though 'sportsman' was 'a much abused word', Clifford wrote, sport allowed the 'exercise of grace'.<sup>2</sup> But in 1904 the Institute's 'Educational room' closed, and three years later it stopped running Tuesday lectures. 'Social Service is now the vogue' wrote Clifford in 1907. To this end, the 'Social Progress Society' was established in Westbourne Park Chapel on 29 October 1907. Its object was to 'quicken the public conscience in social problems and to foster the study of all matters relating to an enlightened citizenship', its Executive Committee included Clifford, E. E. Hayward, and Clementina Black, with 350 in attendance at its inaugural meeting. Letters of support came from Snowden, Adderley, Benjamin Kidd, and G. B. Shaw, who wrote that 'you could not possibly start anything that is worse wanted in your district than a Social Progress Society with the constitution you have sent me'. With typical wit he added that 'with such a President and such a Committee as you have secured, you will have no difficulty in getting yourselves denounced in *The Daily News* as a hideous conspiracy for spreading the pernicious doctrines of Atheism and Free Love'.

The Social Progress Society held lectures by Shaw, C. F. G. Masterman MP, J. A. Hobson, R. A. Roberts (Fabian Society), various committee members of the Land Nationalisation Society, and R. J. Campbell. Following a lecture from Ebenezer Howard on 'Garden Cities and Town Planning', a picnic was arranged at Letchworth Garden City. A later excursion to Germany was organized to 'get people thinking about economic questions'. The lectures were well attended; the report for 1908 showed that £31, 18s had been raised from admission fees. However, the lectures may have been relatively expensive; a charge of £1 for a sessional ticket or 15s for Tuesday evenings was listed for 'gentlemen', but it is unclear whether working men were admitted for a lower fee or for no fee at all. Moreover, proceeds from sales of literature amounted to just 1s, 2d (with £34, 7s, 9d spent on printing). Ultimately the SPS suffered from the same problem as the WPI: the *Record* frequently expressed its wish that the lectures would become as popular as the sports clubs. Nevertheless, Westbourne Park Chapel remained an important centre for education and the dissemination of socialist ideas in the period; it served as a hub for socialist activity, it

<sup>1</sup> Little is known for certain regarding the social composition of this membership, but given the Institute's location in a poor area of London (a district which remains relatively impoverished to this day), it can be assumed that a substantial proportion were working class.

<sup>2</sup> Westbourne Park Institute Football Club played at Kensal Rise Athletic Grounds, Western Suburban League, and its 2nd Team played in the Willesden League. *Westbourne Park Record*, Vol. 14, No. 10 (1906), 150.

attracted prominent speakers, and large congregations were drawn by its founder, John Clifford.<sup>1</sup>

## Windows in the soul

The inculcation of Christian character amongst the working-classes was not only crucial to the success of social reformists' and socialists' proposals, but it would also enable the poor to overcome the deleterious effects, highlighted in Chapter Three, of competitive capitalism on their spiritual and intellectual fulfilment. The Christian Socialists were keen to raise the level of working-class culture; an aim which they felt had been neglected by British socialism. As R. H. Tawney remarked in his *Commonplace book* (1913), this was where the 'mere economics of social reform – Fabianism etc. - breaks down. They study the room but they open no windows in the soul'.<sup>2</sup> The Christian Socialists were influenced by the aesthetic criticism of industrialization outlined by Ruskin, Carlyle, Tennyson, and Morris, which denounced 'the loss of taste for the beautiful in the pursuit of practical ends in these days of steam and factories'.<sup>3</sup> While such figures had established arts and crafts societies and had proffered utopian visions of the good society, the Christian Socialists aimed to distribute spiritual fulfilment more widely, believing that, as Adderley wrote, 'every man deserves a better [and] nobler life'.<sup>4</sup>

The Christian Socialists set out to improve working-class culture in several spheres. Thus the educative and sports clubs established by Christian Socialists often included cultural elements. Mabel Dearmer, the first wife of the famous Christian Socialist Percy Dearmer, wrote and produced a number of Morality Plays, founding the Morality Play Society in the process, and contributed illustrations for several Christian Socialist magazines.<sup>5</sup> James Adderley founded an acting society at Oxford University that encouraged actors to perform in the East End.<sup>6</sup> Stewart Headlam's Guild of St. Matthew had been preceded by his Church and Stage Guild in 1879, a 'socially disturbing and a genuinely democratic challenge to middle-class cant and snobbery' which ultimately cost him his second clerical position.<sup>7</sup> One active member of Headlam's Church and Stage Guild was Henry Shuttleworth, who also became president of the National Sunday League, which fought for 'the opening of museums, art galleries and libraries on Sundays'; maintaining the 'Sunday Evenings for the People'; and for 'Sunday Excursions, Sunday bands in the park and [the general promotion of] intellectual and elevating recreation on that day'.<sup>8</sup> As Chris

<sup>1</sup> *Westbourne Park Record; Westbourne Park Chapel Monthly Record; Westbourne Park Annual Report.*

<sup>2</sup> Tawney, qu. in Thompson, *Political Economy and the Labour Party*, 52.

<sup>3</sup> Kaufmann, *Socialism and Modern Thought*, 64.

<sup>4</sup> Adderley, *Christ and Social Reform*, 27-9, 7; *Looking Upward*, 100, 189, 26.

<sup>5</sup> Donald Gray, *Percy Dearmer: A Parson's Pilgrimage* (Norwich: Canterbury Press, 2000), 85-86.

<sup>6</sup> James Granville Adderley, *The Fight for the Drama at Oxford. Some Plain Facts ... With a Preface by W. L. Courtney* (Oxford: B. H. Blackwell, 1888).

<sup>7</sup> Jones, *Christian Socialist Revival*, 102. Headlam's support for the enemies of Victorian moral sensibilities was exemplified by his support for Oscar Wilde, for whom he made bail and supported throughout his trial on a charge of sodomy in 1895, despite having only met him twice. *Church Reformer*, Vol. 14, No. 6, (June 1895) qu. Bryant, *Possible Dreams*.

<sup>8</sup> *Church Reformer*, Vol. 3, No. 8 (August 1884), 192 (advertisement) qu. Jones, *Christian Socialist Revival*, 122.

Waters has noted, the Christian Socialists engaged in the complicated debate about whether or not cultural political activity should be permitted on Sundays. ‘The debate over the Sabbath’, wrote Waters, ‘was seldom a question of fun-loving socialists opposed to the stern morality of puritanical Church leaders... The Christian Socialists could be as anti-puritanical as those socialists who, like Belfort Bax, repudiated traditional religion’.<sup>1</sup>

Henry Shuttleworth was also a noted musician, who ‘wrote with some authority on liturgical music’.<sup>2</sup> Christian Socialists produced and disseminated socialist hymns, many of which were printed in Christian Socialist magazines.<sup>3</sup> Some of these Christian Socialist hymns remain popular today: Bryant noted that Henry Scott Holland was still known in the 1990s for his ‘Judge Eternal, throned in splendour’, which he wrote as a Christian Socialist hymn for *The Commonwealth* in July 1902.<sup>4</sup> As regards hymnology the biggest impact was made by the so-called artist of Christian Socialism, Percy Dearmer, perhaps best known for *The English Hymnal* (1906) and *Songs of Praise* (1926), both collaborations with the composer Vaughan Williams. Like Ruskin, Dearmer believed that true artistic beauty could only be achieved if the social conditions leading to its creation were just. It was this thinking that led Charles Marson to argue to the Fabian Society that, as Waters noted, ‘the vitality of cultural forms depended on their independence from commercial bondage’, and as such Marson believed that popular folk music should become the basis of a ‘genuine popular culture’.<sup>5</sup>

While the Christian Socialist advocacy of legislative reform is considered in the following chapter, it is pertinent to note two figures’ support for state measures to improve working-class culture. Responding to H. S. Salt’s article in the *New Review* (1891), about whether a ‘mental and moral foundation’ or ‘a material and mechanical basis’ was most important for social reconstruction, Kaufmann took the opposite view to his usual, non-state position to argue that legislation was required in order to overcome man’s artistic degeneration. ‘True culture’, Kaufmann wrote,

will produce the frame of mind required in all classes which will improve ultimately the framework of society... *But the means of culture and that ‘free play of thought’... is impossible to men at the grindstone of daily want, working for mere subsistence wages, engaged in the struggle for existence, and living from hand to mouth. Therefore some social reforms and methods of redistribution of the ordinary wants of Humanity will have to be adopted which will render intellectual and ethical culture possible and accessible to the largest number... Culture*

<sup>1</sup> Chris Waters, *British Socialists and the Politics of Popular Culture 1884-1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990), 149.

<sup>2</sup> Jones, *Christian Socialist Revival*, 118.

<sup>3</sup> One such example, ‘Christian Brotherhood’ by S. C. Lowry, appeared in *Goodwill*. An extract is below:

All the past is dark behind us, strewn with wrecks and stained with blood,  
But before us gleams the vision of the coming brotherhood,  
Helping, cheering, each the other, high and lowly, great and small,  
Linked in bonds of common service for the common Lord of all. *Goodwill* Vol. 1, No. 2 (1895), 35.

One hymn by F.L. Hosmer that appeared in *The Commonwealth* had a section that went as follows:

O beautiful, my country! Be thine a nobler care  
Than all the wealth of commerce, Thy harvests waving fair.  
Be it thy pride to life up, The manhood of the poor;

Be thou to the oppressed, Fair freedom’s open door. *The Commonwealth*, Vol. I, No. 3 (1896), 113.

<sup>4</sup> Bryant, *Possible Dreams*, 97.

<sup>5</sup> Waters, *British Socialists and the Politics of Popular Culture*, 105.

as such is not capable of solving the social problem.<sup>1</sup>

Similarly, William Tuckwell's lecture entitled 'How Can a Love and Appreciation of Art be Best Developed Among the Masses of the People?' (1884), delivered to the Social Science Congress, argued that it was impossible for the 'wage-earning classes' to find the time and mental energy for the enjoyment of art, an activity that would elevate their intelligence and minister to their happiness. Like other Christian Socialists Tuckwell wished to raise working-class culture for 'missionary and philanthropic, as well as artistic motives'. However, unlike many other Christian Socialists of the late nineteenth century, Tuckwell advocated the appointment of Government Art Inspectors to supervise the manufacture of decorative objects; the teaching of art in Board Schools; and the establishment of Art Museums in working-class districts 'at which the principles of beauty shall be taught by enthusiasts rather than by pedants'. At the root of all reform, he argued, lay direct artistic education'.<sup>2</sup>

## The moral economy

In the late 1870s and throughout the 1880s, it is clear that many Christian Socialists believed that the inculcation of Christian principles in rich and poor alike was sufficient to the construct the New Jerusalem. However, as they began to experience the difficulties of settlements and working-class educational schemes, and as their conception of society became increasingly class-centric from the 1890s, the Christian Socialists started to espouse other methods for changing society that were consistent with Christian principles.

The failure of the co-operative schemes advocated by the mid-century Christian Socialists, and others who composed the broad tradition of social Christianity, cast a shadow over the *fin-de-siècle* Christian Socialists. That co-operation had failed due to the working-class deficit in good Christian character was a notion to which the mid-century Christian Socialists subscribed until the death (speaking literally, in one case).<sup>3</sup> However, the *fin-de-siècle* movement's theorists advanced several other reasons why consumer co-operation was flawed. Kenworthy wrote that dividends and profit-sharing had caused the sweating of workers by workers. Like Trade Unionism, he argued that it should be valued for its educative and training functions, not for its material benefit.<sup>4</sup> Adderley was agreed that dividends encouraged members to take the profits and run, 'becoming mere shareholders in a company and not real co-operators' in the process and was less convinced of the educative value of such enterprises. The schemes often failed, he argued in 1894, because their participants were 'frequently lacking in business knowledge and skill'.<sup>5</sup> There were other problems to contend with. In his defence of the market's power to equilibrate, Kaufmann

<sup>1</sup> Kaufmann, *Socialism and Modern Thought*, 110-9 (my emphasis).

<sup>2</sup> National Association for the Promotion of Social Science (Great Britain) and Social Science Congress (1884), *Art and Hand Work for the People: Being Three Papers Read Before the Social Science Congress, September, 1884* (London, 1884).

<sup>3</sup> Adderley recounted how from his death-bed E. V. Neale told him that co-operation failed because of 'selfishness'. *Christ and Social Reform*, 30; See also Clifford, *Socialism and the Churches*; Stubbs, *The Land and the Labourers*.

<sup>4</sup> Kenworthy, *From Bondage to Brotherhood*, 136.

<sup>5</sup> Adderley, *The New Floreat*, 77.

stressed that the risk of producing valueless commodities were borne by the capitalist. In co-operative schemes or, indeed, under state communism, the population at large would have to bear such losses. Moreover, if competition were allowed between various co-operatives, speculative investments could lead to widespread misery.<sup>1</sup> And a final problem was thrown into sharp relief by Girdlestone. ‘The worker’, he wrote, had a ‘moral right to receive the *whole* of the final “price” fetched by his work... supposing the price to be a fair one’.<sup>2</sup>

The implication in Girdlestone’s argument above was that if a fair price for goods and services could be reached, the return to workers, after fair allowances for entrepreneurial enterprise and maintenance of capital, would accurately reflect their labour, reward their efforts, and provide for their well-being. It was, in effect, a defence of the moral superiority of something approaching a labour theory of value which recognised that, under normal circumstances, it did not apply. As we have seen, many Christian Socialists, especially those within the Christian Social Union, rejected labour theories of value not least because Ruskin had demonstrated their flaws a generation previously. However, the Christian Socialists believed their moral political economy had been vindicated by the new schools and trends in economic science. Classical political economy, with its ‘iron law of wages’, described an existing pattern of behaviour; it was neither divine nor eternal, and therefore its laws had no moral authority. Moreover, the behaviour of human beings changed over time. John Carter, editor of the *Economic Review*, and Scott Holland were inspired by Alfred Marshall, who said that ‘public opinion, based on sound economics and just morality will... become ever more and more the arbiter of the conditions of industry’.<sup>3</sup> Therefore, Christian Socialists sought to outline actual schemes through which the market could be moralized; as Stubbs wrote in 1893, it was ‘not the equalisation of property that [wa]s needed, but its moralisation’.<sup>4</sup>

## Fair wages

As Thompson noted, much socialist writing in the nineteenth century focused on ‘the impoverishment or relative immiseration of labor under capitalism’, especially when ‘critically juxtaposed’ with the excesses of the rich.<sup>5</sup> The Christian Socialists had framed their discussion in these terms since the middle of the nineteenth century, but in the revival period special attention was paid to the low levels and insecurity of working-class wages. Wilfrid Richmond, who had rejected the wage-fund theory, argued that the level of wages was dependent upon buyers’ aggregate ‘estimates’ of utility. However, because there was a ‘moral bearing’ upon the comparison of our various needs, Christian principles could inform

<sup>1</sup> Kaufmann, *Socialism: Its Nature, Its Dangers, and Its Remedies Considered*, 209; *Utopias*, 10.

<sup>2</sup> Girdlestone, *Christian Socialism versus Present-day Unsocialism*, 71.

<sup>3</sup> Holland & Carter, *Commercial Morality*, 5.

<sup>4</sup> Stubbs, *Christ and Economics*, 117-8.

<sup>5</sup> Thompson, ‘Socialist Political Economies’, 232.



this decision, and the labour market could be moralized in turn.<sup>1</sup> Throughout the 1890s Christian Socialists such as Richmond, Brooke Foss Westcott, Henry Scott Holland, John Carter, and Charles Gore frequently attributed poor wages to the actions of consumers.<sup>2</sup> Time and again they denounced the buyers' 'caprice', namely their practice of 'beating down the price' of an article below its cost of production. 'Buying cheap' was blamed for the exhaustiveness, degradation, uncertainty and irregularity of labour.

Alongside the Christian Socialists' appeals to the manufacturers and employers to treat their workers more fairly, the Christian Socialists outlined the duties of the Christian consumer. In Adderley's *God's Fast: Considerations for the Use of a Serious Christian in View of Social Perplexities* (1896), one mantra was 'I will make inquiries as to the conditions under which the labour is performed by which my money is made'.<sup>3</sup> Christians should not 'be the competition' that drives down prices to starvation levels, Richmond declared. The cost of production, he went on, was a 'human cost', and consumers ought 'to see that the price we pay for things affords fair wages to those whose labour produces them'.<sup>4</sup> The notion of a 'human cost of production' echoed the thought of J. A. Hobson's *The Social Problem* (1901), which had started life as a series of lectures given to the Christian Social Union, amongst other works.<sup>5</sup>

Indeed, it is important to note the historical context in which the Christian Socialists advocated fair wages. The notion of fair wages was a frequent topic of discussion in the Christian Socialist periodicals of the time.<sup>6</sup> In addition, the early 1890s saw the Fair Wages Resolution in February 1891, and a Living Wage Conference in Holborn Town Hall, in November 1893. As reported in *The Yorkshire Herald* the latter conference was a meeting of the 'various sections of the Christian Church' at Holborn Town Hall, a committee of well-known men from the Established Church and various denominations, and which was presided over by W. E. Russell MP. The Conference passed resolutions stating that 'there should be an organization of industry involving the maintenance of such a minimum wage as shall enable the workers to support healthy human homes; that the maintenance and improvement of this standard is the interest of the whole community, *as it tends to produce the best efficiency*; that questions of wage should come under Trade Boards of Conciliation representing labour and capital, assisted by independent members representing the best conscience of the community, with provision for final appeal'.<sup>7</sup> Charles William Stubbs's *A Creed for Christian Socialists* (1896) enunciated the Christian Social Union's call for the

<sup>1</sup> Richmond, *Christian Economics*, 71, 213; Richmond, *Economic Morals*, 8-12, 54-5.

<sup>2</sup> Richmond, *Christian Economics*, 217; *Economic Morals*, 58; Carter, *Commercial Morality*; Westcott, *The Christian Law*, 8; Westcott & Carter, 'Executive Dealing' in *The Commonwealth* Vol. 2, No. 7 (1897), 222; Charles Gore, 'The Practical Work of the CSU' in *The Commonwealth* Vol. 4, No. 10 (1899), 294; Carter and Holland, *Commercial Morality*.

<sup>3</sup> Adderley, *God's Fast*, 62.

<sup>4</sup> Richmond, *Christian Economics*, 215-6; Richmond, *Economic Morals*, 58.

<sup>5</sup> Hobson, *The Social Problem*, 45.

<sup>6</sup> See, for example, Frederick Rogers, 'Fair Wages' in *The Commonwealth* Vol. 1, No. 5 (1896), 168.

<sup>7</sup> 'Conference on Labour Disputes', *The Yorkshire Herald*, and *the York Herald* (York, November 18, 1893), 13248th edition (my emphasis).

living wage to be ‘the bedrock of price’. A just wage for every worker would not only ‘enable himself and his family to live a decent, joyous, and a reasonable life’, it would also allow the maintenance of ‘his own *working powers in the highest state of efficiency*’.<sup>1</sup>

The above suggests that versions of a productivity theory of wages were beginning to be used to argue for higher wages for the workers. The notion that high wages improved productivity became an important weapon in the Christian Socialists’ arsenal. Adam Smith had made such a point in the eighteenth century, and there had been embryonic arguments for a high-wage economy in Ruskin’s *Unto This Last*, wherein he argued for a greater distribution of wealth would remove the worst poverty and enable ‘each subordinated person fair and sufficient means of rising in the social scale’.<sup>2</sup> However, as J. Thompson has argued (in support of A. Petridis) and as has been illustrated in Part One, high-wage theory commanded significant support in the last decades of the nineteenth century.<sup>3</sup> In the early twentieth century, the Christian Socialist A. J. Carlyle became an important spokesperson for a high-wage economy, in which a ‘living wage’ was ‘good political economy, for the wealth of a country is really founded upon the efficiency of its workers, that is, upon their health and strength, their industry and intelligence’.<sup>4</sup>

## ‘Commercial Morality’

The call for a ‘Living Wage’ was frequently made throughout the formative years of the socialist movement. It was enunciated as part of a wider platform of reforms or used as a focal point for Christian Socialist and related campaigns, such as those led by Snowden and Lansbury as far as 1912.<sup>5</sup> Moreover, the ‘Living Wage’ became a central part of socialist political economy in the 1920s, under the auspices of the ‘liberal socialist’ platform of J. A. Hobson, John Strachey, and Oswald Mosley.<sup>6</sup> In the meantime, for Christian Socialists the issue remained, as Richmond put it: ‘We know the evils of cheap production. How are we to avoid contributing to them?’<sup>7</sup>

The Christian Socialist response had its roots in the soul-searching that occurred after having learned about the misery of labour. In his *Parson’s Handbook* (1899), Percy Dearmer highlighted the *social context* of the construction of church furnishings. ‘A modern preacher’, he wrote,

often stands in a sweated pulpit, wearing a sweated surplice over a suit of clothes that were not produced under fair conditions, and, holding a sweated book in one hand, with the other he points to the machine-made cross at the jerry-built altar, and appeals to the sacred principles of mutual sacrifice and love.

<sup>1</sup> Stubbs, *A Creed for Christian Socialists*, 6, 73 (my emphasis).

<sup>2</sup> Ruskin, *Works*, p70-1.

<sup>3</sup> James Thompson, ‘Political Economy, the labour movement and the minimum wage, 1880-1914’, (chapter) in E. H. H. Green & D. M. Tanner eds., *The Strange Survival of Liberal England: Political Leaders, Moral Values, and the Reception of Economic Debate* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 62-88.

<sup>4</sup> Carlyle, *Religion and Wages*, 2.

<sup>5</sup> James Thompson, ‘Political economy, the labour movement, and the minimum wage’, 74-8.

<sup>6</sup> Thompson, *Political Economy and the Labour Party*, 40-51.

<sup>7</sup> Richmond, *Christian Economics*, 28.

Dearmer's response to the production of sweated church furnishings was to promote the Clergy and Artists' Association, which provided a means for priests to make more informed purchases and therefore to avoid supporting sweated industries.<sup>1</sup>

The development of similar endeavours in the Christian Social Union was founded upon its endorsement of Wilfrid Richmond's political economy. Richmond maintained the classical idea of exchange as, at root, the manifestation of 'mutual agreement', an 'interchange of good'.<sup>2</sup> Exchange was therefore fertile ground for the enactment of 'God's Law and God's Will'.<sup>3</sup> Nevertheless, in the absence of guilds and of fixed prices, conscientious Christian consumers required sources of information about the effects of their conduct in the market place. How could they 'discern what is best to demand and supply', distinguish between 'intelligent need and blind and habitual fashion', and support the conscientious employer? So, Richmond advocated the Consumers' League, which proposed that consumers should 'agree together only to deal with those shops whose prices, as they would be satisfied by th[e League's] own official enquiries, would pay fair wages to the workmen engaged in the industry'.<sup>4</sup> The Consumer League's President was Henry Scott Holland, and its pamphlets were written by Clementina Black, Secretary of the Women's Trades Union Provident League. The CSU soon established its own 'White Lists' of such tradesmen and outlets upon a similar basis, and campaigned for the use of 'leadless glaze' in the pottery industry.

These endeavours have not escaped the attention of scholarly literature. Peter d'A. Jones remarked that such schemes followed Labour Church initiatives, but that they were widely supported and formed the basis of a CSU deputation to the House of Commons in 1898-99. Firms that signed up to White List criteria in Oxford numbered as follows: 20 in 1888, 88 in 1894, and 146 in 1900. In Leeds the scheme was even more successful, with 464 firms in 1898, and 572 in 1900.<sup>5</sup> Research has not yet unearthed an actual White List, something which could furnish an interesting empirical study of the trades themselves, and therefore the impact of the Lists.

Nonetheless, it is possible to gain insight on how Commercial Morality was practiced from advertisements for co-operative businesses in *The Commonwealth* (though it cannot be confirmed that any were included in the White Lists themselves). One particular article concerned Messrs. Franks & Co. Tea and Coffee Merchants (59 Eastcheap London). Franks ensured its workers were paid a 'fair wage', worked an eight-hour day, performed a range of tasks to arrest the drudgery of labour, and were afforded 'proper conditions', namely ventilated, sanitary workspaces with areas for food preparation. The rationale of Franks &

<sup>1</sup> Gray, *Percy Dearmer*, 43. See also Dearmer, 'The Clergy and Artists Association' in *The Commonwealth* Vol. 1, No. 10 (1896), pp323-6.

<sup>2</sup> Thompson, 'Socialist Political Economies', 235; Richmond, *Christian Economics*, 72.

<sup>3</sup> Richmond, *Christian Economics*, 239.

<sup>4</sup> Richmond, *Christian Economics*, 28, 219-222; *Economic Morals*, 1, 58-9.

<sup>5</sup> Jones, *Christian Socialist Revival*, 183-4.

Co. illustrates that Commercial Morality was founded on the principles of the political economy espoused by the Christian Socialist theorists. Firstly, the productivity theory of wages: in an article outlining its purpose in *The Commonwealth*, Franks & Co. declared that it saw itself as a ‘commercial object-lesson’, a pioneering enterprise that would prove by experience that ‘higher wages, by *raising the standard of life of the workers, also raises their efficiency*’. In 1905 Carter and Holland added a high-wage economy element to their defence of ‘Commercial Morality’, which corresponded with their earlier rhetoric as regards wages. Secondly, that justice rather than charity was required, and that man’s estimation of value was central to the success of such enterprises: Franks encouraged *The Commonwealth’s* readers not to provide their custom if they could find the same wares ‘better or cheaper elsewhere, as we think such charity-dealing is harmful to the workers’, but called for them to realise the ‘human significance’ of their production and distribution and to recognise their ‘privilege and responsibility of seeing that these preparations are conducted so as to be a blessing and not a curse to those who are concerned in them’. As Richmond had said, ‘the standard of what is fair repayment of the pains that it takes to produce the things we need’ had altered because ‘men have learned to change their estimate’.<sup>1</sup> Franks & Co. was a force for the re-evaluation of such estimates.

It remains to offer some points of reflection on the overall purpose of Commercial Morality. Firstly, it was not limited to the activity of small tradesmen; the conscientious Christian investor also had a duty to prevent usury. Richmond, Stubbs, Adderley, and others within the CSU all argued that consumers were responsible for knowing what the ‘companies of [thei]r shares were doing’. As well as receiving a morally sound rate of dividends, investors were bound ‘not only to ask whether the business is safe to pay, but whether the business *deserves* to pay’. In key areas of investment, such as domestic and colonial tramways and railways, investors must firstly avoid encouraging sweated labour by enquiring about the conditions of life and labour of the workers, and secondly, they must ensure that their investment aided only the production of goods and services that were beneficial to society.<sup>2</sup> Commercial Morality was thus used as a vehicle to promote awareness of the effects of financial capitalism. Its rhetoric still resonated in the early twentieth century, when during the Pan-Anglican Conference of 1908, a session entitled ‘Companies and Conscience: Justice and Dividends’ saw various Christian Socialists and Christians discussing the system of investment finance, the stock-exchange, and banking.

Secondly, Commercial Morality aimed not just to improve working conditions, but to mitigate, and possibly even prevent, the ‘misdirected labour’ caused by the market’s propensity to produce luxuries in order to respond to the greater purchasing power of the rich. In response to Ruskin, whose *Fors Clavigera* (1870s) asked ‘Are you making Hell’s

<sup>1</sup> Richmond, *Christian Economics*, 70.

<sup>2</sup> Richmond, *Christian Economics*, 140-2; Stubbs, *Christ and Economics*, 166; Adderley, *The New Floreat*, 85; *Looking Upward*, 29-31, 85; *A Little Primer of Christian Socialism*, 76; *Making Up Your Mind*.

articles or Heaven's? [Are you making] Gunpowder or Corn?', Girdlestone argued that 'in truth, working men themselves are almost powerless in the matter. They must make what shopkeepers can *sell*; and shopkeepers can sell only what men and women, with the 'almighty dollar' in their pockets, choose to buy'.<sup>1</sup> In texts such as Adderley's *Letter to an Eton Boy* (1894) and Dearmer's *Is Luxury Good for Trade?* (n. d.), the Christian Socialists appealed to those with the required purchasing power to fulfil their Christian duty by engaging in Christian shopping.

Thirdly, Commercial Morality was designed not just to mitigate the material ills of competitive capitalism, but also its spiritual and moral consequences. Both Richmond and Stubbs condemned consumer goods that perpetuated the sins of 'vice, of intemperance, or luxury, or sloth', both because they were 'demoraliz[ing], 'disgust[ing]', and of 'essentially vicious character', but also because their production constituted a 'burial of human efforts... [a] destruction of the possibilities of good... [a] waste of human power and human joy'.<sup>2</sup> Commercial morality, it was argued, could help eliminate the depraved consumer goods themselves as well as the degradation of labour associated with their production. Moreover, as Adderley argued, although the Living Wage constituted only a 'feeding wage... it is also true that if we could secure to all a feeding wage, we should have done much to make it possible for men to go on to those higher developments of their spiritual being which we Christians understand to be life in the truest sense'.<sup>3</sup>

Finally, and similarly, while Commercial Morality aimed to do all of the above, it was more broadly conceived as an endeavour to eliminate the sinfulness that characterised trade itself in the late nineteenth century. It was the inculcation of the principles of Christianity into the practice of commercialism. In his sermons Stubbs asked of his congregation of largely middle-class traders and shopkeepers 'How good a man dare you be? Dare you be a Christian, for example, in the nineteenth century? Dare you introduce the principles of the Sermon on the Mount into the management of your Liverpool business?'<sup>4</sup> Also, Adderley cited Spencer's *The Morals of Trade* (1859) to denounce the practice of underselling in order to gain market position, because it meant that 'our young boys and girls in business... are called upon to tell lies or starve'.<sup>5</sup> That the Christian Socialists aimed to improve the conduct of trade as well as its effects is evidenced by the talking points raised by the CSU during its 'Conference on Commercial Morality'. In an agenda circulated before the conference, marked 'private and confidential', the practices considered to be irrefutably 'wrong' were as follows: 'Adulteration, Misleading Statements, Commission to employees, Deception on prices, Selling at less than cost to injure competitors'. Denouncing such practices was in the

<sup>1</sup> Girdlestone, *Christian Socialism versus Present-day Unsocialism*, 102.

<sup>2</sup> Richmond, *Christian Economics*, 228-36, 276; Stubbs, *Christ and Economics*, 132.

<sup>3</sup> Adderley, *Looking Upward*, 90.

<sup>4</sup> Stubbs, *Christ and Economics*, 8.

<sup>5</sup> 'Report of Adderley's "Outspoken Speech on Christian Socialism" in The Woman's Herald' (London: Thursday, October 12, 1893), 34th edition.

interest of the worker as a consumer, and are contrasted with the 'Practices to be [merely] *discouraged as far as possible*', such as 'variations of price' and 'temporary underselling'.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, while it was recognised by the Christian Socialists that adulteration was a serious cause for concern regarding the health of working-class consumers, because their poverty limited their choice to vendors who adulterated their goods and because they had limited access to healthcare, the Christian Socialist condemnation of such practices was also an attempt to defend the 'honest' trader. 'Commercial Morality' was designed, therefore, to deal with the 'sinful merchants', the 'loose morality of trade customs', and the 'dishonest action in trade' as much as it aimed to improve the lives of the sweated workers.<sup>2</sup>

Commercial Morality relied upon convincing Christian consumers to purchase their goods from certain outlets only, probably at a higher price, and as such the propagation of the human cost of cheap wares and the popularization of White List enterprises was demanding on the CSU's time and energies. Similar difficulties were encountered with the other efforts to change society through the action of the individual. Each required the constant attention of Christian Socialists and so they could only work on a few people at a time, unless the Christian Socialists were able to create, as they attempted, a link between their social schemes and Christian practice.<sup>3</sup> In addition, Commercial Morality was a response to co-operative developments already occurring; it sought to support co-operative enterprise rather than create it directly. There was little effort to convince Christians to start their own productive enterprises; Commercial Morality was to play an important part in the building of the good society, but it was a supporting, not a starring role.

Moreover, Commercial Morality was born from religious contemplation about one's place in industrial capitalism, and one's personal contribution to it. Co-operative production and profit-sharing were highlighted as virtuous practices of particular companies, but these featured alongside reassurances that the 'White List' companies denounced other 'sinful practices' such as adulteration. As such, while it did seek to mitigate the moral and material effects of capitalism on the working class, it always retained an introspective flavour because it was founded upon the idea of Christian duty.

Nevertheless, Commercial Morality was an important aspect of late nineteenth-century Christian Socialism's attempts to forge a moral economy based on their understanding of political economy. There is evidence that James Adderley continued to support the Lists at least as late as 1909, when he advocated their official use by the Church.<sup>4</sup> Although

<sup>1</sup> Christian Social Union, *Conference on Commercial Morality* (London: Christian Social Union, 1893), (my emphasis).

<sup>2</sup> Carter and Holland, *Commercial Morality*; Adderley, *God's Fast*, 36; *A Little Primer of Christian Socialism*, 72-3.

<sup>3</sup> See, for examples of the latter approach, Adderley, *God's Fast* and Stubbs, *A Creed for Christian Socialists*.

<sup>4</sup> 'We can be sure that we are reinforcing the *elemental conditions of healthy trading*; and that we are *not unwittingly lending ourselves to the work of lowering the standards of efficiency*, nor creating the temptation to under-cut prices, and to sweat down wages', Carter and Holland, *Commercial Morality*, 6-7 (my emphasis); Adderley, *Quis Habitabit-Psalm Xv*, 31; *A Little Primer of Christian Socialism*, 74.

Commercial Morality would later be criticised for being ineffective by some of its earlier proponents, it was not entirely replaced by the collectivist or statist proposals to which many Christian Socialists subscribed. It is to the Christian Socialists' endeavours to harness collective power to actively build the good society that this thesis now turns.





## Chapter Six: Building the co-operative commonwealth

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To-day, the demand is for co-operation in production, in the making-of-things, and not in distribution, selling, or the getting-of-things only.<sup>1</sup>

J. C. Kenworthy, 1894

Why do not you Socialists, instead of inveighing against the tyranny of capital, club together and start a business of your own? Then you will find out by experience whether capitalists make these exorbitant profits of which you dream.<sup>2</sup>

Samuel Smith, 1885.

The Christian Social Union's espousal of 'Commercial Morality' favoured co-operative production, but its schemes focused on the sphere of consumption, namely by attempting to convince Christian consumers to support fair wages through their choices in the market. While the Christian Social Union attempted to moralize the market, there were Christian Socialists who sought to escape from or to supersede competitive capitalism by establishing co-operative *systems*. Co-operative production could appeal to all but the most ardent individualists in the Christian Socialist ranks. Many moderate Christian Socialists, who believed that the 'fundamental principle' of Christian Socialism was that it began 'not with the community but with the individual', argued also that voluntary collective property was 'one feature that augurs well for Christian Socialism and distinguishes it entirely from the State Socialism that is the atheistic or secularist ideal'.<sup>3</sup> Others highlighted the 'moral economy' aspects of co-operation, such as its peaceful ethos of voluntary brotherhood or that its adherence to cash payments meant that it did not rely on a ruinous and morally dubious system of credit and debt.<sup>4</sup>

The Christian Socialist advocacy of co-operative principles can be traced back to the mid-century movement when Ludlow and, to a lesser extent, Kingsley had promoted the ideas of the early nineteenth-century French socialist theorists Buchez, Blanc, and Lamennais.<sup>5</sup> However, it was the Christian Socialists' eagerness to point out the support for co-operation from English and English-speaking 'mainstream' political economists and others that set them apart from their mid-century predecessors. In 1879 Kaufmann wrote that 'calm economists like Mill, Cairnes, Fawcett, and others' (including 'German economists') held out the prospect that co-operation among labourers may replace wage-labour. Ten years later Charles William Stubbs named Cairnes, Fawcett, and Thornton, as well as the early Christian Socialists as supporters of the co-operative system. In addition, evidence that co-

<sup>1</sup> Kenworthy, *From Bondage to Brotherhood*, 136.

<sup>2</sup> Smith was a nonconformist Liberal MP, who was anti-socialist, pro-disestablishment, and pro-women's suffrage. He outlined practical opposition to Socialism in response to the SDF. The 'letters in reply' were from George Gilbertson, a 'Christian and Socialist.' *Fallacies of Socialism Exposed*.

<sup>3</sup> P. T. Forsyth, *Christian Socialism* (1884), 1-4.

<sup>4</sup> Stubbs, *Village Politics*, 51; Kaufmann, *Christian Socialism*, 25-8.

<sup>5</sup> Jones, *Christian Socialist Revival*, 14-23.

operative schemes could succeed now existed, or so the Christian Socialists believed. Sir Baldwin Leighton's pamphlet *Farm Labourers*, the Educational Council of the Co-operative Union's *The Co-operative Life*, and Holyoake's *History of Co-operation* were all cited by Stubbs, and Kaufmann directed his readers towards Holyoake's articles in *The Nineteenth Century* from September 1878.<sup>1</sup>

## The land and the labourers

The Christian Socialists interest in co-operation was linked to intense debate over the 'land question' in late nineteenth-century politics. Land reform was advocated by a number of prominent individuals, organizations, and pressure groups, of which some have attracted more scholarly attention than others.<sup>2</sup> In the 1870s and 1880s some Christian Socialists believed that an agrarian conception of co-operation, involving the extension of allotments and small-scale landholding, could help resolve the land question.

In his *Village Politics* (1879), Stubbs argued that the agricultural labourers should be given allotments and cow-runs, paid for by the co-operative association of the labourers themselves. He argued also that the agricultural labour market suffered from information asymmetry (although he did not use the term); labourers were ignorant of where their labour was demanded. This 'almost insuperable' difficulty had in some cases been addressed by agricultural unions, but Stubbs argued that

if some general and trustworthy system of registration could be devised, by means of which men might learn where their labour was in demand, there is no doubt that it would be a great advantage not only to them but to the employers of labour also: and certainly much vulnerable material (and from the nature of the case unfortunately the best of its kind), which is now by means of emigration lost to the country, might be retained.

Stubbs's *The Land and the Labourers, A record of facts and experiments in cottage-farming and co-operative agriculture* was a major text; first published in 1884, it had run to a fifth edition by 1904.<sup>3</sup> Stubbs wrote that the 'gradual divorce from the soil and consequent pauperisation' of the labouring population during the previous century and a half had 'been the parent of some of the most lamentable and mischievous of existing social evils'. The solution to town problems lay in the country: Land Reform, of the type enunciated by Gladstone (before 1884) and Joseph Arch (with whom Stubbs was acquainted) was vital. Small farming must be increased, and other measures must be taken to encourage English labour to return to English land. Stubbs envisaged a return to a time when the English

<sup>1</sup> Stubbs, *Village Politics*, 38; Stubbs, *Christ and Economics*, 238-9; Kaufmann, *Utopias*, 28-35.

<sup>2</sup> 'The Allotments and Small Holdings Association had come into existence in 1883 as the Allotments Extension Association: its newspaper was *Land and People*. Jesse Collings founded the Rural Labourers' League (1888) after he had left this organization (and the Liberal Party): its newspaper was the *Rural World*. The Land Nationalisation Society, founded in 1881, published *Land and Labour*. Other agrarian organizations included the English Land Restoration League (1883), the Free Land League (1885), the English Land Colonisation Society (1893) and the Land Law Reform Association (1896).' Cragoe and Readman, *The land question in Britain*; Paul Readman, 'Conservatives and the Politics of Land: Lord Winchilsea's National Agricultural Union, 1893-1901', *The English Historical Review* CXXI, No. 490 (2006): fn7; Paul Readman, 'Jesse Collings and land reform, 1886-1914', *Historical Research* Vol. 81, No. 212 (2008), 292-314.

<sup>3</sup> Stubbs, *The Land and the Labourers*. Stubbs's work serves also as a valuable account of co-operative smallholding enterprises in the past, the failure of most of which was due to, he argued, a 'deficiency of moral qualities and defects of character'.

yeomanry was a powerful force in society. The Parliamentary Return of Small Holdings and the Allotment Acts of 1882 and 1887 were positive indicators of the demand for allotments. While amendments had weakened the Acts, overall it was now easier for workers to combine and to acquire fenced-off allotments.

Though offering moderate support to legislation, Stubbs was firmly against 'land nationalization', whether through a Single Tax, or by methods 'compensatory, confiscatory, or collectivist'. There was no place in Stubbs's doctrine for the schemes of Henry George or of Alfred Russell Wallace. While such measures might be wise in areas such as New Zealand, in England, he argued, it would be 'neither wise nor possible short of civil war'.<sup>1</sup> Instead, there should be co-operation between the cottage farmer and the rural labourer, so that the latter may 'secure for himself all the advantages of Peasant Proprietary without any of its corresponding evils'. Indeed, the two planks of the revision of the English Land system were wider proprietorship of the soil through the extension of small agricultural holdings, and voluntary, friendly co-operation. Only this could provide the 'strongest bulwark of national safety', as evinced by the million French landowners that constituted a 'conservative safeguard' against the danger of Radical and Socialistic ideas during the Paris Commune. Here Stubbs again highlighted his regret for the demise of the English yeomanry.

Rather than advocating the ideas of Wallace, Stubbs looked for inspiration and vindication from the classical economists. Citing J. S. Mill's *Principles*, Stubbs argued that by giving labourers incentives to 'do the utmost instead of the least possible in exchange for their remuneration', co-operation increased the productiveness and raised the dignity of labour, and would therefore contribute to the healing of the standing feud between capital and labour. Higher wages or 'Payment by Results' (as Smith had advocated) were possible options, but Stubbs favoured 'Industrial Profits'. 'The farmers', he wrote, 'will find it to be to their best interests to introduce their labourers to profits, not in the accustomed shape of wages but in the actual unaccustomed shape of share in profits'. Moreover, the farmers had a duty to do so, because 'as capital arises from common labour, so in justice it should be made to minister to common wants'.<sup>2</sup> Stubbs's *Christ and Economics* (1893) included a chapter entitled 'On Industrial Democracy' in which he wrote of his conviction that 'in this direction at any rate lies the ultimate solution of the industrial problem'.

Nevertheless, such a movement must be preceded by widespread conversion to Christianity, and the subscription to its principles, amongst the workers and employers. The 'fullness of organized social life can only gain elements of richness and diversity from the free play of individuality' and communion with the spirit of Christ, he wrote. Character was

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<sup>1</sup> While he may have popularized Progress and Poverty, Stubbs was not, as Jones claimed, a 'Georgeist'. Stubbs wrote that schemes such as 'the nationalization of land, or the nationalization of capital... would be accompanied "with an evolution of chaos"... and can therefore receive no sympathy from a Christian teacher'. *The Land and the Labourers*, 32, 236; Jones, *Christian Socialist Revival*, 135.

<sup>2</sup> Stubbs, *Christ and Economics*, 117.

the 'greatest of social and industrial forces'; personal life the 'battle ground upon which the progress of the race must be decided'.<sup>1</sup> He also argued that improvements in education and training for agricultural labourers and employers would raise productivity and reduce waste.<sup>2</sup> Though Stubbs said he prayed for the success of General Booth's new vast scheme of large farm communities and of the Labour Colonies, he maintained that 'great social transformations never have been, and never will be', undertaken without the successful 'development of a strong and active common faith'.<sup>3</sup>

## Brotherhood (I): 'The New Order'

While Stubbs wished to adapt existing farms and industries, others, most notably J. C. Kenworthy and J. Bruce Wallace, believed that only the establishment of fully co-operative enterprises would be in keeping with Christian principles. Co-operative *production* was all well and good for the souls of the labourers, but it still existed in and perpetuated an exploitative environment. 'Even the Socialist working-man today', wrote Wallace,

by spending his week's hard-earned wages in the ordinary shops, the only places where usually he can obtain his supplies, is to some extent maintaining, regretfully, the evil wasteful system of distribution which he denounces... his skill and labour are spent, reluctantly, in the service of the capitalist profit-mongering system which in his brief leisure and with his scant remainder of energy he is endeavouring to overthrow.<sup>4</sup>

The true Christian, Kenworthy argued, must escape such a system or surrender the Gospel principle 'Be ye therefore perfect, even as your Father which is in Heaven is perfect'. With the capitalist world there could be no 'compromise... [or] participation in its lies, injustices, and diabolical cruelties'.<sup>5</sup> In effect, there could be no such thing as Commercial Morality; because its proceeds would eventually wind up supporting the exploitative capitalist system. Kenworthy and Wallace were key figures in the establishment of the Brotherhood Church, which was intended to lay the economic foundations for the Christian life, but it was not long before the two men took the idea of 'Brotherhood' in two different directions. These were the co-operative colonies of Kenworthy that intended to create a moral sanctuary in actual, physical space, and the co-operative networks of Wallace that intended to create the same in the economic arena.

Kenworthy sought a social rather than a political revolution, and advocated neither legislative schemes nor the extension of Church organization.<sup>6</sup> As shown in Part One, he held little hope for change from political action as Parliament was dominated by the propertied class who looked after their own interests. Attempting to eradicate misery and degradation through political measures, wrote Kenworthy in *The Anatomy of Misery*, was akin to 'trying to get rid of an octopus by disengaging one of the creature's many arms at a time. Having

<sup>1</sup> Stubbs, *Village Politics*, 67-8; Stubbs, *Christ and Economics*, 242-3.

<sup>2</sup> Stubbs, *Village Politics*, 51, 61.

<sup>3</sup> Stubbs, *The Land and the Labourers*, *passim*, but in particular see vii-x, 32-33.

<sup>4</sup> Wallace, *Preparing for the Twentieth Century*, 15-16.

<sup>5</sup> Kenworthy, *The Christian Revolt*, vii-viii; *From Bondage to Brotherhood*.

<sup>6</sup> Kenworthy, *From Bondage to Brotherhood*, 40; *The Christian Revolt*, 3.

loosened one, you pass to the next; while you work at that, the loosened arm regains its hold'. Kenworthy believed that the root of poverty must be attacked, namely, the political and economic system itself. Moreover, despite the history of bloodshed in the fight for social justice, he did not advocate violent revolt. 'No violent revolution has ever ended oppression', he wrote, because the 'struggle and passion of warfare destroy in them the clear judgement necessary to establish a beneficent social system'.<sup>1</sup> 'Ours', Kenworthy wrote in a pamphlet issued a year later, 'is the fight of faith'.<sup>2</sup>

In his volumes, Kenworthy outlined the Christian doctrines that would underpin such a beneficent social system, namely that: 'ye cannot serve God and Mammon'; 'justice, freedom, and equality must be upheld'; 'the reign of Selfishness must be replaced by the reign of Love'; and 'from each according to his ability, to each according to his need'. Moreover, there were specific principles of conduct to be followed. The people, Kenworthy believed, could only be 'properly fed and sheltered as the result of Right Conduct'. Only the method of Jesus, who sought neither legislative nor ecclesiastical reform (Kenworthy argued) but 'the complete conversion of the individual knowing that all else would result from this', as required. Such principles of conduct included the renunciation of property; the desire for right, mercy, purity, and peace; non-violence; rejection of laws designed to judge, condemn, compel, and punish others; temperance, cleanliness, and activity. Most importantly, Kenworthy believed that all these commandments must 'not only be accepted in theory, but literally and fully put into practice' even if it was necessary to 'suffer for righteousness' sake, rather than take part in evil'. This was the message of Wyclif, John Ball, Bunyon, Fox, Wesley, Ruskin, Morris, and Carlyle, but it was Tolstoy who, by living according to these ideals himself, Kenworthy argued was 'doing more to uplift society than is done by all the mere talk of the rest of reformers'.<sup>3</sup>

The existing scholarship has noted Tolstoy's influence on Kenworthy. Peter d'A. Jones wrote that Kenworthy and Tolstoy knew each other well enough; Kenworthy visited his mentor twice and produced two books on his ideas (1901 and 1902) whilst Tolstoy had translated Kenworthy's works into Russian and donated the profits from the English translations of his own works to the Brotherhood Publishing Company. Having founded the short-lived Bellamyite Nationalisation of Labour Society, Kenworthy favoured above all Tolstoy's demand for 'a complete break with the centralised state and the construction of a new "organic" Christian order of small, co-operative, federated communities of free men, close to nature and the soil, and animated by a new practical religion, a Christianity purged of its dogmas and mysticism'. Disappointed by the failure of the Liverpool Ruskin Society to found an industrial colony in 1881, Kenworthy founded a Brotherhood Church in Croydon in May 1894 and a cooperative colony at Purleigh, Essex, in February 1897. Jones concluded

<sup>1</sup> Kenworthy, *The Anatomy of Misery*, 93.

<sup>2</sup> Kenworthy, *From Bondage to Brotherhood*, 46.

<sup>3</sup> Kenworthy, *The Christian Revolt*, 3; *The Anatomy of Misery*; *From Bondage to Brotherhood*, 58-61, 66, 105-9, 112.

by noting that the colony broke up in the summer of 1899 due to 'internal dissension and Kenworthy's own personal eccentricities' and many of its inhabitants, including its founder, wound up in a mental health institution.<sup>1</sup>

Though he had consulted numerous primary sources, Jones stated that much of his insight came from the work of W. H. G. Armytage.<sup>2</sup> Since these works, new studies have been produced by Holman and Higgins that have been critical of Armytage's conclusions.<sup>3</sup> Their accounts are based in part upon the newspaper printed at Purleigh, the *Croydon Brotherhood Intelligencer/New Order*, and the testimonies by some of the colony's inhabitants, namely Nellie Shaw's *Account of the Colony* and the interviews of Tom Ferris printed in *The New Order*. As Holman and Higgins recounted, from the beginning the colony relied on sympathetic benefactors, such as Arnold Eiloart, a chemistry lecturer at the Royal College of Science, who contributed £1,650 (he joined the colony in 1897). Nonetheless, Purleigh was intended to be a complete break from the capitalist system; rent, interest, and profits were prohibited, and there were to be no political or financial links to the outside world. So, births at the colony were not registered, and vaccination was not sought to counter an outbreak of smallpox.

The material challenges for adhering to such principles were substantial; more food was always needed than was produced, and the colony suffered from further illness when it was forced to live on (poisonous) green potatoes. In such an environment unproductive labour was unaffordable, and this concern weighed heavily upon the debates over the appropriateness of new members of the colony. These debates had already suffered from the difficulty of measuring a potential colonist's commitment to Tolstoyan principles. Nellie Shaw and others left the colony in protest at the eviction of two 'useless colonists', taking considerable financial resources with them. The colony was already suffering from a shortage of capital, not least because it donated large sums to the Russian Doukhobors who were fleeing to Canada. (Jones's account cited Armytage to argue that the Doukhobors 'captured' the Brotherhood Publishing Company for their own purposes, and reorganized it into the Free Age Press). The colony suffered also as its members became interested in spiritualism and as several of them became mentally ill. The introspective states of mind associated with both the above, not to mention the incapacity associated with the latter, were unlikely to have been conducive to the strong will and hard graft required to sustain a vulnerable and isolated community.<sup>4</sup>

In evaluating the successes and failures of the Purleigh community, Holman and Higgins concluded that the colony's aims were too ambiguous. It was vague about its

<sup>1</sup> Jones, *Christian Socialist Revival*, 314-7.

<sup>2</sup> Armytage, 'J. C. Kenworthy and the Tolstoyan Communities in England'; Armytage, *Heavens Below: Utopian Experiments in England, 1560-1960* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1961).

<sup>3</sup> Holman, 'The Purleigh Colony'; Higgins, *A History of the Brotherhood Church*.

<sup>4</sup> Holman, 'The Purleigh Colony', 196-217; Higgins, *A History of the Brotherhood Church*, 2-8, 22.

objects, and it had no clear plan or clear rules (as regards entry criteria, for example) until events demanded discussion of such issues. Moreover, by trying to make a clean break from both the capitalist economy and the violent state, Holman and Higgins argued, the whole venture was simply too ambitious.

This latter point is highlighted by Kenworthy's long-term goals, enunciated in his writings, most notably *The Anatomy of Misery* (1893, 1900), *From Bondage to Brotherhood* (1894), *Slavery, Ancient and Modern* (1895), and his articles in *The New Order*. His economic vision was one in which the virtues associated with the life and teaching of Christ would flourish. The need for these virtues, Kenworthy wrote, 'was expressed in the socialist demand for equal ownership and control of the means of production, distribution, and exchange'.<sup>1</sup> Those who 'lived the Christ-life', Kenworthy argued, would save society, any obstacles would not matter if the principles were followed. The existing property laws, upheld only by habit, ignorance, and selfishness, would be replaced by a property system established by goodwill and enforced by peaceable means. All would be paid equal wages, a system of 'plain communism' derived, Kenworthy argued, from the scriptural narrative of Jesus and the money changers. Kenworthy's 'Parables Retold' column in *The New Order* outlined the Christian basis for his socio-economic vision. This vision was of a society in which the state would regress, and all legal rights of property would be abolished. Monopolies of land and capital would cease to exist, as would the extremes of wealth and poverty, and social problems such as widespread violence, sexual immorality, and the drink traffic. In their place would be an anarchist co-operative democracy. The workers, Kenworthy argued,

must possess their Land, and pay no Rent;...must possess their Capital, and pay no Interest; ... must themselves conduct Trade, and allow no Profit, ... must govern themselves, and pay no taxes to a Class-government; [and] the organizers and managers of business must be chosen by, and must serve, those under them – the greatest being servant of all, as Jesus commanded.<sup>2</sup>

Such measures constituted the 'Reorganization of Industry, the Reconstruction of Society, the Settlement of the Social Problem'.<sup>3</sup> Kenworthy's was a Morrisian vision of a socialist future. It saw no place for the state and its institutions nor for great cities and railways, and it was composed of honest labourers, working for use not for profit, who met in small groups for discussion and regulation of their common interests.<sup>4</sup> Describing his position in *Seedtime*, the journal of the Fellowship of the New Life, Kenworthy wrote that 'in economics we are socialist; in our ideal we are communists; in politics we are, some of us, anarchists of peace, which is to say we have no politics'.<sup>5</sup>

Purleigh was to be the first stone to break through the surface of the capitalist ocean, and from which ripples would spread across capitalist society. In this respect the Purleigh

<sup>1</sup> Kenworthy, 'With the New Year' in *The New Order* Vol. 3, No. 1 (Jan, 1897), 1.

<sup>2</sup> Kenworthy, *From Bondage to Brotherhood*, 137.

<sup>3</sup> Kenworthy, *The Christian Revolt*, vii, 3; *The Anatomy of Misery*, 91, 97; *From Bondage to Brotherhood*, 112, 123-132.

<sup>4</sup> Kenworthy, *The Christian Revolt*, viii; *From Bondage to Brotherhood*, 50.

<sup>5</sup> Jones, *Christian Socialist Revival*, 315-316.

colony was clearly a failure, but the Christian Socialists and, indeed, the Labour Party would return to such ideals throughout the 1920s and 1930s. In fact, Purleigh was never going to threaten the supremacy of the capitalist nation state, but the practical problems it faced as regards balancing principle with necessity should not be underestimated. There were also other issues to contend with. Kenworthy's belief, drawn from Matthew xxi. 16, that all wages should be equal regardless of talent or productivity ('plain communism, is the plan upon which industry shall be organized') may have caused tensions within a small community that was struggling to feed itself and in which, it has been seen, it was believed that some worked harder than others.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, as was shown in earlier chapters, Kenworthy conceived of a notion of fair wages that was probably logically irreconcilable. Other foundational principles of the colony were never fully resolved by Kenworthy, such as the criteria for deciding whether or not one should contribute to the violent capitalist state by engaging in its economics.

Having originally taken up a position of 'no compromise' with the capitalist system, Kenworthy, in later correspondence with a labourer seeking atonement for his work in constructing warships, was unclear about whether it was what one produced, or what one purchased, that determined the level of one's culpability for the exploitative capitalism. The advertisement of goods produced at Purleigh drew criticism in *The New Order* for being a 'competitive practice', and there was continued debate over whether it was morally right to use money at all. For a co-operative colony that rejected the moral depravity of competitive capitalism as much, if not more, than its wastefulness and inefficiency, such criticisms were particularly cutting. Criticism was also directed against Hammond, the former bank clerk and author of the 'Purleigh Notes', because in choosing to become 'an enslaved labourer' he had selfishly given up large sums of wealth which could have helped the poor.<sup>2</sup> Indeed, this criticism might not be unfairly levied towards the colony as a whole. Kenworthy's writings spoke of throwing oneself 'completely at the enemy's mercy' in 'blessed self-sacrifice', of swimming against the current and becoming 'sheep among wolves', and of giving up one's reputation, friends, and life itself as the price of escape. There must be no compromise when on the road to salvation.<sup>3</sup> Like the Christian Social Union's calls for Commercial Morality, Kenworthy's co-operative colony offered spiritual salvation for the consumer as much, if not more, as it offered material salvation for the poor.

However, unlike the architects of Commercial Morality, Kenworthy was more forthcoming as regards his belief that his scheme was the first step towards establishing a

<sup>1</sup> In the future, Kenworthy wrote, some other means of expressing demand must be found. Though he did not go into much detail, he did argue that the ideal system would be an 'international system of exchanges based upon a system of advices' which would communicate levels of demand quickly and accurately to the 'centres of production, thus harmonising demand and supply'. For efficient distribution of goods, 'means of transit, storage, and distributing points are required,' arranged so throughout the community, 'abundant articles of Wealth are freely accessible to all'. *The Anatomy of Misery*, 73.

<sup>2</sup> J. C. Kenworthy, 'Every Man's Problem' *The New Order* (London and Purleigh) Vol. 3, No. 2; No. 3, 19; No. 11, 87 (1897); Vol. 4, No. 1 (1898); Vol. 5 (1899).

<sup>3</sup> Kenworthy, *The Christian Revolt*, viii; *From Bondage to Brotherhood*, 72, 107.



nationwide system of co-operative labour. Nonetheless, he argued that he was committed to 'immediate practical legislative proposals' such as those set out by Alfred Russel Wallace. Kenworthy claimed in 1900 that '6-10 years ago I agitated for [the] exact same proposals of more [co-operative] production and distribution... and nationalization of all material social resources and functions'.<sup>1</sup> In this context, 'nationalization' was defined in terms of the extension of public ownership of the land and capital to small-scale bodies of agrarian collectives, rather than its appropriation by the state. However, Kenworthy was not averse to using the state's tools in the meantime. Despite advocating a complete break from the political system, Kenworthy supported the ILP in *The New Order*, and stood for West Ham council. In correspondence with W. T. Stead following his critique of *The Anatomy* in the *Review of Reviews* (August 1900), Kenworthy attempted to justify political engagement by distinguishing between the administrative and coercive functions of government.<sup>2</sup> However, he believed that before political action was possible or desirable, it was first necessary to make socialists of the wider population, and to raise the character of potential leaders of the new society. 'The effectiveness of a man', he argued, 'whether leader or led, depends first, last, and wholly upon his personal character'.

A final blow was struck to Kenworthy's ideals when one of the formative influences on his thought, Alfred Russel Wallace, not only abandoned the political position to which Kenworthy had subscribed but also strongly criticised Kenworthy for continuing to propound it. In some illuminating correspondence, Wallace remarked that while *The Anatomy* was 'admirable, forcible and clear', its prescriptive thought was 'unnecessarily weak and hopeless', just as the prescriptive thought in *From Bondage to Brotherhood* had been too vague. Wallace argued that the production of 'any exposition of evils without showing that there is a real, thorough, practical remedy, is all a waste of time'.<sup>3</sup> He went on to say that he had left behind his earlier scheme for the nationalization of the land (that Kenworthy had continued to advocate) in favour of more direct action, namely 'the abolition of the rule of capitalists and the abolition of private property in the nation's industry'. This would be achieved in two ways: the extension of co-operative industry in order to drain economic power from the capitalist class; and the support of political parties and candidates committed to nationalization of the land and of major industries. Both aims, he argued, were achievable with men and women 'as they are'; it remained only to find some energetic leaders. 'Why not adopt some such scheme of your own', Wallace enquired of Kenworthy, 'not the weak

<sup>1</sup> Kenworthy wrote that 'to achieve any of our proposals, as much as to live under the Society that would result from them, men are needed who are first men of goodwill, and with that, men of truthfulness at all cost. Such men will concentrate their whole strength, not in the coercive forces but upon the administrative function of government; on that soul of the Christian Gospel so well understood by Leo Tolstoy'. He hoped that his correspondence with A. R. Wallace would 'do something to revive the forces of progress, which are now drooping, strangled by mere party organization and dulled by temporary surfeit of what are mistakenly called "good times"'. 'Correspondence with A. R. Wallace, 4th July', *The Anatomy of Misery: Plain Lectures on Economics* 3rd edn. ([S. 1.]: J. C. Kenworthy, 1900) 98-105.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 97.

<sup>3</sup> 'What good have they done?' Wallace asked of *The Bitter Cry of Outcast London, Darkest England*, Charles Booth's *Statistics, White Slaves, Life in West London*. 'None of them propose a remedy and they are all a nine day's horror, and then forgotten! What we want is to insist upon a definite programme like the 'fine points of the Charter' and then, in season and out of season, keep it before the public... especially by debates in *Parliament*'.

and utterly useless plan of each *one* trying to live up to an *ideal* which you admit *only* a very small humanity can ever attempt – and even they will effect practically *nothing*'.<sup>1</sup>

In response, Kenworthy claimed he supported such legislative action but maintained the importance of reforming men's character beforehand. His attempts to do so at Purleigh were evidence that a vulnerable new settlement was not an effective laboratory for deducing the answers to complicated socialist questions or for the successful resolution of them in practice.

## Brotherhood (II): Towards fraternal organization

In October 1897 Kenworthy announced in *The New Order* that though its work would carry on as normal, the Brotherhood Church at 46 Tamworth Road, West Croydon would no longer be known as such. He argued that the renunciation of the 'Brotherhood' title was a minor event. As names were like creeds, he wrote, they could be dispensed with. However, the change reflected a schism in the prescriptive political economy of the Brotherhood Church movement, which prompted J. Bruce Wallace, a founding member of the Brotherhood Church, to establish his own Brotherhood Trust. The split is illustrated by their correspondence in December that year. Non-participation in politics in a democratic environment, Wallace argued, only 'works for the riveting of chains more strongly upon the down-trodden masses'. Kenworthy disagreed, saying that 'force-government would only cease to exist as men refuse to take part in it'. This was an irreconcilable division, and though Kenworthy had been an original trustee of the Brotherhood Trust in 1894, by 1897 he had been replaced by Charles Blake and W. R. Harvey.<sup>2</sup>

Higgins and Jones have both written about the social doctrine of J. Bruce Wallace, a figure otherwise largely absent from secondary literature. Wallace was a well-known figure in late nineteenth-century socialist circles in both England and the United States (he travelled around the USA, Canada, and Mexico investigating co-operative communities). Wallace founded the Labour Church with John Trevor, W. H. Paul Campbell and P. H. Wicksteed, and for a time he led the Nationalisation of Labour Society. In Limavady, County Derry, in 1887, he established a magazine, *Brotherhood*, which lasted until 1931, changing its guise and platform while swallowing up other social reform organs along the way. He also edited the *Belfast Evening Star* (1889) and was vice-President of the Christian Socialist League upon its founding in 1894 (John Clifford was President). A year after the League was superseded by the Christian Social Brotherhood in 1898, the *Brotherhood* became the official organ of the latter organization. Finally, Wallace was well known amongst the Fabians and later,

<sup>1</sup> Kenworthy wrote that 'to achieve any of our proposals, as much as to live under the Society that would result from them, men are needed who are first men of goodwill, and with that, men of truthfulness at all cost. Such men will concentrate their whole strength, not in the coercive forces but upon the administrative function of government; on that soul of the Christian Gospel so well understood by Leo Tolstoy'. He hoped that his correspondence with A. R. Wallace would 'do something to revive the forces of progress, which are now drooping, strangled by mere party organization and dulled by temporary surfeit of what are mistakenly called "good times"'. J. C. Kenworthy, *The Anatomy of Misery 3rd edn*, 98-105.

<sup>2</sup> Kenworthy, *The New Order* Vol. 3, No. 10 & No. 12 (1897); Wallace, *Preparing for the Twentieth Century*, 1.

amongst those connected with the Garden City movement.<sup>1</sup>

During the late 1880s Wallace used *Brotherhood* as a platform to explore and debate the merits of various schemes for social reconstruction. Weighing up 'Two Rival Methods of Land Nationalization', namely those of Henry George and Alfred Russel Wallace, he argued that the latter was more morally and economically justifiable, and used it as the basis for the magazine's 'Principles and Aims' in 1889.<sup>2</sup> However, despite the substantial commitment that Bruce Wallace had to land nationalization, the 'Principles' reflected his longstanding belief that something also needed to be done to address the flaws of the market. In the opening issue, he argued that the extension of consumer co-operatives would prevent the waste of resources that was typical of competitive retail and that led to the violent pursuit of new markets.<sup>3</sup> Though he spoke in terms of efficiency, by advocating co-operatives Wallace also sought redistribution of wealth in favour of the poor and to elevate the nature of commerce to the distribution of wholesome, necessary goods. The displaced shopkeepers and retailers, meanwhile, would benefit from the increased spending power of the poor, which would 'constitute a fresh demand for all sorts of commodities, demand which would stimulate every branch of industry'.<sup>4</sup> Wallace's ideas were debated in the correspondence pages of *Brotherhood*; though a more detailed vision was not immediately forthcoming. In 1887 he called only 'for the needful work of distributing the products of labour throughout the community, the requisite number of agents and no more' and two years later he envisaged the 'formation of a national organization of labour for the production and distribution of all things really necessary for a healthy and civilised life'.<sup>5</sup>

Though he always subscribed to land nationalization, J. Bruce Wallace's most significant original contribution to the Christian Socialist movement was the *Brotherhood Trust*, an attempt to usher in the socialist future through the substitution of co-operative networks for capitalist enterprise. For several years the *Brotherhood* had watched with interest co-operative colonies worldwide (such as Kaweah in California, Malcolm Island, Canada, and the Topolobampo colony in Mexico), and following an article in February 1892 asking 'Has the Time Come for Action', Wallace held a meeting with John Orme (President of the Nationalisation of Labour Society) and others in May 1892 to establish their own 'voluntary co-operative commonwealth' scheme. Though at first only 120 (out of a desired 1,000) people registered their interest, on 15 December 1892 the Southgate Road Congregational Church, Hackney, was inaugurated as the *Brotherhood Church* (with

<sup>1</sup> Higgins, *A History of the Brotherhood Church*, 5, 5-9; Jones, *Christian Socialist Revival*, 329, 335-40.

<sup>2</sup> *Brotherhood* Vol. 4, Nos. 1-2 (1889).

<sup>3</sup> 'There might thus be created at home a new market far greater than anything we can hope for abroad; this enormous impulse to industry, quite sufficient to raise it high out of its present depression might be accomplished without blood-shed, by a simple reform in the method of distributing commodities'.

<sup>4</sup> Though he thought it unnecessary, he also argued that he would rather pay a 2-3d 'direct tax' for the maintenance of displaced shopkeepers rather than paying 'now the same amount in the shape of a tax on all my purchases, to keep them struggling with one another in a miserable competition that is destroying their peace of mind and often every noble instinct of their higher nature'. *Brotherhood*, Vol. 1, No 1 (1887), 9-10.

<sup>5</sup> *Brotherhood*, Vol. 1, Nos. 1-6 (1887); Vol. 4 No. 1 (Aug 1889).

speeches from Keir Hardie and Percy Alden). As Table 4 illustrates, the winter of 1898-1899 was the peak growth period for the Trust.

**Table 4: Brotherhood Trust Membership figures, 1898-1900**

Year (Cumulative quarter)	Members	Enrolled customers	Associates	Total	Increase from previous year	Proportional increase from previous year (one decimal place)
1898 (Q1-2)	Figures not available	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
1898 (Q3)	19	186	9	214	n/a	n/a
1898 (Q4)	29	237	18	284	70	32.7%
1898 (Q5)	36	302	22	360	76	26.8%
1898 (Q6)	47	440	0	487	127	35.3%
1899 (Q7)	70	562	0	632	145	29.8%
1899 (Q8)	84	670	0	754	122	19.3%
1899 (Q9)	93	721	0	814	60	8%
1899 (Q10)	Figures not available	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
1900 (Q11)	94	721	0	815	1	0.1%

The Brotherhood Church started as a centre for the sale of co-operatively-produced fruit, vegetables, grains, meals and pulses, and it also supported a coal mine in Swadlincote, Derbyshire, but Wallace had greater ambitions. In Brotherhood, January 1894, he outlined his plan for 'the conquest of the world' in an article entitled 'Towards a Fraternal Organization: A Plan for Immediate Action' (reproduced as a pamphlet, it reached a fifth edition in 1897). Co-operative stores were opened in Hackney (firstly at 1 Downham Road, later at 28 Clerkenwell Road; though the store at Swadlincote was closed down), to supplement the Brotherhood Store in Croydon (at Kenworthy's former 'Brotherhood' Church) and the Brotherhood Churches in Walthamstow and Kentish Town, London. The centre of operations was later moved to 9 Charterhouse Buildings, and on 30 April 1897 the Co-operative Brotherhood Trust became a Limited Liability Company. Items available to purchase from Brotherhood Trust stores included coal, watches and jewellery, bicycles, stoves, umbrellas, paintings, clothing and shoes, bread, tea, fruit and vegetables, jams, and cocoa. There was also a Leeds Brotherhood Church (1897-8), which was part of Wallace's

rather than of Kenworthy's organization. It was founded by D. B. Foster, a Wesleyan preacher and leader of the Labour Church for a short period, who was also founder of the Holbeck ILP, and secretary of the Leeds Labour Party 1912-16.<sup>1</sup>

Organized by Wallace, J. Theodore Harris and Mary O'Brien, Wallace's Brotherhood Trust aimed to crush out wasteful, corrupting labour, and to eliminate rent, interest, and profits in order to increase the share distributed to the workers and to establish the new co-operative commonwealth. Although they were both attempts to provide alternatives to capitalism, and though they shared similar aims, Wallace's Brotherhood vision differed from Kenworthy's colony as regards its methods. From the outset the rules and regulations were more clearly defined: the Trust would pay Trade Union wages rates, and guidelines for the establishment of co-operative farms, workshops, and stores were outlined. New members to the Trust could begin trading without a shop, and could begin to save the profits from the sale of tea, eggs, and butter. Overall, the Trust would respond to 'already ascertained demand'; the quantity of output would be thus regulated in order to prevent overproduction and subsequent unemployment. Moreover, further savings would be made because the Trust would not need to pay for advertising or middlemen. Indeed, there was to be little sympathy for any shopkeepers who would be displaced by the Trust (and no longer did Wallace countenance a direct tax for their maintenance). 'It is no worse for them', Wallace wrote,

certainly to go down before the advance of the Brotherhood Trust than to succumb to the keen competition of a strong capitalist rival... and for the community vastly better... the trifling inconveniences suffered by some in the transition stage are scarcely worth considering in view of so satisfactory a consummation for all.

The Trust was not designed to create 'little capitalists' out of frequent sharing of dividends. Nonetheless, there was a place for landlords and 'captains of industry' in the new fraternal order, as well as 'trained artisans or various kinds of skill'. In fact, they were encouraged to sign up; success, Wallace believed, required those who were competent and reliable, as well as those who were well-meaning. Some men would be organizers and managers: 'capital would flow to them – free of interest – from those who sympathized with their object and felt sure of its speedy realisation', Wallace hoped. Though members must agree to the Trust's rules, unlike the Purleigh colony there would be no requirement to affirm one's espousal of Tolstoyan principles before one could join. The success of the Trust would depend on the breadth of its co-operative network, with an aim of a million 'pioneers' (named after the Rochdale pioneers), or one in every twenty people, to be reached within four years. This would be achieved by actively seeking out new members, rather than waiting for them to turn up, by a combination of word-of-mouth recommendation, public testimonies, and leaflet campaigns. Later Wallace published a list of pledges to which Trust 'Helpers' would adhere.

While Kenworthy believed the success of the co-operative commonwealth would rest upon the widespread conversion of people to the 'Right Conduct' of Christian principles,

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<sup>1</sup> Jones, *Christian Socialist Revival*, 409.

Wallace believed that 'to expect the average man and woman to work for an ideal without any thought of advantage to themselves or their family would... betray profound ignorance of our poor human nature'. Self-interest would not be eliminated from the Brotherhood Trust. This was consistent with the political economy of J. A. Hobson, though Wallace did not cite Hobson in the pamphlets that have survived. As rewards for their support, members could look forward to bi-annual dividends as 'a refuge from low and precarious wages and from every form of capitalist oppression'. Returns of 1.5-3d per shilling could be expected, and although £20,000 would need to be raised before the Chancery would allow the Trust to underwrite insurance, the Trust could offer old age pensions and sickness benefits in the meantime. However, in order for the Trust to grow, no benefits would be paid until 1st January 1903, and wage increases beyond Trade Union levels would occur only 'in proportion as the Brotherhood Trust succeeds in eliminating [rent, interest, and profit]'. Moreover, pragmatism won the battle against principle when the Wallace decided that the Trust would still have to, initially at least, 'pay some tribute to landlordism, to railway monopolism, and other forms of capitalism'.<sup>1</sup>

Though trade with capitalist society would continue, and though the Trust did not prioritize the need for physical exile from society to the extent that Kenworthy had done, Wallace nonetheless proposed a scheme for a degree of separation from capitalism. In *Preparing for the Twentieth Century* (1897, the fifth revision of *Towards Fraternal Organization*) he made a vague suggestion that a 'paper medium representative on the produce of labour' could be substituted for gold- and silver-backed currency, and that those who used it could 'gradually separate themselves in their whole manner of life from the system of production and distribution for capitalist profit'.<sup>2</sup> In *Gold, Silver, and Labour* (1900), Wallace developed this argument, making currency a central component of the Brotherhood Trust. 'In the struggle for people's economic deliverance', what was required was 'the free and unlimited coinage of the one commodity the masses always have... their labour force'. A currency of 'barter-notes', representing labour and in circulation alongside ordinary money would, Wallace argued,

not be the mammon of unrighteousness, not the instrument of exploiting of wealth, but the means of enabling every one willing to work to get the opportunity, of this gradually securing the workers some degree of independence and real freedom of contract, and so of finally enabling them to secure the full produce of their labour.

The unemployed would be set to work towards supplying human wants, and the barter-notes with which they were remunerated would be redeemable only in co-operative produce. Thus would gluts be relieved (because co-operation could match demand more effectively); the power of the exploiter be destroyed; and industry and commerce be concentrated within a growing co-operative system.

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<sup>1</sup> Wallace, *Preparing for the Twentieth Century*.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 1-2.

Along with Alfred Russel Wallace, J. Bruce Wallace was most heavily influenced by the German economist and industrialist Michael Flürscheim (1844-1912). Flürscheim spent his time in the 1880s and 1890s, like so many social reformers, popularizing the Single Tax. *The New York Times* (21 July 1889) noted that he was known as the ‘Henry George of Germany’, and his work in this regard, including the establishment of the ‘German Union for Land Ownership Reform’, has been recorded in an article by Silagi.<sup>1</sup> However, little has been said in the English-language historiography as regards Flürscheim’s departure from Georgeist ideas.<sup>2</sup> Flürscheim argued that the building up of interest into unserviceable debts caused crises in capitalism, or would have done ‘if bankruptcy and revolution had not been counter-poisons’. Interest was a monster, but while Rent was its mother, its father was ‘Money or rather, to be more explicit, our present monopoly currency’. He said that he had assumed that the money question would ‘right itself’ after the nationalization of land, but now it was clear that money needed to be anchored to labour. Like Wallace, Flürscheim travelled the world investigating co-operative communities (he wrote to Kenworthy’s New Order to criticize its support for some of these ‘ruinous’ colonies). He established the New Zealand Commercial Exchange Co. in Wellington which failed, Frank Prebble argued, only because of slander from the press which undermined the Exchange’s credibility. A number of his works were published in Britain by London publishers, and his *The Real History of Money Island* was published by the Brotherhood Publishing Company in 1896.<sup>3</sup> The book was dedicated to Wallace and the Trust, and it was also serialized in *Brotherhood* magazine from 1895-6.

Wallace hoped that financial reform could eventually pay for nationalization, but that in the meantime the co-operative movement would adopt Flürscheim’s ideas. But only the Labour Exchanges in the United States and the Brotherhood Trust at home had done so. Wallace issued a pamphlet outlining the by-laws of the ‘Exchange Circle of the Co-operative Brotherhood Trust Limited’; the circle would attract brain-workers and hand-workers, all working ‘under some wisely planned and wisely administered system of co-operation and division of labour’. The fee to join was 1s, credit interest would be paid at 4%, debit interest was at 5% (to be reinvested in the Trust), and there was a 1¼% fee on all barter account turnovers in order to pay for the upkeep of the Trust’s Clearing House and to service the bad debts incurred by bankrupt members.<sup>4</sup> One might foresee problems with Wallace’s vague

<sup>1</sup> Michael Silagi and Susan N. Faulkner, ‘Henry George and Europe: Early Efforts to Organize Germany’s Land Reformers Failed, but the Pioneers Won a National Demonstration’, *American Journal of Economics and Sociology* Vol. 52, No. 1 (January 1993): 121.

<sup>2</sup> Save one conference paper Michael Hudson, “Why the ‘Miracle of Compound Interest’ leads to Financial Crisis,” in (presented at the Financial Crises in Capitalism, Oslo, <http://www.michael-hudson.com/articles/financial/070827CompoundInterestCrises.html> [Accessed 31 March 2010]); and a website Frank Prebble, “Michael Flürscheim.....A Pioneer of Today’s Green Dollar System” <http://www.takver.com/history/nz/tm/tm05.htm> [Accessed 31 March 2010]. Silagi’s article was translated from the German original by Faulkner.

<sup>3</sup> Michael Flürscheim, *Rent, Interest and Wages or, the Real Bearings of the Land Question*, 2nd edn. (S.l.: William Reeves); Michael Flürscheim, *Clue to the Economic Labyrinth* (S.l.: Swan Sonnenschein & Co); Michael Flürscheim, *The Real History of Money Island* (Croydon: Brotherhood Trust Publishing Company, 1896).

<sup>4</sup> Wallace, *The Exchange Circle of the Cooperative Brotherhood Trust Limited*.

plans for the organization of labour; indeed, in a Fabian Tract 'Socialism: True and False', Sidney Webb referred to the Trust as an 'enticing mirage' that claimed to 'solve the problem of the unemployed and establish a social-democratic republic at one stroke'.<sup>1</sup> But Wallace had reason to be confident that the Trust would succeed. John Clifford had, after all, managed to establish a similar scheme in Westbourne Park Baptist Church, (though Clifford used the sovereign currency). In response to Webb, Wallace reaffirmed his belief that though it would alleviate unemployment, the Trust was a means to an end:

The partial nationalization that I suggest would be, I think, the best and easiest beginning to make of a Socialist State. It would probably be the line of least resistance. Whatever else may be done, in the way of taxation of ground values, municipalizing public utilities, will of course, hasten the consummation.<sup>2</sup>

Despite Wallace's faith, the Trust would remain only a moderately successful co-operative venture. In 1900 he wrote that it could still not 'secure from its over 800 supporters a sufficiently steady income'; though in 1899 the Trust had £876 share capital and £1,000 loan capital, much of its funds were 'locked up' in the Coalminers' Co-operative Brotherhood in Swadlincote.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, as J. Theodore Harris noted, the rate of growth of the Trust was 'not as it should be'; always an arithmetical rather than geometrical progression (as hoped), by 1900 a plateau had been reached. Wallace lost his hope for 'a million members before the new century', but was optimistic about the prospects of co-operation in America. Indeed, the Trust had a global reach: members came from Australia and Africa, as well as from Kilmarnock, Manchester and Stratford.

Some scholars have argued that the Trust's use of barter-notes, so essential in Wallace's mind to its success, brought about its downfall following legal difficulties due to contravening the Truck Acts (which prohibited wage payments in anything but the sovereign currency). In Wallace's view, these legal problems contributed more to the closure of the coal mine at Swadlincote rather than of the Trust altogether.<sup>4</sup> The Trust failed, Wallace argued in 1901, because it abandoned its founding principles; by moving from Charterhouse and 'narrowing its operations' to co-operative storekeeping, the Trust lost both its 'distinctive feature' and the greater part of its trade.<sup>5</sup> Only 1% of the Trust's £2-3,000 expended capital, he claimed, had gone towards the establishment of a co-operative commonwealth, and while the new store may be useful, it would 'not be able to render any appreciable service to the main object for which the Co-operative Brotherhood Trust was formed'. The Trust was

<sup>1</sup> The relevant section was reproduced by Wallace in *Brotherhood* Vol. 2, No. 2 (1895), 23-25; it was published as Fabian Tract No. 51 in 1899, but was a reprint of a lecture from 1894. The Tract, like most others for dates up to 1997, is available on the Fabian Society Online Archive hosted by the London School of Economics: [http://www2.lse.ac.uk/library/archive/online\\_resources/fabianarchive/home.aspx](http://www2.lse.ac.uk/library/archive/online_resources/fabianarchive/home.aspx)

<sup>2</sup> 'A optional co-operative commonwealth, open to every citizen, even though a comparatively small number might at first avail themselves of it, would raise wages outside, by affording the workers an alternative to submitting to unfair terms, and by absorbing the unemployed who by their competition pull wages down', he added. *Brotherhood* Vol. 2, No. 2 (1895), 23-25.

<sup>3</sup> *Brotherhood* Vol. 8, No 7 (Sep 1900).

<sup>4</sup> The threat of lawsuit combined with the need for more capital (which the Trust failed to raise co-operatively) spelled the end for the mine. That Flurschheim 'abandoned within a few months his effort in this country' did not, in Wallace's view, help matters.

<sup>5</sup> The founding principles of the Trust, wrote Wallace, were narrowly voted out in a meeting where the chairman had the casting vote.



mistaken, he argued, to think that its profit 'differs from Bryant and May's except in how it is distributed. Co-operation is not co-operation if it only benefits the consumers or particular workers'. Recent commentators have noted an analogous problem with 'reductionist' models of Fairtrade, whereby the full value of a brand's success in the market fails to reach producers who had, nonetheless, been paid a price conceived of as 'fair' for their raw materials.<sup>1</sup> While Wallace had split with Kenworthy over questions of method, the former would have agreed with the latter's argument that 'to-day, the demand is for co-operation in production, in the making-of-things, and not in distribution, selling, or the getting-of-things only'.<sup>2</sup>

In short, Wallace believed the Brotherhood Trust had accomplished very few of its aims: 'The external unity I dreamt of', wrote Wallace,

was not a centralized bureaucratic organization but a network of equitable and fraternal exchange, connecting individuals and groups, first in the United Kingdom and then the world over, so as to afford them opportunities of serving each other with the least possible tribute to any nonworkers and mere exploiters.<sup>3</sup>

In response to the corruption of the Trust, Wallace called for a new 'mutuality circle', and sure enough by June 1901 the 'Mutual Service Circle Limited' was established at the Brotherhood Trust's old premises, the Co-operative Centre in Charterhouse (S. E. Hunt was the secretary). The Circle reinstated the use of barter cheques, its membership fee was 1s, and members were required to possess £5 worth of shares in order to vote. Its 'distinctive feature', wrote Wallace, was to 'promote reciprocity of service and mutual employment' in enterprises such as clothiers, dress-makers, milliners, and furniture-makers.

Little is known about the activities and the outcome of Mutual Service Circle, but it appears that within a few years J. Bruce Wallace had started to devote his energies instead to the Garden City Movement. This move tied in with the pastoral vision of the future society that Wallace had always favoured. In fact, *Brotherhood* was first published by The Circle Co-operative Printing Company in a small village called Limavady, Ireland, and the choice of location and production methods were intended to be 'a protest, however feeble, against the present tendency of population to crowd into already crowded towns and cities'.<sup>4</sup> It was sectarian strife rather than a softening of his politics that prompted Wallace to leave Limavady for London when he did. In 1903 *Brotherhood* began to be published from Letchworth, and from 1906 it became the organ of the Alpha Union, the society established by Wallace at The Cloisters in Barrington Road, to teach Theosophy to the residents of Letchworth Garden City. Having failed to establish the co-operative commonwealth by the work of many hands, both the founders of the Brotherhood movement, Kenworthy and

<sup>1</sup> Anna Hutchens 'Mainstreaming fair trade: fair trade brands and the problem of ownership' in Kate Macdonald and Shelley Marshall, *Fair trade, corporate accountability and beyond experiments in globalizing justice* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010).

<sup>2</sup> Kenworthy, *From Bondage to Brotherhood*, 136.

<sup>3</sup> *Brotherhood* Vol. 8, No. 12 (Apr 1901).

<sup>4</sup> The Circle Co-operative Printing Company advertised their other services in the magazine, including the production of reports, sermons, pamphlets, books and letter headings.

Wallace, returned to the salvation of individual souls.

## Chapter Seven: All things in common

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We have no right to go out into the world *in the name of Christ*, and call upon men to adopt this or that plan of government or of commerce.<sup>1</sup>

James Adderley, 1896

To allow that you cannot make people good by Act of Parliament is not the same thing as washing your hands of legislation altogether. Because an Act of Parliament cannot do all, it does not follow that it can do nothing.<sup>2</sup>

James Adderley, 1903

It was the belief that man must be reformed before society that underlined the Christian Socialists' individualist and communitarian endeavours to moralize, escape, or supersede the market during the 1880s and 1890s. However, the Christian Socialists continued to discuss this belief in their literature, not least because the issues in which such writers were interested – such as education, sanitation, disestablishment, union rights, working conditions, and electoral reform – were all situated in the realm of political debate and had been the subject of new legislation. As a movement that claimed to save the souls of men by mitigating and eradicating their material strife, Christian Socialism had to define its stance on whether legislative reform should precede or follow reform of man's character.

From a period of broad consensus that man must be reformed before society, the Christian Socialists began to divide over their stance on this issue as the nineteenth century drew to a close. However, the division was not simple, nor did any Christian Socialists reject outright the need to reform one or the other. The complexity of their conception of the issue is well illustrated by comparing the positions of some Christian Socialists. Though he would later advocate state ownership of the means of production, distribution, and exchange, James Adderley believed in 1893 that the aggregate outcome of Christians doing their duty 'would do more for social reform than any amount of legislation'. It was necessary, he argued, to persuade 'property-holders' to 'become earnest Christians [because] you will never force them to it'.<sup>3</sup> In contrast, while Mauritz Kaufmann argued that only the 'spiritual lever' could raise the standard of social morality, he highlighted the 'imperative necessity of immediate social reforms' in order to prevent a Marxian social revolution caused by a clash of classes.<sup>4</sup> On the other hand, he wrote in 1895 that the social movement was merely a 'militant' effort of a certain class, 'most numerous and able by force of numbers to give effect to their demands at the ballot box', to further their own ends at the expense of society.<sup>5</sup> Finally, Wilfrid Richmond, who espoused a Christian mission to convert people to 'economic morals' rather than legislative reform, suggested that by the power of law, 'society will rightly fix the

<sup>1</sup> Adderley, *Looking Upward*, 90 (my emphasis).

<sup>2</sup> Adderley, *A New Earth*, 41.

<sup>3</sup> Adderley, *Christ and Social Reform*, 22-3.

<sup>4</sup> Kaufmann, *Christian Socialism*, xvii, xiii, 8-9, 32, 18.

<sup>5</sup> Kaufmann, *Socialism and Modern Thought*, 71.

stain of a selfishness too deep for words, if [the capitalist] fails to find in his power the reason and motive of those weighty and far-reaching obligations'.<sup>1</sup> The only issue as regards political laws, Richmond said, was one of practicality, namely the concern that they should serve their moral purpose.<sup>2</sup>

Other Christian Socialists' views on the issue of whether man or society should be reformed first were more consistent with their overall political economy: for example, Kenworthy's belief that while material amelioration would 'uplift men's moral natures', character must be reformed first if men were to freely carry out their economic duty. Moreover, he argued that substituting Socialists for Conservatives and Liberals in Parliament did nothing to address the fundamental exploitation of man. 'Government itself is the oppression', Kenworthy believed, and it could never bring freedom nor justice whilst it was maintained 'at the point of the bayonet'.<sup>3</sup>

There were also those who attempted to reconcile the issue by placing equal weight on reforming character and reforming society. Girdlestone, for instance, argued that Christian Socialism was 'not content with an internal change of individual hearts and motives' but saw the need also for 'external changes to harmonise and help the inner ones'; it aimed 'at the same time at internal and external reformation'.<sup>4</sup> At this time it was believed that though legislative reform was not sufficient, it was necessary. Socialists, said Girdlestone, had 'a double aim and goal', and provided both 'an internal principle for the inspiration of individual life, and an external one for the adjustment of the social environment'.<sup>5</sup>

Such statements show that although many considered the reform of man to be fundamental to the creation of the good society, this did not rule Christian Socialists out from engaging in political debate and advancing political positions. As Clifford wrote, squalor prevented the formation of good Christian character, and so it was the imperative duty of the state, and in its own commercial, social, and moral interests, to combat the causes of pauperism.<sup>6</sup> Moreover, many Christian Socialists argued that, as Adderley put it, 'because an Act of Parliament cannot do all, it does not follow that it can do nothing'.<sup>7</sup>

## Politics and the clergy

It has been noted that the Christian Socialists were criticised by both conservative Christians and atheist socialists alike because they engaged in the political arena; it was argued by both groups that the work of the clergy was to save men's souls not to engage with the material world. To understand the Christian Socialists' response to this critique, it is necessary to

<sup>1</sup> Richmond, *Christian Economics*, 126.

<sup>2</sup> Richmond, *Economic Morals*, 8, 125.

<sup>3</sup> Kenworthy, *From Bondage to Brotherhood*, 104-5, 123.

<sup>4</sup> Girdlestone, *The What and Why of Christian Socialism*, 135.

<sup>5</sup> Girdlestone, *The What and Why of Christian Socialism*, 33; *Christian Socialism versus Present-day Unsocialism*, 156-8; *Thirty-Nine Articles of Belief*, 28-31.

<sup>6</sup> Clifford, Letter to *The Christian World* (chapter) in *God's Greater Britain*, 86.

<sup>7</sup> Adderley, *A New Earth*, 41.

consider their conception of the state, and it was this conception also that underlined their platforms for social and political reform

Though, as shown above, several Christian Socialist theorists denounced the monopolization of the state's apparatus by the governing classes, they nonetheless supported the notion that the state was meant to reflect and represent the whole of society. The state was not remote from or separate to the people, nor was society made up of 'disconnected and warring atoms' with which the state must not interfere.<sup>1</sup> As Richmond wrote, 'every citizen must learn to say with Louis XIV, "L'état, c'est moi"'. To counter the monopolization of the state apparatus, Clifford called for a

gathering of men and women, supremely anxious to permeate the whole of political and social life with the highest and truest ideals, to saturate society with morality, to bring the state to love mercy and do justly, and to get the entire activities of our organized and collective life so controlled and inspired that the whole forces of the people shall go to benefit each individual, and each individual's life shall help in increasing the good of the whole.<sup>2</sup>

While it was important that the state was inclusive of the whole people, it was vital that these people acted to advance the highest moral ideals: law was 'powerless to produce morality unless it [wa]s backed up by an adequate force of moralized public opinion', as Richmond wrote. There were frequent references to the importance of free, moralized individuals in contributing to a 'well-informed public opinion' in *The Commonwealth*, while the Christian Social Union Pamphlets argued that 'the moral pressure of public opinion is one of the strongest forces in any society' and was 'the main factor in any ultimate decision'.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, the state had a positive role in providing, as various Christian Socialists wrote, 'liberty and justice, security and comfort to all men, women, and children'. It existed for all, and should be served by all; the vote was a 'sacred trust'. Rather than crippling individuality, it was believed that state machinery 'enriches the individual, and makes his life a higher and nobler possession'. In their most optimistic writings, the Christian Socialists argued that man's sympathy for his brothers and sisters had enabled the establishment of a state that promoted time for leisure, for thought, for the building up of personal culture and character, and for the 'realization' of each individual's existence. Society was not a 'mass of disconnected and warring atoms' with which the state must not interfere, but was a 'body corporate' only through which man could 'realise himself and be enriched'.<sup>4</sup>

It was the ethical socialist Edward Carpenter who won Girdlestone to the belief that man formed society, and so society, including its political institutions, could be changed.<sup>5</sup> It was argued that Christian Socialism, therefore, had an important function as a formative influence on the public sphere; as Richmond argued, 'to moralize public opinion is our

<sup>1</sup> Bruggenkate, *Catholicism and Socialism*.

<sup>2</sup> John Clifford, *The Emancipation of the Nation from the Tyranny of Drink* (Manchester: United Kingdom Alliance, 1898), 4-8.

<sup>3</sup> *The Commonwealth* Vol. 1, No. 7 (1896), 262; Vol. 2, No. 3 (1897), 88; No. 7, 222.

<sup>4</sup> Adderley, *God's Fast*, 23, 31; *Making Up Your Mind*, 30; Richmond, *Economic Morals*, 26-8; Clifford, *Socialism and the Churches*; Clifford, 'Is Christian Socialism Practicable?', 4-7; Bruggenkate, *Catholicism and Socialism*, 4.

<sup>5</sup> Girdlestone, *Christian Socialism versus Present-day Unsocialism*, 165.

business if it is anyone's'.<sup>1</sup> Responding to Webb's claim that 'we do and must think in communities', Adderley argued that it would be 'morally disastrous' if a misinformed corporate conscience took the place of the sum of individual consciences. In this respect, Christian Socialism should provide the corporate conscience that ensured the ideals of both Socialism and Individualism, and which advanced the principles of justice upon which the state should act. Though religion must not be 'irrevocably partisan', politics weighed so heavily upon the ordinary lives of citizens, while dealing with questions of justice and righteousness, that 'it would be a condemnation of Christianity as a human religion for this life to say that Christians must not concern themselves with politics'. In short, religion was not, Adderley wrote, about 'believing certain truths, but in acting upon that belief... in the social sphere'.<sup>2</sup> Christians acted 'as though the state and City were not as Divine creatures as the Churches to which they belong'. In fact they should enter the 'Divine' socialist movement in order to secure their objectives through Parliament.<sup>3</sup>

Given that Clifford was known as the 'true leader of the Liberal Party' to many contemporaries, one may have expected him to have formally entered Liberal politics (instead of declining, as he did, the invitation to stand for North Paddington). Though he frequently attempted to rouse his congregation to political action, Clifford himself believed he belonged in the pulpit, tending to the nation's character, and that it was for Christian statesmen such as Gladstone to serve God and man through the state.<sup>4</sup> Also, Clifford's antipathy to clericalism persuaded him against personal involvement in electoral politics.

Speaking about education, though it could just have easily been about Socialism, he wrote that no religious institution had the right to 'subordinate the machinery resources of the state to their own ends, be they Baptist, or Romanist, Methodist or Mormon, Presbyterian or Anglican'. Hence Clifford's repeated calls for the people to vote for Socialists and to stand for election themselves.<sup>5</sup> Citing Sidney Webb in 1902, Clifford argued that the greatest difficulty as regards political reform was not obtaining more power for the people, but inducing the people to use the vast power they already had.<sup>6</sup> To this end, Clifford's sermon entitled 'The General Election' (1906) in *The Westbourne Park Record*, called for every voter and non-voter to participate in the battle for the destiny of the nation'.<sup>7</sup>

Not all Christian Socialists shared Clifford's personal aversion to political office; several Fabian nonconformists (whom their contemporaries may well have referred to as

<sup>1</sup> Richmond, *Economic Morals*, 24.

<sup>2</sup> Adderley, *A Little Primer of Christian Socialism*, 68; *Making up your Mind*, 29-30.

<sup>3</sup> Clifford, *The Housing of the Poor*, 9; Clifford, 'The Churches and Socialism' *Westbourne Park Record* Vol. 16, No. 7 (1908), 106-7.

<sup>4</sup> *Westbourne Park Record* Vol. 5, No. 6 (1898), 44-7; Vol. 8, No. 7 (1901), 50-51; Vol. 10, No. 8 (1903), 57; J. H. Shakespeare, 'John Clifford: An Appreciation' Vol. 12, No. 7 (1905), 50.

<sup>5</sup> Clifford described clericalism as 'a determined and calculated effort to control the civic and political action of the people on the basis of an alleged Divine call and exclusive appointment to deal authoritatively with the religious ideas and factors of life – and this without regard to the free and direct voice of the people'. John Clifford, *Clericalism in British Politics, Letters on the Education Bill of 1902* (London: National Council of Evangelical Free Churches, 1902), 20.

<sup>6</sup> Clifford, *The Housing of the Poor*, 11.

<sup>7</sup> Clifford 'The General Election' *Westbourne Park Record* Vol. 14, No. 1 (1906), 3.

‘Christian Socialists’) stood in general elections, while Anglican Christian Socialists such as Headlam were elected to county councils. Meanwhile, Christian Socialist publications continued to remind their readers of their ‘most obvious of Christian duties’: the pursuit of social and industrial reform through the ballot box.<sup>1</sup> The Christian Socialists argued that the clergy should act in the political sphere not as conveyors of God’s word but as citizens of the state.

## Social-liberal reforms

As well as the socialist schemes illustrated in these chapters, late nineteenth-century Christian Socialist literature advocated a rich and diverse range of social-liberal reforms. While these measures were often formulated in response to contemporaneous political debate, many of them were also important planks in the campaigns of ‘mainstream’ social reformers. In the industrial sphere the Christian Socialists demanded: shorter hours, followed by a ten- and, in some trades, an eight-hour day; for the prevention of Sunday work wherever possible; for government inspections and extensions to the Factory Acts and for women and children to be protected from the rigours of factory and agricultural labour; for provisions for the unemployed such as insurance; for labour bureaux, boards of conciliation and arbitration; and for public works to relieve unemployment. In terms of living conditions, the Christian Socialists called for: decent housing; for wholesome food and drink, fit medicine and medical treatment; for the abatement of nuisances, dangers and disorder; for eradication of overcrowding and for access to fresh air, sunlight and the sea; for protection from malnourishment and from poisonous substances; and measures to improve the leisure and cultural activities of the working classes, such as the building of public libraries.<sup>2</sup> Political reform should also, wrote Girdlestone, be redistributive and expedient to the interests of the living over the ‘bullying’ dead. In his comprehensive *Thirty-nine Articles of Belief* (1886), Girdlestone cited Blackie, M. Arnold, and A. R. Wallace, who he claimed had argued that bequeathments should be subject to state control and veto, and that Titles of Honour should never pass from parent to child.<sup>3</sup> Others called for various embodiments of electoral reform, including payment of MPs’ expenses, the second vote, the secret ballot, and boundary reform.

So, the Christian Socialists’ political reforms were designed both to ameliorate the conditions of working-class life and to promote equality of opportunity. With the latter aim in mind, the Christian Socialists outlined a number of educational reforms; Clifford, Girdlestone, Headlam, and Marson were particularly vocal in this area. Marson’s *Huppim*

<sup>1</sup> See, for example, Guild of St. Matthew, *The Church and the Polling Booth: Being the Manifesto of the Guild of St. Matthew to the Christened People of England* (London: Guild of St. Matthew, 1905).

<sup>2</sup> References to such measures were not limited to Adderley, *A Little Primer of Christian Socialism*, 46-9; *The New Floreat*, 57; Stubbs, *The Paternoster of the Christian Socialists*, 8; *A Creed for Christian Socialists, passim*; Kaufmann, *Social Development Under Christian Influence*, 186; Marson, *God’s Co-Operative Society*, 107-113.

<sup>3</sup> Girdlestone, *Society Classified*, 19; *Thirty-Nine Articles of Belief*, 28-31.

and *Muppim* (1903) tackled the question of the role of religion in education.<sup>1</sup> Although Marson believed that 'a true conception of God fertilises every form of knowledge', he did not suggest that, for example, 'Archdeacons should direct mines'; instead, he argued that religious instruction should be separate from other forms of education. This would allow Christianity to be taught properly. Instead of being taught facts about the Bible (such as the identity of Huppim, Muppim, and Ard), children would be taught the 'morality of Christianship'.<sup>2</sup>

Children, wrote Adderley, must be brought up to believe in justice and responsibility, in the dignity of labour, and in equality for all.<sup>3</sup> Girdlestone wrote about the need to instil a sense of social responsibility in the young. Children owed an 'incalculable' debt to their forefathers, and were responsible for the happiness of others in the present and future; 'very, very few indeed have been brought up to a sense of human solidarity, and to seek any other end than their own personal advantage', he added. Moreover, the young should be adequately prepared for life, and should receive instruction as regards morality, health, and the type of career 'best suited to them'.

Finally, the Christian Socialists believed that education should complement and underpin constitutional reform: 'we owe it to our fellow citizens', Girdlestone wrote, 'to give them an education such as fits men for the suffrage'.<sup>4</sup> Indeed, much Christian Socialist interest in educational reforms was founded upon the desire to raise the morality and conduct of the working classes to a higher level, demanded in part by the widening of democracy. Thus did Stubbs argue that education would improve the recreational habits of the workmen. 'The agricultural labourer on a winter's evening, who can't read, what is he to do?' Stubbs asked, 'His only choice lies between the public-house and bed'.<sup>5</sup> Stubbs, Clifford, and many others advocated free libraries, while Christian Socialist organizations such as the CSU maintained their own. Similarly, Adderley argued that temperance was only a part of social reform, the public must be educated so as not to crave alcohol. Prohibition, he continued, was one example where state legislation alone had failed, but overall though it should not have been necessary to look to state interference, in areas such as working and living conditions, it had been justified by its results.

## The land question and the responses to it

In his hugely successful volume *Progress and Poverty*, Henry George outlined his proposals to tax away the unearned increment of land values. The land itself may be kept by its current owners; 'let them buy and sell, bequeath and devise it', George wrote, 'We may safely leave

<sup>1</sup> *Huppim and Muppim* (1903) appeared in *The Commonwealth*, before being reprinted as a standalone pamphlet (1903); it was also included in his *God's Co-operative Society* (1914) along with its follow-up *Huppim and Muppim and Ard*.

<sup>2</sup> Marson, *God's Co-operative Society*, 42-3, 52.

<sup>3</sup> Adderley, *Looking Upward*, 150.

<sup>4</sup> Girdlestone, *Christian Socialism versus Present-day Unsociability*, 33, 41.

<sup>5</sup> Stubbs, *Village Politics*, 127-8.



them the shell, if we take the kernel'.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, this 'Single Tax' would be gradual, non-revolutionary, and would provide revenue for all state spending, making other taxes unnecessary.

The influence of Henry George on Christian Socialism has been thoroughly recounted by Peter d'A. Jones, and A. W. Coats has also highlighted the efforts of John Elliotson Symes to popularize Georgeist ideas in Nottingham during the late nineteenth century.<sup>2</sup> Though it seems a great number of Christian Socialists supported the Single Tax at one time or another, its greatest advocates were the leading figures of the Guild of St. Matthew: Stewart Headlam, Henry Shuttleworth, Thomas Hancock, George Sarson, John Elliotson Symes, W. E. Moll, and Frederick Verinder. These had close links with the Georgeist Land Reform Union, later the English Land Restoration League and in its (unofficial) organ, the *Church Reformer*, and in a series of pamphlets, the Guild agitated for the Single Tax.<sup>3</sup> Evidence from various nineteenth-century newspapers shows that Headlam and his followers relentlessly toured the country extolling the virtues of the Single Tax. Georgeist ideas survived throughout the movement but often they were refracted through Fabian conceptions of rental values. In 1902 John Clifford, for example, argued that land values ought to be rated, and that the increment of wealth 'made without labour, and due simply to the growth of the towns and cities, ought to go to the common good'.<sup>4</sup>

Because it has been covered by the existing literature, there is little need to recount the Christian Socialist defence of the Single Tax here, but its omission should not devalue its importance for a significant proportion of the Christian Socialist movement. Jones's *Christian Socialist Revival* highlighted a transition in the political economy of the Christian Socialists thought, and argued that 'the majority of them were not in fact satisfied with Henry George's Theory'. He went on to recount how some Christian Socialists renounced the Single Tax in favour of outright nationalization on the Fabian model. In terms of the land, Jones also outlined the formative influence of the physiocrats on the Christian Socialists' understanding of land and the value it possessed. Indeed, recent historiography has returned to the framing of the 'land question' in nineteenth-century political culture. As Roland Quinault has argued, in London (where many Christian Socialists were located), the land reform movement developed independently of Georgeite influence.<sup>5</sup> In addition, Antony Taylor has investigated the role that J. E. Thorold Rogers played in reframing the land question in order to incorporate Cobdenian nostrums; a process that 'established a pedigree

<sup>1</sup> Henry George qu. Jones, *Christian Socialist Revival*, 52.

<sup>2</sup> Jones, *Christian Socialist Revival*; Coats, *The sociology and professionalization of economics*, 289-312.

<sup>3</sup> Stewart D. Headlam 'Annual Address to the Guild of St. Matthew' *Church Reformer* Vol. 8, No. 10 (Oct, 1889), 219; *Municipal Puritanism* (London: Guild of St. Matthew Office, 1905); *The Guild of St. Matthew: What it is and Who Should Join It* (London: Guild of St. Matthew Office, 1906); The Guild of St. Matthew, *The Church and the Polling Booth*;

<sup>4</sup> Clifford, *The Housing of the Poor*, 13.

<sup>5</sup> Roland Quinault, 'London and the Land Question, c.1880-1914' (chapter) in Matthew Cragoe and Paul Readman, *The Land Question in Britain, 1750-1950* (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), pp167-180. The relationship between the Land Question and Englishness in the Edwardian period is considered by Paul Readman in the subsequent chapter of the book in question.

for the land reform platform'.<sup>1</sup>

Research has revealed that while many Christian Socialists progressed along the Henry George to Fabianism route, others took an alternative path to adopting the nationalization of the land. Their ideas help to illuminate our historical understanding of social reformers' attitude to the land question.

William Tuckwell's support for land nationalization, for example, grew out of his proposals for the extension to the allotment system. The latter case was made in a series of works and speeches, most notably *Allotments: The Solution of the Agricultural Problem*, which ran to a third edition in 1888. It has been noted above that Charles William Stubbs saw an answer to the land question in the extension of allotments and small-holdings, and he was not alone in advocating these measures. However, there was much else in Tuckwell's thought that could not have been much more different to that of Stubbs. Tuckwell did agree with Stubbs that allotments could help alleviate the conditions for the urban as well as the rural poor; as they would draw men away from the towns, so relieving overcrowding and the pressing down of urban wages. Nonetheless in Tuckwell's view the responsibility for the establishment and success of the allotment system lay as much with the authorities as with the labourers themselves. Here he outlined the kind of rules needed, such as had been followed in the letting out of his own glebe lands in Stockton: 'Allotments must be let at the fair agricultural rent of the district; the tenure must be perpetual; the tenant must have as much land as he feels that he can manage; the cottage must be near to or upon the allotment; the outgoing tenant must have full compensation for all unexhausted improvements'. Moreover, the labourers should be assisted to build their own cottages by means of building society loans.

Though a measure of opposition to allotments came from the landowners, the most serious opponents to the system according to Tuckwell were the farmers. Unlike Stubbs's vision of the paternal farmer co-operating peacefully with the labourers, Tuckwell remarked that the labourers who were too afraid to show their support for allotments while the farmer was in the room. But the power of farmers was 'commercially and politically... on the wane'. They would 'bend to the new order of things, or their stubbornness will be disregarded. The matter', Tuckwell wrote, 'depends, after all, entirely upon the legislature'. Indeed, the legislative reform had produced the Allotments Act, which allowed a committee to use state cash to buy land for allotments. Nonetheless, Tuckwell pointed out that there were so many defects and restrictions in the Act, that it might do more harm than good. The labourers he argued required a useful Bill, 'not a sham measure like the Allotments Act of 1887', one that would establish 'a committee chosen by the labourers, who would have power to demand land from the landowner'.

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<sup>1</sup> Anthony Taylor, 'Richard Cobden, J. E. Thorold Rogers and Henry George' (chapter) in Cragoe and Readman, *The Land Question in Britain*.

Like Stubbs, Tuckwell outlined details of various experimental schemes in co-operative landholding and allotments. However, unlike Stubbs, Tuckwell believed these schemes had been relatively successful. At South Tawton, for example, the land rates had been increased from 4d to £1 an acre, and the yearly crop of corn, hay, clover, and vegetables had been valued at £800. Crucial to their success was the fact that they produced foodstuffs for consumption, not for sale, whereas the big farms struggled against the ‘mercy of the market’. Moreover, Tuckwell did not believe that ‘defects of character’ contributed to the failure of allotments. In fact, the reverse was true. He claimed that allotments helped to reduce criminal offences, illegitimate births, and immorality. Following the establishment of allotments, one village had not recorded a crime for twenty years. This argument, with its parallels to Marxian historical determinism, went against much of what moderate Christian Socialists had maintained throughout the nineteenth century. The positive outcomes for society was not utopian fantasy, Tuckwell argued, but a ‘direct and inevitable sequence from the primary step of establishing a sound, well-conceived Allotment system’, backed by better agricultural education in schools. He cited Arnold Toynbee to argue that ‘religious and moral improvements must found themselves on social reform’. Nevertheless, Tuckwell was not averse to employing paternalistic rhetoric as regards labour agitation for land reform. It was educated socialists who directed the struggle, whilst the child-like labourers looked on. Referring to the advertising poster for Pear’s Soap, Tuckwell said that

You agricultural labourers are the child, and Allotments are the piece of soap... you ‘won’t be happy till you get them’. We who are fighting on your behalf against the bad laws which have oppressed you all these years hope soon... to say of you as they say of Pear’s baby – ‘they are happy for they have got them’.<sup>1</sup>

Nevertheless, Tuckwell conceived of the extension of co-operative landholding as a first step towards outright nationalization of the land, a measure he argued was morally justified because (as he claimed without going into much further detail) Adam Smith, Herbert Spencer, and J. S. Mill had shown that the land belonged to by rights to the people. Tuckwell envisaged a ‘mighty revolution’; a given day when ownership of the land should pass to the state. He wrote that the previous owners would be compensated over a period of forty years, during which the state, or preferably the local governing bodies, would continue to pay them the ‘fair rental values’. Tuckwell did not say how exactly the ‘fair’ level of rent would be ascertained, only that it should be, and that after forty years the payments would cease, with revenues being used for ‘public purposes’, such as extinguishing taxation and reducing the National Debt. The present landowners would welcome such a scheme, Tuckwell argued, as ‘in the present gloomy uncertainty attaching to our agricultural future, many [of them] would, as [he claimed to] know from their own lips, hail a forty years’ security for rents which are now diminishing, and threatening in no long time to become extinct’. Following the transfer, the land would be managed by local boards or specially-constructed district land

<sup>1</sup> For Tuckwell on Allotments, see, Tuckwell, *Allotments*, 3-4, 5-8, 11-12, 18-26; *Allotments and Small Holdings*, 8-11; Final quote taken from Tuckwell, *To the Agricultural Labourers of Cambridgeshire*, 1-4.

courts, which would increase the number of small tenancies, break up unproductive lands, and prevent subletting. Nationalization may then be extended to other aspects of property, but because the 'curse of the country' was the monopoly of land, nationalization of the land should come before other measures.<sup>1</sup>

### 'Post office' socialism

For Tuckwell, state ownership of the land was the goal towards which his land reform schemes worked, but other Christian Socialists were prepared to express their support for other types of state nationalization as part of a larger complex of political and social reforms. It is interesting to note that while Headlam remained committed to the Single Tax, the 1895 platform of the Guild of St. Matthew, undersigned by him, stated that 'communal education implies communal work (for men are educated for duties), and it leads to the common ownership and the common possession of the means of production.' It argued for the Single Tax but stated that '*in the meantime* we aim at the prompt transfer to common ownership and control of all those means of production, distribution and exchange, which *are of the nature of monopolies*'. So, while George had delineated a method for the establishment of the co-operative commonwealth, economic circumstances meant that socialist nationalization became an attractive and viable alternative way forward. The GSM tract in which this platform appeared was reissued in 1906.<sup>2</sup>

Indeed, it was argued that collectivist management of various industries had been successful, and that this meant congruous industries were ripe for collectivist picking. For example, in 1887 Girdlestone (citing Laurence Gronlund's *Co-operative Commonwealth*) named the Postal Service as a 'notable example' of governmental capacity for efficient economic administration. Another Christian Socialist highlighted the postal service as a good example of effective collective ownership, a socialist organizational model that should be applied to the railways, and to the coal, gas, and water industries, while Adderley argued that nationalization should extend to 'only such property as the nation thinks would be better held collectively'.<sup>3</sup> As Stubbs had said back in 1893, the concentration of the 'economic functions of the country in the hands of a comparatively few mammoth capitalists' only served to make their 'ultimate displacement easier'. Later, many Christian Socialists were to argue that the existence of 'Joint-Stock Capitalism' had demonstrated the 'possibility of managing industry without the Capitalist'.<sup>4</sup> These calls for nationalization were founded upon its capacity to eliminate the waste, ineffectiveness, and immorality of the monopoly of industries and resources, but they also highlighted its ability to reinstate the morality and virtuousness of

<sup>1</sup> Tuckwell, *Reminiscences*, 116-119; *Extracts from the Speech... Delivered to the Members of the Warwick and Leamington Women's Liberal Association*, 8.

<sup>2</sup> Headlam, *The Guild of St. Matthew: What it is and Who Should Join It*, (my emphasis).

<sup>3</sup> Adderley, *Is Socialism Atheism?*, 14.

<sup>4</sup> A. J. Carlyle, 'Municipal Trading' in Pan-Anglican Congress, *Capital and Labour*, 2; Stubbs, *Christ and Economics*, 70; Stacy, *The Socialist Meaning of the Church's Facts*, 13.

labour under collectivism. Collectivized labourers worked for each other and for the commonweal rather than for pecuniary gain, and did so in a spirit of brotherhood rather than of competition.

It should be noted, also, that even the otherwise moderate John Clifford was eventually won around to the collectivist cause, a development in his thought which has perhaps not been afforded sufficient notice in the secondary literature. John Clifford described the contemporary 'limited Collectivism' which included the Police and Post Office, the civic control of gas, water, lighting, and trams, as well as publicly-owned baths, gardens, parks, art galleries, museums, and hospitals. Clifford argued that there was nothing in Christianity against the possibility of the extension of collectivism across the 'whole machinery of the lower part of life'. Indeed, in 1898 he felt it necessary to clarify his position to the readers of *The Christian World*. 'I must not refuse the "socialist" label which appears now and again attached to my name', he wrote, but as regards Collectivism, he had not sought to describe 'an indisputable and completed result'. Nonetheless, he did maintain that 'the collective social machinery for the promotion of economic well-being' could be applied to agriculture as well as industry, and that the new conditions of economic production signified 'a distinct, if not absolute trend towards economic solidarity'. Collectivism advocated the management of industrial life so that all may share, as 'fairly and justly and neatly as possible', in its responsibilities and gains.<sup>1</sup> However, though it contained 'a promise of good', only the 'experience' of collectivism could reveal whether it would benefit the nation.

The question still commanded the attention of Clifford in his seventy-first year of age. Clifford's 1907 sermon 'Is Christian Socialism Practicable?' evinced that by this time he believed that Fabian collectivism was consistent with Christian Socialism: 'The Post Office is one of the most brilliant examples of Christian Socialism', he wrote, going on to ask whether it was possible to 'extend this collectivist system any further than it is in existence at present?' Clifford's answer was 'yes', beginning with the nationalization of the land.<sup>2</sup> He argued that because man had 'a false idea of property', the land ought to be 'completely nationalized', and an examination of Clifford's sermons in *God's Greater Britain* (1899), and of his articles in *The Westbourne Park Record* in the early twentieth century, reveals that his conception of 'nationalization' went further than the Single Tax. Clifford's economic perspective was derived, he claimed, from his reading of Henry Jones, John Stuart Mill, Froude, and Herbert Spencer, all of whom were cited to argue that 'exclusive possession of the soil necessitates an infringement of the law of equal freedom'. After spending years working on saving the souls and bodies of individual Christians, in 1908 Clifford told the London Baptist Association that while the Churches ought not, as Churches, to identify

<sup>1</sup> Clifford, *Socialism and the Teaching of Christ*, 9.

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

themselves with 'Socialistic organizations', they should nonetheless 'take their full share of the gradual reformation and rebuilding of society, [and should] welcome every practicable extension of the socialistic principle'.<sup>1</sup> The significance of the context in which this argument was originally made is somewhat lost in the sermon's reincarnation as the 139th Fabian Tract. Similarly, Clifford's previous Fabian Tract (No. 78) had previously been delivered at the Annual Meeting of the Christian Socialist League, Westbourne Park Chapel, 1895.<sup>2</sup>

## Nationalization

Christian Socialists such as Tuckwell, Girdlestone, Clifford, and even Headlam outlined a range of economic and practical arguments for the nationalization of the land or the monopolized industries. That they did so was important in the historical context, because they acted as important spokespersons for the collectivist model in the Christian sphere. It can be suggested that for those religious folk of the middle- and upper working-classes the Christian Socialist theorists above would have played an important part in introducing them to socialist ideas. This addition to our knowledge of socialist history is welcome, but it re-raises the question posed by Jones: what was distinctive about *Christian Socialism*?

It has been shown in previous chapters that many Christian Socialists subscribed to individualist or communitarian forms of constructive socialist thought, and did so on the basis, as they saw it, of their Christian principles. That they did so had already been noted by Jones, thus the purpose of the previous two chapters was to test his assertion based on further research and to flesh out in greater detail the economic and socialist influences that underpinned those constructive ideas and the schemes that followed.

As regards the distinctiveness of Christian Socialism, Jones also noted that some Christian Socialists proffered a theological basis for their subscription to socialist notions of state nationalization. However, as argued in Chapter Two, many of the Christian Socialists whom Jones identified with 'sacramental socialism' in fact espoused a form of Christian anti-capitalism; for these thinkers *socialism* meant the substitution of the spirit of co-operation for individualism. This point is well illustrated by Jones's account of the ideas of Paul Bull, who he described as 'a fully-fledged economic socialist [something which] distinguishes him from many GSM and most CSU members', and as such Jones considers Bull to represent the collectivist wing of Christian Socialism. However, while Bull's theological principles clearly underlined his moralistic critique of capitalism and his espousal of the reorganization of life based on Christian principles, it was not clearly explained why these principles necessitated the common ownership of the means of production, rather than

<sup>1</sup> John Clifford, 'The Churches and Socialism'; *Socialism and the Churches*.

<sup>2</sup> Clifford, *Socialism and the Teaching of Christ*, 5-7.

other, communitarian forms of socialism.<sup>1</sup>

Nevertheless, Jones did not overlook the support of several Christian Socialists, such as F. L. Donaldson and Conrad Noel, for the nationalization of the means of production, distribution, and exchange.<sup>2</sup> He also recounted the platform of the Church Socialist League, based on its conception of the principle of socialism: ‘that the community own the land and capital collectively and use them co-operatively for the good of all’. He went on to explain that the League adopted this position because it argued that the Church has a mission to the whole of human life, but it is argued that the League’s theological basis for this position was not fully fleshed out in Jones’s work. Instead, Jones suggested that for the ‘collectivist’ Christian Socialists, nationalization was adopted because it would allow the good society to flourish, and would create the environment for man’s spiritual and moral self-fulfilment. Jones recalled that two presidents of the League wrote that while socialism was the ‘theory of society [that] harmonizes most with the Christian view’ and makes for ‘fulfilment of the Divine Purpose for the social redemption of man’, nevertheless, the League’s ‘business is to convert Churchmen and make them Socialists, but the particular tint which may colour their Socialism is no concern of the League’.<sup>3</sup> This, Jones argued, was the case for most other Christian Socialists who subscribed to nationalization. For example, Jones cited Clifford’s argument that collectivization ‘can provide a better environment for Christ’s work and will... create... leisure time for the cultivation of personal character’, whilst (correctly) qualifying it by noting that the tract in which the statement appeared ‘implies some reservations on Clifford’s part about “full collectivism”’.<sup>4</sup>

Research supports the view that while some Christian Socialists believed that various conceptions of collectivism were *consistent* with their theology, they did not also argue that collectivist socialism was *necessitated* by their theology. For example, in a sermon delivered to the ‘West London clergy’ in 1899, James Adderley said that Christian Socialists ‘believe... that the particular course they pursue in politics or industrial matters is the course to which they are impelled out of loyalty to Christ; but they do not wish to force others to take the same line’.<sup>5</sup>

Nevertheless, research has also revealed that there was a strong undercurrent of Christian Socialist theory that argued in less uncertain terms that socialism was not just consistent with Christian principles, but seemed to be implied by them. Moreover, as illustrated by the next chapter, the leading Christian Socialist theorists – including Adderley – came to believe after 1906 that not only was the nationalization of the means of production, distribution, and exchange consistent with and implied by Christian principles, it

<sup>1</sup> Jones, *Christian Socialist Revival*, 231-7.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 260-2.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 265.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 344.

<sup>5</sup> James Granville Adderley, *Not of This World. A Sermon, Etc* (Oxford: A. R. Mowbray, 1899); Adderley, *A Little Primer of Christian Socialism*, *passim*.

was also the 'best economic expression' of Christian principles in the material world. While it is later argued that the political and intellectual environment around 1906 contributed to the Christian Socialists' adoption of this position, by doing so they continued a trend begun in the late nineteenth century, when various Christian Socialists argued that Christian principles necessitated support for a collectivist economic platform. This is well illustrated by the title of the first Christian Socialist Society tract *Social Reformation on Christian Principles* (1887). The tract was designed to contribute to political and economic discourse, as it cited the work of J. S. Mill, Cairnes, and the Fabians, as well as drawing upon the Report of the Industrial Remuneration Conference and texts produced by the Board of Trade. But it also highlighted the Christian basis of its platform: competition was inhuman and unChristian, and the 'only just way' of replacing competition with co-operation was by the 'gradual nationalization of land and capital'. As Wolfe noted, *The Christian Socialist* expounded 'the arguments that land nationalization and public ownership of the means of production were necessary corollaries of Christian social teaching, and that the ethics of Jesus and the moral implications of Marxism were identical'.<sup>1</sup>

There were numerous other Christian Socialists who espoused similar positions. Girdlestone, for example, wrote that a Christian Socialist was 'a Socialist of Christian principles, whose economic doctrines are distinctly and consciously founded upon Christian morals, and in particular the Golden Rule'.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, he argued that because God had made the earth and everything in it, the notion of private property was invalid. Public ownership, therefore, was the only way to organize the economy in accordance with God's will, and his vision of public ownership is explained in more detail below. Similarly, Marson claimed that it was God's word that the land should be common property, and that 'His gifts [we]re given for the universal use', and that if the nation-state institution had been more developed in Biblical times, the state ownership of land and capital would have been included in the codification of Christian principles.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, Marson later argued that the Church fathers, who had propounded 'monastic Socialism', would have supported 'the more complete plan of state Socialism'.<sup>4</sup> Likewise, Clifford wrote that God had intended the land to be the 'instrument of communion'. He went on to argue that the two goals which Jesus envisaged for humanity, namely 'the socialising of the will, and the moralising of the relations in life' would be accomplished only 'when the state takes possession of, and simply lets out on terms the people themselves determine, the land of which the state itself is really the owner'.<sup>5</sup> In his Fabian Tracts Clifford argued that collectivist socialism was an effort 'to accelerate the evolution of the industrial life, so that it... shall fulfil its Divine mission in the enrichment of the whole life of mankind', and that it had already demonstrated its 'closer

<sup>1</sup> Wolfe, *From Radicalism to Socialism*, 172.

<sup>2</sup> Girdlestone, *The What and Why of Christian Socialism*, 161.

<sup>3</sup> Marson, *Charity Organization and Jesus Christ*, 20-4, 42; *God's Co-Operative Society*, 113; Reid, ed., *Vox Clamantium*.

<sup>4</sup> *The Optimist* Vol. 1, No. 3 (Jul 1906), 9.

<sup>5</sup> John Clifford, 'Is Christian Socialism Practicable' *Westbourne Park Record* Vol. 15, No. 1 (1907), 4-7.



and stronger affinities with the teaching of Jesus Christ than the present method of administering the physical life of man'.<sup>1</sup>

Another Christian Socialist, who advocated the 'practical socialism' of Robert Blatchford in which England was 'managed by the nation for the nation', argued in 1901 that collectivism was man's obedience to the commands of Christ in the economic sphere.<sup>2</sup> Similarly, the Socialist Quaker Society produced tracts arguing that socialism was an 'essentially Christian movement', and that various industries, such as the highways, tramways, water, gas, foodstuffs, and clothing should be brought under national or municipal control.<sup>3</sup> Another protagonist, Samuel Keeble, the Wesleyan Christian Socialist and prolific author, was noted by his contemporaries for his economic expertise and, as Bryant noted, he was reputed to have been the first Methodist to have read *Das Kapital*. Keeble's *Industrial Daydreams* (1896) argued forcefully for a socialism purged of 'all morally obnoxious features, as well as economic fallacies... for a purified Socialism is simply an industrially applied Christianity'.<sup>4</sup> Furthermore, sometime before 1900, another Christian Socialist produced a tract in which he expounded a multifaceted yet mostly materialist definition of socialism. It was: 'an attempt by State Organization of Labour to make every individual of the community perform some honest part of the labour of the community'; it was opposed to anarchic competition and to parasitic luxury; it embodied 'equal right of life and development'; and it wanted 'the means of production in the hands of the many'.<sup>5</sup>

While it is not suggested that late-nineteenth-century Christian Socialism coalesced entirely around the notion that Christian principles necessitated support for economic nationalization, the figures highlighted above who believed in this notion were significant producers of Christian Socialist literature, and therefore would have represented the movement in contemporary political discourse. Indeed, these kinds of arguments were often expounded by other socialist Christians, and by those who may have been Christian Socialists, of whom one argued that the 'leading doctrine of Karl Marx is plainly laid down in the Lord's Prayer' and that Ecclesiastes v9 'amounts to... 'the national ownership of the land... [and] the proprietorship by the community of the means of distribution and exchange'.<sup>6</sup> Moreover, that several significant Christian Socialist theorists espoused these ideas in print evidences further that the movement did, in fact, face up to the question posed by Jones regarding the distinctiveness of the idea of Christian Socialism. It can be reasonably argued, however, that when subjected to analytical scrutiny, the fundamental logic of the 'collectivist' strand of Christian Socialism appears to have been far less cogent than its

<sup>1</sup> Clifford, *Socialism and the Teaching of Christ*, 5-9.

<sup>2</sup> Richards, *Socialism and the Catholic Church*.

<sup>3</sup> Socialist Quaker Society, *Socialism An Essentially Christian Movement*.

<sup>4</sup> Bryant, *Possible Dreams*, 231-2.

<sup>5</sup> Tamlyn, *Practical Socialism*, 3-4.

<sup>6</sup> Quotes from Gibson, *Socialism for all*, 1-5; See also Anon., *Did Jesus Christ Teach Socialism?*, 1-4, 16; Henry Cawsey, *The Christian state* (London: The New Age Press, 1902); Kirtlan, *Socialism for Christians*; William Ward, *Christianity and Social Reform* (London: Exeter Publishing Co., 1906).

'individualist' or 'communitarian' counterparts. Christian virtues such as brotherhood, co-operation, fairness, reciprocity, generosity, as well as Christian ideals such as man's love for his neighbour, that all should labour for the common weal, and that we are all our brothers' and sister's keepers lend themselves far more easily to the versions of Christian Socialism outlined in the previous two chapters than to that described here. The Christian Socialists did not make it clear why the central or municipal ownership or control of the nation's means of production, distribution, and exchange should follow from such Christian virtues, but they nonetheless argued that it was the case.

So, while it is important that the historical record of Christian Socialist political economy recognises the above, in the period before 1906 many 'collectivist' Christian Socialists in fact placed great emphasis on the argument that collectivist socialism was the economic means for the establishment of a society in which Christian principles could, and would, flourish. For example, John Clifford wrote that the advancement of collectivist methods would secure leisure time for the 'cultivation of character', and would thus revive the 'Spirit of Christ'. Man was complete only as an active participant in an inclusive state, Clifford argued, he would enjoy greater freedom for the 'finer toils of intellect and heart' such as the reception and realization of the teachings of Christ.<sup>1</sup>

Nevertheless, the socialist visions of 'collectivist' Christian Socialists before 1906 were influenced by the ideals of secular socialism. Girdlestone frequently cited the 'equal opportunities' that would be afforded by collectivist organization of labour, and Adderley argued that equality of opportunity and freedom of self-expression would be established by bringing industry into public ownership.<sup>2</sup> Paul Stacy, Clifford, C. Stuart Smith, and Marson were among those who argued that socialism would usher in a society composed of an active citizenry promoting justice over charity; of libraries, museums, and reading rooms; of a return to the countryside and the establishment of Garden Cities; and of a classless society where there were no wages or profits.<sup>3</sup> Also, in response to the criticism raised by socialism's opponents that state socialism constituted 'compulsion', Adderley wrote that 'we believe in compulsion', but 'we do not call it compulsion; we call it organization'. Socialism, he concluded, substituted order for chaos, as well as scientific adjustment and forethought for the 'planlessness', as H. G. Wells called it, of industrial capitalism.<sup>4</sup> Moreover, as Scott Holland amongst others argued, the state could justifiably appropriate land and capital for the people both because such measures were morally desirable and because it was the state that made it possible for private property to be established.<sup>5</sup> Such arguments echoed those who wanted to change the material world for the better by active socialist intervention, rather than

<sup>1</sup> Clifford, *Socialism and the Teaching of Christ*, 8-11.

<sup>2</sup> Girdlestone, *The What and Why of Christian Socialism*, 134; Adderley, *Is Socialism Atheism?*, 14.

<sup>3</sup> Stacy, *The Socialist Meaning of the Church's Facts*, 12; Clifford, *Socialism and the Churches*, 105; Smith, *The Socialist and the Church*, 9; Marson, *God's Co-Operative Society*.

<sup>4</sup> Adderley, *Jottings*, 20-22.

<sup>5</sup> Pan-Anglican Congress, *Capital and Labour*.

those who simply sought to use socialism to establish the foundations for Christian virtues to flourish. It is argued that the Christian Socialists' willingness to adopt such rhetoric unintentionally helps to reinforce the notion that, in terms of ideas, there was little that was distinctive about Christian Socialism.

## Methods, agents, and outcomes

While many subscribed to the principle of public ownership, as regards the means for its realization the Christian Socialists were more selective and heterogeneous in adopting the ideas of the socialists in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. Socialism would only be established, some argued, by peaceful, democratic means following the conversion of all classes to socialist principles. As Adderley wrote in 1893, for example, political conduct must reflect the interests of 'the whole community not of class or sectional interests', while 'class legislation of whichever class' was to be avoided.<sup>1</sup> The belief that both the political education of the working classes and the conversion of the upper and middle classes was a pre-requisite for the establishment of collectivist socialism impelled the Christian Socialists to produce the wealth of literature intended to educate the workers and to challenge conceptions of socialism. This belief would also circumscribe Christian Socialist agitation, for they believed, in Girdlestone's words, that they were 'bound to wait patiently till a majority... had been educated to desire and demand the establishment of a socialist ideal'.<sup>2</sup>

Nevertheless, several other Christian Socialists who subscribed to the establishment of socialism by parliamentary means conceived of a greater role for working-class agency. John Tamlyn and William Tuckwell, for example, both advocated the 'capture and use of the legislative bodies' by the working classes.<sup>3</sup> These thinkers highlighted the importance of the working-classes political education in terms of encouraging and sustaining their participation in political culture. Tuckwell argued that the Franchise Act, the Board Schools, and cheap literature had all 'committed the future of property of labour, of society, of legislation, to the hands of the very men who are martyrs to unpropertied proletarianism'. Therefore, he advocated a range of measures to enable working men to stand for election, such as the abolition of the House of Lords, universal suffrage and the single vote, three-year parliamentary terms, and the payment of salaries and expenses to MPs.<sup>4</sup>

In fact, some Christian Socialists argued that working-class agency would be more powerful if it operated outside of the parliamentary sphere. It was impossible for the government to act in the interests of the people rather than the propertied classes, Kenworthy

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<sup>1</sup> Adderley, *Christ and Social Reform*, 21.

<sup>2</sup> Girdlestone, *Christian Socialism versus Present-day Unsocialism*, 161.

<sup>3</sup> Tamlyn, *Practical*, 4; Tuckwell, *Extracts from the Speech... Delivered to the Members of the Warwick and Leamington Women's Liberal Association*, 10; Tuckwell, *Christian Socialism and Other Lectures*, 25.

<sup>4</sup> Tuckwell, *Extracts from the Speech... Delivered to the Members of the Warwick and Leamington Women's Liberal Association*, 7-10.

argued, unless it was prepared to abolish itself. 'The people', he argued, 'must take their own affairs in hand'.<sup>1</sup> Even Charles William Stubbs, who wished to see 'hearty sympathy between class and class [and] a right appreciation of the mutual obligations and relations of each', believed that agitation on behalf of class interests was preferable to the pursuit of individual gain. Moreover, he believed that radical social change must be attempted even at the risk of 'setting class against class, of social heart-burnings, of disturbed social conditions'. Class antagonism was an evil, he went on, but 'it may be an evil which is at times inevitable'.<sup>2</sup>

The nature of the collectivist economy and society envisaged by the Christian Socialists in the late nineteenth century is difficult to discern in any great detail. This is because during that period they focused on winning converts to the cause, and so they were mostly content to leave the finer details to the secular socialist thinkers. Nonetheless, it is possible to pick out elements of detail as they appeared here and there in Christian Socialist literature. William Tuckwell, who advocated foremost the nationalization of the land, imagined that the 'desirable' extension of common ownership to other forms of property would take place over two generations. After this time the ownership of capital, railways, banks, and all cognate monopolies would simply revert to the state. Moreover, he believed that the 'gambling enormities of the Stock Exchange would be extinguished, and an army of brokers and jobbers, capitalists, and clerks, [would be] set free for productive labour'.<sup>3</sup> Indeed, several Christian Socialists argued that following the removal of middlemen, corrupt practices, and misleading adverts, state-controlled industries would be able to accurately determine the interests of the community before engaging in production. In addition, they argued that the wealth created by the efficiency of state-controlled industries would fund the kind of ameliorative measures outlined at the start of this chapter. However, J. Bruce Wallace argued that fiscal reform would be required alongside any socialist reconstruction of society (as shown above, he highlighted the appropriation of land rents as a possible source of revenue) in order to pay for social welfare. Citing the success of policies followed by the Governor of Guernsey, Wallace advocated currency plurality, which would constitute, he argued, 'a magnificent emancipation of the people from their bondage to the money power, and would usher in an era of unexpected prosperity'. This would be done by replacing the cash in circulation in excess of the gold reserve with 'an equal amount of national and municipal notes representing public improvements, receivable in taxes and rates, and bearing no interest'.<sup>4</sup>

In order to illustrate the Christian Socialists' proposals for political reform and economic socialism, it has been necessary to draw together ideas espoused by different

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<sup>1</sup> Kenworthy, *The Christian Revolt*, 66.

<sup>2</sup> Wallace, *Gold, Silver and Labour*, 10.

<sup>3</sup> Tuckwell, *Reminiscences*, 116-9.

<sup>4</sup> Wallace, *Gold, Silver and Labour*, 8-9.

protagonists and arguments expressed in various publications. However, for a comprehensive collectivist vision advanced by a Christian Socialist in the late nineteenth century, one may turn to two texts by E. D. Girdlestone, namely *Christian Socialism Versus Present-Day Unsocialism* (1887) and *The What and Why of Christian Socialism* (1889-90).

Although he supported trade unionism, Girdlestone argued that it was an ineffective agent of socialist progress because the unions were far less powerful than the owners of land and capital. During a strike, he argued, the landlords and capitalists could always find replacement labour. Only when the workers owned and controlled the nation's land and capital would the withholding of labour, and therefore of the products of labour, leave the rich with no choice, 'not if every one were a Rothschild', but to starve.<sup>1</sup> Girdlestone envisaged a socialist society in which 'all distinctions of class would be utterly abolished'; in order to achieve this it was necessary for government to be conducted no longer 'by a class and for a class', but instead for the 'exercise of self-control and self-management by the people at large'.<sup>2</sup> As such, it was vital that working-class participation in all aspects of political culture was substantially increased.

The means of appropriating the means of production were less clearly defined by Girdlestone, as he placed his trust in the principle of justice to guide the necessary action. He argued that this approach was consistent with the science of political economy. Even Adam Smith, 'the reputed father of political economy', he wrote, had advocated in his *Moral Sentiments* that justice should be the governing principle of man's life.<sup>3</sup> Therefore, he stated that nationalization would occur 'by Purchase, or by Gift, or by Act of Parliament – but in any case, by some just means'. Girdlestone did, however, attempt to outline in more detail his proposals for organizing society and the economy following nationalization. He frequently cited his intellectual debt to Alfred Russel Wallace's *Land Nationalisation* (1882), and like Wallace (and in contrast to Stubbs and Tuckwell), Girdlestone denounced the division of land into equal-sized allotments. Instead, he envisaged that the whole land would become government property, held in sacred trust for the community 'by some arrangement or other'. Everyone would be able to build a home, to enjoy free passage, and to have access to the land and the raw materials therein. Meanwhile the government, and therefore the 'Nation', would not only be the sole landowner, but also the sole 'great capitalist' and the sole employer of labour.

Girdlestone envisaged a nationwide network of governmental Public Stores, situated in every village and city centre, which would constitute the means of organizing state-managed labour on a regional basis. Working through these Public Stores, the government would be the sole employer of labour, but for Girdlestone government meant 'the exercise of

<sup>1</sup> Girdlestone, *Christian Socialism Versus Present-Day Unsocialism*, 206.

<sup>2</sup> Girdlestone *Christian Socialism Versus Present-Day Unsocialism*, 116; *The What and Why of Christian Socialism*, 135.

<sup>3</sup> Girdlestone, *Christian Socialism versus Present-day Unsocialism*, 106-8, 111-3, 118, 182.

self-control and self-management by the people at large' rather than an organizing body that would direct labour and resources from the centre. Girdlestone subscribed to the Marxist notion that the political and industrial processes would eventually be organized by the labourers themselves, and when it occurred this would negate the need for an overarching coercive government. It was unclear, however, what the details of the relationship between the Public Stores would be in the meantime as they engaged in large-scale enterprise; he simply spoke of his vision of 'one great co-operative association, in which the production of wealth is carried on for the general profit, and its distribution is effected on principles of true equity'.<sup>1</sup>

The cost of establishing the network of public stores, Girdlestone wrote, would be met by 'a National Capital', levied by either a 'Just Income Tax', a graduated property-tax, or by government borrowing: 'whichever is fairer'. However, the profits arising from the sale of the produce of public labour would be sufficient, he argued, to recoup these outlays and to pay for the administration of both government and the public stores in the longer term. Such arrangements would 'secure to labour the whole value of its creations without deductions on behalf of useless middlemen'. He cited W. Hoyle to claim that mechanization of industry meant that three hours daily labour would be sufficient to meet the demand for public goods. Therefore, each and every citizen would be required to work for three hours daily in the production of 'necessaries', namely: 'Food, Clothes, House, Furniture, Workshops, Tools, and Education'. All would be required to work in the service of the public good, even those whose incomes derived from private inheritance.<sup>2</sup> Outside of the hours dedicated to public labour, however, people were free to work for private gain if they desired but the Public Stores would regulate employment during 'private hours', and they would also be the sole distributor of raw materials, tools, and machines required for production.

In terms of rewarding capital, Girdlestone espoused a similar position to Charles Marson: since the state had assumed ownership of all capital, there would simply be no need for the taking of interest. Any outstanding private claims to interest between individuals would simply be ignored by the socialist legislature. In Girdlestone's view, the Christian Socialists were wrong to advocate distribution according to the principle 'from each according to his ability, to each according to his need'. Instead he argued that wealth should be distributed 'to each according to his merit', which was defined by whether or not each worker had done their best. Girdlestone believed that this formula would eradicate poverty by fairly remunerating those who created wealth and curbing the powers of those who had unfairly benefited from the system of private property. He recognised the immense difficulties that would be involved in quantifying and valuing the efforts of each and every worker, saying that he 'did not pretend' to know exactly how the level of wages could be

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<sup>1</sup> Girdlestone *Christian Socialism Versus Present-Day Unsocialism*, 117.

<sup>2</sup> Girdlestone, *Society Classified*, 19.

determined in a fair way. Nevertheless, he argued that his measure was morally superior to rewarding labour according to capitalism's 'bestial standards'. Moreover, he believed that in a co-operative industrial system it would be in every worker's interest to work hard for the success of the community. He wrote that the inculcation of selfless values and the co-operative spirit would be fostered during man's education; if it was absent in some adults in the commonwealth, they would be shamed into compliance by the 'indignity' of learning such values again alongside children in school.

Girdlestone was unable to fully address the need to replace the profit-motive and the interaction of supply and demand with coherent means for encouraging productive labour and regulating its rewards. However, he did go on to flesh out the mechanism that would replace the capitalist free market in the socialist commonwealth. As noted above, he argued that the Public Stores would be the sole vendor of raw materials and of the produce of both public and private labour. As regards the provision of private commodities by the state, such as houses and furniture, Girdlestone wrote that they could be either owned outright or leased from the government, 'whichever is more convenient'. Like J. C. Kenworthy and J. Bruce Wallace, Girdlestone also proposed the use of 'labour-notes', but unlike the Brotherhood Christian Socialists, Girdlestone's labour-notes would be the sole currency and would be arbitrated entirely by the Public Stores. Moreover, he explained that while the Public Stores should pay labourers by the hour (so long as they were considered to have put in their best effort), they would charge for commodities 'by piece' (in terms of the amount of labour required for their production).

Nevertheless, there were problems with this scheme which Girdlestone was, again, unable to fully resolve. In terms of establishing a fair price for raw materials, some of which had required minimal labour to extract, Girdlestone suggested either adopting the prices set by foreign markets, or determining a price based on 'careful calculation' of their supply and demand. He argued that allowing the market, in one way or another, to determine the value of such commodities was not immoral so long as it was limited strictly to the trading of those goods. The 'thin end of the wedge of competition' could be permitted, he argued, because Gold, Silver, and Iron did not have feelings, unlike people.<sup>1</sup> However, it was unclear how the free market for certain goods could operate within or alongside a system where the production, distribution, and exchange of labour and goods was regulated centrally. Moreover, although Girdlestone denounced the free market for favouring only 'the clever and the strong', he did not explain how black markets would be prevented from forming. Girdlestone's attempt to outline a detailed socialist policy was met with contemporary criticism on account of its inherent flaws and unanswered questions (as were similar endeavours by other Christian Socialists). This criticism was a source of frustration for Girdlestone, who had devised his political programme in order to flesh out the Christian

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<sup>1</sup> Girdlestone, *Christian Socialism versus Present-day Unsocialism*, 106-8, 111-3, 118, 182.

Socialist agenda: 'from pillar to post, from the "unpractical" to the "impracticable" we are kicked about', he wrote. While there were undoubtedly a number of inconsistencies in Girdlestone's constructive political economy, he believed that in order to solve the social problem it was better to advance a socialist economic programme with all its flaws than to simply rely on the diffusion of Christian principles. He argued that

the notion of putting the 'new wine' of happiness and justice into the old – the very old and rotten – bottles of the existing individualistic system has far more truly the nature of a utopian and impracticable dream than any scheme devised by any socialist or communist.<sup>1</sup>

However, during the late nineteenth century the ideas of the British socialist movement as a whole were being met with similar criticisms. In chronological terms, the publication of Girdlestone's *The What and Why of Christian Socialism* in 1889 was bookended by two seminal works in socialist utopian literature: Edward Bellamy's *Looking Backward* (1888), and William Morris's *News from nowhere* (1890). Other contemporaneous works such as Blatchford's *Merric England* (1894) were also composed of visions of 'ideal socialism' and policy proposals for a 'practical socialism'.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, it was also when the Fabian Society was only beginning to produce the bulk of its intellectual work. In 1889, for instance, the number of tracts published by the Society had not yet reached double figures; though this was the year that the *Fabian Essays in Socialism* was published. Although British socialist economics was taking shape by the turn of the century, the third volume of R. H. Inglis Palgrave's *Dictionary of Political Economy* (1899) criticised collectivist socialism, on the grounds that 'enormous difficulties of detail are slurred over in the vague expression "society will be organized"'.<sup>3</sup> The late-nineteenth century Christian Socialists were in fact aware that in this intellectual context, it was perhaps too much to expect them to produce an entirely coherent and consistent constructive socialist political economy. As Stubbs wrote in 1893, 'discussion as to the feasibility of a Christian socialistic state... must for the present at least be merely conjectural and speculative, for very few have ever attempted to put them into practice'.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Girdlestone, *Christian Socialism versus Present-day Unsocialism*, 124, 139; *The What and Why of Christian Socialism*, 58.

<sup>2</sup> Thompson, *Political Economy and the Labour Party*, 21.

<sup>3</sup> Robert Harry Inglis Palgrave, *Dictionary of Political Economy Vol. 3* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1899), 772-3.

<sup>4</sup> Stubbs, *Christ and Economics*, 69.



## Chapter Eight: Hybrids, mongrels, and socialists

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Christian Socialism is not as some appear to think, a particular variety of Socialism, milder than the secular brand. It is simply economic Socialism as understood by the existing Socialistic Societies, arrived at from the standpoint of the Christian faith and inspired by Christian ideas.<sup>1</sup>

Cecil Chesterton, 1905

*As a Christian clergyman...* if you want to make your religion a far more real thing and to let it enter into your everyday life, I strongly advise you become a Socialist.<sup>2</sup>

James Adderley, 1910

The previous three chapters illustrated the principal constructive measures advocated by Christian Socialist theorists during the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. It was noted that over this time there was a general, untidy, and uneven change in the Christian Socialist platform encompassing individualist, through communitarian, to more collectivist conceptions of socialism. It was shown that for the collectivist Christian Socialists, not only was public ownership indubitably Christian, but it would also enable Christian principles to flourish throughout society. It was noted also that as the anticipated outcomes of their socialist schemes failed to materialize, some Christian Socialists grew impatient with them and concentrated their focus on supporting social, political, educational, and ecclesiastical reforms. At the same time, the supporters of collectivism debated the political and practical details of the nationalization of the means of production, distribution, and exchange. Overall, the Christian Socialists proffered a complex basket of economic and political measures rather than a consistent and cogent socialist programme.

It has been noted also that the extent to which late-nineteenth-century Christian Socialists subscribed to collectivist socialism has not been reflected in the existing historiography. As regards Christian Socialism, between the turn of the century and the onset of the First World War, the principal narrative expounded by the historiography was the gradual disenchantment with the Labour Party, the ILP, Fabian collectivism, and parliamentary forms of socialist doctrine, concluding in a widespread conversion to the principles of Guild Socialism.<sup>3</sup> It is indeed true that around the turn of the century, some Christian Socialists were beginning to comment upon socialism's lack of impact on society. For example, in an address to the Christian Social Union in 1903, James Adderley argued that the socialists' plans and proposals had largely failed.<sup>4</sup>

However, following research that re-evaluated the Christian Socialist periodicals, and which examined new source materials, it can be argued that the most significant early-

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<sup>1</sup> Chesterton, *The Basis of Socialism*, 4.

<sup>2</sup> Adderley, *Is Socialism Atheism?*, 14; *Parson in Socialism*, 60 (my emphasis).

<sup>3</sup> See, for example Jones, *Christian Socialist Revival*, 227.

<sup>4</sup> Adderley, *Quis Habitat-Psalm Xv.*, 18-21.

twentieth-century Christian Socialist theorists developed and expanded upon their collectivist, parliamentary socialist doctrines, and that they did so as a response to political and intellectual developments in British socialism. This chapter seeks to argue that, in fact, a significant number of these thinkers embraced the socialist label as they believed it reflected their political economy more accurately than the term 'Christian Socialism' could. Furthermore, it is argued that disenchantment with the Labour Party encouraged several Christian Socialist theorists to outline a more thoroughgoing collectivist socialist platform than that expounded by the Party. Finally, it is argued that the Christian Socialist transition to Guild Socialism was not as demarcated as the existing historiography suggests as several Christian Socialist theorists attempted to incorporate decentralism and industrial democracy into their collectivist political economy.

## Rethinking socialism

If one had to choose the political event that was most influential on Christian Socialist thought in the period 1884-1914, strong cases could be made for both the 1889 Dockers' strike and the 1906 General Election. While the former event was crucial in shaping the Christian Socialists' conceptions of the poor and of the social problem, the latter prompted the movement's theorists to re-evaluate both their conception of socialism and the immediate possibilities it presented for change. Conrad Noel's extensive study, *The Labour Party: What it is and what it wants* (1906), was one of many Christian Socialist attempts to come to terms with the 1906 election result by seeking to understand the Party in more depth.<sup>1</sup>

Historians are generally agreed that the immediate historical impact of the election result was limited in terms of the progression of British socialism, as Labour's interests were marginalized as a result of its concessionary relationship with the Liberals. As Jones wrote, 'the *socialist* position in 1906 was not as strong as it might appear... the LRC had never declared itself openly for socialism, and since 1903 the Labour parliamentarians had operated politically under a secret alliance with the Liberal Party'.<sup>2</sup> However, if one was to attempt to assess its effect on Christian Socialist thought, it would be important to consider the contemporaneous reaction to the news that 29 MPs from the Labour Representation Committee were to take their place in Parliament. It was the Christian Socialist view that the result was both a significant event in its own right and the first step towards the realization of socialist ideas. Pierson argued that following the election 'socialism appeared to many clergymen to represent a prophetic force', and research supports his assessment.<sup>3</sup> Moritz Kaufmann, ever the scholar of economic socialism rather than its supporter, nonetheless remarked, citing Ramsay Macdonald, that socialism 'has reached a stage when it is more than a diffused influence and becomes part of... a definite factor in administration and

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<sup>1</sup> (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1906).

<sup>2</sup> Jones, *Christian Socialist Revival*, 225.

<sup>3</sup> Pierson, *British Socialists*, 139.

legislation'.<sup>1</sup> Similarly, the politically-moderate editor of *The Optimist* looked forward to 'a new epoch' following an 'amazing' election result, an event which 'will live in history, because of its far-reaching effects'.<sup>2</sup> Many other Christian Socialists conceived of the result as the political expression of a popular conversion to socialist principles. For example, F. Lewis Donaldson wrote that it 'symbolises a revolution peaceful yet potent, and [the] aspirations seeking expression in the life of the people'.<sup>3</sup>

The prolonged discussion of the 1906 election in the pages of Christian Socialist periodicals and other publications reignited this debate about the meaning of socialism. Two fundamental questions steered the debate: What was the common distinctive feature of socialism? And how did it relate to Christianity and, therefore, to Christian Socialism? These same questions had occupied the previous generation of Christian Socialists, but after 1906 there was a discernible shift in the debate's emphasis; socialism was conceived of less as part of the 'social Christianity' heritage and more in terms of its contemporary protagonists and the various political ideas that they advocated.<sup>4</sup> In July 1907, for example, *The Optimist* defined the socialist movement in terms of the following organizations: the ILP (Trade Unionists allied to the Liberals), Fabian Society (more imperialist, and advocated 'middle-class socialism'), the SDF (who were 'in love with continental social democracy', and, unlike the ILP, advocated a 'citizen army – they believed that every boy should be trained to shoot').<sup>5</sup> The Christian Socialist theorists argued less frequently that socialism's essential feature was its principles of justice, co-operation, and brotherhood, and instead tended to argue that socialism was defined by its economic platform. For example, James Adderley wrote in 1909 that he conceived of socialism in the same way as 'large numbers of persons including the majority of the ever increasing Labour party in Parliament and elsewhere', namely, in terms of its aim to 'gradually reorganize national industry on the basis of common State ownership of the means of production and distribution'.<sup>6</sup> In addition, in 1909 Conrad Noel explained that there were now many types of socialists, including Jevonian, Marxian, Church, anti-Church, Free Trade, Fair Trade, Feminist, anti-Feminist, Free-will, Determinist, Puritan, and anti-Puritan kinds. Despite the existence of these different types, he maintained that they were all agreed 'because they accept the principle according to which the land and industrial capital should be publicly owned and publicly administered'. It had once taken

<sup>1</sup> Socialism, Kaufmann wrote, had developed a less idealistic, more realistic programme and had become more utilitarian in its use of politics as a means to an end. He was interested to see whether Wells and the Webbs would 'produce a real and sincere co-operation or w[ould] allow Socialism to degenerate into class interests'. Kaufmann, *Socialism and Modern Thought Second Edition*, 191, 207.

<sup>2</sup> Thus, true to its title, the paper declared that it 'begins its second volume with high hopes and undaunted spirit... It blesses every effort of social amelioration, and will never publish a word that is calculated to weaken the chances of reform'. *The Optimist* Vol. 1, No. 1 (Jan 1906), 10; Vol. 2, No. 1 (Jan 1907), 5.

<sup>3</sup> Donaldson in Hunt, ed., *Churchmanship and Labour*, 82.

<sup>4</sup> For example, responding to the unrelenting claim that socialism meant atheism, James Adderley argued that it was 'important... to look at the Socialist movement as it actually is in the present time in our country'. Labour Party reforms, he continued, were not atheist. Adderley, *Is Socialism Atheism?*, 11; In 1909 Conrad Noel defended his support for the leaders of the Socialist movement, represented by 'Jaurés, Hyndman, Bebel, Shaw, Webb, Blond, Blatchford, Suthe, Snowden, Hardie, Morris, Marx, Bax, Wells, [and] Quelch', while Swann maintained he would readily elect people such as 'Shaw, Bland, Wells, Webb, Snowden, MacDonald, Hardie, Hyndman, [and] Blatchford'. Noel and Jannaway, *Ought Christians to be Socialists?*, 35; Jannaway and Swann, *Which is the remedy?*, 30; Edwards and Day, *Socialism and the Catholic Church*.

<sup>5</sup> *The Optimist*, Vol. 2, No. 1 (Jan 1907), 8-22; No. 3 (Jul 1907), 160.

<sup>6</sup> Adderley, *A Little Primer of Christian Socialism*, 80.

Kaufmann a whole volume to explain to the Christian Socialists what socialism entailed; after 1906 Noel was to argue that its definition was simple enough that 'a child could understand it'.<sup>1</sup> In fact, he condemned the 'Christian Socialists' who confused the issue by regarding 'Socialism as sympathy, slumming, and settlements'.<sup>2</sup> While the majority of Christian Socialist theorists began, like Adderley and Noel, to subscribe to the notion that it was public ownership that defined socialism, their definition was nevertheless based on various interpretations of public ownership. In various discussions of the meaning of socialism, public ownership was to be extended over particular firms, industries, or all of industry, or over the nation's land and capital, or over the means of production, distribution and exchange.<sup>3</sup>

If the distinctive meaning of socialism was confined to its political economy rather than its moral principles, it became necessary to reiterate the nature of the relationship between that political economy and Christianity. The Christian Socialist theorists who were active after 1906 built upon the late-nineteenth-century arguments of Adderley, Girdlestone, Marson, and the Christian Socialist Society. Thinkers such as P. E. T. Widdrington, G. Algernon West, Father William, F. Lewis Donaldson, W. E. Moll, Paul Stacy, Adderley himself, and Cecil Chesterton all argued that, as Chesterton wrote, Christian Socialism was 'simply economic socialism as understood by the existing socialist societies, arrived at from the standpoint of the Christian faith and inspired by Christian ideas'.<sup>4</sup> It is important to note the latter point that it was Christian faith and Christian ideas, rather than Christian scripture that implied support for economic socialism. Few after 1906 attempted, as Stubbs had done in the late nineteenth century, to extract a socialist political economy from the Bible. Instead, as one Christian Socialist wrote, Christian interpretation of the Bible must 'take every

<sup>1</sup> *The Church Socialist Quarterly* Vol. 4, No. 1 (Jan 1909), 3.

<sup>2</sup> Noel in *The Optimist* Vol. 2, No. 3 (Jul 1907), 158-9.

<sup>3</sup> Adderley himself wrote that 'Socialism, whatever it may have meant in days gone by, now means the Movement going on in all civilised countries towards a gradual change of the social system by which the State (that is the whole community, rich and poor alike) shall eventually own and control collectively for the common benefit the land and capital which is now, for the most part, owned and controlled individually for private profit.' Adderley, *Is Socialism Atheism?*, 3-4, 14; *Making Up Your Mind*; Noel, *Socialism and Church Tradition*, 1; Noel and Jannaway, *Ought Christians to be Socialists?*, 8; Chesterton, *The Basis of Socialism*, 3; William, *The Love of Man*, 11.

<sup>4</sup> Chesterton argued that the Catholic Faith 'finds its expression and application on the economic side as Socialism already defined', that is, 'the political, economic, and social emancipation of the whole people, men and women, by the establishment of a democratic commonwealth in which the community shall own the land and capital collectively, and use them co-operatively for the good of all'. Chesterton, *The Basis of Socialism*, 4;

In an 'Occasional Paper' for the GSM, P. E. T. Widdrington wrote that 'we have drawn no fine distinctions between Christian Socialism and Economic Socialism'. 'Occasional Paper of the Guild of St. Matthew' No. 34 (London: 1906).

In his Church Socialist League Presidential Address 1907, G. Algernon West stated that the 'theory of society most in harmony with Christianity is Socialism' and that 'our Christian philosophy leads us to recognise Socialism as a Divinely inspired thing'. *The Optimist*, Vol. 2, No. 3 (Jul 1907), 154-6;

In 1907 William proclaimed that 'it is because we are Catholics that we are constrained to be Socialists' and Paul Stacy argued that Jesus had proclaimed the coming of the 'Perfect State', and that the Catholic faith was the real home of the Socialist idea. William, *The Love of Man*, 1.

In 1908, *The Optimist* carried an interview with F. Lewis Donaldson in which he explained the theological influences behind his decision to 'embrace the full doctrine of collectivism'. *The Optimist* Vol. 3, No. 3 (Jul 1908), 192; See also Donaldson's 'Church and Socialism face to face' in which he claimed that socialist views were 'either implicit or explicit in the Christian faith'. *The Church Socialist* Vol. 2 (October, 1913) qu. Taylor, *Socialism and Christianity*, 16.

Another protagonist claimed that socialism was 'part and parcel of Christian faith' and was 'the best economic expression we know of our religion'. Hewlett Johnson, 'Do Socialist Parsons Commend Their Faith?' in *The Church Socialist Quarterly* Vol. 6, No. 1 (Jan 1911), 18; *The Optimist* Vol. 7, No. 4 (Jan 1913), 210.

Adderley remarked that the Christian Socialists who had 'not disguised their Socialism... have done so as a direct result, so it has seemed to them, of their religious convictions'. Adderley, *Parson in Socialism*, 11-12, 159-61, 191, 211.

See also: Church Socialist League, *The Church and Socialism: A Report of the Speeches*, 4-15; Stacy, *The Socialist Meaning of the Church's Facts*; Noel, *Socialism and Church Tradition*, 14; Bruggenkate, *Catholicism and Socialism*, 6-7; Adderley, *Why are you a Christian?*.

statement in relation to the social and historical environment in which it was written'; while Conrad Noel denied having ever argued that the Gospel implied a socialist platform.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless Noel went on to argue that Jesus had established Christian principles that demanded the public ownership of land and capital, the Liturgy was 'soaked in Socialism', and the Jewish state had demanded a 'Socialist Commonwealth', in which there would be common holding of land'. Any Christian 'who understands his religion', wrote Noel in 1909, 'is bound to work for some reconstructive policy as the Socialist proposes'.<sup>2</sup>

This thinking led many Anglican Christian Socialists to believe that it was their Christian creed, rather than that of the non-conformist, that more naturally underpinned the fundamental idea of a Christian Socialism. As Adderley argued in 1910, the Anglican Church 'fits in with socialism in a way that other forms of Christianity do not – at least, not so readily'.<sup>3</sup> Whilst in the nineteenth century Christians of all creeds could argue that the principles of socialism and Christianity were consistent with each other, this conception of Christian Socialism, with no clear scriptural route to public ownership, had little to offer the nonconformist whose doctrines were centred on the Bible.

It is interesting to note, nonetheless, the survival of a Divine determinism discernible in the Christian Socialists' arguments for economic collectivism after 1906. One Christian Socialist wrote in 1910 that God had been busy not just with organising the social movement but in the establishment of the social and economic conditions conducive to the success of socialism. Others recalled the Divinity of Christ's ideal state of society, and argued that the co-operative public ownership of the means of production was the application of this ideal state in the modern world.<sup>4</sup> However, making such claims did not preclude the Christian Socialists from alluding to the inevitability of socialism due to non-religious forces. In the late nineteenth century Girdlestone had cited Huxley and Gronlund to argue that centralization was the 'distinguishing mark of the human body', which was controlled by the nervous system, and as such it was part of the natural order. This idea was echoed in the early twentieth century by C. S. Smith, who argued that nationalization was the 'next and almost inevitable step in the process of the civilization of man'.<sup>5</sup>

Despite the doctrinal tensions highlighted above, for the first fifteen years or so of the twentieth century most Christian Socialists who were involved in forging the movement's political economy were broadly agreed that Christian Socialism was about advocating public ownership on the basis of Christian principles. Moreover, this conception of the movement accommodated those who subscribed to public ownership while arguing that socialism was not defined exclusively by its economic platform. According to N. E. Egerton Swann, while socialism was defined by 'purely economic and industrial reform... this and this alone', its

<sup>1</sup> Jannaway and Swann, *Which is the Remedy?*, 25-7, 34; Noel and Jannaway, *Ought Christians to be Socialists?*, 39-40, 9.

<sup>2</sup> Noel, *Socialism and Church Tradition*, 2-3, 6-9.

<sup>3</sup> Adderley, *Parson in Socialism*, 11-12, 159-61, 191, 211.

<sup>4</sup> Stacy, *The Socialist Meaning of the Church's Facts*, 7.

<sup>5</sup> Smith, *The Socialist and the Church*, 7.

ideals 'inevitably include much more... [because] such a profound and far-reaching economic change must in itself react in many... ways upon the entire life of the community'. Socialism, he went on, would require the abolition of the monarchy, and though it did not propound the abolition of marriage, socialism was incompatible with 'the patriarchal, quasi-proprietary family'. Although 'socialism is not a complete philosophy of life', he wrote, still, 'it is a philosophy of life'. Therefore, Swann believed that 'while keeping ourselves firm on our economic base, we do need to enter fully into the wider conception of Socialism'; it was necessary to prove that the inevitable consequences of socialism were 'in accordance with Christian and Catholic principles'.<sup>1</sup> Similarly, R. J. Campbell believed that though 'we must still have our economic doctrine... man does not live by economic doctrine alone'. Campbell cited the ILP-er Richard Whiteing to argue that 'our movement needs a religion... a great spiritual impulse'. Though it was theoretically possible to 'preach collectivism purely on grounds of efficiency', Campbell said he had never met such men: 'even professed materialists', he wrote, are 'vibrating with moral passion'. In short, Campbell argued that 'Socialism is a religion', but it was a religion that included an economic creed.<sup>2</sup> G. H. T. Bruggenkate was amongst the most insistent that socialism was 'a principle of life, a tendency, an idea, a prophetic vision, rather than a mechanical scheme', but even he maintained that the 'necessary substratum' of socialism was 'public control and administration of the means of production, distribution, and exchange'. Therefore the Christian was right to support the socialist economics that would enable Christian principles to flourish. God's principles, Bruggenkate argued, 'must be applied as well to political, social, and economic life as to personal life; they must be incarnated in some scheme of action, and socialism is for our day and for our time, as far as we can see, the best and only way to apply them'.<sup>3</sup>

This conception of Christian Socialism accommodated those who reiterated the argument that public ownership could be advocated from a theological perspective because it created, and was perhaps the only way to create, a society in which Christian principles would flourish.<sup>4</sup> Socialism was not a religion but simply a political and economic proposal,

<sup>1</sup> *The Optimist* Vol. 3, No. 3 (Jul 1908), 212-7; No. 4 (Oct 1908), 334; *The Church Socialist Quarterly* Vol. 4, No. 1 (Jan 1909), 67-70.

<sup>2</sup> Campbell, *Socialism: An Address*, 1-6. R. J. Campbell (1867-1956) started his clerical career as an Anglo-Catholic but became a Congregationalist minister in Brighton. As a result, and as Keith Robbins noted, Campbell's nonconformity was 'eclectic'. His *The New Theology* (1907) was not well received by theological scholars, but nonetheless generated popular interest, and Campbell followed its publication with *Christianity and the social order* in the same year. He drew huge crowds to his sermons and he was well-known among Liberal politicians; he worked for the ILP and was elected to the Fabian executive in 1908. Always a strong imperialist, he supported the war effort in 1914. In later years he was influenced by Gore's critique of his theology and re-joined the Church of England, becoming ordained in 1915. Pierson's account of the development of socialist thought recounted Campbell's influence on socialist debate around the time of the 'New Theology' controversy. Citing Fenner Brockway, Pierson argued that 'for a time... R. J. Campbell, New Theologian and Socialist, was the most popular orator in the land'. Pierson, *British Socialists*, 144-147. See also Keith Robbins, 'Campbell, Reginald John (1867-1956)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/38627>, accessed 14 May 2011].

<sup>3</sup> Bruggenkate, *Catholicism and Socialism*, 13-15. G. H. Ten Bruggenkate (d. 1912) was part of the Community of the Resurrection in 1903 after working in London for two years. He was ordained in 1908, whereupon he took a curacy in St. Stephen's in London's East end. In 1910 he moved to St. Peter's, Coventry, where he found an active Church Socialist League in which he began to participate (though he had been converted to Christian Socialism in Mirfield). He was known to the CSL as a 'forceful exponent of a true Catholicism [and as a] champion of its practical implications'. *The Church Socialist* Vol. 1, No. 11 (November, 1912), 18.

<sup>4</sup> As one protagonist wrote in 1910, the Church was faced with the challenge of demanding 'the establishment of Socialism as

Adderley argued, 'but it wants to express in action what Christianity sets before us as an ideal'.<sup>1</sup> Adderley, along with Marson, Stuart Smith, and several others continued to portray Christian Socialism in terms of, as Adderley wrote, 'an attempt to carry on that sanctification of human life to which the Incarnation bears witness and which it inaugurated... [and which] looks upon the economic reforms of socialism as a preparation of the way of the Lord'.<sup>2</sup> In fact, it is likely that those who had argued that economic socialism was inspired by Christian principles – Widdrington, West, William, Donaldson, Moll, Stacy, Adderley, and Cecil Chesterton amongst others – also subscribed to public ownership because it would produce the Christian society. Nevertheless, because such Christian Socialists believed that it was faith rather than scripture that justified public ownership, they were able to argue that Christianity prescribed the concept of public ownership as well as its consequences. These thinkers were comfortable with the logical construction of their conception of Christian Socialism to the extent that they summed it up in a single phrase, using variations of the notion that, as Adderley wrote, 'economic Socialism is, to the Christian Socialist, the best political expression of his religious beliefs'.<sup>3</sup>

From 1906 onwards this phrase was to appear in Christian Socialist literature time and again, and, as is shown in more detail below, the conception of Christian Socialism encapsulated in this phrase would have two profound consequences. Firstly, it would encourage many Christian Socialists to relinquish their claim over the term 'Christian Socialism', because they felt the term had become irrevocably associated with mild reformism and was, therefore, ill-equipped to impart their socialist economic vision. Secondly, it impelled its advocates to outline a more thorough social and economic programme, in order to prove to doubters that the socialist society would enable Christian principles to flourish.

## The enigma of Christian Socialism

In 1910 James Adderley wrote that the 'new', 'modern' Christian Socialist movement was divided over the issue of whether or not to adopt 'thoroughgoing Socialism'.<sup>4</sup> Indeed, the general diversity of ideas expounded by the 'revival' Christian Socialists led Peter d'A. Jones to remark that the movement was an 'intellectual ragbag'. How fairly does Jones's description reflect the actual experience of the *fin-de-siècle* Christian Socialists? It is correct to point out that throughout the history of Victorian and Edwardian Christian Socialism, the socialist component of the movement's thought was interpreted in various ways: for Maurice and Kingsley it was the substitution of co-operation for competition, while for later

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the only economic basis upon which [the] Kingdom [of God on Earth] can be advanced'. The aim of every Christian was to provide the economic basis for this Kingdom 'which Jesus calls His Gospel': the Churches needed to rediscover this Gospel 'whose economic function is Socialism'. Cummings, *The Gospel of Socialism*, 10-14.

<sup>1</sup> Adderley, *Is Socialism Atheism?*, 14-15.

<sup>2</sup> Adderley, *Is Socialism Atheism?*, 14; *Parson in Socialism.*, 11-12, 159-61, 191, 211; *Making up your Mind*, 45. See also Marson, *God's Co-Operative Society*, 79; Smith, *The Socialist and the Church*.

<sup>3</sup> Adderley, *A Little Primer of Christian Socialism*, 83; *Parson in Socialism*, 11-12, 159-61, 191, 211.

<sup>4</sup> Adderley, *Parson in Socialism*, 11-12, 159-61, 191, 211.

protagonists 'socialism' was a set of moral principles and social and economic doctrines with which Christianity shared common ground. It should be noted once again that the Christian Socialists on whom this thesis is focused were the writers, thinkers, and theorists rather than the figureheads of the movement, and as such it is their views that represent the intellectual imprint of Christian Socialism. Nonetheless, these thinkers were respected individuals who published the bulk of the movement's written material, and who did aim to speak for the movement as a whole. As such, their espousal of various competing socialist doctrines seems to support Jones's interpretation of the movement.

In addition, however, the concluding chapter of *The Christian Socialist Revival*, entitled 'The Enigma of Christian Socialism', argued that the plural nature of Christian Socialist social doctrine meant it was impossible to identify a distinctive political platform that was unique to the movement. Research has not unearthed a neat solution to Jones's enigma. However, insight can be gained from the Christian Socialists' own interpretation of the problem as the effect of the movement's plurality of political and economic doctrines on the concept of Christian Socialism was, in fact, an issue that occupied the Christian Socialists themselves. They were given several opportunities to engage with the question during their exchanges with secular socialists and non-socialist Christians. For example, during a debate with Conrad Noel, the Christadelphian Frank G. Jannaway condemned Christian Socialism by citing Belfort Bax's remark that the Christian Socialists were 'hybrids or mongrels'. Noel's somewhat surprising response was typical of the approach taken by the Christian Socialists who subscribed to a conception of Christian Socialism that espoused public ownership. 'A Christian Socialist', Noel said,

is very shaky about the real Christian faith, and advocates that a little mild social reform might be introduced to make the rich a little kinder to the poor, whereas Socialism involves the poor being a great deal unkind to the rich, so that things may be worked by all men and for all men... for the common service of the community.<sup>1</sup>

Noel stated that his position was distinct to that of the typical Christian Socialist, who was 'a poorer kind of Christian and no kind of Socialist'. Echoing Jannaway's remark, Noel added that he also called Christian Socialists 'hybrids and mongrels'.<sup>2</sup>

Conrad Noel's ambivalence towards fellow Christian Socialists reflected the mood of many other protagonists who, like Noel, were still undoubtedly Christian Socialists because they advocated socialism as a logical consequence of their faith. Cecil Chesterton, for example, denounced those 'especially to be found amongst those who call themselves Christian Socialists', who reduced the socialist component of their doctrine to 'a recognition of the existence of social evils and a desire to remove them'.<sup>3</sup> Similarly, Adderley wrote that the term 'Christian Socialism' had 'come to be applied to the somewhat hazy tenets of all those Christian people who take what is called a practical interest in social reform as a result

<sup>1</sup> Noel and Jannaway, *Ought Christians to be Socialists?*, 45-6.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 43.

<sup>3</sup> Chesterton, *The Basis of Socialism*, 3.



of their religion'.<sup>1</sup> Even those who had previously argued for a 'wider conception' of socialism as a 'philosophy of life' were no longer convinced that the term 'Christian Socialism' accurately reflected their stance. For example, Swann's review of H. O. Thompson's *The Basis of Christian Socialism* remarked upon the tractate's 'unfortunate' title: 'Properly speaking', Swann wrote, 'there is no such thing as Christian Socialism. There really are Christian Socialists; for a Christian Socialist... is not a person who believes in some peculiar thing called "Christian Socialism" but a person who believes in Socialism in the ordinary sense'.<sup>2</sup>

So, in the view of several contemporary protagonists, 'Christian Socialism' was the espousal of a socialist platform on the basis of Christian principles and faith in God. At the present time this meant, in effect, the advocacy of public ownership of the means of production, distribution, and exchange, but it was a conception that allowed for a degree of change in terms of its economic doctrine as new ideas came to the fore. Indeed, commercial morality and co-operative production, distribution, and consumption had been advocated on the same basis under the Christian Socialist rubric. While Noel, Swann, Chesterton, Adderley, and many others would have argued that their advocacy of nationalization on a Christian basis made 'Christian Socialism' distinctive from other strands of socialism, similarly it can be argued that whatever the economic stance it led to, Christian Socialism was distinctive because it offered a unique route to adoption of socialist principles. Nevertheless, in the view of Noel and others, the idea that 'Christian Socialism' denoted advocacy of nationalization on a Christian basis was too difficult to propagate, because 'Christian Socialism' was weighed down too heavily with its earlier associations with charity and mild social reform. Rather than engage in a battle over the term, which might have left behind a body of literature directly addressing Jones's 'enigma', these Christian Socialists turned their back on the term and took a different approach to the spread of Christian Socialist principles.

If the term 'Christian Socialism' was moribund for a number of thinkers, because of its popular association with mild reformism, under what banner could the Christian Socialists march? A significant number gravitated towards a new Christian Socialist organization, the Church Socialist League, under whose auspices most of the thinkers named above rose to prominence. The history of the League's thought and activity has been documented by Jones and more recently by Gary Taylor.<sup>3</sup> Between them these authors recounted the founding of the League in response to the 1906 election, following the Mirfield conference of that year, and explained that the CSL became a base for those, such as Adderley and Noel, who were dissatisfied with the moderate nature of the CSU and GSM. Jones and Taylor identified the League's adoption of economic socialism, exemplified by its official aim for 'the political, economic and social emancipation of the whole people, men and women, by the

<sup>1</sup> Adderley, *Parson in Socialism*, 11.

<sup>2</sup> Swann in *The Church Socialist Quarterly* Vol. 6, No. 1 (Jan 1911), 60.

<sup>3</sup> Jones, *Christian Socialist Revival*, 241-261; Taylor, *Socialism and Christianity*.

establishment of a *democratic commonwealth in which the community shall own the land and capital collectively* and use them for the good of all'. In addition, Jones highlighted the determination of Conrad Noel to 'remove the taint of "mildness" or "milk-and-water socialism" from the Christian Socialist movement' through the work of the League, as well as his insistence that the CSL must be 'fully socialist in the ordinary sense understood by the secular socialist bodies'. The remainder of Jones's discussion of the CSL's thought concentrated on two principal themes; the question of affiliation to the Labour Party, and the League's adoption of Guild Socialism after 1912.<sup>1</sup>

However, following a close examination of new and previously-underused sources, it is possible to situate the formation and conceptual assumptions of the Church Socialist League in the context of Christian Socialist attempts to grapple with the 'enigma' of their movement. In familiar terms, Conrad Noel argued that the establishment of the League was a response to the weakness of the ideas, if not the personalities, of previous Christian Socialist organizations. The basis of the CSL, he wrote,

was the belief that the Catholic faith, as held and taught by the Church of England, finds its expression and application on the economic side in a Christian Socialism, which is not, as some appear to think, a particular variety of socialism, milder than the secular brand, but economic socialism come to by the road of the Christian faith and inspired by the ideas of the Gospel.<sup>2</sup>

While Noel had simply reiterated his own political position to explain the CSL platform, his views were in fact widely shared. The Church Socialist League's *Manifesto* issued in 1909, signed by 133 Christian Ministers (83 Anglicans), declared that the socialist aspect of the CSL platform 'involves the public ownership of the means of production, distribution, and exchange, and is therefore essentially the same Socialism as that which is held by Socialists throughout the world'. The *Manifesto* also noted that this position was only 'sometimes' known as Christian Socialism.<sup>3</sup> In addition, *The Optimist* and *Church Socialist Quarterly* printed many articles that stressed the common ground shared by the ILP, the SDF, the Fabian Society, and the Church Socialist League.<sup>4</sup> For example, in one extended article for the *Quarterly*, F. A. N. Parker argued that the CSL was committed to collectivist socialism, 'not socialism watered down or explained away', and that this position emerged as a result of the CSL's 'Modernist Catholicism'.<sup>5</sup> Finally, C. Stuart Smith contrasted the CSL-ers, 'wholehearted socialists because we are Christians', with the popular conception of a Christian Socialist, 'a Conservative Churchman with a mild interest in drainage'.<sup>6</sup> Such statements suggest that the Church Socialist League was in part an attempt to pre-emptively solve Jones's enigma by establishing a new home for a 'public ownership' interpretation of

<sup>1</sup> Jones, *Christian Socialist Revival*, 263.

<sup>2</sup> Conrad Noel, *Conrad Noel An Autobiography* (London: J. M. Dent & Sons Ltd., 1945), 59-60.

<sup>3</sup> The manifesto appeared in Graham's *The Lord's Prayer* (1909) which endeavoured to outline a socialist platform upon the basis of the prayer: 'Lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from an evil social system which enslaves us, so that we may no longer be led into temptation and ruin' was an example of his interpretations of the prayer.

<sup>4</sup> For example, see *The Optimist* Vol. 4, No. 1 (Jan 1907), 6; No. 4 (Oct 1907), 222; *The Church Socialist Quarterly* Vol. 4, No. 1 (Jan 1909), 11.

<sup>5</sup> *The Church Socialist Quarterly* Vol. 6, No. 2 (Apr 1911).

<sup>6</sup> C. Stuart Smith, 'Christian Socialism for Young People' in *The Optimist* Vol. 2, No. 2 (Oct 1907), 332-3.

Christian Socialism, one that was free from the moderate reformist overtones of the term 'Christian Socialism'.

However, many protagonists chose a more direct way to jettison this intellectual baggage, namely by abandoning any religious qualification to their socialist label. On the one hand, there were some public ownership Christian Socialists, such as G. Algernon West, who were reluctant to abandon the 'admittedly... superfluous' Christian prefix because they believed it affirmed that 'the great principles of Socialism are contained in the Christian faith'.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, during the late nineteenth century there had been a number of Christian Socialists who had always chosen to refer to themselves simply as 'Socialists', as well as others who did so from time to time.<sup>2</sup> However, for the early-twentieth-century Christian Socialists, abandoning the term became a statement of definitive support for a public ownership platform. *The Optimist* and the *Church Socialist Quarterly* frequently featured Christian Socialists, such as A. J. Carlyle, referring to themselves as 'Socialists', while in 1907 one Christian Socialist produced a pamphlet in which he declared that 'without any bunkum, I stand before you as a Socialist'.<sup>3</sup> Conrad Noel said that he 'joined the Socialists because I am a Socialist', claiming that he first became 'a Socialist' in 1889 having read Carpenter, Morris, Hancock, Shaw, the works of the SDF, and the *Commonweal*.<sup>4</sup> Finally, in 1910 James Adderley declared that 'I am a Socialist because I am not an Atheist' and that 'I am a better Christian because I am a Socialist'.<sup>5</sup> While Christian Socialism, Adderley argued, had been a useful device for challenging Christians' conceptions of the poor and social reform, Adderley declared that he repudiated the title of 'Christian Socialism' because it no longer reflected his social platform.<sup>6</sup>

The willingness of prominent early-twentieth-century Christian Socialists to abandon the term and instead to conceive of themselves simply as 'Socialists' suggests that they felt shackled by the 'enigma of Christian Socialism', just as Jones would later be frustrated by it. Whilst it was logically reasonable to argue that economic socialism as an expression of Christian faith *could* constitute the essence Christian Socialism, it was not practical for the 'public ownership' Christian Socialists to spend time and energy fighting for ownership of the term when the more important task of making socialists awaited. And this was a task that they felt required the detailed explanation and defence of the socialist method and vision from a political and economic perspective, and they felt that 'Christian Socialism' as an organizational framework and an intellectual enterprise was ill-equipped for undertaking such a task. In that sense, it can perhaps be argued that *in practical*, if not in historical or theoretical terms, Christian Socialism denoted, and will perhaps always denote, the critique of capitalism from a Christian perspective and its accompanying vision of brotherhood,

<sup>1</sup> *The Church Socialist Quarterly* Vol. 4, No. 2 (Apr 1909), 121.

<sup>2</sup> For an example of a nineteenth-century Christian Socialist referring to himself as a socialist, see the debate between the Christian Socialist George Gilbertson and the Liberal MP Samuel Smith in 1885. *Fallacies of Socialism Exposed*.

<sup>3</sup> A. J. Carlyle in *The Church Socialist Quarterly* Vol. 4, No. 1 (Jan 1909), 27-9; Kirtlan, *Socialism for Christians*, 2, 11.

<sup>4</sup> Noel in *The Optimist* Vol. 3, No. 2 (Apr 1908), 100-1; Noel and Jannaway, *Ought Christians to be Socialists?*, 43.

<sup>5</sup> Adderley, *Is Socialism Atheism?*, 14-15.

<sup>6</sup> Adderley, *Parson in Socialism*, 11-12.

justice, and co-operative production and exchange.

## Achieving economic socialism: Agents of change

Between 1906 and 1914 many Christian Socialists (even if they less frequently chose this term to refer to themselves) were engaged in outlining a programme that initially focused on a method for establishing a socialist economy and then later included a more detailed vision of the resulting socialist society. In fact, detailed policy prescriptions were less common before 1910, as the Christian Socialists took heed of Keir Hardie's speech in the Community of the Resurrection's 'Conference of Clergy and Members of the ILP and SDF' that warned of the 'danger of losing sight of the ideal of socialism and becoming too much engrossed in its practical details'.<sup>1</sup> January's (1908) 'Editorial' of *The Optimist* declared that the socialists had already proved, through facts and figures, that the present organization of society was unjust but in order for 'a majority of the nation [to] declare itself on the side of collectivism', the people must be 'won for the new Socialism'.<sup>2</sup> As Conrad Noel said in a speech to the Church Socialist League in 1908, there was little use spending time on 'petty little questions or side issues' such as the colour of policemen's uniforms in the socialist society while the people were starving.<sup>3</sup>

It was the persuasiveness of this idea amongst Christian Socialists that led them to agitate for the extension of democracy, a cause which often dovetailed with the battle for female emancipation in their writing. As discussed in Chapter Two, during the late nineteenth century the Christian Socialists mainly subscribed to two conceptions of female emancipation. Firstly, it was the fight for freedom from the deleterious effects of manual labour and for the opportunity to flourish within a traditional gender role. Secondly, it was the fight for economic freedom from the position of servitude enforced by capitalism, and the social equalities that this freedom would bring with it. However, the early twentieth century witnessed a change in the terms in which the Christian Socialist debate about female emancipation was framed. While Gertrude Tuckwell and the Christian Social Union Research Committee continued to publish articles about working conditions for female labourers, those within the Church Socialist League were more likely to discuss the relationship between female suffragism and socialism. Some Christian Socialists began to argue that the socialist reconstruction of the economy was insufficient, and that the extension of democracy was a fundamental pre-requisite, for securing woman's economic freedom from capitalism. Around 1909 Swann wrote that 'the exact arrangements necessary to secure the economic independence of women need not here be discussed' because women had an immediate need for 'enfranchisement, by the establishment of a democratic

<sup>1</sup> Community of the Resurrection, *Report of a Conference of Clergy and Members of the ILP and SDF Held at Mirfield on May 5th 1906* (Huddersfield: J. Broadbent & Co., 1906), 9.

<sup>2</sup> *The Optimist* Vol. 2, No. 1 (Jan 1907), 8-22; No. 3 (Jul 1907), 160; No. 4 (Oct 1907), 314; Vol. 3, No. 1 (Jan 1908), 4.

<sup>3</sup> Church Socialist League, *The Church and Socialism: A Report of the Speeches*, 17-18.

commonwealth'.<sup>1</sup>

Some Christian Socialists were renowned for their support for female suffrage. Bryant highlighted the Christian Socialist leader Charles Gore's support for women's suffrage in Church and State, noting that the *Churchwoman* of 6 March 1896 commented 'with approbation on his views that women could no longer be held in the disdain in which medieval society had held them'.<sup>2</sup> And as Jones noted, R. J. Campbell pushed for female emancipation, arguing that 'man is woman's capitalist'.<sup>3</sup> Further research has revealed that the Christian Socialist theorists advanced a range of positions as regards feminism and female emancipation. On the one hand, a few protagonists espoused ideas that approached modern notions of feminism. For example, in an article entitled 'The Religion of Women's Suffrage', F. Lewis Donaldson argued that the inequality of political enfranchisement constituted one of life's 'greatest evils', for which there was no moral or practical justification. He denounced the notion that political culture was outside women's sphere, and argued that there was no reason why the franchise should not be immediately extended to women. 'Is it too much to say', he asked, 'that the doing of justice to women by political liberation may be the working of a new word of God into human life? Is the matter... anything less than the emancipation of the race?'<sup>4</sup> Donaldson's stance was at an extreme; it is not argued that the gendered conception of sex equality prevalent in nineteenth century Christian Socialism disappeared entirely from view in the twentieth.

However, those like Adderley who were still working out whether 'the true women's role' suited them to a different, if not inferior place in society, nonetheless supported female suffragism in no uncertain terms. In another example of a departure from his earlier unwillingness to advance his politics as a clergyman rather than as a citizen, Adderley argued that all Christians should denounce the conventional opposition to the women's movement.<sup>5</sup> Nonetheless, there was a current of Christian Socialist opinion that remained ambivalent to the female suffragist movement while still claiming to espouse female emancipation. The spokesman for this position was Conrad Noel, who argued in 1910 that the extension of the franchise to middle-class women, rather than to men and women of all classes, would perpetuate the class war. He pressed for the primacy of the economic emancipation of men and women, constituted by a 'righteous and co-operative readjustment of industrial society', a position which Noel argued combined 'both Marxian economics and Christian morality'.

Noel's stance was denounced by E. R. Mansell Mansell-Moullin, who was treasurer of the Church Socialist League between 1908 and 1911.<sup>6</sup> It was Noel's view, Mansell-Moullin argued, that women 'should be content to wait patiently till their self-constituted lords and masters have carried out their own plans and may deign to listen to their grievances'. This,

<sup>1</sup> Swann, *The What and the Why of Socialism*, 8.

<sup>2</sup> Bryant, *Possible Dreams*, 113.

<sup>3</sup> Jones, *Christian Socialist Revival*, 426.

<sup>4</sup> Donaldson, 'The Religion of Women's Suffrage' in *The Church Socialist* Vol. 2, No. 2 (1913), 15.

<sup>5</sup> Adderley, *Making Up Your Mind*, 39-40.

<sup>6</sup> See *Church Socialism or God and the People* Vol. 1, No. 10 (1912), 5-6.

she went on, was an outdated point of view: 'such a great cause as socialism is not to be settled by men alone'.<sup>1</sup> For Mansell-Moullin, it was not enough to propose that female emancipation would occur after economic reconstruction, or to fight for women's rights as an adjunct to economic socialism. Socialist political economy, she argued, must include female emancipation as a fundamental component if socialism was to remain consistent with its moral principles. Overall the League sided more with Mansell-Moullin than it did with Noel, and it was around this period that the Church Socialist League added a number of 'measures' to the 'principles' of its constitution, one of which was 'To give practical effect to the sex equality proclaimed by the sacraments of the Church'.

By engaging with the issue of the gendered nature of socialism that was adopted by the Christian Socialist movement, Mansell-Moullin was perhaps unique amongst Christian Socialist theorists of the period. However, her protest came at a time when Christian Socialists were engaged in debating the syndicalist and Guild Socialist challenge to the broad consensus in Christian Socialism (and, indeed, in socialism) that socialism denoted some form of state ownership of land and capital. Although this debate prompted some Christian Socialists to argue, once again, that socialism was a philosophy of life rather than an economic theory, those who argued as such did so because they subscribed to socialist critiques of 'state capitalism' not because they wished to extend the meaning of socialism to include female emancipation. Christian Socialist political economy took its cues from secular socialist economics, and the latter was still being denounced in 1912 by socialist women on account of its assumption that the working-class experience and process of politicisation was the same for both sexes.<sup>2</sup> As a consequence, in 1911 Mansell-Moullin resigned her post as Church Socialist League's treasurer, citing its ambivalence towards 'the Cause of Justice to Women'.<sup>3</sup>

It can be argued that the zenith of Christian Socialist feminism such as it existed in the period 1884-1914 was George Lansbury's resignation of his parliamentary seat in 1910, when he was Vice Chair of the Church Socialist League. As Bryant wrote, Lansbury's intention was to protest against the Government's response to his questioning of Asquith regarding the imprisonment and alleged torture of several prominent suffragettes. Bryant noted that while Lansbury's actions may have been seen at the time as 'brave and courageous', Lansbury regretted losing his seat and succumbing to 'the worst form of gesture politics'.<sup>4</sup> However, it can be argued that a greater shame was that the Christian Socialists were not inspired by Lansbury's experience to make female suffrage a fundamental element of its political agitation. Nevertheless, the Church Socialist League did pass resolutions at its conferences in 1912 and 1913 in support of female suffrage.<sup>5</sup> And, while the issue perhaps did not receive the focus it warranted, the CSL did continue to

<sup>1</sup> *Church Socialist Quarterly* Vol. 5 (October, 1910), 268, 288.

<sup>2</sup> June Hannam & Karen Hunt, *Socialist Women: Britain, 1880s to 1920s* (London: Routledge, 2002), 88.

<sup>3</sup> *Church Socialist Quarterly*, Vol. 6, No. 2 (1911), 133.

<sup>4</sup> Bryant, *Possible Dreams*, 139.

<sup>5</sup> Taylor, *Socialism and Christianity*, 25.

discuss the matter, mainly through M. H. Wood's *Church Socialist* editorials, of which one in 1913 was notable for taking issue with *The New Age* for its 'sex antagonism'.

While the discussion of Christian Socialist attitudes towards female emancipation above considers the issue in more detail than the extant historiography, it is still a relatively brief treatment compared with the accounts here and elsewhere of other Christian Socialist ideas. However, this reflects the lack of variety and depth of Christian Socialist commentary on the matter. It is not sufficient, but it is nonetheless correct, to note that this scarcity is partly explained by the fact that Christian Socialist theorists tended to be male, and they tended to advance socialism and women's rights, rather than anything approaching a socialist feminism. On the other hand, there were a number of notable female Christian Socialists. As well as Mansell-Moullin, they included amongst others Gertrude Tuckwell, whose work has already been highlighted, Enid Stacy, and Mary O'Brien. However, their feminism, if and when it flourished, was conducted through channels outside of Christian Socialism. Stacy, for example, was well known amongst socialist contemporaries for her work in the ILP, the Fabian Society, and the Labour Churches; but to Christian Socialists she was better known as the first wife of P. E. T. Widdrington and the sister of Paul Stacy, and in any case she passed away in the early twentieth century when anything approaching a feminist Christian Socialism was emerging.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, while O'Brien was the author of the first Socialist Quaker Society tract, she actually opposed H. G. Wells's suggestion that a feminist clause be inserted in the Fabian Society's 'Basis' in 1907.<sup>2</sup> Only Mansell-Moullin made any significant attempt to challenge Christian Socialism's gendered conception of socialist political economy, and as shown she quickly admitted defeat.

From 1906 onwards the Church Socialist League was focused on winning hearts for socialism. The Christian Socialists' attempts to construct a moral case for public ownership added a new twist to the arguments of their late-nineteenth-century predecessors, who had claimed that widespread adherence to Christian principles of conduct was necessary and sufficient for the establishment of the good society. In 1909 Conrad Noel stressed the urgent need to convert the majority of the population to Socialism; following this, the right leaders and legislators would, 'by God's grace, arise'.<sup>3</sup> As Paul Stacy argued, 'economic socialism... would come much more quickly if its supporters were all convinced Christians... and did

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<sup>1</sup> P. E. T. Widdrington is known to Christian Socialist history as, in Jones's words, perhaps 'the leading theologian of the sacramental socialist movement in the 1920s'. It has been shown earlier in this thesis that Widdrington was one of those who in the early 1900s argued that Christian Socialism espoused collectivist socialist economics. Widdrington's later intellectual approach, a retreat back to observational, academic, literary style rather than the reporting of agitation and socialistic experiments, echoed the early stages of the Christian Socialist revival. He was influenced by Llewelyn Davies, a Christian Socialist from the mid-century movement who was still active in the late century, and who, along with John Ludlow, served as a link between the two movements. Widdrington contributed to Christian Socialist debate in the early twentieth century, but he was most interested in developing what he called Christian sociology. His work in this sphere developed at a time outside the scope of this thesis. Widdrington's story is told, briefly, in the histories by Jones and Bryant, but their information is drawn in large part from Maurice Reckitt's biography, *P.E.T. Widdrington: A Study in Vocation and Versatility* (1963). As Jones said, although Widdrington exerted a profound influence on his colleagues, and displayed much literary talent, he 'left for posterity little tangible evidence of his intellectual power and achievements'. However, since the time of this publication, John Stuart Peart-Binns has uncovered some material during the course of his research on Reckitt.

<sup>2</sup> Jones, *Christian Socialist Revival*, 374.

<sup>3</sup> Noel and Jannaway, *Ought Christians to be Socialists?*, 44.

their duties to the Church'.<sup>1</sup> Indeed, the Church of England itself was envisaged by the early-twentieth-century Christian Socialists as having a much more prominent role in the establishment of public ownership. They developed the arguments, through figures such as Charles Gore, that ecclesiastical intervention in the material world was justified by Christian principles, and that the established Church should actively promote the values of social justice. One protagonist predicted that the churches would 'ultimately free themselves from every theological doctrine that is not in harmony with the spirit and the principles of Socialism'.<sup>2</sup> Throughout the period various Christian Socialists advocated Church reform: some argued for the democratization of the established Church (Tuckwell, C. Stuart Smith), others for its disestablishment (Clifford, and in later years Adderley), and some agitated for both the above (Marson, for example).<sup>3</sup> Existing scholarship has recounted the Christian Socialists' attitudes towards Church reform, but aside from the work of Jones and Pierson, little has been said regarding their proposals that the Church should play an active role in the establishment of socialism.

The 1908 Church Congress, labelled the 'Socialism question conference' by the *Church Socialist Quarterly*, saw further attempts by Christian Socialists to win the Church for socialism. The conference included speeches from Percy Dearmer about the Christian basis of socialism, from the Bishop of Southwell and Gertrude Tuckwell who together spoke about the responsibilities of factory owners towards their employees, and from the Archbishop of Melbourne who recounted the success of collectivist measures in Australia. In 1909 two members of the Preston branch of the CSL persuaded the Bishop of Manchester to publicly support the League's 'fixed principle' of collective ownership, and to recognise its foundation in God's word. The Bishop refused to do so, citing what he considered to be tacit support for violence by socialist organizations.<sup>4</sup> That year, Noel also claimed that the Church was prevented from publicly declaring its support for socialism 'in the modern economic sense' only because it had failed to capture the 'machinery of the State' and was therefore limited to merely lobbying for industrial legislation 'in the direction of economic Socialism'.<sup>5</sup> By 1912 many Christian Socialists subscribed to the notion that the Church should play an active role in promoting public ownership. That year, the Church Socialist League submitted a petition to the Upper House of the Convocation of the Province of Canterbury. 'We are convinced', wrote the petitioners,

that the time has now come when, the Church in its organized capacity, so far from endeavouring to defend the existing system of property, should assert and teach that in the best interests of the people the private ownership and control of land and capital should forthwith be made to cease.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Stacy, *The Socialist Meaning of the Church's Facts*, 15.

<sup>2</sup> Pierson, *British Socialists*, 139.

<sup>3</sup> William Tuckwell, 'The Church of the Future' 7<sup>th</sup> Feb, 1886. in *Christian Socialism and Other Lectures, Delivered in the Town Hall, Birmingham*, 63-73; Smith, *The Socialist and the Church*, 11; John Clifford, *Clericalism in State Education: Passive Resistance June 1911-July 1912* (London: William Walker, 1912); Adderley, *Parson in Socialism*, 86; Marson, *God's Co-operative Society*, 2, 21, 60, 124.

<sup>4</sup> *Church Socialist Quarterly* Vol. 4 No. 2 (April, 1909), 143.

<sup>5</sup> Noel, *Socialism and Church Tradition*, 14.

<sup>6</sup> Church Socialist League, *The Petition of the Church Socialist League*.



The petition was signed by, amongst others, Pinchard (CSL Chairman), Lansbury (Vice-Chair), Paine (Secretary), Smith (Organising Secretary), Adderley, Chesterton, F. L. Donaldson, Louise Donaldson, Noel, Swann, and Widdrington. The CSL petition marked the culmination of a process in which the aims of Christian Socialism as regards the Church and socialism had been entirely reversed. Where once Maurice and his contemporaries had sought to 'Christianize' the Chartists, Smith called for a 'Socialist Crusade among the baptised' in order that the Church may be won for Socialism. Likewise, where once Adderley had declared his wish to 'capture the Labour movement for the Church', he wrote in 1912 that 'the chief work of the Church Socialist... is to justify Socialism to the Church rather than the Church to Socialism': Little would be gained from 'drawing away the street-corner preachers of Justice into Matins at Eleven'.<sup>1</sup> He wrote that his aim was 'to open the way for a timid Christian to declare himself a Socialist if he is convinced of the rightness of economic Socialism'.<sup>2</sup>

It has been noted that socialist opposition to the notion that the Church should play a bigger role came from several quarters, but it should not be assumed that such opposition was universal amongst socialists. In fact some welcomed the Christian voice in socialist discourse because they believed it would be required in order to provide the moral framework for personal conduct in the socialist commonwealth. As W. Cunningham argued, for example, Christian doctrine promoted 'the duty of work', laid down principles as regards the 'personal use of wages or rations, and... of common property', and it advocated the 'avoidance of waste'. Nevertheless while the Christian Socialists were beginning to argue that the support of the Church of England for public ownership was necessary, they did not believe that widespread conversion to Christian principles was sufficient for the establishment of economic socialism.<sup>3</sup> From around 1909 onwards, Adderley and Swann amongst others argued that it was necessary to reform man's material environment before reforming his character.<sup>4</sup>

Indeed, some of the practical advantages of public ownership that had been delineated in the nineteenth century were reiterated by the twentieth-century Christian Socialists. For example, A. J. Carlyle was one of many who argued that because monopolization of industries removed any competitive pressure to keep prices low, enterprises such as mass transit and utility supplies were best taken 'under the immediate control of the community'. C. Stuart Smith, for example, argued that the railways and other profitable monopolized industries were 'growing ripe' for socialism.<sup>5</sup> Other Christian Socialists highlighted the moral and practical virtues of 'Municipalization'; Adderley described it as 'essentially Christian... corporate and brotherly' and Carlyle testified that the financial undertakings of

<sup>1</sup> Smith, *The Socialist and the Church*, 14; Adderley, *Parson in Socialism*, 196.

<sup>2</sup> Adderley, *Is Socialism Atheism?*, 14; *Parson in Socialism*, 18-60.

<sup>3</sup> Adderley, *Parson in Socialism*, 58-9.

<sup>4</sup> Adderley, *Parson in Socialism*, 61, 121.

<sup>5</sup> Noel and Jannaway, *Ought Christians to be Socialists?*, 4-7; Smith, *The Socialist and the Church*.

the municipal authorities were 'sensible and solid'.<sup>1</sup> In later years Conrad Noel was to argue that, taken alone, the municipalization of enterprises such as tramways would not benefit the worker, but nonetheless he believed it did 'more to illustrate the vast possibilities of Socialism than [did] the whole of the State-aided, charitable tinkering with the sick, the wounded, and the unemployed'. For Noel, municipalization remained an important and real 'first step' towards socialism, and he argued that those who opposed collective management of industrial affairs should, in principle, boycott the Postal system amongst other enterprises.<sup>2</sup>

Christian Socialists were more divided in terms of the sections of society whom they believed should be the principal agents of change. Adderley stood at one end of the spectrum. His view that the socialist revolution would be carried out by the 'intellectual classes' did not change following his transformation from a 'Christian Socialist' to a 'socialist'.<sup>3</sup> He believed also that the focus of Christian Socialist propaganda should be the monied classes, because they were the only ones who could change society. This was because the poor, he wrote, were forced by economic circumstances to concentrate on their 'immediate relief'. Working-class support for socialism could only flourish when times were good, he argued, as during economic downturns the poor were 'naturally more attracted by the *Daily Express* saying "Tariff Reform and work for all" than by *The Clarion* saying "Justice for the workers"'.<sup>4</sup> However, he argued that while the rich were able to offer a more considered and detached support for socialism, they rarely did so.

Adderley argued that socialism was not more widely supported because the middle- and working-classes, as well as the 'tens of thousands of snobs of all classes', tended to 'think with the rich because it is fashionable to do so'. In any case Adderley wrote, it was 'almost cruel to preach Socialism to the poor; it is most necessary to preach it to the rich'.<sup>5</sup> As to the rich, he went on, they tended to 'clutch at any argument that anyone tosses to them against socialism'. So it was necessary to convert them to Christian Socialism, if not 'our thoroughgoing Socialism'. To a greater or lesser extent Adderley's views were shared by many other Christian Socialist theorists of the *fin-de-siècle*. Maurice Reckitt, an important Christian Socialist of the post-war period and vocal critic of state socialism shared the view that the middle and upper classes would be the principal agents of socialist change.<sup>6</sup>

However, as the Christian Socialist theorists developed a more class-aware conception of society and as the possibilities of working-class political enfranchisement came to light,

<sup>1</sup> Adderley, *A Little Primer of Christian Socialism*, 59-61; A. J. Carlyle, "Municipal Trading" in Pan-Anglican Congress, *Capital and Labour*.

<sup>2</sup> Conrad Noel, *How to Win* (London: Twentieth Century Press, 1913), 5.

<sup>3</sup> Adderley, *A Little Primer of Christian Socialism*, 80.

<sup>4</sup> Adderley, *Jottings*, 223 (my emphasis).

<sup>5</sup> Adderley, *Parson in Socialism*, 61-8, 152-3, 226-7.

<sup>6</sup> Reckitt argued that 'if the middle classes are to be won for Socialism, which will be a difficult task, it will not be by contemptuous alluding to intellectual snobbery, by the presentation of the policy as the only one for everyone who values the welfare of the nation.' Reckitt added that he deplored 'the drawing room [meeting]' but that the middle and upper classes were 'indispensable' to the progress of socialism. Maurice B. Reckitt, 'Letter to Mr B. Jones' 1910, [Peart-Binns Christian Socialist Archive, University of Bradford].

several protagonists began to argue that socialism should not just be preached to the poor but should be established *by* the poor as well. As Marson wrote, those 'who would be free, themselves must strike the blow'. Though socialism was intended to inaugurate justice for all classes, it was argued that, it was necessary to found a working-class party as the 'political instrument of socialism' because socialism required working-class emancipation from their political servitude to the capitalist class. That a political party could be composed of the working classes, rather than just seeking to represent them, was considered possible due, it was argued, to the rise in living standards in the early twentieth century. Indeed, such a party, argued N. E. Egerton Swann, must 'grow up out of the soil of the proletariat', in contrast with the 'orthodox' political parties whose 'basis and centre [was] the possessing class'. Until such time democracy, argued Swann, was 'only nominal'.<sup>1</sup> Rather than tailoring their message to a political culture steered by the rich, Swann argued that Christian Socialism should persuade 'those from the more favoured classes to come right out and go over, bag and baggage, to the side of the proletariat in the class war'.<sup>2</sup>

## Delivering economic socialism: The Labour Party

For many Christian Socialist theorists the notion of a successful working-class political party was manifested by the result of the 1906 election result. F. L. Donaldson, for example claimed that the emergence of a Labour group in Parliament represented the awakening of class-consciousness amongst the workers, whose material salvation depended upon them developing a common hope and policy.<sup>3</sup> The Labour Party could succeed, he believed, where trade unionism had failed. Although Donaldson will always be associated with working-class agitation, after having led the 'March of the Unemployed' from Leicester to London, from at least 1906 onwards he believed that such agitation alone could not 'save' the working classes. Similarly, Marson argued that the seizing of power by the working classes as a result of class struggle would never lead to their emancipation in the long term.<sup>4</sup> Moreover, Donaldson argued that while trade unions existed to 'establish a brotherhood of the elect', the new Labour movement aimed to solve the 'whole social problem' by bringing 'the national will in its legislative and coercive function to bear upon the well-being of the people'.<sup>5</sup>

The result of the 1906 election prompted the Christian Socialists to evaluate the history of their relationship with organized labour. Speaking to the Guild of St. Matthew in 1906, P. E. T. Widdrington claimed that 'our relation to the Labour Party has never been that of sympathetic outsiders' and that 'we have never hesitated to declare our unqualified support of the people's cause'. In his view, the Christian Socialists

<sup>1</sup> Swann, *The What and the Why of Socialism*, 4, 9-10.

<sup>2</sup> Swann, *The What and the Why of Socialism*, 9-10.

<sup>3</sup> Donaldson in Hunt, ed., *Churchmanship and Labour*, 85-6.

<sup>4</sup> Marson, *God's Co-operative Society*, 113.

<sup>5</sup> Donaldson in Hunt, ed., *Churchmanship and Labour*, 87-9.

have identified ourselves with the definitely socialistic and Labour organizations. We have stood side by side with the men who were working for the social revolution. Most of us have worked in the ranks, fully accepting every task – from writing envelopes in committee rooms to standing on chairs at street corners – that would help forward the cause.<sup>1</sup>

Widdrington's claims reflected the experience of several individual Christian Socialists. Adderley, for example, claimed in 1896 that Christian Socialism had 'reached the heart of the working man, and polled his votes' by participating in the political campaigns of the ILP-ers. And, as the introduction to this thesis highlighted, there were a number of personal connections between Christian Socialists and Labour activists. Nevertheless, officially, Christian Socialism had always maintained a gap between itself and the social movement; the majority of nineteenth-century Christian Socialist organizations remained constitutionally antipathetic to political labour.<sup>2</sup>

However, following the election, the Christian Socialists became more eager to work alongside Labour politicians. This is evidenced by, for example, the Conference of Clergy and Members of the ILP and SDF (invitations were extended also to the CSU) hosted by the Community of the Resurrection at Mirfield in May 1906. This aim of the conference was to promote 'co-operation between the Socialist organizations in the Church and organized Labour, with a view to spreading the principles of collectivism, and to developing a more aggressive propaganda'. The conference report claimed that 300-400 attended, and that its 'great event' was a speech by Keir Hardie. Resolutions were passed along the lines of the conference aims, though one prominent Christian Socialist maintained that Christians who were Socialists, and Socialists who were not Christians, should 'co-operate, not amalgamate'.<sup>3</sup> As Wilkinson and Bryant noted, one contemporary, writing for the *Community of the Resurrection Quarterly*, observed that 'Churchmen want away with a new sense that even the political side of the new social agitation is really after all one of the manifold ways in which God is working out His purposes'.<sup>4</sup>

Meanwhile, the correspondence between socialists and Christian Socialists, which had been the medium for healthy debate throughout the late nineteenth century, adopted a more consensual tone during the early twentieth century. For example, in 1906 H. G. Wells expressed his 'sympathies' to the Guild of St. Matthew; saying that though he was not Christian, he recognised the importance of Christian Socialism to the socialist movement.<sup>5</sup> In addition, Labour figures were invited to make regular contributions to Christian Socialist periodicals. *The Optimist* included reports on the day-to-day events of Parliamentary life from T. Summerbell MP (a 'sturdy Socialist and Churchman') and *The Commonwealth*, which had always reported on the labour movement in its 'Notes of the Month', commissioned a similar series of 'Labour Notes' from J. R. MacDonald.

<sup>1</sup> Guild of St. Matthew, 'Occasional Paper' No. 34.

<sup>2</sup> Indeed, The Guild of St. Matthew rejected the ILP in the 1890s, a move which Jones described as a 'tactical error'. Citations from Adderley, *Looking Upward*, 149, 206.

<sup>3</sup> Community of the Resurrection, *Report of a Conference*, 1-6.

<sup>4</sup> Bryant, *Possible Dreams*, 123.

<sup>5</sup> Guild of St. Matthew 'Occasional Paper'.

These periodicals nearly always found room to accommodate longer articles celebrating labour and socialist victories; 'The Colne Valley Socialist Victory' in *The Optimist*, for example, claimed that Victor Grayson was well supported because of his 'undiluted Socialism'.<sup>1</sup> Indeed, the Christian Socialists had rarely missed an opportunity to highlight their practical support for labour politicians, and this continued to be the case after the election. In 1906, for example, Conrad Noel wrote that the clergy of the Church of England supported Independent Labour and Socialist candidates in 'Burnley, Newcastle, Chester-le-Street, South-west Ham, West Bradford, East Leeds, South Leeds, Wakefield, Dewsbury, Leicester, Birmingham... Liverpool, Blackburn, [and] Halifax'.<sup>2</sup> As Pierson noted, CSL members supported Pete Curran at his successful by-election campaign at Jarrow in 1907, and they were even more prominent in Colne Valley where W. B. Graham, the curate at Thongsbridge near Bradford, 'was described as the life and soul of the party'. Moreover, in 1907 W. E. Moll, a leader of the CSL, was elected to the ILP administrative council and he went on to serve for three years.<sup>3</sup> And, as Jones noted, the Church Socialist League officially supported the Labour Party candidate in the Taunton by-election of 1909.<sup>4</sup> Examination of the *Church Socialist Quarterly* reveals that it frequently reported on the Church Socialist League's role in socialist campaigns. In the Taunton elections (1909), the League was said to be 'well in the front line of attack', and due to its campaigns and meetings it was argued that 'the Holy alliance between the people and the parson [was] sealed'. In a later edition, George Lansbury contributed an article on the 'Bow and Bromley Election', in which he stated that the Church Socialist League worked alongside the ILP, SDP, the Fabians, and the Trade Unions. Moreover, a CSL treasurer's report from 1911 showed that the League membership had donated £26,416 to the 'George Lansbury Election fund', and that others had donated sums before the fund had started.<sup>5</sup>

The examples of co-operation between Christian Socialists and Labour politicians outlined above complements the picture painted by Wolfe, Pierson, Noel, and Jones. However, the existing historiography has generally tended to discuss this co-operation as part of its investigation of Christian Socialism's impact upon the Labour Party. Therefore this historiography has tended to focus less on how the Labour Party's political programme affected Christian Socialist political economy; instead it recounted Christian Socialism's position regarding the appropriateness and likelihood of affiliating its organizations to organized political labour. On the latter issue the historiography has recounted the story of how affiliation with the Labour Party was debated, supported, and ultimately rejected, by various Christian Socialists. As Jones wrote, in the League's 1909 Annual Conference, Algernon West advocated assimilation with the International Congress of Socialists and with

<sup>1</sup> 'I am convinced', wrote the article's author Frederick R. Swan, 'that Socialism, by a greatly increasing number, is regarded as the only political gospel of social salvation'. Frederick R. Swan in *The Optimist* Vol. 2, No. 1 (Jan 1907), 8-22; No. 4 (Oct 1907), 314; Vol. 3, No. 1 (Jan 1908), 4.

<sup>2</sup> Noel, *The Labour Party*, 104.

<sup>3</sup> Pierson, *British Socialists*, 141.

<sup>4</sup> Jones, *Christian Socialist Revival*, 262.

<sup>5</sup> Church Socialist League, *The Church Socialist Quarterly* Vol. 4, No. 1 (Jan 1909), 56; No. 2 (Apr 1909), 176; Vol. 6, No. 1 (Jan 1911), 2; No. 2 (Apr 1911).

the Labour Party. His policy was not adopted, however, and under Pinchard's leadership the League voted against affiliation to the Labour Party.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless the League supported Lansbury in the Bow and Bromley election of 1910, the year in which C. Stuart Smith became organising secretary of the CSL. Like West, Smith advocated political affiliation: 'the pendulum of opinion', Jones argued, 'had swung from West to Pinchard and now back again, with a deeper swing, to Smith'.<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless, Smith's proposal to affiliate with the Party was rejected by the League.

The debates highlighted by Jones and Bryant centred on the Christian Socialists' response to the question of whether affiliation to a political party was appropriate for a Church organization which sought to represent all Anglicans. Jones's account of the CSL during the years leading up to the First World War then moved on to the rise of Guild Socialist ideas and their influence on the CSL. The ideas of S. G. Hobson, A. R. Orage, and G. K. Chesterton, he argued, were disseminated throughout the CSL by Maurice Reckitt, who came out in favour of Guild Socialism in 1913, and by P. E. T. Widdrington, who aimed to steer Christian Socialism away from party politics and towards the development of a 'Christian Sociology'. As Jones concluded:

Stewart Headlam opposed the ILP because he thought that a workers' party would be too class-conscious to govern fairly and the workingmen were incapable of holding high public office. The Guild Socialists [and those in the CSL who supported them], on the other hand, despised the ILP and Labour Party for the conservatism and empiricism of its members, the flight of the average Englishman from ideas.<sup>3</sup>

It is important to emphasize a point which is implicit in Jones's account, but which has not been echoed strongly by many later works, namely that it was the political economy of the Labour party that repelled many Christian Socialists. As will be shown in more detail below, research supports the argument that these Christian Socialists, Widdrington excepted, did not become isolated from political life because they wished to withdraw from socialist activity in order to return to a theological comfort zone. In fact, for some it was because Guild Socialist ideas to which they subscribed had become marginalized by a Labour Party that was increasingly dominated by Fabian Socialism, while for others it was because they felt the Labour Party's socialism did not go far enough in the direction of state nationalization.

However, for a few years after 1906, the socialism of the Labour Party was viewed more favourably by Christian Socialists than is suggested by the Church Socialist League's eventual rejection of West's and Smith's calls for affiliation with the Party. This is evidenced by the opinions of several Christian Socialist theorists. F. Lewis Donaldson, for example, wrote in 1906 that The Labour Party... challenges the existing order of society... [and] stands for a *moral system* in industrial and social life, which shall supersede the cruel chaos which now ruins so many fair and lovely human lives'. As the Church had the same ideals,

<sup>1</sup> Before leading the CSL, Arnold Theophilus Biddulph Pinchard was Rector of Lomas de Zamora in the Argentine republic for seven years from 1888, before returning to England in 1895 whereupon he became Vicar of the slum parish of St. Jude, Birmingham.

<sup>2</sup> Jones recounted that both West and Smith stood for 'genuine workers' rather than for 'armchair' socialism. For more detail on West and Smith see the works by Gary Taylor and Peter d'A. Jones.

<sup>3</sup> Jones, *Christian Socialist Revival*, 265-295.

Donaldson went on, it was right and therefore 'inevitable that the two must coalesce, or rather that the one shall absorb the other'.<sup>1</sup> Others, even some within Headlam's GSM, agreed with Donaldson.<sup>2</sup> The matter continued to be debated throughout the period considered by this thesis: two articles in *The Optimist* in 1913 argued for and against CSL affiliation with the Labour Party on the grounds of their shared and mutually exclusive purposes respectively.

It is argued also that the Christian Socialists' conceptions of the nature and quality of the Labour Party's socialism were also an important influence on the 'pendulum of opinion'. During the League's 1907 Annual Conference, Conrad Noel, attempted to advance a 'Church Socialist League Policy' in which support for Labour candidates would be based on the strength of their socialist credentials. It was Noel's 'Church Socialist Policy' that Labour candidates should be supported '99 times out of 100 as they are *Socialists*'.<sup>3</sup> That the socialist vision of the Labour Party was a fundamental consideration for Christian Socialists, as they debated whether or not to support its candidates, is illuminated further by a debate in the *Church Socialist Quarterly* in 1911. The debate followed Maurice Reckitt's claim that the Labour Party epitomised the values of 'the last century's catastrophic socialism'. Reckitt stated that he regretted the time

when the movement was thought of and spoken of in terms of revolution rather than of evolution, when the class war was preached as the instrument of socialism, not denounced as the result of capitalism, and when the socialist state was to be reached by the action of the 'proletariat' and not the nation.

While Reckitt is often cited as one of the key Christian Socialist exponents of Guild Socialism after 1912, in 1911 he called for a 'national socialist party' to advance a socialism for all classes. With no such party in existence, he argued that the best course of action in the interim was to support Liberal politicians who espoused socialist principles.<sup>4</sup>

In response to Reckitt's proposals in the *Quarterly*, Cecil Chesterton argued that the aims of socialism were antagonistic to the interests of the Liberal party, which were virtually indistinguishable from those of the Tories, with whom they shared a common heritage. Furthermore, it was the outcome of Liberal social reforms rather than of state socialism, Chesterton argued, that would engender Belloc's 'servile state'.<sup>5</sup> Even N. E. Egerton Swann, who argued that the meaning of socialism should not be confined to denote state collectivism (and who therefore might have been expected to reject a Labour Party steered by Fabian political economy) wished 'to dissociate myself unmistakingly from the views of Comrade Reckitt'. He argued that the 'most crucial demands' of socialism could only be passed by a Labour or Socialist party... [and] will only be forced by the most prolonged and determined pressure'. In Swann's view there was no need to wait for the establishment of a national

<sup>1</sup> Donaldson in Hunt, ed., *Churchmanship and Labour*, 85-90.

<sup>2</sup> See, for example, William, *The Love of Man*.

<sup>3</sup> Conrad Noel, 'Towards a Church Socialist Policy' in the Church Socialist League 1907 Annual Conference, as reported in *The Optimist* Vol. 2, No. 3, (July 1907), 162 (my emphasis).

<sup>4</sup> Maurice Reckitt, 'Socialism and a National Party' *Church Socialist Quarterly* Vol. 6, No. 1 (January, 1911), 4. See also by the same author 'A Reply to Mr Cecil Chesterton' *Church Socialist Quarterly* Vol. 6, No. 2 (April, 1911), 83.

<sup>5</sup> Cecil Chesterton, 'A Reply' *Church Socialist Quarterly* Vol. 6, No. 1 (January, 1911), 13.

socialist party, such as that proposed by Reckitt, when a serviceable Labour Party existed.<sup>1</sup>

However, from around 1911-1912 onwards, the notion that the Labour Party would be an effective agent of socialism began to lose currency amongst Christian Socialists. One protagonist argued in *The Church Socialist* in 1912 that socialists should attempt to steer the Labour Party away from 'labourism' and towards socialism, and if unsuccessful in this, they should join the British Socialist Party rather than the Liberal Party.<sup>2</sup> Similarly, in 1911 Cecil Chesterton had produced a series of articles entitled 'The Decline and Fall of the Labour Party', culminating in the 'final surrender' of 1909-1911 (when, as Jones noted, the party subordinated everything to the issue of reform of the Lords).<sup>3</sup> In addition, by 1912 anti-statist Christian Socialists were beginning to argue that because 'socialism' was not served by state collectivism, the movement was 'very little nearer to establishing a Socialist party as a force on national life'.<sup>4</sup>

In short, the arguments as regards the Christian Socialists' desired relationship between their organizations and the Labour Party were complex and interweaving. On the one hand there were some who always believed it was inappropriate for a spiritual organization that claimed to channel the word of God and which hoped to appeal to all Christians to court any political party. On the other hand, there were those who, from 1906 onwards, saw the Labour Party as a suitable vehicle for socialist change, and many of these figures sought affiliation with it. However, they mostly became disenchanted with the Party, either because they cited its lack of a socialist economic programme, or because they no longer found its statist vision appealing. For these reasons amongst others, these Christian Socialists were compelled to develop and refine their own political and economic programmes for social reform. These programmes are considered in more detail below.

## Life in the New Jerusalem

Before 1906 the Christian Socialists felt there was little need to outline a detailed blueprint for the future collectivist socialist economy. While utopian visions of life under socialism were a useful tool in the making of socialists, most assumed that the socialist movement would come up with the legislative policies and programmes required to realise those visions.<sup>5</sup> However, from 1906 onwards the Christian Socialists believed it was necessary to clarify their position on various aspects of socialist policy. They were prompted to do so by events: the diversity of the political platforms of the Labour and trade-union sponsored Liberal MPs who the Christian Socialists believed constituted the emergence of a 'socialist' Parliamentary presence was such that the Christian Socialists could no longer wait for the

<sup>1</sup> N. E. Egerton Swann, 'Where are we now?' *Church Socialist Quarterly* Vol. 6, No. 2 (April 1911), 94.

<sup>2</sup> E. N. Makeham, 'The Road to Socialism' *The Church Socialist* Vol. 1 (August 1912) qu. Taylor, *Socialism and Christianity*, 22.

<sup>3</sup> Jones, *Christian Socialist Revival*, 288.

<sup>4</sup> *The Church Socialist: For 'God and the people'* Vol. 1, No. 11 (Church Socialist League Central Literature Committee: November, 1912), 3.

<sup>5</sup> Girdlestone's *The What and Why of Christian Socialism*, an attempt to draw out a socialist programme of public ownership, was one notable exception.



right socialist legislators to arise by 'God's grace'.<sup>1</sup>

The constitution of the Church Socialist League produced in 1906 endorsed public ownership of the land and capital and their co-operative use for the good of all, but it did not go into further detail regarding how or by whom production, distribution, and exchange would be administered. In the first few years after 1906 the Christian Socialists did little to flesh out the Church Socialist League platform, only giving hints of the type of economic and political organization they had in mind. Conrad Noel, Cecil Chesterton, and several others argued that 'the community shall hold the land and industrial capital collectively, and administer them co-operatively for the good of all'.<sup>2</sup> Chesterton wrote that the state would regulate labour, but did not enunciate how this would be done. Similarly, Father William, R. J. Campbell, N. E. Egerton Swann, and others argued that the nation's land and capital should be held by the whole community, rather than by landlords and capitalists, but they did not elaborate on the how the community would organize and administer its ownership of these resources.<sup>3</sup> Some Christian Socialists alluded to compensating the owners of land and capital for their appropriation by the state, but even so the exact form of payment was rarely explained in detail.<sup>4</sup>

The Christian Socialists did, however, continue to highlight the principles that would govern the management of land, capital, and industry. Paul Stacy, for example, wrote in 1907 that production would be organized and co-ordinated in the interest of the community rather than the profiteering private capitalists.<sup>5</sup> Stacy and others argued that socially-organized labour would reward the workers according to the 'social value' of their produce or services, something that would mitigate, or even eliminate, the antagonism between capital and labour whilst leaving 'ample scope for individual effort' to be rewarded. No longer would the interests of the worker be antagonistic to those of the employer, it was argued, if both groups were one and the same. Such thinkers envisaged that industrial and commercial firms, and even sectors, would co-operate in order to regulate industry and production, but in the years preceding the inception of Guild Socialist ideas in the Christian Socialist movement, the practical details of organizing the nation's industry in this way were not clearly explained. Moreover, research has revealed that the Christian Socialists who endorsed variants of industrial democracy before 1912 did so cautiously, because they recognised the difficulties of reconciling consumer demand for goods and services with the interests of the workers who controlled production.<sup>6</sup>

Nevertheless, many Christian Socialist theorists who were active in the same period

<sup>1</sup> Noel and Jannaway, *Ought Christians to be Socialists?*, 44.

<sup>2</sup> Noel, *Socialism and Church Tradition*, 1; Noel and Jannaway, *Ought Christians to be Socialists?*, 8; Chesterton, *The Basis of Socialism*, 3.

<sup>3</sup> William, *The Love of Man*, 11; Campbell, *Socialism: An Address*, 10; Frank G Jannaway and Swann, *Which is the Remedy?*, 26.

<sup>4</sup> See, amongst others, Campbell, *Socialism: An Address*; William, *The Love of Man*, 11; Stacy, *The Socialist Meaning of the Church's Facts*, 13.

<sup>5</sup> Stacy, *The Socialist Meaning of the Church's Facts*, 11.

<sup>6</sup> Smith, *The Socialist and the Church*, 8; Stacy, *The Socialist Meaning of the Church's Facts*, 13.

saw no good reason to take the control, if not the ownership, of industry out of the state's hands. Indeed, the Church Socialist League *Manifesto* for the first 1910 election advocated a National Labour Department to organize national industry. As Jones recounted, the CSL proposed that through central organization and control of labour, casual labour would be regulated, a 48-hour working week would be established at a minimum wage level, and unemployment would be mitigated by state-administered retraining and by large scale state and municipal projects.<sup>1</sup> Similarly, Adderley argued in 1910 that socialism aimed to give 'more opportunity to all [and to] organise the distribution of national wealth on equitable principles', but it did not seek to 'make everyone equal with equal proportions of wealth' nor did it 'want to communise all property... [rather] only such property as the nation thinks would be better held collectively'.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, he argued in 1914 that many within the CSL continued to believe that socialism was the 'movement [of] all civilised nations... towards a gradual alteration of our commercial and industrial system in the direction of [a mixed system of] collective ownership and State control of industry'.<sup>3</sup>

Similar views were held by Christian Socialists outside the CSL. John Clifford, for example, also believed it would be necessary to establish institutions such as a National Bureau of Information in order to assess and measure consumer demand following the nationalization of industry.<sup>4</sup> Clifford's vision of the socialist commonwealth combined a technocratic Fabianism with benevolent paternalist ideals, summed up well by his proposal in his 1908 Fabian tract for 'the organization by the State of a body of highly educated men to watch over the physical health and strength of the Nation'.<sup>5</sup> Similarly, Charles Marson advocated a Platonic 'aristocracy' to take control of the governance of the nation. His vision of socialism included a system of rule by 'the best and wisest and most heroic' men trained in the administration of civic affairs which, because it would be drawn from all classes, was representative of the people and would promote equality of opportunity.<sup>6</sup> Marson did not clearly explain how this system of administration would follow the establishment of state socialism, nor did he explicitly state whether his 'aristocracy' would include women (though it has been noted that he was pro-female emancipation).

However, a number of Christian Socialists did start to elaborate on the more general measures that nationalization would entail for the organization of industry. From around 1910 James Adderley, for example, highlighted the limitations of 'Christian Shopping' and the need, therefore, for state control of industry. In *The Christian Socialist Revival*, Jones recounted Adderley's disenchantment with 'Christian Shopping' in some detail, but within the context of, as Jones wrote, 'Church Socialist League attacks on the CSU and on the general passivity of the Church of England' rather than in comparison with Adderley's

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<sup>1</sup> Jones, *Christian Socialist Revival*, 267.

<sup>2</sup> Adderley, *Is Socialism Atheism?*, 14-15.

<sup>3</sup> Adderley, *Making Up Your Mind*.

<sup>4</sup> Clifford, *Socialism and the Churches*.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> Marson, *The Church and Democracy*, 3-4, 8.

socialist ideas after 1910.<sup>1</sup> However, research has revealed that Adderley spoke about the need for socialist organization of labour to address the failings of Christian Shopping. Adderley cited Charles Roden Buxton in 1910 to argue that capital had become a ‘vast, impersonal force’, which meant that lending had been ‘de-localised’, lenders knew nothing of the enterprises which they maintained, and had, therefore, escaped all responsibility for their conduct. He went on to argue that because the shareholders’ money was not the Director’s to spend, and the interests of the former were material and selfish, the ‘Moral responsibility’ of companies ‘for the methods of trade or for the welfare of employees tends to sink to vanishing point’. The complexity of modern industry meant that the social problem had become ‘too vast to be dealt with by moral inducement alone’; as such, he argued that ‘the regulation and control of industry by law’ was required.<sup>2</sup> Only an ‘organized state system such as Socialism’ could abolish the deceptive and degrading practices of modern industry, and could enable every citizen to trust in its commercial enterprises.<sup>3</sup> Similarly, it was noted that Marson resolved the ‘moral problem’ of interest – namely that while the taking of interest was usurious, people ought to compensate the providers of services (in this case, the lending of capital) from which they benefit – by ‘squar[ing] modern practice with ancient teaching... [and] making lending a State function’.<sup>4</sup>

Just as political events had driven the Christian Socialists to re-evaluate their conceptions of socialism after 1906, the Christian Socialists once again reconsidered their conception of socialism in response to the increase in industrial unrest from 1910, and the consequent socialist debate over decentralism around 1910-12. This debate prompted two of the most comprehensive public ownership programmes written by the Christian Socialists in the period after 1906 and before the First World War, namely Swann’s *The What and the Why of Socialism* and Noel’s *How to Win*. These two texts have hardly featured in the work of scholars of Christian Socialism, with the exception of Jones who highlighted the non-religiousness and revolutionary mood of Swann’s pamphlet. It is appropriate, therefore, to consider the ideas of these two pamphlets in more detail.

N. E. Egerton Swann’s *The What and the Why of Socialism* (c1909-1913) was conceived as ‘an exposition of the Church Socialist League’s definition of socialism’. The contrast between its title (which did not refer to Christianity) and Girdlestone’s *The What and Why of Christian Socialism* (1889-90) is indicative of the intellectual journey taken by Christian Socialism in the period. As Jones noted, Swann’s pamphlet made ‘no mention at all of religion until the last paragraph, which refers to F. D. Maurice and contrasts production for use (“the principle of the Cross”) with production for gain (“the principle of Judas”).<sup>5</sup> *The*

<sup>1</sup> ‘Father Adderley wrote that if all Britain were converted to the Anglican faith overnight the only tangible political result would be the drawing-up of “a white list to tell the clergy where to buy their trousers”’. Jones, *Christian Socialist Revival*, 266.

<sup>2</sup> Charles Roden Buxton, ‘Companies and Conscience: Justice and Dividends’ in Pan-Anglican Congress, *Capital and Labour*, 4; Adderley, *Parson in Socialism*, 99-102.

<sup>3</sup> Adderley, *Parson in Socialism*, 93-7, 109.

<sup>4</sup> Marson, *God’s Co-Operative Society*.

<sup>5</sup> Jones, *Christian Socialist Revival*, 269.

*What and the Why of Socialism* delineated a system of mixed public ownership, and proffered some thoughts regarding the nature of a socialist economy and how it could be achieved. Although Swann argued that 'socialism is not strictly identical with collectivism in the proper sense', he nevertheless continued to advocate a degree of 'national and municipal collectivism of the more or less Fabian type'. Such land, capital, and industries would be acquired, he wrote, 'under the form of purchase, but on such terms as to invoke a certain amount of actual expropriation', namely by pushing transfers of ownership through the legislature, or through punitive taxation on land values, or by issuing 25-year government bonds in exchange. Swann accounted for this variation of possible methods by arguing that at the time when nationalization became possible, its methods would depend upon the state of the parliamentary socialist movement and the extent to which nationalization had already occurred. In fact, it was likely that this plurality of methods would reflect the plurality of the nature of public ownership itself across the nation.

Swann envisaged a system where state collectivized industries would operate alongside those organized on a syndicalist, or co-operative basis, while smallholding and local co-operatives could undertake public enterprises such as house-building. Even the same industry could be run in different ways in different places: 'Probably there will be great local variations', he wrote, 'in one town the food supply might be carried on by a voluntary co-operative society, in another by the municipality'. Swann's vision was one where the 'great bulk of industry will not in the end be actually collectivized' but instead run by 'co-operative associations... of producers... [consisting of] the Trade Unions in fact, in a modified form'. The socialist economy, he argued, would consist of syndicalist industries and firms, a co-operative market for goods and labour, and 'national and municipal collectivism of the more or less Fabian type'. Nevertheless, it is important to note that Swann did not think the unions or syndicates would be the agent of change; he maintained that public ownership would be both compelled and enforced by 'the weapon of the State'. The immediate steps forward, he argued, were to bring the land, and the transport, mining, and electricity industries under public ownership.<sup>1</sup>

Whereas Swann's *What and the Why* was an attempt to advance the platform of the Church Socialist League, Conrad Noel's *How to Win* (1913) was produced under the auspices of the British Socialist Party (BSP), of which he had become a founder member, with James Adderley, in 1911. Noel was still undoubtedly a Christian Socialist, but *How to Win* contained little, if anything, to develop the fundamental idea of Christian Socialism. Instead it delineated a socialist programme of industrial, fiscal, electoral, and welfare reform for the consideration of 'all socialists'. As such, it was an attempt to both steer the socialist movement as well as an attempt to win converts to the socialist cause. In order to make socialists, Noel now argued, in contrast with his earlier thought, that it was necessary to produce a detailed platform of reform rather than promulgating vague, abstract ideas or

<sup>1</sup> Swann, *The What and the Why of Socialism*.

moral arguments for the idea of socialism. Noel argued that only an 'efficient system of public production and just distribution' could abolish the immoral extremes of poverty and wealth. The mixed system of public ownership he envisaged was remarkably similar to Swann's. He advocated broad policies in three areas, as follows: Firstly, he argued that more power and freedom should be given to the municipalities to take over existing industries. Secondly, he advocated state nationalization, especially for large-scale enterprises and industries such as mining and transit. Finally, Noel's 'Country Policy' called for an increase in the number of small holdings (which, it will be recalled, once constituted the lion's share of Charles William Stubbs's constructive thought) alongside centrist measures such as the employment of agricultural labourers by the municipality and 'experiments in large farming with hundreds of workers directly employed by a State Department'. Noel's economic vision, therefore, was of an economy in which the public ownership and control of land and capital was undertaken by various entities, depending on the nature of the particular enterprise. It was one, however, in which the state played a fundamental role. Nevertheless, he was not entirely hostile to decentralism: He envisaged that it was '*quite possible in the long run that neither Westminster nor our local councils will be the best possible centres for industrial administration*'.<sup>1</sup>

While earlier Christian Socialist texts highlighted how such measures would enable the flourishing of Christian virtues, the aim of *How to Win* was to explain how its system of mixed ownership would address inequality of wealth by making up for ineffective Liberal fiscal policy. Noel argued that despite its intentions, the so-called 'People's Budget' had actually drained the pockets of the workers rather than redistributing wealth from rich to poor. Moreover, the real object, he argued, of the 'servile' National Insurance Act was the 'fettering of working-class action by rendering Trade Union funds unavailable for ... Trade Union welfare'. Noel denounced the notion that such measures constituted 'Liberal socialism': Liberal socialism could not claim to be socialist at all, he wrote, 'unless it had been accompanied by a policy of industrial reconstruction, however small and tentative had been the beginnings of such a reconstructive effort'. Endeavours such as the People's Budget and the National Insurance Act applied 'Socialistic plasters' to society's wounds, whereas the socialist's real task was to overhaul the entire capitalist system. Nevertheless, Noel conceded that during the 'transitional period' to socialism it would be necessary to apply some temporary bandages. Although the socialist economy would increase prosperity because it was more equal and more efficient, he conceded that the first collectivist enterprises would require time to find their feet. As a countermeasure, Noel advocated a 'steeply-graduated income tax', a measure that would 'encourage a lively interest in public expenditure' as well as raising up to £90m of revenue. However, he recognised that a political economy based on these tax proposals alone would be 'suicidal', and as such, the real purpose of these measures was to 'bring property tumbling into the market at scrap heap prices'. The rich would be

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<sup>1</sup> Noel, *How To Win*, 20-22 (my emphasis).

taxed to such an extent that they would be compelled to sell their property to the State.<sup>1</sup> Thus Noel's taxation policy, which also encompassed a 'Super Tax' on foreign investments and an increase in death duties, was designed to both heal society in the short term, and to establish the means for its long-term vitality. When the revenues arising from the process of nationalization dried up, Noel envisaged that state-owned enterprises would by then be able to produce a surplus for a National Development Fund. This fund would be used to pay off the national debt, as well as funding old age pensions, National service, the forces, and universal education.

Despite his centrist vision of the socialist economy, the influence of non-statist socialism on Noel's thought is discernible in his methods for establishing the socialist society. Unlike Swann, for whom the co-operatives, trade-unions, and syndicates would administer the socialist economy after the state had laid the collectivist foundations, Noel believed that socialism would be established from within and without the state. Parliament was an essential, but not a sufficient, agent of change. In *How To Win* Noel did, nonetheless, outline a series of measures for electoral reform. The franchise would be extended to include women, and it would be based on the principle of 'one adult, one vote'. Also, parliamentary seats would be redistributed, and referenda would be routinely held on various policy issues. Finally, the payment of election expenses, Noel argued, would promote a broader range of MPs in terms of their backgrounds and policies, and it would also break up the party system. The immediate task for socialists was to rally the electorate to support socialist measures. Noel cited a successful recent propaganda campaign in Bethnal Green to argue for the value of such a strategy. In the longer term, he argued that the BSP should pursue what he called the 'Policy of the Wedge'. The first step was for committed Socialist candidates to stand for election but only in seats considered to be winnable. Such candidates would not be simply popularizers of socialism, who would stand aside when, to use Noel's earlier words, the 'right legislators' arose by 'God's grace'. Instead, they would be 'sincere and efficient administrators' as well as defenders of the BSP's entire industrial, parliamentary, and municipal socialist programme. This policy, which would favour the election of a few committed socialist individuals over the widespread diffusion of socialistic ideas in parliament, was contrasted with the failed policy of the Labour Party, about whom Noel wrote the following:

Either because it has struck some not over-honourable, implied, indirect alliance with the Government, or because it is mainly composed of class leaders and local preachers who are too Godly to soil their precious souls by dreadful contract with the naughty Tories, the Labour Party has over and over again refused independency and, by rallying to the support of the Liberal Government [has] deliberately thrown away its chances of becoming the potent wedge that we have in mind.

While the aim of electing a few socialists to parliament might appear to represent a diminution of Christian Socialist ambition, Noel argued that it was just 'one weapon of a

<sup>1</sup> Incomes of £20,000+ would be taxed 10s to the pound. After this the graduation was 'so steep' it reached 19s per pound. After £100,000 per year there was 'no distinction between earned and unearned wealth: it is all unearned'.

many-weaponed army... [which] presupposes a revolutionary movement among the people... [who are] conscious of the evil basis of the present system and determined to destroy it and to build a truer foundation, the Co-operative Commonwealth'. The British Socialist Party would be, in fact, 'the parliamentary expression of a huge and united industrial revolt throughout the country, and... our national contribution to an international movement of emancipation'. By the eve of the First World War Conrad Noel had lost faith in the power of both parliamentary social democracy and the Christian Church to establish the New Jerusalem. Instead, he cited the *Clarion* to call for 'the strike and the vote' to forge the good society, acting in unison like 'the right arm and the left arm of the human body'.<sup>1</sup>

## The Guild Socialist challenge

The content and the purpose of both Swann's *The What and Why of Socialism* and Conrad Noel's *How to Win* reflected the interests of Christian Socialism towards the end of the *fin-de-siècle* period. Since the turn of the century the Christian Socialist arguments for public ownership highlighted their theological rationale, but doing so was not a major concern for Swann or Noel, who were more interested in expounding a detailed socialist economic policy. Their two pamphlets represented, therefore, a significant point in the intellectual trajectory of *fin-de-siècle* Christian Socialism; a trajectory which as has been seen transcribed a path from challenging conceptions to aiming to change society fundamentally. And in terms of clarity, comprehensiveness, and attention to detail they also probably represented the apogee of Christian Socialist collectivist thought in the period. However, Swann's and Noel's pamphlets did not signal the advent of a Christian Socialist platform for public ownership that was intellectually robust. The two authors' attempts to incorporate decentralism into their socialist economy raised unanswered questions about the resolution of conflicts of interest between consumers and producers, and between state planners, municipalities, and workers' co-operatives. Nevertheless, it would be unfair to dismiss Christian Socialist thought in the early 1910s on account of its inability, or reluctance, to produce an effective answer to questions that socialist theorists would continue to address throughout the remainder of the twentieth century. In 1984 for instance, Geoff Hodgson, who propounded a particularly decentralist version of the Labour Party's 'Alternative Economic Strategy' during the 1980s, wrote in his *The Democratic Economy* about the difficulties of 'maximizing autonomy while retaining social coherence... [and] decentralizing decision-making, while retaining a measure of overall democratic control'.<sup>2</sup>

From an historical perspective, the most significant aspect of the programmes of *The What and the Why of Socialism* and *How to Win* was their attempt to weave decentralism into a system of public ownership that retained state hegemony. The two pamphlets, therefore, represent an episode in the history of Christian Socialist thought that has been overlooked by

<sup>1</sup> Noel, *How to Win*.

<sup>2</sup> Thompson, *Political Economy and the Labour Party*, 234.

the existing literature. The historiography of Christian Socialism has described the story of the movement's political economy between 1906 and 1914 in terms of the divisions in the Church Socialist League regarding its attitude to the Labour Party, militarism, and theology, and its eventual adoption of Guild Socialism in a process beginning in 1913. As Jones argued,

The first definite sign of yet a further split in the League – over economic policy – was given by a *Church Socialist* article of Maurice Reckitt's on 'The Future of the Socialist Ideal' in February 1913, with a companion piece in August. A large section of the membership was moving toward the new Guild Socialist movement, whose League leaders were Reckitt and A. J. Penty, Paul Bull, Widdrington, and R. H. Tawney.<sup>1</sup>

Jones went on to argue that the movement of the Church Socialist League away from the Labour Party and towards Guild Socialism from 1912 was informed by the corresponding shift in opinion in *The New Age* from 1907 to 1912. However, in his conclusion Jones stated that 'it would be a distortion to assume that most British Christian Socialists became fully enamoured of the Guild system or fully disenchanted with the collectivist and parliamentary mainstream'.<sup>2</sup> Similarly, in his history of the Church Socialist League, Gary Taylor argued that 'the influence of Guild Socialism did not displace all other creeds. Rather, it permeated the CSL over a number of years', beginning in 1913 when its advocates were 'still in the minority'. Guild Socialism's main spokespersons in the CSL, Taylor noted, were Mary Phelps, Reckitt, Widdrington, and R. H. Tawney, but unlike Jones, Taylor argued that these figures were unable to convince the CSL to adopt Guild Socialist ideas during its 1914 annual conference. According to Taylor it was only in 1915, the year that Reckitt took over the editorship of *The Church Socialist*, that the League formally adopted a Guild Socialist platform.<sup>3</sup>

Christian Socialism's nuanced response to anti-collectivist sentiment between 1910 and 1914 has, it is argued, been overshadowed in historiographical terms by the end of one story, the CSL's disenchantment with the Labour Party, and the beginning of another, its adoption of a Guild Socialist platform. It is worthwhile, therefore, to add a few words regarding the reception of anti-collectivist ideas by public-enterprise Christian socialists between 1912 and 1914.

In December 1913, Egerton Swann produced a review of Hilaire Belloc's *The Servile State*, in which he supported Belloc's notion that collectivist socialism, so-called 'state capitalism', left inequality largely untouched. In that sense, he wrote, 'we are all of us half Bellocians'. Nevertheless, Swann rejected Belloc's medievalism, and argued that he had exaggerated the difficulties and dangers associated with state socialism. For a vision of a socialist state that was egalitarian and democratic, Swann directed readers towards his own *The What and the Why of Socialism*, in which he envisaged the state to be the primary agent

<sup>1</sup> Jones, *Christian Socialist Revival*, 275.

<sup>2</sup> Jones, *Christian Socialist Revival*, 452.

<sup>3</sup> Taylor, *Socialism and Christianity*, 29-32.



of change.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, while Taylor argued that Swann's critique of the wage system in 1912 was 'very close to the spirit of [S. G.] Hobson's analysis', in fact his denunciation of the dehumanisation of labour and the skewing of production towards the interests of the possessing class, in order to 'minister directly to their luxuries' more clearly echoed the Morrisian critiques of capitalism of nineteenth-century Christian Socialists as well as the ideas of J. A. Hobson.<sup>2</sup> For Swann, Noel, and several others who contributed to the League's organs, public ownership would take many forms; the socialist economy would be composed of syndicalism, Fabian collectivism, municipalization, and co-operative production. And even Reckitt subscribed in 1910 to a redistributive state and a 'nationalized medical service'.<sup>3</sup>

Writing in 1913, Egerton Swann reiterated his long-held stance, namely that 'socialism is nothing more than an exceedingly broad general principle of social reconstruction; it is not a precise and detailed scheme to be accepted as a solid block just as it stands'. Nevertheless, Swann's words were not a rejection of the need for a socialist economics, but were made in the context of wanting to re-open the debate regarding its nature. In fact, he argued that state collectivism, trade unionism, syndicalism, Guild Socialism, voluntary co-operative consumer societies, and self-governing workshops were 'all possible and legitimate means of putting into force the fundamental idea of socialism'.<sup>4</sup> As he wrote a month later, echoing a favourite phrase of Conrad Noel, the 'open-mindedness on the part of our League does not mean that we have any sympathy with any watering down of Socialism, or that our socialism is any less thoroughgoing or out-and-out then that of secular socialists'.<sup>5</sup> While other Christian Socialists removed explicit references to the state in their definitions of socialism, they continued to argue that the basic principle of socialism, namely collective ownership, was, as F. L. Donaldson argued, 'unmoved and unmovable'.

The role of the state in both CSL and Guild Socialist thought would continue to be a contentious issue through the years of the First World War and into the 1920s. For Guild Socialism it became, as Thompson noted, an 'ideological rift', while Taylor has noted that for the Christian Socialists the issue was complicated because it encompassed the question of the state's relationship with the Church. He argued that the League 'failed to take a firm stand on the power of the state', noting that 'at no time did the organization seek to form a definite policy at conference level'.

However, research has revealed that up until 1914 the CSL position was clear: although the League was about to officially subscribe to Guild Socialism, the 'Great State' would retain ultimate authority. This is evidenced by the articles in the *Church Socialist* that

<sup>1</sup> Swann in *The Church Socialist* Vol. 1, No. 12 (1913), 7-9.

<sup>2</sup> Taylor, *Socialism and Christianity*, 35.

<sup>3</sup> 'The State will give to all advantages which it is financially impossible to... [during] the chaotic system of unrestricted competition... [such as] free milk and... unadulterated liquor of all kinds [as well as establishing a] nationalized medical service'. Maurice B. Reckitt, 'Letter to Mr B. Jones' 1910, [Peart-Binns Christian Socialist Archive, University of Bradford].

<sup>4</sup> N. E. Egerton Swann, 'The meaning of Church Socialism' in *The Church Socialist* Vol. 2, No. 16 (1913).

<sup>5</sup> Swann, *The Church Socialist* Vol. 2, No. 17 (1913).

echoed Swann's and Noel's programme, and by F. Lewis Donaldson's 1914 Chairman's address 'Church, Socialism, and Syndicalism'. Donaldson argued that 'the state, in some form, must be duly recognised as the final court of judgement and justice on the earth. It is in the co-ordination of the Great State with the communities within its borders that the solution [to the social problem] will be found'.<sup>1</sup> Nor did the state disappear from the CSL platform after the war. Although the Church Socialist League's *Manifesto* for the 1918 election advanced a predominantly Guild Socialist platform, it 'recognise[d] some features of the "state control" introduced as an inevitable necessity during the war to be worthy of continuance – at any rate for the time being – in the public interest'. State ownership had benefits as well as drawbacks, for the *Manifesto* argued that 'a principle of public control over profiteering has been introduced which should on no account be abandoned'. State control of industry should only be replaced, it concluded, with democratic workers' control.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, as Peter Caterall has argued, during the inter-war period 'though Christian insights into new technical issues such as economic planning' were 'elusive', Labour leaders continued to appeal to a moral order that justified a collectivist economic programme on Christian grounds. Thus Ben Turner introduced his 1924 Bill to nationalize natural resources with quotes from Psalm 24, Ecclesiastes and Leviticus, and, echoing Conrad Noel and his contemporaries, former party leader J. R. Clynes claimed in 1924 that 'Socialist doctrines are Christianity applied to economic life'.<sup>3</sup>

It was nevertheless the case that Guild Socialist ideas began to permeate the League before 1914, as evidenced by the articles by Reckitt, M. H. Wood, G. K. Chesterton, J. N. Figgis, Widdrington, amongst several others. However, it should be noted that Guild Socialism only gained purchase on the League during the First World War, an experience that revealed to the Christian Socialists the possible dangers of the overarching control of the economy by the state.

In addition, after the war the Church Socialist League could no longer claim to speak on behalf of the whole modern Christian Socialist movement. While it has been noted that in 1913 Conrad Noel was publishing on behalf of the British Socialist Party, by 1916 he had resigned from the CSL. When he formed a new Christian Socialist organization, the Catholic Crusade, in 1918, he took many former members of the League with him. As Bryant noted,

between those who felt that Labour was not socialist enough, those who felt that it was theologically inaccurate to equate the Kingdom of God with the socialist agenda, and those who believed socialism did not just or necessarily mean the newly adopted Clause Four of the Labour Party's constitution, the League rapidly lost most of its supporters.<sup>4</sup>

Under the direction of P. E. T. Widdrington and Maurice Reckitt, meanwhile, the League's attention turned to outlining a 'Christian sociology', to which end Widdrington organized a

<sup>1</sup> F. Lewis Donaldson, 'Church, Socialism, and Syndicalism' *The Church Socialist* Vol. 3, No. 30 (June, 1914) 105-109.

<sup>2</sup> Church Socialist League, *Manifesto* (Church Socialist League, 1918).

<sup>3</sup> Caterall, 'The Distinctiveness of British Socialism?', 151-2.

<sup>4</sup> Bryant, *Possible Dreams*, 152.

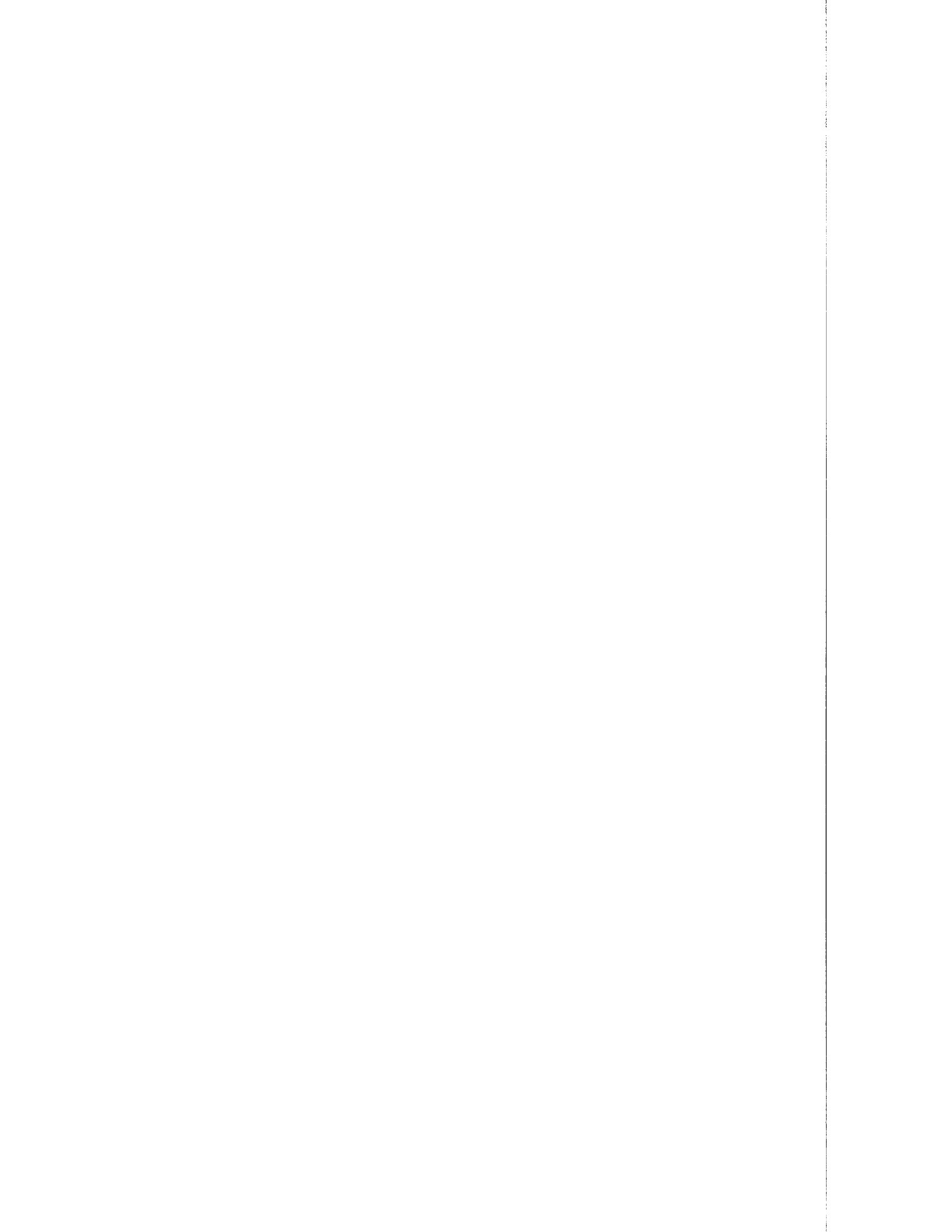
number of summer schools.<sup>1</sup>

A year after the publication of *The Return to Christendom* (1922), which advocated a new Christian Socialist theology, the Church Socialist League was wound down and was replaced by the League of the Kingdom of God. Bryant recounted Widdrington's response to the change: 'we disentangled ourselves from political parties, and focused our minds and energies on the recovery and restatement of the idea of Christendom'.<sup>2</sup> This was a similar goal to the by-now defunct Christian Social Union. Wound down in 1919, the CSU membership was absorbed into the Industrial Christian Fellowship, a movement intended to spread Christian principles throughout the industrial working classes. However, a third strand of Christian Socialism emerged in 1923 under the auspices of the Society of Socialist Christians, an organization founded by the churchmen C. S. Smith, Charles Record, and John Corner Spokes, as well as the trade unionist Fred Hughes. It brought together Christian Socialists who had been active in the League, as well as the various non-denominational and nonconformist organizations of the nineteenth century. As such, the SSC united those whose Christian Socialism demanded a political programme but who would not have been attracted to the Catholic Crusade, which essentially functioned in the interests of Conrad Noel and which was fundamentally anti-nonconformist. Like the full story of the Christian Socialist adoption of Guild Socialism, the political, socialist, and economic ideas of these organizations must remain outside the scope of this thesis. However, suffice to say that despite the impression one might gain from the extant literature, not all Christian Socialists readily abandoned statist conceptions of socialism in the early interwar period.

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<sup>1</sup> Maurice Reckitt's (1888-1980) contribution to the history of Christian Socialism went well beyond the chronological limits of this thesis. He was known to the socialist movement for having founded the National Guilds League in 1915 with G.D.H. Cole, and he promoted Guild Socialist ideas from 1913 until the 1920s. Reckitt went on to head the League of the Kingdom of God, which replaced the Church Socialist League, and continued to be an active Christian Socialist. He continued to advance his 'Christian sociology' thought throughout the twentieth century. In this regard, and as J. S. Peart-Binns suggested in his ODNB entry for Reckitt, 'perhaps Reckitt's abiding legacy is *Christendom*, a quarterly journal of Christian sociology which he edited from 1931 to 1950'.

<sup>2</sup> Bryant, *Possible Dreams*, 149.



## Conclusion: The imprint of Christian Socialism

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Over the course of the previous eight chapters, an attempt has been made to document the main strands of Christian Socialist political economy in the *fin-de-siècle* period, by examining the ideas of the movement's principal social and economic theorists. Research has revealed a richness and diversity of thought that went further in terms of socialist content and economic literacy than the mild social theology of the movement's leading figures, or of the official constitutions of the main Christian Socialist organizations. The movement's social doctrine arose from a diversity of views expressed in its pamphlets, periodicals, and treatises, and this plurality affirms the notion that *fin-de-siècle* Christian Socialism should not be reduced to the ideas espoused by its most well-known figures and texts. It has been impossible to fully enunciate the depth of the movement's discourse as it forged a socialist political economy in these publications, nor has it been possible to illustrate its many nuances, diversions, and tangents. Moreover, some major topics of *fin-de-siècle* debate – theology, education, home rule, imperialism, and protectionism among them – have been more or less passed over. This was partly because the Christian Socialists' views on such matters have been covered in detail by other scholars, and partly because the new primary sources considered in the preparation of this thesis revealed little to challenge or supplement the extant literature.

Nevertheless, both the richness and the content of *fin-de-siècle* Christian Socialist political economy revealed in the chapters above attest to the idea that, although there was a 'revival' of Christian Socialism in this period, it was entirely different to its mid-century predecessor in terms of its activities, attitudes, and most fundamentally, its socialist doctrine. It is true that like the 'Father of Christian Socialism' F. D. Maurice and his contemporaries, the *fin-de-siècle* Christian Socialists espoused an incarnationalist theology which compelled them to consider measures for social reform. However, unlike Maurice and his followers, the late-nineteenth-century Christian Socialists went beyond the adoption of co-operative values by engaging with socialist theory and contemporaneous economics in order to actively participate in the construction of the socialist commonwealth. Although socialist historiography has frequently highlighted the intellectual debt owed by the *fin-de-siècle* movement to Maurice, research has revealed that the theorists of the Christian Socialist revival were aware of and sought to promulgate this distinction. E. D. Girdlestone's *The What and Why of Christian Socialism* (1889-90) was an illuminating example. Maurice and Kingsley, wrote Girdlestone,

were... vividly awake to the great evil that is wrought by the unrestricted operation of the hard and heartless force we call "Supply and Demand"... but the grand and beautiful conception of a

total change of system, and of the supersession of a competitive by a co-operative economy on a national scale, does not seem to have entered their ideas and plans.<sup>1</sup>

Girdlestone recognised that it would be anachronistic for the mid-century Christian Socialists to have proposed collectivist, statist socialism. Nonetheless, in a memorable passage, he argued that the success of their approach, 'so far from equalling the merit of their endeavour, only rivalled that of Mrs Partington in her immortalised attempt to sweep back the ocean with her mop'. Conversely, in 'every case', he wrote, the Christian Socialists of the *fin-de-siècle* period 'deliberately aim at a more perfect social and industrial organization [as well as] an infusion of the element of Justice to the greatest possible extent'.<sup>2</sup>

How successful were the Christian Socialists in achieving this aim? What imprint did they leave on the history of late-nineteenth and early-twentieth socialist thought itself and the history of its formation?

During the early years of the revival, the Christian Socialists were concerned with investigating the lives and labours of the agricultural and urban working classes, in order to challenge the derogatory conceptions which they believed had been embraced by the middle and upper classes. Drawing upon the traditional Tory paternalist ideals and the aesthetics of nineteenth-century romantics, the Christian Socialists sought to repair the relationship between gentleman and worker, relationships that had been destroyed by the corrupting influence of industrial capitalism. The Christian Socialists denounced the image of the working man in the arts and popular press, believing that in the absence of inter-class day-to-day interaction brought about by the cash nexus, it was this conception of the poor that discouraged the rich from engaging in social reform.

However, as the 1880s and 1890s progressed, the Christian Socialists began to interact with several *fin-de-siècle* currents of thought, and as a result their own thinking was propelled along a number of distinct but inter-related trajectories. Firstly, the works of the emerging social statisticians such as Booth, Spencer, and Chiozza led the Christian Socialists to adopt a more class-oriented understanding of society. This conception informed and shaped the methods for changing society that they adopted; from individualistic palliative measures to systemic reform, the latter based on collective action. Secondly, the Christian Socialists argued that the derogatory image of socialists and their ideas held back meaningful debate about solving the social problem. Therefore they furnished accounts of the history of socialist thought and activity which developed into attempts to defend socialist ideas and linking them to Christian doctrine. Thirdly, the Christian Socialists engaged with both the theory and the moral discourse of political economy. As a result they quickly came to a broad consensus that the subjugation of the poor rested upon a theological-economic framework developed in the popular consciousness by a superficial knowledge of political economy.

<sup>1</sup> Girdlestone, *The What and Why of Christian Socialism*, 163-7 and quote above, (my emphasis).

<sup>2</sup> Girdlestone, *The What and Why of Christian Socialism*, 135; *Christian Socialism versus Present-day Unsocialism*, 17.

This compelled the Christian Socialists to produce numerous texts that critically engaged with the ideas of political economists from Adam Smith, through the classical and historical schools, to Alfred Marshall; texts that between them delineated something approaching a Christian economics.

The chapters above have shown that Christian Socialist ideas, as regards these three strands, manifested a richness and intellectual coherence that has been largely neglected by the existing literature. A research project of this scope cannot adequately evaluate the extent to which the Christian Socialists were successful in fostering new attitudes to the poor, to socialism, and to political economy amongst the people to whom they lectured, preached, and who they addressed in their written work. However, scholars are generally agreed that the Christian Socialists played a vital role in overcoming the conservative attitudes of the Church of England as regards the poor and social reform. In this context, it is worth considering the reflections of two protagonists on the matter. Writing in 1910, Adderley was cautiously optimistic that the task had been achieved. 'I think', he wrote, 'that most people are more inclined to take Socialism seriously than they were. At least they dare not try to laugh us out of it so much as they did'. As regards the anti-socialist myths and misrepresentations of the movement, he wrote that while 'the cry of "Atheism" would die hard', and while there would always be people who said establishing the socialist commonwealth was 'Impossible!', socialism had nonetheless become less of an exclusively working-class movement. Moreover, socialism continued to be supported by educated men and women when 'times were good', which was indicative of its intellectual robustness.<sup>1</sup>

However, not all Christian Socialists agreed. G. H. Ten Bruggenkate, for example, argued in 1911 that there was a profound difference between, on the one hand, proving in logical terms that socialism was consistent with Christianity, and on the other convincing others that it was so. 'It is quite a simple matter,' Bruggenkate wrote in a memorable passage, 'to reconcile, if, indeed, it needed any reconciling, the Christian religion with Socialism. It is not so easy to reconcile many Christians with Socialism, or many Socialists with Christianity'.<sup>2</sup> While the Christian Socialists were fighting an almost impossible battle regarding challenging popular conceptions of socialism, they nevertheless undoubtedly introduced socialist thinkers and socialist ideas to a new audience, one which would not otherwise have engaged with socialist doctrine as it was enunciated by thinkers associated with European, and therefore atheist, socialist thought.

In terms of making a significant and noteworthy contribution to economic discourse, the Christian Socialists faced other historical obstacles. Conceiving of economics as a nascent scientific discipline, the founders of what would become the Royal Economic Society were keen to erect boundaries around economic discourse, in order to exclude

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<sup>1</sup> Adderley, *Parson in Socialism*, 222-3.

<sup>2</sup> Bruggenkate, *Catholicism and Socialism*, 1.

schools of thought which they believed would shackle economics to its historic function as a branch of moral philosophy. Even those who believed in propagating economic knowledge, and who sympathised with the notion of a socially-useful economics, believed it was necessary to circumscribe the limits of the discipline. For instance, Edwin Cannan – author of a Fabian pamphlet, tutor, and later chair of the London School of Economics – was, as A. W. Coats wrote, ‘determined to keep the field against the uninitiated’. Writing to C. R. Fay in 1913, Cannan said

Can't somebody be put up to slaughter J. S. Smith for writing such bosh in the *Economic Review*? I can't do it because I slaughtered A. J. Carlyle, too, a short time ago – the knife still reeks. Carlyle has said very little ever since... John Carter has written again to Pigou asking him to take the thing in hand, but as I say in my forthcoming work, you can't expect the Astronomer Royal to answer every crank who says the earth is flat'.<sup>1</sup>

It has been shown that although Christian Socialist political economy was drawn from a range of economic thinkers, their ideas owed much to the historical school and to social theorists such as John Ruskin. In attempting to construct a Christian economics that would underpin their socialist doctrine, the Christian Socialists waded into a battle over the future of the discipline. Nevertheless, as Coats wrote,

Cannan's curt dismissal of Smith and Carlyle as 'outsiders' reminds us that although economics was gaining recognition as a distinct academic specialism in the early years of this century many, possibly most, college and university teachers of the subject were amateurs or part-timers, and whatever the disagreements among the leading experts and spokesmen for various 'schools' of economic thought, they demonstrated a growing sense of professional consciousness and solidarity as they strove to emancipate themselves from their dependence on moral philosophy and history, the two subjects with which political economy had hitherto been most closely associated.<sup>2</sup>

Therefore, it is argued that Christian Socialist political economy, as enunciated in the movement's pamphlets, periodicals, and during debates and lecture tours, made an historically significant contribution to *fin-de-siècle* economic discourse. In terms of defining the scope, method, and purpose of economics, the hegemony enjoyed by neoclassicism for over a century has been challenged by numerous schools of heterodox economic thought. At the time of writing, the economics of well-being has made inroads into popular parlance, and has found prominent supporters from politicians of the centre-left and centre-right. Of organizations and think-tanks such as the New Economics Foundation (NEF), that seek to forge a political economy founded on well-being, the Christian Socialists are surely an important precursor. The following extract from the Christian Social Union's *The Scope and Method of Political Economy* (1898) would not look out of place in the output of such bodies:

The ideal of the practical economist is the supreme end for which society exists. It is something higher than the decision of the question how wealth is best produced and accumulated. It is also something more than an enquiry into the most equitable method of distributing wealth. It seeks to direct the economic activities of the State and of individuals with a view to the completest realization of their well-being.

<sup>1</sup> Coats, 'Sociological Aspects of British Economic Thought', 706-729.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 719.



By disseminating such ideas in the *fin-de-siècle* period, the Christian Socialists were at the forefront of the battle to popularize heterodox economics amongst everyday Christian folk. The imprint of Christian Socialist economics can be seen in organizations such as the aforementioned NEF, but most notably two other contemporary organizations. Firstly, Ekklesia – a ‘post-Christendom’ think tank ‘in the Christian tradition’, which researches policy approaches in areas such as ‘economy and politics’, ‘globalisation and development’, and ‘ecology and environment’.<sup>1</sup> And secondly, Common Wealth, a group of ‘Christians for Economic and Social Justice’ that advances a scriptural anticapitalist economics and which campaigns against the perceived appropriation of the heritage of social Christianity by David Cameron’s ‘Big Society’ initiative.<sup>2</sup>

It is impossible for a study such as this to trace the reception of the *fin-de-siècle* Christian Socialists’ attempts to disseminate economic ideas. While Appendix Three gives some detail about the circulation of the movement’s periodicals, the views of the protagonists themselves on the matter are illuminating. Reflecting on their attempt to challenge perceptions of political economy, James Adderley remarked that even in the present year (1914), many Christians retained the ‘comfortable maxims of our grandfathers... that things must be left alone, that all trade is simply a matter of supply and demand, that poverty is due to the drunkenness of the poor... that the poor will be always with us and so on’.<sup>3</sup> Similarly, J. Bruce Wallace wrote in 1892 about his difficulty in persuading the working classes to read a

wholesome paper that attempts to instruct them; [as] the taste of a very large proportion of them has been depraved by the unwholesome reading matter provided for them by capitalists who only want to make gain out of them; and so they crave for sporting news and details of every brutal or filthy thing done anywhere over the world.<sup>4</sup>

In light of Wallace’s comments, it is interesting to note the views of a correspondent in *The Commonwealth*, who urged its new editor Christopher Cheshire to emulate Holland’s humorous style in the paper after Holland had died, ‘lest The Commonwealth fall to the dryness of the average CSU pamphlet!’<sup>5</sup> While the Christian Socialists may have cultivated a pessimistic tone regarding their influence, they nonetheless produced myriad publications that would have been a respected source of information for those who chose to read them. Moreover, research has revealed that the Christian Socialists were able to engage with the working classes to a greater extent than the extant literature has hitherto considered the case. They embarked on lecture tours, spoke at working-class associations, campaigned in ILP elections, and conducted numerous discussion groups. While they always espoused a social doctrine that was *for*, rather than *of*, the working classes, the Christian Socialists generally

<sup>1</sup> Ekklesia website <http://www.ekkleisia.co.uk/about/values>

<sup>2</sup> Common Wealth website <http://commonwealthnetwork2010.blogspot.com/> Common Wealth platform; <https://docs.google.com/leaf?id=0B-3wp8wSnE-hMWFIZmZkZmUtZGJjY000MTVhLWl3ZDctMjIjNDIjODBmYTA4&sort=name&layout=list&num=50>

<sup>3</sup> Adderley, *Making up your Mind*.

<sup>4</sup> *Brotherhood* Vol. 4, No 1 (Aug 1889).

<sup>5</sup> *The Commonwealth* Vol. 23, No. 270 (June, 1918), 183.

rejected aristocratic culture and sought to take their place alongside the labouring man. Yet according to Charles Marson, the Christian Socialists were 'only half-washed from bourgeois slush, and if we do not keep quite clear of the whole mud bath, we soon end up by wallowing again in dirty contentment'.<sup>1</sup>

Adopted though it was, the Christian Socialists were determined to enunciate their working-class mindset, even at a heavy professional and social cost. At the Community of the Resurrection conference of 1906, Rev. C. D. Marson Cox recounted that 'because he stood beside a Labour candidate at the last election at Stockport, his collection went down by £1 on Sunday'. Nevertheless, this made him 'only more determined' to advance his view that 'he could not teach the Sacraments without teaching Socialism'.<sup>2</sup> Indeed, the willingness of the *fin-de-siècle* Christian Socialists to attest their commitment to economic socialism in the face of widespread opposition marks a further departure from their mid-century predecessors. No longer could Christian Socialists be accused of taking a cynical or half-hearted interest in the social movement in order to recapture (or rather, capture for the first time) the working-class component of their, often recently urbanized, potential congregations. As Adderley wrote, an allegiance to Socialism 'pleases nobody and is more likely to empty your Church than anything else... nor does it fill your coffers', adding that the Christian Socialists were 'Socialists because we really believe in it, and that we intend to go on even if our Churches are emptied by it'.<sup>3</sup> For some Christian Socialists, their perceived unpopularity became a source of gallows humour. Inviting others to join the cause in the Church Socialist League 1908 Annual Conference, Conrad Noel remarked that 'you have everything to lose and nothing to gain, you will be labelled an atheist, an infidel, a free lover, a thief – you will find it difficult to get a job and you will lose your job'.<sup>4</sup> Like the best jokes, Noel's cut close to the bone. While the respectable leaders of the Christian Social Union found favour in the Church of England, established Christianity was less than friendly towards Christian Socialists who espoused a more radical socialist doctrine. It is against this contextual environment of hostility that the Christian Socialists' moderate successes should be judged.

The second half of this thesis has attempted to give an account of Christian Socialist constructive thought in the *fin-de-siècle* period. It did so by considering the ideas of the movement's theorists rather than its better-known figureheads, by considering previously-underused primary source material, and by adopting a thematic rather than organizational or biographical structure.

It has been shown that during the 1880s and 1890s, the more respectable and academically-minded faction of the movement favoured schemes for changing society

<sup>1</sup> Waters, *British Socialists and the Politics of Popular Culture*, 160.

<sup>2</sup> Community of the Resurrection, *Report (1906)*, 6.

<sup>3</sup> Adderley, *Parson in Socialism*, 69-70.

<sup>4</sup> Church Socialist League, *The Church and Socialism: A Report of the Speeches*, 18.

predicated on the assumption that the individual should be the agent of change. These thinkers espoused a social doctrine in which the churches would play an important role in the formation of good character, and would lay the foundations for the establishment of a moral economy inspired by the high-wage theories of J. A. Hobson and others.

Christian Social Union initiatives such as ‘Commercial Morality’ and the ‘White Lists’ attempted to improve the lot of the industrial labourer through the mechanism of a moralized market. Although they did not directly influence its founding or activity, such schemes may be seen as precursors to Traidcraft, established in 1979 to harbour ethical trade ‘as a Christian response to poverty’ (and which was both a forerunner to, and participant in, the modern Fairtrade certification system).<sup>1</sup> There were other nineteenth-century Christian Socialists whose schemes emphasized the necessity of both individual and *collective* Christian conduct in the social and economic arenas. Such thinkers attempted to establish ventures designed to allow Christian Socialists to escape from, or to supersede, the sinful and deleterious capitalist economy. Those who use the contemporary blog ‘A Pinch of Salt: Christianity and Anarchism in Conversation and Action’ as a basis for assembly and debate would recognise the ideas of J. C. Kenworthy as being forerunners of their own.

The *fin-de-siècle* Christian Socialists, meanwhile, went on to develop a more political doctrine. While the followers of J. C. Kenworthy envisaged the abolition of the state, many Christian Socialist theorists in the 1880s and 1890s believed that the state had an important role to play in terms of providing the democratic means for the introduction of social liberal reforms and measures tending towards socialism. At the same time, many were falling under the influence of Henry George, whose Single Tax was designed to unlock land values by taxing their ‘unearned increment’. While George’s ideas were initially pervasive, it has been seen that over time many Christian Socialists came to adopt a platform that called for the nationalization of the means of production, distribution, and exchange. This economic platform was partly inspired by actual practices, such as the post office model, but it was mostly a product of their engagement with secular socialist theory, especially after the 1906 election. It was shown that the Christian Socialists advanced a number of lines of reasoning to argue that nationalization was on the one hand impelled by Christian principles and on the other the best socio-economic programme for enabling the New Jerusalem to flourish. The final chapter of this thesis examined the influence of decentralist ideas on the socialism of the Church Socialist League, finding that although Guild Socialism was not adopted by the League until 1915, thinkers such as Egerton Swann and Conrad Noel were attempting to incorporate decentralism into their state-socialist political economy.

The approach taken by this thesis has revealed interesting theoretical and historical dichotomies in Christian Socialism, and it has illustrated the consequences of the Christian

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<sup>1</sup> Traidcraft website [http://www.traidcraft.co.uk/about\\_traidcraft](http://www.traidcraft.co.uk/about_traidcraft)

Socialists' attempts to resolve the 'enigma' posited by Peter d'A. Jones, namely the difficulty of forging a distinctive *Christian Socialism*. Indeed, the wide range of political and theological beliefs held by those who have called themselves 'Christian Socialists' has left historiography with a puzzle in classifying and identifying the movement. Many historians have defined Christian Socialism in the same way as many leading figures in the movement defined it in the nineteenth century, as follows. As a theory, it embodied the eternal Christian principles of brotherhood, justice, and co-operation, and applied them to individual conduct in the material world. As a movement, it referred to those who chose to use the term to describe themselves. Although it is a broad organization, this is essentially the definition of Christian Socialism advanced by the modern Christian Socialist Movement (CSM), whose 'objects' espouse mutual understanding, unity, peace and reconciliation, social justice, sustainability, co-operation, and a classless societal vision. The only reference to a socialist political economy in the CSM platform is the call for 'equality of opportunity and redistribution economically', a mild position even by late-nineteenth century standards.<sup>1</sup> It can be, and has been, argued that a definition of Christian Socialism that simply highlights the social value of Christianity, such as the CSM platform, adds little to Christian doctrine that was not already present. Save for a few articles calling for an economic response to capitalism, the CSM's platform is generally echoed throughout its published material.

In this context it is interesting to note a recent article by the current Chair of the CSM, Alun Michael MP, in response to David Cameron's "Big Society" initiative. In the article, Michael highlighted his own work facilitating civil society organizations, the so-called 'third sector', in attempting to define a set of common values and principles. Although Michael feared that they would only agree upon 'motherhood and apple pie', the 'Third Sector Network' defined a range of social and political principles, including the commitment to promote 'lasting social, environmental, and economic change' and to advance 'collective wealth creation and social entrepreneurship: using surpluses to further social objectives; investing in human and social capital'. In seeking to establish a popular, grass-roots alternative to the values of commercial capitalism, then, the CSM is perhaps embarking upon a similar intellectual trajectory to that illustrated in the narrative of this thesis from Christian Socialist endeavours to challenge conceptions to their attempts to change society. The headline of Milburn's article, one notes with interest, was '*Challenging notions of a "Big Society"*'.<sup>2</sup>

In contrast to the approach of the modern CSM, and to those who believe Christian Socialism is defined by its values, it has been shown that the Christian Socialists who

<sup>1</sup> Christian Socialist Movement website [http://www.thecsm.org.uk/Groups/87270/Christian\\_Socialist\\_Movement.aspx](http://www.thecsm.org.uk/Groups/87270/Christian_Socialist_Movement.aspx) CSM 'What we stand for' [http://www.thecsm.org.uk/Groups/87274/Christian\\_Socialist\\_Movement/About\\_CSM/What\\_we\\_stand/What\\_we\\_stand.aspx](http://www.thecsm.org.uk/Groups/87274/Christian_Socialist_Movement/About_CSM/What_we_stand/What_we_stand.aspx)

<sup>2</sup> Alun Milburn, 'Challenging notions of a "Big Society"' (18<sup>th</sup> February 2011). [http://www.thecsm.org.uk/Articles/244941/Christian\\_Socialist\\_Movement/Articles/Web\\_Exclusives/Challenging\\_notions\\_of.aspx](http://www.thecsm.org.uk/Articles/244941/Christian_Socialist_Movement/Articles/Web_Exclusives/Challenging_notions_of.aspx) (my emphasis).

produced the movement's written material in 1884-1905 believed that Christian Socialism necessarily implied some version of 'economic', 'scientific', or 'European' socialism. After 1906, an influential group of Christian Socialists began to see only the public control and use of the means of production, distribution, and exchange as the clearest expression of Christian principles and as the best method for establishing a society where Christian virtue could flourish. This became the platform of the Church Socialist League, the dominant Christian Socialist organization in the early twentieth century, one that counted even moderates such as Percy Dearmer amongst its membership. The modern-day Society of Sacramental Socialists, which emerged from the defunct Jubilee Group led by Kenneth Leech, traces its history back to this vision of Christian Socialism. Its platform proclaims that it is a 'society made up of people who are committed to the Catholic tradition of the Anglican Church and international socialism', though the group's activity appears to have been limited of late. In terms of early-twentieth century Christian Socialist history, while the Guild Socialist challenge would unravel the short-lived unity of thought centred on state nationalization, the Christian Socialists nonetheless continued to believe that they needed to define a Christian Socialist economic programme if the movement was to have any meaning. This way of thinking still prevailed during the early 1920s, years when Swann and Reckitt were exploring the Social Credit theories propounded by Douglas, until Widdrington led the movement on a 'return to Christendom' and to the search for a Christian sociology.

So, throughout the *fin-de-siècle* period, the Christian Socialists adopted and adapted ideas of secular socialists in order to construct their socialist political economy. However, if both the strengths and weaknesses of Christian Socialist political economy reflected the state of contemporaneous socialist theory, the question posed by Jones is once again raised; namely, what was distinctive about Christian Socialism? Certainly there was little that was distinctive about the collectivist element of the Christian Socialist platform in the late nineteenth century if the method taken to seek its distinctiveness is to compare its ideas with contemporaneous socialism. Indeed, in order to explain how the appropriation and public organization of the means of production, distribution, and exchange would take place, the collectivist Christian Socialists borrowed the ideas of various strands of socialism, and wove them into a patchwork of practical social-liberal reforms, speculative utopian visions, and radical economic proposals. For example, Girdlestone's pamphlets contained explicit calls for the nationalization of mass transit, major industries, land, and interest, but these appeared at numbers six to eight in a list of twenty 'legislative measures... suitable as stepping stones towards a national socialism'. Moreover, he argued that the time would come when the majority of individuals had become 'Socialists at heart', enabling the legal establishment of a Socialist constitution. Until then, 'much piecemeal reform will have been effected in a Socialist direction and through the action of the legislative treading on the foot-print of an

advancing Public Opinion'.<sup>1</sup> In addition, the Christian Socialists tailored their rhetoric according to their audience. When speaking to faithful Christians, they frequently toned down their socialist doctrines. And, as Wolfe noted, they 'presented their ideas to unbelievers in virtually the manner of a secular substitute faith, so different was their teaching from that of conventional Victorian Christianity... its propaganda work, therefore... stress[ed] the secular interpretations of the Gospels and of what it regarded as the secular mission of the Church'.<sup>2</sup> The members of the Church Socialist League and others who held that common ownership was the best expression of Christian principles increasingly began to refer to themselves simply as 'socialists'. Such figures renounced the earlier 'Christian Socialism', with its programme of study, charity, and Christian shopping. In the battle over the term 'Christian Socialism', they had conceded defeat to the Mauriceans.

Nevertheless, it is argued that by adopting a conventional socialist platform on the basis of their theological beliefs, the Christian Socialists did offer something unique and distinctive to socialism. By seeking to examine the historical nature of socialist experience, the historiography of socialism has recognised that ideas in political philosophy do not tend to stand or fall purely on the basis of their intrinsic quality. Their success is also contingent on the terms in which they are couched, the means and persons through which they are transmitted, and their place, historically, within the cognitive structures that define their meaning and circumscribe their resonance. Ethereal it may have been, but the theological route to collectivism propounded by the Christian Socialists was nonetheless an attractive and viable pathway for would-be socialists in the late nineteenth century. While the Fabians espoused, as Thompson wrote, a 'social evolutionism derived from a bastardised Darwinism', and were often content to rely on the 'inexorable unfolding of the evolutionary forces making for the advent of socialism', the Christian Socialists highlighted the divinity of the progression of socialism.<sup>3</sup> Charles William Stubbs, among others, intimated that socialism was part of a 'divine plan', while Girdlestone argued that socialism was the economic element of the evolution of human nature towards saintliness on earth.<sup>4</sup> When the Christian Socialists of the CSL adopted a Guild Socialist platform, they followed the same intellectual logic as when they advocated state collectivism on Christian grounds. As Taylor noted, in 1919, the Church Socialist League reaffirmed its call for community ownership of industry and workers' control, because it was seen to be the 'best method of giving effect to the essentially Christian principles of liberty, equality and fraternity'.<sup>5</sup> So, the overwhelming success of Christian Socialism in the *fin-de-siècle* period was that it offered a route to socialism at a time when it faced opposition from political conservatives, the Church, and the popular press. It is often claimed that the heart of late-nineteenth-century social democracy

<sup>1</sup> Girdlestone, *Christian Socialism Versus Present-Day Unsocialism*, 176, 203-5.

<sup>2</sup> Wolfe, *From Radicalism to Socialism*, 169.

<sup>3</sup> Thompson, *Political Economy and the Labour Party*, 28-30.

<sup>4</sup> Stubbs, *Christ and Economics*, 93-7, 167; Jones, *Christian Socialist Revival*, 136; Girdlestone, *Christian Socialism Versus Present-Day Unsocialism*, v.

<sup>5</sup> Taylor, *Socialism and Christianity*, 34.

was the Independent Labour Party, while its soul was ethical socialism and its head was Fabianism. If so, it is argued that Christian Socialism was the grace of social democracy.

Scholars have frequently looked to measure the success of the Christian Socialist movement in terms of its influence on the Church of England and on socialist theory. With regard to the Church, scholars have noted that the movement enjoyed a degree of success, citing the Lambeth conferences and the softening of Church attitudes towards the 'deserving' poor and to social reform. In terms of the movement's influence on socialist theory, in general scholars have determined that while Victorian and Edwardian Christian Socialism deserves its place in the history of the British socialist movement, it was significant mainly due to its influence on figures such as R. H. Tawney, William Temple, and even later figures such as Tony Blair. In historical terms, such achievements probably constituted the extent of the 'success' of Christian Socialism to date, but there is much else to be learned from a close examination of the movement's history outside of the narrowly-defined measures of significance above. The last twenty years have witnessed the Labour Party, perhaps still the most viable vehicle of social democracy currently active in Britain, undertaking an intellectual journey during which the enunciation of the 'values' and 'principles' of the 'modern' centre ground has been substituted for the espousal of, or any project to define, a coherent socialist political economy. In the context of post-Clause IV Labour, then, what can be learned from the Christian Socialist experience? More generally, how can the Christian Socialists' intellectual journeys increase understanding of the relationship between socialist principles, socialist policies, socialist values, and socialist political economy?

In order to answer these questions, some thoughts can be offered regarding the dismantling of the short-lived Christian Socialist collectivist consensus in the period 1910-1914. The Christian Socialists' own thoughts on the matter are particularly illuminating. In a series of works published in the 1920s, the Christian Socialist advocates of Guild Socialism, social credit, and later of Christian sociology, P. E. T. Widdrington and Maurice Reckitt, reflected on the movement's earlier social doctrines. Both men regretted the movement's unyielding adherence to state collectivism in the early twentieth century. Widdrington, for example, argued that the Church Socialist League was 'caught in the wave of enthusiasm which was sweeping the country and were inclined to make a too facile identification of Christianity and Socialism'.<sup>1</sup> And, in a 1924 article Reckitt argued that many Leaguers believed that 'it was a mistake to be tied down to anything so contingent as an economic doctrine as a sufficient expression of God's will for society'.<sup>2</sup> However, Reckitt's comments reflected the interests of the Christian Socialists in the 1920s who wanted to deduce a Christian sociology. This project returned a branch of the movement to its 1880s methods, namely the promotion of applied Christianity to social life alongside the academic,

<sup>1</sup> Taylor, *Socialism and Christianity*, 1.

<sup>2</sup> Maurice B. Reckitt, 'The Christian Social Movement in England: Its Aims and Its Organization', *The Journal of Religion* Vol. 4, No. 2 (1924), 147-173.

introspective quest for a social theology to underpin an envisaged Christian way of life. It is this conception of Christian Socialism that has lingered in the historiography and the popular memory. But as Bryant has shown, it was just one of several strands that could reasonably be described as 'Christian Socialist' throughout the twentieth century. Moreover, research reveals that Reckitt's and Widdrington's attitudes were not shared by all 1920s Christian Socialists. As Ruth Kenyon wrote in the December 1921 'Editorial' of *The Church Socialist*, several different conceptions of socialism had emerged during the movement's lifetime, meaning that the 'Collectivist has differed from the Communist, and the Communist from the Guildsman, and the Guildsman from the Douglasite'. But as she went on,

we are not ashamed of our claim that the Church should at various times have stood as we stood with these and such as these. For there is a Socialist intellectual movement, and it proceeds like all other intellectual movements, able to state its standpoint at the moment, yet prepared to alter that standpoint as and when new light demands it. The movement includes all the standpoints. But it does not include those who wait to move until new light shall cease to dawn.<sup>1</sup>

Kenyon's words, along with the ideas of Christian Socialist theorists traced throughout this thesis, affirm that not all Christian Socialists regretted its engagement with economic doctrines during the *fin-de-siècle*, and that they believed that there was no logical or theoretical reason why Christian Socialism could not have continued to stand for any of its socialist platforms. Aside from the band of 'Christian sociologists' of the 1920s who thought differently, the notion that Christian Socialism should not espouse a socialist political economy that compelled the advocates of commercial morality, co-operative communitarianism, Fabian collectivism, or indeed Guild Socialism, was not what caused the abandonment of these ideas. Instead, the *fin-de-siècle* Christian Socialists adopted and abandoned particular variants of socialism as a result of their close engagement with socialist debate as it occurred in the religious and secular arenas.

This final point is particularly relevant to the perennial debate about the future of British social democracy. In this environment, the history of Christian Socialism is frequently cited alongside ethical socialist and other late nineteenth-century aspects of socialist experience, in order to argue that the Labour Party's contemporary retreat from socialist economics is entirely congruous with the 'roots' of the British Labour movement.<sup>2</sup> Consider, for instance, the words of Luke Bretherton, a theologian and academic who writes for the 'Blue Labour' movement, a loose organization within the Labour Party, with which Maurice Glasman, Jon Cruddas, and James Purnell are associated. Blue Labour seeks to highlight Labour's communitarian and 'small-c' conservative heritage, to promote romantic rather than rational critiques of capitalism as well as values like reciprocity and mutualism, and to emphasize the importance of collective experience in the social democratic project. In a recent newspaper article, Bretherton argued that the 'narrow spectrum' of ideologies,

<sup>1</sup> Ruth Kenyon, 'Editorial', *The Church Socialist* (Dec, 1921), 102.

<sup>2</sup> See, for instance, Woolly, *The Ethical Foundations of Socialism*; Beech and Hickson, *Labour's Thinkers*.



ranging from Fabianism to Marxism’, that came to define the party promoted ‘state-orientated and elite-driven political programmes that de-legitimized the much more “catholic” grassroots movement of self-organising affinity groups’.<sup>1</sup> Here Bretherton perhaps downplayed the richness and variety of ideas prevalent throughout Labour Party history, but he was right to highlight the Fabian hegemony, and his claim that this hegemony may have proscribed the development of a communitarian British socialist vision holds some value. Nevertheless, Bretherton’s article is just one of many examples of works that allude to a dichotomy in the history of British socialist thought that has been revealed by this thesis to be false.

It has been shown above that it would be historically inaccurate to state that during the formative years of the Labour Party, Christian Socialism essentially constituted part of the non-Fabian, non-statist, non-collectivist strand of socialism. Nor was the ‘catholic’ approach to socialism always distinct from the ‘state-orientated’ schemes of the early twentieth century. Not only did the Christian Socialists attempt to forge a socialist political economy that balanced state nationalization with communitarian ideals, but they also espoused a ‘catholic’ basis for state collectivism and other forms of public ownership. Socialist theorists, such as those associated with Blue Labour, should not be discouraged from advancing ethical critiques of capitalism in the Ruskinian tradition nor from developing, as Maurice Glasman wrote, an ‘effective category of the social’.<sup>2</sup> Glasman argued that ‘Labour as a radical tradition was crafted by both workers’ and Christian institutions’. He highlighted this movement’s aversion to the ‘hostility of both an exclusivist state and an avaricious market’ and its espousal of particular socialist values that, unlike vague principles such as ‘freedom or equality, are unique to the history of British socialist experience, namely reciprocity, mutualism, and solidarity. But, as the *fin-de-siècle* Christian Socialists found out, neither socialist critiques nor socialist values can change society without an economic programme to address the former and enshrine the latter.

Therefore, if there is one significant lesson to be drawn from the Christian Socialist experience in the *fin-de-siècle* period, it is this. A socialist political economy that is able to provide material, intellectual, spiritual, and emotional fulfilment; that makes men and women their brother’s and sister’s keeper; that addresses poverty and dependency alike; that arrests the physical and mental degradation endemic to commercial capitalism; that overcomes the acquiescence with a system able to produce and distribute innumerable consumer goods; and that is able to effectively respond to the challenges presented by globally-mobile capital, *must* do more than proffer principles, values, and romantic visions of a historical ideal that probably rarely existed. As the Christian Socialist Charles Marson

<sup>1</sup> Luke Bretherton, ‘Blue Labour’s openness embraces tradition’ *The Guardian* (3 May 2011).  
<http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/belief/2011/may/03/blue-labour-openness-tradition-religion?INTCMP=SRCH>

<sup>2</sup> Maurice Glasman, ‘Labour as a Radical Tradition’ (9 November, 2010).  
[http://www.thecsm.org.uk/Articles/228483/Christian\\_Socialist\\_Movement/Articles/Web\\_Exclusives/Labour\\_as\\_a.asp](http://www.thecsm.org.uk/Articles/228483/Christian_Socialist_Movement/Articles/Web_Exclusives/Labour_as_a.asp)

wrote in 1914,

The past is past, because it was outgrown... Back to the Primitive Church, to the Middle Ages, to the Reformation, back to the Land, to the Commune, to Owen or Wesley, to republican Rome or the disunited States of Greece, to the Egyptians or the Incas, to the Guilds or to Karl Marx... these are all examples of vain cries.<sup>1</sup>

It is incumbent on social democrats today not respond to the ongoing bitter cries of the outcast peoples with our own vain cries for islands of social and economic life that seek to reinstate the conditions of an often-imagined past. As alternatives to post-war Fabianism are sought, the history of *fin-de-siècle* Christian Socialism provides a prototype model and the lessons of experience from which the movement for social justice can begin to engage with the discourse of political economy, deconstruct the relationship between economic values and economic science, break up the monopoly of the 'ethics of economics' that capitalism holds in the popular mind, and reclaim the pure materials of the science to forge a coherent economic platform. The Christian Socialist experience warns also that social democracy must not repeat the approach that Girdlestone believed epitomised mid-nineteenth-century Christian Socialism: in his words, 'the erection here and there of experimental breakwaters in the face of the competitive flood-tide'.

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<sup>1</sup> Marson, *God's Co-Operative Society*, 77.

# Appendix One: Principal Christian Socialist organizations

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The following is a brief summary of the main organizations of the Christian Socialist movement in the period 1884-1914. It aims to serve as a useful reference point; for more detail the reader is directed towards the secondary texts from which much of the information below has been derived. A useful summary of Christian Socialist organizations in the late nineteenth century and throughout the twentieth century has been compiled online by Michael Johnston.<sup>1</sup>

## Anglican Church

### The Guild of St. Matthew (GSM), 1877-1909

**Key figures:** Stewart Duckworth Headlam, Henry Carey Shuttleworth, W. E. Moll, Frederick Verinder, John Elliotson Symes, Thomas Hancock, Charles L. Marson.

**Organ:** The Church Reformer (unofficial)

**Summary:** The Anglo-Catholic GSM was established by Stewart D. Headlam and Frederick Verinder in 1877 in order to draw attention to the living and working conditions of the poor, especially in the London slums. Meetings were held and branches were established across the country, but the hub of the GSM was in London. Headlam published what was seen as the unofficial organ of the Guild, the *Church Reformer*, for ten years between 1884 and 1895. The socialist credentials of the GSM were established in 1884, when Headlam's *Priest's Political Programme* adopted the resolution to urge all Churchmen to support the following measures:

- (a) to restore to the people the value which they give to the land;
- (b) to bring about a better distribution of the wealth created by labour;
- (c) to give the whole body of the people a voice in their own government;
- (d) to abolish false standards of worth and dignity.

The social and political platform of the Guild centred on Henry George's Single Tax, which, it was believed, would achieve measure (a) above. However, the Guild's activity and purpose was not limited to popularizing the Single Tax. As well as providing ameliorative relief for the poor and establishing missions, the Guild sought to promote better relations between the social movement and the Church. The objects of the Guild were as follows:

1. To get rid, by every possible means, of the existing prejudices, especially on the part of secularists, against the Church, her Sacraments and doctrines, and to endeavour to justify God to the people.
2. To promote frequent and reverent worship in the Holy Communion and a better observance of the teaching of the Church of England, as set forth in the Book of Common Prayer.
3. To promote the study of social and political questions in the light of the Incarnation.

While it was always dominated by the interests of Headlam, the Guild was where many Christian Socialists of later significance cut their teeth, before moving onto organizations in which they could develop their ideas beyond the Single Tax. In 1894, the Guild's *Annual Report* claimed that it had 333 members, of whom 93 were in Holy Orders.<sup>2</sup> In 1893 P. E. T. Widdrington founded an Oxford branch of the GSM, and Charles Marson founded one in Bristol a year later.

Despite these 1890s developments, the Guild's best moments were during the 1880s, when it established itself as a force for change in the Church and the social movement. Splits in the GSM arose from disagreement over Headlam's support for Oscar Wilde following the latter's

<sup>1</sup> Michael Johnston, 'Where Two or Three are Gathered: A Christian Socialist Family Tree'.  
<http://www.anglocatholicsocialism.org/familytree.html>

<sup>2</sup> *Church Reformer* Vol. 13, No. 10 (Oct 1894).

arrest for sodomy, and over Headlam's controlling approach to leadership. In 1908 a faction in the GSM was agitating for it to amalgamate with the Church Socialist League, but their attempts were unsuccessful. These splits, as well as a decline in membership and lack of financial support, prompted the cessation of the Guild in 1909.

### The Christian Social Union (CSU), 1889-1919

**Key figures:** Charles Gore, Brooke Foss Westcott, Henry Scott Holland, J. R. Illingworth, James Adderley, A. J. Carlyle, John Carter, F. Lewis Donaldson, Wilfrid Richmond, Percy Dearmer.

**Organs:** *The Commonwealth*, *The Economic Review*, *Goodwill* (unofficial), Christian Social Union pamphlets, Christian Social Union Handbooks.

**Summary:** The Christian Social Union (CSU) was and is often regarded as the epitome of *fin-de-siècle* Christian Socialism, on account of the reputation of its leading figures, the depth of its printed output, and the sheer size of its membership. Estimates of the CSU membership ranged from around 2,000 up to 6,000 people. The CSU was formed out of two discussion groups, PESEK and the 'Holy Party', of which the latter gained notoriety in the established church for its theological polemic *Lux Mundi*. The CSU was therefore more inclusive of differences of theological and political opinion than the GSM had been, and it attracted a relatively diverse social composition compared with other Christian Socialist organizations. While it remained overwhelmingly male, Anglican and middle-class, women and laypersons nonetheless made up roughly a third of its membership.

With branches across the country aligned with hubs in Oxford and London, the primary goal of the CSU was to change the attitudes of the established church towards politics and socialism. Indeed, its stated purpose was to study and to publicise social and economic problems. The published aims of the CSU were as follows:

1. To claim for the Christian Law the ultimate authority to rule social practice.
2. To study in common how to apply the moral truths and principles of Christianity to the social and economic difficulties of the present time.
3. To present Christ in practical life as the Living Master and King, the enemy of wrong and selfishness, the power and righteousness of love.

Like the GSM, the CSU devoted much attention to promoting the cause of social reform to the Church of England, and in this regard it was relatively successful. The Anglican Lambeth Conference of 1888 has been well documented as the year in which 145 bishops signed an encyclical, drafted by Henry Scott Holland and Henry Shuttleworth, which required the clergy to show 'how much of what is good and true in socialism is to be found in the precepts of Christ'. Twenty years later Charles Gore was to reiterate the message of social unionism to the Lambeth Conference in a paper entitled *Christianity and Socialism*.

Despite its frequent references to 'socialism' in its printed material, the official political platform of the CSU was, as Jones noted, less socialist than 'Radical-Liberal-Georgeist... with humanitarian and mildly feminist clauses'. This platform is illustrated well by the CSU London County Council election manifesto for 1892, which demanded:

1. Wholesome and sanitary dwellings; pure and cheap water; open spaces; public baths.
2. Equalisation of rates.
3. Fairer taxation, especially concerning rent.
4. Municipal licensing power to control the drink trade and gambling.
5. Fair wages and protection of child and female 'sweated' labour.
6. Women county councillors.

The economic doctrine of the Christian Social Union was informed by Ruskin's aesthetic ideal, the political economy of Wilfrid Richmond, and the early thought of J. A. Hobson. Both Richmond and Hobson produced economic volumes as a result of their lectures to the CSU. The Union's economic literature, therefore, combined a critique of capitalism's ethical and material consequences with calls to substitute co-operation for competition as the motivation for economic behaviour. The CSU was noted for its attempt to moralize the market, manifested in two related schemes: 'Christian shopping' and 'Commercial morality'. Its aim was to

prevent the trade of sweated goods, to raise the wages and standards of working conditions of the urban poor, and to eradicate sinful practices from commercial life. Notable episodes in the CSU's fight for better working conditions included the adoption of the 'leadless glaze' technique by pottery firms in the Midlands, after the CSU had highlighted the prevalence of lead poisoning in the industry (raising at least £50 from the readers of *The Commonwealth*), and the march of the unemployed from Leicester to London, organized by F.L. Donaldson in 1905. In addition, the CSU inspired the formation of sister organizations in the United States and Canada, following correspondence between John Carter and Richard T. Ely.

Nevertheless, the Christian Social Union was always perceived by its members and by those who observed it as a discussion and education group. In 1900 it was claimed in *The Commonwealth* that if only more time was dedicated to the study of social problems, 'public opinion would soon demand that the present tinkering [with social and economic life] and truer and more radical solutions be adopted'. It was to this end that the London Branch of the Christian Social Union established a Lending Library of books on socialist economics and social-liberal reforms. It was the Oxford branch, however, whose commitment to study drew it furthest away from the task of agitating for social reform.

In 1908 the CSU was stirred by a leaflet issued by Dearmer, Adderley, Donaldson, and Marson, in which they declared themselves, as Jones recounted, 'openly for public ownership of the means of production'. The CSU was not ready to adopt such ideas. The passivity of the Christian Social Union is well illustrated by G. K. Chesterton's satirical poem, of which the first of eight stanzas is repeated here (for the full version, see Jones):

The Christian Social Union here  
Was very much annoyed;  
It seems there is some duty  
Which we should never avoid,  
And so they sang a lot of hymns  
To help the Unemployed

By 1906 Charles Gore had thought that 'the CSU has done its bit', and after the 1908 Lambeth conference the CSU began its decline. Its more radical members were seeking refuge in the more overtly political and socialist Church Socialist League, and the CSU failed to deal with the practical and intellectual challenges thrown up by the Great War. Perhaps the most significant blow, however, was the death of Henry Scott Holland, who gave the CSU so much of its energy, in 1918. The Christian Socialist Union came to an end in 1919 when it merged with the Navy Mission to form the Industrial Christian Fellowship, in order to concentrate on bringing social Christianity to the industrial working classes.

### The Church Socialist League (CSL), 1906-1923

**Key figures:** G. Algernon West, Paul Bull, Conrad Noel, P. E. T. Widdrington, F. L. Donaldson, N. E. Egerton Swann, George Lansbury, James Adderley, A. T. B. Pinchard, Claude Stuart Smith, E. R. Mansell-Moullin, A. J. Penty, M. H. Wood, R. H. Tawney, Maurice Reckitt.

**Organs:** *The Optimist* (1906-1909, 1911-1917), *The Church Socialist Quarterly* (1909-1912), *The Church Socialist: For God and the People* (1912-), Church Socialist League pamphlets and leaflets.

**Summary:** The Church Socialist League (CSL) was founded in 1906 at a conference of Anglican clerics in Morecambe, following prolonged discussion in the meetings of the Community of the Resurrection (CR) at Mirfield, and in the CR's organ, the *CR Quarterly*. The CSL's founder members were drawn together out of a sense of dissatisfaction with the GSM and CSU, and following the outcome of the 1906 election that they perceived as being positive for Labour, they felt the time was right to establish an organization to promote socialism to the Church and to the people. By 1910 the CSL was well-enough established that figures such as Percy Dearmer were leaving the CSU in order to become League members.<sup>1</sup>

The League is often associated with the radicalism of northern socialist Christians, but it was not an organization that drew support only from the north of England. As the table and heat map below both show, the League had a large presence in the London, as well as branches in Wales, Scotland, and around the rest of England. Its leading thinkers may well have infused the CSL with a 'northern' radicalism, but Figure 1 shows that this did not mean the League was

<sup>1</sup> Reginald Groves, *Conrad Noel and the Thaxted Movement: An Adventure in Christian Socialism* (London: The Merlin Press, 1967), 14.

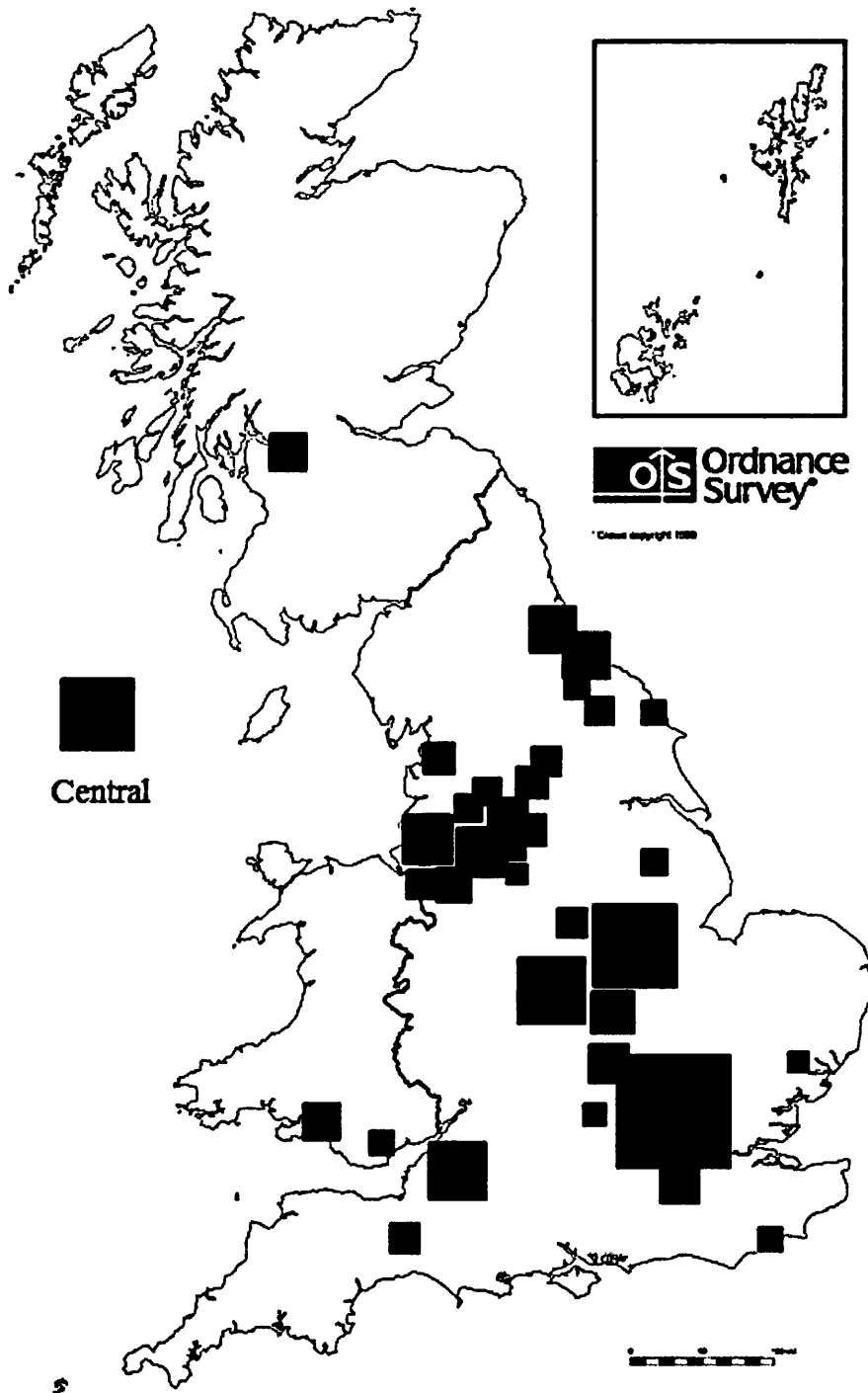
exclusively northern in terms of its membership and appeal. While its membership was fewer in numbers than the CSU, the CSL nonetheless had around 1,000 members. Reckitt wrote that the influence of the League 'has been out of proportion to its members, largely owing to the fact that it has attracted to itself some very vigorous personalities who have made their views known in pamphlets and books and magazine articles as well as on the platform'.<sup>1</sup>

**Table 5: Church Socialist League membership, November 1909**

<u>Branch</u>	<u>No. of members</u>	<u>Branch</u>	<u>No. of members</u>	<u>Branch</u>	<u>No. of members</u>
Central	98	Elland	16	Liverpool	42
Aston-under-Lyne	16	Failsworth	15	London	246
Accrington	12	Glasgow	23	Manchester	43
Birmingham	80	Hastings	9	Newcastle	39
Bristol	61	Hawarden	13	New Mill	26
Cardiff	9	Heywood	24	Preston	20
Coventry	30	High Wycombe	7	Swansea	22
Clitheroe	12	Ipswich	6	Scarborough	8
Croydon	26	Lancaster	17	Stockport	6
Darlington	8	Leeds	13	Sunderland	39
Derby	13	Leicester	127	Taunton	13
Durham	12	Lincoln	11	<b>Total:</b>	<b>1162</b>

<sup>1</sup> Maurice B. Reckitt, 'The Christian Social Movement in England: Its Aims and Its Organization', *The Journal of Religion* 4, no. 2 (1924): 147-173.

Figure 1: Church Socialist League membership, November 1909, by location<sup>1</sup>



The most distinguishing feature of the Church Socialist League was that it went beyond the other Anglican Christian Socialist organizations in terms of its support for an explicitly socialist economic doctrine. In addition, its members were often seen expressing their views as 'Socialists'; they stressed that their socialist platform was not milder than the secular brand despite the fact that it had been inspired by Christian principles. Soon after its formation, the CSL published its constitutional principles, as follows:

<sup>1</sup> Reproduced from Ordnance Survey map data by permission of the Ordnance Survey © Crown copyright 2010.  
<http://www.ordnancesurvey.co.uk/oswebsite/freefun/outlinemaps/> Accessed 7 June 2011]

1. The Church has a mission to the whole of human life, social and individual, material and spiritual.
2. The Church can best fulfill its social mission by acting in its corporate capacity.
3. To this end the members of the League accept the principle of socialism.
4. Socialism is the fixed principle according to which the community should own the land and capital collectively and use them co-operatively for the good of all.

The League's adapted principles, which emerged around 1909, are notable for a number of reasons. The new CSL platform reasserted the importance of its economic doctrine, by moving Principles Nos. 3 and 4 above to the top of its platform, and it added a principle to say that both the Church and the state had a role to play in attaining the fullness of life for all. Moreover, the League developed the 'Measures' that had been added to the principles. These were now as follows:

1. To cultivate the life of brotherhood by the use of prayer and sacrament, and to make manifest the social implications of our faith and worship.
2. To give practical effect to the sex equality proclaimed by the sacraments of the Church.
3. To help the advance of socialism by every just means.
4. To convert Church people to the principles of socialism, and to promote a better understanding between Church people who are not socialists, and socialists who are not Church people.

If the Church Socialist League was broadly united regarding its commitment to collectivist doctrine in the period 1906-1912, it was more divided over other fundamental political issues. During this time there were frequent calls from amongst the membership to affiliate to the Labour Party, both because individual membership was not possible at the time and because such CSL-ers believed affiliation would support the socialist cause. However, resolutions to affiliate were never passed at conference level; it was deemed inappropriate for the League to commit its members to a secular, political organization. Moreover, by 1909-1911 many within the League were becoming disenchanted with the Labour Party on account of its perceived (and arguably its actual) failure to advance a socialist political economy. In addition, there were further divisions regarding Leaguers' views on its theological stance and its response to the likely-looking European conflict.

Finally, the influence of Guild Socialist ideas from 1913 onwards would lay the foundation for the League's conversion to Guild Socialism in 1915. Thus the seeds of the League's decline were sown before the First World War: After having won the battle to convert the League to Guild Socialism, Reckitt and Widdrington steered the League back towards theological introspection and the pursuit of a 'Christian sociology'. When Conrad Noel left the League in 1916, and formed Catholic Crusade in 1918, he took many members away from the League. The Catholic Crusade is noted for its educational and political centre at Thaxted, Essex, and for being the first socialist organization to welcome the Russian Revolution. Other League members found their way into the Society of Socialist Christians. The Church Socialist League was disbanded in 1923, whereupon its activities were subsumed into the League of the Kingdom of God. However, as Bryant noted, its distinctive work had long ceased before this time.

## Nonconformist and non-denominational

### The Christian Socialist Society, 1886-1892

**Key figures:** W. H. Paul Campbell, Alfred Howard, Charles L. Marson, H. H. Gore, Emily Guest, E. D. Girdlestone, John Glasse, J. C. Kenworthy, Alexander Webster.

**Organs:** *Christian Socialist* (unofficial 1883-1891, except during 1887 only), Christian Socialist Society Tracts.

**Summary:** The Christian Socialist Society (CSS) was established in 1886 after a discussion between Alfred Howard and H.H. Gore in the *Christian Socialist*, which called for an organization in which all Christian Socialists, including non-sacerdotal Christians and nonconformists, could stand for every strand of socialism on the basis of their Christianity. Its founders were based in London, but branches were soon established in Bristol, Leicester,



Glasgow, and Liverpool. In terms of its activity, the CSS held a number of meetings and conferences, as well as helping to publicise the findings of the Congregationalist pamphlet *The Bitter Cry of Outcast London* in a series of tracts, and in works such as *The Robbery of the Poor* by W. Howard Paul Campbell. The *Christian Socialist*, which during 1887 was the official organ of the Society, was at the time a well-known platform for debate amongst Christian Socialists, secular socialists, and other social reformers.

The Christian Socialist Society had aimed to be a platform upon which all denominations of Christian Socialism could unite and flourish; in its platform it declared itself 'independent of special theological views'. Its manifesto, published in May 1886, advanced the following proposals:

1. The union of men in a real universal brotherhood.
2. Public control of the Land and Capital to be gradually assumed, and the organization of Society on a basis of rightly directed industry and moral worth (rather than of wealth, privilege and monopoly as at present); industry being understood to comprise both mental and manual work.
3. The fullest possible development of the powers and faculties of each member of the community by the provision of a liberal education, physical, mental and industrial.
4. The consequent ennobling of domestic and national life, and the promotion of enlarged peaceful relations with all men.

By standing for public ownership, it was the Society's aim to create the society in which people could 'put into the practice the principles taught by Christ in all their dealings with one another as fellow men and fellow Christians'. However, the leading figures in the Society grew frustrated at its inability to devise a clear political programme. W. H. P. Campbell actually sought to dissolve the Society in 1887, but the Bristol and Clifton branch resisted his proposals. The Society had a short revival in fortunes on account of the labour unrest in 1889 – it had always supported the case for Labour representation in Parliament, and was able to build upon its links with Labour leaders during the 1889 strikes.

Nevertheless the Christian Socialist Society was short lived. It lacked the membership base of other organizations (it probably never numbered more than 150 people) as well as the financial backing required for survival, which more strictly denominational Christian Socialist organizations tended to draw from their churches and congregations. In December 1891 the *Christian Socialist* was disbanded; from then on *Brotherhood* became the platform for the Society. However, the demise of the *Christian Socialist* was regarded to be a fundamental cause of the Society's decline. In June 1892 the CSS London branch formally dissolved, on account of the following reasons:

1. Discontinuance of the *Christian Socialist*, which made it difficult to unite scattered members, many of whom were busy in several other organizations.
2. The movement was tending to crystallize around the various religious bodies, as a branch of their general activities at their local centres.

Whilst the Society itself was no more, its leading figures and theorists would go on to flourish in other Christian Socialist organizations for a generation.

### **The Ministers' Union; The Christian Socialist League, 1894-1898; the Christian Social Brotherhood, 1898-1903; and the Brotherhood Church movement**

**Key figures:** John Clifford, J. Bruce Wallace.

**Organ:** *Brotherhood* (of the Christian Social Brotherhood from 1889).

**Summary:** The end of the nineteenth century witnessed the establishment of two Christian Socialist organizations which aimed to open Christian Socialism up to all Christians. The Christian Socialist League was said by Jones to have been 'truly interdenominational. However, neither body attracted the sort of numbers required for survival.

The Christian Socialist League (not to be confused with the Church Socialist League) was established in 1894, in order to replace the Ministers' Union. It was founded by the Baptist John Clifford, who was later leader of the Passive Resistance Movement, its vice-president was the Congregationalist J. Bruce Wallace, and figures such as Charles Marson, Percy Alden, and

John Shuttleworth served on the executive. Its aim was 'to bring the teaching of Christ to bear directly' on social problems. The Christian Socialist League did not found a journal, but it held several conferences and its influence spread into the regions via meetings and lectures. It also organized missions and campaigned for Fabian candidates for the London School Board. While most of its activity came from its metropolitan branches, Clifford's League did have branches outside the capital, the largest of which was in Glasgow with 50 members. However, not enough branches were established to take the organizational strain off Clifford and Wallace, who were both preoccupied with their other activities.

John Clifford and J. Bruce Wallace went on to found the Christian Social Brotherhood at the Mansfield House settlement in February 1898. It was effectively the successor to the League which had folded that year, and the *Brotherhood*, which had been running since 1887, became its official organ. It drew many of its members from Clifford's League, including C. Fleming Williams, Will Reason, Richard Westrope, and C. S. Horne but it seems to have disappeared by 1903, by which time Bruce Wallace was concentrating on his own Brotherhood Trust (outlined in detail in the body of the thesis). The Christian Social Brotherhood defined the following programme in 1898:

Basis:

1. All members recognise that for the regeneration of society the teaching of Christ must be brought directly to bear upon the industrial and social conditions of the people.
2. That we have a Common or Social as well as an individual responsibility, and this Common responsibility implies concerted action.

Objects:

1. To secure a better understanding of the idea of the Kingdom of God on earth.
2. To re-establish this idea in the thought and life of the Church.
3. To assist in its practical realization in all the relations and activities of human society.

## Organizations that are peripheral to the thesis

There were a number of other Christian Socialist organizations that were active in the period. For the most part, their story has been traced by Peter d'A. Jones and other subsequent scholars, and research has found little if anything to either challenge or supplement their work in terms of the history of the organizations themselves. The impact of these societies on late-nineteenth and early-twentieth-century economic and socialist discourse was much more limited than the impact of the societies listed above, and it is the ideas of Christian Socialism that contributed to this discourse that this thesis intends to study. In fact, several of these societies were founded in order to spread socialist ideas within the church of which its founders were members, and as such they were akin to a small-scale Christian Social Union. But, as Jones wrote, 'no other Christian Socialist society could wield the power of the CSU'. For these reasons, there has been insufficient space in this thesis for a detailed account of the ideas and activities of these organizations, and for more detail the reader is directed towards Peter d'A. Jones's study and the other authors named below, from which the information here is derived.

### New-Church Socialist Society 1895-1901

**Key figures:** L. P. Ford, S. J. Cunningham, Thomas Child, T. D. Benson.

Organ: *Uses*

**Summary:** As Jones recounted, the New-Church Socialist Society was the vehicle of Swedenborgian socialism. The aim of the Society was to 'study and promulgate the teachings and practice of our Lord Jesus Christ as applied to every human duty'. However, because the main function of the Society was always to promote socialist ideals within its own church. Its organ, *Uses*, edited by Benson, evoked Swedenborg's slogan 'All life is the life of Use'. The journal defined its own object, as follows: 'To deduce and develop the true science and order of society in heaven revealed to man through the instrumentality of Emmanuel Swedenborg'. Jones recounted the New-Church Socialist Society's constitutional principles, which it defined in 1896, as follows:

1. That the present system and conduct of life, being disorderly and un-Christian, hamper the spiritual, moral and material welfare of the people.
2. That the true economy is to be found in the words and life of the Lord Jesus Christ, as interpreted by the New-Church; and that this is known at the present time as Socialism.
3. That this can only be established by the gradual moral and spiritual advancement of the people; but that no advancement can be made without some progress towards the ideal upon the ultimate plane.
4. Therefore that the Church should be the first to proclaim the true economy and the first to practice it, leaving individuals free to follow that course which seems to them to be truest and best.

Several New-Church socialists, including Child, Goldsack, and Benson, espoused a socialist economic programme on the basis, they claimed, of the teachings of Swedenborg. In terms of activity, Benson was also known for his ILP tract *Socialism and service*, while others within the Society concentrated on promoting the Single Tax or attacking imperialism in New-Church circles. Jones recounted that the demise of the society followed the death of *Uses* in 1901 'owing to insufficient support'. Jones wrote that it struggled to overcome the 'narrow and inward-looking' directing clique of the New-Church, and that the Society's impact outside the New-Church was 'probably almost nil'. After the Society was wound down, its members moved on to J. Bruce Wallace's Brotherhood movement, or the Garden City movement, the Labour Church, or the ILP.

### Socialist Quaker Society 1898-1924

**Key figures:** William Loftus Hare, Samuel Hobson, Mary O'Brien.

**Organ:** The Ploughshare

**Summary:** The history of the Socialist Quaker Society has been recounted by Peter d'A. Jones and Tony Adams, and research has not unearthed any of its printed materials not considered by these two scholars. Moreover, as Jones wrote, its aim was 'to convert Quakers to socialism, not to convert socialists to Christianity or even to spread socialism among non-Quakers'.

In his work Jones noted that the SQS was founded in order to promote the following amongst the Quakers:

1. The meaning of socialism.
2. Their responsibilities towards socialism as a solution to the problems of today.
3. Their unique position for the spread of socialism.

The Socialist Quaker Society produced a series of Tracts, and its members contributed articles to other Christian Socialist periodicals before the SQS founded its own journal, *The Ploughshare*, in 1912. As Tony Adams wrote, the SQS at first favoured Fabian ideals, and it centred on the call for the common ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange for the benefit of the producers. Socialism would be established through parliamentary means, firstly by permeating the Liberal party and then by the establishment of a socialist party funded by the trade unions.

Jones argued that the SQS was hampered by a rival Quaker body, the Friends' Social Union, which included powerful figures such as B. Seebohm Rowntree and George Cadbury. The FSU's more respectable image, he wrote, 'damaged the SQS in the same way that the CSU had damaged the Guild of St. Matthew'. Quaker authorities were not as hostile to the FSU as they were to the SQS, and reformist Quakers found ideas similar to the CSU's 'Commercial Morality' more attractive than the more radical socialist economic platform of the SQS.

Despite these difficulties, Jones argued that the SQS enjoyed a resurgence in activity after 1908. As Adams went on, the Socialist Quaker Society followed a similar intellectual trajectory to the Church Socialist League. It began to question the appropriateness of state collectivism, and its organ, founded in 1912, 'was to find a balance between nationalization and direct worker control in developments stemming from these more ethically-based hopes – to be termed Guild Socialism'. However, the war was especially demanding on *The Ploughshare's* vision, Adams argued, and at the war's end, Hare rejected industrial solutions, emphasizing

instead the moral imperative of mutual love.<sup>1</sup>

### **League of Progressive Thought and Social Service 1907-c1911**

**Key figures:** R. J. Campbell, Frederick R. Swan, T. Rhondda Williams.

**Organ:** The Christian Commonwealth

**Summary:** The League of Progressive Thought and Social Service claimed to have over six hundred members. Its key planks were firstly, the 'Unity of mankind', and secondly, 'that all material things should be used for the well-being of society and individual'. The League aimed to 'Provide a fellowship for all progressive thinkers on religion, socialists, and social workers who desire to identify their social, political, and ethical ideals with the teaching of Jesus Christ'.<sup>2</sup> In his study, Bryant noted that the League aimed 'to work for a social reconstruction which will give economic emancipation to all workers... and establish a new social order based on co-operation for life instead of competition for existence'. Campbell himself, as Jones noted, stood for national ownership of capital and all basic industries.

### **The Free Church Socialist League 1909-1912**

**Key figures:** Herbert Dunnico, Philip Snowden.

**Organ:** None.

**Summary:** As Jones recounted, the Free Church Socialist League was established at the Free Church Council in Swansea, March 1909. It was, as Dunnico noted, 'an ethical and educational rather than a political organization', but one which he envisaged would 'take part in the destruction of the present commercial and industrial system'. The Council already had in existence a 'Social Questions Committee' before the League was established, and this committee was linked with figures as diverse as J. A. Hobson and J. C. Kenworthy. The Free Church Socialist League was more a means for social reformers of the Free Church to meet and engage in discussion: these figures made their imprint on socialist history outside the auspices of the League.

The most notable member of the Free Church Socialist League was undoubtedly Philip Snowden, who later became Chancellor of the Exchequer, but who was known amongst Christian Socialist circles before that time as the author of *The Christ that is to be* (1905). In this ILP pamphlet Snowden advanced an individualist social gospel based on the character and teaching of Jesus. As Jones noted, it called for a political religion 'which will seek to realise its ideal in our industrial and social affairs by the application and use of political methods'. Jones argued that *The Christ that is to be* illustrated the mind of the Free Church Socialist League, and even of Nonconformist socialism in general. While it is agreed that Snowden's fusion of 'Personal salvation and social salvation' echoed the ideas of nonconformist Christian Socialism, it is shown in this thesis that a number of nonconformist Christian Socialists proffered a range of economic programmes that varied considerably from that espoused by Snowden.

<sup>1</sup> Tony Adams, *A Far-Seeing Vision, The Socialist Quaker Society (1898-1924)* (Bedford: Quaker Socialist Society, 1986), 33-5.

<sup>2</sup> *The Optimist* Vol. 3 No. 4 (Oct 1908).

## Appendix Two: *Dramatis personae*

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### James Adderley

Like several of his peers in the Christian Social Union, James 'Jimmy' Granville Adderley (1861-1942) entered a clerical career following an education at Eton and Oxford, and he spent much of his time working amongst the poor of London's East end. His work for the Church of England took him to Poplar, Mayfair, Marylebone, and Birmingham.

As a member of the Guild of St. Matthew, the Christian Social Union, and the Church Socialist League, Adderley was an ever-present Christian Socialist during the *fin-de-siècle* period. He was a prolific author; subjects of his works ranged from social reform, to theology, to the life of St. Francis of Assisi. He was also the editor of *Goodwill* and he produced a number of Church Socialist League pamphlets. As a case study Adderley epitomised the grand narrative of this thesis: beginning as a conservative Mauricean who was anxious about 'class' legislation, he went on to support individualist methods for changing society, before finally converting to collectivist economic socialism and announcing that he was a 'socialist'.

Surprisingly little has been said about James Adderley in detail outside of the main volumes on Christian Socialism, save for the ODNB entry by N.C. Masterman, and a biography written in 1943. Chris Bryant's *Possible Dreams* is largely derivative of a biography of Percy Dearmer, and of the study by Jones, and so one must turn to Masterman and Jones's *Christian Socialist Revival* for Adderley's story. As well as recounting Adderley's life, Jones noted the ideas expounded in several of his works, such as *Stephen Remarx* (1893), *Looking Upward* (1896), and *New Earth* (1903).

### John Carter

Surprisingly little has been written about John Carter, and even less that really locates him at the heart of Christian Socialist political economy in the late nineteenth century. At the time of writing, Carter is almost entirely absent from labour, socialist, and economic historiography, except where he was mentioned as being editor of the *Economic Review* by a number of scholars interested in the periodical, and where his contribution to the CSU was recounted by Jones and Bryant.

Carter was born in Canada, but undertook his higher education in England, in Exeter college alongside A. J. Carlyle. As Jones noted, Carter served a curacy in Limehouse, London, before becoming the chaplain of Exeter college in 1890. He was a founding member and secretary of the Oxford branch of the Guild of St. Matthew, and later became its treasurer and vice-president. When the Oxford branch of the Christian Social Union was established in 1889 Carter became its secretary. Its other executive members included Scott Holland, Percy Dearmer, and Charles Gore. If Scott Holland was the (Oxford) CSU's visionary, John Carter was its chief organizer. To scholars of Christian Socialism Carter is known as a key promulgator of the Christian Social Union's 'Commercial Morality' doctrine, as well as the long-standing editor of the *Review*. Jones has noted the influence of T. H. Green's ideas on Carter's social thought, as well as the role Carter played in helping to establish a branch of the CSU in the United States and in Canada.

Jones drew his insight from sources such as Carter's correspondence with Ely, Crockford's Clerical Dictionary, and one or two of Carter's pamphlets. The research undertaken for this thesis has sought to uncover Carter's reception of Alfred Marshall's ideas and of the emerging trends in economic thought during the *fin-de-siècle*, by engaging with his pamphlets and contributions to the *Review* and other Christian Socialist periodicals.

### John Clifford

John Clifford (1836-1923) was a minister of the New Connexion of General Baptists. He began his first ministry in 1858 in Praed Street Baptist Church, Paddington, where he remained until 1915; David M. Thompson noted that during Clifford's ministry Praed Street's congregation increased from around sixty to over a thousand. Clifford married Rebecca Carter in 1862 and he founded the Westbourne Park Baptist chapel in 1877. Following his return from a world tour

during 1897, Westbourne Park Chapel became a hub for Christian Socialist activity and missions. Clifford established ventures such as the Social Progress Society, University Extension Lectures, and the Westbourne Park Institute from the chapel.

During his lifetime Clifford was editor of the *General Baptist Magazine* (1870–84), president of the London Baptist Association in 1879, president of the National Council of the Evangelical Free Churches (1898–9), and he was the first president of the Baptist World Alliance. According to Peter d'A. Jones, the foundation of Clifford's theology was the 'personal experience of redemption in Christ' so unlike the majority of Christian Socialists, Clifford 'remained a theological individualist despite his repudiation of the political individualism traditionally associated with such a religious stand'.<sup>1</sup> Although he always believed he belonged in the religious rather than the political sphere, Clifford was always politically-active; amongst his many interests were education, anti-clericalism, and anti-imperialism. He was a lifelong Liberal, and a prominent early Fabian. As Thompson recounted, 'Clifford is most widely remembered for his involvement in the education controversy. He successfully opposed the imposition of religious tests on board school teachers in London in 1893–4... [but was unsuccessful in his] campaign against rate assistance for denominational schools in the 1902 Education Act'.

In terms of his socialism, Jones has noted that it evolved from land reform to what he professed in his Fabian tracts, *Socialism and the Teaching of Christ* and *Socialism and the Churches*. Clifford was well-known as a Christian Socialist as a result of these publications, but he had also presided over two short-lived Christian Socialist organizations: the Christian Socialist League and the Christian Social Brotherhood. Research has shown that while Clifford aimed to moralize individual conduct in order to moralize relations and social organization, he also regarded the state to be a fundamental agent of social reform as man was only complete as part of the corporate state. He argued that socialism would not change human nature, but it does take away material evils, and is 'in harmony' with Christian principles. Moreover, his Fabian tracts advocated collective ownership of the means of production by the community, and by 1909 (at the age of 73), Clifford called for the land to be 'completely nationalized' in the state possession, and let out to individuals. Clifford died at a meeting of the Baptist Union council on 20 November 1923; his wife had died on 23 August 1919.

John Clifford is not unknown to historians of Christian Socialism, and therefore he features in this thesis mainly where results of new research has challenged socialist historiography. A recent resurgence of interest in his thought also throws new light on the extant historiography. Peter d'A. Jones relied on two early works, C. T. Bateman's *John Clifford: Free Church leader and preacher* (1904) and J. Marchant's *Dr John Clifford, CH: life, letters and reminiscences* (1924), works which Jones himself described as 'lacking in analytical content and omit[ting] all reference to his socialist activities'.<sup>2</sup> New sources include J. E. B. Munson's *John Clifford-A Victorian Radical* (1976),<sup>3</sup> three articles from the *Baptist Quarterly*, D. M. Thompson's 'John Clifford's social gospel', (1985–6), 'Spurgeon's opponents in the downgrade controversy', (1987–8) and 'The down grade controversy: new evidence' (1993–4) both by M. Hopkins; and finally *The English Baptists of the 19th century* (1994) by J. H. Y. Briggs.<sup>4</sup> In this final text the section on Clifford's social thought, Briggs admitted, was derived largely from the PhD thesis of Professor Hart, 'The Social Conscience of English Baptists in the later Nineteenth Century with special reference to the work of Dr. John Clifford'.<sup>5</sup> There is also, of course, Clifford's ODNB entry by David M. Thompson. All of these texts have been consulted in the preparation of this thesis.

### E. D. Girdlestone

E. D. Girdlestone was, as Jones noted, an Anglican layman and a prolific Christian Socialist writer. He was treasurer of the Christian Socialist Society, whose other members included J. C.

<sup>1</sup> Jones, *Christian Socialist Revival*, 342.

<sup>2</sup> Jones, *Christian Socialist Revival*, 340-1 fn72. Other early biographies of John Clifford include H. J. Cowell, *John Clifford as I knew him* (1936) and G. W. Byrt, *John Clifford: a fighting Free Churchman* (1947) qu. David M. Thompson, 'Clifford, John (1836–1923)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, Sept 2004; online edn, May 2006 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/32451>, accessed 21 Jan 2008] and Denis Crane, *John Clifford: God's Soldier and the People's Tribune* (London, 1908); essay on Clifford in A.G. Gardiner, *Prophets, Priests, and Kings* (London, New York, 1914), pp. 98-105 qu. George L. Bernstein, 'The Limitations of the New Liberalism: The Politics and Political Thought of John Clifford' *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies*, Vol. 16, No. 1. (Spring, 1984), 23 fn4.

<sup>3</sup> *Contemporary Review* 228 (April 1976) qu. Bernstein, 'The Limitations of the New Liberalism', 23 fn4.

<sup>4</sup> (Didcot: Baptist Historical Society, 1994)

<sup>5</sup> Edinburgh PhD Thesis, 1962.

Kenworthy and Charles Marson, and he was a member of Alfred Russel Wallace's Land Nationalisation Society along with Kenworthy and J. Bruce Wallace. He was always committed to espousing an economic and political socialist vision; he denounced charity, Charles Booth, and Henry George's Single Tax.

Girdlestone was a prolific author of books and articles, and a major thinker in the early stages of the late-century revival in Christian Socialism. His *Society Classified*, which ran to at least a third edition in 1886, his *Christian Socialist Versus Present-Day Unsocialism* (1887), and *The What and Why of Christian Socialism (1888-1889)* were all well-known Christian Socialist texts of their time. Indeed, Ruskin claimed in his *Fors Clavigera* that Girdlestone's *Society Classified* was 'the most complete and logical statement of economic truth, in the points it touches, that I have ever seen in the English language'.<sup>1</sup> Girdlestone was also known amongst the socialist movement. He was a founder member of the Birmingham Fabian Society and a frequent contributor to *Seedtime*, the organ of the New Fellowship (out of which the Fabian Society emerged). His impact upon the socialist and Christian Socialist movements, in spite of his publishing zeal, may have been limited due to others' reception of his character: as Jones noted, Girdlestone 'had a genius for upsetting people and was involved in long correspondences and debates in every journal for which he wrote'. His pro-monarchy and pro-imperialist stance may also have distanced him from other radical socialists.

Despite his impact on socialist life in the *fin-de-siècle*, Girdlestone is hardly known outside of Christian Socialist scholarship. There is currently no biography, no entry in the Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, and there was no mention of Girdlestone in the histories by Binyon and Norman. The account of his work in Jones's study was brief, perhaps because of considerations of space but almost certainly because sources were difficult to locate (in terms of Girdlestone's personal life, this remains the case).<sup>2</sup> Jones noted that Girdlestone a 'disciple' of Laurence Gronlund, drew attention to his contribution to Christian Socialist magazines, and summarized his support of nationalization of land and capital in his tract, *The What and Why of Christian Socialism* (1889-1890). One of the most recent histories of Christian Socialism, *Possible Dreams*, unfortunately confused E. D. Girdlestone with Canon Edward Girdlestone (d. 1884).<sup>3</sup>

### Stewart D. Headlam

Stewart Duckworth Headlam (1847-1924) began his clerical career in a conventional manner; after graduating from Eton and Cambridge, he held a curacy at St. John's, Drury Lane, London between 1870 and 1873. From there he took a curacy in Bethnal Green until 1878, and it was during this time that he established his Church and Stage Guild to defend the ballet and theatre workers, a move that would cost him his clerical licence. In 1884 Headlam inaugurated the 'Christian Socialist Revival' by founding the Guild of St. Matthew, which sought to bring back to life the ideas of his former tutor, the so-called 'Father of Christian Socialism' F. D. Maurice. As Jeremy Morris noted, though Headlam's licence was reinstated in 1878, Headlam never again held permanent office in the Church of England.

Headlam is remembered for his activities as leader of the GSM, as well as for his promulgation of incarnational theology. Headlam was not averse to the political sphere: he was a prominent early Fabian, and was elected to the London School Board and the London County Council. He is also noted for standing bail for Oscar Wilde, in 1895 despite having only met him twice. In terms of Christian Socialist economic doctrine, Headlam was the key advocate of Henry George's Single Tax, preferring it to alternatives when other Christian Socialists abandoned it in favour of other, more wide-ranging proposals. In his study of the movement, Jones claimed that it was difficult to justify Headlam's use of the term 'socialist' to describe his thought. Nonetheless, Jones maintained that 'it would be a strange history [of Christian Socialism] indeed if Headlam did not feature in it largely'. In an account of the economic ideas of Christian Socialists such as this thesis, there is, however, little need to cover Headlam's ideas in depth when his was just one of many voices contributing to Christian Socialist economic discourse. That this may make for a 'strange' history does not detract from the approach taken by either historian.

For a less 'strange' history, one can turn to the many texts already written about Stewart Duckworth Headlam. In addition to the works on Christian Socialism, in which he features

<sup>1</sup> *Brotherhood*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (1887), 3.

<sup>2</sup> See 312fn14.

<sup>3</sup> This was despite Jones's useful warning, albeit in a footnote in a text published thirty years earlier. See Bryant, *Possible Dreams*, 73 and Jones, *Christian Socialist Revival*, 312fn14.

heavily, there is Bettany's biography (1926), Leech's study in Reckitt's *For Christ and People* (1968). Scholars may turn to Jones for an account of Headlam's espousal of Henry George's Single Tax, his membership of the Fabian Society, and his position on the London School Board. Jones also recounted Headlam's leadership of the Guild of St. Matthew, including the support he enjoyed from Verinder, and his disagreements with Symes and Marson. Edward Norman's chapter on Headlam is somewhat derivative of Jones's work, which turn relied upon an earlier biography by Bettany (a work in turn criticised by Norman). However, Norman introduced new source material in order to illustrate how Headlam derived his socialism from the sacraments and he covered Headlam's Fabian tracts in more detail. Like Wolfe in his *From Radicalism to Socialism* (1975), Norman highlighted the secular appeal of Headlam's thought.

### Henry Scott Holland

Henry Scott Holland (1847-1918) was a well-known orator, writer, and social reformer. Throughout his life he was the energetic force of the Christian Social Union: John H. Heidt recounted that Charles Gore said he learned all he knew from Holland, and that his [Gore's] task was to put scholarly footnotes to his genius. Following an aristocratic upbringing and an Oxford education under T. H. Green, Holland was appointed canon of St. Paul's by Gladstone in 1884. He later became Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford in 1910.

Holland was central to the story of the Christian Social Union. He was integral to the 'Holy Party' and PESEK, both forerunners of the CSU, and he contributed to *Lux Mundi*, the theological tome that became associated with social Christianity. He was the author of many of the CSU's pamphlets and tracts, and his sermons were often printed under the auspices of the union and elsewhere. In addition, he helped found *The Commonwealth* and was its editor until just before his death in 1918; for many years afterward its front page would proudly proclaim 'Edited by Henry Scott Holland, 1896-1918'. Throughout the *fin-de-siècle* Holland worked in the slums, missions and settlements of London's east end.

The social doctrine espoused by Holland combined a social liberalism with elements of romanticism inspired by John Ruskin. He advanced the political economy of Wilfrid Richmond to the CSU, and he also supported its schemes that fell under the rubric of 'Commercial Morality'. Much of the existing literature has centred on Holland's life and theological thought, and scholars have largely based on Paget's collection of memoirs and letters and Lyttleton's biography, both published in the 1920s.<sup>1</sup> As well as the main texts on Christian Socialism, the scholar may draw insight from two unpublished theses, one by John Harvey Foster and the other by John H. Heidt.<sup>2</sup>

### J. C. Kenworthy

John Coleman Kenworthy (1863-19-?) was a former Liverpool businessman whose socialist career began when he joined the Liverpool Ruskin Society. He later toured the United States, as well as Russia where he met Leo Tolstoy. He became known to contemporaries as the English spokesperson for Tolstoy's work and ideas: both Tolstoy and Kenworthy translated and published each other's work in their respective countries. He is little known now, but Kenworthy was a familiar figure to late-nineteenth-century socialists. He was an executive member of the New Fellowship (from which the Fabian Society emerged), he became vice-president of Alfred Russel Wallace's Nationalisation of Labour Society, and as Jones noted, he worked in Mansfield House where he became acquainted with William Clarke, Herbert Burrows, and J. A. Hobson.

In terms of his Christian Socialist activity, Kenworthy joined the Christian Socialist Society and the Christian Socialist League, and he was pastor of the Brotherhood Church in Croydon, which was itself part of the Brotherhood movement he developed with J. Bruce Wallace. Kenworthy's major contributions to the history of Christian Socialism was his textbook, *The Anatomy of Misery: Plain Lectures in Economics* (1893), which ran to several editions, and his co-operative colony at Purleigh.

Jones argued that Kenworthy espoused a political economy influenced for a time by Edward Bellamy's *Looking Backward 2000-1887*, and later by Leo Tolstoy's demand for 'a complete break with the centralised state and the construction of a new 'organic' Christian order – small,

<sup>1</sup> S. Paget, ed., *Henry Scott Holland, Memoirs and Letters*, 2nd edn (1921); Edward Lyttleton, *The Mind and Character of Henry Scott Holland* (London: Mowbray, 1926).

<sup>2</sup> Foster, *Henry Scott Holland 1847-1918*; Heidt, *The Social Theology of Henry Scott Holland*.



cooperative, federated communities of free men, close to nature and the soil'. New research has brought to light the continued influence of Alfred Russel Wallace on Kenworthy, even after the latter moved away from his society to concentrate on establishing a Tolstoyan community. This thesis draws upon *The New Order*, Kenworthy's short-lived magazine in which he outlined his social doctrine.

Kenworthy's place in the history of Christian Socialism was recounted by Jones, who wrote Kenworthy's nonconformist and spiritualist theology encapsulated the 'Christian theism' aspect of the movement. Jones recounted how Kenworthy's *The Anatomy of Misery* put him in the limelight for a political economy which owed nothing to Marx, evolutionary socialism, or Fabian collectivism, and he went on to discuss his Purleigh colony. Later scholars have focused on life at the colony (de K. Holman's chapter 'The Purleigh Colony: Tolstoyan Togetherness in the late 1890s'), his involvement in the Brotherhood Church movement (*A History of the Brotherhood Church* by A.G. Higgins), and his critique of capitalism's propensity to encourage degenerate tastes amongst the working classes (Noel Thompson's 'Socialist Political Economies'). Nevertheless, no recent work has thus far drawn together this new research and combined it with a thorough examination of his socialist doctrine espoused in his printed material. An attempt has therefore been made by this thesis to do so.

### Charles L. Marson

Charles Latimer Marson (1859-1914) was educated at University College, Oxford, and after leaving Oxford he immediately joined Whitechapel settlement (later Toynbee Hall). Three years later he was editor of *The Christian Socialist* while curate at Petersham. His clerical career took him to Kent, Adelaide, where he founded the first Australian Fabian Society, and Hambridge, where he died in 1914. He was known outside socialist circles as a collector of English folk songs, an endeavour he undertook alongside Cecil Sharp.

It was not only his editorship of *The Christian Socialist* that defined Marson's Christian Socialist career. He was an active member of the Guild of St. Matthew and the Christian Socialist Society, and he was known to Christian Socialists for two major works: *Huppim, Muppim, And 'Ard* (first edition 1903) and *God's Co-operative Society* (1914), in which he outlined his views on educational and ecclesiastical reform respectively. Marson should also be commended for attempting to draw together Christian Socialists under a non-sectarian banner; though the project's success was limited, Marson's approach was ahead of its time, as it was the direction in which the movement would later travel during the inter-war years. Marson's egalitarian views were extended not just towards followers of other creeds, but towards women, the working classes, and people of colour. It took longer for him, however, to overcome traditional attitudes as regards gender equality. Reflecting on Headlam's support for Oscar Wilde in the latter's trial for sodomy, Marson commented that he was (as Jones noted) 'all for building a New Jerusalem... but not for "wading through Gomorrah first"'. However, Marson's comments were couched in his attack on Headlam's approach to GSM leadership, and he later softened his attitude to Wilde.

Few works on labour and socialist history comment on the work of Marson, but his story has been told a recent biography by David Sutcliffe and by various scholars of Christian Socialism.<sup>1</sup> Binyon noted his concern with the role of the church as a social teacher, as outlined in his contribution to *Vox Clamantium* in 1894. Marson featured prominently in *The Christian Socialist Revival*, in which Jones outlined Marson's feud with Stewart Headlam over GSM policy and Headlam's support for Oscar Wilde, Marson's views on disestablishment, and his 'radical' editorship of the *Christian Socialist*. Marson is also an important part of Bryant's history, which highlighted his sympathetic attitude towards the aboriginals during his secondment in Australia. Bryant's research was largely drawn from a study by Maurice Reckitt in his *For Christ and People* (1968), which was published too late for Jones to have been able to consult. Reckitt's chapter on Marson was a concise and detailed summary which was, in turn, largely derived from a biography by F.M. Etherington, published in 1914. For further reading on Marson, Reckitt's and Sutcliffe's studies are recommended.

### Conrad Noel

Conrad Le Despenser Roden Noel (1869-1942) was during his formative years a member of both the Guild of St. Matthew and the Christian Social Union, but he emerged as a Christian

<sup>1</sup> Sutcliffe, *The Keys of Heaven*.

Socialist theorist proper at the turn of the century, when he helped found the Church Socialist League. He later broke away from the League to found the Catholic Crusade. Noel is widely remembered for establishing a socialist hub at Thaxted, Essex, where he was appointed a living by the outspoken socialist Lady Warwick in 1910, and where he remained until his death in 1942. Like Headlam and several other Christian Socialists, Noel had encountered opposition to his socialism from his masters and congregations during his early clerical career, and so Lady Warwick's support gave him a greater degree of freedom to express his views than many of his ordained peers enjoyed.

Fulfilling Warwick's wish, under Noel Thaxted became a centre for socialist publishing and activity, as well as for promoting socialist and folk culture. The Thaxted Morris Men of today trace their history back to 1911 when Noel and his wife Miriam helped to found the Thaxted Morris Dance Company, as part of the endeavours to revive English folk music led by Cecil Sharp (alongside Charles Marson). Both historical and popular accounts of the history of Thaxted Church under Noel also make note of the 'Battle of the Flags', which ensued after Noel hung the socialist red flag (emblazoned with the words, as Kenneth Leech noted, 'He hath made of one blood all nations'), as well as the flag of Sinn Féin alongside the flag of St. George inside the church. Noel's substitution of an open seating policy for the previous system of pew rents, a measure which prompted the churchwarden to resign, was just one of several similar controversial episodes that encapsulated Noel's vision for a socialist Church. As Jones noted, from Thaxted there reverberated socialism, anti-Sabbatarianism, anti-imperialism, ritualism, and folk art. While Thaxted had its opponents, it was nonetheless a moderately successful venture. Reginald Groves noted that a fair share of Noel's congregation was drawn from the working classes, chiefly from the agricultural labourers in the district and the workers of a nearby sweet factory.

Noel espoused an internationalist and collectivist economic doctrine, and this vision combined with his Thaxted activity, has supported the notion that he represented the radical left-wing of Christian Socialism. While this is almost certainly true of the 1920s-1940s, a time when the movement in general reverted back to study and the search for a 'Christian sociology', research has shown that when he promulgated essentially the same economic socialist ideas during 1906-1918, Noel was in the midst of Christian Socialist thinkers. Existing scholarship has, however, tended to focus on Noel's Christian Socialist career during the later period, when Thaxted was becoming more renowned for its activity and when Noel's communist creed marked him out as an interesting case study. For further details on the latter part of Noel's life which falls outside the rubric of this study, interested scholars may turn to Noel's autobiography, as well as existing studies by Reginald Groves, Kenneth Leech, R. Woodfield, and a forthcoming study by Arthur Burns.

### Charles William Stubbs

Charles William Stubbs (1845-1912, not to be confused with William Stubbs, Bishop of Oxford d. 1901) was ordained after a Cambridge education and was Vicar of Wavertree, Liverpool (1888-1894). He later became Dean of Ely (1894-1906) and Bishop of Truro (1906-1912).

Stubbs began to produce books from the late 1870s, before the start of the 'Christian Socialist revival'. His earlier *Village Politics* (1878) was more moderate than the later *The Land and Labourers* (1884), whose detailed illustration of the success and failures of co-operative associations was infused his sympathy for trade unions. *The Land and Labourers*, which reached at least four editions, was also notable for Stubbs's rejection of the ideas of Henry George. Stubbs later published several works on socialism and political economy, including *For Christ and City! Liverpool Sermons and Addresses* (1890), *Christ and Economics: In the Light of the Sermon on the Mount* (1894), and *A Creed for Christian Socialists* (1897). He was a member of the Guild of St. Matthew and the Christian Socialist Society, but his most prominent publications were written for the Christian Social Union. His social doctrine was mild, even for a CSU member, but it was in attempting to forge a Christian economics that Stubbs made his greatest contribution to Christian Socialist thought.

As regards scholarly literature, there are the expected records of Stubbs's clerical career, but little has been written about his life or social thought. Jones noted that he was a 'prolific lecturer', while also having him marked as a 'Georgeist', but found room only to mention his major works rather than explain their content in detail. Stubbs hardly featured at all in the studies by Norman and Bryant. Only the short biographical study *Charles William Stubbs, Bishop of Truro* (1914) by E. H. Sedding, talked about Stubbs's socialism in any great detail,

citing one of his letters to *The Times* to show how socialism remained important to him throughout his life.

### **N. E. Egerton Swann**

The contribution of Nathaniel Emilius Egerton Swann (c1880-?) to Christian Socialist history extended beyond the years that concern this thesis, but even before the First World War he had emerged as an important Christian Socialist theorist. His connection with the movement went back to the days of the Guild of St. Matthew, of which he was a member, but he began to publish articles on a regular basis for the Church Socialist League. As Jones noted, George Lansbury recalled that in the years preceding the formation of the League, Swann's rooms in Paddington were the meeting place for Christian Socialists such as himself, Conrad Noel, G. K. Chesterton, F. Lewis Donaldson, P. E. T. Widdrington, and Lady Warwick.

Little is known about Swann's life or clerical career. Like Conrad Noel, Egerton Swann continued to promulgate various Christian Socialist ideas throughout the 1920s, but during the *fin-de-siècle* period his work was remarkable for its attempt to delineate a Christian Socialist economic policy that combined state collectivism with decentralist measures. Before the war, Swann was advocating a more nuanced and malleable interpretation of socialism, but he was not a wholehearted Guild Socialist at this time. While supporting many of their ideas, his *Church Socialist* articles from around 1908 to 1914 contained critical assessments of the works of Belloc and G. K. Chesterton.

Swann's life and work has made little imprint upon socialist and labour historiography, aside from the work of Gary Taylor, who referred to Swann as 'one of the key political theorists of the CSL'. Swann featured regularly in Taylor's study of the Church Socialist League; he noted Swann's disaffection for the Liberal party, and his rejection of Maurice Reckitt's view that the Labour party would be unable to establish a socialist commonwealth. Taylor went on to recount how before the First World War Swann advocated both industrial and parliamentary means for establishing socialism, and how he attacked the wage system before the Guild Socialists were making their voices heard in the CSL. Taylor's study referred also to Swann's rejection of Marxist materialism during the 1920s, his rejection of Bolshevism for espousing 'capitalist values', and his enunciation of the 'social credit' doctrine of C. H. Douglas. While Taylor's work did most to situate Swann within the story of the CSL, Swann also featured in the work of Jones; he noted Swann's rejection of Fabian 'gradualism', and also explained that he stood opposed to the many pacifists of the Church Socialist League, recounting that he 'flew off into regions of ecstatic fury over the evil Germans'.

### **J. Bruce Wallace**

J. Bruce Wallace (1853-1939) was, as Jones noted, an 'extremely active man, a vegetarian, an "internationalist" and Christian pacifist, a Garden City protagonist, a Congregationalist, and a socialist'. He was educated in Ireland and held a Congregational ministry in Belfast, before leaving for London following legal and religious persecution.

Wallace took part in Fabian activities and the Labour Church movement, and he was well known to British socialists such as Keir Hardie and Ramsay MacDonald. Like many others, he was at first influenced by Henry George, before converting to socialism after hearing Laurence Gronlund's ideas. He was vice-president of the Christian Socialist League, and he became vice-president of the Nationalisation of Labour Society with J. C. Kenworthy. However, Wallace is best known for his work revolving around his 'Brotherhood' schemes, including the Brotherhood Church (1892-1902), the Brotherhood Trust, and the Mutual Service Circle, as well as for his work for the Garden City movement (and its associated Alpha Union). Wallace also founded the *Brotherhood* magazine which, as shown above, became the organ for various Christian Socialist and other reform organizations.

Many of Wallace's publications were concerned with the political and economic direction being taken by the Trust, as well as the socialist vision that the Trust was meant to bring about. These works included the pamphlets *Why and in What Sense Christians Ought to Be Socialists* and *Towards Fraternal Organization: An Explanation of the Brotherhood Trust*. Jones noted that the Brotherhood Trust was 'a complex cooperative structure, invented to carry on trade and industry, and paying good trade union wage rates to all its workers, together with old-age pensions, sickness and accident benefits, all out of profits'. Wallace wrote fewer works after moving to Letchworth, where he remained until 1912, when it is said that he married Mary

Tudor Pole and went with her to become involved in the Glastonbury mysteries.<sup>1</sup>

For an account of Wallace's life and ideas, the scholar may turn to Jones's study and to *A History of the Brotherhood Church* (1982), by A. G. Higgins.<sup>2</sup> Higgins provided a brief account of Wallace's life, noting that a full biography was commissioned by Wallace's daughter, but that unfortunately the death of one of its authors prevented its completion. There seem to have been no attempts at a biography made since, nor is there an ODNB entry.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, J. Bruce Wallace was not mentioned by Norman at all, nor by Bryant, save for the story of the meeting of the exiled Fifth Congress of the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party in his 'tin tabernacle' off Southgate Road in 1907, in which Lenin, Trotsky, and Luxemburg were present. Peter d'A Jones's recounted Wallace's contribution to the Christian Socialist movement, but argued that there was nothing new or original in Wallace's social theology. To come to this conclusion, Jones had consulted some works by Wallace, including *Brotherhood, Towards Fraternal Organization: An Explanation of the Brotherhood Trust* (1895), and *Why and in What Sense Christians Ought to be Socialists*, as well as the *Congregational Yearbook*, and the *Labour Prophet*. However, this thesis has investigated Wallace's ideas and his Trust in more depth, based on close engagement with his printed material, some of which has not previously been considered, such as *How a Minority Could Establish a New Social Order* (1893), *Gold, Silver, and Labour* (1900), and *Political Economy Lessons for the People*.

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<sup>1</sup> 'A Cloistered Life', *Utopia Britannica*, <http://www.utopia-britannica.org.uk/pages/Cloisters.htm> [accessed 15 May 2011].

<sup>2</sup> (Stapleton: Brotherhood Church, 1982).

<sup>3</sup> Although *The Thinning of the Veil: A Record of Experience* (New York: Watkins, 1919) may sound like a biography – an impression strengthened by the fact that its author is Wallace's wife, Mary Bruce, and that it contains a foreword by J. Bruce – it is actually an account of Mary's psychic experiences, as clarified by the title of the 1981 re-issue.

# Appendix Three: Periodicals of Christian Socialism

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## Christian Socialist periodicals

### *The Church Reformer: An Organ of Christian Socialism and Church Reform (1882-1895)*

Though it never officially became the organ of the Guild of St. Matthew, the *Church Reformer* was always closely tied to the Guild as both were maintained under the stewardship of S. D. Headlam. The *Reformer* was a monthly twopenny magazine, published at first by William Reeves and later by Frederick Verinder, and it was printed by the Women's Printing Society, Westminster. That the *Reformer* espoused the notion that competitive capitalism was un-Christian was evinced by its masthead, which cited William Blake's 'And did those feet in ancient time', the poem adopted by the socialist movement (and which later provided the lyrics for Parry's 'Jerusalem').

The aim of the *Church Reformer* was to convince the Church of England of the need for social reform, and to establish better links between socialists and clergymen. In 1894 the *Reformer's* leading article stated that its message was extended 'once more, as it always has been, to Churchmen who value their Churchmanship to take an intelligent and enthusiastic interest in every kind of social and political reform; and to reformers to realise that the Church, so far from being opposed to them, is essentially democratic and progressive'.<sup>1</sup>

In order to achieve these aims, the *Reformer* printed Christian critiques of capitalism and articles on social reform by Thomas Hancock, W. E. Moll, Charles Marson, and Frederick Verinder amongst others, as well as news on the Guild of St. Matthew (including Headlam's Annual Lectures) and other Christian Socialist societies as they emerged. The *Reformer* dedicated a lot of space to political and socialist matters, and ran columns such as 'American Notes', which recorded the efforts of W. P. D. Bliss to organize an American Christian Socialist Society, and 'Concerning South Australia', which documented Marson's curacy in Adelaide. Other items included poems, stories, hymns, and critical reviews of socialist and economic texts. These texts included works such as Laurence Gronlund's *The Co-operative Commonwealth*, Symes's *Political Economy*, and *The Fabian Essays*, various texts by Henry George, and Marshall's *Principles of Economics*.<sup>2</sup>

Though Headlam welcomed opposing views and regarded his paper to be a forum for debate, unlike with some other Christian Socialist periodicals it is possible with the *Church Reformer* to discern a coherent political position. Headlam and Verinder were ardent Single-Taxers: they produced a wealth of articles and editorials supporting the taxation of land values, and they always ensured they had the last word in any discussion held in the *Reformer*. Though it was certainly their right to do so – Headlam's contribution to the survival of the magazine in terms of time, effort and finances was considerable – the *Reformer* may have been left preaching to the converted as polemicists sought more fertile ground for their work. While it was created to advance a particular political position, the *Church Reformer* nevertheless served as a platform for political and socialist debate, as it welcomed articles and correspondence from secular socialist figures and from lay Christians. For example, 1889 saw a debate between Sidney Webb, Herbert Burrows and Symes in the pages of the *Reformer* about the meaning of rent and interest, and the implications of their definitions for the socialist movement. However, such debates occurred less often after the paper's first few years, as social reformers sought other avenues for debating with socialist Christians.

In terms of its dissemination, at a price of 2d the *Church Reformer* had to compete with cheaper alternatives, most notably *The Christian Socialist* and *Brotherhood*, though it was a penny cheaper than *The Commonwealth*, its main competitor in terms of the audience it desired, namely the clergy of the Church of England. Its availability was fair: one could find

<sup>1</sup> *Church Reformer* Vol. 13, No. 1 (Jan 1894), 3.

<sup>2</sup> Though critical at first of his conception of value and of its failure to describe the methods of securing and the 'form of the new socialistic community, the *Reformer* eventually warmed to Gronlund following their making his 'personal acquaintance', which revealed that their 'points of difference are less marked than we supposed'. *Church Reformer* Vol. 4, No 6 (Jun 1885), 129; Vol. 5, No. 2 (Feb 1886), 32.

the *Reformer* in newsagents in Aylesford, Birmingham, Bournemouth (2), Bradford, Carlisle, Devonport, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Grays, Hull (3), Ipswich, Leeds, Leicester, Leytonstone (2), Liverpool, Manchester, Newcastle-upon-Tyne (5), Nottingham (2), Oxford (7) Plymouth (2), Rochdale, Sheffield, and Silverdale. It was also available as a direct subscription. Although the *Reformer's* readership was reasonably broad in terms of its geographical scale, it was never sufficiently deep in terms of volume. Despite revenues raised from the sale of advertising space, the *Church Reformer* ran at a loss of £110 per annum, a figure that Headlam eventually decided he could no longer afford, 'even for so good a cause' as the promotion of the Single Tax. As a result the final edition of the *Church Reformer* appeared in September 1895, and the Guild of St. Matthew was compelled to publish its polemics as stand-alone pamphlets, and to promote its activities in other Christian Socialist periodicals.

### ***The Christian Socialist: A Journal for Those Who Work and Think (1883-1891)***

*The Christian Socialist* was one of the better-known Christian Socialist periodicals amongst contemporary socialists, but in historiographical terms it is often found the shadow of the title which inspired its name, John Ludlow's *The Christian Socialist: A Journal of Association* (1850-1851). *The Christian Socialist* (as the more recent title of the two shall heretofore be referred) was published monthly by William Reeves (London) from June 1884, and cost 1d (1.5d by post, 1s/6 annually) for around 16 pages. It became the organ of the Christian Socialist Society in the Society's founding year (1886) but after this arrangement quickly proved financially unstable the magazine's ownership reverted to a syndicate. It was edited at first by Joynes, by Charles Marson from 1884 to 1887, and subsequently by W. H. Paul Campbell and Alfred Howard. In its final year the editor was George W. Johnson.

In stating its purpose the magazine encapsulated 1880s Christian Socialism. The first leading article expressed the wish to flesh out a fuller meaning of socialism beyond state legislation: 'To the Radical, the Democrat, and the Socialist we say, with the deepest sympathy with their motives and their aims, that no legislative reform, no equalisation of voting power, no redistribution of wealth will effect the results they desire'. *The Christian Socialist* would be both a forum for objective debate and a clearing house for ideas, and contributions from across the political spectrum were to be welcomed: 'We disclaim any political bias, we declare that class hatred and class prejudices shall be excluded from our pages'.

The paper's masthead, which cited St. Paul, 'Stand aloof from Injustice' and Milton, 'We measure not our cause by our success but our success by our cause', alluded to an aspect of 1880s Christian Socialism for which it was heavily criticised by contemporaries: a propensity for inaction, observation and introspection. However, while such a critique may have been apt of the Christian Social Union's *The Commonwealth*, in fact it was not the style of *The Christian Socialist*, which engaged fully in political debate and actively sought to advance a particular political economy and socialist philosophy. Though the editors stated that they were 'not afraid to take the name of which Maurice and Kingsley were proud', they argued that their meaning of 'Christian Socialism' enveloped 'all the added significance which Socialism has derived from 35 years of patient economic investigations'.<sup>1</sup> It was the paper's stance that Christian Socialism was an attempt to argue for a particular strand of economic socialism on the basis of one's Christian principles, and rather than trying to 'Christianize' socialists the task should be to decide upon the aspects of secular socialist that best followed Christian principles. The Christian Socialist Society, with which *The Christian Socialist* was always associated, stood for public ownership of the means of production, and this notion was frequently advanced by the paper.

From the ideas espoused by its writers, it can be demonstrated how *The Christian Socialist* went beyond Mauricean 'system-phobia'. For example, an article by 'a London Parson' in the first edition entitled 'Christian Socialism', asked 'why workmen should continue to be the slaves of capital; why the state should not secure them free access to the implements of labour; why the soil of England should remain in the absolute possession of a privileged minority?' Though the state could not do all, the London Parson argued, it could and should do much. Moreover, though it claimed no political bias, *The Christian Socialist* was not afraid to opine on political matters, and accounts of political agitation dominated the 'briefs' section. The paper advanced positions from denouncing the Conservatives' hypocrisy for naming their 'Constitutional' Club as such to attacking the Liberty and Property Defence League for their opposition to Stavely Hill's Agricultural Holdings Bill.<sup>2</sup> Other 'Unconsidered Trifles' with

<sup>1</sup> *Christian Socialist* Vol. 1, No. 2 (Jun 1883), 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 1.

which the paper was concerned included reactions to political speeches and articles in other socialist journals. Various columns reported on the Land Reform Union (over which Headlam presided) and on the work of W. D. P. Bliss in establishing a Christian Socialist Society in the United States of America (whose organ was *The Dawn*). As Jones noted, *The Christian Socialist* became increasingly radical in language under Marson's editorship.

*The Christian Socialist* aimed to educate as well as to convince. Its so-called 'Book Table' column was composed of reviews of books on social reform and political economy by authors such as Ricardo, Keynes, Ben Tillet and T. H. Huxley. These reviews were supplemented by extended critical review pieces on texts such as Samuel Smith's *National Progress and Poverty*, Herbert Spencer's *Social Statistics* (along with a response to Spencer's article in the *Contemporary Review*, written by Adderley), and W. Cunningham's *Christian Opinion on Usury*. Moreover, prominent social thinkers contributed to the paper themselves: Henry George's *Political Economy: What is it and How it should be studied* was serialized in 1883, and later editions included articles by Fabians such as Sidney Webb.<sup>1</sup> Indeed, the magazine served as an important debating ground for well-known figures who wished to engage with the religious element of socialism. The first volume, for example, witnessed a debate between the Christian Socialist E. D. Girdlestone, the political economist F. W. Newman, and the socialist and biologist Alfred Russel Wallace on the true meaning of interest. The same year saw debate between several anonymous contributors regarding Georgeist interpretations of usury. And throughout 1884 the magazine hosted a debate between the editor and Samuel Smith regarding the latter's interpretation of socialism and the social movement.<sup>2</sup>

From an historical perspective, the most significant example of the debates carried out in the pages of *The Christian Socialist* concerned the nature and meaning of profit. During a series of articles from 1883 onwards the magazine outlined the theory of surplus value which formed the basis of its moral justification for the public control of capital. As Chapter Two highlighted, *The Christian Socialist* was an important means for popularizing the ideas of Karl Marx, via articles by R. T. Ely and Marson, and of Laurence Gronlund, whose ideas were defended by Girdlestone amongst others.<sup>3</sup> The works of both Marx and Gronlund were advertised frequently, but even if few chose to investigate the original texts for themselves, the simplicity of *The Christian Socialist's* explanations of their ideas, combined with the fact that they were produced in a magazine intended for radical Christians, meant that the ideas of Marx reached middle-class and working-class intellectual Christians, an audience that was distinct from those who came to Marx via his main English popularizer, H. M. Hyndman.

Though it is beyond the scope of this thesis to investigate what impact the enunciation of these ideas had upon *The Christian Socialist's* readership, it is possible to offer some thoughts on the magazine's distribution. Its subtitle, *A Journal for Those who Work and Think*, suggests that its intended audience was educated, politically-aware educated workers and liberal professionals. That the paper called for its readers to sell or hand out extra copies at their 'workshops, clubs, in the Local Parliaments, and amongst your fellow workmen and friends' shows it hoped to reach a range of working people. Moreover, *The Christian Socialist* carried advertisements for other socialist papers such as *To-Day*, at one penny it was half the price of the *Church Reformer*, and it is certainly possible that the relatively small number of letters received from those describing themselves as workers (or whose prose suggested a lack of education) may have masked a larger working-class following who chose not (or were even perhaps unable) to write in themselves. On the other hand, much of the magazine's correspondence suggested that its readers had enjoyed a substantial degree of education, and much of its advertisements suggested a well-to-do, well-read audience: from 'Paragon' 'Antelope' and 'Flying Squad' bikes priced between 6 and 17 pounds, to press ads for texts by A. R. Wallace, W. H. P. Campbell, William Morris and H. M. Hyndman. In any case, as the table below shows, *The Christian Socialist* had a broad geographical reach in Britain, and it was also posted to readers

<sup>1</sup> See, for example, *Christian Socialist* Vol. 6, No. 56. (Jan 1888).

<sup>2</sup> An article from June 1884 read 'This gentleman continues to send us penny pamphlets reporting his speeches on social questions at various clubs, and containing such a mass of misapprehensions and misrepresentations of Socialism, that we are compelled in charity to conclude that he is unequal to the task which he has undertaken. For not only does he manifestly misunderstand the cause which he attacks, but he does not even grasp the principles of the cause which he champions. Let him go through a course of reading of Mr Fawcett's Political Economy, and he will at any rate learn that the expenditure of the rich does nothing for the support of the poor'.

<sup>3</sup> 'Karl Marx' by R. T. Ely recounted the life of the 'more immediate founder of social democracy', covering the publication of *The Communist Manifesto* - 'The communists scorn... Proletarians of all lands, unite!', the foundation of International in 1864, and the publication of *Das Kapital* in 1867, which 'has been called the Bible of the social democrats, and it deserves the name... among the ablest politico-economic treatises ever written'. Followers of Marx, he wrote, boast of his 'correct theory of the development of history and his doctrine of value', including firstly, the struggle for survival, then serfdom and capitalistic production.

in Australia, New Zealand and Mauritius.

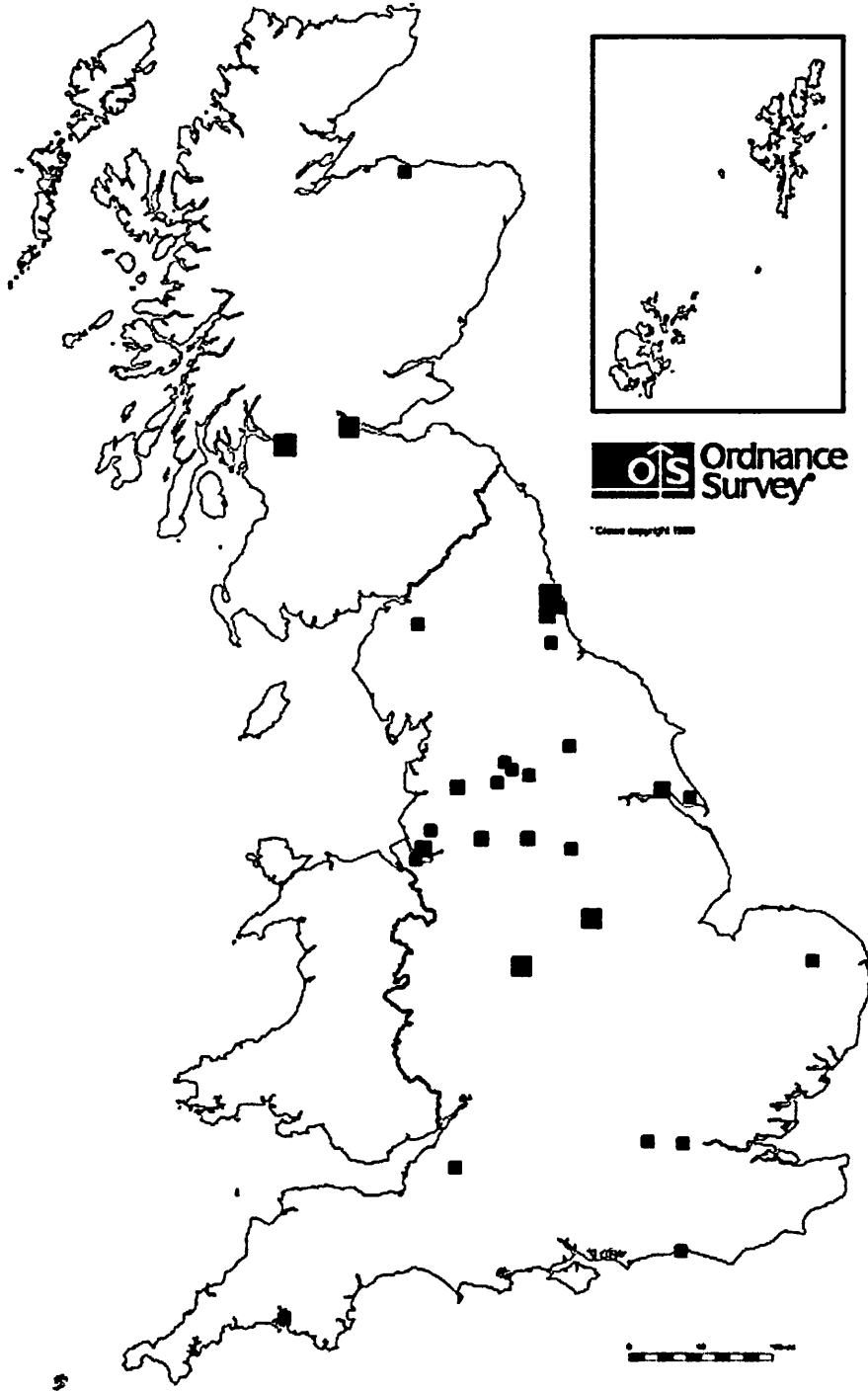
The distribution of *The Christian Socialist* was concentrated in the industrial cities of Scotland and northern England, as the table and heat map below show. While it was available in these and other locations, *The Christian Socialist* was always short of the number of subscriptions required to meet its costs. Towards the end of the 1880s a 'Christian Socialist Guarantee Fund' was established, into which a number of individuals paid a shilling or two a month, with some contributing up to five or ten shillings. Similar amounts were donated to the 'Christian Socialist Society Propaganda Fund'. In 1890 W. H. Paul Campbell resigned as editor, citing reasons of limited time, and his replacement, George W. Johnson, oversaw the closing of the journal. A piece reflecting on its demise noted that *The Christian Socialist* was once the only socialist penny monthly journal in England; in its later years the competition from titles such as *Anarchist*, *Wage-Worker*, *Commonweal* and *Justice* may have proved too much to bear. The committee of the Christian Socialist Society decided that J. Bruce Wallace's *Brotherhood* magazine would henceforth carry the Society's news, adding that 'we care not if the name of our separate organ dies, so long as the spirit lives'. In December 1891, the year of its ninth volume, *The Christian Socialist* closed with an outstanding deficit of £25.

**Table 6: Newsagents that stocked *The Christian Socialist*, 1884-1886**

<u>Location</u>	<u>June 1884</u>	<u>June 1885</u>	<u>June 1886</u>	<u>Location</u>	<u>June 1884</u>	<u>June 1885</u>	<u>June 1886</u>
Belfast	0	1	1	Landport	1	1	1
Birmingham	3	4	4	Leeds	1	1	1
Blackburn	1	2	2	Liverpool	8	8	8
Bradford	0	1	1	London	0	0	1
Bristol	1	1	1	Lossiemouth	0	1	1
Carlisle	0	0	1	Manchester	3	3	2
Chesterfield	0	1	1	Newcastle	6	6	6
Darlington	1	1	1	Nottingham	5	6	4
Dublin	2	3	3	Norwich	1	1	1
Edinburgh	7	4	4	Plymouth	1	1	1
Glasgow	3	2	6	Seacombe Ferry	1	1	1
Gateshead	3	3	3	Sheffield	3	2	2
Halifax	1	1	1	Southport	0	1	1
Huddersfield	1	1	0	West Bromwich	1	1	0
Hull	2	3	3	Windsor	0	1	1
Jarrow	1	1	1	Withernsea	1	1	1
Keighley	1	1	1	York	2	1	1
				<b>Totals</b>	<b>61 (1884)</b>	<b>66 (1885)</b>	<b>67 (1886)</b>



Figure 2: Number of newsagents that stocked *The Christian Socialist* (June 1886) by location.<sup>1</sup>



Note: Only mainland Great Britain shown.

### ***Brotherhood* (1887-1931)**

In some ways, *Brotherhood* was the most successful Christian Socialist periodical of the *fin-de-siècle* period. It was certainly the longest-lasting and it had a healthy following; it cited monthly circulation figures of up to 25,000. On the paper's own terms, however, its achievements were rather limited. *Brotherhood's* platform was amongst the most radical of the Christian Socialist periodicals. From the perspective of J. Bruce Wallace, *Brotherhood's*

<sup>1</sup> Reproduced from Ordnance Survey map data by permission of the Ordnance Survey © Crown copyright 2010. [<http://www.ordnancesurvey.co.uk/oswebsite/freefun/outlinemaps/> Accessed 7 June 2011.]

founder editor, the paper's relatively minor victories in the social and political sphere constituted a failure to achieve its objectives. Moreover, Wallace believed its impact upon the working classes had been limited. As a socialist periodical, therefore, *Brotherhood* was relatively successful, but it generally struck a pessimistic rather than a triumphant tone. Knowing that *Brotherhood* had to adapt in order to survive, Wallace allowed it to be co-opted by a number of organizations throughout its lifetime. At first it was the mouthpiece for Wallace and Kenworthy's Brotherhood Churches, as well as the Christian Social Brotherhood, and it later became the organ of the Christian Socialist Society, the Nationalisation of Labour Society and finally it was co-opted by the Alpha Union (connected to the Garden City movement).

*Brotherhood* was initially printed and published by The Circle Co-operative Printing Company in a small village called Limavady, Ireland.<sup>1</sup> That it arose from such humble origins encapsulated its political stance: the choice of location and production methods was intended, Wallace wrote, to be 'a protest, however feeble, against the present tendency of population to crowd into already crowded towns and cities'. The magazine was nevertheless distributed by J. Robb & Co. in Belfast and by William Reeves in London. It started as a weekly penny paper of around sixteen pages. *Brotherhood* was perhaps the most visually striking of the Christian Socialist periodicals: its frontispiece featured a full-length illustration by an anonymous artist, who not only paid for the engravings himself but continued to contribute images to the paper.<sup>2</sup> The figure featured in the frontispiece was later described by a reader as an interpretation of Pax Britannia, who wielded an olive branch to signify peaceful victory, having quenched the fires of injustice and cruelty.<sup>3</sup> The image was accompanied by quotes from St. Paul, 'Bear ye one another's burdens, and so fulfil the law of Christ'; Carlyle, 'Oh, if you could dethrone that brute-god mammon, and put a spirit-God in his place!'; and Tennyson, 'Ah! When shall all men's Good be each man's rule, and universal peace lie like a shaft of light across the land, and like a lane of beams athwart the sea, thro' all the circle of the golden year'.

These lines encapsulated the *Brotherhood's* aim to substitute Christian conduct for competitive greed in the economic arena. The purpose of this aim was not just to enable individual salvation but to change society as a whole, leading it closer to the co-operative commonwealth. In its first edition on Friday 22 April 1887, *Brotherhood* declared that it was 'designed to help the peaceful evolution of a juster and happier social order'. Its role would be to disseminate socialist knowledge. The magazine's purpose, Wallace wrote, was to 'collect accurate information' about those movements concerned with the re-organization of society 'at home and abroad. In doing so, it aimed to both 'afford opportunities for the free and full discussion of these from different points of view' and to reach social reformers from every class and creed.

Though at first it advocated no particular socialist doctrine, *Brotherhood* was intended to advance the cause of social reform by educating the working classes, influencing the leisured classes and providing the means for the organization of action. Its goals were:

1. To help in educating working people into fitness for a more moral and scientific organization of industry, in which they shall be no longer each other's rivals, reducing each other's wages by competition, but sources of strength, wealth, and comfort to one another.
2. To quicken and deepen in some members of the comfortable and leisured classes a sense of responsibility with regard to their less favoured brethren, and to afford a little guidance to such among them as may be willing to live entirely honest and useful lives.
3. To provide a means of inter-communication of mutual explanation and so of mutual understanding – for earnest men who love their kind, and thus to facilitate whatever concerted action may be found practicable and expedient.

A year later, however, Wallace had committed *Brotherhood* to an explicit socialist economic platform. Along with the aims above, he outlined a 'Summary of Methods Advocated in Brotherhood' in September 1888, summarized as follows:

<sup>1</sup> The Circle Co-operative Printing Company advertised their other services in the magazine, including the production of reports, sermons, pamphlets, books and letter headings.

<sup>2</sup> As Wallace wrote, Leon Caryll 'who does not like to let his left hand know what his right hand doeth, says "please accept this as a token of appreciation for your excellent little magazine. I shall try to get a few hundred more subscribers"'. Caryll, a pseudonym, also produced illustrations for *The Workman's Times*. Edited by Joseph Burgess, *The Times* was produced in Huddersfield, Manchester and London, and contained trade union news while advocating the formation of an independent labour party. In 1894 it was owned by the Manchester Labour Press Society.

<sup>3</sup> *Brotherhood* Vol. 8, No. 1 (Jan 1893).

1. The nationalization of the Land, 'according to the principles of Henry George and A. R. Wallace'.
2. Home Colonisation (as Wallace wrote, the substitution of co-operative colonies for workhouses).
3. Total abstinence from alcohol, as 'economically and morally it is a gigantic evil'.
4. Promotion of the 'simplicity of life with a view to generous service'.
5. That co-operation should be substituted for competition in terms of distribution and production.

The outcome of the principles above, Wallace argued, would be a 'general socialisation of capital, and a commonwealth of comfortable workers'. Even though the *Brotherhood* now existed to advance a particular political position, Wallace maintained that 'the statement and defence of opposing views are... not only tolerated in this periodical, but even welcomed. We want to look honestly at all sides of social questions'.<sup>1</sup>

In the summer of 1888 *Brotherhood* became a monthly publication, at a cost of 2d for around 32 pages. A year later, it was adopted as the official organ of the Christian Social Brotherhood, and so to the 'methods' illustrated above Wallace added more detail. The co-operative production and distribution of 'all things really necessary for a healthy and civilised life', he wrote, would be undertaken by a 'national organization of labour' so that the workers would no longer be 'dependent upon private capitalists for the opportunity of earning their living'. The appropriation of rental value following the nationalization of the land would pay for universal education and for public goods such as free libraries. To achieve these goals, Wallace wrote, the Liberals were 'the Party from which the people have most to hope'.<sup>2</sup> *Brotherhood* was unique amongst late nineteenth century Christian Socialist periodicals in stating support for a major political party.

In terms of political and socialist content, during its early years *Brotherhood* was mainly concerned with the land question. Articles outlining the thoughts on this topic by figures such as Herbert Spencer, Thomas Carlyle, Alfred Russel Wallace, Leo Tolstoy, J. C. Kenworthy and Bruce Wallace himself aimed to educate readers, and they prompted a degree of debate in the correspondence pages, to which the editor would often contribute. There were serialisations of works such as *The Only Way of Social Salvation* by Flürscheim (a key influence on Wallace's ideas as regards alternative currencies) and, in 1888, *Looking Backward* by Edward Bellamy. During the 1890s, *Brotherhood* was the discussion forum for the establishment of the co-operative colonies, co-operative stores, 'Brotherhood Churches' and mutual service circles with which Kenworthy and Wallace became associated. Later, in 1894, *Brotherhood* would develop its commentary on contemporary political culture, and would call for amongst other proposals National Parliaments for Ireland, Scotland and Wales.

In the early 1890s *Brotherhood* underwent several changes. Wallace was no longer operating from Limavady but had relocated to London, and though the change may have come earlier, by Volume VII, beginning in January 1893, *Brotherhood* was no longer published in Limavady but in London (by Thomas & Company).<sup>3</sup> Another wholesaler, Elton & Co., worked alongside William Reeves to distribute the magazine to 'all booksellers and newsvendors'. February's edition of 1892 was the first to incorporate the defunct *Christian Socialist* and in May 1893 Wallace relinquished control of *Brotherhood* to the Nationalisation of Labour Society, of which he was Vice President. For the 'New Series' of *Brotherhood*, publication moved to the Nationalisation of Labour Society Press in Barbican, London; the Society's organ, *The Nationalization News*, was merged with *Brotherhood* in the process. Wallace's articles were still printed in *Brotherhood* alongside those by other society leaders, most notably Arthur Potter and John Orme. However, by November 1895, Bruce Wallace had become editor of *Brotherhood* once again, and he would remain in this position to oversee the magazine's adoption by the Alpha Union in 1907.

Like other Christian Socialist periodicals, *Brotherhood* often appealed to its readers to help increase its circulation. Wallace stated circulation would need to be doubled in order to make

<sup>1</sup>*Brotherhood* Vol. 3, No. 2 (Sep 1888).

<sup>2</sup>*Brotherhood* Vol. 4, No. 1 (Aug 1889), 32.

<sup>3</sup>Wallace complained that in Limavady 'nobody followed our example', and that Belfast was 'not a bed of flowers but a hot-bed of religious bigotry and intolerance'. His opinion on Belfast may well have been shaped by his treatment after he campaigned against the payment of dockers' wages in pubs, the cost of which was a libel action 'which afforded a prejudiced jury an opportunity of wreaking its wrath on the head of a Home-Ruler and Socialist'. J. Bruce Wallace, 'Retrospect' *Brotherhood* Vol. 9, No. 12 (Apr 1894); See also *Brotherhood* Vol. 8, No 1 (Jan 1893).

*Brotherhood* financially viable; cost-cutting experiments with paper size and quality seemed to be counterproductive. Wallace suggested that readers should recommend the paper to friends and newsagents and should purchase extra copies to sell on to others. Readers were also encouraged to seek out 'suitable' sources of advertising revenue. Wallace wrote that while he hoped 'to see advertising (as at present understood) vanish completely in the course of time with the whole competitive system of which it is a part, we think that it cannot yet be dispensed with altogether'. While this approach highlighted Wallace's preference for pragmatism over principle, it was also part of this vision for a co-operative commercial network. If conducted correctly, he argued that *Brotherhood* could become

as good a medium as most journals for advertising really useful things, and probably one of the very best for advertising co-operative industries, efforts to bring producer and consumer into more direct communication, and the literature of every sort of reasonable reform. We have no paid agents canvassing for advertisements.<sup>1</sup>

The nature of the adverts themselves – products from silk umbrellas to desiccated vegetable soup were listed alongside the latest socialist publications – suggests a readership that spanned social class. Indeed, it seems that *Brotherhood* might well have reached an audience outside left-leaning clergymen and socialist intellectuals on account of its healthy circulation.

However, Wallace himself believed the *Brotherhood* had not reached the working classes. In 1892 he wrote an insightful article regarding 'Socialist Journalism', claiming a lack of support on the part of publishers, who saw no commercial advantage to the production of socialist papers, as well as highlighting the difficulty in finding suitable advertisers. Moreover, in a telling passage, he wrote of the difficulty of persuading the working classes to read a

wholesome paper that attempts to instruct them; [as] the taste of a very large proportion of them has been depraved by the unwholesome reading matter provided for them by capitalists who only want to make gain out of them; and so they crave for sporting news and details of every brutal or filthy thing done anywhere over the world.

Even those who bought and read the magazine, Wallace went on, lacked enthusiasm for the cause of social reform. One might reasonably assume that such obstacles were faced by the editors of the other Christian Socialist periodicals; in this context the fact they were able to survive at all is a notable achievement in itself. In any case, Wallace himself was proud of the longevity of *Brotherhood*, noting that after only two years it had enjoyed 'already a longer career than what has been enjoyed by most periodicals started in the interests of social improvement'.<sup>2</sup> He reflected on the success of *Brotherhood* not by comparing it with *To-Day* or *Justice*, but by comparing it with *Labour World*, *The Leader* and *The Labour Leader*, titles that all met their demise during *Brotherhood's* lifetime.<sup>3</sup>

From 1906 *Brotherhood* became the organ of the Alpha Union, the society established by Wallace and others to teach Theosophy to the residents of Letchworth Garden City. The last edition of *Brotherhood* appeared to have been published in 1932; however, the last edition available for research (October 1931), for which Bruce Wallace was still editor, made no mention of its imminent folding.

<sup>1</sup> *Brotherhood* Vol. 1, *passim*.

<sup>2</sup> *Brotherhood* Vol. 4, No 1 (Aug 1889).

<sup>3</sup> 'Even in London, from which, one would think, they would have a better chance of being circulated over the country than from any smaller centre, few Labour papers live even as long as mine did in the North of Ireland [his *Belfast Evening Star* and *Belfast Weekly Star*]. Last year Michael Davitt's *Labour World* died after a brief career. It was followed into the grave by the People's Press. Then arose *The Leader* which swallowed up *Worker's Cry* and became *The Leader and Worker's Advocate*, but it died after a few weeks. Then *The Labour Leader* was started, and it also died, perished of starvation in the fogs of the Christmas week. *Justice*, the organ of the Social Democratic Federation, still holds on its way, but it is not self-supporting, and it is a very small sheet. And the *Commonweal*, which used to be the organ of William Morris, has become, we regret to say 'a revolutionary organ of Anarchist Communism'. J. Bruce Wallace, 'Socialist Journalism' in *Brotherhood*, Vol. 6, No. 7 (1892), 155-6.

## Church Socialist League organs

***The Optimist* (1906-1909; 1912-1917)**

***The Church Socialist Quarterly* or *Optimist* [later] *The Church Socialist Quarterly***

**(Formerly *The Optimist*) (1909-1911)**

***The Church Socialist: For God and the People* (1912-1921)**

The frequent title changes may disguise the fact that until 1912 *The Optimist* and *The Church Socialist Quarterly* were essentially one continuous journal, and only thereafter did it split into two separate publications. Although the change from *The Optimist* to *The Church Socialist Quarterly* reflected its adoption as the official organ of the Church Socialist League, *The Optimist* was always dependent upon League funding.

Edited by Samuel Proudfoot, and published by Elliot Stock & Co in London, *The Optimist* saw itself as 'a review dealing with practical theology, literature, and social questions in a Christian spirit'. (The name itself was inspired by a line by Bishop Moorhouse, cited on the masthead along with the words of W. E. Gladstone: 'A Christian must become an optimist'.) *The Optimist* was a quarterly publication, at a price of sixpence for around forty pages initially, and for almost twice that amount of pages from 1907 onwards. Though Proudfoot often expressed his wish for the increase in circulation required to free *The Optimist* from its financial obligation to the League, and though it held its 'own views on temperance, imperialism and theology', the paper stated its 'support' for the League for whose articles it was prepared to devote a considerable number of pages. In the League's 1908 Annual Conference, Proudfoot expressed his 'readiness to hand *The Optimist* over to the League' due to the paper's precarious financial position. From October that year the paper became the League's 'exclusive property', with that month's edition giving 'official expression to the principles for which the League was called into existence to support'.<sup>1</sup> Proudfoot remained the editor, overseeing changes in the paper's title (outlined above) and publishers (to The New Age Press, London).

In 1912 the paper split in two: Proudfoot began work on the seventh volume of his quarterly, which now reverted back to the title of *The Optimist*. It no longer received any financial contribution from the League; perhaps in order to make up the shortfall it gave up more space for advertisements that it had done previously. Despite the cutting of official ties with the League, *The Optimist* printed articles by the likes of P. E. T. Widdrington, Maurice Reckitt, N. E. Egerton Swann, G. H. Ten Bruggenkate, and James Adderley. It was the First World War that would depress both the circulation and the spirit of the paper. Citing the impact of the war upon subscriptions, Proudfoot was forced to discontinue *The Optimist* in 1917. His final 'expression of gratitude' for the paper's 'principles and ideals, both religious and social' was reiterated by several Leaguers, but Proudfoot nonetheless found it 'hard to express the absolute meaning and value' of *The Optimist*. He concluded by saying he could not run a paper which found itself in a social and political environment in which it was impossible to espouse an outlook in keeping with its name.<sup>2</sup>

In the meantime, the Church Socialist League had been producing a new monthly penny paper, *The Church Socialist: For God and the People*, edited by Mary Hay Wood (group secretary of the Clapham branch) from 1912. *The Church Socialist* was published firstly by the Propaganda Committee of the League's London branch, and later by the Central Literature Committee at Thaxted. As its opening number stated, *The Church Socialist* was 'an attempt to provide a monthly magazine which shall interest our own members, be a link between the various branches and scattered members of the League, and at the same time be an organ for propagating our views among the general public'. Throughout the war the paper suffered financially: Reckitt feared the paper would close in 1916, as even an increase of 100% to the cover price, he believed, would not meet the cost of production.<sup>3</sup> In fact, *The Church Socialist* continued until 1921.

Both Proudfoot's periodicals and *The Church Socialist* aimed to be an educational forum for debate. *The Optimist* explicitly endeavoured to 'help its readers by publishing sections from writers on sociology; suggestions for lectures religious, historical, and literary; [and] sermons by prominent men upon practical subjects'. Regular early contributors included W. Edward Chadwick, E. L. Hicks, and J. E. Barton. The paper also contained socialist morality tales,

<sup>1</sup>*The Optimist* Vol. 3, No. 3 (July 1908), 187; Vol. 3 No. 4 (Oct 1908), 269.

<sup>2</sup>*The Optimist* Vol. 11, No. 4, (Feb 1917), 177-9.

<sup>3</sup>*The Church Socialist*, Vol. 5, No. 49 (1916).

poems, and reviews of works such as Marson's *And Ard* ('we would rejoice if this pamphlet was faithfully and widely read') alongside J. R. MacDonald's *Socialism and Society* ('well-informed, well-written', strongly recommended).<sup>1</sup> News columns intended to discuss 'the wave of collectivism' were supplemented by editorials concerning budgets (a 1907 editorial stated that that year's budget 'greatly disappoints social reformers'; the paper later printed critiques by Snowden and others) and elections (as well as 'Parliamentary Notes', a reflection on life at Westminster by Thomas Summerbell MP. In 1907 *The Optimist* featured interviews with and articles by C. S. Smith, G. Algernon West, Snowden, Conrad Noel, F. L. Donaldson, N. E. Egerton Swann, and P. E. T. Widdrington. Later editions of the paper included articles by G. Lansbury, E. T. Maxted, and Cecil Chesterton, while continuing to cover a wide range of social and political subjects. *The Church Socialist: For God and the People*, however, was more focused on promoting the work of the League. It printed photographs, interviews, and features regarding prominent Leaguers, news about labour and socialist agitation, branch reports, as well as reviews and socialist literature and poems.

Given the wide-ranging views of its contributors, it makes little sense to seek to identify the Church Socialist periodicals with a particular socialist or political platform. While Proudfoot himself espoused Ruskinian ideas, an editorial from 1907 declared that 'there is but one Socialism... State ownership... of the Land, and the means of production and distribution... carried out gradually'.<sup>2</sup> The first volume of *The Church Socialist: For God and the People* continued to espouse an idea seen frequently in *The Church Socialist Quarterly*, declaring that its contributors 'advocate no special watered-down brand of Socialism, such as is sometimes known as "Christian Socialism", but the ordinary economic Socialism of all Socialists'. However, in 1913 the paper regarded the real meaning of Socialism to be simply the 'emancipation of the whole people'. It stated that 'The League is not committed to any method of attaining the Cooperative Commonwealth' but that it published articles for and against Syndicalism and Guild Socialism, such as Belloc's *The Servile State*, 'in order that our readers may know the different currents of thought in the movement'.<sup>3</sup>

As regards the task of measuring the reach of the CSL periodicals, precise quantitative data was not forthcoming at the time of research. It was claimed that a 'considerable number' of editions were sold in W. H. Smith newsagents in 1909, and this was supplemented by 550 subscriptions (The League itself had a membership of between 500 and around 1200). At one time it was reported that the 'Lancashire Federation' bought 200 copies of *The Church Socialist Quarterly*. Also, it should be remembered that many articles appearing in the Church Socialist Periodicals had been given as lectures and sermons, or had appeared in other periodicals. At other times they were published as standalone volumes: 5,000 copies of one such article by Donaldson were printed at a cost of £14/10 to the League. Nonetheless it is beyond the scope of this thesis to evaluate the impact that Christian Socialist literature had upon the ideas and ambitions of its intended audience. Though an article may have been sold or otherwise distributed in great numbers, for those who took one in 'there remains the task', as Maurice Reckitt put it, 'of reading it'.<sup>4</sup>

In September 1921's edition of *The Church Socialist*, R. Kenyon and Maurice Reckitt outlined the CSL executive's proposal that the paper be absorbed into *The Commonwealth* in an article entitled 'The Future of the Church Socialist'. They cited the damaging effects of the First World War in terms of raising the cost of the paper's production and of taking away its many of its 'pioneers and supporters', challenges which the paper was not able to overcome with its limited circulation. Amalgamation with *The Commonwealth* was seen to be a suitable venture because it was no longer 'directly or indirectly associated with any other organization', its proprietor was a CSL member, and because it would give the CSL the opportunity of reaching a wider audience than ever before. Moreover, the funds released from the folding of *The Church Socialist*, Kenyon and Reckitt argued, could be used for 'other essential forms of work'. The terms of the proposal were as follows:

1. Financial responsibility to remain with the proprietor of the "Commonwealth", Mr G. W. Wardman.
2. The contents of the paper, and in particular, the policy of the Editorial Notes in each number to be the subject of consultation between the proprietor of the "Commonwealth", the editor whom he appoints, and any third person nominated by him on the one hand, and three

<sup>1</sup>*The Optimist* Vol. 1, No. 3 (Jul 1906), 47.

<sup>2</sup>*The Optimist* Vol. 2, No. 3 (Jul 1907), 121-129.

<sup>3</sup>*The Church Socialist: For God and the People* Vol. 2, No. 17 (1913), 1-3.

<sup>4</sup>*The Church Socialist: For God and the People* Vol. 5, No. 49 (1916).

members of the CSL from a panel appointed by the Executive.

3. Space to be set apart in each issue for the publication of matter concerning the CSL exclusively.

4. The addition of a subtitle to the "Commonwealth" to indicate its association with the general standpoint of the CSL.

The proposals were accepted by the CSL, and so the edition for November and December, 1921 was *The Church Socialist's* last. Reckitt and Kenyon wrote that it 'has not fulfilled all the hopes which its readers – and editors – may have cherished in regard to it, [but] neither has it altogether disappointed all of them'. However, Kenyon believed that the paper may 'make its farewell on a note of optimism'. That *The Commonwealth*, a paper 'always inseparably connected with the great and noble name of Henry Scott Holland', was prepared to co-operate with the Church Socialist League constituted a victory, Kenyon believed, for two CSL principles, namely the need for revolution and the duty to seek the right economic and political methods for realizing Christian Socialist ideals.

## Christian Social Union organs

### *Goodwill: A Monthly Magazine for the People (1894-1910)*

*Goodwill* was not an official Christian Social Union publication but an alternative parish magazine edited by James Adderley, one of the most prolific Christian Socialist writers. However, because Adderley was a prominent figure in the CSU in the 1890s, to a certain extent the magazine offered a glimpse of the direction that CSU printed material would take when, two years into *Goodwill's* life, *The Commonwealth* began publication.

As Adderley wrote, *Goodwill* aimed 'not to supplant, but to supplement the ordinary Parish magazine'. Believing there were a 'great many Christian people who want to have definite information, in simple language and without controversy, on some of the chief social problems of the day', Adderley set out to produce a paper that would educate, inform, and remove the misconceptions held by his parish as regards social matters. It carried articles by Christian Socialist thinkers, such as John Carter's 'Social Problems' and Thomas Hughes's 'Co-operation', alongside hymns, poetry, labour news and puzzles for children. Indeed, young Christians very quickly became the focus audience for *Goodwill*, partly because the advent of *The Commonwealth* which aimed to do the same job as *Goodwill* but on a national scale. Articles on socialist theory and political economy became rarer as novels, poems, hymns and writing games appeared more frequently.

Although it was claimed that *Goodwill* sold up to 30,000 copies per month in the 1890s, increasing to 60,000 by 1899, there is little need to cover the content of *Goodwill* in depth because its work was taken over by *The Commonwealth*. Suffice to say that it was an important platform for the development of Christian Socialist utopian literature and a good example in microcosm of their proposed efforts to 'make socialists' of the nation's young people.

As regards the latter aim, two examples of the children's writing quizzes are illuminating. The first, in response to the question 'what is a gentleman?' was won by Arthur Bond, with the answer: 'Any man or boy who knows his manners, is honest and truthful, and does his work well, whether he be bootblack or king'. This was typical of the teaching in *Goodwill*, which espoused notions of working-class respectability combined with a Christian interpretation of a classless society. The second example of the children's writing quizzes worth comment asked young readers to describe the political doctrine they would adopt as adults. The winning response from one Gertrude Morton, was as follows: 'I shall be a Socialist because I think everybody should have a sufficient return for their labour, and a Christian Socialist, because a Socialism that leaves out God can never prosper'.<sup>1</sup> The trace of parental coaching is detectable in Gertrude's answer, so it is unlikely it reflects the understanding of the majority of *Goodwill's* young readers. Leaving aside the practical problems for the social historian attempting to analyse the significance of her remark, however, it is interesting to note that Gertrude succinctly summed up the relationship between socialism and Christian Socialism that it would take the Christian Socialists a generation to define and infinitely more words to explain.

<sup>1</sup>*Goodwill* Vol. 11, Nos. 2 & 3.

### *The Commonwealth: A Social Magazine (1896-1932)*

As the official organ of the Christian Social Union, *The Commonwealth* served as its mouthpiece and as a forum for CSU news and debate. It was published monthly, initially by Thos Hibberd of London, and later by Gardner, Darton & Co. in London. At three pence it was more expensive than most Christian Socialist periodicals, but the paper was also more substantial, at a length of between forty and thirty-two pages during its lifetime, with little space given to advertisements. *The Commonwealth* had a number of editors in its first year, including Percy Dearmer, James Adderley and G. Herbert Davy, but it was really always Henry Scott Holland's paper, and research suggests he eventually edited it alone and continued as editor until just before his death in 1918.

The frontispiece of *The Commonwealth* featured an illustration by Celia Levetus, a prominent member of the Birmingham School illustrators that was led by Walter Crane. Its masthead cited St. Paul: 'Let no man seek his own but every man another's wealth', a phrase which summed up the ethos of the Christian Social Union. Crane would continue to contribute images to the magazine around the turn of the century.

As Holland outlined in the magazine's opening article, the Commonwealth was both 'our principle and our goal'. In terms of the former, it was defined as being 'deeper than the dividings of party, supreme over all the accidents of class'. For the latter, the impact on the wealth of the community as a corporate whole was 'the ultimate test applied to laws, to politics, to property, to rights and claims and possessions and interests'. Thus the magazine aimed to provoke discussion regarding measures designed to serve the common weal, such as the betterment of the homes, health, wages, and working conditions of the labouring poor. The notion that the magazine's readers should be interested in such issues on ethical grounds was backed by an economic argument. As Holland wrote, 'your very freedom to go your own way assumes and utilises the labour of others. Butcher, baker, candle-stick maker, tailor, trams, railways, post-offices all are toiling night and day, that you may have pleasure to do what you please'. That the leisured consumers of such goods and services were invited by Holland to 'nationalize' themselves, their interests, sympathies and joys, and to 'socialize' themselves 'out of sheer and free goodwill for the common weal', illustrates an underlying CSU assumption: that agency had succumbed to the accident of class.

In terms of content, *The Commonwealth* struck a balance between addressing religious and socialist matters. A typical edition would contain a leading article, with more articles by Christian Socialists concerned with labour or socialism interspersed with poetry, Biblical criticism, religious stories, songs, hymns and carols. Despite this variety, *The Commonwealth* was large enough to include as much socialist content as papers such as *Brotherhood* and the *Christian Socialist*. Each edition featured reviews of socialist and economic literature, the news columns 'CSU Notes' (reporting on its regional branches) and 'Labour Notes' (by Joe Clayton and J. R. MacDonald), and the paper frequently printed articles on socialism and economics by J. A. Hobson, S. Webb, B. Webb, Bertrand Russell, George Haw, Arthur Sherwell and Gertrude Vaughan, amongst others. At the turn of the century two topics came to the fore: the theory and application of the economics of John Ruskin (a discussion in no small part prompted by his death) and a major CSU plank, 'Commercial Morality' (coinciding with an increase in advertisements, usually for ethical businesses).

*The Commonwealth* was one of the longest running and best known Christian Socialist periodicals of the period. Precise circulation figures were not forthcoming, but the paper's editors noted their 'satisfaction' with the sales of the opening number in 1896, and claimed a year later that circulation figures had 'consistently increased'. It was estimated that around 5,000 copies per month were sold, of which 3,000 went to non-CSU folk. Moreover, the magazine was stocked in WH Smith and other newsagents across the country, as shown below.



**Table 7: Newsagents that stocked *The Commonwealth*, 1899**England and Wales

Aylesbury	Chippenham	Guildford	Longton	Peterborough	Trowbridge
Banbury	Chester	Grimsby	Leeds	Plymouth	Torquay
Birmingham	Cambridge	Grantham	Leicester	Reading	Uttoxeter
Bridgewater	Colchester	Hereford	Lincoln	Romford	Windsor
Blandford	Coventry	Horsham	Malvern	Reigate	Worcester
Bishop Stortford	Chichester	Halifax	Manchester	Stratford-on- Avon	Witham Junction
Bangor	Croydon	Hull	Mansfield	Swansea	Wakefield
Brighton	Canterbury	Ipswich	Neath	Salisbury	Warrington
Bradford	Dorchester	Kidderminster	Newbury	Southampton	Welshpool
Burton on Trent	Devonport	Kendall	Norwich	Surbiton	Whitehaven
Blackburn	Dorking	Kingston	Newcastle- upon-Tyne	Stockport	Workington
Bolton	Doncaster	Keswick	Nottingham	Sheffield	Wigan
Burnley	Exeter	Leamington	Oxford	St. Ives	Watford
Bury	Ely	Lancaster	Oldham	Shrewsbury	Wimborne
Cardiff	Frome	Lichfield	Portishead	Stafford	Winchester
Cheltenham	Godalming	Liverpool	Petersfield	Stoke on Trent	Yorktown

**Scotland and Ireland**

Edinburgh	Glasgow	Dublin	Cork	Belfast
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Despite its wide availability, like other Christian Socialist periodicals *The Commonwealth* was dependent upon donations from wealthy supporters. Towards the end of the First World War the paper began to be published from Letchworth Garden City, where its co-editor Christopher Cheshire was probably based. However, it continued to be published also in London by Wells Gardner, Darton & Co. During this time its subtitle was 'A Christian Social Magazine', but shortly after the death of Henry Scott Holland the paper began to refer to itself as an 'Independent Christian Social Magazine'. By the time *The Commonwealth* absorbed *The Church Socialist* in 1922 its editor was G. W. Wardman; soon after this time the paper referred to itself as 'The Organ of the Christian Social Movement'. In last issue of 1932 an insert was included explaining that only two issues had published since June 1932 due to Wardman's ill health but 'it is hoped, however, to publish the magazine regularly during 1933'. However, there appears to be no trace of *The Commonwealth* after this time. Like other Christian Socialist periodicals its fate was connected with that of its editor.

***The Economic Review* (1891-1914)**

*The Economic Review* was a quarterly periodical published by Percival & Co. in London for the Oxford University branch of the Christian Social Union. It was the first periodical dedicated solely to the study of economic science published in Britain. As its editors, W. J. H. Campion (Keble), John Carter (Exeter), and L. R. Phelps (Oriell) wrote in its first edition, the *Review* was 'primarily intended for the study of duty in relation to social life'. In the eyes of the editors of the *Christian Socialist*, the *Economic Review* would certainly become the 'academic organ of Christian Socialism'.

The purpose of the journal was twofold: to be a forum for economic debate, and to advance a Christian economics. The opening number's editorial, 'A Programme', stated that: 'All the more earnest of the younger generation, as well as many who are older, are seeking for principles to guide them through the tangled mazes of social and industrial life'. The questions

that the *Review* would seek to answer included 'How far can the old formulae explain the present facts?' and 'What is the teaching of economics for practical life?' In order to answer such questions, the *Review* would include 'articles dealing with what may be called economic morals from the point of view of Christian teaching'. Nonetheless, it did not limit its content to articles by religious folk, and Jones claimed that it was 'barely distinguishable except for its "ethical" overtones from a normal learned economics journal'. Research supports Jones's assessment, but it should be noted that the *Review* carried articles from an eclectic range of sources. Amongst the *Economic Review's* regular contributors were the economists W. J. Ashley, W. Cunningham, and Richard T. Ely, the sociologist L. T. Hobhouse, the statistician and economist David F. Schloss, the Belgian economist Emile de Laveleye, and the idealist philosopher David G. Ritchie. The *Review* also included contributions from the Christian Socialists Holland, Adderley, Kaufmann, Symes, Westcott, and Richmond.

Many of the *Review's* contributors were associated with the English historical school of economics, but, as the editors stated, the *Review* was not intended to be 'the organ of those who lean to historical methods'. The editors noted that while the fight between the historical and the theoretical schools of economics 'still rages somewhat fiercely', there were signs that their proponents were beginning to recognise their common ground. The *Review*, therefore, was intended to be an academic nursery for the 'growth of a new and larger economics, using history and not abusing theory'. Nevertheless, the *Review* tended to attract articles from historical economists, Fabians, heterodox economists and philosophers, and Christian Socialists rather than from the emergent neoclassical school. This was a source of frustration for some of the *Review's* contributors, who associated historical economics with the non-scientific heritage of the discipline that they believed journals such as the *Economic Review* should be trying to shake off. Edwin Cannan, author of a Fabian pamphlet and a tutor in the early years of the London School of Economics, who later became its chair, was one such figure.<sup>1</sup> As A. W. Coats noted, Edwin Cannan was 'determined to keep the field against the uninitiated'. Writing to C. R. Fay in 1913, Cannan said

Can't somebody be put up to slaughter J. S. Smith for writing such bosh in the *Economic Review*? I can't do it because I slaughtered A. J. Carlyle, too, a short time ago – the knife still reeks. Carlyle has said very little ever since... John Carter has written again to Pigou asking him to take the thing in hand, but as I say in my forthcoming work, you can't expect the Astronomer Royal to answer every crank who says the earth is flat'.<sup>2</sup>

The advent of the *Economic Review* came at a time when the members of the British Economic Association (BEA) were preparing their own *Economic Journal*. Citing the correspondence between two BEA founder members, the bankers and statisticians John Biddulph Martin and R. H. Inglis Palgrave, A. W. Coats has argued that the materialisation of the *Review* took the BEA 'completely by surprise'. As Martin wrote on 14 July, 1890:

Cunningham dined with us last week, and astonished me by telling me of the proposed economic journal, of which he sent me his circular the next day. I very much wonder how it was that Marshall and the rest of us have never heard of it. I had formed the same idea as yourself that not much good will come of mixing religion and economic subjects and I did not notice among the promoters any name of which I know much.<sup>3</sup>

Despite Martin's disparaging private remarks, Marshall did not denigrate the *Review* during the inaugural meeting of the BEA, the report of which formed the basis of the opening article to the *Journal*. It was Marshall's hope that the two journals would 'supplement and strengthen each other', though he did write to Phelps to express his wish that the *Review* had a title that more accurately reflected its historical bent. The *Review's* editors, of whom Phelps was present at the BEA meeting, noted that they were grateful for Marshall's 'generous words... and that they look for instruction from the *Economic Journal* which the Association proposes to issue'. Nevertheless, as Coats recounted, it was John Carter's view that relations with Marshall were 'a little strained' as he was 'rather sore that we have started before him'. In correspondence with Richard T. Ely, the well-known American historical economist, Carter suggested that Ely's proposed article on Marshall should not be too inflammatory. 'We do not object to printing a criticism of Prof. Marshall', Carter wrote, 'but the title "Prof. Marshall's Utopia" might appear

<sup>1</sup> Keith Tribe, 'Cannan, Edwin (1861–1935)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/32278>, accessed 11 May 2011].

<sup>2</sup> Coats, 'Sociological Aspects of British Economic Thought', 706–729.

<sup>3</sup> A. W. Coats, 'The Origins and Early Development of The Royal Economic Society' in *The Economic Journal* Vol. 78, No. 310 (June, 1968), 349–371.

rather too hostile'.<sup>1</sup> In fact, Ely's article never appeared; while Carter and other Christian Socialist theorists would go on to highlight the similarities between their thought and Marshall's throughout the turn of the century.

In words which Marshall would later echo, it was the *Review* editors' view that 'though no exact division of territory is at present possible or desirable', the two journals would take tend to take different approaches to the study of economic ideas, and therefore they would supplement each other rather engaging in direct competition. Coats argued that in fact,

a layman who examined the early numbers of these two journals would not detect any great differences: their style and format were similar: there were fewer theoretical and technical articles in the early issues of the [*Economic*] *Journal*; and its [the *Journal*'s] initial policy was to welcome contributions from representatives of all schools of thought.

The *Economic Review*, therefore, was the first significant vehicle that situated Christian Socialism within scientific economic discourse at a seminal point in its history. Once there, however, the *Review* failed to make the most of its position. As Jones noted, John Carter rejected Ely's suggestion of a joint transatlantic editorial board for the *Economic Review*, a proposal which might well have extended the periodical's reach. Moreover, as Carter wrote to Ely, the London branch of the CSU refused to 'undertake any corporate responsibility' for the *Review*, and so rather than becoming the flagship economic journal of Christian Socialism, as envisaged by the *Christian Socialist*, the *Review* retained its air of academic isolation.

### ***The New Order* (c1895-1899)**

*The New Order* was essentially Kenworthy's vehicle for the promotion of his co-operative anarchist vision, and it also served as the journal of the Croydon Brotherhood Church and his co-operative colony in Purleigh. The paper was published in London by Murdoch & Co and later by the Purleigh colonists themselves. It was circulated mainly amongst the supporters of Kenworthy's and Wallace's Brotherhood movement – around 500 copies were sold each month – but it was also known to the readers of *The New Age*, and figures such as Tolstoy and Michael Flürscheim who were regular correspondents.

Much of the paper's content was focused on discussion about the establishment of co-operative stores, networks, and colonies. Articles were published by members of the Purleigh colony, while Kenworthy's 'Parables Retold' column outlined the Christian basis for his co-operative-anarchist economic vision. It would later print Kenworthy's volumes such as *The Anatomy of Misery*. The *New Order* also ran a regular 'New Co-operation News' column which reported on co-operative ventures in Britain and worldwide, and adverts frequently appeared for the various Brotherhood churches and stores.

*The New Order* was an overtly political publication which sought to expound co-operative anarchism on the basis of Christian principles. This is well illustrated by its masthead, which cited the book of Zechariah: 'Not by Might, nor by Power, but by Spirit, saith the Lord'. The aims of *The New Order* were synonymous with those of Kenworthy, and as such the best representation of the paper's platform that has survived was Kenworthy's declaration of his principles in the opening edition of 1897's volume. These are paraphrased as follows:

1. Equality. The meekness, lowliness, humility, taught and shown by Jesus. 'The need for this today is expressed in the socialist demand for equal ownership and control of the means of production, distribution, and exchange; which means that we shall yield to all equal opportunity to use land, capital, and all social resources. This is the abolition of all legal rights of property'.
2. Fraternity. The principle of loving one another' of Jesus. 'This means that men in society shall not struggle to satisfy each or his own needs, but shall study and work to fill each other's needs; then all will be well cared for'. This is 'the communist idea'.
3. Freedom. 'That foretold by Jesus when he said "The truth shall make you free". He who seeks freedom must give freedom. Men must cease coercing, using force upon each other, and instead, each must allow every other to follow his own will. Love alone, the power of kindness, it to be relied upon to restrain wrong-doers and create a true and happy social order. This is the Anarchist idea, which seeks the end of government, and its replacement by co-operation.

<sup>1</sup> Coats, 'The Origins and Early Development of The Royal Economic Society', 356fn1.

4. Honest Labour. 'Devotion of hand and brain together to the service of humanity, in the production and supply of food, or clothing, or shelter for those who need them, for one's own maintenance, at least, to begin with. This is that feeding the hungry, clothing the naked, and helping the helpless which Jesus taught to be the way of salvation'.
5. Spreading the truth. 'Tens of millions of the poor are agonizing in our Babylons of "civilization"; Millions of men stand armed, ready to slay each other. Deceit and corruption wield and direct the enormous machinery of finance, the "money-power" which dominates everything in State and Church. Everywhere, the masses are discontented, only wanting the shining of some ray of hope to follow its guidance'.

Kenworthy published *The New Order* at a loss of around £2 per month, and in 1898 F. R. Henderson took over its editorship. This did not lead to any significant change in the paper's content, but there were discernibly fewer articles from Kenworthy whenever he was in Purleigh or when visiting Tolstoy in Russia. Research has not revealed the reasons for *The New Order's* demise as surviving copies of the paper are extremely rare. However, the decision in 1899 to move the paper's production to Purleigh meant that their fortunes became intertwined. So, it can be reasonably assumed that *The New Order* met its end when Purleigh was wound down, and when at the same time Kenworthy, the source of the paper's energy, was said to have become mentally ill.

### ***The Ploughshare* (1912-1919)**

The organ of the Socialist Quaker Society, and edited by Loftus Hare, *The Ploughshare* discussed many of the same topics as the *Church Socialist Quarterly*. It was issued quarterly at a price of 3d. The aims of *The Ploughshare*, as expounded in its opening edition in November 1912, were as follows:

1. To bring 'more adequately than hitherto, the message Socialism to the members of the Society of Friends'.
2. To 'draw together in bonds of effective union all Friends who have already assented to the principles which lie at the root of the Socialist movement'.
3. Its 'ultimate aim', however, was to engage in 'the discussion and formulation of principles and methods that are destined (as its promoters believe) to transform

Given its aims, *The Ploughshare* was predisposed towards introspection: it was a forum for 'finding the meaning of socialism' (as one of its opening articles was titled) and for forming the basis of a message to be taken to non-socialist Quakers. It was the latter purpose that preoccupied the minds of the paper's editors: as Hare wrote, despite fourteen years of Socialist Quaker Society activity, 'many members of the Society of Friends were, to a great extent, ignorant of the serious purpose of socialism'.

By 1913 *The Ploughshare* had arrived at a definite, tripartite conception of socialism, as follows:

- (a) Industrial movement of the workers themselves.
- (b) A state policy aimed at capturing large industries and municipal public services.
- (c) An electoral and parliamentary movement.

By attempting to combine industrial democracy with state nationalization, *The Ploughshare's* conception had echoes of the contemporaneous programmes espoused by Conrad Noel and N. E. Egerton Swann in the British Socialist Party and the Church Socialist League respectively. It was not yet a vision that espoused Guild Socialism, which Swann would eventually adopt, or syndicalism, which the paper described as the 'antithesis' of socialism. However, Samuel Hobson, a prominent Guild Socialist, was one of the paper's main contributors and an active member of the SQS, and he would steer the paper towards Guild Socialist ideas as time went on.

Most of *The Ploughshare's* life falls outside the purview of this thesis, but like other Christian Socialist periodicals *The Ploughshare's* discussion from around 1913 onwards focused on the looming conflict and its implications for socialism. As Bryant noted, 'Concerns about war and capitalism were intermingled with a particularly keen sense of the vital political role of personal conscience and freedom. [Bryant went on:] As Hare wrote in his final editorial, "What political freedom gave with one hand, industrial freedom took away with the other... for the

very liberty of property, of trade and of contract brought about a bondage – hence come wars”<sup>1</sup>.

## Periodicals to which Christian Socialists frequently contributed

### *The Christian Commonwealth: Organ of the World-wide Progressive Movement in Religion and Social Ethics (1881-1918)*<sup>2</sup>

*The Christian Commonwealth* was a weekly penny paper, and the organ of The League of Progressive Thought and Social Service, which claimed to have over six hundred members. The League aimed to ‘Provide a fellowship for all progressive thinkers on religion, socialists, and social workers who desire to identify their social, political, and ethical ideals with the teaching of Jesus Christ’. To this end *The Christian Commonwealth* printed the ‘Political Review of the Week’ by Philip Snowden, as well as sermons by R. J. Campbell, in which he outlined his ‘New Theology’. Other contributors to the paper included Conrad Noel, Keir Hardie, Ramsay Macdonald, H. G. Well, George Lansbury, and the Webbs. *The Christian Commonwealth* was eventually incorporated with *The New Commonwealth*. A later paper, *Christian Commonwealth and Brotherhood World* (1942-1980) traced its ancestry to *The Christian Commonwealth*.

### *The New Age: A Weekly record of Christian culture, social service, and literary life; later A Journal for Thinkers and Workers (1894-1938)*

*The New Age* was a penny newspaper edited at first by F. A. Atkins, and published by S. W. Partridge & Co. of London. It was intended at first to be a magazine for the clergy and lay Christians, and it claimed that it had sold 85,000 copies of its first edition.

As Wallace Martin wrote in his study of the paper, Atkins pursued a policy of Christian liberalism, and he was not unfavourably disposed towards socialism. In 1895 A. E. Fletcher became editor, and the paper’s new subtitle ‘A Journal for Thinkers and Workers’ highlighted its increased interest in socialist affairs. This subtitle echoed that of *The Christian Socialist*, which had been defunct for four years, but it is not known if this reference was intended. Regular contributors in this period included Percy Alden, Ramsay Macdonald, John Clifford, Henry Scott Holland, J. Bruce Wallace, J. C. Kenworthy, and Robert Blatchford. However, there was much less socialist and economic content than was found in papers such as *The Christian Socialist*, or even *The Commonwealth*. The paper’s main concerns continued to be religion, Church life, the state of Christian thought, and social Christianity.

Martin went on to note that *The New Age* had a number of editors, until 1900 when it became ‘independent’. Between 1900 and 1907 its circulation was in rapid decline, and the paper’s debts to its printers were so severe that by 1907 *The New Age* had to be sold.<sup>3</sup> As Gary Taylor recounted, this was when *The New Age* entered the phase for which it was, and is, best known: as a Guild Socialist paper run by Alfred Orage and Holbrook Jackson, with financial help from George Bernard Shaw. In its new incarnation the paper left its Christian roots behind, but it remained as a platform for Christian Socialist debate for some years. The Church Socialist League declared that ‘we recommend our members to support *The New Age* in its new form’. The paper, the CSL went on, is ‘devoted to Socialism’, and although the CSL is not ‘fully in line with its editorials’, it nonetheless paid tribute to the ‘excellence of its first pages of notes on current politics’. In his autobiography, Maurice Reckitt recalled that he regularly read *The New Age* between 1909 and 1912. However, by 1913 the editor of *The Church Socialist* renounced *The New Age* for espousing outdated attitudes towards female suffrage. Like the remaining members of the Church Socialist League, after the war *The New Age* moved from Guild Socialism to the Social Credit ideas of C. H. Douglas, a regular contributor to the paper. Nonetheless the Christian Socialists continued to be wary of the *The New Age* due to some of its political principles and because many of its writers leaned towards Christian mysticism.

<sup>1</sup> Bryant, *Possible Dreams*, 229.

<sup>2</sup> *The Christian Commonwealth: Organ of the World-Wide Progressive Movement in Religion and Social Ethics* (London).

<sup>3</sup> Wallace Martin, *The New Age Under Orage: Chapters in English Cultural History* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1967).

***Westbourne Park Chapel Monthly Record (1897-1905) and The Westbourne Park Record (1906-1912)***

*The Westbourne Park Chapel Monthly Record* began life as simply the church magazine of the Westbourne Park Baptist Church, but it was later published by Kingsgate Press and Burt & Sons, when it changed its name to *The Westbourne Park Record*. The former title was edited by J. Stewart and the latter by Alfred P. Griffiths; however, John Clifford was the principal voice of the *Record*. The paper printed his sermons and addresses to Christian Socialists, secular socialists, and non-socialist Christians, as well as news regarding Clifford's Social Progress Society and his Westbourne Park Institute. Clifford's Fabian tracts were also printed by *The Westbourne Park Record*. Its other content included the news and topics typical of a church magazine, alongside reviews of socialist and economic articles and textbooks.

## Appendix Four: Christian Socialism in the printed sphere

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The following is a representative, rather than an exhaustive, list of newspapers and periodicals in which the activities of 'Christian Socialism' the movement was reported on, and 'Christian Socialism' the idea was discussed.

**Table 8: Newspapers and periodicals in which Christian Socialism featured, 1880-1914**

<u>Newspaper</u>	<u>Examples</u>
<i>The Belfast News-Letter</i>	'The Creed of Christian Socialism. Address by the Dean of Ely' (Belfast, September 17, 1895), No. 25016.
<i>The Blackburn Standard and Weekly Express</i>	'Academic Christian Socialism' (Blackburn, December 17, 1892), No. 2965; 'Christian Socialism' (Blackburn, December 1, 1900), No. 3380.
<i>The Bristol Mercury and Daily Post</i>	'The Rev. J. M. Wilson on Christian Socialism' (Bristol, April 6, 1886), No. 11823; Christian Socialism. Speech by Mr Stafford Howard' (Bristol, October 19, 1886), No. 11991; 'Christian Socialism' (Bristol, November 17, 1886), No. 12016; 'Christian Socialism' (Bristol, Wednesday 11 January 1893).
<i>British Weekly</i>	The British Weekly commented on Clifford's speech on the Cretan Question in Hyde Park and reported that Clifford was well-received in the U. S. after preaching a sermon entitled 'The Anglo-American Alliance'. See <i>Westbourne Park Chapel Monthly Record</i> , Vol. 4, No. 4, 27; Vol. 5, No. 10, 73.
<i>Church Times</i>	The following is an extract from the review of Kaufmann's <i>Utopias...</i> which appeared in <i>Church Times</i> : '[ <i>Utopias...</i> is a] Great mass of solid information... Kaufmann is careful to insist throughout on the real existence of the evils which all these various schemes aim at suppressing and to urge the need to their being dealt with somehow by legislatures and societies, as the policy of declining to recognise them and of punishing those who call attention to them is necessarily futile, and can at best put off the day of reckoning with accumulated compound interest when it does come, as come it must'. M. Kaufmann, <i>Socialism and Modern Thought 2<sup>nd</sup> edn.</i>
<i>Daily News</i>	'The Condition of the poor: Conference of Religious Bodies'; 'Christian Socialism' (London, October 8, 1897), No. 16079; 'Christian Socialism' (London, August 15, 1900) No. 16971; 'J. N. Figgis letter to the Daily News' (November 6) 1908.
<i>The Derby Mercury</i>	'Lecture on "Christian Socialism" in Derby' (Derby, February 5, 1890), No. 9134.
<i>Dictionary of Political Economy</i>	Robert Harry Inglis Palgrave, <i>Dictionary of Political Economy</i> (London: Macmillan and Co., 1894)

<u>Newspaper</u>	<u>Examples</u>
<i>The Dundee Courier &amp; Argus</i>	'Christianity and Socialism' (Dundee, February 6, 1888), No. 10788.
<i>Glasgow Herald</i>	'The Quarterlies' (Glasgow, October 23, 1884), No. 254; 'The Dean of Ely in Glasgow' (Glasgow, January 25, 1896).
<i>Hampshire Telegraph and Sussex Chronicle</i>	'Christian Socialism, Expounded by the Rev. Stewart Headlam' (Portsmouth, March 1, 1890), No. 5672.
<i>The Huddersfield Daily Chronicle</i>	'Lecture at Lockwood on Christian Socialism' (West Yorkshire, October 26, 1892), No. 7874; 'The New Christian Socialism' (West Yorkshire, August 27, 1894), No. 8448.
<i>The Isle of Man Times and General Advertiser</i>	'Rev. Dr. Stevenson Moore's Second Lecture on Christian Socialism' (Douglas, February 19, 1895), No. 2124; 'Socialism v. Christian Socialism' (Douglas, October 15, 1895), No. 2191.
<i>Jackson's Oxford Journal</i>	'Christian Socialism' (Oxford, March 7, 1885), No. 6885; 'Christian Socialism. Lecture by the Rev. Mark Guy Pearse' (Oxford, February 3, 1900), No. 7664; 'Annual Meeting of the Oxford Branch of the Christian Social Union' (Oxford, May 5, 1900), No. 7677.
<i>Justice</i>	The following text was published which recounted a debate in <i>Justice</i> : Samuel Smith, <i>Fallacies of Socialism Exposed: Being a Reply to the Manifesto of the Democratic Federation: ... to Which Are Added Letters in Reply to a Christian Socialist</i> (London, 1885).
<i>The Lancaster Gazette</i>	'Local Intelligence' (Lancaster, February 26, 1887), No. 5730.
<i>Leeds Mercury</i>	'The Church and the London Poor' (Leeds, April 4, 1884), No. 14349; 'Christian Socialism and the Land' (Leeds, July 29, 1893), No. 17259.
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## Other resources

### Online repositories and other useful websites

- 19th Century British Library Newspapers [<http://find.galegroup.com/bncn/start.do?prodId=BNCN&userGroupName=uows&finalAuth=true>].
- 19<sup>th</sup> Century UK Periodicals [<http://find.galegroup.com/ukpc/start.do?prodId=NCUK&userGroupName=uows&finalAuth=true>].
- 'A Cloistered Life', *Utopia Britannica* [<http://www.utopia-britannica.org.uk/pages/Cloisters.htm>].
- Anglo-Catholic Socialism [<http://www.anglocatholicism.org/>].
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### **Seminars, conferences, and research papers that have informed the research (by date)**

- Clive Binfield, 'Representative Congregationalist? P. T. Forsyth as Chairman of the Union, 1905-06' *Dr Williams's Centre for Dissenting Studies Seminar* (Dr Williams's Centre, London: 30 April, 2008).
- Ian Cawood, 'The Liberal Unionist Vote: The Persistence of Patronage and Regionalism in late Victorian politics' *British History 1815-1945 Seminar* (Institute of Historical Research: 8 May, 2008).
- ESTER: The European Graduate School for Training in Economic and Social Historical Research Advanced Seminar 2008, *Industrial History, Industrial Culture: Representations – Past, Present, and Future* (Swansea University: 17-20 September, 2008).
- Ben Maw, 'Early Chartist Strategy and Working-class self-transformation 1838-1840' *Swansea University Research Seminar* (9, October, 2008).
- Iain Sharpe, 'An Edwardian Party Funding Scandal?' *IHR Postgraduate and early-career historian seminar* (Institute of Historical Research: 27 November, 2008).
- Aberystwyth University Postgraduate History Society, *Aberystwyth Postgraduate History Forum* (Aberystwyth University: 13-14 January, 2009).
- Ursula De Young, 'John Tyndall and Theology: The Definition and Boundaries of Science' *IHR Postgraduate and early-career historian seminar* (Institute of Historical Research: 22 January, 2009)
- Swansea University Postgraduate History Society, *Summer Symposium* (Swansea University: 13 May, 2009).
- Economic and Business Historical Society, *35<sup>th</sup> EBHS Conference* (University of Minho, Braga: 27-29 May, 2010).
- Institute of Historical Research, *78<sup>th</sup> Anglo-American Conference of Historians: Cities* (Institute of Historical Research: 2-3 July, 2009)
- William Dixon & David Wilson, 'Notes on Religion and Economics' at the British Academy, 'Distinguishing "Religious" from "Economic"', *Workshop* (British Academy: 26 November, 2009).
- Stephen Byrne, 'Pain, Providence, and Childhood: Rethinking the emergence of the organized child protection movement in late-Victorian Britain' at the Economic History Society, *Residential Training Workshop* (Chancellors, Manchester: 2-5 December, 2009).
- Keith Tribe, 'W. J. Ashley 1860-1927: From Historical Economics to Economic History' *Economic History Society Annual Conference* (University of Durham: 26-29 March, 2010).

