

**A STUDY OF THE ORIGINS, HISTORY, ESSENCE AND LEGACY OF TOC H, A
CHRISTIAN, VOLUNTARY, SOCIAL WELFARE SERVICES ORGANISATION
IN TWENTIETH CENTURY BRITAIN.**

by

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Abstract

This thesis examines the factors in the development of Toc H, and the nature of its essence and legacy. This is a Christian, voluntary, social welfare organisation operating in twentieth century Britain. It's history has been intertwined with that of its charismatic founder, Philip Clayton, and therefore it also explores his history. In addition, Toc H has been an example of an old-style voluntary organisation, and the thesis describes its 'journey' through the changing society which it has encountered. The main theme which is considered is the effect on the organisation of the interplay between the effects on it of Clayton and of the changes in society over its history. It is noted that the impact on the organisation of these changes has increased, whilst Clayton's influence became less so. It is also found that Clayton and the organisation, with their focus on social welfare and community development work, have had a profound effect on many people's lives. The main factors in the organisation's development are explored, especially through the themes in this thesis. Main matters covered have included the nature of Clayton's contribution to the organisation, the effects on it of secularisation and related changes in society, the developments in voluntary organisations, the role of Government in this, the organisation's finances, its purpose and activities, the nature of its 'Christianising', the nature of the Toc H Family', its growth profile, the Toc H women, its development overseas, and whether it has been a movement or an organisation.

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Glossary of Terms.

Clayton's 'Aides de Camp'. A succession of young male volunteers were appointed to work closely with him to provide him with general and practical support.

Toc H's 'Christianising'. Attempts by some in the organisation to recruit those that they came into contact with to Christianity and/or to strengthen their Christian faiths.

'Toc H's Experiment in Practical Christianity'. Clayton's view of what Toc H was seeking to achieve regarding its 'Christianising'. Revd. Bob Knight, Toc H National Chaplain from the 1970s, described this as 'Weekday Christianity', seeking to emphasise the concept of Clayton and others of bringing Christianity more into general everyday life.

The 'Toc H Family'. A basic tenet of the organisation, this encapsulates the concept of all its members accepting each other just as they were and seeking to get to know each other on a deeper level than was achieved in society generally.

The Toc H Journals. Toc H *Point Three* and *Point Four* Magazines, and *The Log*. These first three magazines were those of Toc H, and the fourth was that of the parallel Toc H Women's Organisation up until their merger into one organisation in 1971. The *Journals* were produced until 1967, when they were succeeded by *Point Three* and then a *Point Four*. These were mostly monthly publications, to record and update the organisations' respective memberships on their news and to provide them with articles of interest.

Toc H Branches, Groups, Units, Guard of the Lamp Committee, Rushlights, and Lamps. The Branches were the organisation's network of members who met together regularly in their local communities to undertake social welfare and community development activities and for fellowship. For most of their history they were first constituted as 'Groups', and became 'Branches' when they had achieved the standard required of them by the organisation's 'Guard of the Lamp' Committee. 'Groups' and 'Branches' together were described as 'Units'. Each Group was given a 'Rushlight' when they were first constituted and awarded a Lamp when they reached the standard required by this Committee.

Toc H Districts, Areas and Regions. Toc H was structured first into Districts, then Areas and then Regions. The numbers and composition of these entities varied over its history.

Toc H's Essence and Legacy. As defined in the Concise Oxford Dictionary, 'essence' means 'all that makes a thing what it is'; (its) 'intrinsic nature'; (and its) 'indispensable quality or element', and 'legacy' means the 'material or immaterial thing handed down by predecessors'. An exploration of the 'essence' and 'legacy' of Toc H is one of the themes of this thesis.

Toc H 'Foundation Members'. Those who had taken communion at Talbot House in Poperinge and who responded to Clayton's initial invitation in 1922 to become members of the new Toc H organisation which he started in London after the First World War.

Toc H 'Four Points of the Compass' Statement, and 'The Main Resolution'. The basic statements of the aims of the organisation. These were first drawn up in 1922 and have remained the same throughout its history.

Toc H's Women's Organisations. Toc H's parallel group for women was initially called the League of Women Helpers, it then became the Toc H Women's Association, and finally in 1971 the Toc H Men's and Women's Organisation's merged.

Toc H Marks. These were Toc H houses where the residents lived together as a 'family' group and participated in voluntary social welfare and community development activities in their locality. They were modelled on the original Talbot House in Poperinge, and were called 'Marks' and numbered sequentially. This followed the Army's nomenclature for their tanks, with each building on the strengths of those developed earlier. The Marks were closed or sold in 1982.

Toc H 'Methods'. In 1989 Toc H's main activities were brought together under four main headings, described as 'methods'. These were:

- **Branches.** See above.
- **Projects.** These were residential activities for people, particularly younger ones, who wished to undertake voluntary practical community work on a group and residential basis,

and they ranged from a weekend to a fortnight in length.

- **Friendship Circles.** These were groups of a mix of Toc H volunteers and people with mental health problems. They met regularly to provide each other with mutual help and support.
- **CAMEOs,** ('Come and Meet Each Other' events). These brought together people who would not normally meet on an equal basis to explore a specific issue which was important to them. They might comprise for example groups of social workers and their clients, or young and old people. Whilst these latter two methods would seem to have been new, they had in fact basically grown out of the former activities of the organisation.

A Study of the Origins, History, Essence and Legacy of Toc H, a Christian, Voluntary, Social Welfare Services Organisation in Twentieth Century Britain.

Chapter One - Introduction to the Thesis.

Introduction and Methodology.

This Chapter describes the intention of this thesis, its significance, the respects in which it is original, its methodology, and the writer's 'journey' leading to its production. It then identifies some of her initial questions on its subject matter, gives an overview description of the beginnings and purpose of Toc H, and outlines how the thesis is structured. It next reviews the literature written on the organisation to date, and explores the context in which it has developed and how this context has affected it. The themes of the thesis are then noted, and the Chapter ends with a statement of its research question. The intention of the thesis is to gain an understanding of the main factors in the development of the organisation and of their effects, and of its essence and its legacy for the future. This is to enable a fuller overview picture than is presently available to be given of its development over its history as a Christian, voluntary, social welfare organisation operating in twentieth century Britain, and of its founder, Philip Byard, ('Tubby'), Clayton. This study is put forward as being important in itself, but also as a general contribution to developing the understanding of its context of the wider social and religious historiography of this time. It examines both the large overall effects of secularisation and its related developments and those of more specific changes over its history, especially the challenges and opportunities for voluntary organisations. In particular it considers the interplay between the influence of Clayton and that of the changes in society over time, and it traces the various themes arising from this. In addition, it seeks to address the problems that the writings to date about this organisation have been mostly narrative and not analytical, some of this has been somewhat dated, and that there has been

very little material produced regarding its essence and legacy. Its further intentions are to address any errors, omissions and inconsistencies in previous writings about it.

The organisation began formally when it was constituted by Royal Charter in 1922.¹ The thesis focuses on the period of its history from its inception up until Clayton's death in 1972, but in Chapter Two it gives background information about Clayton and the period leading up to its beginning, and in Chapter Three there is an overview description of the main developments in the period from 1973 up to the present time. The information from this later period has concentrated on how this has interacted with the organisation of Clayton's times, and this enables its overall development and its essence and legacy to be more clearly understood. However, it is recognised that it is too soon yet to put the more specific aspects of this later period into a full historical perspective. The definitions in the *Concise Oxford Dictionary* of the terms 'essence' and 'legacy' are as follows. It defines 'essence' as 'all that makes a thing what it is', (its) 'intrinsic nature', (and its) 'indispensable quality or element'.² Its definition of 'legacy' is the 'material or immaterial thing handed down by predecessors'.³ The significance of this research is that it makes an original contribution to the understanding of the organisation and its development and of the society of this time. It is also the story of the experience of a voluntary organisation of the 1920s as it has developed through the changes in society over its history. This analysis enables lessons to be learned for the future, especially from the organisation's experience of changes in society, its internal issues, and the effects of Government legislation. Whilst quantitative research is included where relevant, its methodology is mainly qualitative, since much of it is about understanding meanings, beliefs and experiences. This research has included the *Toc H Oral Histories Project*, which is described below in the context of the writer's 'research journey'

¹ Toc H Headquarters, 'Charter of Incorporation', Toc H Royal Charter, (Short version), 1922. Section 2, SP2-L, Toc H Archives, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham.

² *The Concise Oxford Dictionary*, (Fourth Edition) (London, re-printed 1956), p. 406.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 668.

in producing this thesis.

The first stage in this ‘journey’ was that from 2008 she began working on cataloguing the Toc H Archives, and she has sought to address through this thesis the many questions which this raised for her about the organisation. She undertook this work together with John Burgess, who, with others, first began doing this in 2004.⁴ Then in 2012 they were appointed formally by Toc H as its Volunteer Archivists. In addition, they have much direct experience of the organisation, and through this have gained very considerable knowledge of it. She has been a Toc H member for 45 years, and he began his involvement with it as a young member of a Toc H Branch in 1961, was a part-time Aide de Camp, (A.D.C.), to Clayton for 4 years, has worked for the organisation for 37 years, and has been a Toc H Member for 55 years.⁵ Since this has made him so well placed to answer her questions and fill in the gaps in the writings about it to date, the thesis draws much on his views. Many of his perspectives have also been recorded as part of the *Toc H Oral Histories Project*, which they have worked on since 2013 and which is ongoing at this time.⁶ These oral histories are comprised of two parts. One strand is his recordings, - *Clayton and Toc H, Its Essence and Legacy* and *Toc H Marks, Branches, Projects and other Activities*.⁷ The other is seven stories from a cross section of Toc H Staff and Members, with each highlighting particularly that person’s activities within the organisation and their perspectives on it. These provide further background information which adds to the material in the Archives, and helps to ‘bring to

⁴ The following Toc H Members and Staff Members have also undertaken work on this cataloguing at various times in the period up to around 2008 - Kenneth Prideaux-Brune, John Mitchell, Tony McMullen, Angela Gregory, Louisa Evans, Jack Turner and Pat Turner.

⁵ His posts with the organisation have been as the Manager of the Paderborn Toc H Services Club in Germany, the Warden of Prideaux House, Mark III, in London, the National Projects and Youth Officer, and an Area Development Officer.

⁶ This *Toc H Oral Histories Project* has been undertaken for the organisation by Marolyn and John Burgess, and from 2016 Linda Parker has also been working on this.

⁷ This part of the *Toc H Oral Histories Project* comprises the following recordings of the perspectives of J. Burgess on the writer's questions as they arose from her research:

- *Oral History*, J. Burgess, - *Clayton and Toc H Toc H, Its Essence and Legacy*. Recorded by M. Burgess, on 5 March 2013, and expanded and then finalised on 28 March 2016.
- *Oral History*, J. Burgess, - *Toc H Marks, Branches, Projects, and Other Activities*. Recorded by M. Burgess, on 6 March 2013, and expanded and then finalised on 29 March 2016.

life' and to corroborate the organisation's own story and to address the problem of the lack of recent material about it.⁸

The methodology for the interviews with Burgess was that these were structured around a list of questions which arose in the course of her research for this thesis. They focused on obtaining his views on matters where information was not available in the literature on the organisation and on corroborating and developing information which could be found in it. His answers have provided a source of analysis within this project and have generated important discussions between the writer and himself about these questions. Regarding the other interviews, whilst the writer discussed a list of questions with each interviewee, increasingly she conducted these interviews in a more free flowing way. It would seem that this approach facilitated the interviewees feeling comfortable with this process, and being able to concentrate on the aspects of the questions which they felt to be the most important. It has been found that mostly they provided further primary material, and that they focused mainly on their particular experiences of the organisation. However, this was not entirely so, and in particular the interviews with Terry Drummond, the Toc H Chair, and Hilary Geater-Childs, the Toc H Vice Chair, have provided helpful analysis regarding the organisation's more recent financial history. It would seem that in general the two parts of this project worked complementarily with each other. For example, several of the interviewees corroborated and expanded on what had been said by others, especially regarding the very positive impact that Clayton and the organisation has had on people's lives.

By July 2012 Burgess and the writer had together developed the basis for the current structure of the catalogue of the Archives, finished their initial cataloguing, and

⁸ See Chapter Four for further information about these seven further Toc H oral histories.

overseen their move from the Toc H Headquarters to the Cadbury Research Library, at Birmingham University. These archives had been hardly used for research prior to this, as they were not open to the public formally until after this move. In addition, Burgess and the writer have participated in running a series of Toc H *Area Days*, which took place in 2013. At these events a cross section of the membership of the organisation were interviewed in small groups regarding what it has meant to them, and on their understanding of its role, essence and legacy.⁹ This adds further perspectives to those gained from the writer's Literature Review, which is described further below. Archives relating to Toc H and to Clayton which are housed elsewhere have also been consulted as necessary. Particularly important of these are those at the London Metropolitan Archives, (formerly the Guildhall), the Imperial War Museum, All Hallows Church, in London, and the private archive materials in Talbot House, in Poperinge, Belgium.¹⁰ After Clayton's death his personal papers were divided between the Metropolitan Archives Museum, and All Hallows Church, by Mayne Elson, a (then) retired Toc H Staff Member.¹¹ He was acting on behalf of the Wakefield Trust.¹²

The Structure of the Thesis.

The thesis is structured into five Chapters. Chapter One provides an introduction, as described above. Chapter Two shows how factors in Clayton's early life and experience at Talbot House contributed to the development and shaping of Toc H. It then considers the background and origins of the organisation, and then its development in the inter-war years

⁹ Notes of the Toc H *Area Days*, by the respective Group Leaders:

- Midlands Area, - held on 16 June 2012, in Birmingham.
- North Area, - held on 14 July 2012, in York.
- South West Area, - held on 15 September 2012, in Bristol.
- South East Area, - held on 22 September 2012, in Dartford.

¹⁰ *Toc H Oral Histories Project. Oral History*, J. Burgess - *Clayton and Toc H, Its Essence and Legacy*. Recorded by M. Burgess, on 5 March 2013 and on 28 March 2016.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² The Wakefield Trust was the personal trust of Lord Wakefield, who gave Clayton and the organisation much patronage and support over his lifetime.

and during the Second World War. Chapter Three next relates its development from 1946 to 1972, exploring how it was affected by the changes in society over this period, and then its rebuilding following the Second World War, and it ends with Clayton's death. Chapter Four builds on Chapters Two and Three, first giving an overview of Clayton's contribution to the organisation, then considering the main factors in its development in the period from 1973 to the present time, and ending with an analysis of its essence and legacy. Chapter Five summarises the answers to the research question of the thesis, through drawing together the findings from the various themes in the organisation's development. This gives a summation of what knowledge this research has added to what was previously known, together with a consideration of what further research on this subject might be undertaken in the future.

An Overview of the Beginnings and Purpose of Toc H.

This Section begins with an introduction to the organisation and to Clayton, and then starts to address the basic question about its purpose and activities - that of what is Toc H? It then considers the ways in which Clayton's experience during the First World War was fundamental to Toc H's later development. Tresham Lever has described that during the war Clayton worked as a Church of England Army Chaplain with the British Expeditionary Force in Belgium. At its beginning Neville Talbot, the Senior Chaplain of the British Sixth Division, requested that he should work for him, and this in turn led to them setting up Talbot House, in Poperinge.¹³ Clayton then ran this centre as a place where the Allied soldiers could visit for respite from the fighting on the Front Line, what he wanted to be 'a home from home where friendships could be consecrated and sad hearts renewed and cheered'.¹⁴ It was named Talbot House after Talbot's brother, Gilbert Talbot, who had been killed early in the fighting.¹⁵ Melville Harcourt has clarified that it became referred to by its initials in the Army

¹³ T. Lever, *Clayton of Toc H* (London, 1971), pp. 40 - 42.

¹⁴ P. B. Clayton, *Tales of Talbot House*, p. 36, (Lever, *Clayton of Toc H*, p. 44).

signaller code of the time, and thus became known as Toc H.¹⁶ Kenneth Prideaux-Brune, who has much experience of the organisation, especially as Clayton's A.D.C, its Director, and the Editor of its *Point Three* Magazine, has described its special atmosphere. The re-creation of this atmosphere after the war was an important component in the growth of Toc H, which by 1993 was reported to have had around 50,000 members across the world.¹⁷

The earliest statement of the organisation's aims, the 'Four Points of the Compass Statement', was incorporated into its Royal Charter in 1922.¹⁸ This has remained substantially the same since. In summary, these aims have been:

Friendship: To love widely: Service: To build bravely: Fair-mindedness: To think fairly: The Kingdom of God: To witness humbly.¹⁹

There was also the rider that the Fourth Point should include 'to spread the Gospel without preaching it'.²⁰ Then later the addition was made that 'all attitudes of superiority and distinction of rank must be abandoned before entering the fellowship of its society'.²¹

Burgess has described that Clayton invited people to 'come and see' that the organisation had to offer that participation in its social welfare activities and fellowship would bring people closer to each other and through this closer to God.²² Prideaux-Brune has observed that the wide-ranging activities of the organisation have been more a means to the end of bringing together mixes of people from various backgrounds and facilitating them relating more closely to each other.²³

¹⁵ Lever, *Clayton of Toc H*, p. 43.

¹⁶ M. Harcourt, *Tubby Clayton, A Personal Saga*, (Condensed Edition) (London, 1956), p. 9.

¹⁷ Prideaux-Brune, *Time's Mirror, A Short History of Toc H in Britain* (Wendover, 1993), pp. 4, 5.

¹⁸ Toc H Headquarters, 'Charter of Incorporation', Toc H Royal Charter, (Short version), 1922. Section 2, SP2-L, Toc H Archives, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham.

¹⁹ Harcourt, *Tubby Clayton*, p. 89.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 88, 89.

²¹ Toc H Headquarters, 'Charter of Incorporation', Toc H Royal Charter, 1922. (Amended version, referred to here and then in the rest of the thesis). Section 2, SP2-L, Toc H Archives, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham.

²² *Toc H Oral Histories Project, Oral History*, J. Burgess, - *Clayton and Toc H, Its Essence and Legacy*. Recorded by M. Burgess, on 5 March and 28 March 2016.

²³ Prideaux-Brune, *Time's Mirror* (Wendover, 1993), pp. 25, 26.

He has also reflected that for Clayton bringing those he met to the Christian faith was his basic purpose in life:

The overriding purpose of Tubby's life was to bring everyone he met into a living relationship with his Friend and Master, Jesus Christ. ... The Christian faith was a life to be lived, not merely a set of propositions to be believed.²⁴

For him 'no one could be expected to understand the doctrines of the Christian Church unless they had first experienced Christian fellowship and played a part in Christian action'.²⁵

Prideaux-Brune has suggested that this has been in contrast to how most Christians have seen this, - that in order to belong to their Christian groups then people needed to first agree to their particular beliefs.²⁶ Terry Drummond, the Chair of Toc H, has pointed out that 'the values and principles of Toc H transcend any one faith and philosophy'.²⁷ The above description of the organisation is built on in the next Section by an examination of what is already known about it and by a consideration of its context.

Literature Review and Context to the History of Toc H.

This Literature Review provides a systematic evaluation and overview analysis of the writings on the organisation and its context which relate to this thesis. This is mainly about Toc H, Clayton, the social context to the development of the organisation and the changes in the voluntary sector over its history. It also covers the perspectives of the writer on the omissions and weaknesses in these materials. The main problems would appear to be that much of what has been written about Clayton and the organisation has been largely descriptive rather than analytical, that relatively little has been produced about them, and that much of this was written in the early days of the organisation and consequently has been somewhat dated in its style. In contrast, there has been a huge amount of material, including

²⁴ Prideaux-Brune, *A Living Witness, A Personal Memoir of Philip Clayton* (Wendover, 1983), p. 6.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ T. Drummond, Toc H Chair, 'Toc H values underpinning citizenship'. 15 September 2002, and revised 6 May 2007.

much analysis, on the changes in society and in voluntary organisations over its history. However, a challenge here has been to identify from this information what has been of relevance to Toc H. Also the views of researchers on the changes in society have often been conflicting and, whilst they have discussed the impact of these changes on voluntary organisations, this would not appear to have fully reflected the position of Toc H, and this issue will later be considered further.

With regard to materials about Clayton and the organisation, the following have been reviewed - books and other publications on Toc H and on Clayton, and his personal writings, including his books, letters and papers, the Toc H *Journals*, the *Point Three* and *Point Four* Magazines, and the organisation's Regional Magazines, Divisional and other Reports, and the 'Director's Briefings'.²⁸ Of these, the main sources regarding its development would seem to have been its *Journals*, which were produced regularly from 1922 to 1967, the *Point Three* Magazines, published from then until 2007, and then the *In Touch* Magazines which have been produced from then until the present.²⁹ These have given contemporaneous perspectives from those involved with its policy developments and activities. The most relevant of Clayton's own writings would appear to have been *Tales of Talbot House*, which have expressed his personal views about his experiences as an Army Chaplain in Poperinge.³⁰ Also of importance has been *To Conquer Hate*, containing material on his thinking, including extracts from his sermons.³¹ In addition, *Letters From Flanders, Some War-time Letters of the Rev. P. B. Clayton to his Mother*, has provided some further evidence of his personal views.³² This was edited by Barclay Baron, who played an important part in the early years of the organisation. Other writings which were seemingly of particular

²⁸ These 'Director's Briefings' were regular updates from the respective Toc H Directors to the Staff, giving information on policy and other developments within the organisation.

²⁹ These were then replaced by one edition of a *Point Four* Magazine, and then the West Midlands Region's *In Touch* Magazine was developed into the national magazine of the organisation.

³⁰ Clayton, *Tales of Talbot House* (London, 1920).

³¹ Clayton, *To Conquer Hate* (London, 1963).

³² B. Baron, *Letters From Flanders. Some War-Time Letters of the Rev. P. B. Clayton to his Mother* (London, 1932).

importance were Clayton's two official biographies. The first of these was Harcourt's *Tubby Clayton. A Personal Saga*, which described his life up until 1948.³³ Then Lever's *Clayton of Toc H* was published, and this in effect took his story up to 1966, although it ended with his Epitaph of 1972.³⁴ It would seem that these both provided detained descriptions of his life and work, and that they largely corroborated each other, but that neither offered much analysis of this nor of its context, and that both portrayed him in a somewhat idealised way. *Toc H Under Weigh*, written by Peter Monie, and published in 1946, seems to be the most analytical contemporaneous interpretation of the philosophy of the organisation, and in this short book he attempted to describe the way that it saw itself.³⁵ In addition, *Second Wind*, by John Callf, an early Toc H Administrator and then the Editor of its *Journal*, appears to provide some analytical perspectives on the organisation.³⁶

Much more recent have been the writings of Prideaux-Brune, which would seem to be the most numerous and analytical of the research material about Clayton and the organisation. These are therefore drawn on extensively for this thesis. Especially relevant of these would appear to be *Time's Mirror* which covered the period from 1919 to 1990.³⁷ He has also produced its companion book, *Out of a Hop Loft. Seventy-five Years of Toc H*, which considered the time up until 1990.³⁸ He co-authored this with Judith Rice, and she brought to this her views as a younger person of that time. Then in 2015 two further seemingly very relevant books were published. One of these was *A Touch of Paradise in Hell*, by Jan Louagie.³⁹ This focused on Talbot House and Clayton's time there, and particularly drew on its private archive material, including some letters by Clayton which have only recently come to light. This book has been an expansion, and translation from Flemish, of the earlier book

³³ Harcourt, *Tubby Clayton, A Personal Saga*, (Condensed Edition) (London, 1956).

³⁴ Lever, *Clayton of Toc H* (London, 1971).

³⁵ P. Monie, *Toc H Under Weigh*, (Eighth Edition) (London, 1946).

³⁶ J. Callf, *Second Wind* (London, 1964).

³⁷ Prideaux-Brune, *Time's Mirror* (Wendover, 1993).

³⁸ Prideaux-Brune and J. Rice, *Out of a Hop Loft. Seventy-five years of Toc H* (London, 1990).

³⁹ J. Louagie, *A Touch of Paradise in Hell. Talbot House - Poperinge - Every-Man's Sanctuary from the Trenches* (Solihull, 2015).

on this subject written by Katrien Nolf-Louagie and himself.⁴⁰ The other work, *A Fool For Thy Feast. The Life and Times of Tubby Clayton, 1885 - 1972*, by Linda Parker, has focused on Clayton's life and work.⁴¹ This has built upon her thesis about Clayton and former British Anglican Army Chaplains.⁴² She has also written a book about this.⁴³ However, this material would seem to say relatively little about Toc H and its development. The most relevant of the other theses which has been produced on the organisation would appear to be '*Toc H: to Love Widely - To Build Bravely - To Think Fairly - To Witness Humbly*', by Veerle Verstraete.⁴⁴ This has provided a Belgian and a (then) younger person's perspective. A further three research theses have been sources of further background and corroborative materials, although all of these works would appear to be mostly narrative in their approaches.⁴⁵

Mention should also be made of the film being produced currently in Poperinge by Talbot House, Belgium, in collaboration with the Flanders Government Office, as a record of the House's Centenary Celebration Conference and other activities, held in December 2015.⁴⁶ Whilst this is not literature, nevertheless it has drawn on the literature about Clayton, Talbot House and Toc H, and has both corroborated and added to what has been written about them so far. It has included 'witness statement' recordings of those who have been

⁴⁰ Louagie en K.Nolf-Louagie, *Talbot House Poperinge. De Eerste Halte na de Hel* (Gent, 1998).

⁴¹ L. M. Parker, *A Fool For Thy Feast. The Life and Times of Tubby Clayton, 1885-1972* (Solihull, 2015).

⁴² L. Parker, 'Shell-shocked Prophets: The influence of former Anglican army chaplains on the Church of England and British society in the inter war years'. Unpublished Ph.D Thesis, E-thesis Repository, University of Birmingham, January 2013.
www.etheses.bham.ac.uk/4495/1/ParkerL13PhD.pdf Accessed 2 April 2016.

⁴³ Parker, *Shell-Shocked Prophets: Former Anglican Army Chaplains in Inter-war Britain* (Solihull, 2015).

⁴⁴ V. Verstraete, 'Toc H: To Love Widely - To Build Bravely - To Think Fairly - To Witness Humbly'. Unpublished Thesis, (level of qualification not recorded), Hodeschool Provincie Oost-Vlaanderen, Gent, 1996.

⁴⁵ S. Baldock, 'Expand or Die. A Study Into Toc H Projects and Their Effects'. Unpublished dissertation, B, A Education, location of study not recorded, undated, - likely date 1997); S. A. McClandish, 'The Significance of Toc H in Society During the Years 1915 - 1939'. Unpublished dissertation, (level of qualification not recorded), location of study not recorded, undated; C. A. Rauch, 'The Origin, History, and Continuing Significance of Toc H'. (Unpublished dissertation, Certificate in Education, University of Wales, 1976.

⁴⁶ The writer viewed an incomplete version of this film on 19 February 2016, at the Talbot House Museum, in Poperinge.

closely involved in both Talbot House and Toc H, and who would seem to be Clayton's 'last witnesses' regarding his personality and the role that Talbot House played in his life. They have included Burgess and Prideaux-Brune, who have been referred to earlier, and Clayton's nephew, Tom Clayton, and it will also include Ray Geise, the Chairman of Toc H Australia, and ex Staff Member, Ray Fabes. Those parts of it which have already been completed are currently being played to visitors in the House's Museum, and the finalised version is expected to be ready by the end of 2016.⁴⁷

This exploration now moves from what is known about the literature on the organisation and on Clayton to considering the context to its development over its history. The literature identified below has described that the main overarching changes with regard to this period have been the effects of secularisation, and of the related matters of modernity and post modernity, the decline of Christendom, and what some have described as a post-secular period. This consideration of the literature identifies the views of the main writers on these subjects and gives the comments of this writer on these. It would seem that particularly important of these materials are the following historical perspectives. The writings of Michael Snape have been very relevant.⁴⁸ The work of Hugh McLeod has also provided very useful views.⁴⁹ In addition, a very helpful contribution has been made by Callum Brown.⁵⁰ Of the more sociological perspectives, that of Frank Prochaska has been particularly helpful.⁵¹ Additionally Grace Davie has provided fresh and interesting views.⁵² Brown's views

⁴⁷ E-mail from J. Louagie, Secretary to the Talbot House Association, (and author mentioned earlier), to M. Burgess, giving information about the further content and progress of this film. 26 July 2016.

⁴⁸ M. Snape, *God and the British Soldier. Religion and the British Army in the First and Second World Wars* (Abingdon, 2005); C. G. Brown and M. Snape, (eds.), *Secularisation in the Christian World* (Farnham, 2010).

⁴⁹ H. McLeod, *The Religious Crisis of the 1960s* (Oxford, 2007).

⁵⁰ C. G. Brown and M. Snape, (eds.), *Secularisation in the Christian World* (Farnham, 2010); Brown, *The Death of Christian Britain. Understanding Secularisation. 1800 - 2000*, (Second Edition) (London, 2009).

⁵¹ F. Prochaska, *Christianity and Social Service in Modern Britain, The Disinherited Spirit* (Oxford, 2008).

have been considered by some researchers to be somewhat controversial, but are included since they would seem to have brought different perspectives to those of his colleagues, and because he has refuted the criticisms of his work in some detail, especially in *The Death of Christian Britain*, (Second Edition).⁵³ It would appear that, whilst there has been much agreement between researchers that this was a period of fundamental change, they have held very differing views over the nature of this.⁵⁴ However, there has seemingly been much agreement with the definition of secularisation by Bryan Wilson - that it was 'the declining social significance of religion', and that is the one used in this thesis.⁵⁵

Davie has described the views on secularisation of her fellow researchers as a continuum from 'hard' to 'soft' positions on this, with those of Wilson and Bruce at one end of this, describing it as basic to how society operated, and at the other the perspective of Peter Berger who came to consider it as a mistaken concept.⁵⁶ This continuum would seem to have been helpful to this research in some respects in that the differences in the positions of those at each end of this spectrum have seemed relatively clear. However, this would appear to have been less so with those in the middle, as the focus of each researcher has been so varied. In addition, Davie, together with Karel Dobbelaere and Jose Cassanova, has sought to clarify the meaning of the term secularisation and the various strands of thinking which this has encapsulated.⁵⁷ Part of this exploration has been that Dobbelaere has identified three distinct layers to this, - 'the societal, the organisational and the individual'. In particular his societal level has been relevant for the development of Toc H and other voluntary organisations. This has described that the functions within institutions became separated out, and that many of

⁵² G. Davie, *The Sociology of Religion* (London, 2007); *The Sociology of Religion. A Critical Agenda*, (Second Edition) (London, 2013).

⁵³ Brown, *The Death of Christian Britain*. (Second Edition).

⁵⁴ Brown and Snape, *Secularisation in the Christian World*, p. 1.

⁵⁵ B. Wilson, *Religion in Secular Society* (Hammondsworth, 1966), p. 14, in Brown and Snape, (eds.), *Secularisation in the Christian World*, pp. 3, 4.

⁵⁶ Davie, *The Sociology of Religion*, pp. 52 - 62.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 49.

the health and social welfare activities of the churches became divided off when the welfare state became the main provider of these services.⁵⁸

McLeod has suggested that most sociologists have seen secularisation as part of the much larger process of modernity and modernisation. He has noted that this has grown from the breakdown of western rural, Christian communities when, with the development of industrialisation, people went to live in conurbations, and that this in turn led to the decline of the social significance of religion.⁵⁹ He has identified that this secularisation gradually increased over two centuries,⁶⁰ but that in the 1960s there was ‘a rupture as profound as that brought about by the Reformation’.⁶¹ By the late 1990s increasingly he had come to focus on the importance of this 1960s period, and particularly on what Arthur Marwick has defined as the ‘Long Nineteen Sixties’, from about 1958 to 1974.⁶² Brown has also stressed the importance of this period, and that:

Really quite suddenly in 1963, something very profound ruptured the character of the nation and its people, sending organised Christianity on a downward spiral to the margins of social significance.⁶³

He has described this as ‘the death of Christian Britain’, meaning that it has marked ‘the decline of the dominance of a Christian culture within British society’.⁶⁴ Thus, both McLeod and Brown have qualified the generally agreed view of other researchers that secularisation happened over a long period of time.⁶⁵ Their positions have been supported in surveys by Alasdair Crocket and David Voas, regarding British people born between 1914 and 1923 and between 1964 and 1973. From these they identified the reduction over these periods in the

⁵⁸ K. Dobbelaere, ‘Secularisation: a multi-dimensional concept’, *Current Sociology*, 29 February 1981, in Davie, *The Sociology of Religion*, p. 49.

⁵⁹ McLeod, *The Religious Crisis of the 1960s*, pp. 3, 4.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 17, 18. (This includes McLeod’s reference at p. 17 to his *Secularisation in Western Europe, 1848 - 1914* (Basingstoke, 2000), p. 285 - 9).

⁶¹ McLeod, *The Religious Crisis of the 1960s*, p. 1.

⁶² *Ibid.*

⁶³ Brown, *The Death of Christian Britain*, p. 2.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 200.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

numbers who had considered themselves affiliated to a religion and the less marked reductions in their attendances at churches.⁶⁶ Similarly Clive Field has identified such patterns of decline in church attendance and church belonging during the First World War.⁶⁷ The most relevant of McLeod's insights on secularisation for Toc H would appear to have been that the general public's access to a wider range of beliefs was increasing and that the main Christian denominations were drawing nearer to each other, yet also the conflicts in the individual churches themselves were growing.⁶⁸

It is noted that researchers have held different emphases regarding what they have felt to be important factors regarding this subject of secularisation and related matters, and also that some researchers have changed their views on this over time. For example, in the late 1960s and 1970s J. P. Thompson, Harold Perkin and other new historians focused on the importance of this in regard to class and the Industrial Revolution.⁶⁹ Then McLeod and others considered the effects of it in cities.⁷⁰ In addition, he has stressed its effects on class.⁷¹ He and others then explored how it affected gender issues during the 1990s and 2000s. Brown has also noted the importance of the issues of class and gender, but his main emphasis has been on the changing role of women, and that very many women, especially younger ones, were rejecting their roles regarding morality and what was seen as their responsibilities within their families.⁷² The effects on Toc H of the above issues is explored in the relevant later chronological places.

⁶⁶ A. Crockett and D. Voas, 'Generations of Decline: Religious Changes in Twentieth-Century Britain', *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, Number 45, 2006, p. 571, in McLeod, *The Religious Crisis of the 1960s*, p. 263.

⁶⁷ C. Field, 'Keeping the Spiritual Home Fires Burning: Religious Belonging in Britain During the First World War', *War and Society*, Volume 33, Number 4, October 2014, p. 268.

⁶⁸ Brown and Snape, *Secularisation in the Christian World*, p. 224.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 4, 5.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

⁷² Brown, *Death of Christian Britain*, (Second Edition), pp. 176 - 9, in McLeod, *The Religious Crisis of the 1960s*, p. 13.

McLeod has also identified the widespread affluence of most Western countries from the later 1950s, with the effects of high wages and full employment, and that this prepared the way for the Crisis of Christendom of the 1960s.⁷³ However, Brown's analysis has qualified this view, with his consideration of the late 1940s and 1950s as times of British 'austerity amidst plenty'.⁷⁴ This 'austerity' was that in the late 1940s moral, religious, economic and political matters 'all seemed inter-linked by restraint and duty'.⁷⁵ McLeod has grouped these factors into the three categories of 'the fundamental and long-term impact of modernisation and secularisation, the effects of more recent changes, and the influence of particular events and people', and he has considered that most researchers have stressed one or other of these.⁷⁶ He has noted he and Gilbert have taken similar overall views on the reasons for the religious changes of the 1960, with both stressing the importance of various long and shorter-term factors and how these interacted together.⁷⁷ The writer is in general agreement with the views of McLeod and Gilbert that the changes would seem to be due to the interaction between the various developments in society, and also with Brown's emphasis on the importance of the changes in the roles of women. However, she shares McLeod's concern that he would appear to have somewhat over-emphasised the relevance of this factor.

The varied nature of the following further perspectives has also supported the above view that a range of factors have played parts in how society has developed over this time, and that their effects have been due to the interplay of all of these factors together, but with none having overall significance. Prochaska has concentrated on the importance of the introduction of the welfare state and its effects on voluntary organisations, and has explored especially how the political environment after the Second World War 'disinherited the Victorian Christian spirit and its associational culture'.⁷⁸ Linda Woodhead and Rachel Catto

⁷³ McLeod, *The Religious Crisis of the 1960s*, p. 29.

⁷⁴ Brown, *Religion and Society in Twentieth Century Britain*, p. 177.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 179.

⁷⁶ McLeod, *The Religious Crisis of the 1960s*, p. 257.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

have also stressed the importance of the formation of the welfare state, but in addition have observed that from the 1970s religion became more influenced by market forces than by the State.⁷⁹ Davie has emphasised the development over this period of ‘believing without belonging’, especially among the working class.⁸⁰ Simon Green has focused on establishing that a significant process of secularisation happened, and has explored particularly the concept and the effects of ‘Protestant England’. He has concluded that, whilst between about 1920 and 1960, English Protestantism declined overall, it also became more diverse during this period.⁸¹ Alan Aldridge has especially looked at the sociological beginnings of secularisation and the cases for and against this theory, and has reached the position that it has not been as cohesive as it had appeared.⁸² Bruce has emphasised the important effects of modernity, and of what he has termed ‘the secularisation paradigm’, - that it was inevitable that religion in the West would decline and that this was the unintended result of a number of various complex social changes.⁸³

More recent and controversial have been the later views of Berger and others. He eventually came to take the position that ‘the world today is as furiously religious as ever’.⁸⁴ Whilst he does not specify whether this relates to Christianity or to all religions, it would seem that he is referring to religion in general. The writer has taken this view because Grace Davies has quoted this as part of a description of a debate about the development of religion generally and the increasing probability of there being a ‘post secular period’.⁸⁵ Berger, Davie, and Martin, have felt increasingly that society has moved to such a time. Davie first

⁷⁸ Prochaska, *Christianity and Social Service in Modern Britain*.

⁷⁹ L. Woodhead and R. Catto, (eds.), *Religion and Change in Modern Britain* (Abingdon, 2012), p. 1.

⁸⁰ Davie, *Believing without Belonging. Religion in Britain since 1945* (London, 1994).

⁸¹ S. J. D. Green, *The Passing of Protestant England. Secularisation and Social Change, c 1920 - 1960* (Cambridge, 2011).

⁸² A. Aldridge, *Religion in the Contemporary World. A Sociological Introduction*. (Second Edition) (Cambridge, 2007), p. 97.

⁸³ S. Bruce, *Secularisation. In Defence of an Unfashionable Theory* (Abingdon, 2012).

⁸⁴ Davie, *The Sociology of Religion*, p. 64.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

wrote about this in the 2007 edition of her book, *The Sociology of Religion*.⁸⁶ She then further developed her thinking on this in her 2013 *The Sociology of Religion. A Critical Agenda*.⁸⁷ Her basic argument has been that from around the end of the twentieth century researchers have been observing many examples of what they have perceived as a re-emergence of religion across most of the world, and that eventually much research has followed on this matter.⁸⁸ The position of Davie on this has been that in fact religious activities had continued to be a normal part of the lives of the majority of European people, and from there have spread world-wide due to immigration.⁸⁹ However, in taking this view, she has not proposed that secularisation theories should be entirely rejected, and she has continued to support the stance that as part of the process of modernisation the functions of the church and various other institutions have been separated out.⁹⁰ She has also identified that the economic crisis of 2008 and the issue of the increasing numbers of elderly people has highlighted that Governments could not meet fully people's needs for welfare support, and that this in turn has led to policy makers across Europe considering how faith organisations could return to providing such services as alternatives to their Governments.⁹¹ This has been a particularly relevant issue for Toc H, which was well placed to respond to any opportunities which developed from this.

In addition to the role of Toc H as a faith organisation, its role as a voluntary social welfare one is next considered. The following very general overview of this subject provides the context for this aspect of the development of the organisation. Particularly this draws on *An Introduction to the Voluntary Sector*, an extensive collection of essays by key writers on aspects of this subject, which has been edited by Justin Davis Smith, Colin

⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁷ Davie, *The Sociology of Religion. A Critical Agenda*, (Second Edition), 2013.

⁸⁸ Ibid., *Preface*, pp. x, to xv.

⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁰ Ibid., p. xv.

⁹¹ Ibid., p. viii.

Rochester and Rodney Hedley.⁹² This book is referred to extensively in this thesis because, as the editors have described, it would appear to be the only general overview in one book of the history of the development of voluntary organisations. In addition, it has concentrated on examining the literature on this, and it has built on the work undertaken in voluntary sector studies led by David Billis and his colleagues at Brunel University, and by a number of other British universities.⁹³ However, as this book was published in 1995, it has only described the position up to that date. The writer has therefore supplemented the information from it by drawing upon the perspectives from several articles covering the period from 1996 up to the present time. These are described later, but firstly it is necessary to define the term of ‘voluntary organisations’. Jeremy Kendall and Martin Knapp have noted that the definition of this has changed according to circumstances.⁹⁴ They have put forward the most useful definition as the ‘structural / operational’ one which has been developed to enable comparisons of the voluntary sectors in different countries internationally, and this has been the definition which has been used in this thesis.⁹⁵ The five main components of this have been that such organisations should be ‘formal, self-governing, independent of Government, not profit-distributing (and primarily non-business) and voluntary’.⁹⁶

As the development of voluntary organisations has been such a wide subject, this consideration has focused particularly on matters relevant to philanthropic voluntary organisations like Toc H. It would appear from the literature on voluntary action in Britain that this has developed in the following main stages. Davis Smith has described that, whilst voluntary activities began with philanthropy dating back to beyond medieval times, philanthropic voluntary organisations have developed from the foundations of the sixteenth

⁹² Davis Smith, J., Rochester, C., and Hedley, R., (eds.), *An Introduction to the Voluntary Sector* (London and New York, 1995).

⁹³ Davis Smith, Rochester, and Hedley, (eds.), ‘Introduction’, in Davis Smith, Rochester and Hedley, *An Introduction to the Voluntary Sector*, p. 3.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 4

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

⁹⁶ Kendall, J., and Knapp, M., ‘A loose and baggy monster. Boundaries, definitions and typologies’, in Davis Smith, Rochester and Hedley, *An Introduction to the Voluntary Sector*, p. 85.

century. He has suggested that towards the end of the seventeenth this associated philanthropy began to grow, and that this then peaked in the nineteenth century.⁹⁷ He has gone on to describe that the sixteenth century also saw the beginning of the charitable trust, which was ‘a gift or bequest made in perpetuity for charitable purposes’, and that this became the main way of providing charitable support.⁹⁸ Also this was a time when attempts began to be made to alleviate poverty, and there developed the concept of ‘the deserving and the undeserving poor’, with State help focusing on the former of these categories.⁹⁹ Later grant and grant in aid / strategic grant funding became the main ways of voluntary organisations being funded. *The Successful Commissioning Guide*, by the National Audit Office, has described that grant funding has been where money has been provided by Governments to voluntary and community organisations for specific activities, and that grant-in-aid /strategic grants have been where their funding has been awarded to enable them to carry out work more generally within the aims of their respective organisations.¹⁰⁰

Davis Smith has noted that William Beveridge, in 1948, has considered that philanthropy and mutual aid have been the two main expressions of voluntary work, but has also argued that the further category of campaigning might be added to these.¹⁰¹ Davis Smith, Rochester and Hedley have described that main developments in voluntary organisations began to take place with the introduction of the welfare state after the Second World War. They have noted that it had seemed that this led to voluntary organisations becoming marginalised ‘to ... little more than icing on the statutory cake’.¹⁰² However, they have found

⁹⁷ Davis Smith, Chapter One, ‘The voluntary tradition. Philanthropy and self-help in Britain 1500-1945’, in Davis Smith, Rochester and Hedley, *The Voluntary Sector*, pp. 10, 11.

⁹⁸ Ibid., p. 11.

⁹⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁰ National Audit Office, *The Successful Commissioning Guide*, Expanded version June 2011. www.academyforjusticecommissioning.org.uk/nao-successful-commissioning-guide Accessed 28 August 2016.

¹⁰¹ Davis Smith, Chapter One, ‘The voluntary tradition. Philanthropy and self-help in Britain 1500-1945’, in Davis Smith, Rochester and Hedley, (eds.), *An Introduction to the Voluntary Sector*, p.15.

¹⁰² Davis Smith, Rochester and Hedley, ‘Introduction’, in Davis Smith, Rochester and Hedley, *An Introduction to the Voluntary Sector*, p 1.

that, whilst some voluntary action was replaced by government provision, various voluntary organisations continued largely as before and a number of newer ones developed services from their war-time work.¹⁰³ In addition, increasingly the political parties were identifying problems with the new welfare services of the Government, and by the 1960s and 70s new volunteers and others were starting a range of organisations, including those helping to address concerns about this provision.¹⁰⁴ This period has been termed ‘a new age of political campaigning’, and a main policy issue of the 1960s was what has been described as ‘the rediscovery of poverty’.¹⁰⁵ Although Toc H was not a campaigning organisation, this was very relevant to it from the point of view of its social welfare work. For example, Prideaux-Brune has noted that as early as the 1938 Survey by the organisation of its work, many of its members were found to have been ‘deeply troubled that people were still living in vile conditions of poverty and squalor’.¹⁰⁶

Whilst the 1970s saw a continued increase in State services and voluntary organisations employing more professional staff, the support of the 1974 Labour Government for volunteering was constrained from 1976 by the country’s financial crisis, the consequences of its International Monetary Fund loan, and increasing problems with the public sector and its unions, which led to the 1977/78 ‘Winter of Discontent’.¹⁰⁷ The new 1979 Conservative Government of Margaret Thatcher then followed, and, whilst the financial and other problems continued, the voluntary organisations then had a more central role, and the political parties ceased to view the voluntary sector as filling in where

¹⁰³ Ibid.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

¹⁰⁵ R. Lupton and I. Turok, ‘Anti-poverty policies in Britain: area-based and people-based approaches’, 2004, in U. Walther and K. Mensch, (eds.), *Armut und Ausgrenzung in der Sozialen Stadt*. Series Praxis and Theorie. Schader-Stiftung, pp. 188-208, in T. Potter, G. Brotherton and C. Hyland, ‘The Voluntary Sector in Transition: changing priorities, changing ideologies’, Newman University College, Birmingham, p. 8.
www.newman.ac.uk/files/w3/info/.../pdf/Big_Society%20final20draft%202.pdf Accessed on 21 August 2016.

¹⁰⁶ Prideaux-Brune, *Times Mirror*, p. 25.

¹⁰⁷ J. Sheard, Chapter Five, ‘From lady bountiful to active citizen: volunteering and the voluntary sector’, in Davis, Rochester and Hedley, (eds.), *An Introduction to the Voluntary Sector*, p. 117.

Government welfare services were not being provided.¹⁰⁸ This Government moved further away from funding through grants and more towards delivering services through service level agreements and contracts with the independent sector, and the voluntary sector increased its contracting, decreased its campaigning, and became more accountable to Government.¹⁰⁹ Increasingly this became known as the ‘contract culture’.¹¹⁰ This was especially so when the 1990 National Health Service and Community Care Act led to ‘care in the community’ becoming the main way that care and support services were provided, and this also became the model for most other services. This introduced the concept of the purchaser-provider split, with the purchasers of services being divided from their providers. However, whilst increasingly these purchasers were buying in various of their services in this way, they were doing so on reduced budgets caused by the further funding problems of this time.¹¹¹ M. K. Smith considered that this led to services being focused on particular client groups and to less community development work being undertaken.¹¹² These changes would seem to have affected organisations such as Toc H which did not at that time wish to provide services on this basis, as well as those which did. This was a period when it would appear that Toc H was mostly attempting to retain its financial independence, whilst working harder to find funding for its activities. Also, it was continuing with its general social welfare and community development activities rather than undertaking work with particular client groups.

In an article entitled ‘Volunteering for Blair: The Third Way’, Stephen Howlett and Michael Loche have noted that in 1999 the New Labour Government of Tony Blair sought to increase voluntary action.¹¹³ They have described that this Government saw the

¹⁰⁸ Potter, Brotherton and Hyland, ‘The Voluntary Sector in Transition’, p. 17
www.newman.ac.uk/files/w3/info/.../pdf/Big_Society%20final%20draft%202.pdf Accessed on 21 August 2016.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

¹¹⁰ Ibid., pp. 17 - 19.

¹¹¹ Ibid.

¹¹² M. K. Smith, ‘Community Work’, 2006, in Potter, Brotherton, and Hyland, ‘The Voluntary Sector in Transition’. www.infed.org/community/b-comwrk.hmt. Accessed on 21 August 2016.

voluntary sector as cheaper, more effective and closer to its clients than statutory services, and that it introduced what was termed The Third Way. This was a bringing together of the left and the right in politics to focus on the development of a civil society, and in 2006 it set up a Government Office of the Third Sector.¹¹⁴ Potter, Brotherton and Hyland have described that this Third Way was based on the views of Anthony Giddens. He envisaged that ‘civil culture’ could be developed through a partnership between the public, voluntary and private sectors and which emphasised service delivery by the agency most competent to provide the service’.¹¹⁵ In another article, ‘Whose Society? The Final Big Society Audit’, Caroline Slocock has described what would seem to be the next main initiative affecting the voluntary sector, - that of the Big Society. This was a development by the Conservative / Liberal Coalition Government which was in power from 2010.¹¹⁶ She and others have described the three main aims of this as follows. ‘Community empowerment’ was to help people to be more in control over what happened in their local communities. ‘Opening up public services’ was to enable public sector organisations, individuals, charities, social enterprises and private companies to deliver innovative ways of providing public services. ‘Social action’ was to facilitate people being more involved in their local areas, and giving to these their time, money and other resources.¹¹⁷ This report has concluded that largely this initiative has been unsuccessful, although it has ended with a description of what would need to be done in order to achieve a ‘good Big Society’.¹¹⁸ It is noted that the aims of Big Society have sounded very similar to those of Toc H, with its social welfare and community development activities.

¹¹³ S. Howlett and M. Locke, 'Volunteering for Blair. The Third Way', *Voluntary Action Journal*, Spring 1999, Volume 1, number 2, p. 4. www.ivr.org.uk/component/ivr/volunteering-for-Blair Accessed 21 August 2016.

¹¹⁴ Ibid.

¹¹⁵ A. Giddens, *The Third Way: the renewal of social democracy*, Polity Press, 1998, in T. Potter, G. Brotherton, and C. Hyland, - 'The Voluntary Sector in Transition', Newman University College, Birmingham, p. 5. www.newman.ac.uk/files/w3/info/.../pdf/Big_Society%20final%20draft%202.pdf Accessed 21 August 2016.

¹¹⁶ C. Slocock, (principle author), Civil Exchange, 'Whose Society? The Final Big Society Audit', p. 6. (This has been the third report evaluating the Big Society initiative). www.barrowcadbury.org.uk/.../Whose-Society_The-Final-Big-Society-Audit_final.1.p... Accessed 21 August 2016.

¹¹⁷ Ibid.

¹¹⁸ Ibid.

More detail of these arguments regarding the voluntary sector and of how Toc H has fared in relation to this above context is described later, and meanwhile this consideration of the context to the development of Toc H now leads on to the conclusions, themes and research question for this thesis.

Conclusion, Themes and Research Question.

This Chapter has described the various components of this thesis. The basic tenets of the organisation have then been identified, including its social welfare / community work role, its focus on improving relationships between people, its ‘Christianising’, and the importance of the ‘Toc H Family’. There has next been an exploration of the literature regarding its subject matter, covering materials on Clayton, Toc H, and its context in twentieth century British society. The research writings most relevant to this have been identified, together with some of their main foci, weaknesses and omissions. Of particular note has been the lack of analytical material on Clayton and Toc H. Regarding material on the changes in society, the main issues identified have been that there has been much disagreement between researchers as to the nature of secularisation and related matters, and that most researchers have focused on the importance of one particular aspect of these issues. Nevertheless it would appear that the concepts of secularisation, modernity, post-modernity, the decline of Christendom, and the possible post-secular period have together provided an important context for this consideration of the history of the organisation. The history of the development of the voluntary sector has also been found to provide insights on the organisation’s development, and it has been noted that the organisation’s story has provided an example of one of the earlier voluntary organisations and how it has fared in the changing society over its history.

This Chapter next lists the themes of the thesis, - the groupings together of the

recurring threads of each of the main topics which have arisen through the course of the history of the organisation, and the findings from these are summarised in Chapter Five. The two main themes are noted to be the influence of Clayton on the development of the organisation and the changes in society which have affected its history. Other related themes are the impact on it of Clayton's relationships, especially with the Church / churches, the Army, and the Government, and the organisation's purpose and activities. The themes of the 'Toc H Family', the organisation's decision-making process, and its growth profile over its history are also examined, together with those of its finances, the contribution of the Toc H Women, its development overseas, and its essence and legacy. All of this draws together a picture of what is presently known, and the themes and questions identified from this are then encompassed in the research question of the thesis as follows:

What have been the main factors in the development of Toc H in the period up to 1972 when Clayton, its founder, died, how was it affected by him and by events after his death up to the present time, and what has been the essence and legacy of the organisation?

A Study of the Origins, History, Essence and Legacy of Toc H, a Christian, Voluntary, Social Welfare Services Organisation in Twentieth Century Britain.

Chapter Two - The Background and History of Toc H Up Until 1945.

Introduction.

This Chapter begins by describing Clayton's background and early life, and then his time at Talbot House as an Army Chaplain during the First World War. It explores the effect of this on the later development of Toc H, and parallels are identified between how he shaped Talbot House and Toc H. Then the beginnings and early years of the organisation in the inter-war period are described, followed by an exploration of Clayton's overseas travels to build it further and to fundraise,. There is then a consideration of how the organisation developed during the Second World War. In the course of this Chapter the following questions relating to the factors in how the organisation developed over this period have begun to be addressed. How did Clayton's background, experiences and personality contribute to this? What effect did patronage make to its development? In what ways did his relationship with the Church of England / churches, the Government and the Army affect it? What have been its purpose and activities? What part did the concept of the 'Toc H Family' play in how it developed? What was the nature of its attitude to campaigning and political issues? What was its rationale for being 'Christianising' and yet open to all? Was it an organisation or a movement? What changes occurred in society over this period, and how did these affect it? What developments took place in its development overseas, and what was Clayton's contribution to these? What was happening to Talbot House during this time? What was the nature of his contacts and networking activities? How did its growth profile develop over its history?

Clayton's Background, Education and Early Life.

The description which follows of his background, education and early life has in particular drawn on Harcourt's writings. This Section analyses how Clayton's life in the period up to the beginning of the First World War shaped and equipped him to go on to develop Toc H. It also seeks through this exploration to gain a better understanding of him as a person and therefore of the organisation. However, one of the limitations in the writings about him so far is that they have been almost wholly positive. This has been to the extent that Prideaux-Brune has written that 'Philip Clayton had the misfortune to become a myth in his own lifetime ... and that 'to appear critical of him ... is to commit the ultimate sin'.¹ This thesis contributes to addressing this problem by providing a perspective which portrays him in a more rounded way than previously, and this begins with an examination of his background and early life.

Clayton was born in Queensland, Australia, on 12 December 1885, and was the fifth child of Reginald and Isobel Clayton.² In 1886 his family came to England on a holiday, but during this time their family business collapsed due to flooding and their savings were lost in the subsequent bank failures. They therefore then settled in Fulham, London. Reginald then became a City of London businessman, and after twenty years he was able to retire with a substantial income.³ Reginald and Isobel had strong faiths, and she worked as a volunteer in their local community.⁴ Initially she educated their children herself, and then Clayton and his two brothers attended the Colet Court Preparatory School, followed by St. Paul's Public School.⁵ It is noted that even at that time:

¹ Prideaux-Brune, 'The Man Behind the Myth', *Toc H Point Three Magazine*, November 1990, p. 10.

² Harcourt, *Tubby Clayton*, pp. 11, 13.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 13, 14.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 15, 16.

The general testimony of his school friends seems to be that Philip was already ... the most socially minded of human beings with a positive genius for universal friendliness.⁶

Towards the end of his time at school the family moved to Little Hatchett, at Beaulieu, in the New Forest, and a flavour of their fairly affluent lifestyle has been encapsulated in Harcourt's comment - that there they spent 'long days ... with teas and tennis and larks'.⁷ Also Clayton even from this time Clayton seemed to have had a high level of energy and of focus – 'the energy, the almost ruthless drive that, so often, was to spare others as little as it spared himself', and 'the consuming resourcefulness of the leader that ... subordinated everything to the main purpose'.⁸ It would therefore appear that the main aspects of his early life that were later to influence the development of Toc H have included his Christian family, his mother's 'faith' and 'works', his sociability, and his ability to make deep and lasting friendships. The above would seem to have been reflected in Toc H's purpose of operating on the basis of Christian values and 'Christianising', undertaking social welfare and community work activities, and emphasising building relationships between people. In addition, his drive and focus would appear to have been necessary qualities to enable him to overcome the problems that later he faced in setting up and developing Talbot House and then Toc H. Meanwhile, his next step after his time at school was, like his brothers, to study at Oxford University.⁹

Whilst there he gained a First in theology studies.¹⁰ He began this 'with the idea of proving Christianity demonstrably untrue ... but ended up by being convinced of its truth', on the basis that 'the evidence was too good',¹¹ and it soon became apparent that:

First and foremost, perhaps, it was his nearness to God that seemed to mark him out from other men. He was convinced ... of the reality of God at work in human hearts. ...

⁶ Lever, *Clayton of Toc H* (London, 1971), p. 13.

⁷ Harcourt, *Tubby Clayton*, pp. 18, 19.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 22, 23.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

He was absolutely certain that he was chosen by God to do His work; and that, being chosen, he would be given the needed strength to accomplish the task.¹²

At Oxford he was much influenced by Scott-Holland, who ‘passionately, persuasively ... related religion to life’.¹³ Scott Holland was himself influenced by the Oxford Movement based at the University. This promoted its high church views and practices, and sought to improve the relationship between the Anglican Church and the Government. It led to a group within it, the Tractarians, developing 19 ‘tracts’ to help address these matters, and this group also worked in various poor and deprived urban parishes.¹⁴ Scott-Holland’s teaching was based on the views of the Social Gospel Movement and the Christian Social Union, and their work to improve social justice, inequality, poverty and education.¹⁵ Clayton was also influenced by Stansfeld, who was known as ‘The Doctor’. He practiced as a doctor and provided free medical help to those who could not afford to pay for this. He lived for many years in Bermondsey, the poorest borough in south London, and there he ran the Oxford and Bermondsey Boy’s Club. Clayton met him when Stansfield visited Oxford, and challenged him and his friends to ‘come down to Bermondsey and see how the other half of the world live, and starve’.¹⁶ They did so, which then led on to Clayton spending much of his spare time helping to run the activities of this Centre.¹⁷ That this considerably influenced how he developed the organisation would seem to be evidenced by the fact that he would often say that ‘Bermondsey was the true cradle of Toc H’.¹⁸

Clayton next took up a post with Dr. Armitage Robinson, the Dean of Westminster, and there he undertook research and prepared to attend theological college.¹⁹

¹² Lever, *Clayton of Toc H*, p. 241.

¹³ Harcourt, *Tubby Clayton*, p. 21.

¹⁴ M. Bragg, with guests M. Skinner, F. Knight, and S. Galley, ‘In Our Time’ programme, The Oxford Movement, BBC Radio Four, on 13 April 2006, (LW Only). www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/p003cl9j Accessed 7 July 2014.

¹⁵ The Social Gospel Movement, GotQuestions.org, Accessed 4 April 2015.

¹⁶ Harcourt, *Tubby Clayton*, p. 22.

¹⁷ Baron, *The Doctor, The Story of John Stansfeld of Oxford and Bermondsey* (London, 1952), p. 206.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 208.

After this he worked for a short time as a Classics Master at Colet Court, and then he took his religious Orders. He was ordained in December 1910, in Farnham Parish Chapel, and became a priest in 1911 in Winchester Cathedral.²⁰ He then took up a post as a member of staff at Portsea Parish Church. This Ministry in an industrial parish gave him the experience of working with a range of people, and especially improved further his skills in working with boys.²¹ This Section demonstrates the ways in which his background and early life would appear to have influenced his later development of Toc H and to have helped to shape his character and views. This background meant that he was well placed for his next role, as a Church of England Army Chaplain, in Poperinge, Belgium, during the First World War, and later this would prove to have been a main factor in how Toc H has developed.

The First World War.

This Section explores Clayton's experiences in the First World War. Soon after he arrived in Poperinge at the beginning of the war Talbot arranged for the Army to rent from a M. Coeveret Camerlynk what became Talbot House, and Clayton began his appointment to run this.²² This exploration of Talbot House and his work there enables aspects of this to be identified which later he incorporated into Toc H. It is shown below that in particular these have included its special atmosphere of friendship and acceptance of all on a basis of quality, its role in 'Christianising', and its life-changing effects on many people. In addition, this evidences his creative ways to overcome the difficulties which he encountered in running this centre, his religious convictions, and his people skills, which are also all later seen in his approach to the development of Toc H.

¹⁹ Harcourt, *Tubby Clayton*, p. 23.

²⁰ Ibid., pp. 25, 26.

²¹ Parker, *A Fool for Thy Feast*, pp. 35, 36, 39.

²² Harcourt, *Tubby Clayton*, p. 34, 35.

Snape has written that Talbot House was ‘the most successful of the temporary Soldiers’ clubs, homes and institutes to emerge out of the First World War’.²³ Clayton has described that it was much used:

The door was open day and night (and) men swarmed about the place from ten a.m. to eight p.m., and officers flowed in from seven p.m. till the leave trains came and went.²⁴

He found that in many ways it appeared to be ‘curious amalgam of the classic Anglo-Catholic ‘slum’ mission and the typical pre-war soldier’s home’.²⁵ Clayton worked to make it feel homely, and the following would appear to sum up that approach:

The Englishman, mainly town-bred, loves light, noise, warmth, overcrowding, and wall- paper, however faded. ... It was a house proper ... like home, with doors and windows and carpet and stairs and many small rooms, none of them locked. ... The place belonged to you in a home-like way.²⁶

It is noted that its Upper Room Chapel was considered to be particularly special, and that most people who went to the House visited this.²⁷ Harcourt has described that Clayton reported ‘services there of a hundred and fifty ... men ..., with twenty more upon the stairs’.²⁸ The House was also known as ‘Everyman’s Club’. This was because it was a place which was open to all and where they were invited to treat each other as equals regardless of their ranks.²⁹ This would appear to have worked well, - for example, in particular the Chaplain’s Room was ‘crowded with men of all ranks, talking and laughing together’.³⁰ It had on its door a notice saying ‘All Rank Abandon Ye Who Enter Here’.³¹ The House also had a library, where men could read books, and borrow them if they left their cap as security.³² In addition, Clayton organised there a range of activities for the visiting troops, including daily

²³ Snape, *God and the British Soldier. Religion and the British Army in the First and Second World Wars* (London, 2005), p. 216.

²⁴ Harcourt, *Tubby Clayton*, p. 38.

²⁵ Snape, *God and the British Soldier*, p. 217.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Harcourt, *Tubby Clayton*, p. 47.

²⁹ Monie, *Toc H Under Weigh*, pp. 10, 11.

³⁰ Harcourt, *Tubby Clayton*, p. 39.

³¹ Clayton, *Tales of Talbot House*, p. 38), (Snape, *God and the British Soldier*, p. 217). (The spellings of Poperinge with an ‘H’ and Iper as Ypres are the old French versions of these names).

³² Harcourt, *Tubby Clayton*, pp. 41, 42.

services, concerts, whist drives and other activities.³³ He also attempted to make life there as normal as possible in the circumstances. For example, he wrote to his mother in November 1915, - ‘this afternoon, think of it ... we are all going to the cinema to tea and ‘movies’.³⁴

Harcourt has described that Clayton also went out into the area around Poperinge doing what he termed ‘slumming’. This was making support visits to his men, - where he did ‘what he could to share the dangers and hardships of his customers’.³⁵ He would take with him a wide range of ‘spiritual munitions’ and general equipment, including his Communion case, a small Communion pyx and a sandbag of hymn and service books.³⁶ In the course of his work he also helped very many men to decide to become ordained if they survived the war, and many of them joined a list at Talbot House of those wanting to do this.³⁷ The ordinands of this time were mostly upper class, but also he encouraged those from more varied and poorer backgrounds to apply.³⁸ In addition, he started at the House the Services Candidates Ordination Fund, to help such candidates with the costs of their training.³⁹ In 1915 Randall Davidson, the Archbishop of Canterbury, visited there, and Clayton wrote home that this was a great success.⁴⁰ It would appear that the Archbishop was especially impressed with his recruitment of men who wanted go forward for ordination, particularly as this was at a time when the Church’s leaders were becoming very concerned that there were insufficient numbers wanting to do this.⁴¹

It would seem that it was Clayton personally who created the House’s special atmosphere, - its ‘glowing, intimate atmosphere ... was an actual projection of the wit,

³³ Ibid., p. 57.

³⁴ Baron, *Letters From Flanders*, Letter VI, November 1915 (London, 1932), p. 20.

³⁵ Harcourt, *Tubby Clayton*, p. 9.

³⁶ Ibid., p. 43.

³⁷ Ibid., p. 63.

³⁸ Ibid., p. 64.

³⁹ Ibid., p. 63.

⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 53.

⁴¹ Ibid.

laughter and friendliness of the man himself'.⁴² It is noted that when he had to take three months of sick leave in 1916, this atmosphere disintegrated whilst he was away, but that when he came back it soon returned to how it had been previously.⁴³ This period of illness has also raised two related and recurring matters - his health problems, and his propensity for over-work, which would seem to have either caused or exacerbated his various illnesses. For example, a letter from him to his mother in December 1917 from an Officer's Rest Station near Poperinge described him as suffering from 'another touch of the old fever', and that soon after his return to the House he was 'once more in the old routine - three hours sleep and galloping non-stop work through the rest of the day'.⁴⁴ In addition, his ability to form close and lasting relationships has been seen at the House, and this was also a central factor in how he developed Toc H. A main example of such friendships was that with Arthur Pettifer, almost always known as 'The Gen'. Pettifer became his Batman, and supported him in running the House and then in his work back in Britain, and they then worked together for almost all the rest of Pettifer's life.⁴⁵

In order to further understand Clayton and his work in Poperinge it would seem necessary to consider the impact of the war on the troops and on Army Chaplains. As this was a fairly important communication focus in the area, very many of these troops from a range of different garrisons visited the House and its Chapel.⁴⁶ Jay Winter and Blaine Baggett have described the life for such troops. As well as the problems of the snipers, bombing, and corpses, they had to contend with barbed wire, mud, lice and rats. In addition, they were often bored when they were not fighting, and they were only at the Front Line for around a week at a time. They then withdrew from there to do maintenance and other work to support the Army's activities, and there they also developed a range of recreational activities.⁴⁷ Alison

⁴² Ibid., p. 37.

⁴³ Ibid., p. 57.

⁴⁴ Ibid., pp. 60, 61.

⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 40.

⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 10.

Brown, has described the main duties of Army Chaplains as follows in her thesis, 'Army Chaplains in the First World War'.⁴⁸ They were to act as 'welfare officers' to the troops, to bury those who died, to help in upholding army discipline and to give sermons.⁴⁹ A main priority for General Haig was that they should preach to the troops about the importance for humanity of Britain fighting the war.⁵⁰ Brown has emphasised that Chaplains were 'isolated from their men by class, wealth and education', with the biggest problem being that they were from different social classes.⁵¹ Alan Wilkinson's view of the relationship between officers and men has been that:

The war is really breaking no barriers down ... They live in two different worlds, and the chaplain lives in the officer's world.⁵²

With regard to religious beliefs, Brown has pointed out that the Army had recorded that 75 percent of them were Church of England.⁵³ However she has noted that the troops mainly had an 'overwhelming indifference ... to organised religion'.⁵⁴ In addition, mostly the troops would seem to have known little about religious matters, and the chaplains found it difficult to involve them in either their formal services or in their more informal activities. It would seem that their main focus in these circumstances was to concentrate on being available to those of the men who wanted to talk to them.⁵⁵ Nevertheless, Snape has pointed out that despite all the above difficulties these chaplains adapted to these war-time conditions and that

⁴⁷ J. Winter and B. Baggett, *1914 - 1918. The Great War and the Shaping of the Twentieth Century* (London, 1996), pp. 99 - 102.

⁴⁸ A. Brown, 'Army Chaplains in the First World War', (Unpublished Ph.D Thesis), E-thesis Repository, University of St. Andrews, January 1996. www.research-repository.standrews.ac.uk/handle/10023/2771

⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 226.

⁵⁰ Ibid., pp. 226, 227.

⁵¹ Ibid., 229

⁵² A Wilkinson, *The Church of England and the First World War* (London, 1978), p. 89, in A. Brown, 'Army Chaplains in the First World War'. (Unpublished Ph.D Thesis), E-thesis Repository, University of St. Andrews, January 1996, p. 229. www.research-repository.standrews.ac.uk/handle/10023/2771. Accessed 15 September 2016.

⁵³ A. Brown, 'Army Chaplains in the First World War', January 1996. (Unpublished Ph.D Thesis), E-thesis Repository, University of St. Andrews, January 1996, p. 225. www.research-repository.standrews.ac.uk/handle/10023/2771 Accessed 15 September 2016.

⁵⁴ Ibid p. 223.

⁵⁵ Ibid. p. 231.

their support was a very positive benefit to Army morale.⁵⁶

It would seem that Clayton's religious convictions, people skills, and independent approach to authority helped him to find ways round many of the difficulties arising from the above and to keep going with what he wanted to do, and it has been found later that these skill stood him in good stead when he went on to develop Toc H. They also helped him to build positive relationships with the Army authorities. He received much support from the Earl of Cavan, his cousin, and General Plumer, the Commander of the Second Army in the Ypres Sector, and some other very senior Army officers.⁵⁷ The following two incidents exemplify his strong relationships with the Army. Firstly, from late 1917 he, together with Talbot and others, sought to help improve Army morale by running what were known as informal 'grouching circles'. At these they, and also some officers, attempted to resolve with the Army various grievances which soldiers brought there. They had some successes with this, and when this became known to the Army authorities they ratified their continuation.⁵⁸ Secondly, by Spring 1918 it was decided that, because of approaching German troops, the House was not safe and needed to be closed. However, instead Clayton kept it open and appealed this decision, and his position was upheld on the basis that its closure would have had a very bad effect on the troops.⁵⁹ Thus he was able to continue there until it was re-occupied by its owner and his family in the following January, and soon after that came the end of the war. At this time Clayton was invited by Bishop Gwynne, the Deputy-Chaplain-General, to help to set up a Test School for Service Candidates for Ordination, and he did this at the old Knutsford Gaol building when he returned to Britain.⁶⁰

⁵⁶ M. Snape, *The Royal Army Chaplain's Department, 1796 - 1953, Clergy Under Fire* (Woodbridge, 2008, p. 184), p. 260, in Parker, 'Shell-shocked Prophets: The influence of former Anglican chaplains on the Church of England and British society in the inter-war years'. (Unpublished Ph.D Thesis), E-thesis Repository, University of Birmingham, January 2013, p. 7. www.etheses.bham.ac.uk/4495/1/ParkerL13PhD.pdf

PhD.pdf Accessed 2 April 2016.

⁵⁷ Snape, *God and the British Soldier*, p. 218.

⁵⁸ Clayton, *Tales of Talbot House*, p. 96, in Snape, *God and the British Soldier*, p. 218.

⁵⁹ Lever, *Clayton of Toc H*, p. 70, in Snape, *God and the British Soldier*, p. 219.

It is also important to consider Clayton's work at Talbot House in the context of how the war impacted upon British society, and this needs to be understood as part of the exploration of the theme of the effects on the effects of the changes in society. Adrian Gregory has considered that before the war the position especially for the working class, was becoming 'unsteadily better'.⁶¹ He also saw that nevertheless in 1914 the conditions for many were similar to 'a contemporary third world slum', with much 'ill-health, blinding poverty and resigned hopelessness'.⁶² He has summarised that the overall impact of the war was that the position of the very poor in Britain became better, and that the working and middle classes were coming closer together.⁶³ Winter and Baggett have pointed out the vast expense to the State of funding this Total War, and the effect of this on the British economy. There were dramatic increases in prices, and wages did not rise commensurately. This caused inflation and much hardship, especially amongst the elderly and other vulnerable groups, and this in turn led to increases in welfare services.⁶⁴ Workers were needed to fill the jobs previously held by the men who were fighting in the war, and there was much need to find people to work in those jobs resulting from the development of the war related industries. This shortage of labour led some to unduly profit from this situation, and this was a cause for considerable criticism against them. Many of those who were working in the industries connected with the war were from the working class, and this would seem to have brought classes together for that time. Also the war increased the job opportunities for women.⁶⁵ Michael Moynihan has described that at the beginning of the war people in Britain attended church because of 'social convention' or 'escapism', and that, whilst for the middle classes church attendance was a regular activity, religion was less important to those from the working classes.⁶⁶ In 1915-1916 the Church of England's response to the war included its

⁶⁰ Harcourt, *Tubby Clayton*, p. 63.

⁶¹ A. Gregory, *The Last Great War: British Society and the First World War*, (Cambridge, 2008), p. 280.

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ Winter and Baggett, 1914-1918. *The Great War*, p. 129.

⁶⁵ Ibid., pp. 129, 130.

‘National Mission of Repentance and Hope’, which primarily helped to unite and support its members, especially through prayer. Then, towards the end of the war the Low Church and Nonconformists began to focus on religious education and social justice.⁶⁷ However, these initiatives would appear to have had very little effect, and by 1917 the churches were instead concerned about the war’s impact on their declining numbers of members.⁶⁸ Field’s view has been that the most serious effect on religion at this time was the disruption which the war caused, but also particularly he has explored the patterns of the decline in church-going and church membership during the war, and has seen these as indicators of increasing secularisation.⁶⁹ By 1918 people mostly considered that they had a religion of some kind, and around two-thirds of these were nominally Anglicans.⁷⁰ The position regarding voluntary organisations during this period has been summarised as follows by Davis Smith, in *An Introduction to the Voluntary Sector*. He has suggested that:

The First World War provided both a stimulus and a jolt to the voluntary sector. It gave a boost to the work of many charities. ... However, it also threatened to undermine the sector’s role. The experience of total war saw the state assuming a greater role vis a vis the lives of citizens than ever before and there was a feeling that relations between the state and its people would never be the same again. The building of a ‘land fit for heroes’ was widely felt to be too great a task to be left to the voluntary sector.⁷¹

In summary, this Section builds the picture of Clayton’s skills, abilities and experiences which equipped him to develop Toc H, setting these in the context of what the war was like for the troops, the Army Chaplains and the British people.

The Inter War Period.

⁶⁶ M. Moynihan, (ed.), *God on Our Side. The British Padres in World War One* (London, 1983), pp. 14, 15.

⁶⁷ J. V. Tatvi Clecie, ‘The National Mission of Repentance and Hope’, *The Spectator Archive*, 29 September 1916, p. 11. www.archive.spectator.co.uk/article/29.9.2014/mission-of-repnance-and-hope Accessed 19 February 2015.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Field, ‘Keeping the Spiritual Home Fires Burning’, pp. 244 - 268.

⁷⁰ Ibid., pp. 267, 268.

⁷¹ Davis Smith, ‘The Voluntary Tradition, Philanthropy and self help in Britain 1500-1945’, Chapter One, p. 25, in Davis Smith, Rochester and Hedley, (eds.), *An Introduction to the Voluntary Sector*.

This Section explores the effects in this period of various of the themes identified in Chapter One - Clayton's influence on the organisation's development, his relationship with the Church / churches and the Armed Forces, and the changes in society of this time. When he returned to Britain after the war he first went to work for the Anglican Church's Knutsford Test School, in Cheshire. This was set up to enable men from the Armed Forces to test out their suitability for ordination and as appropriate to receive training for this.⁷² The Bishop of Southwell's recollection of this initiative was that:

The whole idea of enrolling 'Service Candidates' among men who had found their vocation in the first war was born into the same cradle as Toc H. This movement, which saved the parochial ministry of the Church from collapse when the war was over, was the child of Tubby's faith and vision and was mainly organised and sustained from Poperinghe.⁷³

However, whilst this built on Clayton's work at Talbot House in recruiting ordinands, he and others had decided in 1917 that they would set up a 'Talbot House' back in Britain after the war and that this would: 'continue the tradition of friendship forged in the furnace of the Salient'.⁷⁴ This work at the Test School had the effect of delaying this initiative by six months, but in December 1918 he took his first practical steps towards setting this up.⁷⁵

In 1919 Clayton published his book, *Tales of Talbot House*, describing what he called his 'innkeeping' at Talbot House.⁷⁶ Also, on his return to Britain, he had brought with him a sandbag containing the contact details of very many of those who had taken communion there, and from these was drawn up a 'Roll of Members'. Then at Christmas that year he sent out a letter, known as his 'Whiz Bang', to those on this list, inviting them to become Foundation Members of this new initiative.⁷⁷ He and others then went to live in their first communal house, which was in Red Lion Square in London.⁷⁸ He was supported in

⁷² Lever, *Clayton of Toc H*, pp. 74 - 82.

⁷³ Ibid., p. 82. Poperinghe' is here spelled an 'h' - this being the old spelling of this name.

⁷⁴ Harcourt, *Tubby Clayton*, p. 69.

⁷⁵ Parker, *A Fool for thy Feast*, p. 83.

⁷⁶ Clayton, *Tales of Talbot House*, (London, 1920).

⁷⁷ Parker, *A Fool for thy Feast*, p. 82.

particular in this by Dick Sheppard, his cousin, who at that time was the Vicar of the Church of St. Martin-in-the-Fields, and the first £10,000 of funding for it came from two members of the congregation of this church.⁷⁹ During the six months in which he and others lived in this house ‘it was the Old House all over again’, with almost 60 men meeting there each evening.⁸⁰ The next stage in the beginnings of the organisation has highlighted further his networking and people skills. In November 1919 he set up a lunch meeting at his Club in Pall Mall, and invited to this Sheppard and a number of his other close and influential friends. At this meeting he put to them his proposals for the next stage of this undertaking, and his assessment that £50,000 would be needed to take this forward. The group agreed with these proposals unanimously, and went on to appoint an Executive Committee, which would begin its work by arranging an Appeal for members and funding. This meeting marked the beginning of Toc H, and in the Spring of 1920 the Appeal was launched.⁸¹ This led to a large increase in its members, and to the Archbishop of Canterbury and Field Marshal Plumer becoming its Presidents, and to Private Pettifer, the Earl of Cavan, and Countess Grosvenor its Vice Presidents.⁸² It also raised enough funding to enable the move to larger premises at 8 Queen’s Gate Place. This too was soon outgrown, and there was then the move to very much larger premises at 23 Queen’s Gate Gardens.⁸³ As Harcourt has described it, ‘Tubby was back in the innkeeping business minus the British Army’.⁸⁴ These latter premises became Mark 1, the first Toc H Mark.⁸⁵ Marks were numbered sequentially as they opened, following the nomenclature which had been used for Army tanks as improved models were developed as the war proceeded.⁸⁶

⁷⁸ Harcourt, *Tubby Clayton*, p. 70, 71.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 71, 72.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 76.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, pp., 72 - 75.

⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 79, 80.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 80.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 81.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

The Marks can be seen to have been modelled on Talbot House in a number of ways, including the following. For Clayton Christianity was central to both:

The true Toc H is in its origin a religious and patriotic Movement, which sprang from a considerable number of officers and men on active service, who made their communion in the Upper Room of Talbot House in Poperinghe.⁸⁷ This Movement long preceded the society since called Toc H; which is, however, pledged to work along the lines of Talbot House, where weekday worship was the central feature. The heart and core of the whole fellowship was in the Upper Room.⁸⁸

Burgess has noted that each Mark, like Talbot House, had a Chapel, and that they were also open to all whether or not they were Christian. Also, they reflected Talbot House in their emphasis on meeting people on the basis of equality between them, and they built connections between those involved to help to create the 'special atmosphere' of Talbot House in their 'Toc H Families'. Marks developed as places where the residents lived together as communal groups and undertook regular voluntary social welfare and community work. However, this was also a means to the end of developing the connection of the residents with each other as individuals as a 'Toc H Family', and with their local communities.⁸⁹ This first Mark was quickly popular, and 'soon it thronged with Foundation Members ... who had shared the unique atmosphere of the Old House'. However, Clayton and others did not want the organisation to be only a memorial to the war and/or to concentrate on reminiscing about this.⁹⁰ As stated in the original Toc H Appeal letter, one of its aims was 'to extend a friendly helping hand 'to the 'younger brothers' of the fellows who had been left behind in Flanders' and 'to give them a home and a friend right on the spot where their working lives are spent'. Various other marks followed, and for many years they were one of the main expressions of the organisation, They included Mark V, the Southampton Mark,

⁸⁷ 'Poperinghe' is here spelled with an 'h' - this being the old spelling of this name.

⁸⁸ Clayton, Revd. P. B., 'An Experiment in Weekday Religion'. A sermon on Toc H, preached before the University of Cambridge, by the Revd. P. B. Clayton, in Great St. Mary's Church, Cambridge, on 3 October 1938. Reprinted from *The Cambridge Review*, 4 November 1938, p. 6.

⁸⁹ *Toc H Oral Histories Project*. J. Burgess, *Oral History - Toc H Marks, Branches, Projects, and Other Activities*. Recorded by M. Burgess, on 6 March 2013 and on 29 March 2016.

⁹⁰ Harcourt, *Tubby Clayton*, p. 83.

which in 1922 was given to the organisation ‘as a memorial to the war or for the benefit of ex-Servicemen’.⁹¹

Mark V has been an example of the important part played by patronage in the development of the organisation, and this relates to the theme of its finances. This patronage was mostly as a result of Clayton’s networking and fundraising activities, and was a positive source of help to the organisation, but Callf has explained the dangers of it becoming unable to operate without it. He has described that ‘by 1930 Toc H had hardened into a pretty conventional pattern and organisation’, and that it was possibly more dynamic in the early days when it was ‘stone broke and unconventional’, not ‘richly endowed and respectable’.⁹² Burgess has pointed out that other important factors regarding its finances have been that its main income of donations and fundraising activities only produced money irregularly, and that its only consistent income came from its ‘Family Purse’, the relatively small amount of money that it received from its membership subscriptions.⁹³ Burgess has illustrated the difficulties that this posed with the following example. In 1921 three £5,000 gifts from the Church of St. Martin-in-the-Fields enabled the appointments of Toc H Chaplains to work respectively in Manchester, Newcastle and Leicester, but there was then the problem of finding the further funding required for them to operate long-term.⁹⁴ Nevertheless, in spite of such difficulties, it would seem that the organisation continued to survive and actually to grow. However, before considering this, the parallels are explored between it and settlements.

Clayton’s closest link to settlements would appear to have been through Sheppard, who for a period ran the Oxford House Settlement, at Bethnal Green, in London.⁹⁵

⁹¹ Ibid., pp. 96, 97.

⁹² Callf, *Second Wind*, pp. 11. 12.

⁹³ *Toc H Oral Histories Project*. J. Burgess, *Oral History - Clayton and Toc H, Its Essence and Legacy*. Recorded by M. Burgess, on 5 March 2013 and expanded and then finalised on 29 March 2016.

⁹⁴ Ibid., and Harcourt, *Tubby Clayton*, p. 91,

⁹⁵ Harcourt, *Tubby Clayton*, p. 71.

In developing the concept of the Marks, Clayton and others were influenced by this Movement. It was well established by his time, having begun in the 1880s and spread particularly in Britain and America.⁹⁶ Settlements were residential centres in deprived city areas, where people lived together as groups and participated as volunteers in community-based activities. They were often linked with an Oxbridge College or other educational institutions, and they also helped to develop working class and other education. Their activities also typically included youth work, social work, and legal advice provision.⁹⁷ Almost all of them shared the aims of developing social welfare policy and provision and of helping to address the problems of poverty. They would appear to have tended to attract the involvement of intelligent people from middle class backgrounds.⁹⁸ Burgess has identified that Toc H's work was similar in many respects. Both were based on the importance of working to meet social welfare and community development needs in their communities and of fostering friendships and breaking down barriers between people. However, Settlements would seem to have put more emphasis on education and politics than Toc H. Also, it would appear that their contacts with those that they sought to support was mostly in the roles of 'professionals' and 'clients', whereas Toc H has tried to work for and with those that they were seeking to help.⁹⁹

Burgess has described that Toc H's Branches were the organisation's next main expression. Like the Marks, they combined elements of Talbot House, with their focus on fellowship and developing relationships between people. They also sought to build their 'Toc H Family' and their local community. They met regularly, usually weekly, in small local

⁹⁶ M. Freeman, 'The Settlement Movement Since 1918', Voluntary Action History Society Blog, p. 1. www.vahs.org.uk/2012/03/settlements-freeman/ Accessed 12 March 2012.

⁹⁷ T. Jeffs, 'The Contribution of Settlements', p. 23, J. Glasby, (ed.), Occasional paper for conference, - 'Back to the Future', in *The History of the Settlement Movement and its Relevance for Organisations Today* (Birmingham, 2000).

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ Ibid., pp. 25, 26. Also, *Toc H Oral Histories Project. Oral History*, J. Burgess, - *Toc H Marks, Branches, Projects, and Other Activities*. Recorded by M. Burgess, on 6.March 2013 and on 29 March 2016.

groups, and, as individuals and/or as groups, undertook regular social welfare and community development work.¹⁰⁰ Prideaux-Brune has described that in the early days they helped other local community organisations with their work, but that later they developed work activities in their own right.¹⁰¹ He has noted that many of their activities were with young people, such as in boy's clubs and scout troops, and that the organisation's first National Survey of its activities in 1938 found that 40% of its members were taking part in youth work.¹⁰² However, in comparison its 1960 Survey showed that by then its focus had changed, with its highest category of activity being 26% of its members working with the elderly.¹⁰³ In addition, every Branch had 'Job-master' who organised and oversaw their work.¹⁰⁴ They also each had one or more Padres, who, whilst ordained, did not act in a religious role as such, but had responsibilities regarding teaching and supporting their members.¹⁰⁵ Burgess has described that these 'Padres' played a role in what would nowadays be known as the 'quality assurance system' of the Branches. A Branch was set up initially as a Group, and Branches and Groups together were described as Units. A Group was given a 'Rush-light' as a symbol of its status. If subsequently it was then considered to have developed sufficiently by the organisation's national Guard of the Lamp Committee, it became a Branch, and received a Toc H Lamp in recognition of this. Any Branches which this committee decided were failing had their Lamp withdrawn until they had put right their problems, and occasionally a Branch which did not do so was eventually closed down. The role of Branch Pilots also developed, and they took the lead responsibility for the standards in their Branch as a whole and for where individual members were felt to not be contributing appropriately to its activities.¹⁰⁶ The Branches gradually spread, and this led in June 1920 to Clayton setting up a network of volunteer Local

¹⁰⁰ *Toc H Oral History Project. Oral History*, J. Burgess, - *Toc H Marks, Branches. Projects and other Activities*. Recorded by M. Burgess, on 6 March 2013 and on 29 March 2016.

¹⁰¹ Prideaux-Brune, *Times Mirror*, p. 19.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, pp. 50, 51.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.* p. 19.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

¹⁰⁶ *Toc H Oral Histories Project. Oral History*, J. Burgess - *Toc H Marks, Branches, Projects, and Other Activities*. Recorded by M. Burgess, on 6 March 2013 and 29 March 2016.

Secretaries from among the Foundation Members to provide support to Branches in their local Districts.¹⁰⁷ These developments led on to work being undertaken to describe better the aims and ethos of the organisation, and in mid 1920 Clayton, Sheppard and Alec Paterson, another of the Foundation Members, drafted the organisation's 'Four Points of the Compass Statement', which, as noted earlier, has continued, virtually unchanged, to define its basic tenets.¹⁰⁸

These three men then began negotiations for a merger between Toc H and the national Cavendish Association. This was important for the development of the organisation, as it increased its membership by about 1,000, and linked it with over sixty public schools. These additional members were generally younger than those in Toc H, and this therefore helped to give the organisation a more balanced age profile, and the contacts with the schools was fundamental to the development of Toc H's work with schools and its youth work.¹⁰⁹ The Cavendish Association had grown from the Cavendish Club, which had been begun in 1911 - for men who had attended public schools and wished 'to devote their leisure more closely to useful service under the inspiration of 'Christianity'.¹¹⁰ This Club became the Cavendish Association in 1913, but was soon closed because of the effects of the war. It seemed inevitable that in time the Association would also close, but then in mid 1920 Toc H and the Association merged.¹¹¹ Toc H and the Cavendish Association were similar in many ways, particularly regarding their emphases on Christianity and on service. However, the Cavendish Association would seem to have approached this 'from the vantage point of privilege', whereas Toc H worked with and for those it tried to help. whereas Toc H worked with and for those it tried to help.¹¹² No information has been found about the ex-Cavendish

¹⁰⁷ Harcourt, *Tubby Clayton*, pp. 85, 86.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 87-89; Also the wording of the 'Four Points of the Compass Statement'. Section 2.SP2, Toc H Archive, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 90.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 89.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 90.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, p. 89.

Association members after the merger, but it would seem most likely that they were simply absorbed into Toc H. The above relates to the themes of the organisation's purpose and activities, its growth profile, and its finances, and the theme of its purpose is developed further below.

In 1922 Sir Charles Kenderdine and Montague Ellis, early Toc H members, drew up a Constitution and By-laws for it, and this formed the basis for its Royal Charter.¹¹³ This set out its purpose as:

To preserve among ex-servicemen and to implant and preserve in others and transmit to future generations the traditions of Christian fellowship and service manifested by all ranks of the British Army on Active Service during the war.

To encourage amongst the members of the Association the desire to perform, and to facilitate the performance of, all kinds of social service as between and for the benefit of all ranks of society.

To promote amongst all people a wide human interest in the lives and needs of their fellows and to foster in every man a sense of responsibility for the well-being of his fellow-man.

To mitigate by habit of mind and word and deed the evils of class-consciousness and to endeavour to create a body of public opinion free of all social antagonisms.¹¹⁴

This Charter was granted, and was signed by King George V, on 14 December, 1922, and Toc H therefore became an Association. The Prince of Wales became its first Patron.¹¹⁵

Whilst it would appear that it was very positive for it to have this prestigious Royal Charter, its legal style made it difficult to work with, and it would seem to have been expensive to amend or change. Also many in the organisation wanted there to be added a statement of its Christian basis. A further main development in the organisation then followed, when Monie was appointed in this year as its first Honorary Administrator.¹¹⁶ He then drafted a 'rider' to this Charter. This had a preamble and then stated that:

We pledge ourselves to strive to listen now and always for the Voice of God: to know

¹¹³ Ibid., p. 98. Also Toc H Headquarters, 'Charter of Incorporation', Toc H Royal Charter, and related papers. 1922. Section 2, SP2 and SP2-L, Toc H Archives, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham.

¹¹⁴ Ibid.

¹¹⁵ Ibid.

¹¹⁶ Harcourt, *Tubby Clayton*, p. 97.

His will revealed in Christ and to do it fearlessly, reckoning nothing of the world's opinion or its successes for ourselves or this our family: and towards this end, to think fairly, to love widely, to witness humbly, and to build bravely.¹¹⁷

This later became 'The Main Resolution of Toc H', and in 1925 formally it became a part of its regulations.¹¹⁸ Monie also devised a national structure to support the further development of the organisation.¹¹⁹ His appointment was important, and especially in that it led to a more shared approach to its leadership. Clayton had been both its leader and its Honorary Secretary up to this time, but under these new arrangements it was no longer this 'one man show' and from then he was not involved in its administration.¹²⁰ However, this then freed up time for him to take on new duties, especially when in that year he was appointed by Archbishop Davidson to be the Vicar of All Hallows Church, on Tower Hill in London.¹²¹

This development has related to the theme of the organisation's relationship with the Church. Harcourt has described that with this appointment came the agreement that All Hallows Church should become the Toc H Guild Church.¹²² In 1927 a Toc H and All Hallows Church Trust Deed was drawn up which defined the respective relationships between the two bodies, and this implied that his work for Toc H could be considered to be included in his duties at All Hallows. Therefore his new post provided him with an income and gave him a base from which to undertake his Toc H and other work and to travel widely.¹²³ Lever has described that Clayton worked hard to revitalise this church and to involve it in its local community.¹²⁴ Burgess has noted that during this period he was also undertaking much

¹¹⁷ Ibid., pp. 98, 99. Also Toc H Headquarters, Constitution: 'The Main Resolution'. Section 2, SP2, Toc H Archives, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham.

¹¹⁸ Ibid.

¹¹⁹ Harcourt, *Tubby Clayton*, p. 98.

¹²⁰ Ibid.

¹²¹ Ibid., p. 100.

¹²² Ibid.

¹²³ Ibid., p. 104

¹²⁴ Lever, *Clayton of Toc H*, pp. 130, 131.

travelling overseas, mostly in order to develop the organisation world-wide, but also sometimes for other purposes.¹²⁵ He has suggested that the positive side of these changes were that his role at All Hallows strongly linked together the Church and Toc H, and that his travels led to the organisation's growth overseas. However, his All Hallows work and that which he did for Toc H were in competition for his time and energies, and it is likely that this pressure either caused, or exacerbated, his health problems. In addition, especially when he was overseas, he was somewhat isolated from what was happening in the organisation in Britain.¹²⁶ Various examples of these issues are described later.

The relationships of Clayton and of the organisation with the Armed Forces would appear to have not been developing so well as those with the Church. Whilst these were generally good at the level of its officers, and its membership included a large number of ex-Army members, very few serving members had joined it after the war. Snape has identified that this was due to their differences in ethos, with the Army's hierarchical approach and Toc H's focus on equality.¹²⁷ In January 1930 Clayton raised this problem with Plumer, by then a Field Marshal Viscount and a Toc H President, and he arranged for a circular about this to be sent from the Army Council to the rest of the Army. This was in the form of a letter dated, 19 February 1930, from Walter Braithwaite, at the War Office, and it confirmed that there was no problem in Army members joining the organisation. However, this initiative made little difference.¹²⁸ This issue was raised again by Toc H in 1939, and this led to a second Army Council letter being circulated about this. This time this was sent by Sir Herbert Creedy, Adjutant General. The text of both of these letters can be read in Leaver's book. Clayton of Toc H.¹²⁹ It was only with conscription for the Second World War that this

¹²⁵ *Toc H Oral Histories Project*. J. Burgess, *Oral History- Clayton and Toc H, Its Essence and Legacy*. Recorded by M. Burgess, on 5 March 2013 and 28 March 2016.

¹²⁶ Ibid.

¹²⁷ C. Harrington, *Plumer of Messines* (London 1935), p. 334, in Snape, *God and the British Soldier*, p. 219.

¹²⁸ Leaver, *Clayton of Toc H*, p. 164.

¹²⁹ Ibid., p. 165.

situation improved.¹³⁰

1922 was so important in the development of the organisation that it was described by Baron as its ‘Annus Mirabilis’, its ‘Wonderful Year’.¹³¹ It was celebrated in London with a big ‘Family Thanksgiving’, followed by the first Toc H Birthday Festival. This was an example of the importance which Clayton and Toc H gave to celebrations. These were a regular factor in its development, with many such big national, Regional, Area, District, and Branch events to mark milestones in its history. They were examples of how feelings of synergy were developed amongst its members, - that it was a big ‘Toc H Family’ which was something bigger than the sum of the individuals involved in it.¹³² Harcourt has described that this occasion was attended by over two thousand people, including the Prince of Wales, the Lord Mayor of London, the Burgomasters of Poperinge and Ypres, and Lord Salisbury.¹³³ It was when the symbol of the organisation’s Lamp was first introduced. The Prince of Wales lit the Lamps of the Branches represented at the event, and the schools which sent representatives each received a Lamp. Then there was the first ‘Ceremony of Light’, to remember those who had died in the war.¹³⁴ This concept of the ‘Toc H Family’ has been of central importance to the organisation’s development, and it has raised the themes of its the purpose and activities and of its essence and legacy. The articles by Monie in the Toc H Journals of 1926 have been central to understanding these themes, and in 1927 he developed these into his book, *Toc H Under Weigh*.¹³⁵

Monie would appear to have provided the most insight into how the organisation saw its purpose at that time, and below is his perspective on this, the ‘Toc H Family’, and

¹³⁰ Ibid., pp. 219, 220.

¹³¹ Harcourt, *Tubby Clayton*, p. 97.

¹³² *Toc H Oral Histories Project. Oral History*, J. Burgess, - Clayton, *Toc H, Its Essence and Legacy*. Recorded by M. Burgess, on 5 March 2013 and 28 March 2016.

¹³³ Harcourt, *Tubby Clayton*, pp. 100, 101.

¹³⁴ Ibid., pp. 101, 102.

¹³⁵ Monie, *Toc H Under Weigh*, pp. 16, 17.

related matters:

In Toc H we may, and sometimes do, dislike our fellow members' opinions intensely, but we cannot be happy in the family if we dislike them. ... It is ... a society ... into which we can and do bring more and more of our real selves, of that inner life which is often dimly guessed at, ... a society of whole men as distinct from a collection of people banded together because they agree about certain things. ... It is becoming more and more conscious of itself as a whole. ... (A member) takes the other members with all their opinions ... with all the marks of differences between him and them, and at least in the moment when consciousness of the family grips him hardest - he does not want to alter them and their opinions one little bit. He sees how the diversities contribute to the life of the family, (and that) it is the life of the family ... that it is helping him to find his own real life.¹³⁶

He has described that the organisation asked only that people come into it 'in the spirit of a learner ... 'to work and to listen and to pray', and to value the differences within it'.¹³⁷

He has then related this to its stance regarding 'campaigning', explaining the underlying reason for it not undertaking this activity:

Some of us, many of us perhaps, will ... be asked to throw away our chances ... of getting the ... weight of Toc H ... behind causes that are very near to our hearts. For if we were to win, we should be breaking up the family, however small the number who left because they could not support our cause. ... We should be lowering (Toc H) ... from the level of a family, even from the level of a community, and setting it on the way to become a propagandist society. ... The essential purpose for Toc H is that it should spread its fellowship far and wide ... across all diversities of class and origin, of occupation and opinion. ... We are free to do what we can for those causes elsewhere.¹³⁸

Prideaux-Brune has described that the only time when Toc H made a national stance on a political issue was in 1960, when Toc H in Britain supported the resolution of the Central Council of Toc H South Africa that they should no longer recognise the Colour Bar there because this was against the Main Resolution of the organisation and its values.¹³⁹ This position also included that black South Africans should be able to be Toc H members.

However, an article in the South Africa Toc H's *The Compass* magazine has pointed out that, despite this policy, things were likely to continue as they were.¹⁴⁰ In the event, this was

¹³⁶ Ibid., p.16.

¹³⁷ Ibid., p. 17.

¹³⁸ Ibid., pp. 18, 19.

¹³⁹ Prideaux-Brune, *Time's Mirror*, p. 54.

mainly so, especially as the British Toc H also decided that Toc H South Africa needed to continue to operate within the law of that country. Thus there do not appear to have been any mixed Toc H groups during the apartheid period, although black and white members met at events like the Toc H South Africa Central Council and in other places where this was possible legally, such as at airports, which were categorised as international.¹⁴¹

It is discussed above that the purpose of the organisation has been to spread its fellowship as widely as possible, and this has linked with the issue of it being both ‘Christianising’ and open to all. Monie has clarified this position as that:

There can never be at the gate of Toc H either a doctrinal test, or a test of spiritual attainment. The door must always be open to those who cannot yet see or believe what some of us do, but who still wish to come in and try our basis out by trying to live it’.¹⁴²

The organisation has continued from Monie’s times to hold to this position, and its members seemingly have accommodated this and other differences between themselves, including their varying views regarding its purpose. It would seem that they have tended to see this through the ‘lens’ of what they believed about this based on their individual personal experiences. Therefore some have seen it to be about fellowship, whilst others have focused on it being about reconciliation, equality and/or breaking down barriers between people, yet others have considered it to be a vehicle for undertaking voluntary social welfare work and developing their local communities, with yet others having defined it as being concerned with ‘Christianising’.

These differences as to its purpose have led to the consideration of the related matter of whether it has been a movement or an organisation. *The Oxford English Dictionary* has defined an organisation as ‘the coordination of parts in an organic whole’, and ‘a

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., pp. 54, 55.

¹⁴¹ Prideaux-Brune, E-mail to M. Burgess re. apartheid in South Africa, 15 March 2013.

¹⁴² Monie, *Toc H Under Weigh*, p. 12.

systematic arrangement'.¹⁴³ However, its definition of a movement has been 'a body of people engaged in a course or series of actions and endeavours towards some special end'.¹⁴⁴ It would appear that Toc H has had the 'systematic arrangement' of an organisation, since it has been constituted as such by its Royal Charter, and that it has had policies and structures governing its decision making and accountabilities to enable it to be coordinated as an 'organic whole'.¹⁴⁵ However, Burgess has put forward that in many ways it has operated more like a movement, and that its engagement in 'actions and endeavours towards a special end' was its social welfare activities, relationship building, and attempting to help people to find Christianity or other meaning in their lives. However, he has felt that on balance it has operated as one or the other and also as both, depending on the issue and circumstances of the particular time.¹⁴⁶

Clayton gave his view on this to the Central Council meeting of May 1932, which was that:

Toc H began as a small, high-powered Movement; it did not bother much with membership. There was no membership in Talbot House ... They were an inner core of friends. ... But in civilian days membership had to become a more elaborate thing. The danger ... is that all our energies should be expended on the membership. When this occurs, a Movement dies. ... A Movement is a stream, with origin and destiny ... The true test of a Movement is its influence on those outside its membership.¹⁴⁷

It would seem that Clayton had wanted to achieve a movement, but accepted the need for an organisational structure.¹⁴⁸ Prideaux-Brune has referred to Callf's perspective on this in the 1957 Annual Report, describing that he has seen it as a movement in the sense that 'there have been very many thousands of Toc H 'graduates' making very positive contributions to

¹⁴³ *Oxford English Dictionary*. (Short Version), (6 th. Edition, Volume 1, A - M).

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid*, (Volume 2, N - Z).

¹⁴⁵ Toc H Headquarters, *Charter of Incorporation*, Toc H Royal Charter, 1922. SP2-L, Toc H Archives, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham.

¹⁴⁶ *Toc H Oral Histories Project. Oral History*, J. Burgess - *Clayton and Toc H, Its Essence and Legacy*. Recorded by M. Burgess, on 5 March 2013 and on 28 March 2016.

¹⁴⁷ Clayton, 'A Movement or a Society', p. 76, *Toc H Journal*, Volume X, June 1932, Number 6 - Special Supplement entitled *The Family Coach*, June 1922 - June 1932).

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid*.

society because of what they learned and did during their membership'. As he saw it, it had not mattered that they then went on to leave the organisation if they had learned from what they had experienced whilst they were members.¹⁴⁹ In addition, many of the participants in the *Toc H Oral Histories Project* and the *Toc H Area Days* described earlier have attested to the positive difference that their experiences of the organisation made to their lives. This evidence would appear to indicate that it was more of a movement. However, in this thesis it is referred to as an organisation, on the basis of how it has been constituted formally. Burgess has observed that this matter has continued to be discussed over the years without any lasting conclusion being reached, and that this has not always been sufficiently understood within its various parts.¹⁵⁰ His view has been that it might have been better if it had opted for the clarity of one or the other of these two models, or alternatively that a better model would have been for it to have constituted itself as a federation, since in this way the level of autonomy of the Branches could have been better recognised. More positively, its structure was inclusive and democratic, and for most of its history facilitated its continued operation, and this was despite the challenges which it and other older voluntary organisations faced as society was continuing to change around them.¹⁵¹

1922 also saw more changes in society which affected the development of the organisation, and this theme is next explored further. At this time Britain was struggling with the problems of the Depression, and the consequent unemployment and related issues.¹⁵² Also Snape has described that this was a time of the overall weakening of the influence of religion in society, and he has observed the effects of this on the Church / churches, with the changes in sexual morality, divorce laws, abortion and attendances at churches on Sundays. However, these changes were fairly limited and mainly experienced in the Protestant churches, and in

¹⁴⁹ Prideaux-Brune, *Time's Mirror*, pp. 82, 83.

¹⁵⁰ *Toc H Oral Histories Project. Oral History*, J. Burgess, - *Clayton and Toc H, Its Essence and Legacy*. Recorded by M. Burgess, on 5 March 2013 and 28 March 2016.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁵² Prideaux-Brune, *Time's Mirror*, p. 24.

some churches there was in fact growth.¹⁵³

There was also growth in Toc H at this time, which included it moving to operating internationally. This development was mainly in connection with Clayton's travels, and the following examples of these give a sense of their wide extent. Despite the toll which his travelling took on his health, they have evidenced his skills at public speaking, networking and fundraising, and his focus, drive and capacity for hard work. Also they have led to a number of positive outcomes for the organisation, including the following specific developments. Harcourt has described that in January 1922 Clayton travelled in the Dominions, and then in the United States, and that this tour raised \$25,000 for the organisation and a Dominions Executive was formed with its own full time Organiser.¹⁵⁴ Also, this tour has related to the theme of the Toc H Women, as it led to the start of the Toc H League of Women's Helpers, (L.W.Hs.). He had seen that the Canadian Women's Auxiliary Movement supported much of the public affairs work done there by women. Therefore, following his return to England, he set up a similar organisation for Toc H, and Alison MacFie accepted his invitation to lead this. She was one of the Queen Alexander nurses in Poperinge during the First World War, and she became one of the Toc H Foundation members.¹⁵⁵ In its early days members of this Toc H L.W.Hs. did various domestic chores at the Marks, but after a year it had begun to develop, and:

To put a wider interpretation on their commission - the undertaking of social services of all kinds for women and girls which should run parallel to that of Toc H for men and boys.¹⁵⁶

However, he was ill during his journey home and then needed to convalesce. Harcourt has also described that quite early in his next big tour the strain of this travelling was telling on him. This was his 1925 'World Tour', which was the longest of his travels. He was

¹⁵³ Snape, *God and the British Soldier*, pp. 240 - 242.

¹⁵⁴ Harcourt, *Tubby Clayton*, p. 95.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 95, 96.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 96.

accompanied on this by Leonard, and they visited a range of countries, to develop or strengthen links with them and to fundraise. They were away for almost twelve months, and generally this was felt to have been very successful.¹⁵⁷

Although most of Clayton's activities during this period were focused on his fundraising and development work overseas, he did not neglect his connections with Poperinge. Many in the organisation were unhappy that the owner of Talbot House would not allow people to visit it. Therefore in 1926 Clayton and others went there on what has been described as a 'pilgrimage' and, helped by the town's Burgermaster, he then negotiated that groups of up to twenty people at a time be allowed to visit it in the future. Many 'pilgrimages' have followed this first one, and then in 1929 the House was bought and endowed for Toc H by Lord Wakefield. This was probably the most well known of all of his many acts of patronage for the organisation.¹⁵⁸

Harcourt has described that Clayton next visited West Africa in 1932 for the United Africa Company, and that this led to him involving Toc H and others in supporting work for lepers. In the course of his visit he went with a District Medical Officer on his official inspection of a leper settlement at Itu, near Kano, and they found appalling conditions there.¹⁵⁹ Therefore, when he went back to England he worked through Toc H and others to help to improve this and other problems regarding leprosy. This generated much support, and resulted in Toc H giving the British Empire Leprosy Relief Association, (BELRA), around £125,000 and the names of over fifty volunteers to help with their work.¹⁶⁰ Many of these subsequently gave up their jobs to go overseas to work full time for BELRA. He was also able to raise substantially the profile of this issue, and all this resulted in BELRA's failing

¹⁵⁷ Lever, *Clayton of Toc H*, pp. 134 - 140.

¹⁵⁸ Prideaux-Brune, *Time's Mirror*, pp. 16, 17.

¹⁵⁹ Harcourt, *Tubby Clayton*, p.128.

¹⁶⁰ BELRA later became LEPROA, the Leprosy Relief Association.

financial position being turned around.¹⁶¹ Burgess has suggested that this would seem to be important because it has exemplified how he was able to make a powerful difference to a cause by mobilising support for it across the organisation, but that this also diverted it from its planned activities. Also he has noted that this example has brought up the theme of its decision-making process, showing that Clayton had the charisma to override this.¹⁶²

Clayton's next big tour in 1934 would seem to have provided the most serious example of his health problems and of how these were caused and/or exacerbated by his propensity to overwork. Harcourt has noted that during this tour he underwent a physical and mental crisis, and that when he reached Fields, the main oil field of the Anglo Persia Oil Company, he collapsed and was critically ill with a brain fever.¹⁶³ Lever has described that he had been overworking for some time prior to this, and that as this tour progressed John Graham, his (then) A.D.C., became very worried about his health. He therefore wrote several letters to Leonard about his concerns, and persuaded him to try to influence Clayton to return to England to recuperate for six months, and to also arrange for some his friends to do so. This led to Leonard and others writing to Clayton about this, and as a result he felt very angry and let down. He then collapsed at Fields, the main oil field of the Anglo-Persian Oil Company, and was diagnosed as having a brain fever. However, by the Spring he was recovering, and was able eventually to return home.¹⁶⁴ Lever has noted that this resulted in some of the Toc H Staff being 'somewhat dubious about the founder's future'. Clayton said to Tom Savage, (then) one of his A. D. Cs., that:

Toc H HQ discourage any independent action on my part. They still permit me to assist in money raising, but when it comes to Toc H principles and methods, I am far behind the times.¹⁶⁵

¹⁶¹ Harcourt, *Tubby Clayton*, p. 129.

¹⁶² *Toc H Oral Histories Project. Oral History*, J. Burgess - *Clayton and Toc H, Its Essence and Legacy*. Recorded by M. Burgess, on 5 March 2013 and on 28 March 2016.

¹⁶³ Lever, *Clayton of Toc H*, p. 133.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 198 - 202.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 205.

However, Burgess has noted that it would seem that in general it was felt that it was not appropriate to manage him or to hold him accountable for his activities. He was able to develop the organisation in whatever ways that he wanted, and right up until his death the Central Council continued to seek his views on all big policy matters.¹⁶⁶ It would appear that his key role became initiating developments wherever he went and finding ‘pump-priming’ funding for them, and that this enabled him to take advantage for the organisation of the ad hoc opportunities that he found. However, these initiatives did not necessarily fit with its overall development strategies.¹⁶⁷ Callf has written that ‘nobody planned Toc H in its beginning and its subsequent history looks more like ‘a disorderly progression of holy flukes than a pattern of human design’.¹⁶⁸

Prideaux-Brune has noted that over this period others too began working to develop the organisation overseas, and this was helped when in 1928 Clayton created an Endowment Fund to finance staff work on such developments.¹⁶⁹ Also, Toc H was beginning to send some of its staff members to work abroad, and in 1931 a special fund was set up to provide the money for this.¹⁷⁰ By 1936 there were about 500 overseas Units spread across all the continents.¹⁷¹ Prideaux-Brune has described that these developments were mostly ‘obstinately British’.¹⁷² Most of them were in the Dominions, but they were also in Tokyo, Shanghai, South America, the Middle East, and the Eastern Province of South Africa.¹⁷³ The organisation was also strong in Australia, and for a period was generally strong in the United States.¹⁷⁴ Burgess has suggested that in general terms these overseas developments seemed

¹⁶⁶ *Toc H Oral Histories Project. Oral History*, J. Burgess - Clayton and Toc H, *Its Essence and Legacy*. Recorded by M. Burgess, on 5 March 2013 and on 28 March 2016.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁸ Callf, *Second Wind*, p. 7.

¹⁶⁹ Prideaux-Brune, *Time's Mirror*, p. 26.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁷² *Ibid.*

¹⁷³ Harcourt, *Tubby Clayton*, pp. 130, 131.

¹⁷⁴ Prideaux-Brune, *Time's Mirror*, p. 27.

to be succeeding whilst Clayton was giving them his personal support, but then declined when he was no longer doing so, and that they were not sustainable in the long term.¹⁷⁵ It would appear probable that a further main reason for this problem was that Britain and these overseas countries had very different concepts of voluntary work. This subject has been explored in relation to the voluntary and non-profit sectors in continental Europe, in Chapter Six of *An Introduction to the Voluntary Sector*.¹⁷⁶

The next main factor in the organisation's history relates to the theme of its growth profile. In 1936 Toc H held a big 21st. birthday event.¹⁷⁷ This also celebrated that by this time its membership had reached around 50,000 in over 1,500 Units around the world.¹⁷⁸ It would seem appropriate at this point to examine the nature of its growth over its history. On balance an analysis of its numbers of Branches would seem to be the most appropriate way to look at this, and this has been the approach taken. However, this has only been a proxy indicator of this. Unfortunately, the statistics on this from its records and what people in the organisation thought was happening contemporaneously do not appear to triangulate well with each other. The 2013 Toc H Administrator's report, by Douglas Geater-Childs, has analysed the information available on this and drawn the following conclusions.¹⁷⁹ There was a rapid increase in Branch numbers until the end of the 1930s, and then a fairly steady increase until the 1960s. This was then followed by a sharp decline, with 428 Branches lost during the years from 1967 to 1971. There was then a further reduction, to around 25 Branches.¹⁸⁰ By the 2015 Toc H A.G.M., this figure had reduced to 19 Branches.¹⁸¹ However, Burgess has described that there has also been the scenario of what

¹⁷⁵ *Toc H Oral Histories Project. Oral History, J. Burgess, - Clayton and Toc H, Its Essence and Legacy*. Recorded by M. Burgess, on 5 March 2013 and expanded and then finalised on 28 March 2016.

¹⁷⁶ Perri 6, 'The voluntary and non-profit sectors in continental Europe', pp. 128 -156, in Davis Smith, Rochester and Hedley, (eds.), *An Introduction to the Voluntary Sector*.

¹⁷⁷ Prideaux-Brune, *Time's Mirror*, p. 3.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

¹⁷⁹ D. Geater-Childs, Toc H Administrator, 'Spreadsheet Report on Branch Numbers, 1922 - 2013', September 2013.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

the organisation itself has seemingly thought was occurring, which was that Branch numbers rose until around 1936, but that they then gradually declined or levelled out until the present time.¹⁸² The statistics in the Toc H Administrator's report would seem the most likely to be correct, since this has been based on primary source materials, the organisation's formal annual returns as recorded in its *Journals* and other records regarding its membership. Those were statistics which would appear to have been kept meticulously over the years, but the crux of the problem would appear to be that these returns often did not state specifically what was being recorded, and therefore it has been unclear whether like had been compared with like. This research by Geater-Childs has clarified that the figures for the overseas Branches, and for the Toc H Women's Organisation were not included in the organisation's records.¹⁸³

The following statistics provided by Prideaux-Brune and others regarding the organisation's development have given some general corroboration for the profile described in the Administrator's report. However, it is noted that these further figures have described a flattening out of the organisation's growth in the 1950s:

By the 1930s it had 1,000 branches, and was claimed as the largest voluntary organisation in the British Empire.¹⁸⁴ ... The growth of the movement was accelerating - in 1928 there were just over 300 units in Britain; by 1930 over 600; and by 1936 over 1,000.¹⁸⁵ ... (By Toc H's 21st. Birthday celebration in June 1936), the movement ... claimed something like 50,000 members, in over 1500 units, and had spread around the world.¹⁸⁶ ... In 1948 there were 885 branches; by 1954 there were 1,024, ... That was the highest number the men's movement attained. The women's movement continued to grow until 1958, when it had 571 Branches.¹⁸⁷ ... In the 1950s the growth of Toc H flattened out. Since 1960 there has been a steady decline in its membership, from nearly 1,500 units to around 25 units today, (1990).¹⁸⁸

¹⁸¹ Membership Report to Toc H Annual General Meeting, October 2015.

¹⁸² *Toc H Oral Histories Project. Oral History*, John Burgess, - *Clayton and Toc H, Its Essence and Legacy*. Recorded by M. Burgess, on 5 March 2013 and on 28 March 2016.

¹⁸³ E-mail - from D. Geater-Childs to M. Burgess, with information regarding his 'Spreadsheet Report on Branch Numbers for Years 1922 - 2013', September 2013. 29 September 2014.

¹⁸⁴ C. S. Nicholls, Clayton, Philip Thomas Byard, (1885 - 1972), *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004 www.oxforddnb.com Accessed 1 September 2005. In (Brown, *Religion and Society in Twentieth-Century Britain* (London, 2006), p. 126.

¹⁸⁵ Prideaux-Brune, *Time's Mirror*, p. 7.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid*, p. 4.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid* . p.46.

In summary, it would seem that there has been general agreement that Toc H rose meteorically until around 1936, and that there has been a lack of clarity around the detail of what happened after this, although there has been an overall decline since that time.

The next issues considered relate to the themes of the organisation's finances, purpose and activities, growth profile, and role as an organisation or a movement. In 1938 the organisation was facing the issue of its high turnover of members. Prideaux-Brune has noted that the annual report covering that year showed that around 5,000 had joined and 5,000 had also left.¹⁸⁹ The Central Council called a special meeting to discuss this situation.¹⁹⁰ Burgess has suggested that this turnover would appear to have been due to a range of reasons, especially that people involved in its activities were not always becoming members. This was seemingly because they were never asked to join, because they were able to continue their involvement locally without making a commitment nationally, and/or because they found the organisation's joining process to be somewhat strange. In addition, as has been noted earlier, people generally were becoming less willing to make regular commitments to organisations, preferring instead to undertake activities on a more ad hoc basis.¹⁹¹ Burgess has felt that these matters were of concern when considered from the point of view of Toc H as an organisation, but that when it was considered as a movement they were much less so.¹⁹² The Committee's discussions raised again the issues of its overall purpose and of whether it was an organisation or a movement, but did not result in any changes, and then in September 1939 there came the outbreak of the Second World War.¹⁹³

The Second World War.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid., p. 58.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid., p. 34.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid., p. 33.

¹⁹¹ *Toc H Oral Histories Project. Oral History*, J. Burgess, - *Clayton and Toc H, Its Essence and Legacy*. Recorded by M. Burgess, on 5 March 2013 and on 28.March 2016.

¹⁹² Ibid.

¹⁹³ Ibid.

This Section continues to consider the theme of the changes in society which have affected the organisation's development, by describing the effects of the Second World War. It explores the short and long-term impact on its development of the spectacular growth of its Services Clubs for the Allied troops, which was its main development over this period. It then considers Clayton's activities during this time and how the organisation was affected by these. With regard to the Toc H Services Clubs, the first of these were opened within four months of the beginning of the war, and these increased until by 1945 they totalled 216 Clubs in Britain and 49 Clubs and 126 Mobile Units abroad.¹⁹⁴ These all provided their canteen and other support services to the troops, and they were funded from income from these services, from donations given to them by the public, and, in the early years of the war, from money from America.¹⁹⁵ The U.K. Clubs were staffed mainly by 30,000 new volunteers who came forward to do this, they were mostly organised by members from the Toc H Branches.¹⁹⁶ Many of them operated in Branch premises or other buildings made available just for the duration of the War.¹⁹⁷ Prideaux-Brune has pointed out that Callf has stated that with these Services Clubs 'we never had a Poperinghe', with the special atmosphere that Clayton built at Talbot House.¹⁹⁸ In addition, the volunteers working in these Clubs would appear to have masked until the war was over the fact that the organisation's growth had ceased.¹⁹⁹ Despite the huge number of these Clubs, they would appear to have made very little impact long-term.

In order to gain a fuller understanding of this initiative by Toc H, it is important to consider the work of Talbot House and of the Toc H Services Clubs in the Second World War in the context of the development of all the Services Clubs and during both wars. Snape

¹⁹⁴ Ibid, pp. 36, 40.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁹⁶ Ibid., p, 42.

¹⁹⁷ Ibid., p. 37.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid., p. 43.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid., pp. 42.

has considered that particularly important in both of these wars were those Clubs run by the Young Men's Christian Association, (the Y.M.C.A.). This was interdenominational and would appear to have been the largest and most efficient of the civilian organisations supporting the troops. Relations between the British churches and their Chaplains and the Y.M.C.A. were generally positive, although there were some feelings of suspicion towards it.²⁰⁰ Also, during the Second World War denominational organisations were providing similar support to the troops. These included the Church of England's Church Army, the Salvation Army, the Catholic Women's League, and the Scottish Churches Huts Joint Committee. Apart from the Salvation Army, all of these served mainly their own denominations.²⁰¹ In 1939 a Council of Voluntary War Work co-ordinated these, and this included representatives of the Armed Forces and of the respective voluntary organisations. It was meant to enable the avoidance of the problems experienced by Services Clubs during the First World War, and especially those of 'over-lapping, competition and waste of effort and scarce materials'.²⁰² Nevertheless, the voluntary organisations of the Second World War still experienced various difficulties, including indirect competition from the N.A.A.F.I., (the Navy, Army and Air Force Institutes, the Forces' own canteen services), and E.N.S.A., (the Entertainments National Service Association), and continuing problems included how Clubs were funded and finding volunteers prepared to work overseas.²⁰³

Clayton was rather isolated from the development of these Clubs, as at the beginning of the war he went to Scapa Flow in the Orkneys, where he worked for two years.²⁰⁴ During this time he developed various clubs for the Navy there, and also worked with Alison Macfie, the Founder Pilot of the League of Women Helpers, who developed a rest home for sailors.²⁰⁵ This work was a further example of his ability to attract patronage -

²⁰⁰ Snape, *God and the British Soldier*, p. 208.

²⁰¹ Ibid., pp. 210, 211.

²⁰² Ibid., pp. 222, 223.

²⁰³ Ibid., pp. 223.

²⁰⁴ Harcourt, *Tubby Clayton*, p.136.

on this occasion his work was supported by Lord Wakefield, Lord Hankey, Lord Halifax, and Queen Elizabeth, (later the Queen Mother), and also the American Pilgrim Trust.²⁰⁶ Then Toc H organised others to continue these initiatives.²⁰⁷ Then, following the two bombings of All Hallows Church in December 1940, Clayton made it his priority to fundraise for it to be rebuilt. Eventually he left the Orkneys in January 1941 to undertake this work, combining this with fundraising and development work for Toc H, and with work for the Tanker Fleet.²⁰⁸ This has illustrated how it would appear that he often worked for both Toc H and others at the same time, an approach which provided economies of effort and costs to the parties involved. It would seem that he was able to persuade each of the added value to their work of his work for the others.

Conclusion.

The factors in the development of the organisation in the period up until 1945, together with the questions identified at the beginning of this Chapter, have been explored, and the findings from this have included the following. The Chapter has mainly developed the theme of the effect of Clayton's influence on the organisation, since at this stage this was the predominant factor in its development. It has explored how his personality and experiences equipped him to run Talbot House, and then to develop Toc H. It is noted that Talbot House would seem to have been his main impetus in developing the organisation, and that important factors in his development of both of these have included his focus and drive, his deep Christian faith, his belief that he was carrying out God's will, and his strongly egalitarian ethos. In addition, there has been a consideration of the effects of the changes in society over this time, especially of the First and Second World Wars. The organisation's

²⁰⁵ Prideaux-Brune, *Time's Mirror*, p. 36.

²⁰⁶ Harcourt, *Tubby Clayton*, p. 136.

²⁰⁷ Ibid.

²⁰⁸ Ibid., pp. 137-140.

growth over its history has been described, from its small beginnings in London to it becoming national, and then international. This has included an exploration of the development of its main expressions of Marks and Branches. It has been noted that, following the appointment of Monie and the introduction of his national decision-making structure, Clayton's influence began to lessen, and his role changed to that of being the organisation's main ambassador and fundraiser. Monie's insights regarding the organisation's purpose and the nature of the 'Toc H Family' have also been examined. It has then been identified that it developed numerous Services Clubs during the Second World War but that these have appeared to have had almost no impact long-term. Clayton's activities in the Orkneys at this time have then been noted, and also the bombing of All Hallows Church and his focus from then on fundraising for its re-building. In addition, main topics regarding the development of the organisation have been analysed, including regarding its purpose, whether it has been a movement or an organisation, the significance of the 'Toc H Family', the organisation's position on campaigning, its policy of being 'Christianising' and yet also open to all, and its growth profile over its history.

A Study of the Origins, History, Essence and Legacy of Toc H, a Christian, Voluntary, Social Welfare Services Organisation in Twentieth Century Britain.

Chapter Three - The History of Toc H From 1946 to 1972.

Introduction.

This Chapter explores the factors which have affected the development of Toc H in the period from 1946 to 1972, and particularly the effects after the Second World War of Clayton's activities, the organisation's re-building and re-focusing, and the impact on it of secularisation and other changes in society. It builds on the previous considerations of the themes in the thesis, identifying how these have continued to develop over this time. Its importance includes that it begins to answer the following questions relating to the research question of the thesis. How did Clayton affect the development of the organisation during this time? How far was Toc H successful in re-thinking its role and activities after the war? Did its policy and decision-making procedures enable it to accomplish its aims? In what ways has it and other voluntary organisations been affected by the changes in society in this period?

The Effects on Toc H of Clayton's Activities After the Second World War, and Its Further Development Overseas.

After the war Clayton's focus was to travel overseas to fundraise for re-building All Hallows Church and also to develop and fundraise for Toc H.¹ The following exploration of this continues to develop the themes of his influence on the organisation and of its growth overseas. In 1947-48 he visited the United States for a six month period, and this was a further example of the effects of such travels on his health and of the success of his

¹ Harcourt, *Tubby Clayton*, p.143.

fundraising activities. Harcourt has described that the pressure of this fundraising was making him unwell, and that he was ‘running near the edge of emotional control’ with ‘bursts of irritability’.² However, the visit resulted in the following two positive developments for the organisation. General Cornelius Wickersham arranged a lunch in New York in order for Clayton to meet some important contacts, and this led to the setting up of the All Hallows Foundation, which helped people from the States to more easily make donations.³ Also at this lunch Clayton began the formation of what became the Winant Volunteers Scheme, which enabled American volunteers to visit Britain during summer periods, first to work there and then to travel.⁴ This was later developed into a two way exchange, the Winant / Clayton Exchange Scheme, with Clayton volunteers similarly visiting the United States. This has been an initiative which only ceased in 2015.⁵ He then went on to visit a range of other places, but towards the end of his tour he had to go to a hospital in Boston for an operation before he returned to England.⁶ On this visit he raised for All Hallows over \$40,000 in money and promises. In addition, his overall fundraising was sufficiently successful for H. M. Queen Elizabeth, the Queen Mother to lay the Foundation Stone for the rebuild of All Hallows Church in July 1948, and in 1957 its rebuilding was complete and Clayton was the Guest of Honour at its rededication.⁷

There were also other developments of the organisation overseas during this period. Probably the most notable of these was the Etembeni Centre, the Botha’s Hill Project, in South Africa. Don McKenzie had in 1951 built a settlement there where tuberculosis patients could live with their families, and he was supported in this by a committee of mostly Toc H members, and by Alan Paton, the Toc H Commissioner, (and author). During the

² Ibid., p. 145 - 146.

³ Ibid., pp. 146, 147.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Various booklets on the Winant Clayton Volunteers Scheme and its history. Section 6, O6, Toc H Archives, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham.

⁶ Harcourt, *Tubby Clayton*, p. 151.

⁷ *Toc H Oral Histories Project. Oral History*, J. Burgess, - *Clayton and Toc H, Its Essence and Legacy*. Recorded by M. Burgess, on 5 March 2013 and 28 March 2016.

organisation's Golden Jubilee Year, in 1965 Toc H throughout the world raised much funding for this Centre. This has been an example of how the work of local Toc H individuals or groups could be an important factor in developments in the organisation, and that it could be a very powerful force when the organisation as a whole supported a cause. However, it would seem that only exceptionally was this kind of fundraising initiative seen as part of its role.⁸

Rebuilding Toc H Following the Second World War.

This Section explores how Toc H in Britain responded to the challenges it faced after the war. This takes forward the exploration of the themes of its purpose and activities and of its growth profile, It also examines the effects on its development of its decision-making process and whether it was a movement or an organisation.⁹ Its first main issue when the war ended was regarding its Services Clubs, and most of these were closed down. However, a few were continued and in fact in 1947 a new one was built in Wendover, Buckinghamshire, and for a period provided facilities for RAF Halton.¹⁰ Also, since British troops were staying on in Germany, it continued with its Clubs there, although it planned to close them gradually or to hand them over to other bodies as B.A.O.R. closed its garrisons.¹¹

Toc H was expected to grow after the war as new members joined it from the returning troops, but this did not happen, and also it was not attracting many young people.¹² There were concerns that it was stagnating, and Baron described that 'Toc H had in too many places become a society of like-minded men following a stereotyped programme'.¹³ In 1952

⁸ Prideaux-Brune, *Time's Mirror*, pp. 48, 49.

⁹ Ibid., pp. 44, 45.

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 45.

¹¹ Ibid., p. 46.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Ibid., p. 45.

the Central Executive attempted to address these difficulties by appointing Ranald MacDonald on an initial one year contract as the organisation's first paid Administrator. At his first Council meeting he argued that the organisation should not rely on patronage for its funding, and went on to propose that its policy should be changed regarding campaigning activities, to enable its members to be involved in these as part of the work of the organisation.¹⁴ His contract was not renewed after this year, and it would appear that a main reason for this was because he had raised these issues so soon and so directly. He had seemingly not appreciated how it made decisions and that it often took about two years for a new idea to become adopted as policy.¹⁵ It was considered that:

The main thing is to submit any new ideas to the test of other members and not be offended if they are rejected at the first hearing. We should just go on quietly propounding them, always ready to modify them according to further experience.¹⁶

This has linked to the theme of the organisation's decision-making process, and Burgess has described that this would seem to have been a main factor in its development. Main decisions were taken by its large Central Council, its Central Executive and its sub committees. Also any individual in a Branch could initiate a policy discussion by putting forward a resolution for the organisation as a whole to consider. If it were then supported respectively at the Branch, District and Area levels, it would progress through the policy-making chain to its Central Council.¹⁷ Burgess has noted that this structure was democratic and designed to enable everyone to feel an ownership of the decisions taken, but that it was also time-consuming and that if committee members did not want something to happen they could prevent it being progressed. In addition, Branch representatives tended to feel that they need not abide by what was decided centrally if they did not agree with this.¹⁸ He has

¹⁴ Ibid., pp. 51, 52.

¹⁵ *Toc H Oral Histories Project. Oral History*, J. Burgess, - *Clayton and Toc H, Its Essence and Legacy*. Recorded by M. Burgess, on 5 March 2013 and 28 March 2016.

¹⁶ Callf, *Second Wind*, p. 22.

¹⁷ *Toc H Oral Histories Project. Oral History*, J. Burgess, - *Clayton and Toc H, Its Essence and Legacy*. Recorded by M. Burgess, on 5 March 2013 and 28 March 2016.

suggested that this was also symptomatic of the wider issue that throughout most of the life of the organisation there were ongoing tensions between its central and local parts and between its membership and paid staff. Whilst to an extent such tensions have been an inevitable consequence of it being a national organisation, for much of its history each of its components have tended to feel at times that the decision-making power was being exercised elsewhere than with themselves.¹⁹

It would appear that the attempt of the Central Council to resolve the problems in the organisation at this time was proved to be an example of the difficulties with its decision-making structure. Council set up a Forward Committee to give an external view on how these should be addressed, and in June 1954 this published its report, *Something to Bite On*.²⁰ This stated that, whilst it seemed clear that the organisation was still needed, ‘the broad picture we see is of a movement that is static, lacking direction and drive, and uncertain where to go next’.²¹ Prideaux-Brune has noted that its recommendations included that the organisation should concentrate on helping with various social problems such as those regarding race, family relationships, and employment issues, and that there should be more overall national coordination of its activities.²² However it was ‘talked to death’ by the organisation, with the result that its recommendations were not taken forward.²³ Burgess has suggested that a key factor in this issue was that the Central Council was largely comprised of Branch members representing various components of the organisational structure. They were generally happy with their local part of this and did not want things to change, and their approach was often based on their respective local perspectives rather than on that of the

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ This was a committee comprised half of people who had worked for the organisation but had since left and half who were wholly external to it. Its report was titled ‘Something to Bite On’. The Report of the Toc H Forward Committee, and this is located in Section 2, SP2 of the Toc H Archives, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham.

²¹ Ibid.

²² Ibid,

²³ Ibid.

organisation nationally.²⁴ He has also considered that some of them did not take on board fully the governance issue of the requirement for corporate decision-making, and that they did not necessarily see themselves as being bound by the decisions which they took corporately.²⁵ A further issue has been that Branch members on these committees were not mandated by their constituencies, but needed to input their own views, together with those of their Branches, and then ‘sell’ the decisions back to those that they represented. However, some tended to do this only when they agreed with what was decided.²⁶ Also Branches tended to allocate relatively little time to considering the organisation’s national business, and this was often at the end of their local meetings.²⁷ Prideaux-Brune has noted that during the Second World War this decision-making structure broke down, and that in the Branches ‘this was experienced by many as a kind of liberation’.²⁸ It would seem that that this could have been because the membership had mixed feelings about being managed which dated back to the organisation’s beginnings. As Callf has stated, ‘the men who came back from Flanders were contemptuous of the ‘brass-hats’ and the high command’.²⁹

It has been noted by Burgess that on most policy matters members were encouraged by the organisation centrally to take local decisions wherever possible. Also, where they did this centrally they would often consider that these were binding only as policy for themselves as individuals, not for the organisation overall.³⁰ Also, Callf has written that members would ‘exercise their traditional right not to take any notice of what Toc H Headquarters said’.³¹ In addition, when local members requested that Toc H centrally should make a policy decision, often they would not do so. This was on the basis that if such a

²⁴ *Toc H Oral Histories Project. Oral History*, J. Burgess, - *Clayton and Toc H, Its Essence and Legacy*. Recorded by M. Burgess, on 5 March 2013 and 28 March 2016.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Prideaux-Brune, *Time's Mirror*, p. 36.

²⁹ Callf, *Second Wind*, p. 44.

³⁰ *Toc H Oral Histories Project. Oral History*, J. Burgess, - *Clayton and Toc H, Its Essence and Legacy*. Recorded by M. Burgess, on 5 March 2013 and 28 March 2016.

³¹ Callf, *Second Wind*, p. 44.

decision was taken, some members would disagree, and this would divide the 'Toc H Family'.³² Burgess has pointed out that the positive aspects of this were that it meant that the membership thought things through for themselves, but that this also meant that it did not have national strategies in place where they could have been helpful.³³

The next main developments in the organisation were that MacDonald was succeeded by Callf as its Administrator, and that he attempted to address its problems by developing new initiatives. In 1959 he opened Dor Knap as a Toc H Conference Centre.³⁴ This was very popular, and its programme of group activities began to be described as 'Weekend Toc H'.³⁵ Burgess has described that then, from this there grew the Toc H Projects Programme. These Projects were residential activities particularly for younger people who wished to take part in practical community work on a group and residential basis. They ranged in length mostly from a weekend to a fortnight. These first arose in the 1960s from the Branches and their Schools Weeks in London and then in Dor Knap, but, following his appointment as the National Youth and Projects Officer, they grew into a fully national annual programme.³⁶ Further initiatives which were more like Branches for young people also developed in this period, but these tended to last only a few years. They included Mobile Action Groups in London and elsewhere, and they met regularly as groups and to work on social welfare activities.³⁷ Burgess has felt that Toc H had much to offer to the young at this time, especially its Projects Programme, which gave them opportunities to become involved in 'action in the world', and to experience a sense of community and of connection. Also, whilst at face value it was looking like this focus on Projects was moving the organisation away from its 'Christianising' role, it would appear to have been fulfilling this objective by

³² *Toc H Oral Histories Project. Oral History*, J. Burgess, - *Clayton and Toc H, Its Essence and Legacy*. Recorded by M. Burgess, on 5 March 2013 and 28 March 2016.

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ Prideaux Brune, *Time's Mirror*, p. 56.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 58.

³⁶ *Toc H Oral Histories Project. Oral History*, J. Burgess, - *Toc H Marks, Branches, Projects, and Other Activities*. Recorded by M. Burgess, on 6 March 2013 and 29 March 2016.

³⁷ Prideaux-Brune, *Time's Mirror*, p. 60.

offering what was termed its 'Practical Weekday Christianity'.³⁸ This has been described by Revd. Bob Knight, a Toc H national HQ Padre, in his book, *An Honest Test*.³⁹ He has written that 'in Toc H we talk of two social conditions under which an honest experiment in the Christian way of life should be made - those of fellowship and service'.⁴⁰

Burgess has noted that overall this post-war period would seem to have been one in which these approaches by the organisation were continuing to be popular with the young and were seemingly going some way to providing them with an alternative to the churches which was better meeting their spiritual needs. However he has identified that there were also various barriers to the involvement with the organisation of young people in particular, and of people generally. One such barrier was that Branches continued to ask their members for a regular time commitment, usually each week, whereas the young in particular, but also older people, increasingly wanted to attend activities on a more ad hoc basis.⁴¹ Prideaux-Brune has commented that Branch members and some staff had concerns that Projects were not 'real' Toc H, and that most Project volunteers and Branch members engaged very little with each other.⁴² It would seem likely that these members felt that in order for people to experience the close connections made in Branches, participants on Projects would have needed to work together over a period of years. Branches and others also had concerns that Projects did not produce very many members.⁴³ However Projects became seen as part of the organisation, and in 1986 Adrian Dudman, Toc H General Secretary, produced a report on them for Central Council which resulted in the decision to concentrate on developing these over the following five years. This in turn led to the recruitment of extra Project Officers, and the establishment of a National Projects Committee. This Committee was particularly charged with addressing

³⁸ *Toc H Oral Histories Project. Oral History*, J. Burgess, - *Clayton and Toc H, Its Essence and Legacy*. Recorded by M. Burgess, on 5 March 2013 and on 28 March 2016.

³⁹ Revd. Bob Knight, *An Honest Test* (London, 1968).

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

⁴¹ *Toc H Oral Histories Project. Oral History*, J. Burgess, - *Clayton and Toc H, Its Essence and Legacy*. Recorded by M. Burgess, on 5 March 2013 and on 28 March 2016.

⁴² Prideaux-Brune, *Time's Mirror*, p. 61.

⁴³ *Ibid.*

the problem that most of the Project volunteers were young, white and middle class.⁴⁴ It would seem that this has highlighted a further barrier to people's involvement with the organisation, - that although its aim was to be for people from all backgrounds and experiences, in reality this was not what appeared to have been happening.⁴⁵ Other issues have included that there could have been more joint working between the Project volunteers and Branch members, and that Branches needed to follow up more on the volunteers.⁴⁶ This would then involve them in the organisation as a whole and enable them to feel that they wanted to join it. Another barrier to the growth of the Branches has been described by Callf, - that of those members who have considered any changes to the organisation to have been a betrayal of its history, and whom he has termed as 'old faithfuls'.⁴⁷ Herbert Leggate, a National Chaplain, has described these as continuing to 'love Toc H despairingly', loyally attending all its activities, yet holding to very fixed views.⁴⁸ The ways in which the above Toc H developments have related further to the changes in society at this time is discussed in the next Section. Meanwhile, in 1959 there came the further important development of the move of the Toc H Headquarters within London to Tower Hill. This enabled the Toc H Headquarters, the Women's Association Headquarters and All Hallows Church to all be consolidated into the same part of London, something which Clayton had always wanted to happen.⁴⁹ Following this, in turn further Toc H Centres were opened over the period up to 1979. Prideaux-Brune has listed that that these were as follows: the Weirside and Langdale Centres in the Lake District were opened in 1963, in 1969 there was the opening of the Colsterdale Centre in North Yorkshire, then there followed the opening in 1977 of the Port Penrhy Centre in Wales, and in 1965 the Women's Association's Alison House Centre in Derbyshire was opened. In 1979 there then came the opening of the Cuddesdon House Centre

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 19.

⁴⁹ *Toc H Oral Histories Project. Oral History*, J. Burgess, - *Clayton and Toc H, Its Essence and Legacy*. Recorded by M. Burgess, on 5 March 2013 and on 28 March 2016.

near Oxford, which replaced the Dor Knap Centre at the end of its lease.⁵⁰ There had been much support for the old Dor Knap despite its accommodation being fairly basic and its rooms needing to be occupied on a shared basis. However, Cuddesdon House was a much newer building, and around the end of the 1980s alterations were made to enable most of its visitors to be accommodated in their own single rooms.⁵¹ Burgess has noted that the Toc H properties have been a key element in the finances of the organisation, and that this was both positive, in providing it either with on-going funding or capital, but negative, because their buildings were often costly to maintain and were not necessarily suited to the needs of the organisation.⁵²

A further positive development in the organisation at this time takes forward the theme of the Toc H Women. This was the development of the relationship between the Toc H Men's and Women's Organisations. Prideaux-Brune has described that the League of Women Helpers became in 1950 the Toc H Women's Section, with a Joint Committee linking the two Organisations, and that this was then replaced by a Joint Central Council and Central Executive to link them. However, then instead in 1952 an independent Toc H Women's Association was formed, with the organisations linked by a Joint Area Team. Eventually in 1966 it was agreed that Toc H should be one Association, after a further four years the first joint Branches were formed., and in 1971 the organisations merged formally.⁵³ As Prideaux-Brune has noted, this decision was very controversial, and the following gives a flavour of the range of positions taken on this issue.⁵⁴ Clayton wrote on this that:

My own view ...is that to build Toc H solely as a society for men would be to put the clock back hopelessly (and that) were we to build a merely men's society we must finally and forever drop the word 'family'.⁵⁵

⁵⁰ Prideaux-Brune, *Time's Mirror*, pp. 58, 59.

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² *Toc H Oral Histories Project. Oral History*, J. Burgess, - Clayton and Toc H, *Its Essence and Legacy*. Recorded by M. Burgess, on 5 March 2013 and 28 March 2016.

⁵³ Prideaux-Brune, *Time's Mirror*, pp. 50, 70, 71.

⁵⁴ Ibid., pp. 70, 71.

Alison Macfie, the Founder Pilot of the Toc H Women's Organisation, has pointed out that:

There were men who had joined Toc H as a man's movement and who would have none of us: there were some who were apprehensive of our numbers outgrowing theirs, others who welcomed us gladly, and others again ... among the leaders of Toc H who gave deep thought to this question, and did all in their power to help us to work out our destiny. Our own members also held a variety of views on the subject, ranging from complete early Victorianism to a very modern attitude, with a good deal of sentiment mixed up in whatever view was held'.⁵⁶

Burgess has suggested that it would seem that the women were also concerned about pooling their resources with the men, and that they were worried that a merger might lead to them losing their informality and having more regulations. A further pragmatic reason for this merger would appear to be that the Women's Association was becoming very successful at a time when the Men's Organisation was needing a boost due to having problems in recruiting new members.⁵⁷

Another main factor affecting the organisation over this period was its decision to close the Marks, as increasingly it was felt that the basic problems with these could not be resolved. Prideaux-Brune has describe the issues as follows. There were the difficulties that residents were seemingly wanting to live in them mainly because they provided relatively inexpensive accommodation, and that they were increasingly regarding their volunteering work as a chore. In addition, the premises were old and expensive to maintain, Marks did not recruit many new members, and they were mostly not near to Branches. Also many residents stayed only a few months, it was difficult to recruit and keep the Honorary Wardens, and the accommodation was in shared rooms, and with communal meals, whereas prospective residents would seem to have wanted single rooms and to be self catering.⁵⁸

Therefore in 1968 Toc H set up a committee, chaired by Sir Arthur Rucker, to review their

⁵⁵ Letter by Clayton on 18 November 1927, to the Organising Secretary of L.W. H., in Western Australia, (A. B. S. Macfie, *The Curious History of Toc H Women's Association. The First Phase, 1917-1928*, p. 131).

⁵⁶ Prideaux-Brune, *Time's Mirror*, p. 65.

⁵⁷ *Toc H Oral History Project, Oral History*, J. Burgess, - *Clayton and Toc H, Its Essence and Legacy*. Recorded by M. Burgess, on 5 March 2013 and 28 March 2016.

⁵⁸ Prideaux-Brune, *Time's Mirror*, p. 62.

operation, and this concluded that, whilst their original concept was still valid, ‘for many of the residents Toc H has little meaning or interest’.⁵⁹ It decided that accommodation needed to be offered ‘at an acceptable standard ... at an acceptable price’, but that this could not be achieved in the properties that they held at that time. The organisation then went through long and difficult discussions about this, which culminated in the Central Executive Committee’s decision in 1982 that they should be sold. Some of the money from these sales was invested in five smaller community houses, but these were not continued for very long.⁶⁰

Then in 1969 the Central Executive agreed a ‘Policy for the Seventies’. The first of three policy documents developed largely by Tim Hulbert, its (then) Chair.⁶¹ This included the following recommendations: that Toc H should do more about the problems in big cities, that staff should consider widening their work to also reach people who were not currently members, and that the organisation should only keep those properties which were felt to be really needed.⁶² In 1971 there came the second of these policy documents, the ‘Strategy for the Seventies’. This made 31 recommendations for its development, including that Districts should form development groups to take forward their new initiatives and activities to increase membership, and that projects should be organised where possible by Districts and on a local basis.⁶³ Meanwhile, in 1971 the organisation’s Royal Charter was ratified.⁶⁴ This meant that after five years the legislation for the merger between the Toc H Men’s and Women’s Organisations was therefore in place.⁶⁵ A further change to this Charter was also considered, which has related to the theme of the organisation’s relationship with the Armed Forces. By this time a number of Toc H members felt that its aim of providing them with

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Ibid., pp. 62, 63.

⁶¹ Tim Hulbert and Others, ‘Strategy for the 70s’, 1969. Toc H Archives, Section 2 SP, Special Collections Department, University of Birmingham.

⁶² Ibid., p. 72.

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ Toc H Headquarters, ‘Charter of Incorporation’, Toc H Royal Charter, 1971. Section 2, SP2-1, Toc H Archives, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham.

⁶⁵ Prideaux-Brune, *Time’s Mirror*, p. 71.

support should be altered to take into account that this work had become very much reduced. This was also because many felt that the organisation should no longer be supporting an institution which could become involved in more killings.⁶⁶ There were strong views about this issue, and some members resigned over it. However, Central Council decided that this wording should not be changed, and it also passed a resolution that it was not intending to make any changes to the organisation's work in this area.⁶⁷ Then in 1972 its organisation's financial position was very much turned around when it again moved its Headquarters, - its building on Tower Hill was sold for around £2 million and it relocated from there to the Wendover building which had been the RAF Halton Services Club.⁶⁸ However, this time also saw a sharp decline in Branch numbers.⁶⁹ This could have been due to the merger of the Toc H Men's and Women's organisations and / or to the controversy regarding its relationship with the Armed Forces. However, consideration should be given to whether this was because of Clayton's death, on 16 December of that year. He was aged eighty-seven at that time. At least symbolically this was a big watershed for the organisation, and many people thought that it might close without him.

The Developments in Society Between 1946 and 1972, and Their Effects on Toc H.

This Section takes forward the theme of how the organisation had been affected by the main specific changes in society during this period, especially the impact of the development of the welfare state, and then the 'Long Nineteen Sixties'. It is noted that this was a time when the general public were feeling deflated and exhausted after the war,⁷⁰ and issues explored include the changes in the roles of women, the emerging youth culture, and

⁶⁶ *Toc H Oral Histories Project. Oral History*, J. Burgess, - *Clayton and Toc H, Its Essence and Legacy*. Recorded by M. Burgess, on 5 March 2013 and 28 March 2016.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

⁶⁸ Prideaux-Brune, *Time's Mirror*, pp. 71, 72.

⁶⁹ Geater-Childs, Toc H Administrator, *Report on Numbers of Toc H Branches*, September 2013.

⁷⁰ Callf, *Second Wind*, p. 44.

problems regarding racism and the increasingly multicultural nature of society. It has been described earlier that, following the war, increasingly Government became involved in providing social welfare services. The value of Prochaska's perspectives, particularly in his *Christianity and Social Services in Modern Britain*, has been referred to in the earlier Literature Review. In this book he has described the State's rationale for developing such services. This was mainly that those services provided by voluntary organisations were not sufficiently comprehensive or democratic, that often local charities were run inefficiently and un-strategically, and that their activities were seen as marginal and carried out by 'pious and middle-class, busy-bodilying 'do-gooders'.⁷¹ These changes led to threats to the independence of charities. In particular they began to reconsider their social campaigning activities, as these were often leading them into difficulties with Government. Also Christian organisations were being marginalised, and some were therefore playing down their 'Christianising' roles.⁷² This increasing state provision also led to many charities re-thinking their roles, the continuing reduction in religious community activities, and many people changed from working with religious charities to finding other work.⁷³ As Prochaska has described it, 'the post war political environment disinherited the Christian spirit of the Victorians, and with it a great swathe of associational culture', and the Government was developing 'a democracy in which citizens became customers of government rather than its producers'.⁷⁴

However, as also described earlier, the increase in Government services and the development of the welfare state made less impact on charities than had been expected.⁷⁵ By 1948 Government was seeing differently the role of voluntary organisations. For example, Lord William Beveridge, in his book, *Voluntary Action*, wrote that 'the making of a good

⁷¹ Prochaska, *Christianity and Social Service in Modern Britain, The Disinherited Spirit* (Oxford, 2006), pp. 149, 150, 53-155.

⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 161.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 160.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 155.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 159, 160.

society depends not on the state but on the citizens acting individually or in free association with one another'.⁷⁶ He also considered that Christian charity provided 'a buffer between the citizen and the state and between the citizen and the market'.⁷⁷ In addition, the lack of comprehensiveness of the welfare led to opportunities for charities and the Government to work more closely together, and this in turn led some charities to modernise how they were operating to enable them to do so.⁷⁸ It would seem that the main effect on Toc H of these changes was that this led it also to re-think its role. However, it would seem that Clayton's excellent people and fundraising skills gave it a high and positive public profile which largely protected it from being seen as negatively as many other voluntary organisations. It is also probable that its position of independence from State funding meant that it did not need to play down its 'Christianising', and it did not have a problem over social campaigning because it did not see this as its role.⁷⁹

Another change in society over this period was the growth of evangelism. Brown has identified that the 1940s was considered to be 'the crusade decade'.⁸⁰ From 1946 and through the 1950s there were in Britain the crusades of the American Baptist, the Revd. Dr. Billy Graham, and American organisations and churches were from 1946 sending money and other help to support crusades as part of a bigger American initiative to support and develop Christianity in the West and to fight the Cold War.⁸¹ However, whilst huge audiences attended his events, these had little impact in the longer term.⁸² Potentially relevant to Toc H was that Graham and his crusades attracted the support of those influenced by the inter-war growth of 'Fellowship Christianity' The aims of Moral Rearmament and the Movement for

⁷⁶ W. Beveridge, *Voluntary Action: Report of Methods of Social Advance* (London, 1948), 10, 318, 320, in Prochaska, *Christianity and Social Service in Modern Britain*, pp. 158 - 159.

⁷⁷ Revd. R W, Harris, *William Beveridge*, p. 460, in Prochaska, *Christianity and Social Service in Modern Britain*, p. 59.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 160.

⁷⁹ *Toc H Oral Histories Project. Oral History*, J. Burgess, - *Clayton and Toc H, Its Essence and Legacy*. Recorded by M. Burgess, on 5 March 2013 and 28 March 2016.

⁸⁰ Brown, *Religion and Society in Twentieth-Century Britain*, p. 188.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 196.

⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 195.

Charismatic Renewal have sounded much like those of Toc H, having in common with it their Christian action, close groups and fellowship,⁸³ but no information has been found about them having engaged with each other. These issues regarding evangelism link with the theme of the relationship of Toc H and the Church / churches.⁸⁴ It would seem that, contrary to what might have been expected in this evangelising climate, its directly ‘Christianising’ role was becoming less overt. For most of its members it was more about trying to live Christian lives and hoping that by doing so they would influence others. It would seem that the Church’s view of Toc H was that it was complementary to itself, and an alternative provision for those where it was not meeting their needs.⁸⁵

Whilst there were similarities between Toc H and the churches, there were big differences between the profile of the British people in the middle of this century and that of Toc H Branch members. Brown’s perspectives on the former group was that:

They seemed very critically self aware, and were unhappy and oppressed by . guilt. The elderly were split between those still strongly connected with their churches and the large number who were alienated from them ... Religion was largely a social matter and the churches’ associational activities met people’s needs where other social institutions did not do so. Also it was some of the young who were the most affected by the resurgence of Christian evangelism.⁸⁶

However, Burgess has described Toc H Branch members differently:

They have tended to be reasonably happy, self-confident and well adjusted, were like- minded, and held fairly high moral standards. They were almost exclusively white, and were fairly middle- class and middle aged. In the Toc H archives there have been photographs of many such groups, in their small, individual Branches and in big groups at the organisation’s large celebrations and events. Their religion was important to them and most of them were devout members of their local churches, usually Anglican, Protestant or Roman Catholic. They tried to live their lives in a Christian way and as examples of Christian living, but tended not to attempt directly to ‘Christianise’. They would meet regularly to develop their fellowship within their groups and with its other members as individuals, and also

⁸³ D. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History from the 1730s to the 1980s*, (London, 1989), p. 238, (Brown, *Religion and Society in Twentieth-Century Britain*, p. 201).

⁸⁴ Brown, *Religion and Society in Twentieth Century Britain*, pp. 180, 181.

⁸⁵ *Toc H Oral Histories Project. Oral History*, J. Burgess, - *Clayton and Toc H, Its Essence and Legacy*. Recorded by M. Burgess, on 5 March 2013 and 28 March 2016.

⁸⁶ Brown, *Religion and Society in Twentieth-Century Britain*, p. 187.

took forward their social welfare and community development work. The atmosphere of Branches was much like that of Rotary Clubs, and their members were also active generally in their local communities. Branches were mostly located in small rural towns and suburban areas, and this to a large extent cushioned them from experiencing the various problems faced in large urban ones.⁸⁷ Members enjoyed being part of a large, national organisation, especially experiencing the synergy of its big national celebrations and events. They loved Tubby, and the organisation itself was usually very central to their lives, and they would call upon the staff when they felt in need of support.⁸⁸

It would appear from the above description that there has been a dissonance between the profiles of the Branches and what has been thought to be their profiles, which was that they were comprised of mixtures of people with different backgrounds, races and cultures.

Brown has also described that at this time increasingly Britain was facing problems of race and racism, that from the early 1950s the numbers of Britain's mainly Afro-Caribbean immigrants had been increasing, and that from the mid 1950s it was becoming a multi-racial society. It would seem that race was not an issue that was much thought about by the mostly white Branch members, who lived mainly in areas with white populations. It would appear that therefore they took little action to find ways to enable people of all races to feel that the organisation was for them. In addition, as the areas in which the Branches were located were also middle class, they also would seem to have done relatively little to include in their activities those from other classes.⁸⁹

A further main change was regarding the roles of women, including that there was an increasing focus on nuclear families over this time. Brown has described 1945 to 1960 as a period of 'women's liberation deferred', and that 'women more than men felt the force of the moral and economic austerity'.⁹⁰ After the war women were pressurised to give up their

⁸⁷ *Toc H Oral Histories Project. Oral History, J. Burgess, - Toc H Marks, Branches, Projects, and Other Activities.* Recorded by M. Burgess, on 6 March 2013 and 29 March 2016.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

⁸⁹ *Toc H Oral Histories Project. Oral History, J. Burgess, - Clayton and Toc H, Its Essence and Legacy.* Recorded by M. Burgess, on 5 March 2015 and 28 March 2016.

⁹⁰ Brown, *Religion and Society in Twentieth Century Britain*, p. 202.

war-time jobs, wives were discouraged from working, and young women were encouraged to marry and raise families.⁹¹ However, gradually more educational and work opportunities for them became available.⁹² Also, since the war women tended to be less prepared than before to take the responsibility for the religious lives of their families.⁹³ Toc H's activities would seem to have helped to mitigate the effects of these problems, as it sought to act itself as a 'Family', and its work focused on building relationships between individuals and in communities. These developments relate to the theme of the Toc H Women. Consideration should be given to the likelihood that the above changes provided the social climate for the development of the role of its Women's Organisation. Its activities changed over its history from providing a supporting role to the Toc H Marks, to it developing its own social welfare and community development work, and, as was noted earlier, the Toc H Men's and Women's Organisations worked increasingly more closely together and merged in 1971.⁹⁴

The problems referred to earlier regarding the youth culture of this period would seem to have begun in the 1940s, and had continued and widened, as they contended with issue including new views on morality and sexual ethics, and the general social climate of 'lethargy' and 'apathy' towards religion.⁹⁵ Especially in the later 1950s and early 1960s many were leaving their churches and becoming interested in the new ideas and beliefs of the times.⁹⁶ They were also affected by the new theologies of the period, which stressed 'action in the world' and individual freedom and responsibility, and by the churches becoming more involved in social and political movements.⁹⁷ Increasingly they were losing their religious beliefs and challenging authority, and there were concerns at what was described as the development of juvenile delinquency.⁹⁸ Jos Sheard has described that very many

⁹¹ Ibid., p. 202.

⁹² Ibid., p. 205.

⁹³ Ibid., pp. 186, 187, 203.

⁹⁴ *Toc H Oral Histories Project. Oral History*, J. Burgess, - *Clayton and Toc H, Its Essence and Legacy*. Recorded by M. Burgess, on 5 March 2013 and 28 March 2016.

⁹⁵ Brown, *Religion and Society in Twentieth Century Britain*, pp. 215, 216.

⁹⁶ Ibid., p. 140.

⁹⁷ Ibid., p. 101.

organisations for young volunteers were developed at this time, including Community Service Volunteers and Task Force.⁹⁹ He has suggested that Government was looking at this as a positive way of addressing their concerns about young people, but that these expectations would seemed to have been unrealistic in that young and inexperienced volunteers were unlikely to be able to do more than mask the underlying problems within social services and within society.¹⁰⁰ Regardless of the above difficulties, the 'Aves Report, The Voluntary Worker in the Social Services', has argued that volunteering was an effective way of delivering complementary services to those provided by paid staff. Its recommendations also included that professional management was needed to support this.¹⁰¹ He has felt that the proposals from this report provided a good basis for a national structure for voluntary organisations across the country, and that its proposals resulted in the 1970s in an increase in the professionalism of the voluntary sector. This resulted in the establishment of the Voluntary Services Unit of the Home Office and the Volunteer Centre U. K., and the development across the country of a range of paid posts to support volunteering.¹⁰²

This Section ends with a consideration of the developments in religious life in Britain over the period covered in this Chapter, and this focuses on those which are particularly relevant to Toc H. As considered earlier in more general terms, it would seem that of particular note has been what took place in the 1960s period. McLeod has described that this was a time when Britain and other countries were experiencing dramatic changes with regard to religion, and he has highlighted the particular importance within this period of the 'Long 1960s', from around 1958 to 1974.¹⁰³ He has suggested that the early years of the

⁹⁸ Ibid., pp. 215 - 216.

⁹⁹ J. Sheard, Chapter Five, 'From lady bountiful to active citizen', Davis Smith, Rochester and Hedley, (eds.), *An Introduction to the Voluntary Sector*, p. 117.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰¹ G. M. Aves, 'The Voluntary Worker in the Social Services' (London 1967), in Sheard, Chapter Five, 'From lady bountiful to active citizen', in Davis Smith, Rochester and Hedley,(eds.), *An Introduction to the Voluntary Sector*, p. 117.

¹⁰² J. Sheard, Chapter Five, 'From lady bountiful to active citizen', in Davis Smith, Rochester and Hedley, (eds.), *An Introduction to the Voluntary Sector*, p. 117.

1960s connected the years after the war, when the public was seeking to ‘return to normality’ and were contending with the height of the Cold War, with the experimentation and ‘utopian hopes’ of ‘1968’.¹⁰⁴ With regard to the specific impact of the ‘Long Nineteen Sixties’ period, he has identified the following four main components to these changes. Firstly, from the 1950s to the 1970s the public were finding out more about a variety of new belief systems, and this then developed so that by the 1980s and 1990s people were often mixing together various beliefs to form their own personal versions of spirituality. Secondly, in the 1960s and 1970s it was being felt that people were not very deeply Christian, to the extent that they were being described as ‘secular’. Thirdly, less was being done to develop children to be part of a Christian society. Fourthly, the Second Vatican Council appeared to have led to Catholics and other Christians becoming closer.¹⁰⁵ McLeod has described the importance of the 1962-65 Vatican II, that Catholics and Protestants were becoming involved as Christians in various social and political movements of this time, and that many Protestants were becoming involved in ‘action’ in the ‘world’.¹⁰⁶ It is noted that the ‘Long 1960s’ saw a decline in church going, especially in many Catholic churches, and that in England there was a decrease in the participation in church ‘rites of passage’.¹⁰⁷ McLeod has also noted the following changes: those of affluence, gender and sexuality, the ‘new movements and ideals’ of 1968, and the ‘conflicts ... from attempts at church reform and theological modernisation’.¹⁰⁸

Conclusion.

This Chapter has analysed the development of Toc H, Christianity and society in

¹⁰³ McLeod, *The Religious Crisis of the 1960s*, p. 1.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid, p. 82.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., pp. 1-2.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., p. 101.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., p. 214.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., p, 260.

this 1946 to 1972 period, from the viewpoint of the various research questions and themes of this thesis, and has identified the following as the main factors which have affected its development over this time. It has been found that this was when Clayton's influence was somewhat decreasing, with his change in the focus of his work, his overseas travelling, his health and personal crisis, and the concerns of some in the organisation about his future. In addition, the development of the organisation was found to have been affected by the following issues: the problems with the Marks, matters regarding the organisation's decision-making, the disappointment that it did not grow generally as had been expected after the war, and the difficulties of closing most of its war-time Services Clubs. However, it has been noted that it then moved from its lack of focus following the end of the war to a rebuilding and re-focusing in the new post-war situation, that by the 1970s it had developed its strategies for future development, and that the lucrative sale of its Headquarters had provided it with the funding to enable this to happen. Further positive factors in its development over this period have been identified as the introduction of its 'Weekend Toc H' and national Projects Programme, the eventual merger between the Toc H Men's and Women's Organisations, and the further growth of Toc H overseas. It has been noted that at the same time that Clayton's impact was decreasing, the influence of the changes in society were increasing, with the introduction of the welfare state and the effects of the 'Long Nineteen Sixties'. Other issues explored have been the growth of Britain's multi-racial and multi-faith society, changes in the roles of women, and the problems of the new youth culture. The responses of Toc H to these matters has also been considered.

A Study of the Origins, History, Essence and Legacy of Toc H, a Christian, Voluntary, Social Welfare Services Organisation in Twentieth Century Britain.

Chapter Four - Toc H and Society After Clayton, and the Essence and Legacy of the Organisation.

Introduction.

This Chapter first draws together various perspectives on Clayton's personality. It then examines how the Toc H of his times has interrelated with the main developments in the period from after his death until the present, and this has enabled the story to be completed of its overall history and of its essence and legacy. The importance of this Chapter has included that it has described those of Clayton's qualities which have most affected its development, and that it has gone on to consider the context of the effects on it of the changes in society and in the voluntary sector over this period. In addition, the following questions have been explored. What has been the nature of Clayton's contribution? How did his attitudes influence the organisation? How was the organisation of his time affected by events in the period from after his death to the present? What has it been about Toc H that has brought so many to feel that their experience of it was important and often life-changing? What is its essence and its legacy?

An Overview of Clayton's Character and His Legacy to Toc H.

This perspective on Clayton's character builds on the descriptions of him in previous Chapters and deepens the understanding of his contribution to the organisation. His eulogy by Austen Williams, (then) Vicar of St. Martin-in-the-Fields, was given at the 1972 Service of Thanksgiving for his life, and this focused on his positive effect on many people

and his invitation to those he met to ‘come and see’ with him that they could find God in their everyday lives.¹ John Durham, who was Clayton’s Deputy Vicar at All Hallows Church, has commented about him more generally:

It was, I think, this imaginative power which, more than anything else, made him the creative person he proved to be. ... His work at All Hallows breathed fresh life into it. ... The Mark, at its best so different from a hostel, was his brain-child. ... Toc H and All Hallows ... would have provided most men with more than enough to do, but to these Tubby added the Chaplaincies of B.P., (British Petroleum), and the Port of London Authority; Tower Hill Improvement; work for lepers; work in oil tankers; the Winant Volunteers, innumerable articles in newspapers and magazines; and a seemingly endless correspondence. His concern for people was genuine and deep-rooted. ... He refused to admit defeat until he was knocked out. ... What he happened to be doing at the moment was for him the most important thing.²

Harcourt has described that of central importance was that:

He won men by trusting them. ... It was this faith in men ... that was the ground of of his ... real, deep friendships by the hundred, with royalty and unemployed, with capitalist and worker, men of all ages ... and friendship with man he counted the halfway house to friendship with God.³

His networking ability was also a key factor in the development of the organisation. Burgess has described that he developed wide-ranging connections through his family and at each stage of his life.⁴ Notable amongst these were that he developed Toc H groups of Members of Parliament in the House of Commons and in the House of Lords.⁵ Also Lever has noted that he was introduced to Lord Revelstoke, Head of the House of Baring, through the (then) Prince of Wales. Through this he was able to develop many connections with businesses in the City of London and elsewhere.⁶ Clayton and the Prince of

¹ Revd. A. Williams, Vicar of St. Martin-in-the Fields, 'Come and see! The text of his address at the Service of Thanksgiving for Clayton's life, St. Paul's Cathedral, London. 1972.

² J. Durham, 'An appreciation of the life of the Revd. P. B. Clayton', *Toc H Point Three Magazine*, February, 1973, p. 21. Durham was for several years Clayton's Deputy Vicar at All Hallows Church, and he edited his books, *Talbot House to Tower Hill* and *Tubby on Toc H*.

³ Harcourt, *Tubby Clayton*, p. 115.

⁴ *Toc H Oral Histories Project. Oral History*, J. Burgess, - *Clayton and Toc H, Its Essence and Legacy*. Recorded by M. Burgess, on 5 March 2013 and 28 March 2016.

⁵ Harcourt, *Tubby Clayton*, p. 112.

⁶ Letter - Prince of Wales to Lord Revelstoke, 30 October 1922, in T. Lever, *Clayton of Toc H*, pp. 126, 127.

Wales had first met at Talbot House during the First World War, and in October 1921 the Prince of Wales had said that ‘Toc H is plainly one of the best things of its kind emerging from the years of sacrifice’.⁷ From then onwards, and up to the Abdication Crisis, they gave each other much support.⁸ In 1933 Clayton was made a Companion of Honour.⁹ Then in 1936, by which time the Prince of Wales was King Edward VIII, he became his Chaplain.¹⁰ However, later that year came the Abdication Crisis.¹¹ Then later he also became Chaplain to Queen Elizabeth, the Queen Mother.¹² It would seem to be an example of his extremely good people skills that he was able to maintain both these relationships throughout the Abdication Crisis. Fabes has described that Clayton was very much an ‘establishment man’, and has expressed his surprise that his close relationship with Edward VIII was not more of an issue in the circumstances of that time.¹³

Much of Clayton’s networking was around his activities to raise funds for the organisation, the issue which is next considered. It would appear that the money from this was the main source of its income throughout most of its history. Burgess has noted that Clayton was able to attract for it donations from wealthy friends and contacts, and considerable patronage, both in money and in kind, and including a number of gifts of properties. The organisation was often lacking in money, and on several occasions it was able to keep going or to expand due to selling these properties and its other assets, many of which increased substantially in their value over time. Burgess has described the following examples of such situations: the sale of the Toc H Box at the Royal Albert Hall in 2007 for

126, 127).

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Lever, *Clayton of Toc H*, p. 125.

⁹ Ibid., 190.

¹⁰ Ibid,

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Toc H Headquarters, File of papers relating to Toc H's association with the Royal Family, Section 4, 4G, Toc H Archives, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham.

¹³ As described earlier, Fabes, as an ex Staff Member, has been interviewed as one of the 'last witnesses' to Clayton, for the Documentary Film on Clayton and Talbot House. This is being produced by Talbot House in collaboration with the Flanders Tourist Board, and is expected to be finalised by the end of 2016.

£1 million, and of the organisation's respective Headquarters buildings, - that in Trinity Square, London in 1972, its successor building in Wendover in 2004, and then in 2012 the building in Whitchurch which replaced that. He has suggested that the property sale which would appear to have most turned around the organisation's finances was the sale in 1972, of its Trinity Square Headquarters building for £2.2 million. Also, as the Headquarters moved into the premises which had been the RAF Halton Services Club, there was a further considerable saving as another building therefore did not have to be bought.¹⁴ A flavour of the health of the organisation's finances during this period and of the success of its financial transactions can be gained from the fact that its assets gradually increased over the years, until by 1993 - 94 these were at a total of £6,337,430.¹⁵

Burgess has noted that, in addition to Clayton's central role in the organisation's fundraising, consideration should be given to the important effect of his general approach to involving people in his work. Usually he would ask those that he met to do something for him, and in this way he would begin to involve them, and then increasingly he would ask them to do more. He believed in them and in their willingness and ability to help with what he asked of them, and this would gradually develop their abilities and their relationship and feelings of connection with him and with the organisation. These feelings would then also spread exponentially to their relationships with others, and this helped some to start or develop their relationship with God.¹⁶ It would also appear that his approach has been mirrored in the way that the Marks, Branches, Projects and other activities have operated. In similar ways these have provided opportunities for participants to become engaged in these activities, and then through their acceptance of such invitations, they have developed

¹⁴ *Toc H Oral Histories Project. Oral History*, J. Burgess, - *Clayton and Toc H, Its Essence and Legacy*. Recorded by M. Burgess, on 5 March 2013 and 28 March 2016.

¹⁵ *Toc H Accounts 1993 - 94*, *Toc H Annual Report, 1994*, *Toc H Point Three Magazine*, p. 91, Section 6, 6G, *Toc H Archives*, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham.

¹⁶ *Toc H Oral Histories Project. Oral History*, J. Burgess, - *Clayton and Toc H, Its Essence and Legacy*. Recorded by M. Burgess, on 5 March 2013 and 28 March 2016.

deepening relationships.¹⁷ The following matters, which have been described earlier, have provided further examples of the organisation mirroring Clayton. It would seem that he lacked interest in campaigning and in politics as such, and also that the organisation had a policy not to undertake such activities. For example, he would seem to have been uninterested in the problems which caused the National Strike of 1926, and it would appear that similarly the organisation only once in its history made a stand on a political issue. This was over apartheid in South Africa, where it had seemed that there was no option but to do so.¹⁸ In addition, he and the organisation have had an independent-minded and ambivalent approach to authority. For example, towards the end of the First World War he did not close Talbot House when the Army authorities ordered him to do so because of the danger from the advancing German troops. Instead he managed to get this decision reversed. Also the Branches' approach to central policy making has seemingly included that they reserved the right not to take notice of what Central Office decided.¹⁹ Further such mirroring has included that generally he tended to operate in a fairly ad hoc manner, and that this has been resembled in the organisation's lack of planning and strategy over much of its history.²⁰ In addition, they have both had very positive and often life-changing effects on many people, and often helped them to find God, a faith to live by or meaning in their lives.²¹

It is noted that previous writings about Clayton have tended to portray him in an idealised way. However, this thesis has sought to avoid doing this and also to examine some of the less positive aspects of his character. It has been found earlier that he could become irritable and bad tempered if he became ill and was overworking. In addition, Harcourt has described that he 'expected the impossible of his aides and curates, and became extremely

¹⁷ *Toc H Oral Histories Project. Oral History*, J. Burgess, - *Clayton and Toc H, Its Essence and Legacy*. Recorded by M. Burgess, on 5 March 2013 and 28 March 2016.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Ibid.

irritable if through sickness or circumstances he was immobilised', and also that he was 'oddly insensitive to the limitations ... and the weaknesses of other men'.²² Prideaux-Brune has also noted that he had a somewhat 'poetic' approach to facts.²³

Not only were his listeners intellectually convinced (by what he said), ... they were made to feel that Tubby's cause was their cause. Those of us, however, who heard the same story told day after day began to notice that the figures which he quoted so confidently to his argument varied considerably from one day to another. ... He did not bother about the surface truths of facts and figures; his concern was with the deeper, underlying... poetic truth. His intuitive mind had grasped the main point at issue. Facts and figures were inserted only to help those with more prosaic minds, ... to grasp his point. Viewed from that perspective, the facts which most effectively conveyed the point were 'right'. ... I'm not suggesting that this 'poetic' approach to statistics was consciously adopted. I'm sure ... that he was totally convinced of the literal truth of the figures he quoted at the time he gave them.²⁴

The views of the Church and of the Armed Forces have added the following perspectives of him, and these have related to the theme of the relationship of the organisation and of himself with these institutions. These relationships were different in the two organisations, but he had strong friendships with various key senior people in both of them. That his relationship with the Church of England was generally good has been exemplified by his work in recruiting ordinands in Poperinge and then at the Knutsford Test Centre, his setting up of the Ordinands Fund, his appointment and work as Vicar of All Hallows Church, and his fundraising for it to be rebuilt after it was bombed. Also, in 1954 the Church awarded him a Doctor of Divinity.²⁵ However, Lever has suggested that some in the Church saw him as 'a tiresome saint - difficult, awkward, unpredictable' ... and who 'might fly off the handle at inconvenient moments'.²⁶ It would seem that this institution mainly ignored both him and the organisation for most of his life. Lever's view was that this was possibly because it preferred to work with men who were considered to be 'safe', 'dependable', and 'unlikely to give trouble'.²⁷ It is noted that Clayton's and Toc H's

²² Harcourt, *Tubby Clayton*, p.109.

²³ Prideaux-Brune, *A Living Witness*, p. 4.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Lever, *Clayton of Toc H*, p. 240.

²⁶ Ibid.

relationships with the Armed Forces seemingly have also been mixed ones. It has been found earlier that he had provided considerable support to the troops in the First World War, and had maintained many good relationships with senior Army officers. However, serving troops mostly did not become involved in the organisation after the war ended, and this was despite the assurances of Clayton and the Army authorities that there was no problems in them doing so.²⁸ In addition, whilst the large number of Toc H Services Clubs gave support to very many troops in the Second World War, following their closure after this ended, the organisation undertook relatively little work with the Army, and there was a big argument within it about whether its aims in its Royal Charter should be amended to reflect this change.²⁹ Whilst it would seem likely that the relationship between the organisation and the Army would have been affected by the development of the Royal British Legion, no evidence has been found of this.

An Overview of the Impact on Toc H of Developments from 1973 to the Present Time.

This Section describes how the organisation was affected by the main changes during the period from when Clayton died up until the present time. It has been noted earlier that the big change in much of Western society towards the end of the twentieth century was that it developed from being industrial, (modern) to post-industrial (post modern), and consequently that the industrial conurbations, their industries and religious organisations were declining.³⁰ Also the following more specific changes have been identified. For example, this was a time when there developed ‘supermarket religion’, where the general public had a much wider choice of religions, and participation in religious activity was no longer seen as a duty. In addition, patterns of ‘believing without ‘belonging’, especially

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Snape, *God and the British Soldier*, p. 119.

²⁹ Toc H Headquarters, Papers to Central Council, Toc H Royal Charter and Byelaws, 10 June 1971. Section 2, SP2-L, Toc H Archives, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham.

³⁰ Davie, *Religion in Britain since 1945*, p. 193, 194.

among the working class, were growing.³¹ Beckford has described that ‘believing’ and ‘belonging’ became detached from each other, and that this has linked with the issue that almost all voluntary organisations were having problems in finding new recruits. Also, increasingly volunteers for charitable work were no longer necessarily doing this because of religious reasons.³² Then in the late 1970s and 1980s the country suffered from an economic recession.³³ All of this would have affected the organisation at least to some extent.

During this time the organisation was further developing its national policies, with its 1973 adoption of the ‘Action for the Seventies’ policy, the third document about its way forward for the Seventies.³⁴ This introduced a four Regional structure, with each region having responsibility for its own resources and for the deployment of its staff, and it replaced the District Teams with much smaller District Executives. It also aimed to increase the involvement of the membership in making key decisions and to reduce the organisation’s administration.³⁵ Then in 1985 Lindridge House, a further Toc H centre, was opened in Devon, and this was used mostly to support the development of the national Projects Programme.³⁶ The organisation’s next big step came in 1989 when it made the policy change of acknowledging formally its move away from its directly ‘Christianising’ role, changing its focus to that of supporting people to find a form of meaning in their lives.³⁷ Its Central Council meeting adopted a Focus Resolution stating that Toc H would ‘provide opportunities for people to meet who would not otherwise do so, to develop fellowship, to work together and to discover a faith to live by’.³⁸ This was accompanied by its ‘Statement of

³¹ Ibid.

³² Ibid.

³³ *Toc H Oral Histories Project. Oral History*, J. Burgess - Clayton and Toc H, *Its Essence and Legacy*. Recorded by M. Burgess, on 5 March 2013 and 28 March 2016.

³⁴ T. Hulbert and others in Toc H, ‘Action for the Seventies’, 1972. Section 2, SP2, Toc H Archives, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham.

³⁵ Ibid., and Prideaux-Brune, *Times' Mirror*, p. 72.

³⁶ Prideaux-Brune. *Time's Mirror*, p. 59.

³⁷ *Toc H Oral Histories Project. Oral History*, J. Burgess - Clayton and Toc H, *Its Essence and Legacy*. Recorded by M. Burgess, on 5 March 2013 and 28 March 2016.

³⁸ Prideaux-Brune, *Time's Mirror*, p. 76.

Reaffirmation'. Whilst this said that it was 'based in Christian insights and had Christian roots', it went on to describe that it was about 'a discovery of meaning, a test of belief, and an exploration of spirituality with an openness to the Christian way'.³⁹ Prideaux-Brune has suggested that 'it's in that discovery of meaning that the uniqueness of Toc H lies',⁴⁰ A further main change in 1989 was that it was decided that the organisation would focus its work into a number of main groupings, which were described as 'methods'. These were to be Branches and Groups, Projects, Friendship Circles, and CAMEOs, (Come and Meet Each Other), events.⁴¹ Friendship Circles were self help support groups for a mix of people with mental health problems and Toc H volunteers, and CAMEOs developed from the earlier 'Weekend Toc H' activities, and they brought together as a group of equals those who would not usually meet, such as social workers and their clients, or young and old people. These groups then discussed together an issue which was important to them.⁴²

Burgess has considered that it would with hindsight seem surprising that the organisation's new policy framework did not include having national responses to the following two initiatives affecting Government, the Churches and voluntary organisations. His view has been that this was because this was too close to being campaigning or political activity.⁴³ The first of these examples arose from the general situation in the country, where from 1979 the Conservative Government of Margaret Thatcher was in office. This Government was reducing public services and closing old industries, and this in turn was leading to much conflict between the State and industries, and then in 1984 there was the National Coal Strike.⁴⁴ In response to this situation, the Church of England produced its 1985 Faith in the City Report, and this led to subsequent conflict between church leaders and

³⁹ Ibid., p, 79.

⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 80.

⁴¹ Ibid., p. 76.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ *Toc H Oral Histories Project. Oral History*, J. Burgess, - *Clayton and Toc H, Its Essence and Legacy*. Recorded by M. Burgess, on 5 March 2013 and 28 March 2016.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

the Government.⁴⁵ However, whilst Toc H had internal discussions on this report, it would seem not to have taken any formal action on it.⁴⁶ The second example is regarding the development in of an increasingly multi-racial and multi-faith society, and in the last quarter of the century there was much growth in the numbers of many black and Asian religious groups.⁴⁷ There was therefore the need for there to be inter-faith and relationship-building activities with these, and, since one of the main aims of the organisation was about building communities, it is would appear to have been work that the organisation would have wanted to become involved with on a national basis. However, its response to this would seem to have been confined mostly to the work of Tom Gulliver, a Staff Member who was particularly interested in this. Whilst he ran a number of interfaith weekends at the Toc H Cuddesdon House,⁴⁸ there does not appear to have been any wider response to this matter.⁴⁹

The next issue considered takes forward the theme of Toc H's finances, with an exploration of its relationship with Government's contracting arrangements during the period of what has been broadly described as the contract culture. This development has been described in the summary description in Chapter One of the history of the development of the voluntary sector, which is based on *An Introduction to the Voluntary Sector*, by Davis Smith, Rochester, and Hedley, (eds.).⁵⁰ Burgess has noted that Government was moving further towards the delivery of services through service level agreements and contracts with the independent sector, and that voluntary and other organisations were becoming more accountable to it and to other funders. He has identified that it can be seen with hindsight that one of the biggest issues for the organisation at this time was its relationship with this increasing contract culture, and that this was an issue which would appear to have affected

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Brown, *Religion and Society in Twentieth-Century Britain*, p. 291.

⁴⁸ Prideaux-Brune, *Time's Mirror*, pp. 75, 76.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Davis Smith, Rochester, and Hedley, (eds.), *An Introduction to the Voluntary Sector*. especially Introduction and Chapter One, pp. 1-8 and 9-35.

both those organisations which participated in such arrangements and those which did not.⁵¹ Such arrangements would appear to have been positive in many ways, bringing to charitable activities more clarity about matters such as inputs, outputs and outcomes, better governance measures regarding how money was used, value for money assessments of their activities, and more partnership working. However, in order for these to work successfully, there was the need for the organisations involved to have sound decision-making and governance processes, for the funders and the funded to have good understandings of each other, of the processes involved and of partnership working, and for the voluntary organisations to become much less independent.⁵²

Burgess has analysed that for most of the organisation's history it avoided engagement with such funding arrangements, both because it wished to retain its ability to act independently and because it was in a position to do so. It would seem that Clayton's independent approach to authority in his lifetime continued to be reflected in its ethos. However, from 1972 Clayton was no longer there to network with his friends and contacts and obtain from them financial and other support.⁵³ In addition, Julia Unwin, from the Joseph Rowntree Foundation, has analysed that the nature of philanthropy had changed over the years, with a decrease in its availability and the attachment to it of more conditions.⁵⁴ This would appear to be a further issue for the organisation, and it would seem that it had a need to find an ongoing and regular source of funding. However, what would appear to have happened instead was that its properties became used as security against any deficit funding or financial risks which it incurred, and that this therefore made it possible for it to base its financial strategies on deficit funding.⁵⁵ Whilst this would appear to have been helpful to it

⁵¹ *Toc H Oral Histories Project. Oral History*, J. Burgess, - *Clayton and Toc H, Its Essence and Legacy*. Recorded by M. Burgess, on 5 March 2013 and 28 March 2016.

⁵² *Ibid.*

⁵³ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴ J. Unwin, Chief Executive, Joseph Rowntree Foundation, Lecture - 'Philanthropy Then, Philanthropy Now', Gresham College, London, on 20.3.2012. Attendance at this lecture by M. Burgess, and notes of this received from the College and own notes consulted.

on a short term basis, it would seem that this became a negative factor in its development as it increasingly came to rely on this approach.⁵⁶ An alternative way of funding for the organisation was to consider becoming involved in the increasing contract culture, but it is noted that a decision by any voluntary organisation to do so would appear to have needed to take into account the further issues explored below.

Jos Sheard has suggested that from the beginning of the 1990s there have been two opposing aspects to voluntary sector organisations becoming involved in this new contract culture. On the one hand the Conservative Government had encouraged volunteering over the previous 15 years, and what it termed ‘voluntarism’ has been an ongoing component of its policies. Also, the Home Office’s 1990 Efficiency Scrutiny of Government Funding of the Voluntary Sector ‘had recommended that priority be given to funding organisations which ‘promote the recruitment and use of volunteers,’ (which they considered was) ‘a desirable activity in its own right, and ... a very cost-effective way of providing desirable services’.⁵⁷ In addition, John Major in particular, and also other politicians, were promoting ‘Active Citizenship’, which focused on people’s responsibilities as citizens, together with the Citizen’s Charters of the time which emphasised their rights.⁵⁸ In 1992 a Home Office paper, ‘The individual and the Community: The role of the Voluntary Sector’, described that:

The Government will ... aim to increase awareness of the opportunities for volunteering. Its leaders will stress the benefits of volunteering, and encourage participation. ... The Government believes there is much scope to encourage more people of all ages and from all sections of society to volunteer time and skills to benefit the community.⁵⁹

⁵⁵ *Toc H Oral Histories Project. Oral History*, J. Burgess, - Clayton and Toc H, *Its Essence and Legacy*. Recorded by M. Burgess, on 5 March 2013 and 28 March 2016.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ Jos Sheard, Chapter Five, ‘From lady bountiful to active citizen’, p. 124. , in Davis- Smith, Rochester, and Hedley, (eds.), *An Introduction to the Voluntary Sector*, p. 124.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ Home Office, ‘The Individual and the Community: The Role of the Voluntary Sector’, (1992, London), in Sheard, Chapter Five, ‘From lady bountiful to active citizen; volunteering and the voluntary sector’, in Davis Smith, Rochester and Headley, *An Introduction to the Voluntary Sector*.

However, Sheard has identified on the negative side that the context for this had been various public spending reductions which led to budget cuts in both central and local Government. These in turn were leading to them reducing the amount of services which they could provide and focusing their funding on the central aspects of their service provision. In turn this was resulting in reductions in the amounts of funding made available for voluntary organisations, and for example leading to funding problems for the many Volunteer Co-ordinator and other such support posts which had by then been established.⁶⁰ He has also identified that this contracting approach, with its emphasises on specific targets of amounts and quality, would seem to have been leading voluntary organisations to base more of their services on paid staff in preference to volunteers. He has considered such decisions to be based on the views in voluntary organisations that in this way outcomes could be better managed, and he has found that this was leading to them losing volunteers.⁶¹

At this stage the decision for Toc H would seem to have been taken on the basis of the underlying principle to this contracting approach. In March 1992 the issue of whether Toc H should undertake contract work was debated at a Central Council meeting. John Mitchell, a Toc H Staff Member and its Director for two periods of office, argued that it should not do this, on the basis that the ethos of contracting was not compatible with the formal relationship of 'legally enforceable contracts' between 'service users' and Social Service Departments and their agents. However, the opposing case was that this was the way that funding was being allocated by Government and others and that it was likely that money would only be available from them on this basis.⁶² Fabes has pointed out that bidding for funding in competition with other similar voluntary organisations posed a big problem for many at that meeting, that the organisation had limited business expertise at that time, and

⁶⁰ Ibid., p. 125.

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² J. Mitchell, 'The Future of Friendship Circles', *Toc H Point Three Magazine*, March 1992, p. 6.

that the debate on this matter, quite uniquely, led to a split vote.⁶³ The outcome which followed from this was that the Central Executive Committee supported Mitchell's position, This, for example, in turn this led to it not accepting Lottery funding for a large Toc H Friendship Circles project.⁶⁴

Further main changes then came in 1996, when the organisation restructured from four Areas to three Regional Divisions, and decided to employ one fundraiser in each of these. However, they raised very little money in comparison with the amount needed.⁶⁵ Then, from around 2,000 the situation began to change more substantially, and it was decided that in order for the organisation to survive, it was necessary to change to engaging with contracting.⁶⁶ This also led to a new organisational structure being introduced. A National Management Committee informally replaced the Central Council and Central Executive.⁶⁷ This was then implemented formally in July 2002 when its Royal Charter was amended to reflect this. New Branch Regulations governing the relationship between the Branches and the Centre were also introduced, and in 2004 there came the first A.G.M. under these new arrangements. It would seem that these measures made its corporate decision-making much simpler, clearer and quicker, but that it did not resolve the wider issue of the tensions between its component parts.⁶⁸

The organisation also took the further step of deploying members of its staff to

⁶³ Note about the debate on contracting and on other issues in this thesis, from R. Fabes to M. Burgess, 16 July 2016.

⁶⁴ J. Mitchell, 'The Future of Friendship Circles', Toc H *Point Three* Magazine, March 1992, p. 6.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ Smith, 'Building a Stronger Toc H for Success', Toc H *Point Three* Magazine, December 2002, p. 3.

⁶⁷ *Toc H Oral Histories Project. Oral History*, J. Burgess, - Clayton and Toc H, *Its Essence and Legacy*. Recorded by M. Burgess, on 5 March 2013 and 28 March 2016. Also Toc H Royal Charter and By-Laws, June 1971, with amended in July 2002. Section 2, SP2, Toc H Archives, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham.

⁶⁸ 'Toc H Branch Regulations', July 2002; Letter from Revd. G. Smith, (then) Director, to Branch Chairs - 'Changes in Branch Regulations', 2002; Paper from Sir R. Jacklin, (then) Chairman, to Branch Chairs, 'New Branch Regulations', 2007. All at Section 2, SP2, Toc H Archives, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham.

seek and negotiate for large national and other contracts with Government and other organisations. This led to much growth in its activities over a relatively short period of time, and included it moving into new areas of work, such as investing in Academies, running children's nurseries, and developing new partnership relationships with the State and with other organisations.⁶⁹ It would appear that, whilst much of this was positive, especially its increased partnership working, in order for these initiatives to be successful it needed to build up new expertise and take on new staff to undertake this additional work. At the same time it was inducting the new staff, training all the staff in the skills required for this new work, keeping all the work going, ensuring that the requirements of the new contracts were being met, and undertaking bidding for further new work. In addition, the roles of the old staff were changing and there was much staff turnover. Then in 2008 all these developments were halted when the organisation suffered its major financial crisis, which was seemingly triggered by problems regarding its overdraft with Barclays, its bank.

This resulted in the April of that year in the Toc H Board of Trustees taking the decision that they needed to begin the process of closing down the organisation. Sir Roger Jacklin, the (then) Chairman of this Board, wrote an open letter breaking this news.⁷⁰ The following extract from this has given the Board's perspective on what happened:

The reasons for the decision about closure are rooted in the finances of the organisation. ... It would be easy to look at the present Board and say that this is as a result of our management. The reality is one of deficit funding for a period of nearly twenty years. We have been living on our financial capital for all these years and past Central Committees and Boards have accepted this as being the norm. The world of 2008 is very different to the one faced in the past. Today banks do not welcome overdrafts and ... we cannot sustain bank overdrafts with the expectation of drawing on investments. In addition, it is clear that the 'contract culture' that dominates the delivery of community services is not kind to small national organisations. The costs of raising funds through contracts does not allow for sufficient cover for management costs. Add to this a wide geographical spread and it becomes impossible to sustain both work on the ground and the necessary and appropriate support for staff.⁷¹

⁶⁹ Smith, 'Director's Briefing', September 2004.

⁷⁰ Sir R. Jacklin, 'The Future of Toc H'. Open letter on behalf of the Toc H Board of Trustees, May 2008. Section 26, ADD 39, Toc H Archives, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham.

Terry Drummond, the organisation's current Chair, has described this situation similarly in his Oral History recording.⁷² In the event the organisation's closure was able to be averted. With support and advice from Baker Tilly, an accountancy and business advisory company recommended by Barclays, it was able to continue in operation at a much reduced rate, and by 2012 to succeed in balancing its budget.⁷³

It would seem that the changes described above were crucial ones in the story of the organisation, marking its crossing over from the ways in which the old style voluntary organisations had operated to those in which the voluntary sector of the 1990s has needed to do. The position as at the organisation's 2015 Annual General Meeting was as follows. Since its financial crisis it has been managed, by a volunteer Trustee Board, and a paid Administrator, with some typing help. It is comprised of totals of 526 members and 19 U. K. Branches, plus some Branches overseas.⁷⁴ It has been making modest plans for the future, including the formation of two new Branches. In addition, it continues to manage its Weirside Centre, in the Lake District, has a Toc H minibus, and supports Alison House, in Derbyshire, which now runs as a hotel. The members continue with their local social welfare and community development activities, although most are now elderly, and some meet together purely for friendship and mutual support.⁷⁵ The organisation has also maintained its links with Talbot House, which has continued as a centre where people can visit or stay. This has developed a museum, telling the story of its history, and many English school children and others have visited there as part of their studies of the First World War.⁷⁶ The question as to its long-term future in Britain's current social climate is beyond the remit of this historical

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² *Toc H Oral Histories Project. Oral History*, T. Drummond, Chair, Toc H Board of Trustees. Recorded by M. Burgess, on 16 November 2015.

⁷³ Papers re. Toc H Annual General Meeting, October 2012. Section 2, SP2, Toc H Archives, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham.

⁷⁴ Papers re. Toc H Annual General Meeting, October 2015. Also attendance at this meeting by M. Burgess.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ *Toc H Oral Histories Project. Oral History*, J. Burgess, - *Clayton and Toc H, Its Essence and Legacy*. Recorded by M. Burgess, on 5 March 2013 and 28 March 2016.

research, but meanwhile, its essence and legacy is explored.

Toc H's Essence and Legacy

It is noted that, whilst the terms of essence and legacy have been defined earlier, it is nevertheless difficult to capture what they have meant in practice for the organisation. Before this is addressed, there is the following examination of what have been the barriers to understanding this. A perspective on these barriers, from a (then) new member who wrote to the *Point Three* Magazine in April 1993, was that:

Many people I have spoken to seem to be unaware of what Toc H does, or else to have an image of it as an old-fashioned organisation connected in some way with the First World War.⁷⁷

Burgess has commented that this would appear to have not changed substantially today, and that the reasons for this have included the following.⁷⁸ It has continued to be a problem that it has an unclear image.⁷⁹ In addition, there has been the difficulty of its somewhat 'secret society' and dated feeling about it, due for example to its use of ceremonials and rituals, its 'Rushlights' and Lamps and its internal Borden Company.⁸⁰ Also, the breadth of its scope and its fairly intangible aims have meant that it has been difficult to market, which has been exacerbated by its undertaking very little formal publicity and tending to rely mostly on communication by word of mouth.⁸¹

The view of Jim Rutherford, the (then) Principal Officer of Dumbarton District Social Services, has added to this. At the Toc H National Projects Conference in October 1975 he advised that 'our contact with other voluntary organisations is not as good as it might

⁷⁷ 'Reflections of a New Member', - Letter from M. Davies to Toc H, Toc H *Point Three* Magazine, April 1993, p. 14.

⁷⁸ *Toc H Oral Histories Project*. J. Burgess, *Oral History - Clayton and Toc H, Its Essence and Legacy*. Recorded by M. Burgess, on 5 March 2013 and 28 March 2016.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ Ibid. The Borden Company was named after a town called Borden, which is in Hampshire.

⁸¹ Ibid.

be', and that we should be much better at 'selling' Toc H.⁸² His advice would seem to have been relevant across its history:

The organisation could be said to be generally too inward looking and is not sufficiently conscious of the value of national publicity. ... At a local level, be clear in your own mind what exactly Toc H has to offer, before you go about trying to broaden your contacts.⁸³

Below are perspectives on the organisation's image from some non Toc H members attending a CAMEO session about Membership in 1975, and these too would seem to be applicable over its whole history:⁸⁴

My first impression was if you're not a Christian then forget it. ... What's this thing about Toc H breaking down barriers, when the Fourth Point implies that we must practice the Christian way of life, whilst the Second Point requires members 'by their example to challenge their neighbour to seek the way of Christ'. Surely these are considerable barriers to those who are not Christians? ⁸⁵

In addition the feeling was expressed that 'many older members seem to be stuck in their old ways and unable to practice fair-mindedness by not being able to accept the views of younger people'.⁸⁶ It would appear that the organisation generally has had particular difficulty in attracting young people into its Branches. Smith,⁸⁷ in an article in the Point Three Magazine of November 2004, has described that:

Its (Toc H's) membership is getting older and new people are not joining, because, on the whole, people don't join things these days. They will work alongside, volunteer, play a part, get involved, but largely... they don't join.⁸⁸

This article went on to describe some of the other challenges for the organisation, - that generally voluntary work was becoming more complex, for example due to new legislation, including Criminal Record Bureau checks, health and safety issues, and risk assessments, all of which have required specialist knowledge.⁸⁹ Burgess has felt that it would seem that these

⁸² National Projects Conference, October 1975, Toc H *Point Three* Magazine, December 1975, p. 215.

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ Article - 'A CAMEO about Membership', Toc H *Point Three* Magazine, February 1996, pp. 6.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁷ It was noted earlier that Revd. Canon G. Smith was the Toc H Director at this time.

⁸⁸ Smith, 'We're All Equal Here', Toc H *Point Three* Magazine, November 2004, p. 10.

developments were positive, being important protections for people, but also caused voluntary organisations to have extra administration and costs and some delays in activities being able to go ahead.⁹⁰ He has also noted that it would appear that the 'market place' has become much more competitive. For many years the organisation had been undertaking activities much ahead of others in the voluntary sector, including some of the first play-schemes and conservation work activities. However, these organisations then began doing this work too, and thus came into competition with it for staff, volunteers, finances, and customers. Especially relevant has been that, whilst its activities continued to be spread, many of these other organisations focussed only on single issues, and thus built up the competitive edge of their interest, skills and experiences regarding their respective specialisms.⁹¹

A further problem has been that, as described previously, although the organisation has sought to attract mixtures of people, in practice the situation has seemed somewhat different. The Editorial Comments in the *Toc H Journal* of April 1955, have described that:

There are far too many places where a Branch is often in danger of becoming a 'closed shop', a gathering in semi-secret of a small body of close friends.⁹²

As noted earlier, the close-knit relationships in the Branches facilitated the development of their strong friendships, but could have made it difficult for those to become involved whose backgrounds were different.⁹³ In fact Sue McWilliams, Editor of the *Toc Point Three* Magazine, has seen that this was not just a problem in the Branches, and has written in its

⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁰ *Toc H Oral Histories Project. Oral History*, J. Burgess, - *Clayton and Toc H, Its Essence and Legacy*. Recorded by M. Burgess, on 5 March 2013 and 28 March 2016.

⁹¹ Ibid. Also file - Health and Safety Policy Statement, Risk Assessment Form, Criminal Records Bureau Disclosure Application Form, and related papers. Section 1, SP1, Toc H Archives, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham.

⁹² Editor, (F. G. Chesworth), Editorial Comment, 'Spring Clean', *Toc H Journal*, April 1955, p. 126.

⁹³ *Toc H Oral Histories Project. Oral History*, J. Burgess, - *Toc H Marks, Branches, Projects, and Other Activities*. Recorded by M. Burgess, on 6 March 2013 and 29 March 2016.

December 1974 edition that:

We are not as good at attracting a real mixture of people as we should be. ... We do not have the variety, of age, of occupation, of opinion, that we ought to have. In particular we have done no more than dabble in the field of race relations'.⁹⁴

However, in contrast to the above problems, it has already been noted earlier that there have been many examples in Toc H's history of people describing that their experience with it was for them very important. Prideaux-Brune has added to this that for many thousands of people meeting Toc H has been one of the most significant events in their lives.⁹⁵ His *Point Three* Magazine article which is quoted below has provided an illustration of this. This extract from it has quoted a letter from a young visitor from Hann-Munden, in Germany, who worked for several weeks in the summer of 1970 as a volunteer at Prideaux House, Mark III, in Hackney, London. Afterwards he wrote that:

By experiencing a great variety of human joy and misery, deep below the surface appearance, have now come to understand and face truer aspects of life than I was able to do so before. ... saw the Hackney the normal ... parties from Hann-Munden will hardly be able to see ... the appalling need, helplessness and destitution, both intellectual and material. ... I have had glimpses of 'real life' ... have actually ... penetrated into it. ... It was a sort of shock at the beginning. But ... my character has grown. I have gained deeper insight. On the practical side, I have learned to face it without being destroyed myself, to find the right attitude to social work. ... In addition, the Prideaux House experience has included: 'the family spirit', ... One feels safe and secure, one's problems and difficulties can be solved together.⁹⁶

Similar findings regarding the fundamental impact of the organisation on people's lives have also come from the interviews of a cross section of the membership at the four national Toc H *Area Days* which were held in 2012.⁹⁷ This impact has also been

⁹⁴ S. McWilliams, Viewpoint, Editorial Comment, 'Toc H is Unique', Toc H *Point Three* Magazine, December 1974, p. 84.

⁹⁵ Prideaux-Brune, *Time's Mirror*, Preface, p. 1.

⁹⁶ Prideaux-Brune, 'Well, that's quite a lot I owe you, isn't it?', Toc H *Point Three* Magazine, December 1970, pp. 230 - 232.

⁹⁷ Notes of the Toc H *Area Days*:

- Midlands Area, - held on 16.6.2012, in Birmingham.
- North Area - held on 14.7.2012, in York.

described in the stories of the participants in the *Toc H Oral Histories Project*.⁹⁸ These interviews have told of the importance to people of their experiences with Toc H and of how these helped them to grow. They have also spoken of the pride and satisfaction in their Toc H work, the relationships that they developed with people whom they would otherwise not have met, and the synergy that they felt as part of the ‘Toc H Family’. In addition, they have reported finding deeper meaning in their lives through these experiences. The following gives a flavour of the range of Toc H opportunities and experiences which the participants in the Oral Histories Project have described. Joyce Green’s story has been of her Toc H voluntary work and her work as a Staff Member with the Toc H Women’s Association, and then with the amalgamated organisation.⁹⁹ The experience of Fabes, who has been referred to earlier, has been about his time as a Staff Member undertaking community development and projects work in the Surrey and West Sussex Toc H Area.¹⁰⁰ Liz Taylor has talked of her experience of being a resident at Mark III, and of participating in 1975 in a Toc H project to South Africa during the period of apartheid there.¹⁰¹ Geoff Taylor has told of his experience of Mark III, as a resident and later as its Warden, and of his participation in the project to South Africa.¹⁰² Bill Bains has described his ‘journey’ to become a community worker for Toc H, and his work in that role.¹⁰³ Drummond, also referred to earlier, has given a description of his experience of being on the Toc H Board, of its 2008 funding crisis, and of his period since

- South West Area - held on 15.9.2012, in Bristol.

- South East Area - held on 22.9.2012, in Dartford.

⁹⁸ As has been noted earlier, this *Toc H Oral Histories Project* has been undertaken for Toc H by J. and M. Burgess, between 2012 and 2016, and it is ongoing.

⁹⁹ *Toc H Oral Histories Project. Oral History*, J. Green, Toc H Volunteer and Staff Member. Recorded by M. Burgess, on 2 July 2012.

¹⁰⁰ *Toc H Oral Histories Project. Oral History*, R. Fabes, Toc H Staff Member. Recorded by M. Burgess, on 2 July 2012.

¹⁰¹ *Toc H Oral Histories Project. Oral History*, L. Taylor, Toc H Volunteer and resident at Prideaux House, Toc H Mark III. Recorded by M. Burgess, on 5 July 2013.

¹⁰² *Toc H Oral Histories Project. Oral History*, G. Taylor, Toc H Volunteer and resident at Prideaux-House. Included a period as its Warden. Recorded by M. Burgess, on 5 July 2013.

¹⁰³ *Toc H Oral Histories Project. Oral History*, B. Bains, Toc H Staff Member. Recorded by M. Burgess, on 27 February 2015.

then as its Chair,¹⁰⁴ and Hilary Geater-Child's has spoken of her experience as a Staff Member, and then as Vice Chair of the Toc H Board.¹⁰⁵

The above has raised the question of what has it been about Toc H that has brought so many people to feel that their experiences with it have been so valuable to them, and the following answer to this draws together and gives further insights into the organisation's essence. Drummond has confirmed through his oral history and elsewhere the ongoing central importance in this of the Four Points of the Compass Statement definition of its purpose. Other components of this essence have included Clayton's approach to involving people with himself and with the organisation, and that many have described the feelings of synergy that they experienced through their involvement in it. It would seem that these feelings of connection have been about building a 'Toc H Family', in which people have sought to accept each other as they were, and on the basis of meeting each other as equals. It has also been found that one of the basic tenets of the organisation's purpose would seem to have been the bringing together of mixtures of different people as a way of breaking down the barriers between them, finding ways of resolving any conflicts at the fundamental level of the relationships which have underlain their differences, and 'Christianising' for some, or supporting people to find meaning in their lives and / or a faith to live by. However, its experiences would appear to have demonstrated that this has been more difficult to implement in practice than it would seem in theory.

The above would also appear to have been the main part of the legacy of the organisation. In addition, it is noted that it has developed various models for social welfare and community development work, and, as described earlier, in 1989 it drew together its

¹⁰⁴ *Toc H Oral Histories Project. Oral History*, T. Drummond, Toc H Chair. Recorded by M. Burgess, on 16 November 2015.

¹⁰⁵ *Toc H Oral Histories Project. Oral History*, H. Geater-Childs, Toc H Vice Chair, and ex Staff Member. Recorded by M. Burgess, on 24 February 2016.

work in Branches and Groups, Projects, Friendship Circles, and CAMEOs as its four main ‘methods’, the models which have arisen from these activities.¹⁰⁶ A further aspect of this legacy has been that various of the initiatives and projects which were begun as part of the organisation, or by people who were its members, went on to be developed as independent organisations or initiatives in their own right. Examples of this over its history have included that it started, or helped to develop, various youth clubs, and Scouting, the Probation Service, LEPR, the National Blood Transfusion Service, Eye Banks, Help the Aged, OXFAM, Community Service Volunteers, Hospital Broadcasting, Shelter. MIND, the Samaritans, and SOS Alarms (for elderly people).¹⁰⁷ Another part of this legacy has been examples in practice of the purpose and values which have grown through its activities. Descriptions of two such examples have followed below. These describe two informal models which have developed from the approach of the organisation to its residential and non residential community development work. It is noted that the descriptions of these projects have been drawn from the Oral History recordings by Burgess, but that corroborative material from writings by Prideaux Brune and others have also informed these. Especially useful in the consideration of both of these examples has been Prideaux-Brune’s *Time’s Mirror*.¹⁰⁸ In addition, the Chapter named ‘Surrounded by Laughter’, in *Out of a Hop Loft*, has given helpful insights about the second example. This was written jointly by Rice and himself.¹⁰⁹

Burgess has described Prideaux House, Mark III, as follows, and this has exemplified the main aspects of the model of the Marks.¹¹⁰ In the 1970s it was at the height of its development, and at the beginning of this period Revd. Gualter de Mello was its Warden and Chaplain, and also the Toc H Marks Commissioner. In 1970 this Centre was

¹⁰⁶ Prideaux-Brune, *Time’s Mirror*, p. 76.

¹⁰⁷ A. Brooks, Toc H. *The Key to a Community*, (Leicester, undated, Likely to be around 1973/74), p. 1.

¹⁰⁸ Prideaux-Brune, *Time’s Mirror*.

¹⁰⁹ Prideaux-Brune and Rice, *Out of a Hoploft*, pp. 100-110.

¹¹⁰ *Toc H Oral Histories Project. Oral History*, J. Burgess, - *Toc H Marks, Branches, Projects, and Other Activities*. Recorded by M. Burgess, on 6 March 2013 and 29.March 2016.

opened to women residents as well as men, and its accommodation was changed to single rooms, and this addressed two of the main criticism of the Marks. It sought to work ‘with’, not ‘for’, communities and to help them to develop according to what they themselves saw as their needs, and its ethos has included that its residents and volunteers should be reflective of these communities and be from a mix of different backgrounds. A typical mixture of its twenty eight residents at this time might include a secretary, two accountants, two students, a doctor and a milkman.¹¹¹ The residents were asked to undertake social welfare and community development work as part of their commitment to living there, and local volunteers were also involved in this work. The Centre organised a very full programme of activities, including a range of clubs for the elderly, for people with disabilities, and for children, and there were also services in its Chapel, activities for visitors and members of the local community, fun social events, fund-raising activities, play-schemes in school holidays, a nursery, and its Toc H Branch. The building was used almost constantly, and it ran a charity shop, as a source of income and to serve the local community.¹¹²

Burgess has described that towards the end of the 1970s a ‘hub and spoke’ pattern of provision was developing informally based on the Centre. Residents were encouraged to stay there for up to about two years, and then to move together in small groups into houses in the surrounding area. They were also invited to continue to participate in its activities, and, as appropriate, to provide the leadership for some of them.¹¹³ However, in 1982, in accordance with Toc H’s policy, Prideaux House was sold, along with the other Marks. Revd. de Mello was by this time the Director of a local charity called the Community of Reconciliation and Fellowship, and he was able to buy it for that organisation with a loan of the necessary funding from the local authority. Its ethos thus remained largely the same. The main ways in which it changed were that the focus of its activities altered to meeting the

¹¹¹ Ibid.

¹¹² Ibid.

¹¹³ Ibid.

needs of the local elderly, and it moved to being non residential. Also it was later rebuilt as a new, smaller centre and the rest of its land was sold for housing development. Its financial position changed when it no longer had the income from its residents and it gave up seeking grants and contract funding. From then it was mainly funded from the profits from its charity shop together with income from the prudent investment of its financial assets from this sale of its land. It has continued to operate and, as a financially independent charity, has been providing volunteer support and community activities in its area, and engendering growth in the individuals involved in its 'family' life.¹¹⁴

This second example has been concerning an informal non residential model for community development work, - that exemplified by the work of Peter East with the Bangladeshi community in Khasdobir, in Sylhet, Bangladesh. Burgess has noted that this project has incorporated the main factors in the organisation's approach to its non residential community development work. These have included the same principles as the example above, of working 'with', not 'for', people, and bringing together mixtures of people to work together to develop their communities. It has been in operation for 31 years.¹¹⁵ He has described this project as follows, and this has been corroborated and added to by the regular Newsletters of the Khasdobir Support Group in Britain.¹¹⁶ In 1983 East retired from the Toc H Staff, after working for many years with the Bangladeshi community in the East End of London. He went to live in Khasdobir in order to help that community, many of whom were the families of those that he had worked with prior to his retirement. In 1985 he met Harun Ahmed, a local community leader, and they soon began to work together, and, with others, they developed the Khasdobir Youth Action Group and the 'Schools Under the Sky' Project. Its pre-schools enabled the children from that community to develop sufficient skills to enter the official State schools. East was also able to help break down prejudices within this

¹¹⁴ Ibid.

¹¹⁵ Ibid.

¹¹⁶ Ibid.

community towards their Hindu neighbours at the Lakatorri Tea Plantation, and to set up one of these schools there. From this pre-schools initiative various other community development activities were developed. These have included sewing classes, classes about how to use computers, and a scheme to provide small revolving loans to enable people to begin projects to earn income.¹¹⁷

Burgess has told that for the first few years the Project received some grant funding from the British Government's (then) Overseas Development Association, but that mostly it has been funded by individuals interested in this work. Throughout its history the Khasdobir Support Group in Britain has managed this project and raised the funding for it, and this has enabled its administrative costs to be kept to an absolute minimum. The project has received much funding from Toc H Branches and individuals, and this has been an example of how powerful such funding has been when combined in support of a particular project.¹¹⁸ The Group began as part of Toc H, but became an independent charity in 2006. However, the links between the two organisations have continued. This Project has also developed innovative ways to enable it to continue to be viable financially without reliance on grants and contracts. These have included its Khasdobir Meals initiative. Sylheti restaurants have been invited to organise special meals for the Project's Toc H and other guests, with the profits from these divided between the Project and the restaurant concerned. Also there has been for many years an annual Khasdobir Sponsored Walk in London, which has raise funds for this and other charitable activities.¹¹⁹

Conclusion.

This Chapter has first sought to capture a rounded sense of Clayton as a person,

¹¹⁷ Ibid.

¹¹⁸ Ibid.

¹¹⁹ Ibid.

bringing together those of his personal positive and negative qualities which have been most relevant to the organisation's development. It has then been explored how the organisation of Clayton's times has been affected by a range of factors in the period after his death to the present. These have included the overarching general changes in society due to secularisation and related issues and developments in the voluntary sector, and more specifically the effects of the economic recession of the late 1970s and 1980s, Britain developing into an increasingly multi - racial and multi-faith society, and the growing impact of the contract culture. Other main factors which have affected its development have included matters internal to the organisation itself, including its organisational structure, and its governance problems. Examples have also been given of where Clayton established patterns in his general approach to leadership, authority and relationships which continued to be played out in the organisation after his death. It has been found that gradually his influence decreased and the impact of the changing society increased. With regards to its essence and legacy, the components of these have been identified, and many examples have been noted of Clayton and the organisation making differences in people's lives. It has been noted that it would seem to have weathered its 2007 funding crisis and other problems, and has been continuing to operate although at a much reduced level.

It would appear that Toc H has much to offer to society in terms of what can be learned both from its past problems and what has worked well. It is noted that the Big Society collaborative arrangement between the Conservative Government in office from 2010 and the voluntary sector has sought to involve volunteers from local communities in social welfare and community development work and through this to help them to build their communities. It has also focused on developing 'Active Citizenship. It would seem from the description in this thesis of Toc H and its activities that its aims have been very similar to those which Government has been envisaging from its Big Society initiative. For example, its National Citizens Service would appear to have taken a very similar approach to that of Toc H

Projects. This Service has provided opportunities for 15 to 17 year olds in their holidays to gain skills and experiences and to help to develop their communities, a close parallel with Toc H's Projects Programme. In addition, the organisation's social welfare work would appear to exemplify what Government has been seeking to achieve through 'care in the community'. The organisation was increasingly developing its involvement with Government initiatives, including Academies and Active Citizenship initiatives, but then these and its other national work needed to cease due to its 2007 funding crisis.¹²⁰ However, it is observed that with Government's Big Society and other initiatives it has been looking again to faith and voluntary organisations for volunteers to contribute to social welfare and community building work. This trend would seem likely to continue, especially given the rising demand for social welfare and community development services, and that there is at present less availability of public resources for their provision.¹²¹ It would appear that learning from the experiences of the organisation could enable Toc H itself, Government, the voluntary sector and their other partner organisations better to operate in the social climate which is developed in the future.

¹²⁰ *Toc H Oral History Project. Oral History*, J. Burgess, - *Clayton and Toc H, Its Essence and Legacy*. Recorded by M. Burgess, on 5 March 2013 and 28 March 2016.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*

A Study of the Origins, History, Essence and Legacy of Toc H, a Christian, Voluntary, Social Welfare Services Organisation in Twentieth Century Britain.

Chapter Five - A Summary Description of the Main Factors in the Development of Toc H, and of its Essence and Legacy.

A Summary Answer to the Research Question, and a Summation of the Themes Regarding the Factors in the Organisation's Development and Its Essence and Legacy.

The following has summarised the answer to the research question of this thesis, which is repeated here:

What have been the main factors in the development of Toc H in the period up to 1972 when Clayton, its founder, died, how was it affected by him and by events after his death up to the present time, and what has been the essence and legacy of the organisation?¹

It has been found that the main themes of this thesis have been how Clayton and the developments in society have affected the development of Toc H over its history. In addition to answering the research question of the thesis, this exploration has sought to address the limitations which have been identified in the literature so far about Clayton and the organisation. In particular it has done so by providing a deeper analysis of his character and activities and by setting this in the context of how he and the organisation have been affected by the general effects of secularisation and other changes in society over its history. It has sought to establish that, whilst it would seem at a surface level that Clayton's influence

¹ As has been noted earlier, it is recognised that it is too soon to put the more specific aspects of this period from Clayton's death to the present time into a full historical perspective. However, the consideration of the main factors regarding the development of the organisation during this period has enabled its overall development and its essence and legacy to be more clearly understood.

was the main factor in how it has developed, it was also substantially affected by these changes in society. It has been found that these have had an increasing effect on the organisation, that Clayton's influence has gradually declined, and that Toc H has been mainly the product of the interaction between these two factors. The other influences on its development have also been explored, and have been summarised below. It would seem that the organisation has been more complex than has been described in the relevant literature. For example, the thesis has demonstrated that the impact of the various factors in its development have been positive, negative, or a mixture of both of these, and that their effects often changed over time from being positive to negative and vice versa. This analysis of the organisation's development has incorporated descriptions of the wide range of different activities which it has undertaken.

It would seem that the main components of its essence and legacy, the other main theme of this thesis, have been as follows. The core of its aims and purpose has been quite simple, - that fundamentally it has been based on Clayton's vision for it, and its 'Four Points of the Compass Statement'.² It would also appear to have predicated on his and the organisation's invitation to people to 'come and see' for themselves what they have had to offer, - that through fellowship and service they then might find connection with others and for some with God.³ In addition, it has been found that an important aspect of this essence and legacy has been that Clayton and the organisation have had profound and often life-changing effects on the lives of very many people. A further component of its legacy has been identified to be the models for social welfare and community development work which have developed from its activities and initiatives and from those of its members, and two main examples of these have been described.⁴ Also it has been noted that many of these

² Toc H Headquarters, 'Charter of Incorporation', Toc H Royal Charter, 1922. Section 2, SP-L, Toc H Archives, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham.

³ Revd. A. Williams, Vicar of St. Martin-in-the Fields, 'Come and see!' The text of his address at the Service of Thanksgiving for Clayton's life. St. Paul's Cathedral. London. 1972.

activities and initiatives have gone on to become independent activities and organisations.⁵ It has been found that much can be learned from both its successful and its less successful aspects which can be of help to voluntary organisations, policy makers, and the rest of society. This above general answer to the research question has been argued in more detail below through the following summaries of the main themes of this thesis.

The theme of the effect of Clayton's influence on the organisation has demonstrated that he contributed to its development very positively from its inception until his death, and that in a number of ways this influence continued after he died. However, it has been shown that his life has not been as idealised as has been portrayed in the literature about him, and that he faced his share of difficulties. He has been described in this thesis in a more rounded and nuanced way than in this literature, with insights into the effects on the organisation of some of the more negative aspects of his character, and into the effects of his various health problems and his propensity to overwork. In addition it has been noted that the 1922 appointment of Monie as the Administrator of the organisation led to a sharing of its leadership and a change in Clayton's role to that of its ambassador and fundraiser. It has also seemed that his activities other than for Toc H affected it in both positive and negative ways. For example these activities raised his and the organisation's profile, but they also competed with Toc H for his time and energies. It would appear that in particular his appointment as the Vicar of All Hallows Church affected his work for Toc H. This provided him with an income and enabled him to travel to develop Toc H overseas and to undertake fundraising, but this meant that he was focusing less on his Toc H work. It would appear that this was particularly so after All Hallows was bombed during the Second World War, when he undertook much fundraising overseas to enable it to be rebuilt.

⁴ *Toc H Oral Histories Project. Oral History*, J. Burgess, - *Clayton and Toc H, Its Essence and Legacy*. Recorded by M. Burgess, on 5 March 2013 and on 28 March 2016.

⁵ A. Brookes, Toc H. *The Key to a Community* (Leicester, undated, - likely to be around 73/74), p. 1.

Clayton's vision for Toc H would seem to have emerged fairly clearly and to have been adhered to throughout its history. The earlier descriptions of Clayton's life and experiences prior to him developing it has shown how this period of his life helped to shape and equip him to do this. Also the main influences on this from this time have been identified. The exploration of the effects of his family background and early years, education and first jobs has shown in particular the importance of the influences of his upbringing in a Christian family, Scott-Holland and Stansfeld, his training for the priesthood, his work at the parish of Portsea. This has been followed by a consideration of how he developed Talbot House in the context of the First World War, and it would seem that his experiences from this period were those which most affected the organisation's development. In addition, the parallels between Talbot House and Toc H have been explored, together with the patterns in the ways that Clayton worked in the former which have then been mirrored in the operation of the latter. Examples of these parallels have been found to be the respective approaches to people, overall planning, interest in politics and campaigning, independence, and authority. In addition their approaches have been similar regarding 'Christianising', helping people to find a 'faith to live by' or meaning in their lives, and in their work to break down barriers between people and to build relationships.⁶ His focus on 'Christianising', and his emphasis on equality and on breaking down barriers between people would seem to have been especially key to the way that the organisation developed. Also it would appear that it benefitted in particular from the following of his character traits - his charismatic personality, innate sociability, ability to make very many deep and lasting friendships, resourcefulness, energy, capacity for hard work, focus, drive, and independence of spirit. However, negative sides to some of these attributes have also been identified. For example, it has been described that when he was travelling in America to raise the funding for the re-building of All Hallows Church, his normally excellent people skills were affected by the pressure of this, which led to him

⁶ *Toc H Oral Histories Project, Oral History*, J. Burgess - *Clayton and Toc H, Its Essence and Legacy*. Recorded by M. Burgess, on 5 March 2013, and on 28 March 2016; .

concentrating his attention on those who were wealthy.⁷

With regard to the related theme of the relationships of Clayton and the organisation with the Church, the Armed Forces, and the Government, it would seem that this was of a mixed nature, and that their good relationships with a number of the senior and influential people in these institutions were very helpful to its development. In addition, it would appear that he did much good work for the Church, especially in recruiting ordinands, and developing, and then fundraising for, All Hallows Church, and that Toc H provided an alternative to the Church / churches where these were not meeting people's needs. However, it has been found that some of his Church colleagues considered him difficult to work with, and that both he and the organisation were largely ignored by it for much of his life.⁸ Regarding the Army, it has been noted that he provided much support for the troops in the First World War through Talbot House, and that in the Second World War the organisation provided similar support through a range of Services Clubs. However, it has been found that after the war ended very few members of the regular Army joined it, and that it has been thought to be due to his and the organisation's emphasis on equality between people, whilst the ethos of the Army was to operate on the basis of hierarchies.⁹ In addition, it has been found that after the Second World War the organisation undertook very little work for the Army, and the reasons for this have been considered. It has been described that the relationship of Clayton and the organisation to the Government would appear to have been positive, and that his networking and fundraising enabled the organisation to remain independent of State funding even for many years after his death, However, by the beginning of the century this was changing, as is described further below.

Whilst the above has painted the picture of an organisation which largely has

⁷ Harcourt, *Tubby Clayton*, pp. 145, 146.

⁸ Lever, *Clayton of Toc H*, pp. 239, 240.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 164, 165.

been a product of Clayton's influence, this thesis has analysed that it was also affected by a range of other factors, particularly the increasing effects of the changes in society over its history, which has been the next theme considered. The thesis has sought to establish that it has been the interplay between these two factors which has been the key to the development of the organisation. Whilst the literature to date about it has mainly focused on the effects of World War One and World War Two, the thesis has described how it was also affected by the overarching changes brought about by secularisation and related issues and the specific changes which have arisen from these. It would appear that these can be summarised as the following: the introduction of the welfare state, the effect of the 'Long Nineteen Sixties', the developments in the voluntary sector, evangelism, the changing role of women, the changing outlook of the younger generation, issues regarding race and racism, the increasing immigration, and the more multi-racial and multi-faith nature of society. Other influences on the organisation have been found to be that increasingly the general public did not want to join organisations or to undertake regular voluntary activities, the impact of competition from other organisations regarding its finances, and the effect of new government regulations over its later history.¹⁰ It has been noted especially that the organisation sought to maintain its ethos as a volunteer social welfare service and of its independence from the State, but that from around the beginning of the twenty-first century the situation began to change. This has been considered further as part of the next theme, that of its finances.

It has been noted that its membership subscriptions were through most of its history its only source of stable and ongoing financial support and that its main funding came from its fundraising and donations. It has been analysed that over its history Clayton and his friendships and networking played a central part in this fundraising, especially his ability to attract patronage from his wealthy contacts, and including the various gifts of properties to the organisation. It would appear that for much of its history this financial independence

¹⁰ Smith, 'We're All Equal Here', *Toc H Point Three Magazine*, November 2004, p. 10.

meant that it did not need to adapt its work to obtain government or other funding, but that this changed when Clayton was no longer there and as ways of funding were changing. However, it would seem that the organisation's properties continued to be valuable and appreciating assets, and that these enabled it to operate increasingly on the basis of deficit funding. It would appear that this was positive in that it enabled it for a long time to be financially independent, but that it became a negative factor when this deficit funding became unsustainable in the long-term, and that this would seem to have been a very significant factor in its 2008 funding crisis. It has been noted that, whilst for a long time it avoided seeking Government and other funding through contracts, from around 2000 it began to do so, and that it also became involved in developing Academies, running nurseries and other new areas of work. However, it has then been described that since this crisis this work has needed to cease, and that it has only been possible for it to operate at a much reduced level. Nevertheless, it would seem that this has not detracted from its impact on the lives of very many people in a range of circumstances, and that this has continued to be an important aspect of its essence and legacy. The main components of this legacy have been described in the introductory summary to this Section. In addition, the reasons why it has been difficult to identify what has been meant by its essence and legacy have been described earlier, including the lack of clarity over its purpose, its lack of marketing and publicity, and that in some ways it came across as a somewhat dated 'secret society'.

This has related to the next theme, that of the effect on the organisation of its purpose and activities. It has been noted that these have remained based on its 'Four Points of the Compass Statement'.¹¹ It has also been identified that there were differences of opinion amongst its members regarding its role in 'Christianising', that over its history the nature of this had become less overt, and that, by its 1989 'Statement of Affirmation' and 'Focus

¹¹ 'Charter of Incorporation', Toc H Royal Charter, 1922. Section 2, SP-L, Toc H Archives, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham.

Resolution', it was acknowledging the change in its role to supporting people to find their 'faith to live by' or other meaning in their lives.¹² It would appear that, whilst its activities have on the surface presented as very wide-ranging, they have all been underlain by the same approach of being ways of offering service and fellowship, in order to deepen relationships and break down barriers between people. These activities have been found to have developed over time, from providing help and raising money for other community organisations, to increasingly developing more of the organisation's own initiatives and to employing staff to undertake its work. Also it has been noted that the emphasis of its work has changed, and that, as its National Surveys of 1936 and 1960 have exemplified, initially it focused on work with young people, but later its largest category of work was with the elderly.¹³ Its main expressions have been described, and the milestones in its development have been identified to be as follows, Its main activities up to the Second World War were undertaken in its Marks and in Branches. Then during this war it focused on developing Services Clubs to support the Allied troops, although these were almost all closed afterwards. It then needed to refocus particularly after this war, and from this time it began to develop other activities, especially the Dor Knap and other Toc H Centres, its 'Weekend Toc H' and its residential Projects Programme. It would seem that these new activities contributed very positively to achieving this refocusing, and that this was especially so in the 1960s, when they were well placed to help address the problems of the youth culture in society at that time and also to provide an alternative to the Church for those who felt that this was not meeting their needs. In addition, it has been found that the following important re-focusing activities took place in this post war period. Its 1959 move of its Headquarters to near All Hallows Church and to the Headquarters of the Toc H Women's Association, on Tower Hill, enabled the focus of its activities to be more centralised. Then in 1967 there began the Rucker Review of the Marks, which eventually in December 1981 resulted in the decision that all remaining Marks should

¹² Prideaux-Brune, *Time's Mirror*, pp. 76, 79.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 51.

be sold. In addition, between 1969 and 1972 the Central Council adopted a series of three policy documents about its strategy for the future.¹⁴ Also in 1972 the Royal Charter was amended, and this then formally ratified the merger of the Toc H Men's and Women's Organisations.¹⁵ It is noted that a further important development came in 1972, when the organisation again moved its Headquarters, this time to Wendover, in Buckinghamshire, a development which was very favourable for it financially. It would therefore seem to have been well placed for its future development, having agreed strategies and the funding to finance these. It has been identified that a further big change then came in 1989, when the organisation decided that it would in future concentrate on its main 'methods' of Branches, Projects, Friendship Circles and CAMEOs. It has then been found that increasingly its staff began to run social welfare and community development projects, often in partnership with Government and other organisations, and that from around the year 2000 they were increasingly developing new areas of work and focusing on seeking big contracts over large areas of the country. It has been identified that the organisation moved from avoiding the increasing 'contract culture' of this time to seeking to work with it, and to feeling that this was necessary if it were to survive financially. However, as described above, this development was ended in 2008 with the organisation's financial crisis.

This theme of the organisation's purpose and activities has also linked with that of the 'Toc H Family', since it has been identified that it has had the further basic aim of building this 'family'.¹⁶ It would appear that the experiences of being part of this 'family' often engendered among its members strong feelings of synergy, but that also there were tensions within it. It has been found that a number of these tensions arose due to its national decision-making process, a further theme which has been explored. This process has been

¹⁴ As has been described earlier, these documents were the organisation's 1969 'Policy for the Seventies', its 1971 'Strategy for the Seventies' and its 1972 'Action for the Seventies'.

¹⁵ Toc H Royal Charter, 1922, As amended in 1972. Section 2, SP-L, Toc H Archives, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham.

¹⁶ Monie, *Toc H Under Weigh*, p. 17.

shown to be slow and unwieldy process, but also one which was democratic and inclusive. This would appear to have connected with issues regarding the relationships of the Branches and the central organisation, particularly the tensions arising from governance problems and the seeming ambivalence to authority of both these parts of the organisation over most of its history. It would seem that the tensions between them were exacerbated by the fact that, whilst from around the year 2000 its staff were changing their focus to undertaking more work on national and other contracts and projects, the membership mostly continued with their previous activities. It would appear that these relationship issues were not fully resolved by the new decision-making structure put in place from around 2004.¹⁷ It has been identified that this theme of its purpose and activities has also related to that of whether it has been a movement or an organisation, and the effects of these two approaches have been explored. The conclusions reached from this would appear to have been that it has acted as one or the other, and sometimes as both of these, depending on the circumstances of the particular situation. This would seem to have contributed to the internal and external lack of clarity about what it has been seeking to achieve, and whether this was the most helpful structure for it has been questioned. The above issue concerning its membership has led to a consideration of its growth profile. It would appear to have grown meteorically to begin with, - that from its first community house in London its Branches and other activities spread to become a national network, and that at the height of its growth it had spread worldwide. However, it has been noted that its membership has since declined. The organisation's research into the growth of its U.K. Branches has identified that the most likely scenario for the detail of its growth profile would now appear to be that the numbers of its Branches slowly increased from the late 1930s until 1960, after which they began to decline.¹⁸ This theme has also explored the difficulties of the organisation in attracting mixtures of people, especially its

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Geater-Childs, Toc H Administrator, 'Spreadsheet Report of the Numbers of Toc H Branches', September 2013. It has been noted earlier that the number of its Branches has been used as the most useful proxy measurement for the organisation's growth.

problems in involving young people and those from different races, cultures and classes.¹⁹ It has been identified that, particularly in its Branches, it has for most of its history comprised mainly white, middle class and Christian men, and that for it to have a more mixed membership it would have needed to reach out more to those who were different from this.²⁰ The theme of the Toc H Women has then been considered. It is noted that they began in 1922 as the League of Women Helpers, and that their growth has then been described through to their eventual merger with the Toc H Men in 1971. It has been described that their activities developed from providing support to the Marks and the activities of the Toc H Men, to undertaking initiatives in their own right. The linked theme of the organisation's growth overseas has described that this development was mainly due to Clayton's networking and travels, and that most of it died out when he was no longer giving it his ongoing support. Examples of such travels have been described, and it has been noted that, although this growth was widespread, its membership was mostly comprised of British expatriates.

Concluding Remarks.

The development of the organisation over its history has been described and analysed, in order to answer the research question of the thesis. This has also involved descriptions and analysis of the context of the organisation, especially its developments in society over this period and particularly those in voluntary organisations. In addition, the thesis has described the life and experiences of Clayton, since this has been intertwined with the development of the organisation. It has also explored how the organisation has fared over the period since his death, and how this has affected it. This consideration of all the above

¹⁹ *Toc H Oral Histories Project, Oral History*, J. Burgess - *Clayton and Toc H, Its Essence and Legacy*. Recorded by M. Burgess, on 5 March 2013, and on 28 March 2016; Editor, (F. G. Chesworth), Editorial Comment, 'Spring Clean', *Toc H Journal*, April 1955, p. 126; S. McWilliams, Viewpoint, Editorial Comment, 'Toc H is Unique', *Toc H Point Three Magazine*, December 1974, p. 84.

²⁰ *Toc H Oral Histories Project, Oral History*, J. Burgess - *Clayton and Toc H, Its Essence and Legacy*. Recorded by M. Burgess, on 5 March 2013, and on 28 March 2016.

has enabled the exploration of the main factors and themes in the development of the organisation over its history, and the exploration of a range of questions and issues which have arisen from this.

Much has been left to be written on the subject of this thesis, including more about the history of the organisation from Clayton's death until the present, the changes in the British, European and worldwide societies in which Toc H has operated, and the activities which it or its members have initiated or started up and which have gone on to become independent entities. In addition, more has remained to be told about the Toc H Women and the Women's Organisation, the organisation overseas, the oral histories of its members, comparators of it with other organisations, and how it has been viewed by those who have been outside of it. More also needs to be explored regarding what can be learned from its history which can be of use in general to British society and in particular to its voluntary organisations. These matters cannot be covered in this thesis due to word count constraints, but the writer hopes in time to explore them further. Meanwhile the overall conclusions reached in this document would appear to be that the story of Toc H has been that of a very long-standing voluntary organisation with a charismatic leader, and of its attempts to realise his vision and to weather the exigencies of the changes that have taken place over its history. It has been found that, despite the concerns about its future at various times during its history, nevertheless it has managed to keep going. Rather than it being surprising that it has declined in its numbers of members and activities, it would seem surprising that it has contended with the challenges that it has faced and that it is still continuing. This would seem to be largely due to its essence and legacy which would appear to have continued to be relevant to the society of the present time. It is hoped that lessons can be learned from the experiences of the organisation which will be of help to society in the future.

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