

Serving ‘the Cause’: Cecil Jackson-Cole and the professionalisation of charity in post-War Britain

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Abstract

This article explores the relationship between faith, business and charity in mid-to-late twentieth century Britain by examining the work of Cecil Jackson-Cole, co-founder of Oxfam, founder of Help the Aged, ActionAid and many other charities. Jackson-Cole’s approach to “building-up” a charity accelerated the ongoing professionalisation of the sector. This did not, however, represent a complete break from the Christian charity ethos of the past. By examining Jackson-Cole’s faith and its influence on his charity business network and practices, it is possible to see an enduring symbiotic relationship between faith and professionalisation in organised charity across the twentieth century.

Introduction

Over the mid-to-late nineteenth century in Britain, an ethos developed in organised charity that money needed to be raised and spent well, with considerations for maximising contributions, and the effective and cost-efficient use of those funds.¹ In the early decades of the twentieth century, the fundraising and campaign practices that developed from this “professionally-minded”² charity philosophy multiplied as organisations were propelled by advancements in the wider social sphere including in print, radio communication, marketing and advertising.³ Newspapers and radio stations were carrying increasingly sophisticated fund appeals, and the two World Wars internationalised images of suffering on a scale that

had not been seen before in Britain.⁴ With these developments in organised fundraising and campaigning, as well as in service delivery, the charity sector was emerging in the mid-twentieth century as a viable career path for many aspiring young professionals who wanted to make a difference in the world. It was also an increasingly attractive vehicle for social change for more experienced business men and women wishing to employ their skills in more meaningful work. Thus, as World War II was coming to an end and it was clear that relief and rehabilitation efforts would be needed over the longer term, the number of non-governmental organisations (NGOs) with ‘professional middle-class “social entrepreneurs”’ on their founding committees grew considerably.⁵ This paper is focused on examining the contributions to the charity sector of one such businessman and charity founder, Cecil Jackson-Cole, who was a co-founder of Oxfam, founder of Help the Aged, ActionAid and HelpAge International, among other organisations.

Founding individuals have played important roles in framing or inspiring organisational identity, cementing a certain operational and moral ethos, and/or structuring particular ways of working within NGOs throughout history. For example, Amnesty International – by its own telling – owes much to the work and ‘inspiration’ of Peter Benenson, a British lawyer who founded the movement in 1961 as a campaign for the release of six prisoners of conscience. Benenson’s early principles of nonviolence, witnessing, and the development of a human connection through letter-writing to prisoners continue to characterise the NGO’s activities and philosophy today.⁶ In another example, Victor Gollancz – a publisher through his eponymous company, political commentator and founder of (among other things) the Save Europe Now appeal in 1945 – used his high-profile and formidable business and political skillset to persuade the British people to be concerned about German refugees at a time of heightened xenophobia.⁷ He is credited with transforming campaign

approaches, which were then used by many other wartime relief committees, including Oxfam.⁸

Alongside these acknowledgements of founder contributions to the development of charity work and humanitarianism, there is also an increasing scrutiny in humanitarian scholarship on some of the mythmaking that accompanies these foundation narratives. This critique has come both in the form of challenging rose-tinted founder narratives,⁹ as well as highlighting the work of previously ‘forgotten’ founding figures. Eglantyne Jebb, for instance, has long been celebrated for her contribution to shaping child-centred humanitarianism and child rights through her founding of the Save the Children Fund in 1919. However, recent work by Emily Baughan and Juliano Fiori has shown that the charity owes a significant amount more in its early years to the “forgotten founder” Dorothy Buxton, Jebb’s sister, who shifted the Fund’s work from more radical political campaigning to fundraising for ‘innocent’ children.¹⁰ Examining Buxton’s early vision for the organisation, Baughan and Fiori argue, is important for understanding the ethos behind much of Save the Children’s programmatic and campaign work today.¹¹ What this founder-focused scholarship highlights more broadly is that, if we are to build a more comprehensive picture of the history of organised charity and humanitarianism, there is a need both for more information on individuals involved in the formation of these organisations, and a critical reading of their contributions. As such – tying in scholarship looking at the professionalisation of the charity sector in modern Britain and the role of founders in affecting organisational agendas – this paper examines the work of Cecil-Jackson Cole.

Jackson-Cole was a London-born sales-businessman, philanthropist and devout Christian whose self-designated purpose was in ‘Christian matters’ expressed through the establishment of charity organisations.¹² In the charity industry Jackson-Cole was a co-

founder of Oxfam (1942), founder of the Voluntary and Christian Service (1953),¹³ Help the Aged (1961), the Anchor Housing Association (formerly Help the Aged (Oxford) Housing Association, 1968), HelpAge India (1978), UK-based Helping Hands Gift Shops,¹⁴ ActionAid (previously Action in Distress, 1971), The Phyllis Trust (1965, now known as the Andrews Charitable Trust),¹⁵ The Christian Book Promotion Trust (1967),¹⁶ and the Christian Initiative Trust (1967),¹⁷ among a range of other small appeals. Of these organisations, the latter three were grant-making bodies that financially supported many of Jackson-Cole's charities as well as pursuing, in the case of the final two, the cause of disseminating Christian values through religious literature. In the business world, Jackson-Cole bought-out and managed W. Andrews and Sons Furnishers (later named Andrews Furnishers Ltd),¹⁸ Church Brothers Estate Agency,¹⁹ founded Andrews and Partners Estate Agency (which is still in existence), 139 Flat Service, and a number of smaller initiatives such as the Business Community Council.²⁰ Many of these organisations are now defunct but merit reference as the motivation behind their formation was largely to provide financial and staff support to Jackson-Cole's plethora of charitable organisations.

While some of Cecil Jackson-Cole's contributions to the charity sector have certainly been acknowledged in recent scholarship,²¹ there remains a lack of detail around the interconnectedness and impact of his charities, and the influence of his personal values on these endeavours. As a professional salesman and devout Christian, Cecil Jackson-Cole offers an interesting case study individual, as his method for professionalising charity was to emphasise fundraising as the primary activity for any social change.²² His experience in sales business underwrote his approach to fundraising and the result was a commercial appeal ethos that ran through the heart of all of his charity organisations. Moreover, Jackson-Cole's personal Christian belief system was also fundamental to the way that he understood suffering and approached the organisation of charity, as he firmly believed that his

entrepreneurial abilities were a gift from God for the specific purpose of professionalising humanitarian relief in the form of organised fundraising.²³ He sought to hire individuals for his businesses and charities with a similar strength of faith, and gained a reputation as an – at times unpleasant and dogmatic – proponent of a greater ‘Cause’.

In exploring this sense of service he felt to a greater spiritual cause, and examining the way that it manifested itself through organised charity enterprise, I seek to support scholarship that emphasises the importance of business methods in shaping charity organisations and social service in post-War Britain,²⁴ and connect to discussions around the role of faith in the burgeoning, and ostensibly secular, charity sector in this period.²⁵ I also aim to contribute new empirical data to the growing literature on the expansion and professionalisation of the charity sector across the twentieth century.

To begin such a history, the following section will introduce Jackson-Cole’s entry into the world of business at a young age and will trace his trajectory from sales business to charity fundraising. This will be followed by an analysis of how Jackson-Cole explored and expanded notions of religiosity and Christian duty through his charitable enterprises, and it will contextualise these professional initiatives (along with the contribution of Jackson-Cole’s colleagues) in relation to wider developments in organised charity, faith and business in the period. This paper has built on a range of sources, including Jackson-Cole’s personal archives, private documents held by his family members and old colleagues, Oxfam’s archives, and oral history interviews with those that personally and professionally knew him.

From business to charity business

Cecil Jackson-Cole was born Albert Cecil Cole in London in 1901. He was the son of trader and shopkeeper Albert Edward Cole and, when his father enlisted in 1914 after the outbreak of

World War I, the young Jackson-Cole dropped out of school and began full-time work in the Tooley Street branch of importers and merchants George and John Nickson.²⁶ In 1919 the enterprising Jackson-Cole left Nickson's and bought out (as owner and manager) the ailing second-hand furniture business owned by his father, W. Andrews and Sons in Islington, and he later expanded the business to five branches throughout London and one in Oxford. Andrews (Furnishers) Ltd, as W. Andrews and Sons was later named, continued trading until 1970 and, as a sister enterprise, Jackson-Cole also established the Andrews and Partners estate agency business in 1946.²⁷

Many who knew Jackson-Cole have described him as an often cantankerous risk-taking entrepreneur who would determinedly pursue his own ideas, despite sometimes clear limitations of, or unrealistic expectations for, the output.²⁸ It was in this vein that Jackson-Cole set about transforming his business empire into a philanthropic revenue stream for various charity organisations. He was involved in charity work early on with the Soldiers' and Sailors' Home in Watford, and in 1932 offered one of his properties – Warden Manor in Kent – to the charity Toc H to be a rest and recuperation site for returnee soldiers.²⁹

Following the outbreak of World War II Jackson-Cole, who registered as conscientious objector, moved to Oxford with his first wife Phyllis Jackson-Cole.³⁰ And, as Jackson-Cole later recalled, he coincidentally moved into a house opposite the Oxford University Professor, Sir Gilbert Murray – an internationalist and pacifist, 'devoted to the organisation of peace'.³¹ Their connection was augmented by Jackson-Cole's pacifist stance, and he later stated that it was a friendship that changed his philanthropic direction indefinitely.³² On the 5 October 1942, Murray and a group of concerned Oxford residents met to discuss how to increase opposition to the British blockade of Greece and support suffering Greek civilians affected by the blockade. It was here that the Oxford Committee for Famine Relief was officially formed,³³

and – on the occasion of the second meeting – Jackson-Cole attended and offered to take responsibility for all of the fundraising required for their appeal to aid the suffering Greeks.³⁴

For Jackson-Cole, the first priority of a charitable project or organisation was to raise funds. He believed that, ‘if the money were not raised, it could not be spent, and both the getting and the spending of the money demanded first-class management’.³⁵ Initial methods of letter-writing, temporary shop-window appeals, radio-fundraising, and charity sales raised thousands of pounds and one the most successful activities during that appeal was the rental of an entire shop in Oxford’s busy city centre for the purpose of receiving material donations and selling them on.³⁶ Donations were channelled through Red Cross programmes working in Greece and, less than a year after the formation of the Oxford Committee, the group registered through the War Charities Act and turned into an independent charity.³⁷ Then, in 1947, Jackson-Cole transformed a temporary fundraising practice into a permanent site for income generation and organisation logistics, with the lease of their first rented premises, 17 Broad Street in Oxford, as the Committee’s permanent donation depot, headquarters and shop. Oxfam historian Maggie Black has noted that if Jackson-Cole had not so aggressively pursued the Oxford Committee’s humanitarian mission in the first instance, and had not sought to implement a solid financial foundation, the Oxford Committee for Famine Relief ‘would probably have sunk without a trace, if not in 1943 or 1944, then certainly after the immediate post-war period’.³⁸

Jackson-Cole in his private memoirs later attributed much of what was achieved in the formation of the Oxford Committee for Famine Relief to an altruistic climate prevalent in Oxford between 1937 and 1942.³⁹ Certainly, Oxford and the Committee were associated with the work of many prominent humanitarian individuals and organisations, such as Vera Brittain and the Peace Pledge Union, and Edith Pye and the Society of Friends. Co-founder of Oxfam, Gilbert Murray, had himself been the Vice President of the League of Nations Society from

1916 and Chairman of the League of Nations Union from 1923 to 1938, becoming co-President after that.⁴⁰ In addition to this ‘altruistic’ atmosphere prevailing in Oxford, the continuation of the Oxford Famine Relief Committee also required some organisational steam.

For this, Jackson-Cole used his commercial business to continue the charity’s build up, despite reluctance from other founding members.⁴¹ From his estate agency firm Andrews and Partners, Jackson-Cole appointed Leslie Swain and Raymond Andrews (no relation to the firm) to be “Interim Administrator” and “General Secretary” respectively, for the Oxford Committee. They were to receive a small wage from the charity, which was complemented by remuneration from Andrews and Partners and this arrangement was to ensure rapid growth for the Committee, whilst at the same time keeping the financial risk that comes with organisational innovation within the commercial business of Andrews and Partners.⁴² According to Andrews, a branch of the estate agency was opened in Oxford specifically for the purpose of enabling Swain to dedicated sufficient time to both the Famine Relief Committee and the business.⁴³ Under the support of Jackson-Cole, Swain ploughed ahead with the transformation of the Broad Street shop into a permanent profit-making concern, and in 1949 the Committee appointed Joe Mitty to be the shop’s first full-time, paid manager with the following remuneration:⁴⁴

The Administrator [Leslie Swain] reported that Mr J. Mitty had been appointed to assist him at a salary of £425 per annum... It has been agreed with Mr Mitty that, if his services were satisfactory, he should receive an increase to £450 per annum at the end of six months.⁴⁵

This was a significant income during the period. The average weekly earnings in late 1945 for men aged 21 and over in manufacturing and certain other industries – such as textiles, clothing, food and drink and engineering – were just over 119 shillings per week, amounting to an annual

income of almost £310.⁴⁶ Thus, not only did Oxfam recruit and pay advertising, retail and administrative staff before they had even established themselves as directly operational overseas, earnings were competitive. Moreover, the nature of the pay was hinged on risk and reward — an operational practice that was of a more commercial nature than charity at the time.⁴⁷ The results of this appointment and the concerted effort of the Committee as a whole to increase publicity and donations were, by 1949, ‘encouraging’ according to Jackson-Cole and Swain, as ‘nearly £51,000 in cash and kind (mostly clothing) had been received since October 1948, and there was a growing band of voluntary helpers’.⁴⁸

Raymond Andrews later recalled that ‘Jackson-Cole was always happiest out beyond the frontier with the pioneers’.⁴⁹ Central to Jackson-Cole’s charity “build up” process was the Voluntary and Christian Service group (VCS) founded by Jackson-Cole in 1953 and originally called the Voluntary and Christian Causes group. Initially established as an informal committee, the VCS went on to become the primary locus of knowledge production and action for the charity business network outlined above.⁵⁰ As a fundraising and grant giving body the VCS supported Oxfam, Toc H, Help the Aged appeals (which then led to the formalisation of the organisation) and Age Concern, it assisted in the development of a housing association,⁵¹ contributed to the foundation of ActionAid, undertook activities for the United Nations, and supported many other smaller projects throughout the world.⁵² Moreover, it was funded through the profits of Andrews and Partners and shared an office with the business in London.⁵³ Regular members of its trustee board and various committees included: Quaker Raymond Andrews of Andrews and Partners and Oxfam; Leslie Swain, an Anglican and manager from Andrews and Partners and Oxfam; Leslie Kirkley, a Quaker and later Director of Oxfam; Harold Sumption, Quaker and advertising executive responsible for some of Oxfam, Help the Aged and ActionAid’s most successful fundraising campaigns; Hugh and Anne Faulkner,

Quakers and – respectively – Honorary Secretary and Director of Press and Public Relations for Help the Aged, among others.

The VCS has six main principles. Firstly, to relieve human suffering in line with the Christian injunctions to feed the hungry, clothe the naked, shelter the homeless, and heal the sick. Secondly, it sought to act as a catalyst for new ventures that other charities might be able to build upon. Thirdly, the organisation sought to ‘use entrepreneurial skills in a business-like way to help worthwhile causes’. Fourthly, it aimed to involve ‘business-like’ people ‘whatever their religious persuasion’ and give them a vocation. Principle five was to ensure a focus on unpopular causes. And the sixth was to ‘stay different, to experiment, to test, to keep innovating, to maintain momentum, and continually to challenge the accepted limits of ordinary achievement’.⁵⁴ It sprang into fundraising action primarily when the charities it was associated with did not have the capacity or resources to run local appeals.⁵⁵ In 1960 Jackson-Cole wrote:

V.C.C. [VCS] has been able to generate or re-generate certain vital causes by the somewhat novel way in which it works. It sees an opportunity - usually something which the Charity concerned is either not able itself to do or which, for lack of knowledge, it cannot see could be done successfully. It is often - but not always - advisable in my view that we leave it to “them” once we have done this. Often we should only wish to “retire” when satisfied “they” can really continue successfully.⁵⁶

What is explicit in this statement is VCS’s framing of its entrepreneurial acumen: knowing how charity appeals are best undertaken, what risks are required, and that these methods can,

and should, be institutionalised by the charities after the VCS shows “them” how it may be done. Techniques Jackson-Cole favoured included off-the-page appeal advertising in newspapers (directly addressing the reader to respond), which he and colleagues such as Harold Sumption believed was particularly successful in the case of Oxfam and so later used to kick start Help the Aged and ActionAid. Jackson-Cole also hired salaried fundraisers, believing there to be no return for a charity without initial investment in human resources. He took these techniques to India with HelpAge India, training some of the country’s first salaried, professional fundraisers in the early 1970s.⁵⁷ The clear intent in this work was impact beyond the material:

It [the work of VCS] is more than money raising, important though this is. It is a campaign to influence national and world opinion more fully.⁵⁸

The sense stated here of a need to shape public opinion through business expertise and philanthropic efforts was not a new one. Common features of philanthropy over the last two centuries have been the formation of pressure-groups to influence issues at a national level and the utilisation of business resources and expertise through foundations and organised charity to do this more effectively.⁵⁹ According to Prochaska, in the Victorian era this was rooted in a desire to ‘extend the blessings of an idealised home life into the wider community’, and was inspired by Evangelical doctrine.⁶⁰ Such individual and family values retained relevance to organised charity throughout the twentieth century, but in post-War Britain these were set against a backdrop of an expanding state welfare system. For some this system held the promise of meeting the welfare needs of the wider population, potentially rendering charity institutions redundant.⁶¹ However many, including Jackson-Cole, remained cynical of the welfare state’s overall effectiveness. In 1977 he wrote that government welfare had arisen ‘first through

individual efforts in voluntary charity’, but ‘that governments, when they had taken such things over, had not usually done them with the same compassion or efficiency as would have been the case had the work remained with charities’.⁶²

For Jackson-Cole, much like the business philanthropists of the Victorian era, his view of compassion and efficiency was shaped by a Christian ethic, business expertise, and a belief that entrepreneurial abilities could contribute to God’s work on earth as he perceived it.⁶³ In his personal papers he frequently refers to ‘the Cause’, and this somewhat singular, transcendent humanitarian endeavour is what drives much of his charity work. It has biblical sentiments, as Jackson-Cole frequently refers to the need to feed the hungry, clothe the naked and heal the sick referencing the Bible’s passages in Matthew 25:34-46.⁶⁴ But it was also organisational, namely, a national mission to rally to and dedicate to – invoking similarities with ascetic Protestantism, which gives worldly activity, such as seeking a profit through enterprise, a religious character.⁶⁵

In much of his writings, Jackson-Cole observed that many charities are all working for that same purpose of feeding, clothing and healing and that ‘if reorganised as a Cause it will more rapidly succeed, and in succeeding it will show that good influence has been at work beyond what man could have obtained himself’.⁶⁶ The paper will now turn to briefly examine the details of his personal faith before reflecting on the extent to which these values were imbued in some of the organisations he founded.

Jackson-Cole’s personal faith

Looking back at his youth, religious worship within an institution was largely absent as Jackson-Cole noted that his mother never required that he attend a Sunday school or any other place of ‘official’ worship.⁶⁷ Such institutional detachment continued into his adulthood, as

Jackson-Cole attended the Sunday Service of whichever Protestant denomination he felt an inclination towards on the day and was, reportedly, unmoved by the sermons in these Churches.⁶⁸ Yet, faith and religiosity were an inherent part of his upbringing. Writing several decades later, Jackson-Cole noted that, ‘The fact that full religious faith eventually came to me must have been due to my mother having faced me in the right direction when I was an infant for she was a very Godly woman’.⁶⁹ Such a familial foundation in spiritual matters is not unusual, as women have traditionally been the key conduits of belief, particularly in working-class families.⁷⁰ It was not until her death in 1926, however, that Jackson-Cole discovered the full strength of his religious conviction.

Jackson-Cole suffered a period of severe illness affecting his digestive system after his mother died, an illness that he attributed to feelings of grief and self-pity. He described himself as ‘completely debilitated’ and unable to pursue any business interests. At the age of twenty-eight, during his recovery, Jackson-Cole lent a part of his offices to a Bible study class and he began to attend himself. At this time, and whilst reading the book *How to Live the Victorious Life* by the self-titled author ‘An Unknown Christian’, Jackson-Cole remarked that he had his first religious experience. He recalled that one night he felt an overwhelming urge to get on his knees, and whilst in this position he experienced his first vision: ‘a light the size of a grapefruit and in the upper half of this circle was a cross’.⁷¹

This overwhelming sense of spirituality returned in strength in 1932 when Jackson-Cole suffered a second period of serious illness, where he was bedridden for almost three years. Jackson-Cole later reflected that this period of illness left him ‘with an immense amount of time for meditation both on religious matters and on life and on the problems of the world’ and that this meditation enabled him to “‘pick up” from beyond’.⁷² Many scholars have noted that religious and existential beliefs commonly assist as personal coping and survival mechanisms in times of chronic illness for sufferers.⁷³ Moreover, Jackson-Cole was not unique in his

experiences of spiritual (re)invigoration, as the growth in Spiritualism that followed World War I continued through the interwar years. It was not simply a reaction to the exceptional circumstances of mass bereavement caused by war. Rather, ‘congregations were attracted to Spiritualism because of the evidence it provided for survival and because of the consolation and guidance it offered to the bereaved’ or suffering.⁷⁴

Crucially, Jackson-Cole’s first bout of debilitating illness had provided an informal identity-framing vehicle for the second. Comprehending the death of his mother and alleviating the guilt he felt about the previous hardships in her life, was eased through two revelations: firstly, the revelation by his mother on her death bed that her life was no real hardship as she felt blessed to have children that were ‘angels from heaven’, and secondly through the comfort he found in religious meditation and Bible study classes during his recovery period.⁷⁵ These spiritual associations provided meaning to Jackson-Cole for two very human experiences: the suffering – and later death – of his mother, as well as his own personal suffering through illness. As such, Jackson-Cole’s operative faith was, from the death of his mother, framed by suffering and the search for alleviation. Such sentiment informed his self-given imperative to ‘help others’ in any way that he was able and contributed to the transformation of his business empire into a philanthropic income stream for several charity organisations.

The projection of personal suffering onto the needs of others is not unusual in situations of bereavement and distress. In an analysis of bereavement and faith, Raymond Schmitt notes that a variant of mourning is the development of a concern for caring for ‘vicarious figures’. In this form, Schmitt explains, there is a repression or denial of one’s own grief at loss – partly the result of an unconscious anger at God for a sense of abandonment – and this is projected onto others perceived by the individual as suffering and wronged, such as the poor and underfed.⁷⁶ While it seems that Jackson-Cole embraced spirituality at a time of suffering, rather

than reacting against God out of a sense of abandonment, it accords that ‘projective identification’ with others who were suffering could certainly have been a form of personal defence from the pain of his loss.⁷⁷ Eugene Long argues that the faithful have always maintained that God, in redemptive action, reacts to real suffering, absorbs it and transforms it on a perceived transcendent plain.⁷⁸ It is an understanding or experience of this transcendent transformation that sufferers seek when praying or hoping for grace, and it is in this search for purpose that an individual can strengthen a belief system.

Long further posits that observing the suffering of others is a form of personal hardship in itself, and God’s example calls for the faithful to react to that suffering and pain: ‘to suffer with others, to love, and to freely be involved in relieving suffering and changing those conditions that bring about suffering where they can’.⁷⁹ Giving oneself in the face of the suffering of others is an action that seeks the “being” of future possibility – the transcendent self that at once brings an individual closer to God and gives ongoing purpose to a life (framed by perceived or observed adversity). For Jackson-Cole, the suffering of his mother and his own pain at her loss were pivotal moments in a strengthened spirituality. His personal documents suggest a conscious questioning of “being” and a search for transcendent explanation during his later bout of illness.⁸⁰ Furthermore it would seem that ‘care of vicarious figures’ not only became a coping mechanism for dealing with the loss and the pain, but that it was part of a larger framework of understanding purpose: both the purpose of suffering in general, and Jackson-Cole’s own purpose for “being”.

Jackson-Cole acted on this evolving sense of purpose through the formation of professional charities, which itself was not novel. Over the past few centuries a key expression of religious faith has been through humanitarian action and attempts to ease the conditions of those suffering. Throughout the nineteenth century, the vast majority of British charity organisations were established by individuals with strong faith-based convictions to help the

needy. Thomas Barnardo, founder of Barnardo's, for instance, was an evangelical Protestant convert and missionary who – upon seeing the suffering of street children in London – established a school and boarding homes for destitute boys and girls. William Booth, founder of the Salvation Army in 1865, was a Methodist preacher who undertook social work and humanitarian relief alongside preaching salvation. The formation of Oxfam, too, was undertaken by a range of individuals with different beliefs, particularly Quakerism.

Connecting Christian faith and charity enterprise

In the early Famine Relief community, one of the key figures behind the formation of the Oxford Committee was an Anglican Cleric, Canon Milford, who hosted the initial meeting that led to the formation of Oxfam at his church, St Mary's of Oxford University. As is well known, the group also had a strong Quaker influence, with the early involvement of Raymond Andrews and the later appointment of Harold Sumption to advertise for the Committee in 1948 and Leslie Kirkley as the Director in 1951, among others. For the Quaker members, their ethos was pacifist and humanitarian, and their approach was reformist, with a desire to advance the causes of peace and justice throughout the world.⁸¹ Such faith-inspired social action has a long history, with Quakers being prominent in the abolitionist movement and the 1847 famine in Ireland, and their approach has always aimed to be both non-sectarian and non-proselytising.⁸² While Jackson-Cole ultimately identified with the Anglican Church, the Quaker ethos retained a strong influence on him, especially during his time in Oxford.⁸³ He shared a pacifist stance and their zeal for faith-inspired social change. He also took inspiration from the faith and work of other Oxford Committee colleagues, which resulted in an understanding of Oxfam as divinely supported. In his memoir notes, Jackson-Cole recalled:

Canon Milford's position as the Vicar of the University Church was the means of opening many doors for me with his introductions. There were a number who believed that Oxfam was being helped from beyond but I did not even consider this until Gilbert Murray, who was an agnostic at that time, told me of his conviction that "there is a responsible spirit behind the Universe seeking to remedy the suffering." I myself believe that Gilbert Murray and many other of Oxfam's sincere supporters who have departed this life are praying from Beyond for the cause of the hungry and distressed in this world.⁸⁴

For Jackson-Cole this humanitarian religiosity was simultaneously influenced by his awareness of the wide-scale suffering brought on by war, past personal experiences of suffering, and an entrepreneurial spirit. The Oxford Committee offered an ideal organisational position within which he could explore and perform 'the care of vicarious others' imperative and look towards wider social impact. This sentiment was particularly marked in a personal document of Jackson-Cole's in which he notes the chronology of his religious experiences:

During illness (bed-ridden 2 years 9 months)	At crisis: when life in danger, "misty" figure appeared sitting in chair at side of bed. Later; saw head and shoulders of an elderly friend who died at about that time. No voices.
1937/8	Great conviction that I was to "be called" for some special Christian work and moved to for this purpose [sic].
June 1939	Clear message that war was coming

1942 Felt special “call” to offered [sic] service

1942/1959 Engaged on this “build up” [of Oxfam]⁸⁵

Organised charity became vital for supporting Jackson-Cole’s individual beliefs and providing a proactive means to engage with suffering, as well as offering a faith community attachment that strengthened these shared values. What is more, Jackson-Cole’s dedication to the Christian charity community through the formation of cause-based organisations can be seen throughout his lifetime through the foundation of, among others: the Voluntary and Christian Service, Help the Aged, ActionAid, the Phyllis Trust, The Christian Book Promotion Trust (CBPT) and the Christian Initiative Trust (CIT), as well as in the recruitment ‘of actively committed Christians’ for his commercial businesses.⁸⁶ A document pertaining to the purpose of the CBPT from 1970 provides insight into the fluidity Jackson-Cole saw between the organised humanitarian aspects of his work, and the Christian belief-system that underpinned his actions:

1. So far our Trustees in other capacities have worked under the Christian injunctions to relieve great material needs such as a) hunger, b) lack of clothing and c) lack of shelter (housing).

2. This new Trust helps to deal with other great needs (not of a material nature) such as a) relieving the fear of death, b) relieving the distress of bereaved persons, c) relieving distress arising from lack of faith and of purpose, d) helping with certain other distresses - e) bringing people (including children) to CHRIST.⁸⁷

What is hinted at within this document is that the work of the Trustees of the humanitarian organisations working to relieve material need (Oxfam and Help the Aged for instance) and the work of the evangelical organisations focused on spiritual relief (the CBPT and CIT) were part of the same bigger mission. Moreover, it is clear that the alleviation of suffering ran as an imperative through the heart of all of his institutions, and that the foundational ethic of all of Jackson-Cole's work was one of Christian charity. This encompassing Christian-ethical underpinning is further supported by the fact that the Phyllis Trust, the CBPT and the CIT made up one hundred percent of the shareholding of the Andrews and Partners estate agency business – as they do today under their more recent names the Andrews Charitable Trust and Speaking Volumes.⁸⁸ These connections paint a complex organisational picture of Christian Trusts supporting a commercial business, which in turn supported (largely “secular”) charities.

Jackson-Cole's expanding network of Christian-inspired charities from the 1940s to the 1970s was part of larger network of charities that explicitly or implicitly had faith drivers. Their growth counters a prevailing argument that Christian influence was on the decline in key areas of public British life, particularly from the late 1950s.⁸⁹ As Matthew Anderson has pointed out, Christian development agencies actually expanded in that decade, with the formation of: Christian Aid, which emerged out of an inter-Church appeal in 1957; the Catholic Fund for Overseas Development (CAFOD), which emerged from a ‘Family Fast Day’ appeal in 1961; and Tear Fund (The Evangelical Alliance Relief Fund), which emerged in World Refugee Year 1959-1960.⁹⁰ These agencies, Anderson argues, worked to ‘re-establish the relevance of Christian values within modern society’,⁹¹ and though their causes (such as Fair Trade) were not be explicitly religious, they were sustained by people of faith.⁹²

This public/private divide in religiosity, where faith may be what (privately) motivates an individual's work but may not necessarily define the content and purpose of a particular

(public) action, came to characterise British life from the 1960s. Hugh McLeod writes that there was a growing sense in this ‘long’ decade that there ‘ought to be a sphere of private behaviour within which the individual should be guided only by conscience’, and where the law or public judgement ought not to intervene.⁹³ And on the flip side, it was increasingly felt that personal moral systems ought not to define the limits of public action and commentary. Thus, the 1960s saw the breaking of many taboos in public with, for instance, open discussions on sexuality and critiques or satires of faith institutions.⁹⁴ There was also a recognition from the 1960s that confessional subcultures might actually alienate individuals, groups and potential supporters, and so there were moves by many institutions to broaden their appeal.⁹⁵ For instance, in the late 1980s the founder of Trócaire, a UK-based Fair Trade organisation, noted that he was ‘conscious of how “Christian language” might alienate people’ and so the organisation avoided an overtly Christian approach, despite 85% of its staff identifying with that faith.⁹⁶ Roger Lees, first Chairman of ActionAid and a Board member of VCS, recalled that ActionAid, too, went through a similar reckoning.

Faith inspiration, secular practice?

ActionAid began life as the Christian Youth Appeal, a campaign started by Cecil Jackson-Cole in 1969. The Christian Youth Appeal had three main aims: medical aid overseas; sponsorship of orphaned children; and the rehabilitation of drug addicts.⁹⁷ Yet over the course of a decade the organisation had changed names twice – to Action in Distress and then ActionAid – and had narrowed its causes from three to one: the sponsorship of children. It continued to be staffed primarily by individuals who identified their faith as Christian. As Lees recollected: ‘still very late on when we put adverts out for new staff... we still said “Christian or public spirited

people”... It was a factor in the people we employed’.⁹⁸ Nonetheless, the public mandate of the organisation shifted.

Lees recalled that the Christian Youth Appeal had not been as successful in early fundraising efforts as her sister appeal for Help the Aged, and that they had to re-think their strategy in order to augment material support.⁹⁹ He said of its parent charity, the Voluntary and Christian Service, ‘that it [the Christian name of the organisation] stopped their fundraising base because if you had that [name] on the bottom of your letterhead a lot of people who were anti-Christian wouldn’t give to you’. In a private letter to Jackson-Cole in 1971, Lees stated that the charity must re-evaluate use of the word ‘Christian’ in their name:

In my own case and also that of the Committee I would like to see the word Christian retained. However... this could be achieved by using as our slogan for example “Action in Distress” and highlighting that we were part of V.C.S.... We could thus be stressing the object and needs of the appeal and we could be the youthful arm of V.C.S. meeting those needs primarily by the efforts of *young* people.¹⁰⁰ (Original emphasis)

In an interview, Lees also noted that a problem with the Christian Youth Appeal was the ambiguity over its purpose given the name and the diversity of causes it was supporting – was it an organisation to support Christian youth, an organisation run by Christian youths, or did you have to be Christian to support it or receive help? These concerns, along with the reluctance of some donors to give money for drug addiction rehabilitation, also led to the re-branding and a narrowing of focus.¹⁰¹ From 1972 the organisation specialised in child sponsorship, particularly with children in India and Kenya, and – with advertising expertise from colleagues including Harold Sumption (Quaker and long-time collaborator with

Jackson-Cole across all his major VCS projects) – the charity advanced its marketing.

According to recollections of Action in Distress’s first General Secretary, the charity’s early successes were in ‘case history’ advertising in the “Give a Child a Chance” campaign of the early 1970s, and in personalising sponsorships:

I worked out a headline and a case history of a child ... the headline was: “Give a Child a Chance at Christmas”... and the agency which was chaired by Harold Sumption said this is too long, you have to say “Give a Child A Chance” and everybody knows it’s Christmas... [I]t went in the Observer and the results were stunning. We were getting, for a one pound investment, a return in the region of forty to fifty pounds, and we had more people wanting to sponsor children, than we had children available. So we had the crazy situation that [colleagues were] sent to India to find more children, photograph them and come back very quickly, so that we could give sponsors their sponsored child.

The private/public divide between personal faith and secular organisational identity expressed earlier by Lees resonated with wider shifts across business. David Jeremy, whose book examines Christians in business leadership from 1900-1960, argues that post-War business leaders ‘of strong Christian convictions’ did not see the world of business ‘as a sphere for the application of Christian ethics. For them work was an area where individual colleagues might be influenced but organisational structures and modes of operation much less, if at all’.¹⁰² This separation continued until the 1980s, when initiatives such as the Faith at Work movement reignited popular support for the relevance of religious teachings to the workplace.¹⁰³

As touched upon by Lees above, a key driver in this separation of faith and organisation for both businesses and charity organisations was market competition. With the expansion of charities in the post-War economic boom, and a related increase in competition for funding from private and institutional donors, charity managers had to make assumptions about their donors and decisions about their branding, such as whether using the word ‘Christian’ (or ‘drug addict’) would decrease fundraising potential.¹⁰⁴ While Hopgood and Vinjamuri credit these organisational shifts primarily to external market pressure,¹⁰⁵ Jackson-Cole and his colleagues’ charity business approach suggests a more complex interweaving of personal values and views on what makes a successful charity enterprise. Indeed, in Jackson-Cole’s mind, there was no distinction between fundraising as an activity, and faith as a motivator – money raised was a manifestation of God’s influence and worked towards ‘the Cause’.

This view resonated with the approach of many conservative Christian executives to corporate business in the United States from the mid-twentieth century. These predominantly evangelical executives ‘viewed business as a religious arena and endeavour’ and sought to transform American society through a religious revolution in private enterprise. It was part of a ‘new way’ of being Christian and advancing the gospel.¹⁰⁶ And the influence of this business-minded conservative Christianity on American markets, society and politics was significant. It raised billions of dollars for the capitalist economy and broadened its appeal through emphasising ecumenical and pragmatic attitudes towards modernisation, while retaining a level of parochialism. Darren Grem refers to this conservative religious business movement as paradoxically insular and diffuse, as well as somewhat limited – ‘insular’ in that these evangelicals experienced and practiced faith in private settings, especially in privately-owned business; ‘diffuse’ because those settings and businesses were spread across the country; and ‘limited’ because there were many areas of public life not affected by their

activities.¹⁰⁷ While the UK corporate sector, and public life in general, took a much more secular path than the US over the twentieth century, the central development – exploring and expanding what it means to be ‘religious’ – remains relevant. Jackson-Cole in some notes in advance of a meeting in 1971 wrote that:

We can point to the Agencies like Oxfam (nearly all under Christian inspiration) who have in a small way helped the colossal need, but more still formed public opinion and began to mould many Governments to some action... As many as possible need to realise that the urge is coming from Beyond and that we can be used as much on this side of Christ’s mission as those who “preach the word”. The difference is that in this period of man’s populations, we have to apply the techniques of large scale organisation while still retaining the Spirit... [charities] should in fact obey some of the top business principles.¹⁰⁸

Here Jackson-Cole frames the organisation of charity and business as crucial venues for articulating faith and what it means to advance the Christian mission. And while the extent to which this personal Christian mission permeated into broader areas of organised charity, business and public life may well be contestable, the impact of his organisations’ fundraising technologies on public engagement with humanitarian causes has certainly not been insignificant. For instance, although selling second-hand items for charity has a long history,¹⁰⁹ Oxfam’s Broad Street shop is widely credited with kickstarting modern charity retail, which can be characterised by its focus on maximising fundraising and using business techniques to develop and manage stores.¹¹⁰ Today Oxfam has more than 650 shops operating on the UK’s high streets, run by more than 23,000 volunteers and salaried staff, and

there are over 10,500 more shops operated by various other charity organisations across the country.¹¹¹

For Action in Distress/ActionAid too, individual child sponsorship predates the charity's 'case histories' of the 1970s, as the Save the Children Fund was connecting donors with needy children from 1919.¹¹² Nonetheless Jackson-Cole's charity, with the marketing expertise of Howard Sumption, trialled what turned out to be some incredibly successful fundraising techniques, including the mass marketing of a 'postal parent' campaign – which beseeched donors to be a 'postal parent' for a monthly subscription.¹¹³ This was done through off-the-page advertising and loose leaf inserts, and the campaign is credited with making ActionAid one of the fastest growing charities of the late 1970s/early 1980s.¹¹⁴

The extent to which these business-informed charity fundraising initiatives were (and continue to be) secular has been hotly debated. There has been a rise in calls from within the Christian scholarly community to reclaim faith-inspired giving from so-called secular fundraising activities, asserting that giving practices have moved too far away from their Christian stewardship origins.¹¹⁵ Humanitarian scholars have pointed out that nearly all of the growth in the voluntary sector between 1945 and the 1980s was in secular agencies,¹¹⁶ counting Oxfam, ActionAid and Help the Aged within that category. However, the faith inspiration and religious values that sit behind Jackson-Cole's organisations, and the charity work of the dozens of other managers and leaders that worked beside him, suggest a more complex picture. They demonstrate the continued relevance of faith to social action in Britain across the mid-to-late twentieth century, and challenge assumptions around what constitutes secularity in the business of charity.

In many ways, the role of faith in the professionalisation of these charities in the UK mirrors what Grem describes of the influence of evangelicalism on twentieth century

corporate America: insular, diffuse and limited.¹¹⁷ The faith of Jackson-Cole and his associates was largely experienced in private settings, including charities and business, with fundraising perceived as a Christian act and responsibility. These fundraising initiatives were diffuse in the sense that they occurred across the country, though were not necessarily engaged with as Christian-inspired initiatives by everyday private donors. While Jackson-Cole may have aspired for a social and religious revolution through work for ‘the Cause’, many areas of public life remained unaffected by these sentiments and actions. However, the professional tools and techniques developed within his organisations and appeals, achieved significant material success across the country and accelerated the momentum of charity professionalisation that was happening across the country. And, for Jackson-Cole at least, that was evidence of God’s work on earth.

Conclusion

It is important, when writing about the work of a founder, not to fall into ‘Great Man’ narratives about their achievements and legacy. Jackson-Cole’s appeals and organisations certainly grew legs with his efforts, but their genesis was often in conversation with other colleagues and friends about an emerging humanitarian need. And the charities and businesses he is credited with founding were transformed into lasting enterprises largely because of the additional work and inputs of a range of other men and women who worked and volunteered for them. Some of them have been briefly mentioned above – Raymond Andrews, Leslie Swain, Harold Sumption, Roger Lees, Hugh and Anne Faulkner – though many more merit attention. Moreover, Jackson-Cole was not universally admired. For every colleague that had a good working relationship with him, there was another who found him to be, at best, eccentric with odd working habits (such as making unsolicited late night work

phone calls and sleeping in until mid-morning) or, at worst, bad tempered, domineering, and prone to outbursts that created ‘a culture of fear’ in his organisations.¹¹⁸

Nonetheless, through the network of charities, businesses, and fundraising initiatives linked to Andrews and Partners and the VCS, Jackson-Cole unarguably contributed to the advancement of professional charity in enduring ways. And his charity business practices offer a useful departure point for exploring the changing landscape of twentieth century charitable Britain. Building on literature that has examined the professionalisation of charity after World War II,¹¹⁹ this paper has provided additional insights into how business methods came to influence some of the UK’s largest charities. This was through the secondment of corporate staff to charities, hiring salaried fundraisers, incubating appeals through VCS and Andrews and Partners, through innovations in advertising, fluid committee membership between charities, trusts and businesses, and so on.

These examples contribute to ongoing challenges of the foundational myths of many twentieth century charities, which tend to emphasise good intentions, inexperience, and voluntarism as key underpinnings, and submerge events or individuals that do not fit with their self-imagined identity.¹²⁰ ActionAid in particular has suffered from a somewhat revised account of its inception, with narratives of its foundation erroneously beginning in 1972 as a secular child sponsorship organisation¹²¹ rather than a Christian-inspired youth organisation that trialled fundraising for various causes before narrowing to child-focused appeals.

Relatedly, a deeper look into Jackson-Cole’s personal motivations sheds further light on the enduring relationship between faith, charity and business in post-War Britain. While the fundraising technologies developed by Oxfam, the VCS and others were not obviously religious in their content – even moving away from overt Christian associations when donations were adversely affected by it – faith remained a motivator and, at times, an explanation of success. In one chapter of an uncompleted autobiographical piece, Jackson-

Cole describes the comfort he feels in the knowledge that everyone and their life's work is 'known beyond', and those who live a life dedicated to helping others may not be 'required to pass on' before their time.¹²² In another document, Jackson-Cole describes his life's work, particularly Help the Aged, and the wider humanitarian endeavour as a Cause influenced by, and evidence of, the work of God.¹²³ While a prevailing thread of historical research posits the 1950s and 1960s as period of increasing secularism and declining Christianity,¹²⁴ this analysis, like Anderson's work on the Fair Trade movement, weaves more readily into the counter-historiography of scholars such as Morris that call for an examination of personal religious experience as a means to understand religiosity in Britain in the period.¹²⁵

When Jackson-Cole passed away in 1979 it was arguably towards the end of a period of charity and workplace secularism, as the 1980s in the US saw a generation take power in the corporate and political sphere who sought more meaning and purpose in their work and formed part of a reinvigorated Faith at Work movement.¹²⁶ In the UK and elsewhere, the 1990s saw a significant surge in charity organisations that publicly identified as faith-based while undertaking similar fundraising approaches pioneered by their predecessors.¹²⁷

However, what Jackson-Cole's personal mission and his network's charity business initiatives show is that this timeline was not one of an absolute shift. While the decline of institutional Christianity across the twentieth century is certainly widely accepted, that does not necessarily mean that so-called "earthly matters"¹²⁸ such as fundraising and professionalisation had no religious character for those shaping them. Through Jackson-Cole and his colleagues' initiatives to "build up" Oxfam, the VCS and ActionAid, it is possible to see an enduring and symbiotic relationship between faith, charity and business throughout the mid-to-late twentieth century and this has quite profound implications for the way we understand professionalising fundraising initiatives in this period.

¹ This was particularly propelled by the Charity Organisation Society. Sarah Roddy, Julie-Marie Strange and Bertrand Taithe, 'The Charity-mongers of modern Babylon: Bureaucracy, scandal, and the transformations of the philanthropic marketplace', *Journal of British Studies*, 54, (2015): pp.118-137; M. J. Moore, 'Social Work and Social Welfare: The Organization of Philanthropic Resources in Britain, 1900-1914,' *Journal of British Studies*, (1977) 16, 2, pp.85-104.

² Moore, 'Social Work and Social Welfare', p.85.

³ Adrian Sargent and Elaine Jay, *Fundraising Management: Analysis, Planning and Practice*, Third Edition. (London: Routledge, 2014), p.10-11.

⁴ Suzanne Franks, 'Please Send Us Your Money': The BBC's Evolving Relationship with Charitable Causes, Fundraising and Humanitarian Appeals', *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television*, (2017), DOI: 10.1080/01439685.2017.1412919; Heide Fehrenbach and Davide Rodogno (ed), *Humanitarian Photography: A History*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015); Andrew Jones, 'The Disasters Emergency Committee (DEC) and the Humanitarian Industry in Britain, 1963–85', *Twentieth Century British History*, 26, 4, (2015): 573-601, p.576.

⁵ M. Hilton, J. McKay, N. Crowson and J. F. Mouhot, eds., *The Politics of Expertise: How NGOs Shaped Modern Britain*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), p.59.

⁶ S. Hopgood, *Keepers of the Flame: Understanding Amnesty International*, (London: Cornell University Press, 2013).

⁷ M. Frank, 'The New Morality—Victor Gollancz, 'Save Europe Now' and the German Refugee Crisis, 1945–46', *Twentieth Century British History*, 17, 2, (2006): 230-256.

⁸ Hilton et al, *The Politics of Expertise*, p.60.

⁹ For instance, see Rony Brauman's critique of aspects of Bernard Kouchner's "origin story" of Médecins Sans Frontières. R. Brauman, 'Opinion Note: Médecins Sans Frontières and the ICRC: matters of principle', *International Review of the Red Cross*, 94, 888, (2012): 1523-1535.

¹⁰ E. Baughan, and J. Fiori, 'Save the Children, the humanitarian project, and the politics of solidarity: reviving Dorothy Buxton's vision', *Disasters*, 39(s2) (2015): 129-145

¹¹ Baughan and Fiori, 'Save the Children, the humanitarian project, and the politics of solidarity', pp.13-14.

¹² C. Jackson-Cole, 'A businessman queries some unusual experiences', (2 September 1974), Box 3, WRSO ACC.6259, W. Sussex County Archive [hereafter WSCA].

¹³ W. Sussex Record Office, WSRO ACC.6259, particularly Boxes 11 and 29.

¹⁴ This company - Helping Hands Gift Shops Limited - was established by the Voluntary and Christian Service and its proceeds funded a range of charities, including: Age Concern, Churches Council for Health and Healing, Medical Aid, Help the Aged, Action in Distress (later ActionAid), Cheshire Homes, and the National Council of Social Welfare. Gift Shop Committee, 'Minutes of a Meeting of the Gift Shop Committee', (27 November 1973), Box 15, WRSO ACC.6259, WSCA.

¹⁵ The Phyllis Trust was renamed first to the World in Need Trust and then to the Andrews Charitable Trust after the death of Jackson-Cole. The Andrews Charitable Trust holds the majority shares in the Andrews and Partners Estate Agency. Andrews, 'Social Purpose', (n.d.), < <https://www.andrewsonline.co.uk/about-andrews/social-purpose/> > [Accessed 29 October 2018].

¹⁶ This Trust was established in 1967 and — now known publicly as the 'Speaking Volumes' initiative — it disseminates subsidised Christian literature. Speaking Volumes, (2014), <http://www.speakingvolumes.org.uk/index.php> [Accessed 29 September 2014].

¹⁷ The Trust Deed is dated 29th December 1967, and when Jackson-Cole set up this Trust he endowed it with shareholding in the Andrews and Partners Estate Agency. Seventy-five percent of Trustees from the Christian Initiative Trust must also serve on the Trustee Board of the Andrews Charitable Trust. See: Charity Commission, (2014), <<http://apps.charitycommission.gov.uk/>> [Accessed 29 September 2014], Charity Registration: Christian Initiative Trust, 255187.

¹⁸ WRSO ACC.6259, WSCA, Boxes 7 and 8.

¹⁹ Church Brothers was a subsidiary of W. Andrews and Sons Furnishers (Andrews (Furnishers) Ltd). Church Brothers and Partners, Letterhead, (5 July 1966), Box 17, WRSO ACC.6259, WSCA.

²⁰ This was an initiative trialled by the VCS to bring businessmen onto the board of charities. Voluntary and Christian Service. 'Challenged by poverty: Voluntary and Christian Service report for 1975'. (1975). Box 29, Folder: VCS. WRSO ACC.6259, WSCA.

²¹ M. Black, *A Cause for Our Times: Oxfam the First 50 Years*. (Oxford: Oxfam, 1992); J. Pearson, 'HelpAge: The Act of Helping', in *The Unsung Sixties: Memoirs of Social Innovations*, eds. H. Curtis and M. Sanderson, (London: Whiting and Birch, 2004), pp. 447-458; Hilton et al, *The Politics of Expertise*, p.60; D. Halpin, *Groups, Representation and Democracy: Between Promise and Practice*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010), p.213.

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- ²² C. Jackson-Cole, 'One part in establishing a world philosophy for the aged', [Notes in preparation for a talk], (n.d.), Box 3, WRSO ACC.6259, WSCA.
- ²³ C. Jackson-Cole, 'Some of the material for helping preparing the book "Ten Years Too Late"', Box 3, WRSO ACC.6259, WSCA, pp.1-2.
- ²⁴ Hilton et al, *The Politics of Expertise*, p. 56; A. Symonds A. 'The Social Construction of Public Care: From Community Care to Care by the State', in: *The Social Construction of Community Care*, eds. A. Symonds and A. Kelly, (Palgrave, London, 1998)
- ²⁵ M. Barnett and J. Gross-Stein, eds., *Sacred Aid: Faith and Humanitarianism*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012); Hopgood, *Keepers of the Flame*; M. Anderson, 'The British Fair Trade Movement, 1960 - 2000: a new form of global citizenship?', PhD Thesis, University of Birmingham (2008).
- ²⁶ B. W. Walker rev, 'Cole, Cecil Jackson-, (1901-1979), Businessman and Charity Founder' in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biographies*, eds. H. C. G. Matthew and B. Harrison, (2004), <www.oxforddnb.com/index/31/101031280> [Accessed 29 June 2014]. Jackson-Cole had great affection for his mother (née Nellie Catherine Jackson) and after she passed away in 1926, Albert Cecil Cole – as he was then known – changed his name by deed poll to Cecil Jackson-Cole. John Pearson, *Interview with author*, 29 November 2011.
- ²⁷ Walker, 'Cole, Cecil Jackson' (2004). Andrews and Partners is still in operation today.
- ²⁸ M. Theo Jackson-Cole, *Interview with author*, 22 December 2011; John Cole, *Interview with author*, 8 November 2011; John Pearson, *Interview with author*, 29 November 2011; Raymond Andrews to Chris Barber, 'Recollections of C. Jackson-Cole and the Oxford Committee for Famine Relief by Raymond Andrews', (10 March 1989), [Letter], Misc Papers, Private Collection of Anne Faulkner, Hertfordshire, UK.
- ²⁹ Jackson-Cole bought this Grade-II listed house and allowed the charity Toc H to use it as a holiday retreat for the elderly and resting place for soldiers. Toc H is an Anglo-Belgian charity and membership movement founded by Reverend Philip Thomas Byard Clayton around 1920.
- Toc H, 'About Toc H', (2010), <http://www.toch-uk.org.uk/About_Us.html>, [Accessed 06 June 2014].
- Walker, 'Cole, Cecil Jackson' (2004); Cecil Jackson-Cole, [No title], (1974), [Notes on the plot of an autobiographical film on Cecil Jackson-Cole], Box 3, WRSO ACC.6259, WSCA.
- ³⁰ Walker, 'Cole, Cecil Jackson', (2004).
- ³¹ G. Murray with J. Smith and A. J. Toynbee, eds., *Gilbert Murray: An Unfinished Autobiography, With Contributions By His Friends*, (London: Allen and Unwin, 1960), p. 178.

³² C. Jackson-Cole, 'Part memoirs', p.1.

³³ The Oxford Committee for Famine Relief, *First Minute Book*, (1942), Oxfam GOV/1/1/1/2, Oxfam Archives, Oxfam Temporary Storage, Oxford, UK; Black, *A Cause for Our Times: Oxfam the First 50 Years*, p.1.

³⁴ Jackson-Cole, 'Part memoirs', p.3; Raymond Andrews, 'Recollections of C. Jackson-Cole', (10 March 1989).

³⁵ K. Hudson, *Help the Aged: Twenty One Years of Experiment and Achievement*, (London: Bodley Head, 1982), p.16.

³⁶ Jackson-Cole, 'Part memoirs', p.1.

³⁷ Jackson-Cole, 'Part memoirs', p.3; Black, *A Cause for Our Times*, p.15.

³⁸ Black, *A Cause for Our Times*, p.15.

³⁹ Jackson-Cole, 'Part memoirs', p.1.

⁴⁰ See: Murray with Smith and Toynbee, *Gilbert Murray: An Unfinished Autobiography*, (1960); D.

Wilson, *Gilbert Murray: 1866-1957*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988).

⁴¹ Andrews, 'Recollections of C. Jackson-Cole', (1989).

⁴² Hudson, *Help the Aged*, p.16; Black, *A Cause for Our Times*, p.33; Andrews, 'Recollections of C. Jackson-Cole', (1989).

⁴³ R. Andrews, 'A new concept in charity work', VCS [report], (c.1990), p.11, Roger Lees personal archive

⁴⁴ Black, *A Cause for Our Times*, p.34.

⁴⁵ The Oxford Committee for Famine Relief, *First Minute Book*, Oxfam GOV/1/1/1/2. Prior to Joe Mitty, the Committee had appointed a part-time assistant by the name of Frank Buckingham, but Mitty was the first full-time employee paid exclusively by the Committee and the one to develop the shop into an ongoing concern. Buckingham was primarily concerned with the volunteer side of the organisation.

⁴⁶ Office for National Statistics, 'Monthly Digest of Statistics: No. 1. January 1946', (2006 [1946]), Available: <http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/rel/ctu/monthly-digest-of-statistics/no--1--january-1946/index.html> [Accessed 28 October 2014].

⁴⁷ L. M. Salamon and H. K Anheir, 'In Search of the Non-Profit Sector. I: The Question of Definitions', *Voluntas: International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organizations*, 3, 2, (1992), p. 144.

⁴⁸ This was an almost £20,000 increase from the previous year. Cecil Jackson-Cole and Leslie O. Swain, '1948-49: Shall We Close Down', in *The Oxfam Story*, eds. Canon T. R. Milford, C. Jackson-Cole, L. O. Swain, and H. Leslie Kirkley, (London: Pergamon Press, 1964), p.7.

⁴⁹ Andrews, 'Recollections of C. Jackson-Cole', (1989).

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- ⁵⁰ By 1960 the VCS had as its chairman Raymond Andrews, Jackson-Cole as the Honorary Treasurer, Hugh Faulkner as Honorary Administrator and E. A. Worby as the Appeals Secretary among others. Worby oversaw the build-up of the Gift Shop network for Help the Aged throughout the 1960s. C. Jackson-Cole, 'Voluntary and Christian Causes', (8 March 1960), Box 11, WRSO ACC.6259, WSCA.
- ⁵¹ The Help the Aged (Oxford) Housing Association est. 1968 (now known as the Anchor Housing Association).
- ⁵² Cole, *Interview with author*, (2011); United Nations Development Programme, 'Governing Council: Twenty-eighth Session', (Twenty-eighth session, June 1981), Reference: DP/561.
- ⁵³ Cole, *Interview with author*, (2011).
- ⁵⁴ VCS [report], c.1990. Roger Lees personal archives.
- ⁵⁵ Cecil Jackson-Cole to Mr. Fletcher (1 November 1960), [Letter], Box 11, WRSO ACC.6259, WSCA.
- ⁵⁶ Cecil Jackson-Cole, 'Voluntary and Christian Causes, (8 March 1960).
- ⁵⁷ J. Field, 'Charitable Giving in Modern India', in *Companion to Humanitarian Action*, eds. Mac Ginty, R. and Peterson, J. H. (London: Routledge, 2015): 429-439
- ⁵⁸ C. Jackson-Cole, 'What the People of Britain are Doing - And What Remains to Be Done', (n.d.), Box 11, WRSO ACC.6259, WSCA.
- ⁵⁹ F. Prochaska, *The Voluntary Impulse: Philanthropy in Modern Britain*, (London: Faber & Faber, 1988); F. Prochaska, *Women and Philanthropy in Nineteenth Century England*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980); R. H. Bremner, *Charity: Giving and Philanthropy in History*, (London: Routledge, 1994).
- ⁶⁰ Prochaska, *The Voluntary Impulse*, p.27.
- ⁶¹ F. Prochaska, *Christianity and Social Service in Modern Britain: The Disinherited Spirit*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 149.
- ⁶² Jackson-Cole, 'Some of the material for helping preparing the book "Ten Years Too Late"', pp.11-12.
- ⁶³ Jackson-Cole, 'Some of the material for helping preparing the book "Ten Years Too Late"', p.1.
- ⁶⁴ *The Holy Bible*, King James Version. (New York: American Bible Society, 1999).
- ⁶⁵ Weber, *The Protestant Ethic*, pp.39-50.
- ⁶⁶ Jackson-Cole, 'Some of the material for helping preparing the book "Ten Years Too Late"', p.11.
- ⁶⁷ C. Jackson-Cole, 'Why I became a Christian', (n.d.), Box 3, WRSO ACC.6259, WSCA.
- ⁶⁸ Jackson-Cole, 'Why I became a Christian', (n.d.). Jackson-Cole was of Protestant leaning, with Anglicanism being prominent at the end of his life.

⁶⁹ Jackson-Cole, [No title], (1974), p.4.

⁷⁰ S. C. Williams, 'The Problem of Belief: The Place of Oral History in the Study of Popular Religion', *Oral History*, (1996 : Religion and Belief), p.27; F. Prochaska, *Christianity and Social Service in Modern Britain: The Disinherited Spirit*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 149. Although Jackson-Cole's business success placed him, in later life, within middle-class circles, he came from a struggling family that moved around much due to unemployment and suffered extensive debts. Cecil Jackson-Cole, [No title], (1974), Box 3, WRSO ACC.6259, WSCA, p.4.

⁷¹ Jackson-Cole, [No title], (1974), p.4. Whilst there is no full reference in Jackson-Cole's papers, a later edition of the text was published in 1986: Unknown Christian, *How to Live the Victorious Life*, (Michigan: Zondervan, 1986).

⁷² Jackson-Cole, [No title], (1974), p.6.

⁷³ See, for example: P.A. Gordon, D. Feldman, R. Crose, E. Schoen, G. Griffing, and J. Shankar, 'The role of religious beliefs in coping with chronic illness', *Counselling and Values*, 46, 3, (2002): 162-174; S. Dein and J. Stygall, 'Does being religious help or hinder coping with chronic illness? A critical literature review', *Palliative Medicine*, 11, 4, (1997): 291-298.

⁷⁴ J. Hazelgrove, 'Spiritualism after the Great War', *Twentieth Century British History*, 10, 4, (1999), 408.

⁷⁵ Jackson-Cole, [No title], (1974), p.4.

⁷⁶ R. Schmitt, 'Suffering and faith', *Journal of Religion and Health*, 18, 4, (1979), 273.

⁷⁷ Jackson-Cole's narrations pinpoint the death of his mother as a moment of increased spirituality, rather than a moment of perceived abandonment. Jackson-Cole, [No title], (1974) p.4; Jackson-Cole, 'Why I became a Christian', p.25.

⁷⁸ Long, 'Suffering and transcendence', p.148.

⁷⁹ Long, 'Suffering and transcendence', p.148.

⁸⁰ A key text in this regard is the book draft: *A businessman queries some unusual experiences*. In this document, Jackson-Cole lists in chronological order (and in third person) key events in his life that have spiritual connotations in the hope that 'they will add to knowledge and enquiry and maybe give reassurance to some'. Jackson-Cole notes the illness he experienced in his thirties as time spent 'almost entirely on meditation, continually thinking out problems, mostly, however, connected with the running of life and affairs in the world, usually with a religious connotation'. Jackson-Cole, 'A businessman queries some unusual experiences', p.1.

These assertions are repeated in Cecil Jackson-Cole, [No title], (May 1978), [Recollections of illness], Box 3, WRSO ACC.6259, WSCA.

⁸¹ I. Feldman, 'The Quaker Way: Ethical Labor and Humanitarian Relief', *American Ethnologist*, 34, 4, (2007): 689-705. Pp.689-690.

⁸² Feldman, 'The Quaker Way', p.694.

⁸³ 'In Memoriam : Cecil Jackson-Cole', Manuscript of Memorial Service, 4 November 2001, Theo Jackson-Cole personal archives.

⁸⁴ C. Jackson-Cole, 'Part memoirs', p.8.

⁸⁵ C. Jackson-Cole, 'Timeline of religious experiences', (n.d.), Box 4, WRSO ACC.6259, WSCA.

⁸⁶ Andrews, 'Recollections of C. Jackson-Cole', (1989).

⁸⁷ C. Jackson-Cole, 'Regarding the Christian Book Promotion Trust', (21 May 1970), Box 16, WRSO ACC.6259, WSCA.

⁸⁸ Andrews Charitable Trust, 'Social Purpose', (n.d.).

⁸⁹ C. Brown, *The Death of Christian Britain: Understanding Secularisation, 1800-2000*, (London: Routledge, 2009).

⁹⁰ M. Anderson, 'The British Fair Trade Movement, 1960 - 2000: a new form of global citizenship?', PhD Thesis, University of Birmingham (2008), p.74

⁹¹ Anderson, 'The British Fair Trade Movement', p.82.

⁹² M. Anderson, 'NGOs and Fair Trade: the social movement behind the label', in *NGOs in Contemporary Britain: Non-state actors in society and politics since 1945*, eds. N. Crowson, M. Hilton and J. McKay, (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009).

⁹³ H. McLeod, *The Religious Crisis of the 1960s*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), p.67

⁹⁴ McLeod, *The Religious Crisis of the 1960s*, pp.67-70.

⁹⁵ McLeod, *The Religious Crisis of the 1960s*, p.73.

⁹⁶ R. Adams, cited in Anderson, 'The British Fair Trade Movement, 1960 – 2000', p.79

⁹⁷ Christian Youth Appeal, 'Christian Youth Appeal' (1972), personal archive of Roger Lees, p.1.

⁹⁸ Roger Lees, Interview with the Author, 6 February 2012.

⁹⁹ Roger Lees, Interview with the Author, 6 February 2012. Help the Aged was the sister organisation of ActionAid as it was also founded by Cecil Jackson-Cole and the VCS.

¹⁰⁰ Roger Lees, Letter to Mr Jackson-Cole, dated 9 September 1971, personal archive of Mr Roger Lees. pp.1-2.

¹⁰¹ Lees, *Interview with Author*.

¹⁰² D. Jeremy, *Capitalists and Christians: Business Leaders and the Churches in Britain 1900-1960*, (Oxford: OUP, 1990), p.195

¹⁰³ D. Miller, *God at Work: The History and Promise of the Faith at Work Movement*, (Oxford: OUP, 2007).

¹⁰⁴ S. Hopgood and L. Vinjamuri, 'Faith in Markets', in *Sacred Aid: Faith and Humanitarianism*, eds. M. Barnett and J. Gross-Stein, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp.37-64.

¹⁰⁵ Hopgood and Vinjamuri, 'Faith in Markets', p. 42.

¹⁰⁶ D. E. Grem, *Blessings of Business: How Corporations Shaped Conservative Christianity*, (Oxford: OUP, 2016), p.4.

¹⁰⁷ Grem, *Blessings of Business: How Corporations Shaped Conservative Christianity*, p.5.

¹⁰⁸ C. Jackson-Cole (1971), 'Wither Help the Aged? And Other Charities Dealing with the Vital Needs Covered by Some of the Christian Injunctions', Cecil Jackson Cole Private Papers, Box 12, WSCA, Ref: WRSO ACC.6259, Box 12.

¹⁰⁹ For instance, the Salvation Army's 'salvage stores' in the late nineteenth century involved the employment of 'the submerged' poor in collecting unwanted second-hand goods from wealthy homes and restoring and selling them. The priority was occupation of the poor and preventing the waste of items that could be resold. The charity shop model present on the high streets of contemporary Britain differs in that they are spaces primarily designed to raise money for a charitable organisation and an abstract needy public. For more on the Salvation Army, see R. Hattersley, *Blood and Fire: William and Catherine Booth and the Salvation Army*, (New York: Doubleday, 2000); for a cultural history of the Salvation Army's Salvage Stores in Melbourne, Australia, see: A. Podkalick and J. Meese, 'Twin Transformations': The Salvation Army's Charity Shops and the Recreating of Material and Social Value', *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, 15, 6, (2012), pp. 721-735

¹¹⁰ Charity Retail Association, 'FAQs: Charity Shops' <https://www.charityretail.org.uk/charity-shops-faq/> [Accessed 23 October 2018].

¹¹¹ Charity Retail Association, 'FAQs: Charity Shops' <https://www.charityretail.org.uk/charity-shops-faq/> [Accessed 23 October 2018].

¹¹² B. Watson, 'Origins of Child Sponsorship: Save the Children Fund in the 1920s', in *Child Sponsorship*, eds. B. Watson and M. Clarke, (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2014) [ebook], pp. 18-40.

¹¹³ B. Watson, H. Lockton and M. Pawar, 'Issues in Historic Child Sponsorship', in Watson and Clarke, *Child Sponsorship*, (pp. 66-95), p.82.

¹¹⁴ Watson et al, 'Issues in Historic Child Sponsorship', p.82; SOFII, 'ActionAid the 'postal parent' advert'

<http://sofii.org/case-study/actionaid-the-postal-parent-advert> [Accessed 24 October 2018]

¹¹⁵ M. O'Hurley-Pitts, *The passionate steward: recovering Christian stewardship from secular fundraising*, (Toronto: St Brigid Press, 2002).

¹¹⁶ Barnett and Gross-Stein, 'Introduction', in Barnett and Gross-Stein, eds., *Sacred Aid: Faith and Humanitarianism*, p.5.

¹¹⁷ Grem, *The Blessings of Business*, p.7.

¹¹⁸ Letter, 11 March 1972, From: Rev Michael Davies, To: Raymond Andrews. Box 10, WRSO ACC.6259; Pearson, 'HelpAge: The Act of Helping', pp. 447-458

¹¹⁹ Hilton et al, *The Politics of Expertise*.

¹²⁰ Organisational hagiographies are particularly prone to this narrative. Hilton et al, *The Politics of Expertise*, p.56.

¹²¹ D. Archer, 'The evolution of NGO-government relations in education: ActionAid 1972-2009', *Development in Practice*, 20:4-5 (2010), 611-618; C. Bode-Harlass. 'ActionAid', in: H. K. Anheier, S. Toepler (eds) *International Encyclopaedia of Civil Society*. Springer, New York; ActionAid 'History', <http://www.actionaid.org/who-we-are/history> [Accessed 1 January 2019].

¹²² Cecil Jackson-Cole, 'Chapter 3', p.2.

¹²³ Jackson-Cole, 'Some of the material for helping preparing the book "Ten Years Too Late"', pp.1-2.

¹²⁴ Brown, *The Death of Christian Britain*; Brown, *Religious Crises in the 1960s*.

¹²⁵ Anderson, 'The British Fair Trade Movement'; J. Morris, 'Secularisation and religious experience: arguments in the historiography of modern British religion', *The Historical Journal*, 55, 1, (2012): pp.195-219.

¹²⁶ Miller, *God at Work*, p.7.

¹²⁷ Barnett and Gross-Stein, 'Introduction', p.5.

¹²⁸ Barnett and Gross-Stein, 'Introduction', p.8.