
Edward Maxted: Socialist Vicar of Tilty 1908-1918

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Abstract

When, in 1908, the socialist Countess of Warwick presented the Rev Edward Maxted to be vicar of the Essex parish of Tilty, was she expecting the socialist firebrand that he proved to be? Determined to convert not just his parish but the whole of north-west Essex to socialism, the Rev Maxted fought the good fight, sometimes literally, pitting himself against not only the local farming establishment but also at times his fellow clergy, including the Christian socialist Conrad Noel at Thaxted; nor were his efforts welcomed by the agricultural workforce. His apotheosis came in the summer of 1914 when he played a leading part in the farmworkers' strike in and around the Essex village of Steeple Bumpstead. The outbreak of war put an end to the strike and marked the culmination of Maxted's campaigning days. Thenceforward he concentrated on his parish duties, moving in 1918 to Bristol and finally to the USA where he died in 1966, aged 92.

Key words: Tilty, Countess of Warwick, Social Democratic Party, agricultural workers, Christian socialism

To most people living in Essex between the wars, the title 'socialist vicar' would have meant Conrad Noel, vicar of Thaxted, friend and collaborator with Gustav Holst.¹ Noel, with his *matinée* idol looks and fondness for wearing a pastiche of the costume of a medieval parish priest, set out to build an imagined Merrie England in Thaxted. His patron, the Countess of Warwick, had preferred him to the living in 1910 in the hope that he would use it as a base from which to travel the country preaching Christian socialism. Meanwhile, a few miles away in the parish of Tilty, also in the patronage of the Countess of Warwick, the vicar, the Rev Edward Maxted, was more than fulfilling the Countess's wish. Unlike

the distinctly patrician Noel, Edward Maxted's background (and looks) were entirely plebeian. Born on 1 March 1874, son of a Margate tinsmith, after a basic elementary education, Edward Maxted was apprenticed to his father's trade. At age seventeen, feeling called to the Anglican priesthood, he took himself to Canada, where he was able to earn enough in four years to put himself through the theological course at Kings College, London, graduating with first class honours in 1900. In Toronto he met his future wife, Sallester Ramage, the daughter of a Thames lighterman who had migrated to Canada.

Whereas Conrad Noel was at first denied ordination, the Bishop of Southwark had no hesitation over ordaining Edward Maxted in June 1901. Maxted's background was very unusual for a Church of England clergyman. Most Anglican clergy at the time, like the incumbents of the three parishes where Edward Maxted served his curacy, were Oxford or Cambridge graduates.² 'The function of the National Church', it has been said, 'was to place a civilizing influence in the form of an educated gentleman in every parish in the Kingdom'.³ Moreover, '[The clergyman's] status as colonial governor of the parish, [was] perceived to be doing the bidding of his gentry relatives and patrons ...'⁴ For instance, the long-serving rector of Gt Easton, the neighbouring parish to Tilty, was the Rev. H.B. Capel: descended from the Earls of Essex, he was Lady Warwick's cousin.

During his ministry at Tilty, from 1908 to 1918, Edward Maxted achieved considerable notoriety as a 'socialist vicar', not that he was alone in being given that title by the press. His own accounts of how he came to socialism are confused. Later in life he would claim that as a boy he had dreamed of leading a peasants' revolt like the itinerant priest John Ball. In 1913 he said he had been introduced to socialism twenty years earlier, i.e. in 1893, the year in which he arrived in Toronto. Perhaps it was then that he purchased his copy of Edward Bellamy's *Looking Backward*,⁵ a novel which presented a Utopian society in which, although socialism was not mentioned, the means of production and distribution had been nationalised. Whenever he was called upon to explain what socialism meant, Maxted offered essentially a re-hash of Bellamy's utopian vision. He would claim that the demands of preparing for holy orders meant that he gave socialism no more thought until, on the first Sunday of his first curacy at Christ Church, Battersea, he encountered a socialist meeting and went to talk to them. He then read every book on socialism in Battersea Public Library and 'took up' with *The Clarion*, although, he did not become active in the movement until he moved to St Anne's, South Lambeth.

St Anne's was a 'very large, very poor' parish. Its vicar since 1891, William Morris, 'seemed to know every man, woman and child ... He is the most practical, self-denying of socialists and has given away all that he had to help the poor'.⁶ In 1889 he had actively supported striking gas workers in Vauxhall, and during Fr Morris's incumbency St Anne's became a centre of Christian socialism, 'combined', according to the *South Wales Daily News*, 26 September 1893, 'with ritualistic practice'.⁷ Stewart Headlam's Guild of St Matthew met there regularly,⁸ as did the Fabian Society. Preaching at the Guild Festival at St Anne's, in 1893, Morris called on the members to do their best 'to make the poor discontented with their lot and the rich discontented with themselves'.⁹ Morris, who retired in 1903, was described as a 'fine specimen of a muscular parson' for his work at St Anne's; in his rural Essex parish Edward Maxted would set a different example of muscular Christianity.

After three years at St Anne's, Maxted moved to St Andrew's, Battersea, where his socialist activities caused such unrest that he was asked to resign. No doubt speaking at socialist meetings without his vicar's permission was a factor. On Sunday 6 October 1907, Maxted gave a lecture on 'Socialism and the Universities' at the Chandos Hall, in Stratford, East London. On 7 October, under the headline 'Curate's Night Out', *The Hull Daily Mail* reported that, following the 'Socialist hymn', *Arise England*, 'Our comrade Maxted' was called upon to speak.

Attired in orthodox Church of England dress, he began: 'I am here tonight', he explained, 'by the kindness of my vicar. I asked him for a night off, but I took particular care not to say where I was going. If I had said I was coming here, he would not, in all probability, have given me leave ...' He continued: 'I am absent tonight from my clerical duties but I wish I could spend every Sunday evening, aye, and every Sunday morning in preaching Socialism'.

He then made what was described as a violent speech in favour of socialism. 'What we want to see is state ownership in education right from the primary school up to the universities'. On 24 August the SDF weekly *Justice* had published a comment by Maxted on the recent WEA Conference in Oxford, at which a proposal had been made to hand one of the colleges, lock, stock and barrel, to Ruskin Hall for the education of working men. Maxted objected that this implied that working men were not to study alongside other classes; the other colleges were for gentlemen. Oxford, he said, belongs to the whole people and not to a class. 'We

demand public ownership to make it possible for workmen to attend any college and to have their expenses paid by the whole community'. He suggested that an attempt was being made to give the working classes some advantages which would content them enough to refrain from demanding all that is set down in the socialist and TU education programme.

He obtained an appointment to St Lawrence's, Catford on condition that he said nothing about socialism. In 1908 the Rev J. Stevenson, vicar of Tilty, died.¹⁰

The benefice of Tilty was at the disposal of 'Daisy', Countess of Warwick. Formerly King Edward VII's mistress, by 1908 she had converted from socialite to socialist. From Easton Lodge in North-West Essex, she was able to indulge her political enthusiasms, including the appointment of like-minded clergy to the parishes in her patronage, among them Tilty. After, as he put it, three months of holding his tongue, Edward Maxted was instituted as vicar of Tilty. From ministering to populations of between 10,000 and 15,000, Maxted found himself looking after 242 people spread across 1000 acres.¹¹ As he described it, '... if you can only find it, it is rather scattered and consists mainly of fields'.¹² The report of his induction, on 11 May 1908, described him as one of the few socialist clergy of the Church of England who has taken a public part in propaganda for the spread of socialism. 'A quiet earnest man, ... He has a peculiar (*sic*) experience among the working class population in London'.¹³ How far this would fit him for a ministry among the mainly farming population of his new parish remained to be seen.¹⁴

Edward Maxted probably came to the Countess of Warwick's attention as a result of 'A socialist demonstration ... at Dunmow' she hosted on Saturday 2 June 1906, 'the first meeting of the kind ever held in the old Essex town'.¹⁵ Among the speakers attempting 'to convert Dunmow to socialism' was 'the Revd H (*sic*) Maxted, clergyman of the Church of England'. All were met with hostility.¹⁶ Soon after his institution at Tilty, press reports began to appear concerning Maxted's extra-parochial activities.¹⁷ These reports are the main source for what we know of his political activities, and the necessary limitations of second-hand reporting of his words and deeds should be borne in mind. In September 1908 he was the main speaker at the Braintree and Bocking Independent Labour Party. According to the chairman, socialists had been called atheists, causing much abuse, 'but the presence of a Church of England clergyman should disperse (*sic*) such a view'. Maxted set forth what would become familiar tropes. All agreed that there was something rotten in the state of the country. The only remedy was socialism. Socialism meant the common

ownership, by the public, of the means of production and exchange. Just as now, people went to parliament thinking that they represented the public, so, under socialism people would be elected to manage all the affairs of life – all the land and the means of making goods, all the capital and machinery in workshops. Socialism would become a scheme of society, perfect and complete in all its parts. Socialists saw what was coming and they took their stand at the head of the stream of human progress. People laughed at socialism, Maxted continued, but it was remarkable that where it had been applied it was the work of solid old Conservatives or Liberals, when common sense without prejudice had been allowed its way. The Balfour Education Act of 1902 might be regarded as a piece of socialist legislation. The purchase in 1899 of the South London Tramways by the County Council was a good illustration of the central principle of socialism in action, as was the provision of public waterways and public schools. The day of voluntary effort in education was over: all schools would have to be owned by the state; the only question was one of terms. All branches of education would be paid for out of taxation. A Ministry of Food would arrange for the loaves of bread, which all the people would require. This would entail state ownership of land, railways and of all the factories. When every single thing that was necessary to the people became publicly owned, ‘then socialism would be in perfection’. In the socialist age ‘a boy’ (*sic*) would be sent to school and then university until he was twenty-one and then transferred to the state workshop. There would be no unemployment and no fear of want in old age, because there would be pensions for all. If a man were out of work, he would be told to do his share in the affairs of the state. Insecurity of employment would be abolished and there would be no poverty because the state would produce more than it could consume. It was hardly possible to imagine what a happy life this would be when socialism had removed all fear of starvation. Socialism is in full harmony with Christianity at every point. He hoped that everyone would work for socialism.

1909 was Maxted’s apogee. In January he forwarded a letter to *The Essex County Chronicle* from H.B. Capel, rector of the neighbouring parish of Gt Easton, declining a request for the Essex Social Democratic Party to meet in the Church school; since socialism and Christianity are incompatible, it would be inconsistent to uphold Church and King while permitting a meeting against Christianity and the Monarchy. In response Maxted quoted the Bishop of Southwark, E.S. Talbot, and the Archbishop of Melbourne, L. Clarke, to the effect that there was a great deal of

Christianity in socialism and a great deal of socialism in Christianity. In February 1909 in Dunmow, Maxted debated with H. Gould from the Anti-Socialist League of Great Britain,¹⁸ on the motion: 'That the basic principles of Socialism are economically and morally sound'. Maxted asked: 'If the Government provided for war, carried letters and provided elementary education for all, why not also food, clothing and shelter?' It was a morally sound principle, he said, that the people should own the land on which they lived. 'In Bible times the land belonged to the Lord who gave it to the children of men'. Now the land belonged to a few men while 'The great majority were charged rent for living on it'. London was built on land which had got into the possession of very few and produced £20 million a year. Concluding, he asserted that all over the country socialism was being practised. The state had undertaken the education of the children and the result was a great improvement in education.

Gould observed that Maxted had not produced a single argument to show that socialism was sound. Of the population of forty-three million, it was curious that only two million were socialists. According to the vicar, the rest were unintelligent and dishonest. Gould also claimed that, beside public ownership, socialism meant equality between the sexes. Socialism was not morally sound – it comprised collective ownership not only of capital and land but also of women and children. Mr H. Quelch, a socialist, had stated that he would abolish marriage. He wanted no bond in marriage at all, but free love. This was not a doctrine that Englishmen would accept, whether it emanated from the cloak of a priest or the silken tissue of a countess.

Responding, the vicar defined socialism as Christianity applied to industrial concerns. At the beginning only twelve men were Christians but they had spread the faith all over the world and that was what socialists were going to do. However, as this country was not yet converted to Christianity, so it must take a long time to convert it to socialism. Socialism was growing in every civilised country: in England it would need the combination of Liberal and Conservative Parties to stop it. Gould returned to the socialist view of marriage. The vicar made it an indissoluble tie and placed the Church's blessing on it, but then went on public platforms to disparage it. He referred to *Clarion* editor Robert Blatchford to show that socialists did not believe in any of the sacred things of life, yet the vicar professed to teach them. The motion was defeated by one-hundred to thirteen votes, although *The Essex County Chronicle* considered that the interest Maxted had aroused could not be measured by the number who voted for him.

In May 1909 the Vicar of Tilty tried without success to get nominated as a 'Lady' visitor to oversee the operation of the 1908 Children's Act in conjunction with the Dunmow Board of Guardians. He wrote to the Dunmow Deanery magazine to rebut a rumour that he was teaching children to steal and preaching immorality. If anyone believed this, they should tell the Bishop and he would immediately relieve Tilty of one who gave such pernicious teaching. 'Meanwhile, when I wish to teach socialism, I shall call a special meeting in the parish room and all who wish to learn may come'. His one desire, he said, was to preach the Gospel and to make the church and parish a happy place, 'so let us have done with back-biting, evil speaking, lying and slandering and get hold of a little Christian charity'. Responding to a questioner who wanted proof that the vast sums in rent, interest and profit which now go to the landlords and capitalists will belong to the people themselves, Maxted asked to whom the final profit on the London County Council Tramways belonged? 'Does it not belong', he said, 'to the people of London, all of whom are shareholders in the LCC Tramways? As soon as the working classes understand socialism, they will become socialists. We defy any honest man to study socialism for a year without becoming a socialist'.¹⁹

The enforced payment of tithe to support Anglican clergy was much resented, especially by Nonconformists. The issue had been raised in September 1908, when Maxted had claimed that although the tithe would not be abolished on the grounds that it was surely good that tithe was used to support a Socialist vicar of Tilty, its payment might be nationalised, although he did not explain how this would work. The next year, at an outdoor meeting on Duton Hill, between Tilty and Dunmow, a labourer asked, 'Does it come out of our harvest money?'²⁰ The vicar replied that tithe was part of the plunder that landlords take from the working classes. 'Then', came the retort, 'you parsons participate in the robbery'. When the labourer persisted, Maxted agreed that 'in one way tithe does come from the working man, but they (*sic*) would be no better off if no tithe was paid. The State says that a parson is a public necessity'. His interlocutor responded: 'Stop the parson's tithe and they'd soon stop preaching. You have not done much good, nor made any impression. We shall stick by the Old Tories (applause)'. This lack of deference towards the vicar probably also reflects the deference of labourer towards farmer. As H. Aronson put it in 1914:

the number of farmers in a given district is comparatively small and they are personally known to one another. The whole life history of the

labourer is common knowledge and the ring of employers very nearly complete. The labourer knows that if he loses his job he will, in all probability, be forced to leave the district ...²¹

This rally culminated on Dunmow Downs, where a large crowd assembled.²² The chairman declared that their condition would do for animals but not even for an Essex agricultural labourer, who, with the brains that distinguished him, had returned the wrong man to Parliament in Colonel Lockwood, who represented the landed classes. The labourer's only ambition was to fill himself with beer and food and have a bed to lie on. While his average weekly wage was sixteen shillings and eleven pence, Colonel Lockwood would pay as much for a dinner. Confronted by an apparently drunken labourer performing a jig in front of the platform, the chairman quoted Thomas Carlyle, that the people of this country are mostly fools 'and if I am to judge by the specimens around me now, I shall come to his way of thinking'. He continued: 'We want you people to own your land and not to pay rent for the privilege of living on it. The people who have exploited the Essex labourer now say he doesn't know how to save his money'. The condescending tone was hardly likely to win support.

Boos greeted the next speaker, Conrad Noel, when he said: 'If I only earned 15s a week I should think of beer, bed and food, and nothing more', whereupon he called his opponents a lot of silly fools. Thus provoked, the crowd stormed the platform. After the police had restored order, Noel stated that while he liked opposition accompanied by questions, he disliked people booing like fools. Maxted's appearance was met with yells. He had come, he told them, to tell the people of Dunmow that he didn't think they were fools at all, at which the crowd broke into 'For he's a jolly good fellow ...' 'Will you hear me?' he asked. 'If not, I shall turn round'. His voice being drowned out, he turned his back on the crowd and addressed his friends behind the platform. Then, facing the crowd and calling them not fools but cowards, he asserted that not one man dare lay a finger on him. 'The people of Essex', he then proclaimed 'are turning to socialism; the labourers are becoming socialists'. Challenged to use his fists, he refused but said that if anyone came there he would hit him. When someone called out 'That is Christianity', Maxted replied that it was self-defence; he was not afraid of anyone and defied any person in Dunmow to lay a finger on him, either on a dark road at night or here and now. He was willing to meet any three of them in a dark road at night or anywhere else where he was unarmed and alone. Amid growing disorder, the meeting closed with singing the Red Flag.

Undeterred, a fortnight later Maxted returned to Duton Hill for another outdoor meeting. This time the guest speaker was Harry Quelch, editor of the SDP paper *Justice*. They were greeted with what resembled 'ran-tanning' or 'rough music', by which villagers customarily signalled their displeasure with anyone regarded as having offended communal mores.²³ A racket of bugles, horns and wooden bird scarers, and even children blowing toy trumpets, met the two socialists. The vicar spoke first: Mr Quelch was said to have stated that Christianity and socialism were incompatible whereas he had actually said that Christianity and capitalism were incompatible. If Christians would think out their Christianity, they would become socialists in three months. Quelch observed that it was remarkable that Essex people were so backward in their knowledge of socialism. In parts of the country people were starving. A farmer asked the speaker where these people were. 'We don't allow our pigs to starve', to which Quelch replied: 'Of course not. You don't eat paupers. I never heard that people here are cannibals'.

The farmer indicated the vicar: there was a man the village would be better without, 'He never spends a shilling in the parish'. He had seen him gathering firewood from the hedgerow: 'Fancy a church parson doing a job like that instead of giving a poor man a job'. When the vicar said that no one could deny that he did his duty as a parish priest, a labourer shouted that that was because they lived under the Countess [of Warwick] and were afraid to speak out. Another labourer said 'Those who are turning to socialism live under the Countess and would be turned out of their houses if they did not. What', he asked the vicar, 'would your place be worth if you did not preach socialism?' The Countess, another farmer said, paid the vicar to preach socialism. When Maxted replied that he had come to Tilty to preach Christianity, the farmer asked why he didn't, to which the vicar answered that anyone who followed him round the parish would know that not only did he preach Christianity, he practised it. At another open-air meeting at Duton Hill on Saturday 21 August, the main speaker was J.F. Green, Secretary of the Peace Society, treasurer of the Social Democratic Party and Parliamentary candidate for South Bristol. Again the farmers formed the main opposition. The next afternoon, 22 August, 140 people, including the Countess of Warwick, attended a garden party at Tilty vicarage, at which the vicar said that because socialists believed in people enjoying themselves on the Sabbath they were anti-puritan.²⁴

On the following evening when Maxted addressed a crowd outside Dunmow Town Hall on the question 'Is Socialism Inevitable?' he was

smothered in flour and alleged that a stone had struck him. Calcium carbide was also thrown, creating a dreadful smell. Eventually the police restored order and the vicar departed with Mrs Maxted, followed by a large crowd. When another stone hit him, he jumped from his trap to take on his assailants, whereupon the crowd pushed him downhill towards a large pond. At this point the vicar reluctantly obeyed the police order to drive away. However, in the darkness, further along the road, a volley of eggs struck the vicar and his wife. Maxted gave chase unsuccessfully. He told *The Essex County Chronicle* that had he caught one of his assailants he 'would hit him as hard as he could, then seize him by the throat and roll on the ground with him'. Asked whether a more peaceful approach might be more effective, he replied that the doctrine of turning the other cheek or non-resistance was all very well in some cases but not at the kind of meetings he held.

3 September 1909 saw the final meeting of the year at Duton Hill. Under a bright moon, guarded by two policemen, Edward Maxted, again with Conrad Noel, tried to address the crowd. Pandemonium ensued. An ex-soldier called Pratt led the crowd in a song he had composed. Conrad Noel endeavoured to make himself heard. 'Some people are asking what has a parson to do with politics or socialism? Church people who have nothing to do with politics are traitors to their religion'. Someone in the crowd shouted 'What is Mr Maxted then?' Noel replied that Mr Maxted was one of the few clergy who are loyal to the Church. To cries of 'The clergy do no work', Noel protested: 'We cannot have libels raised against the clergy by the atheistical section of this audience'. This was with met denials of atheism and the crowd broke into the anti-socialist song again. Conrad Noel resumed: 'Now the atheists have finished their tunes, we will go on with this meeting. By atheists I mean those who are trying to prevent God's coming on earth. Socialists are the true followers of Jesus Christ'. This provoked loud objections and missiles were thrown, at which Noel called the offenders 'Miserable cowards and curs to throw rotten eggs in the dark. You chose darkness because your deeds are evil'. Pratt offered to take on Maxted under Queensbury Rules. After more exchanges with the crowd, Maxted, said that he was glad to see more sympathisers than opponents and the two clergy were then escorted to the vicarage.

In October 1909 Maxted spoke at a meeting in Colchester. The chairman, the rector of Wivenhoe, observed that, after he had presided at a recent socialist meeting, on the Sunday following a family had walked out when he entered the pulpit. Maxted delivered what was described

as a 'characteristic speech', during which he stated that when they got socialism to perfection, everybody would get the same amount of pay. It was no use sending Liberals or Conservatives to Parliament because they favoured unemployment as a way of keeping wages down. Asked if all people who worked four hours a day would receive four guineas a week, Maxted replied that in such an event, each man would have more than four guineas a week.²⁵ It is noteworthy that here as elsewhere, Maxted made no mention of the employment of women or of the women's suffrage movement.

The following month the traditional Guy Fawkes Procession at Dunmow took an unusual turn.²⁶ On the evening of 5 November 150 masked men, wearing comical gowns, carrying torches, and a large Union Jack and two banners, one of which read 'For King, Community and Empire' and the other 'Down with Socialism, Anarchy and Tyranny', and led by the Dunmow Excelsior Brass Band, set off towards Tilty. Seated in a two-wheeled vehicle, was the guy, dressed in clerical clothes consisting of knee-breeches, black stockings and red tie, with a noose round its neck attached to a gallows. At intervals the guy was pulled to the top of the gallows. A large crowd followed. However, before it reached Tilty the police turned the procession back. Interviewed, Maxted described it as 'a rascally business'. He claimed to know nothing of the police intervention. He and about thirty friends and sympathisers, including members of the church choir, had arranged themselves across the approach to Tilty church and vicarage, armed with sticks and determined to resist 'the invaders'. The vicar said that he 'was not perturbed by the procession which I watched coming from some distance along the road'. The event terminated on the Downs, with a bonfire, into which the guy was flung, but not before it had been hanged from the gallows while the band struck up the Dead March, from Handel's *Saul*. While the guy burned the National Anthem was played and the crowd sang a song about the vicar to the tune of 'If you only put your shoulders to the wheel'. The ex-soldier Pratt claimed credit for organising the activities. The object, he said, was 'to demonstrate against socialism and to show our loyalty to the King'.

The year concluded with the first Dinner and Reunion of the Essex Socialist Federation at the White Hart Hotel, Romford. The guests included Edward Maxted and the prominent socialist artist and book illustrator, Walter Crane. Responding to the toast 'to the Workers of the World', F.P. Morley of Halstead, referring to recent events in Dunmow, said that the people of England had been in bondage so long that they

preferred a bonfire and a row to anything in the nature of socialism. Toasting the guests, Mr W.F. Rean likened Maxted to John Ball. They saw with admiration his gall and fight. His was the consistent Christian life. No professing Christian should be outside the Socialist movement. Replying, Maxted said that, as a boy of ten, John Ball had been his hero and he had dreamed of leading a peasants' revolt. It was not until he was ordained and went to Battersea as a curate that he found socialism.²⁷ When one became a socialist one did not think of whether courage was required to say or do things, one just had to do them and if a rich lady threatened to withdraw her support as had happened at Tilty, well she just had to. This is the only indication of any difference of opinion between Maxted and his patroness.

In January 1910 Maxted presided at the Dunmow Co-operative Society's Annual Tea where he called for the adoption of the universal co-operative principles, which should include all workers and consumers.²⁸ At a socialist meeting on the Downs at Dunmow on 13 May the first speakers got a good hearing, but when Maxted rose to speak, such was the booing and shouting that he had to abandon the attempt.²⁹ A letter to *The Essex Newsmen* referred to rowdyism at a recent meeting in Thaxted, when rotten eggs had been thrown, the platform rushed and Maxted had been kicked. The supposed cause was anger that the meeting had been held during a time of national mourning on the death of Edward VII. It was necessary that the common rights of Englishmen were not suspended and differences of opinion were entitled to a larger share of forbearance. This referred to an attempt by Edward Maxted to speak at Thaxted in May 1910. He had been pushed to the ground and, rescued by the police, taunted his antagonists: 'I have chastised you with whips. There is one coming after me who will chastise you with scorpions'. Shortly afterwards Maxted spoke to Conrad Noel, who had recently been named as the new vicar of Thaxted. saying 'I've prepared the way for you'. Noel, it seems, did not regard Maxted's intervention as helpful to the beginning of his work at Thaxted.³⁰

On 19 September 1910 Maxted addressed an attentive open-air gathering held by the Chelmsford Socialist Society. A local evangelist in the crowd advised him to 'rather seek the Kingdom of God and all these things shall be added unto you ... Why do you go about stirring up sedition in the country?' The vicar insisted that he had never tried to stir up sedition.

I pray against it when I say the Litany. The Kingdom of God means the ideal home of human society on earth; it may also mean a happy home

up above, but we do not know that, although we look to it ... When the Kingdom has come in the hearts and minds of man (*sic*), it will come in external things, and then these temporal things will be added.

He pointed out: 'You don't ask if the Tory or the Liberal is a Christian, yet there are atheists and agnostics in every Party; (in any case) an atheist or an agnostic is a man and a brother as much as a Tariff Reformer'. Socialism did not mean the overthrow of our form of government, but the overthrow of capitalism. Socialism meant the public ownership of land and capital. Maxted declined to subscribe to a collection for Chelmsford Hospital, saying that hospitals should be supported by the whole community through rates and taxes. He also said that he would 'socialise' pubs and abolish gambling.

In May 1911 Dunmow Rural District Council, which covered Tilty, received a letter from Maxted, urging the Council to take advantage of the 1890 Housing Act to provide labourers' cottages in Tilty and its district.³¹ Charles Baynes, farmer, churchwarden and councillor for Tilty, argued that there was no dearth of cottages. The Council Chairman, Mr T. Gibbons, said the letter should be sent to the Countess of Warwick. The Clerk to the Council reported that he had already written to the Countess but had received no reply. Councillor Baynes said it was 'the ladies who want the better cottages. They say a lot of the cottages want burning down. There were a lot of ladies at the vestry meeting ...' The Chairman did not suppose that any cottages were needed at Tilty but, rather than ignore the letter, it might be as well if the Sanitary Inspector looked around Tilty and Duton Hill. The Inspector agreed to visit and see what was needed.

However, Tilty's other churchwarden, Alfred Birch, disagreed. Tilty needed new cottages. Young people in the parish could not marry because they had nowhere to live and therefore they drifted away. Some cottages had broken windows, holes in the roof and dreadful draughts. At the Vestry Meeting it was said that some of the cottages should be burnt down and others erected in their places. The complaints had come from the women present. All the cottages in Tilty belonged to the Easton Lodge Estate and the rents were £2 a year. The vicar had brought the matter to the Countess's attention, who said that plans were being made to build cottages at Easton. Meanwhile, the District Sanitary Inspector reported that the demand for more cottages at Tilty was the same as elsewhere in Essex, to satisfy the requirements of the agricultural population, to draw people back, but the difficulty was to build new cottages to let at £2 per annum.³²

On 12 July 1912 *The Essex County Chronicle* published a letter claiming that the vicar of Tilty intended to preach on 14 July on the subject of John Ball who was hanged at St Albans on 15 July 1381. It further claimed that Maxted had previously stated that his ambition was to be another John Ball. John Ball, with Wat Tyler and Jack Straw, had exhorted the 'lower people' to destroy 'their superiors'. The insurgents destroyed everything they met, beheading every gentleman and, breaking into the Tower of London, murdered the Archbishop of Canterbury. The following week Maxted repudiated the claim that he wanted to be another John Ball and pointed out that the peasants had only punished those who had oppressed them.³³ For all his radicalism, the pugnacious vicar of Tilty and Mrs Maxted often hobnobbed with the great and the good. He, together with various leading figures in Dunmow, formed the Committee organising the Easton Lodge Flower Show in August 1911. In the same month, the Rev and Mrs Maxted were at Easton Lodge for a display of Morris dancing led by Cecil Sharpe himself, organised by the Rev and Mrs Conrad Noel, and hosted by the Earl and Countess of Warwick, at which the local élite were also present.³⁴

In March 1913 Maxted stood for election to the Board of Guardians of the Dunmow Poor Law Union, coming bottom of the poll.³⁵ He also stood as a candidate for the Thaxted Division in the upcoming County Council election. On 23 April Conrad Noel presided at a meeting in Thaxted in his support, attended by, among others, Noel's assistant priest, J.A. Grant, and the author, S.L. Bensusan. Maxted's 'manifesto' included houses for workers, small-holdings, and allotments. He would encourage the County Council to support local improvement schemes, the direct employment of labour on public works, trades union approved wages and conditions, a rise in roadman's wages so as to drive up farm workers' wages, school transport for children in outlying districts in winter and rainy weather, and school meals for children who needed food. The Rev Grant considered that it was every Christian's duty to vote for Maxted, as it was the priest's duty to attend to the bodies as well as the souls of the children of the Church.³⁶

A month later Maxted stood again in Thaxted in a by-election.³⁷ He held three meetings a night, 'flitting about by motor car and supported by the socialist coterie of Thaxted'. His appeal was almost entirely to the rural labourers. For oratory, the *Chronicle* thought, he easily outclassed his opponents, who resorted to tricks to silence him. At one meeting, his opponent Lancelot Byng began to suck acid drops, momentarily stopping Maxted's flow.³⁸ In the event, Maxted with 378 votes had received

only sixty-five votes fewer than the successful candidate Byng, a Tory and JP.³⁹ Immediately following the declaration of the poll, late at night, Maxted motored to Thaxted, where he was met by a hostile crowd and in the darkness was forced against the wall of the Market Cross and struck by a missile.⁴⁰ Undeterred, he was back in Thaxted in July for a Festival of Faith, processing through the streets to the singing of 'Old Hundredth' ('All People that on Earth do dwell').⁴¹

Meanwhile Maxted had been helping form branches of the National Agricultural Labourers' and Rural Workers' Union, organising meetings in various parishes.⁴² On 5 September 1913 he held a discussion on the village green at Rayne, between Dunmow and Braintree, with the local rector about the need for justice for the labourer. He was back in Rayne in October for a debate with a representative of the Anti-Socialist League on the motion: 'That the Socialisation of the means of production, distribution and exchange would benefit the community'. Maxted said that it was important not to accept what its enemies said about socialism but to study it. The Old Testament speaks of 'the land which the Lord thy God hath given thee'. Poverty was caused by capitalists whose interest was served by unemployment, so that men would be willing to take work at any price. The state would acquire all the land to grow what was needed and men would be paid higher wages. On leaving school a child would be drafted to the kind of work required. Hours of labour would be reduced so that there would be work for all. When a baby was born a portion of the state would be accredited to that child and an income for its support would be given to its mother. In fact, under socialism the nation would be managed as a Christian family.

The Anti-Socialist League spokesman responded that Maxted had not explained how socialists would tackle the problem of wealth production, on which the well-being of the nation depended. He cited the farm colony established by the Poplar Board of Guardians at Laindon, where sixty-seven men were working at thirty-two shillings a week, alleging that all sixty-seven took as long to dig one acre as one sixty-six year old man could do at sixteen shillings a week. This cost fell on the Poplar ratepayers.⁴³ The rector of Rayne said that in theory he was a socialist, because what could be better than to have plenty to eat and drink and plenty of friends not enemies. But the practice was very different. The newspaper left the penultimate words to an anonymous farm labourer. 'Too many live off the land', he said, 'before the labouring man got a chance. After a man had worked hard all week, he ought to have enough to live on'. Maxted agreed, but the rector of Rayne said that the ideal was the true

Christian character in man. The standard should be duty, not comfort. Duty was the standard of the Christian religion.⁴⁴ In November, at the Chelmsford Discussion Society, Maxted argued that the nation must be organised on the lines of a family. It was essential that the land and the wealth-producing machinery must belong to the people. The patriotic nation would see that everyone had a just and fair share of the wealth produced, and all would be regarded as social equals. Now the land and capital was held by the few – this was not patriotic. Was the theme of Patriotism perhaps a response to the atmosphere of the time?⁴⁵

Early in 1914 trouble broke out on the Essex-Suffolk border over attempts to get the labourers to join the union.⁴⁶ It was reported that the socialist coterie, lay and clerical, in the Thaxted district, including Maxted had been seeking to rouse the farm labourers. In Helions Bumpstead, where there were nearly one-hundred union members, the farmers had objected to men belonging to the union, while in Haverhill the farmers gave the men a choice: either leave the union or leave their employment. This had resulted in a lock-out of eighteen men.⁴⁷ A fortnight later *The Essex Newsmen* ran the headline: 'Dunmow Farmers. Lively Interlude by the Rev E.G. Maxted'. At issue was the Minimum Wages Bill, then before Parliament which proposed to extend minimum wage provision to agricultural workers.⁴⁸ Maxted was present at a meeting of Dunmow farmers opposed to the Bill. The farmers argued that the labourers were better off without a minimum wage, claiming that the current wage was twenty-three shillings a week whereas the Bill proposed £1 a week with a Saturday half day and one day off per week. This would mean that, while idlers would always be sure of £1 a week, it would be a drag on good workers. According to the farmers, men did not lose when employed in winter weather but, if the farmer was forced to pay £1, he might save by putting land down to grass. In any case, the union was not being carried on by the labourers. No one, and nobody connected with the proposed Bill was associated with agriculture. Maxted then enquired if he might ask a question and he was invited onto the platform. 'If', he said, 'farmers give 23 shillings a week, won't a minimum wage save them money? And had it not been said that the Agricultural Labourers' Union is not carried on by labourers?' This was met by a chorus of denials. The Farmers' Union was not antagonistic to the labourers. The vicar then asked whether they were in favour of the agricultural labourers banding together as the farmers were doing? The ideal agricultural representation, he was told, would be for delegates from the landlords, farmers and labourers to meet around the same table.⁴⁹

The trouble spread to neighbouring parishes. At first there was something of a carnival atmosphere.⁵⁰ However, the atmosphere soured as more men were locked out and attempts began to evict them from their tied cottages. In June an official strike was declared in several villages. The union secretary and Maxted spoke at Steeple Bumpstead, urging the men to abstain from drinking, to avoid violence and not to use force to prevent anyone from working. Nevertheless, as the strike spread tempers were lost on both sides.⁵¹ During the strike's second week, while Maxted was speaking at Sturmer, the local rector arrived on his bicycle. 'I am here', Maxted continued, 'to call the attention of the vicars and rectors of this district to the rubric which says that when ministers see members of the congregation at enmity, they must do their best to bring them together. The Bishops in Convocation declared that the first charge on any industry ought to be a living wage and any clergyman worth the name ought to tell that to the employers of labour in his parish'. As the rector rode away, he was heard to mutter, 'I would if I could; I'll think it over'. 'Take your courage in both hands', his brother clergyman called after him.

Over the following weeks attitudes hardened on both sides. In reality, the labourers in those villages where the unrest was greatest earned only thirteen shillings, rather than the twenty-three the Dunmow farmers claimed. At a round-table conference the farmers agreed to most of the labourers' demands but drew the line at fifteen shillings a week, offering 14s 6d. Things stood at deadlock. As harvest time approached, the farmers became anxious that there would be no workforce to get the harvest in. The outbreak of war on 4 August saved them. The local MP appealed to the patriotism of both sides and requested the farmers to offer to reinstate all men on honourable terms. Some labourers who had been imprisoned for their actions during the strike had their sentences remitted; others were offered a choice between serving out their sentence or joining the army.⁵²

By 1915 *The Essex County Chronicle* was waxing nostalgic: 'Those who remember the stormy scenes which occurred in the Dunmow district when the Rev E.G. Maxted set out first on his mission "to convert Dunmow to socialism" are not a little surprised at the present placid attitude everywhere observant'. Where once the Dunmow audience had been shocked at the implication that the vicar stood in favour of free love and polygamy – although he had never referred to such issues – now 'the polygamy question was being discussed as an after-effect of the War'.⁵³ Maxted confined himself to a letter to the paper, protesting at a proposal

to take boys aged twelve out of school and put them to work on farms to replace the men who had gone to the Front.⁵⁴ In July 1915 he and the vicar of Dunmow spoke at open-air meetings at Tilty and Duton Hill as part of the Day of National Intercession.⁵⁵ A year later, coinciding with the start of the Battle of the Somme, Maxted wrote to the tribunal, unsuccessfully seeking exemption from conscription of his forty-year old gardener and grave-digger.⁵⁶ In November 1917 he reported that, as a wartime economy he was doing without a maid:-

Finally, on 8 March 1918, *The Essex County Chronicle* reported that the Rev Edward George Maxted had arranged an exchange of livings with the Rev G.H. Morgan-Smith, vicar of St Aidan's, Bristol East, and hence Maxted would be moving to Bristol. 'For a time [he] had played the part of a stormy petrel in the political life of the Dunmow district. He became known as the socialist vicar of Tilty. His socialism apart, the Rev Maxted was an earnest and devoted priest and very much liked at Tilty. His parishioners, practically all of whom were working people, had subscribed over fifteen pounds as a leaving present'.⁵⁷ This was a considerable sum at the time.

Edward Maxted's new parish in Bristol East was a working-class area, including the industrial district of Crews's Hole. Nothing was heard of the new vicar in the local press for more than a year, other than a minor controversy over a speech he gave in support of a socialist candidate at a by-election in November 1919.⁵⁸ Less than three months later, *The Western Daily Press* advertised the contents of St Aidan's Vicarage, Bristol, to be sold by auction on Friday 30 January, on the instructions of the Rev E.G. Maxted, who was sailing for New Zealand.⁵⁹ Two days before the auction, leaving behind all their possessions, the family sailed from Liverpool, landing in Canada on 12 February 1920. Now described as 'clerk in holy orders', he stated that that they were *en route* to New Zealand. The Maxteds left Vancouver on 1 April 1920. After just over a year in New Zealand, they returned to Canada. On 21 April 1922 the family were on their way to St Andrew's Episcopal Church, Barberton, Ohio. The parish records show that he was priest there from 1922 to 1923.⁶⁰ Thereafter Maxted served as a parish priest in Pascagoula, Mississippi, becoming a United States citizen in 1933. He died on 7 September 1966, in Houston, Texas, aged ninety-two. His wife Sallester had died six years before.

During the first decade of his ministry, Edward Maxted's socialism seems to have been barely touched by mainstream Anglican Christian socialism.⁶¹ Although in this period the fathers of Christian socialism in

the Church of England were still active, Maxted made no reference to any of the leading figures in Christian socialism, not even in his 1909 'apologia', *The Trials and Troubles of a Socialist Vicar*. Maxted's indebtedness to Edward Bellamy's *Looking Backwards* is evident in the reports of his speeches prior to 1910. But his theology seems to have had little to do with Christian socialist theology. The first time Maxted gave any inkling that his socialism had a theological underpinning was at a meeting in Chelmsford in September 1910 at which he maintained that he wanted 'first to establish the Kingdom of God on earth, and socialism was the only way to do that'. It may not be a coincidence that, shortly before this, prior to arriving in Thaxted, Conrad Noel had written to his prospective parishioners saying:

By my ordination vows I am bound to preach that God's Kingdom and Will shall come and be done on Earth. I am bound ... to urge upon you the sole duty of hastening the coming of that divine Kingdom by public spiritedness and personal reformation.

It is possible that some of Noel's Kingdom theology rubbed off on Maxted, although he was never reported as having referred to the Fatherhood of God with its corollary, the Brother/Sisterhood of humanity, which was the foundation of Christian socialism.⁶² Another important strand in Anglican Christian socialism to which Maxted made no explicit reference, was Incarnation theology, summed up by Henry Scott Holland: 'If we believe in the Incarnation, then we certainly believe in the entry of God into the very thick of human affairs'.⁶³ Nor, apparently, did Maxted quote another important Christian socialist text, the Sermon on the Mount. He referred occasionally to what he called the Hebrew land law, i.e. that God had given the land for the use of all.

His main concern seems to have been to prove the compatibility of socialism and Christianity, claiming that socialism was Christianity applied to industrial concerns and if Christians would think out their Christianity they would become socialists. This was a line that Conrad Noel would adopt in Thaxted. Nevertheless, it is significant that the visitors who took part in Maxted's public meetings, with few exceptions, came from the secular socialist societies – the Independent Labour Party, the Social Democratic Party, the Essex Socialist Federation – while the local societies he spoke to were secular, such as the Chelmsford Socialist Society, and only occasionally gatherings organised by the local churches. Thus it seems reasonable to conclude that Christian

socialism was only tangential to Edward Maxted's socialism. There are hints that by the end of 1909 relations between Maxted and his patron were strained. According to Reg Groves, Lady Warwick had wanted Maxted to exchange with the incumbent of St Mary's, Barrow, in June 1916. 'Maxted', she wrote, 'is high, dry and desolate'.⁶⁴ When, two years later, Maxted exchanged with Morgan Smith of St Aidan's Bristol, was it perhaps significant that Lady Warwick wrote that Conrad Noel was delighted with Morgan Smith, a Church socialist?⁶⁵ Was the implication perhaps that in Noel's eyes Edward Maxted was not considered a Church socialist?

There was a great gulf between the plebeian Maxted and the patrician Noel: one a smith's son, the other an earl's grandson, which placed him on the same social level as his patron, the Countess of Warwick. At Thaxted, Noel hoped to put into practice a foretaste of the 'good society, where the life of fellowship would find expression in work and song and dance and drama, as well as in sacrifice and service in the cause of the Kingdom of God'.⁶⁶ Thaxted would be a laboratory, where worship would be the outward expression of social democratic Catholicism. Maxted, on the other hand, appears to have had no such vision for Tilty. Whereas 'Noel did not see himself as a revolutionary leader in the political sense',⁶⁷ Edward Maxted may have seen himself in that light, given his references to John Ball. When he claimed that he wished he could spend every Sunday preaching socialism, he probably meant that he wished he could promote socialism from the pulpit.⁶⁸ Nevertheless, in the way he proclaimed socialism Edward Maxted arguably set aside his priestly role, not least in his willingness to meet force with force. Conrad Noel wrote that his arrival in Thaxted had not been made easy 'by the preaching of a neighbouring socialist vicar ... he [had] held a meeting and infuriated the people, not so much by his socialism as by his way of presenting his message'.⁶⁹

No history of Labour in the East would be complete without reference to the activities of Edward Maxted in north-west Essex. Between his institution to the benefice of Tilty in 1908 and the outbreak of war in 1914, a decade before the formation of the Saffron Walden Constituency Labour Party, Maxted waged, at times it seemed almost single-handedly, a campaign to promote socialism, enduring often violent hostility from those he sought to convert. His persistence, confronted by an alliance of gentry, farmers and townspeople, owed not a little to the support of his patron, the Countess of Warwick but, principally, it was due to his belief in the rightness of his cause. His socialist principles were the natural

corollary of his Christian faith: they were two sides of the same coin. As much might be said of those clergy who espoused Christian socialism, but whereas they tended to use exhortation, prayer and example in order to achieve their ends, Maxted flung himself, literally, into the fray.⁷⁰ In the eyes of some, the incongruity of his position as a beneficed Church of England parson, in particular his position on the issue of the tithe, weakened his cause, but for Maxted himself it was a strength. When the Countess of Warwick died, twenty years after Edward Maxted's departure from Essex, *The Essex County Chronicle* observed that the most notable thing she had done for her political friends, because it attracted a great deal of public attention, was the appointment of a socialist vicar of Tilty. His announcement that he had come 'to convert Dunmow to socialism' set Conservative Dunmow 'properly alight'.⁷¹ Twenty-nine years earlier the same newspaper had observed: 'Whether he is right or wrong, he has demonstrated his sincerity. Socialism pure and unadulterated might never come, but the desire for social reform was growing and who knew what the whirligig of time might produce'. Perhaps that might stand as his epitaph.

Notes

1. Grandson of an earl, son of a Groom to the Royal Bedchamber, educated at Winchester and Cheltenham, sent down from Cambridge after a year, Conrad le Despenser Roden Noel trained for the priesthood at Chichester Theological College, was refused ordination by the Bishop of Exeter, but was made deacon by the Bishop of Chester in 1894.
2. Kevin Christopher Fielden, *The Church of England in the First World War*, MA Thesis, East Tennessee State University, 12, 2005.
3. Quoted in Albert Marrin, *The Last Crusade: The Church of England in the First World War*, Durham NC, 1974, p12.
4. Robert Lee, *Rural Society and the Anglican Clergy 1815-1915: encountering and managing the poor*, Woodbridge, 2006, p182.
5. Published in the USA in 1888 and in the UK in 1890, *Looking Backward* was, after *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and *Ben Hur*, the third best-seller of its day, its British edition selling over 250,000 copies.
6. See *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 29 December 1889.
7. *South Wales Daily News*, 26 September 1893.
8. For a discussion of Fr Headlam's complex theology, see John Orens, *The Mass, The Masses, and the Music Hall: Stewart Headlam's Radical Anglicanism*, London, 1979.
9. *South Wales Daily News*, 25 September 1893.

10. *The Essex County Chronicle*, 31 January 1908.
11. 'The Trials and Troubles of a Socialist Vicar by Rev E.G. Maxted, Vicar of Tilty', October 1909, Hull University Library DNO 6/8. It was first published in *The Clarion*.
12. *Ibid.*
13. *The Essex Newsman*, 16 May 1908.
14. The 1911 Census shows that farming was the main source of employment in the parish, with eleven farmers and fifty-two farm workers. Just over 26 per cent of the total population was engaged in agriculture.
15. *The Essex County Chronicle*, 9 June 1906.
16. *Ibid.* According to the paper, over 200 socialists, most of them wearing red ties and long hair, many arriving on bicycles, took over Easton Park, where they were accommodated in the great pavilion adjoining the Countess's mansion.
17. *The Essex Newsman*, 26 September 1908.
18. Possibly the Anti-Socialist Union, established in 1908 by R.D. Blumenfeld, editor of the *Daily Express* and a near neighbour of Maxted. The debate was in response to a challenge issued by Maxted, *The Essex Newsman*, 13 February 1909.
19. *The Essex County Chronicle*, 19 March 1909
20. *The Essex Newsman*, 5 June 1909.
21. H. Aronson, *The Land and the Labourer*, 1914, quoted in H. Newby, *The Deferential Worker: A Study of Farm Workers in East Anglia*, Harmondsworth, 1977, p199.
22. *The Essex Newsman*, Saturday 5 June 1909.
23. For 'rough music', see E.P. Thompson, *Customs in Common*, Harmondsworth, 1993, pp467-538.
24. *The Essex County Chronicle*, 27 August 1909.
25. *The Essex County Chronicle*, 22 October 1909.
26. *The Essex Newsman* 13 November 1909.
27. This is inconsistent with his claim to have come to Socialism before 1900 through reading Bellamy's novel, *Looking Backward*.
28. *The Essex County Chronicle*, 21 January 1910. This is the earliest reference so far to the Dunmow Co-operative Society.
29. *The Essex Newsman*, 14 May 1910.
30. Reg Groves, *Conrad Noel and the Thaxted Movement*, London, 1967, pp50-51.
31. *The Essex County Chronicle*, May 1911.
32. *The Essex County Chronicle*, 5 May 1911.
33. *The Essex County Chronicle*, 19 July 1912.
34. *The Essex County Chronicle*, 5 May 1911.
35. *The Essex County Chronicle*, 12 April 1913.
36. *The Essex County Chronicle*, 28 February 1913.

37. *The Essex Newsman*, 10 May 1913.
38. *The Essex County Chronicle*, 30 May 1913. It is not clear why these meetings were not reported until the week following the election.
39. *The Essex County Chronicle*, 23 May 1913. Total votes cast: 1,246 out of an electorate of 1,825.
40. *The Essex Newsman*, 31 May 1913.
41. *The Essex County Chronicle*, 4 July 1913.
42. *The Essex County Chronicle*, 9 May 1913; *The Essex Newsman*, 5 July 1913.
43. For an account of the Poplar Farm Colony at Laindon, see Laindonhistory.org.uk The scheme had already ended in failure in 1912.
44. *The Essex Newsman*, 1 November 1913.
45. *The Essex County Chronicle*, 21 November 1913.
46. *The Essex Newsman*, 7 March 1914.
47. *Ibid.*
48. See Alun Howkins and Nicola Verdon, 'The state and the farm worker: the evolution of the minimum wage in agriculture in England and Wales, 1909-1924', *Agricultural History Review*, 57, (2009).
49. *The Essex Newsman*, 28 March 1914.
50. For an account of the Agricultural Strike of 1914, see Roy Brazier, *The Empty Fields*, Romford, 1989.
51. *Ibid.* p20.
52. *Ibid.*, passim.
53. *The Essex County Chronicle*, 26 March 1915.
54. *The Essex County Chronicle*, 19 March 1915.
55. *The Essex Newsman*, 17 July 1915.
56. *The Essex County Chronicle*, 14 July 1916.
57. *The Essex County Chronicle*, 8 March 1918.
58. *The Western Daily Press*, 5 November 1919.
59. *The Western Daily Press*, 29 January 1920.
60. I am grateful to St Andrew's parish, Barberton, Ohio, for this information.
61. For an overview of the principles of Christian Socialism, from F.D. Maurice to Henry Scott Holland, see Anthony Alan John Williams, *Christian Socialism as a Political Ideology*, Unpublished PhD, University of Liverpool, 2016.
62. Williams, *Christian Socialism*, p26.
63. *Ibid.*, p29.
64. Groves, *Conrad Noel*, p192.
65. *Ibid.* It is unclear whether Noel was intending a distinction between 'Church Socialist' and 'Christian Socialist'.
66. *Ibid.*, p75.
67. *Ibid.*, p240
68. *Hull Daily Mail*, October 1907.
69. Noel, *Autobiography*, p88.

70. For a discussion of the stance of the fathers of Christian Socialism on the implementation of a socialist programme, see Williams, *Christian Socialism*, esp. pp118-147.
71. *The Essex County Chronicle*, 29 July 1938.