

**A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF MINORITY RELIGIOUS GROUPS:-
WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO HOLINESS AND RELATED
MOVEMENTS IN BRITAIN IN THE LAST 50 YEARS.**

by

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ABSTRACT

Holiness and interdenominational movements have been neglected by sociological studies of religion. This is an investigation of two modern British conversionist groups, Emmanuel and the Faith Mission, which in varying degrees possess both of these qualities. They are considered in terms of their historical background and development, their place among contemporary British Holiness movements, their social and theological teachings, their organization and social composition.

They have experienced to a greater or lesser extent the pressures towards organizational change e.g. the routinization of charisma, professionalization of personnel, legalization of procedure and structural formalization, to which the sect-denomination-church framework has drawn attention in the analysis of the dynamics of religious groups. However, these two movements, which are institutionalized missionary agencies, do not fit into that typology.

An institutional analysis of the two movements, using the Parsons-Bales-Shils system model to give order to a number of detailed sociological observations, interprets them as functioning wholes, maintaining themselves by means of a set of roles, techniques and procedures. There is evidence of tension and conflict between these separate structural elements, between the goals within each movement, and in the relationship of the groups to secular society.

A clear understanding of them requires an examination of the internal and external social factors involved in their operation. While this study is not psychological, there are suggestions that groups

like Emmanuel and the Faith Mission have a capacity to integrate personalities by providing individuals with a sense of belonging to a friendly, purposeful and divinely supported fellowship.

Within the structure of contemporary society these groups are functional alternatives to such groups as delinquent gangs and criminal subcommunities in the sense that they provide their members, which include groups of marginal individuals, many of them culturally and educationally deprived, with a sense of identity, a meaningful comprehension of a confusing world and a recognized status and a purposeful role within a sustained structure of motivation.

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T.R.W.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION.

This thesis examines the relationship between religion and society. It accepts the theory that the emergence and development of religious forms - beliefs, practices and organizations - are determined and modified by prevailing social and economic conditions. But in viewing religious phenomena in a social context it claims no more than a partial explanation. The process of individual cognition and adherence to religious associations cannot be fully interpreted without psychological analysis, and the philosophical and theological questions concerning the ultimate validity of belief systems are held to be outside of the scope of academic sociology. Statements of belief and doctrine are therefore accepted as part of the given data and, although the author feels unable to support them himself, they remain unquestioned and this thesis is not intended to support or disclaim them.

The choice of minority religious groups stems from a number of sources. A longstanding connection and a transitory involvement with the fundamentalist, Holiness position generated an interest in the appeal and functioning of its group forms. Academic contact with one who had studied such associations provided a more disciplined stimulus. This kind of minority movement is particularly suitable material for sociological investigation. Small-scale organizations are often clearly

defined, have a relatively narrow range of diversity of conduct and are therefore more easily observed. In their attempts to draw adherents in greater or lesser degree away from the larger society many of them establish social, as well as ideological units. They are thus useful focal points for studying tensions which may exist between the society itself and the requirements of adherents and of these associations themselves, whose character, which has been compared to that of "the anthropologist's isolated tribal society",¹ makes it easier to identify and analyze the forces which modify and shape them over a period of time. The primary foci of attention in this thesis are therefore a) the reasons for the persistence and the methods of functioning of minority religious groups and b) the relationships between these groups and the societal context in which they operate.

The outsider cannot study religious groups with ease. The understandable suspicion with which they regard the researcher, whose interpretations they feel may give them an undesirable publicity, and whose investigations might interfere with the beliefs of their followers, limits the extent of their co-operation. Moreover one who has had a close association with them is not always in an ideal position to research them. He tends to take less time to become accepted by them and has greater capacity for empathy, a method particularly appropriate for the sociological study of religion. But his detachment may be inadequate and his very proximity to the data may prevent him from achieving a satisfactory general view. But total objectivity is extremely difficult to attain in sociological research of this kind. Every effort

has been made to document the statements made here and, as far as the movements would permit, quantitative data have been collected. At various stages during the research attempts were made to systematically administer questionnaires to numbers of believers but most leading personnel who understandably deemed that this would constitute interference in the affairs of their movements, were reluctant to allow this kind of investigation. It was their generosity, however, which placed most of the quantitative data contained in the appendices at the disposal of the researcher. Most of the information used for the thesis has, however, been obtained from a variety of sources. Documentary evidence came from the sizeable number of publications by the groups, notably the biographies of their founders which are kinds of historical studies and the back numbers of their magazines which were carefully scrutinized. In addition frequent participant observation at services and convention meetings and numerous interviews and random conversations with leading personnel as well as adherents, provided a great deal of information. The sociologist is necessarily involved in social affairs themselves and subjectivity is always likely to influence interpretative comment. All that is claimed for this study is that every effort has been made to avoid statements of an arbitrary evaluative nature and that the sociological observations meet to an acceptable degree the rigorous standards of accuracy and documentation.

In introducing the research it is as well to consider some of the recent developments in the sociological theory of minority religious groups which leads inevitably to some discussion of the

concepts of "sect" and "church". Troeltsch, whose studies were largely confined to Medieval Catholicism and European Protestantism before 1800, was primarily interested in the teachings of Christianity which he realized could not be understood apart from the sociological character of the organizations which upheld them.² According to Troeltsch, the church-type of organization is large, conservative, accepts the secular social order and dominates the masses. It is therefore "dependent upon the upper classes and upon their development".³ It sees the secular order as a preparation for the supreme ends of life and is oriented towards society in a way that makes institutional change and compromise strong possibilities. Asceticism is accommodated within the "church" as a special high watermark of religious achievement, often giving rise to an "order", but the usual morality of the "church" is what Troeltsch calls "average"....."on good terms with the world".⁴ The church's essence is its "objective institutional character",⁵ and its administration of the means of grace. The individual is born into it.

In contrast the "sect-type" is comparatively small, and aims at individual inward perfection and direct personal fellowship between its members. Its attitude is at variance with the secular order, but may be indifferent, tolerant or hostile. The "sect" is usually connected with the lower classes and it refers directly to the supernatural order, since it has developed more fully an individualism in terms of direct personal union with God. Asceticism for the "sect" is essentially detachment from the secular social order, which it sees to be necessary for the achievement of the ideals of the New Testament and the Primitive

Church. Troeltsch recognised that often the sect grew out of the 'Church'; it expressed the desires of those who were fully committed to revive pure religious forms.

Weber emphasized that the "sect" is a voluntary association of only those who, according to the principle, are religiously and morally qualified.⁶ He also drew attention to the charismatic lay leadership of the sect, contrasted with the professional hierarchic forms of authority in the "church".

The relations between these two broad tendencies have been said to embody from one point of view the history of the Christian Church.⁷ Since Troeltsch and Weber moulded them these concepts have been fruitfully used in the empirical analysis of Christianity in America and Britain. Niebuhr⁸ outlined the ways in which the "sect", beginning in American frontier society as a "protest" movement of the disinherited, accommodated itself in the second generation to the secular environment, in which "The sectarian organization takes on a churchly aspect".⁹ The Baptists, the Methodists and the Disciples¹⁰ were all involved in this transition which was directly connected with the shift from frontier to established society. A settled social life, a blurring of the challenge presented by the environment, and a lessening of physical danger and hardships reduced the need for emotional religious expression and the warmth of inspired preaching.¹¹ In addition to his comments on denominational change, Niebuhr pointed out the appeal of certain religious forms to different social classes, immigrant and ethnic groups. But his useful contribution is limited by its applicability only to "the

pullulating sectarianism of America in its era of dynamic and fluid expansion".¹² It was also an extensive survey which prevented a more sophisticated and refined analysis based on detailed empirical investigation.

A more thorough study was that of Liston Pope.¹³ Confining his data to one geographical area and interesting himself mainly in the role of religion in the development of a local industrial community, he found that no denomination was "outstanding for its ability to combine different social classes"¹⁴ and that each church appealed to certain social strata of the community. More significantly he found that the development of religious organizations from "sect" to "church" seemed to be a function of the social mobility of adherents. The percentage of mill-workers in a group declined the more nearly it approximated to the "church"-type. But Pope maintained that "asceticism and moral discipline have not caused a majority of members of our religious sects in Gaston County to ascend appreciably in the economic scale".¹⁵ Religion tended to preserve the status quo by keeping members in previous social and economic positions but the emphasis on personal virtues in Holiness groups produced more efficient workers. Upward mobility was confined to a minority who either left the sect or remoulded it in keeping with their new social position. As a result of this analysis, Pope was able to suggest twenty-one facets of the transition from sect to church which are a vital aid to the study of sect dynamics.¹⁶ Goldschmidt,¹⁷ in his study of rural Californian churches, was another whose research drew attention to developments towards

positions of respectability within "outsider" churches as a result of the increasing prosperity of those members who demand more elaborate church buildings and an educated ministry. Schism ensued from these developments and the denominational situation was adjusted to accommodate the changing social structure. Goldschmidt did not find a class exclusiveness in the Protestant churches but established important correlations between socio-economic status and religious adherence.

An organization which readily fitted into Goldschmidt's schema of sect dynamics in a local context was the Church of the Nazarene, but Muelder¹⁸ has shown that, seen historically as a separate association, this body cannot be adequately understood as simply moving from a "sect" to a "church" position. Like the movements considered in this thesis, its initial ecumenical quality mitigated its degree of protest against the secular social order. Muelder suggests that it is best understood as an "institutional growth among a myriad of Holiness sects". As and primarily a religious expressive movement, it was not in conflict with the world, showed a high degree of organizational self-consciousness and was increasingly recruiting via its Sunday Schools rather than by enthusiastic revivalism.

Other investigations which have related religion to local social structures are those of Holt,¹⁹ Daniel²⁰ and Mann.²¹ Holt examined the growth of Pentecostal and Holiness denominations in the South-Eastern United States. They were found to flourish among white migrants from rural and religiously fundamentalist populations to urban environments. From his analysis Holt developed a hypothesis of "culture-

shock", embodied in the loosening of strict rural mores, the liberation of the individual from his group, the impersonal context and greater mobility of urban life and "a blasting disruption of personal and occupational habits and status".²² The emergence of Pentecostal and Holiness groups was held by him to represent "a defence of old standards and modes of behaviour rather than an attempt at reconstruction of attitudes and behaviour or a revolution against both the old and the new".²³ Established churches, on the other hand, became symbols of the migrant's isolation and of the strange and unfriendly society with which he was confronted. Holt also suggested that the emergence of Pentecostal and Holiness religion may be inversely related to the rise of the labour-union movement in a given area.²⁴

Mann's conclusions supported Holt's hypothesis although his data concerned the populations of Calgary and Edmonton. The denominations served the interests of the established classes and the sects and cults were supported by European immigrants, former farm-workers and the new working class. Among the sects were the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada, the Apostolic Church of Pentecost and the Church of God.

Apart from Pope's twenty-one facets, these studies employed only the broadest notions of the church/sect typology and made little attempt to refine it or to forge from it new tools of research. During the last fifteen years a number of attempts have been made to clarify this typology and to provide a more sophisticated frame of reference.

Brewer,²⁵ in analysing the Methodist Episcopal Church, applied four type-parts in terms of which he examined the movement's development

from sect to church between the decades 1780-90 and 1930-40. The four categories were 1. conceptual or ideological elements, 2. usages, rituals and behavioural patterns, 3. associational and organizational elements; and 4. material and instrumental aspects. With respect to all of these categories Brewer found a movement towards the church-type, but he showed that, although much accommodation to the folkways and mores of the secular social order had occurred, in terms of a liberal theology, a relaxation of discipline and strict membership criteria, a more elaborate liturgy and church buildings, nevertheless important sectarian facets had been retained, particularly teetotalism and 'anti-gambling.'

In a paper on secularization Pfautz²⁶ advocated a similar approach to the study of five basic types of religious grouping: cult, sect, institutionalised sect, church and denomination. These could each be examined in terms of five distinct frames of reference: demographic, ecological, associational, structural, social-psychological. There are obvious problems in categorizing movements in terms of types of religious groupings and the associational and structural categories are not clearly distinguishable, but an analysis of religious groups in these terms would have some usefulness.

Berger,²⁷ in another theoretical paper, questions Weber's definitions of "sect", "church" and "charisma" from the point of view of their applicability to modern religious organizations. Thus, according to Weber's emphasis on membership criteria, twentieth-century Baptists would be classified as sectarian and some Protestant churches would become sects if they abandoned infant baptism. Berger concludes

that Weber made voluntary association a "sectarian characteristic..... which, though widespread, is logically accidental to the phenomena as such".²⁸ Berger rejects Troeltsch's criteria, together with the emphasis of Wach on the sect as a form of religious protest expressing itself in secession, which Berger considered to be too narrow. What is necessary, he suggests, is a classification based on "Kind of spirit" found in each type and the "inner meaning" which believers attach to religious phenomena. Thus, he claims the sect emphasizes that the "spirit" is immediately present while the church claims the necessity to bring the "spirit" close by the apparatus of mediation. "This definition sees sectarian phenomena from within leaving us free to discuss its many sociological aspects without introducing them into the definition itself".²⁹ He adds the concept of "religious motif", i.e. "a specific pattern or gestalt of religious experience that can be traced in a historical development".³⁰ This would enable the central and ephemeral aspects to be distinguished. Berger then attempts a classification of sects into three broad types - Enthusiastic (which cherish an "experience to be lived"), Prophetic ("a message to be proclaimed"), and Gnostic ("a secret to be divulged"). He is fully aware of the dangers presented by this kind of analysis, i.e. that the types are often mixed in their empirical manifestations and that a sect may pass from one type to another. The internal structure of religious movements, he claims, is to a larger extent determined by their attitude to the world. Thus, the variety of organizational structure prevailing among Revivalist and Pietist groups, which Berger includes in his Enthusiastic-type, reflect

their varying emphasis on saving the world, avoiding it or both. For the Prophetic type the world is to be warred against or conquered and sects in that group i.e. Jehovah's Witnesses, develop a strong leadership. Gnostic groups, such as New Thought and Spiritualism, which he claims are indifferent to the world, present a circle of initiates who possess a secret and guard it against outsiders. Berger's taxonomy is useful and it points out clearly the need to note the implications of a movement's belief system and its orientation to the world when considering its appeal and its dynamic development. But, although he provides ten "meaning systems" in terms of which movements could be examined, the kind of analysis he proposes is difficult to handle since it necessitates arbitrary judgments by the researcher on the depth and intensity of religious experience and belief.

Benton Johnson³¹ is another who has stressed the importance of concentrating on "beliefs that provide the actual rallying point for adherents and furnish the basis for the precipitation of a social system".³² He claims that attitudes to secular culture are at best derivatives of more centrally important sacred objects and ideals, which he labels "the process of justification". He goes on to distinguish between liturgical and ethical forms of this process which correspond respectively to the positions of church and sect and suggest that there may be others. In a later article he abandons the "belief-system" criterion and reverts to that of a group's relative acceptance or rejection of its social environment as being the crucial factor in sect/church theory.³³ In employing this approach to analyse American

religion he suggests that the disagreement within consensus which is its foremost characteristic has greatly affected the political stability of the United States. As part of this thesis he claims that revivalism, particularly its Holiness element, has made a significant contribution to the socialization of potentially dissident lower-class factions.

Yinger³⁴ devised a spectrum the extremes of which were complete withdrawal and complete acceptance of the world. The spontaneous sect and the national church respectively represented these extremes. Midway between them he postulated a theoretical point "where the ability of a religion to control the behaviour of individuals, according to its established norms is at a maximum".³⁵ The institution nearest to this, on the "church" side, is the universal church, which corresponds to Becker's "international" type.³⁶ Close to the mid-point on the "sect" side is the "established sect". This similarity which Yinger perceived between, for example, the Thirteenth Century Roman Catholic Church and the Twentieth Century Quakers was seen to lie in their tendency to dominate a large part of the lives of their members. The "established sect" is the institutionalised version of the cult or spontaneous sect which has undergone modification with the advent of second and third generations which necessitate a more organized, self-conscious approach. It is prevented from becoming a church because it, "represents a rather stable religious and social division" as opposed to "an emerging group".³⁷ The work of Wilson³⁸ goes some considerable way towards providing an adequate systematic frame of reference for a consideration

of the relationship between "sect-type" and "church-type" religious organizations. From his detailed examination of three distinctive groups in modern Britain, each of which, incidentally, belongs to one of the three broad types of sect devised by Berger, he raised a number of important questions concerning sect development. None of these groups evidenced in any considerable degree the movement from sect to denomination or church as observed by Niebuhr, Pope and Yinger, although significant institutionalization and bureaucratization were found in the Elim Foursquare Gospel Church, Christian Science adherents were found to be less committed than formerly and Christadelphianism to a limited degree developed a minimal national organization. Much of the explanation for this persistence of sectarian features derives from the differences from the ideal type of "sect" which all three groups possessed from the beginning.

Wilson suggested that the central clue to a theory of sect development lay in the movement's response to certain tensions some of which were contained in its internal structure, while others arose from its relations with the wider society, including other religious organizations and the historical circumstances in which the movement arose. He proposed four sub-types of sect using types of mission as a basis for distinction, on lines similar to those used by Berger: Conversionist, Adventist, Introversionist and Gnostic, each of which he described in some detail. He also contrasted the sect-type with the denomination-type but his valuable contribution rested in the potential tension-producing elements which he applied to empirical cases of each of his

sub-types. These elements were: circumstances of sect emergence, internal structure of sect organization, degree of separateness from the external world, the coherence of sect values, and group commitments and relationships. Conversionist groups were found to be most prone to denominationalizing tendencies. Adventist and Introversionist were the best protected and Gnostic groups less clearly protected.

In an article on sect typology³⁹ Wilson increases his sub-types to seven by the addition of Thaumaturgical, Reformist and Utopian and attempts to trace the emergence and persistence of sects, in terms of their authority and identify-conferring functions in differing societal circumstances.

Both of these theoretical formulations derive from systematic empirical study of specific religious movements related to a wider social context. They are capable of application to other movements in different societies. They are more than "a loosely integrated listing of empirical characteristics",⁴⁰ but are methodological tools forged on the anvil of disciplined research.

A recent attempt to throw further light on the subject is Martin's claim that the denomination far from being an advanced stage of sect development, is a sociological type sui generis⁴¹. He suggests that it flourishes in a society "where social change proceeds at a steady pace according to agreed criteria",⁴² and echoes the conclusions of Benton Johnson concerning the social determinants of American religion.

Even more recently Glock⁴³ has proposed a theory of sect emergence and development in terms of the role of deprivation among

sectarians and their groups. He postulates five types of deprivation: economic, social, organismic, ethical and psychic. It is the extent to which these are directly perceived by those who suffer them that determines whether religious movements or political parties or labour unions emerge, but deprivation is only a necessary condition. The deprivation must be shared, no alternative institutional arrangements for its resolution are perceived, leadership must emerge with an innovating idea for building a movement out of the existing deprivation.⁴⁴

Glock proceeds to find empirical correlates of his deprivation types. The subsequent development of religious groups is influenced by the deprivation which stimulated them, how they deal with it and the degree to which it persists in society. This theory may be seen as a social-psychological supplement to that of Wilson. It attempts to isolate variables which point to the functions which certain types of sects fulfil for their members. But, like most functionalist approaches, it is ex post facto, the deprivations being scarcely identifiable apart from their institutional expression. Glock's attempt to outline alternatives of institutional and associational response is, however, a useful contribution to the analysis of religion in complex societies.

The purpose of this discussion has been to trace the development of an established body of sociological theory on minority religious groups. Much of it has been employed in recent studies e.g. by Chamberlayne⁴⁵ and Isichei⁴⁶ to analyse the evolution of two well-known English denominations. In this thesis some of it is applied in an investigation of two lesser known 'Holiness' groups i.e. which are evangelical and

fundamentalist but which also emphasize the attainment of an experience, known by such names as:- "Sanctification", "Holiness", "the Baptism of the Holy Ghost", "Full Salvation", "Heart-Cleansing", "The Fulness of the Blessing", which is claimed to cleanse the believer from inbred sin and to give him the power to lead a holy life.

The thesis was originally intended to be confined to an analysis of Emmanuel Holiness Church. The comparative usefulness of the Faith Mission rests in its stress on rural evangelism compared with Emmanuel's urban orientation, in its resistance to pressures forcing it into a distinctly denominational mould and in what was originally thought to be its loose, minimal form of organization which relied exclusively on the voluntary efforts of local lay Prayer Union leaders. This broad formulation has inevitably had to be modified in the course of the research. The two groups are examined in terms of their historical development and analysed, by using the Parsons-Bales-Shils system model, which enables a consideration of some of the elements which Wilson mentioned as productive of institutional tension and potential change. Their specific doctrinal position, their religious and social practices, their psychological appeal, social composition and the significance of their training institutions are all considered. They are small but not therefore unimportant. Their very persistence - and they are two among many similar organizations⁴⁷ - and the degree of their followers' commitment, make them significant components in the structure of British society.

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CHAPTER TWO

AN OUTLINE OF THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF BRITISH HOLINESS MOVEMENTS

The foundations of Holiness teachings, as found in the movements considered in this thesis, were laid during the early years of the Christian Church and to trace them fully would require an exercise in the history of Christianity greater than the scope of this thesis allows.¹ Only a brief outline can be attempted here.

Prominent Christians and theologians have typically concerned themselves with the goals of the Christian life, the significance of "sin" and the quality of behaviour to which the individual believer can reasonably be expected to aspire. Jesus himself included purity of heart and the pursuit of perfection as central elements in his teaching on entry into the Kingdom of God.² His followers were expecting his imminent return and the ensuing millennium. They gave little time to the problems of individual Christian experience, particularly its moral goals. We find the earliest systematic form of perfectionism in St. Paul's teachings concerning the supreme life as one of love through the indwelling Spirit of Christ and his conception of the mature Christian.³ The influence on Paul of Hellenistic philosophy, particularly that of Plato and Philo, is reflected in the dualistic notion, subsequently developed to an extreme in Gnosticism, of a

transcendent, spiritual reality (the Good, the Logos, the Divine) which man can only attain by forsaking the material and bodily interests of earthly life.

Similar conceptions of the ideal Christian life were held during the Patristic period. Clement of Alexandria and others such as Ignatius of Antioch, Polycarp of Smyrna and Clement of Rome, emphasized perfect love as the goal of moral life and as the panacea for sin, but they considered it to be achievable only through union with God. For Origen asceticism was the way to win the battle with the outward, visible world and thus to move towards spiritual perfection. Both Donatism and Novationism rigorously maintained that the true Church must be a community of pure and holy believers. Irenaeus and the more ecstatic Montanist stressed the receipt of the Holy Spirit as the effective means of reaching this goal, an approach which was later favoured by Ambrose for whom the power of faith was instrumentally important. According to Jerome it was possible to avoid sinning by a sufficiently strong exertion of the will.

Medieval monasticism was an attempt to cultivate the ideal, holy condition by "refinements of mortification, a severe penitence and the rigours of self-disciplinary effort".⁴ But monasticism was a pursuit of holiness by specially religious persons, released from ordinary social and religious obligations. The writings of scholastics like John Scotus Erigena, Amaury of Bene and particularly St. Augustine were the chief examples of Neo-Platonic perfectionism. The latter is exemplified in Augustine's stress on the persistent struggle of

flesh against spirit in mortal men. He admitted, however, when discussing a perfectionism which he claimed was attainable in its fulness only in eternity, that it could be enjoyed, presumably in part, in earthly life. His emphasis on the personal, emotional aspect of Christian experience, in terms of the moral effect of the infused love of God, was a foreshadow of modern Holiness teaching.

But it is among medieval perfectionist sects like the Albigenses (Cathari) and the Waldenses that the forerunners of modern Holiness movements are found. Better known for their struggles against the Mother Church and less well-known for their pursuit of the perfectionist ideal, these groups were medieval attempts to revive the ideal apostolic past. Their "perfected" believers underwent spirit-baptism and practised a kind of puritanical asceticism. On a more mystical plane the Brethren of the Free Spirit, who sought perfection by mental detachment from worldly activities, including ethical conventions and laws, are an example of the antinomian extremism to which teachings on the eradication of sin potentially lead.

In the post-Reformation period Luther's preoccupation, at least in his later years, with the religious notion of the believer being assuredly right in the eyes of God diverted his attention from the moral problem of the goals of holy living, while Calvin condemned all forms of this worldly perfection. But the Quietistic ideal of a silence of disinterested love and the Quaker conception of belief in the atonement which produces a dramatic experience in the believer English religious life (in the trend we are now describing). Lewis Bayly

and refashions his life into perfect love, helped to prepare the way for a more experimental form of holiness to emerge. Meanwhile the Pietist movement, led by Spener and Francke, which flourished in Holland and Germany, arose against an ecclesiastical regime which, for it alleged, laid insufficient stress on high moral attainment. Its emphasis on personal religious experience passed over into Moravianism, but Zinzendorf, in his correspondence with Wesley, maintained that conversion and sanctification occurred simultaneously and could not be two distinct experiences.

Another significant continental European influence on modern Holiness movements was Arminianism. Although perfection was not clearly defined in its teachings Arminianism bestowed a strong incentive to pious living to a large section of later Protestantism. In its severe opposition to Calvinistic antinomianism, it helped to pave the way for modern evangelical Christianity in which fertile soil the seeds of modern Holiness were nourished, for they were sown in the field of eighteenth-century English evangelicalism.

In England itself medieval mystics, such as Margery Kempe, Richard Rolle and Julian of Norwich, had stressed perfectionism in Christian experience. In the fourteenth century Walter Hylton appears to have anticipated subsequent Holiness teaching when he distinguished between "Reforming in faith" and "Reforming in feeling" which seem to correspond to the saved-sanctified dichotomy.

A more vital component, however, was the Puritan strain in English religious life (in the trend we are now describing). Lewis Bayly

attempted to reconcile Calvinistic determinism with the need to practise piety. Men like Jeremy Taylor, Baxter, Lucas, Allestry and William Law said much about the way to attain piety and sanctification, but their emphasis was on gradual self-discipline and continuous formation of good habits in the conflict against "the Devil".

There appear, therefore, to be four main strands from which modern Holiness Christianity was woven. The ethical and ascetic traditions of Pietism and Puritanism became synthesized with the voluntary and experiential features respectively of the Arminian and Moravian modes. The precise formulation of the doctrine seems, however, to have been accomplished by John Wesley. Evidence for this view is provided by the researches of Perkins, Cell, Gaddis and Sangster. Cell refers to the doctrine as "an original and unique synthesis of the Protestant ethic of grace with the Catholic ethic of holiness".⁵

Wesley's early adult life was characterized by an intense longing to be righteous in combination with acute feelings of guilt, a condition similar to what many modern Holiness groups call "heart hunger". It is a state in which the evangelical believer, although claiming to be assured by a personal experience that Christ is his Saviour, nevertheless experienced continual frustration in his attempts to lead the ideal Christian life. During his years at Oxford and later in Georgia, Wesley was constantly searching for divine help in his aspirations towards what he believed was the desirable moral condition of the Christian. He went to America he was preaching on the "circumcision of the heart".

In his "Plain Account of Christian Perfection" he claims to have been influenced by a number of writers on the subject and attempts to trace the progress of his thinking on holiness. He was especially impressed by Jeremy Taylor's ideas on "purity of intention" in Christian life and as a result he became

"resolved to give all my life to God; all my thoughts and words and actions, being thoroughly convinced.....that every part of my life (not only some) must be either a sacrifice to God or to myself, that is in effect to the Devil."⁶

Similarly in Thomas a Kempis's "Christian Pattern" which he read a year later he "began to see that true religion was seated in the heart, and that God's law extended to all our thoughts as well as our deeds and actions".⁷ Moreover, "the nature and extent of inward religion.....appeared to me in a stranger light than ever before".⁸ He began to "aim at and pray for, inward holiness" from then onwards.⁹ The writing of William Law, whose thinking had been heavily influenced by Jacob Boehme, the German Protestant mystic, had a strong effect on Wesley. Law's "Treatise on Christian Perfection", which strongly advocates holiness in the routine of everyday life, made him

"convinced more than ever of the impossibility of being possible half a Christian and determined to be all devoted to God, to give Him all my soul, my body, and my substance."¹⁰

Wesley's devotional activities, as carried on in the Holy Club at Oxford, for example, and his attention to the minute and detailed organization of his personal life were therefore part of an early compulsive desire to successfully practise holy living. Thus even before he went to America he was preaching on the "circumcision of the heart

in a word, they lost all taste and love of sin, self-will, and
 "that habitual disposition of soul, which in the sacred
 writings is called holiness, and which directly implies
 being cleansed from sin...the being endued with those
 virtues which were in Christ Jesus".¹¹

He was already convinced of the necessity of aiming at the highest
 moral ideal which he saw personified in Jesus.

Wesley's contact with the Moravian brethren made a strong
 contribution to the Methodist revival. The most crucial element in
 their teaching was their stress on conversion as the principal rel-
 igious experience. As we have already noted, they denied the poss-
 ibility of crisis experiences after conversion, but it was from
 contact with Moravians like Spangenberg and Peter Böhler, and from
 accounts of experiences of men like Arvid Gradin, that Wesley con-
 cluded that holiness as a practise was unsatisfactory. Gradin
 claimed that his conversion in 1736 gave him "Repose in the blood of
 Christ; a firm confidence in God and persuasion of His favour; the
 highest tranquillity, serenity and peace of mind, with a deliverance
 from fleshly desire and a cessation of all, even inward sins".¹²

The testimonies of some of the early Methodists reveal their
 conception of holiness. It was a crisis experience. Its aim was
 uninterrupted communion with God, which like conversion was possible
 only because of God's grace. It was instantaneous, although pre-
 ceded by a period of struggle and quest. While there was a clear def-
 inition of the notion of deliverance from all conscious sin, this
 was followed by an awareness of a need for further progress in love
 and spiritual growth.¹³ "After being convinced of inbred sin",
 Wesley wrote, "particularly of pride, anger, self-will and unbelief,

in a moment they feel all faith and love - no pride, self-will or anger; and from that moment they have continued fellowship with God."¹⁴ This instantaneous element is the central feature of modern Holiness teaching.

In the early years of Methodism small gatherings of leading preachers were held to discuss the doctrine of entire sanctification and Wesley attempted to lend support (of concise scriptural exegeses) to the experimental evidence of it among his converts. In his "Plain Account of Christian Perfection", distinguishing between sins and common human faults, he argued that the Holiness experience frees its recipients from "evil thoughts, tempers, anger and pride" i.e. "sin", but not from "ignorance or mistake, weakness or slowness of mind, impropriety of language, pronounciational defects or temptation".¹⁵

In his "Brief Thoughts on Christian Perfection" he does not contend for the term "sinless" though he says: "I do not object against it". He frankly admits, however, to the possibility of "falling from" the sanctification experience but he is unclear on the point in the Christian's life when sanctification occurs. In one account he says that it occurs days, weeks, or even years after conversion, but later he says:- "as to time I believe this instant generally in the instant of death..but I believe it may be 10, 12, or even 40 years before."¹⁶ Towlson quotes a statement on holiness by Wesley in later life:- "I tell you flat that I have not attained the character I draw"¹⁷ and there is indeed there is no recorded testimony by Wesley that he personally experienced it.

Meanwhile Methodism crossed the Atlantic Ocean and its perfectionist teachings were a significant attraction to its American followers.¹⁸ Earlier migrants to the New World had included considerable proportions of Quakers and these had been followed by German pietist and pietistic groups who settled mainly in Pennsylvania and the preaching of the Holy Spirit in revival was so successful for where among other parts of the U.S. movements like the Dunkers, the Schwenkfelders and Mennonites had frequently developed perfectionist tendencies. After 1720 pietist and enthusiastic dissenters from the Palatinate, such as Johann Conrad Beissel, arrived in America and the Ephrata Community, the Eckerlings (Zionites) and the Baumanite settlements were formed. The latter examples of perfectionistic communalism were the outcome of logical, but extreme developments of holiness teachings. The presence of the Moravian Brethren and the perfectionism of Shaker movements also contributed to this favourable environment for the flourishing of Wesleyan holiness. But it was the participation of C.C. Finney and J.H. Doyan, which was closely related to the Great Awakening which fostered a commitment to revivalism among American Methodist teaching.¹⁹ Finney was disappointed with the instability and backsliding of his converts and in his years at Oberlin College he and Dr. Anna Mahan systematized his thinking on sanctification and of this revival are reflected among most Holiness groups, not least Finney incorporated it into his preaching.²⁰ In his memoirs he writes: "I was satisfied that the doctrine of sanctification is the potential hindrance to the spread of Holiness in America was Calvinism. It is therefore not surprising that the Methodists found New England less hospitable than the Middle and Western colonies. It has been suggested that Wesleyanism in its early years appealed primarily to the poorer classes and not to groups like the religiously sophisticated

communities of New England who were not attracted to a religion of rationalistic which he brought up his Bible school in Norway, joyful demonstration and audacious moral optimism. But only when returned from 1838-41 was he later established the Sweden Society in Calvinism tones down its deterministic emphasis, however, and allows room for the activity of human free will in relations with divine teaching reminiscent of the continental European Brethren of the Free powers and plans, does it encourage revivalism. This is one reason why the preaching of men like George Whitefield was so successful for it resonated in an entirely new social and theological system which there is little doubt that his revivalism produced many believers dismissed the corporate practice of free love for which Sweden became on both sides of the Atlantic who were receptive to the doctrine of widely known. T.C. Upham who had been strongly influenced in his entire sanctification.

Teaching of the Quakers, particularly Faneion and Wadsworth Owen, was another who took up the teaching of Holiness and in 1837 himself organized expression of religious faith in the middle of the nineteenth century. It owed much of its earlier expression to the enter- to be known; he caught a form of quietistic perfectionism at Bowdoin prise of the Methodists and to the revivalistic tradition which had college.

developed after the Great Awakening. The revivals which had occurred between 1820 and 1835 in and around New York State gave birth to the from the arrival of the Primitive Methodists in 1844 and the renewed perfectionism of C.G. Finney and J.H. Noyes, which was closely related emphasis which they gave to Wesley's doctrine of personal holiness. to Methodist teaching.¹⁹ The revival of 1857-58 which swept across the Northern U.S.A. was and backsliding of his converts and in his years at Oberlin College another vital influence.²⁰

he and Dr. Asa Mahan systematized his thinking on sanctification and The foundation of the Free Methodist Church in New York, Finney incorporated it into his preaching.²⁰ In his memoirs he writes: in 1860, marked the beginning of Holiness denominationalism. At

"I was satisfied that the doctrine of sanctification in this this life, and entire sanctification in the sense that it was the privilege of Christians to live without known sin, was a doctrine taught in the Bible, and that abundant means were provided for the securing of that attainment".²¹

spread of Holiness teaching in Western Europe. In the 1860's he Finney paid two visits to Britain, in 1849-50 and 1858-60, and his founded the Association for the holding of Union Holiness Conventions preaching had some influence on the emergence of distinctive Holiness and it was during that decade that the National Holiness Association

bodies in this country. Noyes developed the teaching into an anti-nomian extremism which he taught at his Bible school in Putney, Vermont from 1836-47 and he later established the Oneida Community in New York State. This was a narrow but logical development of Holiness teaching reminiscent of the continental European Brethren of the Free Spirit as well as the American pietistic communities mentioned above. It resulted in an entirely new social and theological system which licensed the corporate practice of free love for which Oneida became widely known. T.C. Upham who had been strongly influenced in his reading of the Quietists, particularly Fenelon and Madame Guyon, was another who took up the teaching of Holiness and in 1839 himself received the "second blessing" as the sanctification experience came to be known; he taught a form of quietistic perfectionism at Bowdoin College.²²

The Holiness movement proper, however, gained greater impetus from the arrival of the Primitive Methodists in 1844 and the renewed emphasis which they gave to Wesley's doctrines of personal holiness. The revival of 1857-58 which swept across the Northern U.S.A. was another vital influence.²³

The foundation of the Free Methodist Church in New York, in 1860, marked the beginning of Holiness denominationalism. At this time, W.E. Boardman, formerly a Methodist, but now a free-lance preacher, published a treatise which had a wide influence on the spread of Holiness teaching in Western Europe.²⁴ In the 1860's he founded the Association for the holding of Union Holiness Conventions and it was during that decade that the National Holiness Association

and the National Camp Meeting for the Promotion of Holiness began in the United States.²⁵ All of these were essentially interdenominational movements, but as the doctrines of entire sanctification and assurance came to receive less emphasis within Methodism, so they became increasingly the focus of attention among those radical Methodists and other evangelically-minded groups who had become associated with the interdenominational Holiness movements. They provided something of a rationale for revivalistic endeavour.

By the end of the nineteenth century, the Holiness movement, now beginning to take on a more distinctive denominational character, had become a significant force in evangelicalism in the United States. The Church of the Nazarene, the largest Holiness denomination in the world at the present time was founded in 1895 and later in 1908 amalgamated with similar Holiness groups which had arisen in the previous two decades to form the Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene.²⁶ The Pilgrim Holiness Church and the Church of God (Anderson, Indiana) are other leading American Holiness denominations which were formed at this time. Many of them were amalgamations of a number of Holiness groups.²⁷

It is important, however, to distinguish the Holiness tradition from the Pentecostal movement which, at least in part, sprang from Holiness origins early in the twentieth century.²⁸ Pentecostalism accepted the principal distinguishing tenets of the Holiness position, but tended to take them further, emphasizing a division between cleansing and Spirit-baptism, and looking for the operation of the gifts of the

Spirit in Spirit-baptized persons. The Holiness movement expected baptism in the Spirit without charismata of this kind and as a means of attaining a purified holy life, but without the expectation of the operation of the gifts of the Spirit particularly the glossalalia. The leaders of the Holiness movement tended to condemn Pentecostalism (although this was a designation which they had previously used of themselves before it became associated with glossalalia) once it had emerged in America as in Britain and continental Europe. They considered that it had a tendency to emotionalism which reduced the genuine "spiritual" content of the experience of the Baptism of the Holy Ghost.²⁹ They claimed that the Pentecostal movement, in emphasizing the glossalalic manifestation as essential evidence of a believer having received this Spirit-baptism, made it possible to "work up" an imitation of the gift of "tongues", which the Holiness groups admit is sometimes found among the "Spirit-baptised" but which they consider to be an inessential and less important feature of the experience.

Boardman's book strongly influenced Pearsall Smith who received the sanctification experience in 1861 and they both visited England in 1873 during which year a number of meetings were held in London "for the deepening of the spiritual life".³⁰ Smith also visited Germany where his Holiness preaching had a formative influence on the Fellowship Movement - Die Heiligungsbewegung.³¹ Its indigenous origins lay in the Pietistic fellowships which, working in complete independence of their national church organizations, had in places

such as Wurttemberg and Minden-Ravensberg, maintained an unbroken existence from the period of Pietistic ascendancy.³² There had been revivals among these groups in the 1820's and 1830's and Smith's arrival led to a further reawakening. The Higher Life Movement, by which name the latter came to be known, was led by Theodor Jellinghaus who together with the several continental visitors from France, Switzerland and Holland, attended two conferences on the subject of entire sanctification which were held in 1874 at Broadlands, Hants, and Oxford, both of them led by Pearsall Smith.³³ D.L. Moody, whose successful evangelistic campaigns, like those of R.A. Torrey, markedly contributed to the creation of a situation conducive to the emergence of British Holiness movements, announced his support for the Brighton conference, but neither he nor Torrey was ever formally associated with Holiness groups.³⁴ In the summer of 1875 the Keswick Convention, a significant feature of the British Holiness scene and the first distinctly organized expression of it, was begun by some who had attended Pearsall Smith's conferences.³⁵

There were, of course, some indigenous influences in the development of the Holiness movement in Britain, in addition to the stimulus provided by the American revivalists, Finney, Moody, Torrey and Pearsall Smith. William Booth, who had become acquainted with the teaching during his earlier attachment to the Methodists, had a significant influence in the 1870's and 1880's and it was in the second of these decades that the British Holiness movement began to be more distinctly organized.³⁶ In the main it retained its inter-

denominational quality. The Pentecostal Mission, which was not
 pentecostalist in the sense which the word was to acquire, was comm-
 enced by Reader Harris, Q.C., at Speke Hall in Battersea in 1887. He
 also opened mission halls at Long Ditton, Hook, Kingston, Hampstead,
 Hull and several other places. Originally this movement was called
 the Speke Hall Mission but its name was changed to the Pentecostal
 Mission and Harris published a magazine "Tongues of Fire" as its off-
 cial organ in 1891.³⁷ About the same time its prayer union was re-
 named the Pentecostal League of Prayer with the aim of drawing together
 all those who believed in the Baptism of the Holy Ghost as a definite
 blessing received after conversion. This interdenominational Pente-
 costal League became Harris's main interest. It dropped the word
 "Pentecostal" from its title and superseded the Pentecostal Mission.
 But by this time Holiness teachings were becoming the focus of more
 specifically denominational expression. The Holiness Church, a movement founded in London about 1880, had
 thirty-six assemblies in the Metropolitan area, Yorkshire, Lancashire
 and Kent.³⁸ After the death of its founder, Sophia Chambers, who
 had received the sanctification experience under the ministry of a
 Methodist, Dr. Woods Smythe in Maidstone, some of its assemblies
 joined the International Holiness Mission which was founded by David
 Thomas in London in 1907. It was Thomas who led George Wooster, a
 Buckinghamshire farmer, into the experience and a number of independ-
 ent holiness missions were set up after Wooster's ministry in rural
 districts of the South and Midlands, as far north as Leicester, between
 1905 and 1919.³⁹

assemblies. As we will show in the next chapter, close links of fellowship are maintained among people from all these organizations.

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In Scotland the Faith Mission was begun by J.G. Govan in 1886.⁴⁰ Another Scot, George Sharpe, who had been a pastor of the Methodist Episcopal Church in America where he had experienced entire sanctification after hearing the preaching of a Salvation Army major, returned to evangelize his homeland in 1901. He encountered opposition in the two Congregational churches of which he was pastor and, in the consequence founded the Parkhead Pentecostal Church in 1906; in 1909 it became the Pentecostal Church of Scotland.⁴¹

At the beginning of the twentieth century, these various movements, together with an indeterminate number of small independent gospel and mission halls, and some Methodist and Baptist churches and missions in which Holiness teachings were emphasized, constituted the Holiness movement in Britain. In 1915 the Pentecostal Church of Scotland joined the Church of the Nazarene, which like Harris's "League of Prayer", dropped the term "Pentecostal" from its title to prevent confusion with the new Pentecostal sects. In 1952 it took over the International Holiness Mission and also in 1955, the Calvary Holiness Church (formed in 1934 with a following principally in Yorkshire and Lancashire).⁴² A number of independent Holiness assemblies have arisen during the present century some of which have joined the Church of the Nazarene. Emmanuel Holiness Church began in 1916. The Scripture Holiness Mission is a recently formed group which separated in 1949 from the independent mission formed in Leicester after Wooster's visit. In Belfast in 1962 the Free Methodist Church, which is now a movement of some considerable size in America,

opened its first assembly in Britain and is the latest Holiness denomination to emerge here.

In addition there are a number of interdenominational missionary societies which are in sympathy with the teachings of the larger Holiness groups. Among these are: the Japan Evangelistic Band, the Irish Evangelistic Band and the Oriental Missionary Society. In the Methodist Church the annual Southport Convention and Cliff College, have always given special prominence to Holiness teaching and, according to Rev. J. Ford, "in almost all the large denominations there are churches or groups within churches where it is cherished or taught".⁴³ It has not been possible in the research carried on for this thesis to systematically examine the evidence for this statement. But the Faith Mission has included among its convention speakers from time to time preachers from the Church of England, the Church of Scotland, the Methodist Church, Congregational Churches, Baptist Churches and the Society of Friends. In many cities and towns in Britain annual conventions are held on the same lines as the Keswick Convention and until recently "Keswick" was included in their titles.

7. The Holiness movement in Britain is therefore diversified. In its most highly organized form e.g. the Church of the Nazarene, it is part of a worldwide denomination. In Emmanuel it finds expression as a minor denomination, a missionary society and a training organization. In groups like the League of Prayer and the Faith Mission a common interest in Holiness brings together believers from nearly all protestant denominations, as well as small, independent

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38. See The Holiness Advocate, Jan. 1884 - Dec. 1890 and Pure in Heart, Jan. 1891 - Oct. 1893. It is conceivable, but we have no corroborative evidence, that this movement was a branch of the American denomination of that name.
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The Christian Church is defined in terms of the body of

believers who have personally experienced the "New Birth".

They are people who have been "born again". The size of this body,

CHAPTER THREE

THE TEACHINGS OF CONTEMPORARY BRITISH HOLINESS MOVEMENTS

This chapter sets out the theological and social teachings of the two groups examined in the thesis, placing them in the context of a wider British Holiness movement. The groups owe much to the revivalistic tradition of nineteenth-century America and share a number of basic theological positions with a wide range of fundamentalist groups.¹ A sketch of the central tenets of evangelical fundamentalism which is shared in by Emmanuel and the Faith Mission, is our starting point.

The Bible is accepted uncritically to be literally true and verbally inspired. Fundamentalist groups believe that God has ensured the continuance and inviolability of His word so that men may receive it exactly as He intended. They shun debate concerning the authenticity of sections of the Bible and the reasons why some books were included and others excluded is of no concern to them. As far as doctrine is concerned, e.g. the Trinity, it is sufficient that there are a number of texts in the Bible which support it.

The Christian Church is defined in terms of the body of regenerate believers who have personally experienced the "New Birth". They are people who know that they are "saved". The size of this body,

its boundaries and those who are included in it are incapable of objective assessment since the criteria of entry is entirely subjective. But association is never refused with those who have accepted Jesus as their personal saviour. The Holiness movement in its varied forms is thus merely a kind of specially privileged order within the body of the Church.

This personal experience of regeneration, more widely known as "conversion", is the central core of evangelical teaching. It admits a believer into the elect of God and all men theoretically have an opportunity to receive it. Although those who belong to this tradition claim that God knows in advance which people will choose to join his elect in this way, the doctrine of predestination is not a part of it. It is essentially Arminian in its emphasis on the freedom of choice given to individuals. This theology as we observed in the previous chapter, "blends more easily with revivalism and evangelism".²

The concept of "Sin" has a central significance. It becomes the basic reason for events recorded in the Gospels. Not only is Sin conceived of as an inherent condition of all human beings, but a sense of sinfulness, i.e. feelings of guilt, is a basic requirement to initiate the cathartic process of believing in Christ and His atoning self-sacrifice which results in "conversion". Jesus alone is believed to be capable of saving men from the bitter consequence of sin. This Jesucentricism is also exemplified in the notion that one aspect of the evangelical experience is that an

individual allows Jesus to come into his life. Thus the recurrent theme of revivalist services is the unbearable weight of man's sin, the suffering of Christ in sacrificing himself and thereby atoning for man's guilt and the relief and gratitude which believers feel they owe to Jesus for performing this act on their behalf. As every man's conscience is considered to provide undeniable evidence for the fact of sin, so every converted believer's feelings and emotional satisfactions are seen as sufficient evidence of his regeneration.

In terms of eschatology most branches of fundamentalism accept that Christ will return physically to the Earth and that He will establish His kingdom consisting of the "saved" who are alive when He arrives and the rest of His Church who will be resurrected to participate. Emphasis on this aspect of theology varies among evangelical groups. Neither of the two movements in this study lay great stress upon it although Emmanuel includes it in its Articles of Doctrine. Definite predictions concerning the time of the Second Coming are discouraged in both movements but occasionally preachers point to certain "signs of the times". It is considered important, however, to repeat the fact of Christ's return since no one is supposed to know when He will come and a missed opportunity may mean eternal damnation rather than salvation and eternal bliss. Although the terms "Heaven" and "Hell" are not employed as much as in former years, some idea of that dichotomy is retained. Emmanuel's formal statement says that " .. as a result of the fall, God and man

in his natural and unregenerate state, are eternally estranged, and the finally impenitent are hopelessly lost".³ However, it considers that churches and movements which Most fundamentalist groups institute the sacraments of the Lord's Supper and Baptism by immersion. The Faith Mission, because of its missionary and non-denominational commitments avoids any concern with either, but Emmanuel formally practises them. The breaking of bread is in no way considered intrinsically efficacious and is merely a memorial; it is also often used as a means of re-dedication on the part of the believers. Baptism is inessential for salvation. Prayer for healing is quite common in both movements and in Emmanuel and less frequently in the Faith Mission, anointing the sick with oil and the laying on of hands are practised. In the case of the Faith Mission, however, although many of its members may practise one or more of these rites they do this more as part of their denominational commitments than as members of the Mission. Social service has never held anything but an insignificant place in the evangelical tradition; the Salvation Army is a special case but it still sees its philanthropy as a duty is secondary to evangelism, and it was obliged to build up its welfare service originally as an evangelistic device to attract believers from impoverished social strata, particularly during periods of economic depression; its welfare work has persisted because of the large commitment it developed to helping the urban poor. Since the tradition we are concerned with here sees the Christian life as essentially a matter of personal, subjective religion, it has not

stressed the believer's moral obligations to the socially and economically deprived.⁴ Moreover, it considers that churches and movements which emphasize the social gospel lose their spiritual evangelical quality; the best contribution that a Christian can make to the moral improvement of mankind is to win souls for Christ.

Even the preoccupation of the Holiness movement, on which we now concentrate our remarks, with the moral condition of the sanctified believer is confined to subjective moral qualities which the Christian feels himself to possess. Although there is no opposition in Holiness teaching to social work per se, Holiness believers and preachers have been so concerned with revivalism, missionary work and the devotional and moral aspects of Christian experience that it has always been subordinated.

Puritanism, however, has retained much influence among Holiness groups. A number of social activities are quite rigorously condemned. In the movements examined in this thesis the cinema, theatre, dance hall and football matches and all public places of entertainment are taboo. The consumption of tobacco and alcohol is most rigidly proscribed. Lotteries and gambling are similarly treated. Ostentatiousness in dress is moderated and for women make-up and elaborate hairstyles are discouraged. Swearing is condemned. All these activities, which were censured by Methodism two hundred years ago, are held to divert the believers' attention from the business of Christian living. Politics is considered an individual's private concern.

On matters of sex and marriage the Holiness movement maintains a traditional attitude. All forms of extra-marital and pre-marital sexual behaviour are condemned. Marriage with unbelievers is discouraged. A one-day meeting at Emmanuel after World War II decided that the Bible makes provision for divorce on the grounds of adultery, but not for re-marriage. These decisions seem to be supported by most Holiness groups. All forms of Sunday entertainment, with the exception of such activities as walking and book-reading but not newspaper-reading, are heavily proscribed. The Holiness groups are favourably disposed to all forms of secular education.

On the question of Holiness itself a number of points must be made. Although there are aspects of it on which there is a broad range of agreement, several are held with varying degrees of emphasis among writers and groups. There are a number of reasons for lack of complete unanimity among the Holiness movements. Firstly, since there is no evidence that believers have received the experience other than their own accounts of it there is much scope for variety of experience and interpretation. Secondly, the Protestant concept of the priesthood of all believers and the inspirational element in evangelicalism also allow for diverse description. There is further reason for concluding that some elements of the experience have more appeal to some Holiness groups than to others. To a certain extent this appears to vary according to the historical circumstances in which the group emerged and the social origins of its leaders.

All sections of the movement are agreed that the experience of entire sanctification is deeper than and subsequent to that of the "New Birth". It is considered to have both a negative and a positive aspect, the former involving the conception of "being cleansed from sin", the latter referring to the enrichments which the believer's Christian life acquires as a result of the experience. The negative aspect, also described by such terms as "Heart Purity", "Circumcision of the Heart", "Cleansing from Indwelling Sin", "Putting off the Old Man", and "the Rooting out of the destructive Principle" involves the notion that when a believer is regenerated he retains, despite his saved condition, the sinful nature with which he was born. In his efforts to lead a satisfactory Christian life he continually falls short of the standard he sets himself because his sinful heart, being only human, is incapable of being fully controlled. This aspect of the teaching, which has some basis in the moral conflicts which believers experience, is instrumental in producing in individuals, often as the result of exposure to continual intensive preaching on the subject at convention meetings, a condition of acute psychological stress leading to a crisis experience. This pre-crisis state is described by the Holiness groups as "Heart-hunger" or "Conviction of Inbred Sin". It is claimed that this negative phase in the experience, preceded by a period during which the believer suffers the frustration described above, prepares the way for the coming of the Holy Ghost into the heart and the condition of purity, power and love which it produces. It seems to me

that a distinction can be made between a radical and a moderate interpretation of this negative aspect among British Holiness groups.

Thus S.L. Brengle of the Salvation Army, whose writings are widely read in holiness circles wrote:

"The great hindrance in the hearts of God's children to the power of the Holy Ghost is inbred sin - that dark, defiant, evil something within that struggles for mastery of the soul, and will not submit to be meek and lowly and patient and forbearing and holy as was Jesus; and when the Holy Spirit comes, His first work is to sweep away that something, that carnal principle, and make free and clean all the channels of the soul."⁶

J.D. Drysdale said that "The destructive principle is to

be rooted out ..".⁷ These are quite radical accounts of the negative aspect. It is this approach which has produced considerable criticism of the Holiness movement by other evangelicals who allege that it admits the possibility of sinlessness or "sinless perfection" in Christian individuals. One of the consequences of such extreme statements of the teaching has been to cause individual believers to make many attempts to attain the experience and to meet with frustration because the goal they aspire to is so absolute. I have myself observed several individual believers answer an appeal at a convention, give a testimony later to the effect that they have received the Holiness experience, only to answer a further appeal at a later convention meeting.⁸ Moreover, the downfall of a number of prominent Holiness leaders, including Pearsall Smith himself, as the result of sexual misdemeanours, has also brought the movement into some disrepute.

A less radical view is expressed at the Kaswick convention,

and for this reason Ford excludes it from his list of Holiness movements. He quotes a statement by Webb Paploo, a former leading figure of that movement as stating "that he could not understand how 'dear John Wesley' could be so self-deceived as to suggest that a Christian could be free from sin in this life".⁹ A more recent speaker at the Keswick Convention, expressing a similar less radical view said:

"We must submit to the cleansing process willingly and with all our hearts. Our wills must be wholly and completely on the side of our...Saviour. We must never, never excuse any sin, cling to it, or refuse to let it go. If we are not willing, we must pray that we may be made willing to part with it, for 'His people shall be willing in a day of His Power' ".¹⁰

This is clearly a more moderate view than those expressed by Brengle and Drysdale. There are certain sections of the Faith Mission which do not accept the radical terminology used in the above quotations from Brengle and Drysdale. The Methodist leader, W.E. Sangster, has objected to testifying to cleansing from all sin.¹¹ Another moderating tendency is the belief in "day-to-day cleansing", a teaching about daily renewal of the dedicational aspects of sanctification which is a typical example of the routinization of religious belief.

There are thus two sections of the Holiness movement in Britain which are important, not merely because of the degree of radicalism in their interpretation of the negative aspect of Holiness, but because they are distinguishable on other grounds, more closely related to social and organizational differences. The more radical wing contains Emmanuel, although there is some evidence of moderation since the death of its founder; most sections of the Church of Fellowship have been maintained between members of all the groups

of the Nazarene, particularly those with previous connections with the International Holiness Mission and Sharpe's Scottish movement; the Independent Holiness Movement and those influenced by Wooster; that section of the Salvation Army represented by Brangle, and most sections of the Faith Mission, particularly those of Northern Irish background. It appears to be correlated with an absence of advanced education on the part of leaders, and they and their following tend to be of lower social origins. Thus Drysdale's father was a gasfitter and he himself a barber; Sharpe's father was a miner and he himself a clerk; Wooster was a farmer and Thomas, a draper. The moderate wing, comprising the Keswick Convention, which is closely connected with the Church of England and has a large proportion of university-trained ministers among its speakers, the sections of Methodism which support Dr. W.E. Sangster and some English and Scottish elements in the Faith Mission leadership, reveals a higher level of sophistication and a greater awareness of the dangers of excessive emotionalism and fanaticism which are likely to bring religious organizations into disrepute with more orthodox groups. Moreover, the interdenominational and non-denominational ideals of the Keswick Convention and the Faith Mission may have produced a certain tolerance. I do not wish to imply that these two broad divisions are rigid. There are many examples of members of one preaching at the same convention as men from the other. I make these observations with caution since it is clear that a considerable amount of fellowship has been maintained between members of all the groups.

to which I am referring. But there is no mention of Sharpe's movement in any of the Faith Mission's publications and Drysdale preached only once at the Faith Mission Convention. The Keswick Convention has never invited speakers from any of the specific Holiness movements. Further evidence that the Keswick Convention and the Faith Mission can to some extent be considered apart from the radical wing is provided by the fact that they did not co-operate, and in the case of the Keswick Convention were not asked to co-operate, in the activities of the National Holiness Association which the specific Holiness denominations formed in 1942. But I think that the differing degrees of doctrinal emphasis on the negative aspect of Holiness experience reflect significant social differences in their proponents.¹²

Niebuhr has drawn attention to the simplicity and emotionalism which characterize the religion of "the untutored and economically disenfranchised" classes. These are more likely to be found in the Scottish industrial lowlands and Northern Ireland than in London or among supporters of the Keswick Convention. Moreover, in Liverpool, Glasgow and Northern Ireland the presence of Roman Catholic-Protestant antagonisms has perhaps encouraged the continuance of a more extreme form of Holiness.¹⁴

The above observations are merely tentative speculations and can only be substantiated by more systematic research. Of the two movements examined in this thesis, Emmanuel stands close to the radical wing, as does the Faith Mission on the whole. But there are certain prominent individuals in the latter movement who more closely

fit the moderate type. The positive aspects of the experience are concerned with

its effects on the subsequent moral and religious life of the believer.

The terms "Perfect Love" and "Christian Perfection" are the commonest used to describe it. Wesley qualified "Perfection" thus:

"By perfection I mean the humble, gentle, patient love of God and our neighbour, ruling our tempers, words and actions".¹³

But the stress is once again on subjective experience as the only means of knowing it, hence the controversy which has raged from time to time between Holiness people and their critics concerning the validity of the claim that perfection is attainable. Holiness has defended itself by concentrating on the believer's inwardly invisible spiritual condition and moral intention rather than his outwardly observable behaviour and ethical conduct which, except in obvious cases, e.g. crime or sexual misdemeanours, cannot easily be judged.

The definition of sin as voluntary and conscious has been used to distinguish it from "involuntary transgressions" such as forgetfulness, misunderstandings caused by ignorance, etc. which are not included in the notion of "perfection".¹⁴

Another positive aspect of Holiness is that included in the concept of the "Baptism of the Holy Ghost" which is the contribution the experience makes towards equipping the believer for more efficient Christian service, particularly in the evangelical cause. The isolated instances of Emmanuel's soup kitchens and Christmas Festivals for the poor do not detract from this statement.

The "power" which is considered necessary to enable a believer to perform God's allotted task is seen to be fully received only at

1. Quoted in Ford, op.cit. p.25. From S.L. Brangle, When the Holy Ghost is Given, pp.44-45.

the time of sanctification. The promise of Christ as cited in Acts. 1.8.: "Ye shall receive power after that the Holy Spirit is come upon you" is applied literally to the modern believer. "The Fruit of the Spirit" is used to describe both the "Power" and the "Perfection" aspects. No distinction, like those we have called "radical" and "moderate" have been observed as far as the positive aspects of Holiness teachings are concerned.

Summarizing, it can be seen that, except for Holiness itself, the movements we are about to analyse differ in their theology little from e.g. the active evangelical wing of Methodism or the Baptists. From the point of view of social teachings they possess a more puritanical character than most contemporary nonconformist denominations. They deviate least from the surrounding society, or at any rate, its middle-class element, in their favourable predisposition to education.

REFERENCES.

1. Examples are:- The Brethren movement, the Salvation Army, The Society of Friends, Congregational Churches and The Church of Christ.
2. B.R. Wilson, Sects and Society, 1961. p.15.
3. From Articles of Doctrine and Constitution of Emmanuel Holiness Church.
4. The isolated instances of Emmanuel's soupkitchens and Christmas Festivals for the poor do not detract from this statement.
5. See Wesley's account of his own condition, described above on p. 33; although he never claimed to have received the Holiness experience, his description is typical of Modern Holiness testimonies.
6. Quoted in Ford, op.cit. p.25. from S.L. Brengle, When the Holy Ghost is Come, pp.44-45.

7. Quoted in Ford, op.cit. p.26.
8. Reliable informers have quoted several similar examples.
9. op.cit. p.31.
10. The Keswick Week, 1956. p.55.
11. The Path to Perfection, pp.164-167.
12. The work of Benton Johnson on holiness religion and socialization into dominant values throws some light on these differences. See his "Do Holiness Sects Socialise in Dominant Values", Social Forces, May. 1961. p.309.
13. Wesley, Brief Thoughts on Christian Perfection.
14. Ford, op.cit. pp.53-56.

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 "I can never forget that when I knelt in prayer with the lady evangelist, and it seemed to me as if the heavens opened, and I saw Jesus standing with outstretched arms bidding me to come to him. I was deeply moved and will in my heart that I never wanted to be like him."
 CHAPTER FOUR

THE HISTORY OF EMMANUEL.

Emmanuel began in 1916 but since it owes its existence to a large extent to one man and his wife it seems useful to commence its history with an examination of their previous careers.

John Drysdale was born in April, 1880 in Edinburgh and was the only son, in a family of nine children to survive beyond infancy. He refers to his parents as "humble Scots who out of their poverty did their utmost for their offspring".¹ His father was a tinsmith and a gasfitter. His mother was a woman of strong character who had been "born again in one of D.L. Moody's meetings". Drysdale records:

"How I thank God for such parents! Their lives and teaching laid a foundation upon which all my after-life has been built." He grew up in a strongly puritanical environment, which he claimed, produced in him an acute awareness of his own sinfulness and intense feelings of guilt reminiscent of those described by John Wesley.² Drysdale said that he could hardly remember a time when "the Holy Ghost did not plead for an abandonment of sin."³

At the age of eight he moved with his family to Uddingston, Lanark, and six years later he made his first profession of conversion. He described it thus:

"Can I ever forget that night, when I knelt in prayer with the Lady Evangelist, and it seemed to me as if the heavens opened, and I saw Jesus standing with outstretched arms bidding me to come to him. I was deeply moved and felt in my heart that I never wanted to sin again".⁴

He became apprenticed in a barber's shop. At the same time he was keen on sport - football, cricket and especially running, and his adolescence, he maintains, was spent in

"many sad and wicked days, which, but for the restraining hand of God, doubtless in answer to my mother's prayers, might have ended in a life of criminality".

Not only does this description reveal his consciousness of his mother's religious ambitions for him but it is typical of fundamentalist accounts of religious experience that they exaggerate the degree of sinfulness from which believers have been saved.⁵ It is probable that the "sad and wicked days" were simply precocious and exploratory phases of adolescence which he attended with his mother.

He left his hairdressing job to work in a quarry so that he would have more time for athletics training. But two incidents caused him to return and set up a small hairdressing business of his own. Pneumonia frustrated his ambitions to win the Powderhall Handicap. The death of his father gave him a feeling of responsibility towards his mother and sisters. He prospered and became friendly with a customer, whom he described as "a professor of music", who put before him "alluring mountains of intelligence, culture and refinement". Thus the educational ambition, diligence and business acumen which were to be of such importance in the establishment and maintenance of his religious movement and its training establishment,

were emerging some years before the commencement of what was to be his life's work.

The several religious organizations with which he came into contact represented a curious cross-section of evangelicalism. His family worshipped at the Chalmers Free Church; one of his fellow workers in the original barber's shop was converted and joined the Salvation Army; at eighteen he heard an account of the London City Mission, which caused him to apply without success for a Y.M.C.A. secretaryship and for missionary work with the United Free Church; he was impressed after reading the biography of George Muller, of the open Brethren, who did social and evangelistic work in Bristol at the turn of the century; even later, when he was twenty-six, and already on the threshold of his Holiness experience, he was "moved" by the preaching of an Anglican curate at a conference of the Lanarkshire Christian Union which he attended with his mother.

The picture emerging is of a young man seriously and diffusely engaged in religious activity which itself provides the background of the Holy Ghost era, it seems, the experiential ground in terms of which one is more able to understand the development of the teachings he had intellectually accepted on hearing of the Holiness movement he was himself to found. His upwardly mobile social position fits Johnson's hypothesis concerning the role of fundamentalism, particularly the Holiness kind, in socializing lower class groups to dominant middle-class values.

Already a Sunday school teacher, deacon and member of the Christian Endeavour, Drysdale, at twenty-four, became conscious that his future lay in the Christian ministry, possibly overseas. He now believed that God was beginning to reveal to

sold his business but failed to obtain the posts he applied for. He reverted to a shabbier barber's shop in Blantyre, four miles south of Uddingston, but "long hours and uncongenial surroundings"⁷ and an unhappy love affair deepened the misery which had followed his unsuccessful attempts to become a minister. A friend and fellow evangelist took him to hear Dr. George Sharpe preach on scriptural holiness and Drysdale says he "claimed by faith what (he) believed to be a clean heart". This appears to have been his first encounter with Holiness teaching as such, and he seems to have accepted it readily and without cavil. He had a feeling of peace and liberation but was not satisfied with his religious condition and "hungered for the fulness of God". His account of events during the winter of 1906-7 includes reference to his effort "to consecrate my whole life to Christ.....for I longed to be spiritual". Then

"suddenly, one day some months after my new birth on a country road between Uddingston and Blantyre, the Holy Ghost fell upon me, purging, cleansing, filling".

This baptism of the Holy Ghost was, it seems, the experiential fulfilment of the teachings he had intellectually accepted on hearing Sharpe. The incident is recounted in a way which recalls the New Testament account of the experience of Saul of the road to Damascus, and of the followers of Christ at Pentecost, and the similarity has undoubtedly enhanced Drysdale's personal charisma. The dramatic suddenness of the experience also resembles those of other successful inspirational leaders, e.g. John Wesley, Mrs. Eddy and Joseph Smith.

Drysdale now believed that God was beginning to reveal to

him "step by step, as I was able to take it in, His plan and purpose for my life". His sanctification experience became a means of effecting a cathartic adjustment to his failed aspirations to the ministry. He began to hold open-air meetings, with his sister's help, in the street near his home. One of the consequences of an evangelistic campaign conducted in the vicinity by Rev. W.P. Nicholson from Northern Ireland was to give Drysdale a Bible class of forty young converts who met for Bible study, prayer and open-air preaching.

"Although he retained his hairdressing business he felt himself to have a "glorious purpose in life" and began to hold Sunday school classes for miners' children in Blantyre. He also held mid-week cottage services. He claims that at this time he came to believe that "God was calling (him) to a life of absolute dependence on Him for things temporal as well as spiritual" and withdrew his bank account and "gave up" his insurance policies.

In 1909 he accepted an invitation to become pastor of a small Holiness centre in Ardrossan which contained a branch of the League of Prayer, allowing Sharpe's Pentecostal Church of Scotland to take over his centres in Uddingston and Blantyre. But Drysdale refused to attach himself in any official way to any of the established Holiness organizations. He would not become a member of the League of Prayer because he "could not conscientiously subscribe to one of their principles, i.e. that members must stay in their churches". Although he was present at a conference of Sharpe's movement and, in 1915, after moving to Birkenhead, he was listed in the official organ of the

International Holiness Mission as pastor of its Birkenhead ecclesia, he was never accepted into formal membership and there is a suggestion that his name appeared in this latter capacity without his consent. He was a man of dominating character and of such an idiosyncratic disposition that only a movement which he himself controlled could provide him with a sense of personal fulfilment, particularly since he believed that God had given him a special calling. Even so far as Emmanuel was concerned he was never in favour of membership in anything other than an informal, voluntary way. His outlook was essentially catholic and interdenominational.

He claims that at Ardrossan, where he remained for six years, he learned all he ever knew about pastoral work...

"Those years were packed full of all kinds of experience which tried and tested me almost to breaking point. How often would I have run off and left all, but for the certainty of my call and the daily supply of His wonderful grace".

He mentions a "tempting offer" of a pastorate in Morley, Yorkshire which he "badly wanted to accept" but he maintains that God rebuked him for his selfishness. It was during Drysdale's stay in Ardrossan that events leading to the foundation of Emmanuel took place. He visited Canada and the United States in 1912 and attended several Holiness camp meetings. Meanwhile among his visitors to Ardrossan were J.G. Gavan, founder of the Faith Mission and the Misses Crossley and Hatch who held Holiness meetings, and subsequently formed a Bible school, at Star Hall, Manchester. On his visits to Star Hall he met several celebrated American Holiness preachers, Samuel Chadwick,

Principal of Cliff College, and the woman who was later to become his wife. She was the daughter of a preacher among the Open Brethren and was, at this time, principal of a girls' boarding school in Wellington, Somerset. A woman better-educated and of a higher social status than her future husband. She had experienced sanctification under David Thomas and it was while she was testifying to it at Star Hall that Drysdale was attracted to her. They were married in October 1914. Mrs. Drysdale sold her school and they returned to Ardrossan for a year before setting out on what they thought would be "evangelistic work with a roving commission from God". There is no evidence that they left Ardrossan for reasons other than to widen their sphere of evangelism. After conducting campaigns at Helensburgh and Cleator Moor they arrived on Merseyside to preach at the opening services at a Holiness mission in Bootle, one of three assemblies, the others being in Birkenhead and Hoylake, of the International Holiness Mission which were run by George Dempsey, a friend of Drysdale who had succeeded him as leader of the centre in Blantyre. A few months after the Drysdales arrived on Merseyside, Dempsey went abroad, first to South Africa and later to Japan and Formosa to work for the Japan Rescue Mission. But the Drysdales were invited to remain with the tiny Birkenhead assembly, all of whose members were women, and it was this group which comprised the embryo of the movement later to be known as Emmanuel. In such statements as "we had no money" and "we were a poor group" they are not to be taken literally. From February to December 1916 their meetings were held in a room over a shop. In that year the Drysdales conducted campaigns

was inspired by faith that God would help it to pay off the mortgage in three years in spite of prevailing war conditions; with the help of a loan of £1,400 from a church member they were able to do so. This experience appears to have established a pattern in the movement for buying property on mortgage terms with no certainty of income to complete the payments; its members have always claimed to have enough faith in God for the money to be forthcoming, often in the form of voluntary contributions, frequently specifically designated for the purchase of particular premises.⁹ This principle was later extended to the provision of financial means for students in the training home, and also to the maintenance of foreign missionary work.

The purchase of the new church premises was the event which gave birth to Emmanuel as a movement, not only because Drysdale's following then established their identity as a distinct organization by the adoption of a name of its own - given to the church at the suggestion of one of the members - but also because the church now became a real centre for the leader and his followers. They were now respectably established and their shared effort to purchase the new property was an expression of their common faith in God to maintain them, and from this they reinforced their sense of being dedicated to a divinely ordained cause. Their self-conception at this stage is revealed in the following:

"We could feel that He was determined to raise up for

us a new spiritual power, and we were deeply moved by Drysdale's preaching.

There was such spiritual atmosphere around that many new religious

Himself in this town and district a real place of witness to the truth of entire sanctification as taught by John Wesley. The Holy Spirit seemed to beget within every one of us the same determination to establish a real holiness centre".¹⁰

The first Annual Easter Holiness Convention was held in 1917. The Convention is a typical institution among Holiness movements and consists of a series of meetings at which believers are urged to obtain the experience of sanctification.

Following the framework for the analysis of sect development suggested by Wilson, it appears that the circumstances in which Emmanuel emerged do not conform strictly to a typical pattern. There was an element of schism since the connections which the small group had with the International Holiness Mission were broken, but they were never formal and there was certainly no element of doctrinal or organizational dispute in the secession. The group had been formed after the revivalistic operations of Dempsey and probably others and its subsequent expansion was due to the evangelistic successes of Drysdale whose charismatic appeal was strong and it was his sense of personal calling and compelling authority which held the group together and ensured its growth.

But there were certain specific stimuli which undoubtedly aided this rapid early expansion but which did not persist and therefore set limits to Emmanuel's growth. The war-time conditions which disrupted social relations and disorganized personal situations were probably influential in producing some response to Drysdale's preaching. There is much empirical evidence to show that many new religious

movements emerge during times of severe social dislocation but it is not possible to fully establish whether the women who comprised Drysdale's following were responding to social disorganization or were simply more numerous in the community because of the absence of men on military service.¹¹ The presence of a majority of women among Emmanuel's adherents in peace-time suggests that there is a special appeal to women. Since women appear to be more religious than men in our society anyway this may not point to significant features in Holiness religion or in Emmanuel. However, the female-male sex ratio of around 2, which is found to be fairly constant on photographs of those attending the movement's Annual Missionary Conferences, and that of 2.6 in Emmanuel in 1961, are both considerably greater than the national estimate based on the four investigations examined by Argyle.¹² So some of the initial appeal to women has persisted. But the decelerated growth of the movement, at least since the years of economic depression, would seem to indicate that the specific stimuli of the early years had ceased to operate. Thus while there is some scanty evidence that Emmanuel's present adherents may be victims of family disorganization this is no longer due to conditions of war or economic depression. In 1917 it was an independent Holiness movement, committed to the same type of revivalism which had always been associated with the teachings of instantaneous and entire sanctification and with the extreme Arminianism of movements emphasizing the "free-will" choice of believers to accept salvation, ever since Wesley's own early itinerant activities. Although somewhat different in scale, Emmanuel,

promoted revivals essentially similar to those which were being led by George Jeffreys in the Pentecostal movement in those same war and post-war years. Like Jeffreys at this time, Drysdale had no particular wish to establish local assemblies associated organizationally with his own. His mission was still rather that - and it is a characteristic which has persisted for a long time in both the Holiness and Pentecostal movement - of spreading the Holiness message, the news of full salvation and a greater joy in the Gospel, among those who had membership in other denominations.¹³ He saw himself as a free evangelist, called of God, rather than as the founder of a new movement. Although he had no objection to the development of independent missions, as his refusal to join the League of Prayer suggests, and as the establishment of his own independent church confirms, nonetheless he was not seeking, any more than was Wesley in his early days, or Jeffreys in the early stage of his career, to bring into being a separated fellowship of Holiness believers. It was only the accretion of commitments and the diversification of activities which subsequently pushed Emmanuel into the associational mould of an independent movement separately organized, even if, as was often emphasized, sharing a common perspective with other Holiness and fundamentalist movements.

During the three years following the acquisition of the church, in addition to conducting open-air services and evangelistic and Holiness meetings in Birkenhead, the Drysdale's held, or preached at, special services in Swanwick, Swanage, Coventry, Chapel-en-le-Frith, Thornton Heath and Cambridge and Emmanuel became known in Holiness and

evangelical circles throughout the country.¹⁴ Drysdale encountered considerable opposition to his radical Holiness teaching. In Birkenhead itself considerable criticism was levelled at his centre by the more orthodox denominations because, they alleged, it admitted the possibility of a believer attaining a state of "sinless perfection" in this present life. This was, as we noted in the previous chapter, a recurrent charge against Holiness teachings, and against Pentecostals, in America and Europe as well as in Britain. Emmanuel was branded as a heretical sect. But the movement received this hostility with typical sectarian comfort. Since it saw itself as a remnant of the chosen few who were God's people, it expected to be unacceptable to the worldly wisdom of the unconverted and to (what it believed to be) the theological meanderings of the corrupted churches. The cohesive effect of opposition on Emmanuel is revealed in the following statement of Drysdale:

"Such were the blessings received during these years that one could almost wish that the day of adversity would never pass away, for in it we were kept close to God and to one another".¹⁵

Moreover Emmanuel could point to signs, in terms of an increased number of converts and a five-fold increase in its income in the first two years and a ten-fold increase in the first seven years, which showed that God was supporting it.¹⁶ The increase in income was a reflection of an influx into the church of people of higher social status.¹⁷

Drysdale had always maintained an interest in foreign missions and perhaps his preaching stimulated some young people in the church to request that he and his wife should provide some form of missionary

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training. Emmanuel had, from the beginning, collected money from its followers which it sent to foreign missionaries. From the year 1916-1917 to that of 1919-1920 this sum rose from £52 to £917. Drysdale relates:

"...having had a desire for years to labour for the Lord abroad, we both began to seek the Lord's guidance for our future service. The more we prayed for guidance the more we felt that God had a work for us to do in this country; and as a confirmation numbers of young people, from different parts of the land, many of whom had been led to the Saviour in our evangelistic campaigns, began to ask us to take them for training for the mission field. After further prolonged waiting upon God, we were convinced He was leading us to respond to their request, and so in 1920, we launched our Missionary Training Home".¹⁸

The Drysdales were able to take on this further responsibility because their dependent mothers died within a few months of each other in the first half of 1920.

Mrs. Drysdale's qualifications and experience as a teacher were clearly useful assets. There were precedents for the setting up of this kind of establishment in British Holiness movements. The Faith Mission had opened its training home in 1889; Thomas Champness had founded Cliff College in 1904; the League of Prayer opened a training centre in Clapham in 1911; George Sharpe had run a similar, though short-lived, Bible school from 1913-16. Star Hall, with which Drysdale was more closely associated, may have also stimulated this idea. In the summer of 1920 the Drysdales visited the United States to see how Bible schools were run there. The institutions visited were: the Moody Bible Institute and the Chicago Evangelistic Institute

in Chicago; Asbury College in Wilmore, Kentucky; God's Bible School, Cincinnati and Nyack Bible School, New York. During this tour Drysdale wrote three booklets which expounded and defended his teaching on salvation and sanctification: "The New Birth"; "The Carnal Mind"; "Human Nature and Temptation".

On returning to Birkenhead the Drysdales opened Emmanuel Training Home in their own home in September 1920 with three women students from their own church. By the following January they had twelve students but, despite securing accommodation for male students two miles away, Drysdale said:

"From the standpoint of effective training we found that this was not satisfactory and we became exercised about buying or renting another building where all the students could be residential".¹⁹

A suitable large house was obtained in 1923.

The aims of Emmanuel's training programme were stated, somewhat ungrammatically, as follows:

- "1. To train specifically for work abroad.
2. That it was to be a work of faith in the sense that fees would be at an absolute minimum and would be towards food and general upkeep of the home, all tuition being free; a margin would be left for trust in God, so that the students might learn something of the joy and stimulus of answered prayer.
3. That it would be a communal life, staff and students taking part in the ordinary duties of the home.
4. That character is of the utmost importance in a missionary career, that a clean person with limitations is more likely to be used than a clever person without cleanness."²⁰

From the beginning the training establishment accepted students from any Protestant denomination or independent assembly, provided that they had made a profession of evangelical conversion, were in good health, and were able to pass a very simple educational test. These provisions still obtain today.

Emmanuel's aims and self-conception were thus modified - and perhaps more important - diversified, in its earliest years. In response to internal institutional pressures, which arose from its conception of foreign missionary work and full-time Christian service (i.e. evangelism) as the highest status levels to which a believer could aspire, and from its founders' concern that they should make a contribution to foreign evangelism, it had become an interdenominational training centre as well as a revivalistic movement. The principal effect of this development was that the outward-looking orientation implied in revivalism gradually gave way to a tendency towards preoccupation with the group's internal affairs.

Emmanuel began, and in large measure has remained, more of an independent mission than a distinctive independent sect. The whole congeries of movements which have grown up to promote Holiness teachings have tended to be slow to take on emphatic sectarian organization, and in the earliest phases of their emergence have tended specifically to resist it, even if they have later effectively become sects.²¹ The interdenominational ideal; the acceptance of the same general basis of Christian teaching as other evangelicals and fundamentalists and the hope of converting unbelievers as well as deepening the experience of believers who had not yet discovered Holiness, were

all factors persisting throughout the early phase of the movement's development, and all of them disposed it to a more open practice than is usually characteristic of the sect.²² The co-operation with other Holiness and evangelical bodies and the lack of clear definition of identity as a separate movement with a distinctive doctrine and organization, were factors retarding the crystallization of Emmanuel into the more typical pattern of a sect. In some ways Methodism, despite its early articulation of organization - necessary because of its rapid and dispersed growth - and the Pentecostal Movement, and - outside the Holiness tradition altogether- even the Disciples in America and the Plymouth Brethren, all offer examples of a similar phase in the emergence of new movements. In all these cases there was an initial conception of a wide, free and unifying movement in Christendom, which only gradually faded as organizational imperatives, the need for definition, identification, regulation and continuity in a specific mission, differing from that of others, imposed a more typical structure, sectarian, denominational or otherwise.²³

But even within this early phase, which is often marked by strong anti-sectarian expression, specific sect-like attributes are discernible: certainly this was so in Emmanuel. Membership was voluntary and based on criteria of merit, prescribed religious experiences, attitudes and patterns of social and religious behaviour. The characteristic taboos of the sect were established. The consumption of tobacco and alcohol, the use of cinemas, theatres and dance-halls were forbidden. The movement has from the beginning demanded a high premium in time, money and effort, of those who belong. From

the outset they have been urged to tithe their income; there has always been some pressure on them to attend mid-week meetings for prayer and Holiness testimony; participation in open-air meetings has always been stressed, and young people are strongly counselled to devote themselves to full-time evangelistic or missionary work and to renounce all secular ambitions and allurements of secular entertainment. In the early years separatism was maintained by prescriptions on dress: "We urge our women to avoid wearing feathers or flowers in their hats. We urge our men to avoid wearing jewellery, i.e. alberts, rings, scarf pins, etc." ²⁴ "Hair-bobbing and the immodest exposure of the person by flesh-coloured stockings" was also deprecated. Travelling on Sunday, even for preachers, was originally forbidden. In these ways Emmanuel has sought to control the conduct of its members, to make them part of a clearly defined community with well-understood, shared concerns, and to build them into a social entity as well as to present them with a common ideology.

But the movement has always shown a high degree of tolerance towards other evangelical bodies. It has always accepted without qualm students, teachers (in the Training Home) and preachers who were members of other movements, some of them outside the Holiness category, without seeking to detach them from those allegiances or to induce them to join Emmanuel. It has never developed distinct exclusivist tendencies. Other "born-again" believers have always been acceptable in its services. Emotionalism is restrained. Pacifist teachings, although held with conviction by some in the movement have

never been given official sanction. As mentioned in Chapter Three above, the Second Coming is taught but its implications and doctrinal import have never been clarified. Believers' baptism is recognized as an ordinance of scripture but no attempt is made to make it compulsory. Matters of this type are, of course, less central to Holiness movements than are the more distinctive Holiness teachings themselves; even doctrine as such may appear often to be of less significance than the essentially experiential aspects of religion. Emmanuel leaves individual believers to organize their lives as the revealed will of God dictates, within the confines of the assumptions about God's will which the movement takes for granted in its social prescriptions and in its emphasis on evangelistic work. Its adherents are not excessively insulated from social affairs. They have no distinctive demands to make about the education of their children, though they emphasize, typically, the importance of Christian education above secular education. The movement does not prohibit its members from joining trade unions or political parties, although the latter would be unusual and never a pursuit of much importance in the life of a genuine Emmanuel believer. Family responsibilities and loyalties are seen to be important obligations. The movement has as one of its primary goals that of moral perfection, but its perfectionism is within, even if at the fringe of, the concerns of the wider society, rather than in a peculiar form of social organization. To this extent it has always shared in characteristics more typical of the denomination than of the sect. 25 1921-34 Emmanuel developed along lines

Yet, despite the fact that Emmanuel has retained these characteristics virtually unchanged for forty years it has simultaneously experienced a process of bureaucratization and rationalization which have modified its structure considerably. The establishment of the Training Home was an early element in this trend. It represented a division of the movement's activity into that of the college and that of the church. Because it did not restrict admission exclusively to students who were Emmanuel members, and because it maintained contact with other evangelical denominations and churches, and with missionary societies which accepted its ex-students, the tendency towards pre-occupation with its own affairs did not become anything like complete introversionism. Moreover, the duality of church and college conferred upon the movement specialized functions which make difficult the application to it of the usual sect-denomination-church categories of sociological analysis. Its activities were early diversified. Since it devoted its then moderate resources of both finance and personnel to training evangelists rather than to the setting up of new assemblies, the movement's geographical and numerical expansion was less impressive than it might otherwise have been. Thus, although its specialist activities entailed some measure of rationalization in its procedures, the movement was not subjected to quite the same pressures towards institutionalization and routinization which have been features of the history of many conversionist movements.

During the period from 1921-34 Emmanuel developed along lines

of considerable organizational complexity and diversification. In 1921 it held its first Annual Missionary Conference. It later became a missionary society as an unforeseen consequence of its training activity. Its first four male trainees set out for Paraguay in 1922, under the auspices of the New Testament Missionary Union, but their commitment to Holiness teaching became a source of unexpected controversy on the mission field. As a result of the ensuing conflict, two of the four left the New Testament Missionary Union and, after consulting Drysdale, founded Emmanuel Missions in the Argentine in 1931. Meanwhile in 1924 two missionaries had gone to Mauritius and, after finding themselves in difficulty with the society which had sponsored them, wrote to Drysdale for support. His acceptance meant that Emmanuel acquired a missionary enterprise in Mauritius in 1926. Another unintended development in this sphere arose when Mrs. Drysdale was asked to take the children of two missionaries back to their parents in Tangier. She returned with lantern slides and a desire to contribute to the evangelization of Morocco. A woman member of Emmanuel's teaching staff went to Tangier for eighteen months to explore the possibilities for missionary work. The Drysdales visited her and decided that Emmanuel could maintain a mission in Morocco. An ex-Emmanuel woman student was sent out and this branch of the movement began at Larache in 1929.

In 1922 Emmanuel ventured into social work and for two successive winters ran a soup kitchen for the poor and vagrant of Birkenhead. Around 550 people are claimed to have attended on several

occasions. There was clearly an evangelistic motive behind this venture of "the lapsed masses".²⁶ There was some hope that expansion might be made in this sphere but the growth of the movement's missionary commitments meant that insufficient financial resources were available to extend social work. But for a number of years "Festivals for the Poor" were held at Christmas and gifts of clothing, food and fuel were made to impoverished families. On these occasions and in the soup kitchen, evangelization was attempted.

Another temporary feature of the movement at this time was a "Boarding and Day School for Girls" which Mrs. Drysdale ran from 1924-27, when the departure of her assistant for Morocco made it impossible for it to be continued. The precise reasons for this activity are unclear. It was probably used as a means of meeting the Drysdales' increasingly expensive commitments and also as a potential recruiting-ground for students.

In 1927 the Drysdales began to publish *Emmanuel Magazine* bi-monthly; it was the movement's official organ, and was devoted to the sale of paintings by Mrs. Drysdale, usually landscapes or seascapes inscribed with biblical texts.

A movement does not grow in these various ways without developing a more or less conscious self-interpretation of its own role and mission. Emmanuel was still very much the creation of its founder, but it was now more than a mission church, it was a movement.

Its growth and diversification, its sense of purpose and its accretion of commitments, all stood in need of interpretation. The terms of interpretation were, of course, already apparent, but the vague idea

of "God's work" had not taken on very specific form and needed more precise ideological expression for the various activities of the movement. Sooner than most movements, although the twentieth century has been a period in which movements have more quickly acquired self-consciousness and awareness, Emmanuel produced a brief review of its history in 1923 in a booklet called A Work of Faith and Labour of Love. Among the stated purposes of this publication was "the satisfaction and encouragement of subscribers to the work". The movement's origins and development were presented as convincing evidence of the realization of a divinely ordained purpose. Accounts of the departure to South America of Emmanuel's first trainees and photographs of more recent ones who were ready and willing to go abroad were used to create interest in foreign missions and financial support for the training home and church was coveted. The booklet also contained the first public statement of doctrine.

In 1927 the Drydales began to publish Emmanuel Magazine bi-monthly; it was the movement's official organ and was devoted to articles on holiness teaching; the conduct of the Christian life, including tithing, prayer and sacrificial giving; Emmanuel's missionary activity and the news of ex-students.

Missionary endeavour and publishing preceded any expansion of the movement in this country despite its early revival activities which produced a high rate of numerical increase in the Birkenhead congregation during the depression years of the 1920's and the early 1930's. As a result of some successful outdoor evangelism in the Rock

Ferry area of Birkenhead, a small mission hall had been taken over in 1923 but activities there did not flourish and it was apparently soon abandoned for reasons unknown.

But a movement in which the proof of faith must be demonstrated is likely to be spurred on by failure, and in 1928, Drysdale decided to free himself somewhat from the church at Birkenhead in order to preach in other parts of the country, and towards this end he took a co-pastor, a Rev. J. Jack, formerly of the Parkhead Church of the Nazarene in Glasgow. It is not clear how far the opening of Emmanuel Hall in Liverpool in 1930 was due to the arrival of Jack at Emmanuel but certainly when Drysdale took out a mortgage on a former dance-hall in order to found Emmanuel's second ecclesia Jack was his closest adviser.²⁷ The most able student in the training home became pastor of the Liverpool assembly and the movement's high hopes of success in this venture were reflected in the open-air marches, leaflet distribution and enthusiastic opening services which were held. A year later a small assembly in Doncaster requested to affiliate with Emmanuel by giving public recognition to its Holiness standpoint, whilst remaining free of official ties with the movement. But it became morally obliged to contribute to Emmanuel's missionary activity by donations as well as by sustained interest and prayer activity. In 1932 a hall was opened in Birmingham at the request of a lady from that city whom the Drysdales met at the Keswick Convention. The pastor of the Liverpool church was transferred to Birmingham, his city of origin, but the connection of this latter assembly with Emmanuel has

always been a loose one. The property is held in the name of the minister and the mortgage was paid off by the local assembly.

In 1931, in a booklet called Fourteen Years After, Emmanuel reviews its history more systematically than in the previous publication. The various developments were illustrated by photographs of all the premises used, of missionaries, the training staff and students. Appreciations written by students and visitors to the college were included, as well as a list of forty-five ex-students who were by this time working in foreign missions. A brief account of financial growth was added. The turnover for the year 1929-30 totalled £3,422. By 1933-34 the annual turnover had reached £6,000. As in the previous booklet, great care was taken to explain that Emmanuel's growth represented, not the gradual realization of the ambition of the founders, but the steady revelation of the Will of God in their lives. It was his sense of "calling" which had greatly enhanced Drysdale's charismatic appeal in these formative years. Apart from occasional ad hoc meetings of the members of the Birkenhead church to discuss (under Drysdale's direction) business matters, the whole movement i.e. training home, local churches, missions and publications, was organized autocratically on the basis of his "inspired" authority as a servant of God.

The publication of Fourteen Years After may conveniently be said to mark the end of the movement's charismatic phase. It contained a Constitutional Statement as well as a doctrinal one based on that of 1923. The title "Emmanuel Holiness Church" was

used for the first time in this publication and at the beginning of the following year, in January 1932, the heading in the magazine referred to the headquarters as "Emmanuel Bible School and Missions". The movement was, therefore, passing from mere consciousness of the past to some measure of increased direction in the future from the essentially inspirational quality of early leadership to a more distinctly bureaucratic structure of organization. Towards the end of 1931 Drysdale appointed an executive council and the movement acquired a more democratic aspect. Undoubtedly this development was some protection against the hostile criticism which Drysdale increasingly expected to meet in some quarters about the administration of the movement. The financial growth of Emmanuel meant that he was more and more open to censure for the way in which he disposed of increasing funds. But his first attempt to reorganize his administration reflected a sincere desire to be fair to all his associates. His council consisted of fifteen full-time workers, including representatives of the movement's mission fields. A council of this size was not, apparently, an efficient body, particularly with the overseas commitments of the missionaries, and in 1934 it was reduced to seven members and, apart from a short period when it was increased to nine, it has remained of these proportions. At the same time it was realized that a central decision-making body could not be too large and the need for more articulated administrative roles was also becoming evident. Thus a new office was created at this time, that of Hon. Deputation Secretary, whose specific duties were to visit and the appointment of special officials replaced the

assemblies throughout the country which wanted to know about the missionary activities of Emmanuel. The secretary's function became, in fact, that of attempting to provide more institutionalised methods of raising and increasing donations in support of the movement's missionary work. By means of talks, lantern slides, photographs of and letters from missionaries, he was able to sustain interest and mobilize sentiments. Two years later, in 1936, this development was reinforced when, in various parts of the country, Emmanuel Prayer Circles were set up at which believers met weekly to pray for and receive news of the movement's activities.²⁸ In this development, Emmanuel was following an already well-established pattern within the Holiness movement - not dissimilar from the practice of the League of Prayer, but, like the Faith Mission, adapting it to the more specific purpose of support for its missionary enterprises.²⁹ Thus the organization of overseas missions provided an impetus for growth at home, as the movement sought a broader base from which to project its external activities. By 1936 there were over thirty students in the training home.

Although the initial doctrinal principles were still cherished, and much of the pristine enthusiasm of Drysdale's followers persisted, influences were now at work which had a weakening effect on the inspirationalism of the movement's early years. The increased complexity of Emmanuel's operations necessitated a more rational approach to the business of administration and organization. Prescribed roles and the appointment of special officials replaced the

reliance on ad hoc decision-making. One important feature of this process was the appointment of solicitors and bankers, whose services had to be called upon when the first property was acquired. In 1936 the name of a firm of auditors appeared in the magazine. One or two substantial legacies were received in the 1930's and, after court proceedings had been necessary to secure them, a form of bequest was inserted in Emmanuel Magazine so that testators would be able to bequeath their money to Emmanuel in a formal, legalized way. At this time too, the name of "field leader" was given to the most experienced worker in each of the foreign missionary centres.

Meanwhile further growth was taking place. Mission Halls were opened in St. Helens (1934), Hoylake (1935) and Neston (1938), although the former was connected only loosely, in a way similar to those in Birmingham and Doncaster. The Hoylake ecclesia was only maintained for two years and the St. Helens one relinquished its association with Emmanuel in 1940 for unknown reasons. In 1934 two ex-students were ready to sail for Gambia to open a new Emmanuel mission but a poor response to their appeal for funds prevented them from going. The rising national economic prosperity of the middle thirties was not shared in to a full extent by depressed areas such as Merseyside, but we have no indication that there was a substantial numerical increase in Emmanuel's following during this period. Except for the Birkenhead church, which is estimated to have had eighty members, none of Emmanuel's assemblies were of large proportions. But the movement was becoming more widely known within the circles of

other Holiness and fundamentalist groups, not only because of the Prayer Circles and the steadily increasing reputation of the Bible School- whose ex-students were considered by many missionary societies to possess a large measure of resilience and commitment³⁰-but also because of Drysdale's continued itinerant preaching. An example is his visit to the Scottish industrial areas in 1934, which the minister of the Birmingham assembly of Emmanuel, who accompanied him, remembers as a time of great revival, particularly in Alloa. The correlation between successful evangelism and economic depression is strongly borne out again.

But the most important venture during this period was the movement's contact with Northern Ireland. Apparently Drysdale first preached in Belfast in 1931. Further visits, and an evangelistic trek by some women students in 1934, gained him such a reputation that he began to hold Annual Conventions in Belfast in 1936. The Second World War prevented them from continuing, but the predominance of Northern Irish students at Emmanuel since that time indicates the importance of these developments for the movement's persistence. Furthermore many of the voluntary contributions which finance Emmanuel come from Northern Ireland.³¹

Internally however, the movement was faced with severe problems during this period. Drysdale's attempt to give more of a democratic appearance to Emmanuel was not without untoward consequences. The co-optation of certain experienced Holiness preachers and their replication of a changed structure of leadership, seriously challenged

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 appointment to positions on the Executive Council led to the expression of differences of opinion among them on matters of policy and administration, and even on social ethics, much to the embarrassment of the movement. The pastor who was put in charge of the Liverpool assembly and given a place on the Council- himself an experienced man - disagreed violently with Drysdale on two issues. He maintained that Emmanuel should make emphatic pacifist principles part of its constitution, and he objected to the mortgaging of property which he considered to be a form of debt. The disagreement resulted in a temporary rift within the movement: the premises of the Liverpool assembly were owned by the Drysdales as Emmanuel's trustees, but the assembly was led from 1935-54 by a man who openly condemned the Drysdales and Emmanuel during his services. Drysdale did not use his power as trustee to evict him, but early in 1936 he disbanded the Executive Council, which he "felt compelled to do as founder of the work".³² His autocratic control of the movement was still very real. It was in this capacity of founder that he set up a new Council which excluded the dissentient. The transition to a more democratic type of government had not gone very far even at the start of the Second World War, but an entry in Drysdale's diary at this time illustrates his concern: "I feel the Lord would have us properly constituted".³³ Perhaps this expressed his growing awareness of the need for formalization of the movement's structure on a more impersonal basis. What had been personal inspiration in leadership in the past, became inspiration for a changed structure of leadership. Charisma challenged

may lead to an initially charismatic response in the direction of the replacement of charisma as the basic legitimation of authority. The forms of authority now contemplated by Drysdale were more fully in keeping with those prevailing in the wider society, and offered more defence for procedures and decisions than that readily provided by the appeal to charisma alone. Thus, the bitter clash of personalities made it necessary to establish a formal source of authority, and a constitution was drawn up. The right of an individual who claimed to be directly inspired by God to make decisions for the movement was now in some measure abandoned.

A number of developments in 1939 illustrate the way in which Emmanuel had acquired a high degree of self-consciousness and a concern to maintain feelings of corporate fellowship among those who had been closely involved with it in the previous twenty years. Emmanuel Magazine in 1938 had contained articles on the history of the Bible School. By 1939 three hundred and fifty students had passed through it of whom one hundred and nine were working as missionaries abroad and forty-five were engaged in full-time evangelistic activity in Britain.³⁴ Some means of keeping ex-students in contact with each other was considered desirable and an Emmanuel Ex-Students' Fellowship was founded. It met monthly in London but did not attract many people and only continued for a few years.³⁵

Another short-lived venture was the formation of a Prayer and Fasting League. Emmanuel Magazine stated: "The members of this League agree to fast (at least from one meal) and pray each Friday

for the salvation not only of their loved ones, but also of those of each member of the League, also to pray for those who have no one to pray for them"³⁶ There was an appeal for members but no further reference was made to it. Its proposed activities were so personal and private that without more articulated organization it could hardly be maintained.

But both these enterprises illustrate how Emmanuel by this time was concerned to consolidate the warmth of fellowship it had generated in its followers. It had become a *gemeinschaft* type of organization, held together as much by its members' consciousness of having mutually shared experiences and feelings of loyalty to the movement itself as by their commitment to a divinely-inspired revivalistic cause. That this transition implied a certain loss of fervour and the attainment of a more respectable status-level appears to be symbolized by certain changes in the cover design of the magazine. The former design, in bright contrasting colours, carried the heading: "EMMANUEL, organ of Emmanuel Bible School and Missions, A Holiness and Missionary Magazine, Headquarters, Palm Grove, Birkenhead". The following captions surrounded a two-globed atlas of the world: "To carry the glorious gospel light farther and farther into the night" and "The command: 'Go ye into all the world and preach the gospel'". The enabling: "Ye shall receive power after that the Holy Ghost is come upon you". The new cover design, in blending colours, had no pictorial reference to missionary activity and no scriptural captions. Its heading is brief, unenthusiastic and respectable: "EMMANUEL; God

with us. A Holiness and Missionary Magazine".

In 1939 the Drysdales, having been disturbed by the distress of the Jews in Continental Europe, took over a house adjacent to the Bible School and opened a Hebrew Christian Home. The residents, mostly older married couples, were Jewish Christians and were sent to Emmanuel by the International Hebrew Christian Alliance. In 1948, when the last of them departed, the premises were used as an annexe to the Bible College. This activity is a further example of the diversified conception of their religious obligations which the Drysdales possessed and which was an important element in preventing the movement from conforming to a more typical pattern of sectarian or denominational development.

But with the onset of war there were external factors which brought the movement's status into question. Since it had no legal standing, except that Mr. and Mrs. Drysdale were trustees of the property, Emmanuel's male personnel could not obtain automatic exemption from military service on the grounds that they were doing full-time religious work. Only two members of the staff were young enough to be required and both became conscientious objectors. One had to serve some time in prison; the other was granted an exemption by the Ministry of Labour after having passed a tribunal and made out a successful objector's case. The need to come to terms in some way with the more coercive social order which prevailed in wartime thus had consequences for Emmanuel. There were internal consequences of simply responding to the external circumstances - the need to regularize the standing of the Ministry, and to accommodate the movement

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in some way to the categorical expectations of religious movements made by the State. These matters became more pronounced in relation to the continuance of the movement beyond the lifetime of the founder.

Charismatic leadership - even where charisma is essentially derived, and stands in a distinct and restricting tradition, such as evangelical Holiness Christianity - is, despite some exceptional and celebrated cases, difficult to transmit. It is not uncommon for autocratic leaders to become concerned about their work in the years of their decline, and, in anticipation of their own death, to devise ways of protecting the movement which they have called into being. Being sixty in 1940 Drysdale was becoming concerned about the future of the movement when he died. Not only did he want to ensure that the right people carried on its leadership, but also that they maintained Emmanuel in accord with the same principles with which he began it. To the first of these problems, as it happened, he was presented with a relatively easy solution. An able ex-student, Stanley Banks, was a candidate for missionary work with the Japan Evangelistic Band when war broke out and prevented him from going abroad. He wrote to the Drysdales to ask if they could use his help, and was invited to "join the teaching staff" in the training home.³⁷ In the issue of the magazine in which Banks's appointment was announced it was also reported that Drysdale's daughter and only child had been made Correspondence Secretary. Banks rapidly gained a prominent place in Emmanuel's activities; he preached frequently in the Church and at Birkenhead

Emmanuel's Annual Missionary Conference; he wrote regular articles for the magazine, mainly on aspects of Holiness; and in 1941 he wrote a history of the movement to celebrate its twenty-fifth anniversary. In May, 1941, Banks accompanied Drysdale and his family on a series of special Holiness meetings in Oban. He became engaged to Rhoda Drysdale, they were married in 1942, and he was now Drysdale's successor-elect.³⁸ Later in 1942 he was appointed co-pastor of the Birkenhead church and was simultaneously given a place on the executive council. In 1944 he became joint-editor of Emmanuel Magazine.

The advent of Banks enabled Drysdale to pursue other ambitions. In 1942, a number of Holiness bodies founded the National Holiness Association of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and elected Drysdale as president - a position which he held until his resignation in 1949.³⁹ At the induction service of Banks, Drysdale referred to his appointment as president of the N.H.A. as "another ministry" which would entail his being away from Emmanuel a good deal. At this time, too, he appears to have wanted more time to write. His first book "The Price of Revival" had been published in 1938.

Meanwhile, apart from one or two disturbances, Emmanuel's activities continued as usual, despite wartime conditions. Student numbers fell by 30%. The number of pages and the quality of paper used in the magazine were reduced. Missionary activities in Morocco were suspended. But a booklet "25 Years After" was produced in 1941, described as "the up-to-date story of the work of Emmanuel".⁴⁰ It was also a vindication of the movement's achievements. The way in

which voluntary contributions had enabled property to be purchased and the success of Emmanuel's missionary training methods were given greatest emphasis. No reference was made to increases in the numbers of adherents in this or in any of Emmanuel's more recent publications. Its growth was depicted in terms of remarkably increased annual financial turnover and the many missionaries it had trained, although the increasing number of affiliated assemblies was mentioned.

But in spite of the changes in Drysdale's involvement with the movement and the transfer of responsibilities to Banks, Emmanuel was still, at the end of the war, a voluntary association of followers of Drysdale, without any corporate identity at law, and without any corporate rights in the property which was being used, or any means of redress should leader and following disagree. Drysdale's authority was partly charismatic, partly a matter of precedent in the movement, and he was, in the last resort, the owner of the property which his followers used. Unless Emmanuel was provided with a Constitution which could be sustained, if need be, at law, there was still no means of safeguarding the leadership after his death. Drysdale finally implemented his inspiration that the movement should be "properly constituted" in a Deed Poll, the provisions of which became effective in 1948. The Articles of Doctrine and the Constitution of the movement were set forth. It was now officially named Emmanuel Holiness Church and authority was vested in an Executive Council of seven, of whom four must be full-time personnel of the movement. In post-war years Emmanuel Magazine has referred to local assemblies as "our

churches". Previously they had been "Home Centres". This step marked the completion of the transition from inspirational, charismatic government in the early years of the group to a rational legal basis of authority.

Two other developments in the post-war years indicate the extent to which Emmanuel was at the same time undergoing a gradual process of secularization. The name given to the training establishment was originally "Emmanuel Missionary Training Home". In 1932 it became "Emmanuel Bible School" and in 1947 it was re-styled "Emmanuel Bible College". The Drysdale Memorial Lecture has been given in certain years. It is a lecture on some aspects of Holiness delivered by a prominent person in Holiness Circles. The terminology of the wider educational system, religious and secular, was replacing the former unsophisticated language as the group moved closer to a respectable worldly status. Changes were also beginning to take place in the contents of Emmanuel Magazine as well as in its design, which suggest that the movement is now less totally committed to the evangelization of the unsaved, ^{shows} more interested in moral and political issues, and in the religious life of the nation, at least as indicated by the amount of space given to these topics. There are fewer challenging headlines and captions, such as "Have you the Blessing?" and, under "Thoughts for the New Year", "John Wesley said?"

"I want to feel more love and zeal for God. I will follow my Bible in all things, both great and small. I am determined to do the will of Him that sent me".⁴¹

The style of the magazine is more sober; there are fewer scriptural

quotations; anti-worldliness is given less prominence as the movement steadily progresses to a more conventional religious position, and as the behaviour patterns of its members are no longer so sharply at variance with those of the society around it.⁴² There have also been fewer open-air meetings since 1945 and greater attention has been given to youth activities, frequently of a non-religious type, although evangelization is their main aim. Emmanuel's annual Camp is an example.

The Deed Poll also contained reference to an ordained ministry. Although Emmanuel's ministers were first publicly referred to by the Title "Reverend" in the issue of the magazine for May-June 1947, one of the main purposes of the new constitution was to enable the Executive Council to maintain a standard of ordained ministry within the movement. Consequently since 1948 almost all trained full-time male personnel who are missionaries or pastors have, after serving a probationary period of about eighteen months, been ordained.⁴³ Drysdale himself ordained his associates, although whether, and by whom, he himself was ordained, remains obscure; he too was first given the title of "Reverend" in 1947. Since that time Emmanuel has itself become an agency of ordination for other missionary societies which have never taken upon themselves the power of ordination, but whose missionaries sometimes wish to operate in countries where the ordination of all missionaries is made obligatory by law.

The express purpose of ordination was to protect full-time workers from demands imposed by the State in time of national crisis, but at the same time it represents a move towards a more bureaucratic

type of church organization. There is nothing in Emmanuel's constitution to prevent lay preaching and it occurs quite frequently, but there is the implication that a minister, having undertaken a suitable course of training, is a more appropriate person to conduct services.⁴⁴ He has acquired a professional competence, a defined status, for the performance of this role. In his church the minister becomes the chairman of the board and his authority in the matters of business and administration is no doubt increased by virtue of his professional status. The tendency is for him to help both treasurer and secretary in their work and to become the administrator as well as the minister. But he is in no sense a salaried worker. His income is based on the donations of his local assembly. A collection box marked "Pastor's Support" is usually placed at the back of the church to receive these contributions. In only one case does the minister receive an agreed weekly stipend.

Two further recent developments show the move from inspirational to routinized and specialized procedure. In 1962 Emmanuel and several other Bible and Missionary Colleges agreed to conform to a basic syllabus drawn up by the Evangelical Missionary Alliance. More recently a course of training for ministerial work along Arminian lines has been introduced into Emmanuel Bible College at the request of a number of missionary societies.

Thus the expansion of Emmanuel's operations, both at home and overseas, has meant the development of a professional class, technically employed by a movement. The growth of state legislation covering

contingencies of employment, and even of studentship, has imposed on Emmanuel further responsibilities of a regulated and bureaucratic character. The movement has been obliged to undertake responsibility for the National Insurance contributions of its ministers, which are borne by the local assembly, and of its other full-time personnel and students, which the movement as a whole has guaranteed to pay. By paying insurance contributions for their ministry the movement ensures that on retirement ministers receive a pension. This is a step away from the concept of "living by faith", an accommodation to the regulations of the secular society, and an evidence of the routinization of charisma. The task of propagating the truth takes on increasingly the dimensions of a job.

The composition of Emmanuel's Executive Council reflects another aspect of the rationalization of organization. The three lay members have consistently been chosen largely because they have been successful businessmen in their own right. They have always been converted believers who have not necessarily been regular attenders at Emmanuel churches, but who have been in complete sympathy with the movement's doctrine and methods and greatly interested in its progress. Their business acumen, and possibly their resources, have been of considerable value to Emmanuel. It is significant that its choice, both of ministers and council members, has become increasingly governed by rational criteria; appointments have been increasingly dictated by qualifications of specialized competence and experience.

Despite these developments, elements of inspirationalism remain. A religious movement does not become bureaucratized and

rationalized to the exclusion of all charismatic influence. Inspiration persists as something more than merely formal lip-service, and is manifested in a number of ways. Emmanuel's full-time personnel, for instance, are not ordered where to work. They all have a conception of personal calling when they consider taking up a position. They attempt to determine the will of God for themselves, by prayer and by searching the Bible for an appropriate text on which their attention is focused and which they see to relate to their present circumstance. Moreover, ministers must be formally invited by the board of the local church. But in so far as the Executive Council is usually asked to recommend a minister to a local assembly, it has a good deal of informal power in these matters.

In the Deed Poll Drysdale also made provision for the Annual Workers' Conference. Constitutionally the Executive Council is obliged to take notice of the recommendations of this assembly, which indicates the founder's concern for an element of democratic participation. It reduces the remoteness felt by local assemblies concerning the process of centralized decision-making and gives them a greater feeling of involvement. In some measure such a conference represents an alternative pattern of development from that of autocratic bureaucracy, which is so frequently the line of development followed by movements which begin autocratically and evolve a bureaucratic structure (e.g. Christian Science). It represents more than simply belief in democracy but, perhaps more significantly, some persistent acceptance

of the ideal of inspiration, operating through the membership of the movement or its representatives. It has never explicitly claimed inspiration for conference decisions but there is in the establishment of a conference some indeterminate principle which is as much a resistance to bureaucratization, as insistence on democracy.

Since the introduction of the new constitution the movement has enlarged its activities by accepting into fellowship assemblies at Nottingham (1949), Pensby (Cheshire)(1952) and Rainhill, (near Liverpool) (1955) and by starting evangelism in South Wales(Haverfordwest). New mission stations have also been opened in Morocco and the Sahara. These developments have added to the complexity of organization, particularly the numbers of personnel involved. There is little evidence of an increase in the size of local congregations but there has been some considerable growth in the income of Emmanuel in recent years. Since its actual adherents number only about 350, it is greatly dependent upon external sympathizers, including its thirteen Prayer Circles. The Evangelical Bookshop which was opened in Birkenhead in 1946 and which sells literature and other supplies, including stationery, Sunday School registers, prizes, etc. has also been an important source of income.

When J.D. Drysdale died in 1953 his son-in-law, Rev. Stanley Banks, succeeded him as chairman of the Executive Council and principal of the college. He considers that he is responsible to the council in a way that his father-in-law was not. He is obliged to consult the council before reaching decisions, and his authority relies much more

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upon his occupancy of this office than it did in Drysdale's case, since the latter, in the conviction that God was guiding him as founder of Emmanuel according to His predetermined plan, based all his decisions on his own personal right as God's representative.

A steady process of bureaucratization and formalization is characteristic of the history of voluntary associations in modern society. In the face of numerical and geographical expansion, every movement has to evolve effective organizational procedures. Since such a movement operates within a social context, in which its members and personnel are subject to the rules and restraints of the wider society, it is to be expected that loosely-defined principles of association, especially of an inspirational kind, must give way to forms of government which are more socially acceptable and which conform to legal expectations.

But this process has implications for the forms of religious experience and expression within the movement. The scope for spontaneity is reduced. Emmanuel has resisted the process to the extent that it has remained true to the doctrinal teachings of the founder, and retains much of its initial enthusiasm. But in placing its organization on a sound legal basis, in adopting a more rational approach towards the deployment of personnel, it has lost some of its "spirit-centredness". Its present diverse structure is a consequence of spasmodic and piecemeal development in which a loose conception of the will of God has been eroded, but it is a development which could not have been foreseen at all by its founders.

Although the concepts of "sect" and "denomination" have been used profitably in understanding the history of religious movements, Emmanuel is a curious modification of these types. Its pastoral work in this country is typical of the established sect, even though it employs an ordained ministry, but its willingness to accept as students in the college those from other evangelical movements, and its co-operation with other evangelical societies have, together, reduced tendencies to introversion which might have occurred in the face of Emmanuel's recent lack of revivalistic success. These extraneous involvements have made it likely that in due course it will take its place alongside other conventional denominations and missionary societies, although the commitment to Holiness teaching is likely to distinguish it from more orthodox Nonconformity for some time to come.

REFERENCES

1. Norman P. Grubb, Prophet of Holiness, p. 23. Most of the biographical details, concerning Drysdale are taken from this source, including uncited quotations.
2. See Chap. 2. above.
3. J. and L. Drysdale. A Work of Faith and Labour of Love, p. 7.
4. Grubb, op. cit. p. 26.
5. Some idea of the strength of his mother's religious fervour and her potential influence upon him can be gained from the following quotation he gives from her a few days before she died:

"Praise His holy name for ever and ever. I shall see his face; I shall see Him as He is. He cleanseth me in the precious blood. Through the blood of the cross, the precious blood of the cross, I've found in Him a resting place, and He has made me glad. It will be grand then! It was good to be saved but it is better to be sanctified. Laugh with joy! Glory! Sing the endless praises of the Lamb! I hear them singing. Kings and priests unto God for ever and ever, Amen! To Him be all the praise and the glory for ever and ever, Amen!" Grubb, op. cit. p. 97.

6. Benton Johnson. "Do Holiness Sects Socialize in Dominant Values?", Social Forces. May, 1961, p. 309.
7. All the quotations in these paragraphs are from Grubb, op. cit., p. 30, ff.
8. Evidence for this statement has been provided by informers who have resided near the church since the movement's early years.
9. Drysdale was influenced by reading the biographies of A. T. Pierson and George Muller, both of whom had bought church property on a mortgage basis and stressed their faith in God to influence their followers to help pay it in voluntary contributions which were frequently seen as answers to prayer.
10. J. and L. Drysdale, op. cit. p. 19.
11. See, for example, the work of M. Argyle, J. B. Holt, H. R. Niebubr, and E. R. Wilson. The Elim Church emerged at the same time as Emanuel.
12. M. Argyle. Religious Behaviour, p. 72.
13. c.f. The Faith Mission, The League of Prayer and the Keswick Convention in Britain and the Holiness Associations in the U. S. A.
14. Drysdale's account of his visit to Cambridge, where he spoke to University students as well as doing open-air preaching in the city centre, reveals a certain mingling of religious and secular aspirations. (Grubb. op. cit. p. 89). He quotes words of approval which he received from Rev. Islay Burns, a professor at Westminster College.

15. J. and L. Drysdale, op. cit. p. 22. On the following page they write:

"It must not be thought that opposition grew less during these years, but rather the reverse; and for this we praised God, feeling greatly encouraged that the Devil should stir up opposition, for he never opposes anything that is non-effective and which does his Kingdom no damage."

16. N. P. Grubb, op. cit. ch. 15.
17. Some confirmation for this impression has been provided by informers and by Rev. S. Banks.
18. N. P. Grubb, op. cit. p. 64.
19. *ibid.*, p. 101.
20. *ibid.*, p. 101.
21. As was the case with the independent assembly in Leicester. See Chap. 2 above.
22. There is here considerable similarity with the position of the Elim Church in the same period, although its concerns with "deepening" spiritual life were, of course, essentially Pentecostalist: See B. R. Wilson, Sects and Society.
23. On the Disciples see O. R. Whitley, The Trumpet Call of Reformation.
24. J. and L. Drysdale, op. cit. p. 30.
25. See B. R. Wilson, op. cit. p. 1. and D. A. Martin, "The Denomination", British Journal of Sociology, XIII (March 1962) pp. 1-14.
26. J. and L. Drysdale, op. cit. p. 32.
27. N. P. Grubb, op. cit. p. 144.
28. These Prayer Circles were organized along lines similar to the Faith Mission Prayer Union.
29. The League of Prayer is an interdenominational organization, consisting of small prayer groups like those of the Faith Mission. It also holds Holiness Conventions.

30. This evidence is based on random conversations held with leading members of other evangelical missionary societies.
31. This information was provided by the present Hon. Secretary and Treasurer.
32. N. P. Grubb, op. cit. p. 147.
33. *ibid.*, p. 146.
34. See Emmanuel Magazine, Vol. XIV, No. 1. (Jan. 1940).
35. Only twelve attended the first meeting. *ibid.*
36. Emmanuel Magazine, Vol. XIII, No. 3. (May, 1939). p. 1.
37. *ibid.* Vol. XIV, No. 6. (Nov. 1940). p. 4.
38. Mrs. Drysdale referred to him in an interview as having become, by marriage, the "natural successor".
39. See Appendix 1.
40. Emmanuel Magazine, Vol. XV, No. 3. (May, 1941), p. 5.
41. Quoted from an early number of Emmanuel Magazine.
42. One example of this is the taboos attached to the cinema which have not been extended to television.
43. One has since obtained an External B. C. degree of London University. Another has commenced to study for it.
44. But only on occasions when a minister is not available or at Anniversary or Convention services. A minister seldom sits to hear a layman preach at a normal Sunday Service.

CHAPTER FIVE

EMMANUEL DESCRIBED

Emmanuel as a movement comprises Emmanuel Holiness Church, Emmanuel Bible College, and Emmanuel Missions. In this description of the movement these three sections are first considered separately. In the later part of the chapter we will examine organization and finance and social composition.

Emmanuel Holiness Church

At the present time Emmanuel Holiness Church is made up of local assemblies at Birkenhead, Birmingham, Liverpool, Neston, Nottingham, Pensby and Rainhill. In Birkenhead and Pensby the buildings are small churches. The other meeting-places are mission halls, in most cases part of larger premises e.g. an apartment house or a row of shops. The interior of the churches and halls is plainly decorated, presenting an impression of neatness and simplicity. A cloth over the lectern and flowers on a table at the foot of the raised platform are the only forms of ornamentation although the walls in many cases carry Bible texts or inscribed plaques commemorating the founder of the hall or the date of its opening. An invitation is extended to anyone wishing to attend the meetings, usually in terms of the inscription "All Are Welcome" on the hall's

exterior notice-board

Emmanuel Holiness Church is therefore a small denomination and in many respects differs very little from other evangelical bodies. Thus each assembly holds morning and evening services, and a Sunday School. The size of Sunday Schools varies among local churches. In Pensby and Rainhill, both of which churches are on modern housing estates, the Sunday School is two to three times the size of the adult congregation. In Nottingham, too, the Sunday School is a flourishing one. But at Birkenhead, Liverpool and Neston, the first of which is situated in a predominantly Roman-Catholic district and the second in an area of urban deterioration, it is relatively small. At least one mid-week meeting is held in each church, usually a prayer meeting; but with only one exception a weekly Holiness meeting is held as well. Most of them also have a Young People's Fellowship meeting and a women's meeting. Holy Communion is celebrated once per month - and every fourth Sunday is known as Missionary Sunday when all the offerings are given to Emmanuel Missions or to specific missionaries who are former members of the local assembly. Each congregation celebrates its own anniversary with a week-end of special services and visiting preachers. Christmas, Easter, and Whitsun are given the special significance they have in orthodox denominations. Occasions such as Mothers' Day and Sunday School and Church Excursions are also part of Emmanuel's Church year, but the most important events are the movement's special annual gatherings, particularly the Easter Holiness Convention and the Annual Missionary Conference.

Apart from the Sunday Schools, all Emmanuel's services, although varying in emphasis and mood to suit the occasion, conform to a regular pattern. The order of service is invariably:- hymn, prayer, hymn, Bible reading, announcements, hymn, sermon and hymn. Solos, duets, harmony singing and a testimony (an account by a believer of his or her religious experiences) are also frequently included, particularly at special meetings like those held during the Holiness Convention. The handshake and smile which everyone receives from the stewards on entering and the slight murmur of conversation before the service indicate a less formal setting than is found in more orthodox churches. As at most evangelical gatherings, and particularly among revivalist movements, the minister attempts to create a personal, friendly atmosphere by cheerful references to the happiness of the believing majority of the congregation and to the fine weather, where appropriate, also by words of welcome to strangers who may be present. The manner of hymn-singing and of praying also emphasises informality. The Redemptional Hymnal and the Methodist Hymn Book are used in Emmanuel services. Hymns are mostly lively and tuneful and are sung with enthusiasm. They often contain refrains and choruses and the words are seen by believers to describe their own religious feeling. An example is:

"I will sing of my Redeemer,
And His wondrous love to me:
On the cruel cross He suffered,
From the curse to set me free.

Sing, oh sing .. of my Redeemer.....
With His blood He purchased me.
On the cross..He sealed my pardon..
Paid the debt.. and made me free!

Music is used in Emmanuel in typical revivalistic fashion. As well as hymns, choruses i.e. short songs, easily learnt, repetitious and enthusiastic, are often sung prior to services, during prayer meetings and while offertories are being received. Like many revivalist hymns, they are an institutionalized form of religious expressiveness in which believers can to some extent recapture the original elated emotions of their conversion experience. But they differ from hymns in the ease with which they can be learned and their simple, folkish quality makes them a more useful means than hymns of perpetuating in-group feelings by the more informal communal expression of enthusiastic experience. They are also a technique which revivalism uses to make the unconverted members of the congregation feel outside the fellowship of believers. Other techniques are:- testimonies which often evoke expressions of approval, such as "Amen!" or "Praise the Lord!" from believing members of the congregation and the possession of a Bible by all believers, which they conspicuously refer to in order to follow the scripture reading.

Prayers too, although spontaneous, are highly institutionalized. At most meetings they are said either by the minister himself or by a senior member of the congregation who may be chosen by the minister to "Lead us in prayer." Audience participation is therefore passive, although remarks of "Amen!", and "Hallelujah!" and "Praise the Lord!" are occasionally uttered during the prayer as individuals express the intensity of their fervour and simulate a suitably exciting atmosphere. My impression after eight years' acquaintance

with Emmanuel, is that these ejaculations are fast disappearing from its services, being practised only by older members. The contents of the main, initial prayer follow a regular pattern. God is invariably addressed as "Lord" or "Father" and the early part of the prayer expresses the believers' gratitude for salvation and the blessings of the converted Christian's life. Requests follow for God's help in such things as the health of specific church members, and matters of national concern e.g. war or a General Election, but these are incidental to the main theme and purpose of prayer, which is to create a pervading feeling of expectancy among the congregation. Depending on the purpose of the meeting, and the kind of people present, i.e. believers or unbelievers or both, prayer is offered that the Holy Spirit will visit the meeting in order to save, sanctify or merely to bless. Remarks such as "We feel Thy presence, Lord" are made by the leader of the meeting when the atmosphere is highly charged. Also, by saying that God knows the spiritual condition of everyone present and by asking Him to "Speak to our hearts" the leader of the meeting is able to create a sense of individual awareness among the Congregation. In potential converts it becomes anxiety; in believers it is both expectation of further spiritual elation, comfort or understanding and hope that conversions of unbelievers will take place.

Most sermons have a common theme. "Sin", human ambition and selfishness are thoroughly condemned and the converted and the fully committed Christian life is put forward as the solution to all

life's problems. Pleasures, entertainments and ambitions of the secular world are shallow and transitory compared to the deep, permanent satisfaction and lasting joy provided for believers. This theme is supported by readings from all sections of the Bible, each sermon usually being built around a Scriptural quotation. Incidents and personalities in the Old Testament are related in a metaphorical manner to the lives of believers. Thus modern Christians should emulate the Israelites in their obedience to Jehovah and the latter's physical victories over Egyptians and Philistines are translated into the former's spiritual victories over "sin" and "the Devil". But, even for believers, it is claimed that there is no thorough contentment without full commitment. For young people this frequently implies becoming either a full-time preacher or missionary. For older believers and for those who do not aspire so highly, full commitment involves aiming at sanctification, supporting the evangelical cause, and pursuing certain prescribed religious duties. The duties include attendance and participation in all the services of the local church, private prayer and Bible study, tithing and supporting foreign missionary activity. Some Emmanuel ministers gave me an estimate that 40% of their regular congregation are fully committed in this way. It appears that, although virtually all believers find it easy to abstain from certain social activities (drinking, gambling, cinema-attendance, smoking etc.) and perform religious obligations to a minimum extent, many of them are reluctant or unable to pursue the higher religious ideals which ministers set before them. One

reason for this, is certainly that in belonging to a community possessing common values, shared religious sentiments and extensive social intercourse, they are psychologically satisfied and their need for further emotionally rewarding religious experience is no longer acute.

A number of annual events enable the majority of Emmanuel's followers to assemble. The Easter Holiness Convention, which is held in the Birkenhead Church from the Thursday evening of Easter week-end to Easter Monday evening, and the Annual Missionary Conference during the seven days culminating in August Bank Holiday, are the most prominent.

The convention, for the manifest purpose of exhorting believers to obtain the experience of entire sanctification, is a permanent feature of the Holiness movement in Britain and America. It is anticipated as a week-end of spiritual edification and specially exciting meetings addressed by celebrated Holiness preachers. The meetings are led by an Emmanuel minister whose task is to produce the desired atmosphere in which the preacher's "message", as the address is frequently called, is likely to have the greatest effect. The size of the congregations, usually large compared with those to which believers belong from week to week, and the enthusiasm of the singing and preaching contribute to their enjoyment of the occasion. Tea between meetings and informal conversation foster fellowship. An intense atmosphere builds up steadily until the last evening meeting when, in answer to an appeal, numbers of believers signify their desire for sanctification by walking to the front at the end

of the meeting.¹ The greater the numbers, the more successful is the Convention considered to be. I have observed a tendency for more people to respond to the appeal at the evening meetings and at the last meeting of the Convention than in the daytime meetings or those held earlier in the Convention. It is probable that the cumulative effect of sustained revivalistic preaching and its accompanying techniques, particularly the production of "outsider" feelings as the corollary of in-group fellowship, breaks down the listeners' powers of resistance to the preacher's demands. Emotional fatigue, as a result of concentration, singing, and conversations between meetings may also play a part. Such tendencies are accentuated when people commit themselves to attending the whole week-end's meetings by residing in the College during the entire Convention or when they make an excursion journey to attend a whole day's meetings.

The Missionary Conference is a longer and less intense affair. On weekdays it consists of early morning prayer meetings and morning and evening meetings. Morning meetings, usually attended only by students of the college, guests who stay there throughout the week and believers living in Birkenhead who are not at work, are devotional. They take the form of Bible readings, invariably on aspects of Holiness, given by an experienced preacher. Each evening meeting includes addresses from two missionaries, describing their own activities abroad, or those of other people in their organization, and the ways in which people present may be of help. A special

meeting is devoted to Emmanuel Missions but the other missionaries are from various evangelical, though not necessarily Holiness, organizations. The speakers frequently describe the absence of Christianity in foreign countries, often in a most dramatic way which includes vivid accounts of tribal beliefs, rituals, customs and practices. In these ways those present are made to feel the need for increased missionary activity. There are three ways in which they are asked to give their support:- by donating money, praying for missionaries and, in the case of those who are young enough i.e. 25 years or less, considering whether it is God's will that they become missionaries themselves. If they are parents they are asked to allow their children to train for the mission field, should the latter feel "called" to do so. A formalized procedure has been developed to encourage young people to consider this step:- at the close of some evening conference meetings an appeal is made for any who want to signify their willingness to become missionaries, or to offer themselves for full-time evangelism, if they subsequently feel "called". They are asked to stand up and give their names to stewards in order that they can be prayed for.

A significant feature of the Missionary Conference is the Saturday afternoon meeting which is devoted to the Bible College. An account is given of its activities, sometimes by students who often pay tributes to the staff. The occasion is also used to present prizes and certificates to students completing their course. Some of them provide accounts of their future plans and a senior minister

or member of the college staff gives them a farewell address. The audience includes past, present and future staff and students, all of whom meet old friends, share reminiscences and listen to accounts of memorable occasions in the college and of "days of blessing". It is openly stated and felt that Emmanuel is a "family". Primary group sentiments of gratitude to teachers, often called "spiritual fathers" or "mothers", are expressed by ex-students.

Deliberate emphasis is also given at this meeting to the supernatural backing which Emmanuel receives. When it is recalled that many ex-Emmanuel students are to be found preaching the gospel in various distant parts of the world the movement is seen by its followers to possess a cosmic significance in that it is performing an important task for God. The fact that the Conference is called the "Annual Worldwide Missionary Conference" symbolizes this notion. References are made to certain incidents, within the college and in the mission field, which illustrate the way in which God is supporting Emmanuel by answering the prayers of its members. Typical examples within the college usually involve supplies of money or provisions, the former for mortgage payments or building maintenance expenses, which are received at a time when it appears that the movement will not be able to meet its commitments. In the mission field the overcoming of hazards such as disease or restrictions imposed by foreign governments are most frequently cited.

Another occasion when these supernaturally sanctioned aspects of the movement are accentuated is Prayer Day which is held

at the college on the first Wednesday of each month during term. All followers and friends of Emmanuel are invited but only a small proportion attend. The morning session includes a devotional talk and prayer concerning the movement's spiritual needs. In the afternoon letters are read from ex-students in other missions and in the evening from Emmanuel's own missionaries. Prayer is offered in response to requests in these letters. If they contain any mention of interest on the part of people spoken to on the mission field, any hint of evangelical success or any reference to surmounting of physical danger, it is taken to be clear evidence of God's support.

In addition to the above regular services and meetings an adult baptismal service is held from time to time, usually once a year, at the Emmanuel Church, Pensby, when newly converted believers are completely immersed as a sign of their "born again" spiritual condition. The ceremony is performed by one of the movement's trained ministers.

The Annual Worker's Conference, held in May or June, is the occasion when a minority of rank and file members are allowed some small participation in the process of decision-making. Reports are received on the various activities of the movement, and in recent years, discussions have been conducted on topics like missionary policy and methods.

The publications of Emmanuel are among the more formalized means whereby communication from headquarters to rank and file is maintained. Emmanuel Magazine, a quarterly publication, contains

news of missionary activity, of speakers and arrangements for the movement's special events, of college activities and also organizational information e.g. the composition of the Executive Council. It occasionally includes reports of the activities of local assemblies, pen-portraits of leading personalities of Emmanuel and sermons and doctrinal articles. It is considered to be an important means of recruitment, both of students in the college and of members of local churches, but the number of recruits in proportion to the 4,500 copies sold per edition is very small.

Other publications include books on Holiness by the movement's founder and its present leader including the former's autobiography. References to Drysdale in sermons, articles, conversations and reminiscences are very frequent.

Apart from the above traditional features of Emmanuel's denominational activity there are a number of less formalised and more peripheral aspects which merit consideration. The "prayer circles"², of which there are about a dozen, are mainly composed of believers from other denominations who wish to maintain their interest in Emmanuel as a missionary training centre and a missionary society. They meet regularly to pray and to give donations in support of these enterprises. From time to time they receive visits from Emmanuel's secretary or missionaries to give them a clearer picture of missionary activities. Some of them correspond with individual missionaries who rely considerably on their support.

Among the movement's local assemblies, regular open-air

meetings are held at the Pier Head in Liverpool, and in the City Square, Nottingham. The Liverpool open-air gathering is used to give practice in public speaking to students at Emmanuel Bible College. It is attended mainly by young adults who sing hymns and choruses and give testimonies and brief exhortatory evangelical speeches to passers-by. In Nottingham the meeting is part of the local assembly's weekly programme. Evangelistic rallies are held each whitsuntide in Chester and from time to time in other places on Merseyside. Young people from the assemblies in the latter area hold occasional joint-meetings, parties and excursions. A number of them also attend Emmanuel Camp, held each summer in the Isle of Man. All these youth activities are held for evangelistic as well as recreative purposes.

Emmanuel Missions

Missionary activity has always had a prominent place in Emmanuel. At present it is carried on in four areas, each administered by a Field Leader:- Argentina, Morocco, the Sahara and South Wales. In the first of these, where Emmanuel missionaries have been for over thirty years, direct evangelism is carried on in the province of Formosa and also among the Toba tribe of Indians. In Formosa there is a town church with about 40 regular attenders and an Annex where a small meeting is held. There are also two small Indian churches. Evangelistic activities consist of preaching at services, Bible classes and house visitation.

In Morocco Emmanuel has centres in Xauen, Larache, Arcila and Alhucemas. Before the Moroccan government prohibited missionary

medical activity in 1962, indirect evangelism i.e. attempts to produce conversions through example, conversations and other informal persuasive methods during the performance of non-religious activities, was carried on by means of a medical dispensary at the first three centres on four days of each week, a dental clinic at Alhucemas and English language classes in Xauen. Since the medical and dental work ceased, English classes have been held in the other centres as well. Emmanuel has used the more direct forms of evangelism - regular meetings for preaching, prayer and Bible study - in all its Moroccan centres.

In the Sahara, where Emmanuel has been active only since World War II, Tamanrasset is the centre although Emmanuel missionaries have also operated in Adrar and Touggourt. A medical dispensary is run in Tamanrasset, but the man in charge of the Saharan section feels specially called to evangelize the Tuareg tribes and is presently engaged on a translation of the Bible into their Tifinagh language. Contact is maintained by visiting their encampments but plans are being made to set up at certain oases overnight hostels, offering a meal and sleeping facilities and serving as mission stations.

Emmanuel's foreign evangelism is therefore conducted in societies which are at a very different level of civilization from our own. An absence of industrialization and its accompanying educational and medical provision means that problems of culture contact and communication must be overcome before any evangelism can begin. Thus not only must the missionary learn the language

of the society in which he is to work, but often he finds himself engaged in teaching English to potential converts who are attracted by the benefits of advanced civilization which he can offer - medicine and education. It is thus not surprising that little has been accomplished, particularly in North Africa, by way of conversions. Christianity has always found it difficult to make progress in Islamic societies.

Evangelism in South Wales is centred on Haverfordwest, Pembrokeshire. Meetings are held in a mobile church which tours the district. There is also much house-to-house visiting and open-air preaching on the beaches during the summer. This section of Emmanuel provides a practical training ground for students at the college who spend parts of their vacation engaged in evangelism in South Wales under the guidance of the field leader and his wife.

The missionary section of Emmanuel is linked to the denominational activities in a number of ways. Emmanuel Magazine provides followers with information about events and personalities on the mission field. Here is an example from the issue of Sept. 1960, p.22:-

"LAGUNA BLANCA:

The Lord is blessing Ron as he keeps sowing the Seed. He now has a good helper in Pedro. He has also purchased a motor-bike and is finding it a great help in getting to and from the Indian Reserve. He can make Formosa in about four hours. The Tobas have partly built a new church on the second league so we can hold meetings in two places now. The administrator looks favourably on the work so there is no opposition from that quarter."

When missionaries are on furlough they visit the movement's local assemblies and describe their work abroad, often using photographs, films or coloured slides. For those adherents who express special interest in a particular branch of Emmanuel's missionary enterprise, Newsletters and Prayer letters are printed on behalf of particular mission stations or missionaries. These contain news items and request for prayer for specific requirements e.g. more medical supplies, a car or other means of transport; new church or mission station premises; the conversion of a particular individual. More generally, prayer is requested for "increased opportunity" or "God's blessing." In all these channels of information a number of common themes can be traced. The "spiritual darkness" and "sinful blindness" of North African and South American peoples are frequently mentioned. Ignorance, illiteracy, and "immorality" are stressed to reveal how difficult and at the same time how important a task is that of the missionary when he is presented with severe tests by "superstitious religion" and "opposition to the gospel of Christ". The following are two examples:-

1. From a Newsletter from Alhucemas, April 1959.

"Up until the time we left Alhucemas, the general situation was fairly busy. Visitation of the homes continued with the Gospel message. English classes were held too. More portions of Scripture were given out to those Rifflies who can read Arabic. Early in February we had a number of severe pneumonia cases, most of them babies. Sad to say two of the babies died. In one case the treatment was given too late to be effective, so lax are the folk and ignorant of

the severity of the illness. In the other case after only two injections of Penicillin, the mother refused to let the child have any more. She had a fear of the needle, which is understandable when you realise that the baby was only 11 days old when it was brought to us. It is against such fatalism, ignorance and superstition that we have to battle constantly. Such mental and spiritual darkness is difficult for us to describe to you .. "

2. From a Prayer letter from Laguna Blanca, Formosa, 1959:-

"I mentioned another group of Tobas in one of my letters which Pastor Scorza and I visited about six months ago. When Mr. Church visited me recently we made a trip to renew contact with these Indians. In the journey we had to force our way through head-high weeds at times but eventually arrived and by the light of an oil lamp we had our meeting. It was a thrill to witness the keen and interested expressions on their faces as the Word of Life was preached. I have since made another visit to this place on my own and I did quite a lot of visiting in the little huts of thatch and palm, before having a meeting. A young Indian guided me back to the road and on the way I heard some Pilaga Indians whooping and chanting as they performed their demon-worship. I made my guide stop and as we sat there on horseback in that moonless night, listening to these souls in their spiritual darkness, my heart was very heavy. Half an hour earlier I had sat with a handful of happy Christian Indians explaining to them the Word of God. Now just a mile or so away I was listening to those who are still held by the Devil in the darkness of sin and superstition. Only the power of the Risen Lord can snap these fetters. I am hoping to make fortnightly visits to this place so please pray for God's blessing."

By means of these information channels and the Magazine the rank and file of the movement and interested supporters outside it are enabled to maintain an active interest in Emmanuel Missions. On the monthly "missionary Sunday" held in the movement's local assem-

bliesha missionary speaker - frequently someone on furlough - addresses the day's meetings, special prayers are offered for the movement's foreign evangelism and offertories are contributed to it.

The results achieved by Emmanuel's missionary enterprises are more noticeable in South America than they are in North Africa. In the former there are local assemblies of believers and a small number of young converts have received a form of Bible School education at a Mennonite Training establishment in Buenos Aires. Numerically the overall number of believers is estimated as sixty. There is a possibility that these assemblies will soon become self-governing. However, in North Africa, despite occasional devoted interest on the part of certain individuals, lasting conversions have been rare and the success of Emmanuel's missioning, in terms of numbers of believers or assemblies, has been negligible.

But this has not deterred the missionaries or the movement from continuing with the venture. Missionaries themselves frequently acknowledge that they feel privileged merely to have the opportunity to preach the Gospel to non-Christian peoples. Absence of results does not affect the rationale for missionary endeavour. Jesus's command to his disciples, "Go ye into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature" is the most frequently quoted justification and merely to know that this "preaching" is taking place gives cause for satisfaction in the movement.

Emmanuel Bible College.

The objectives of college training at Emmanuel have been enunciated on several occasions and are basically threefold:-

1. to provide a suitable academic type of training for potential full-time missionaries, ministers and evangelists, 2. to ameliorate students' spiritual experience and 3. to provide them with a kind of disciplined character training.³ The following quotation from an Emmanuel publication illustrates the emphasis which has traditionally been given to the second two objectives:-

"Emmanuel Bible School and Missionary Training Home is a splendid training ground for the mission field for the following reasons:.....IT IS A CENTRE OF SPIRITUAL LIFE AND BLESSING.....IT GIVES MANY OPPORTUNITIES FOR EXPERIENCE IN MISSION WORK.....We desire to train our students to live in happy fellowship with all, and to come under healthy discipline. Only the Holy Spirit can produce this, and so we urge all to receive the Baptism of the Holy Ghost and fire, that they may live sanctified lives.

We seek by divine guidance, so to train character, that manners and faults not conducive to soul-winning may be eliminated."⁴

The "healthy discipline" referred to here is provided in the practical part of training which allows students "outlets for activity" amid the common routine of college life in the form of "housework, cooking, gardening, open-air work, public-house visitation, street preaching and marching". Although some of these activities are specifically used to provide evangelistic experience, they are considered to be successful ways of improving the character of students. In his autobiography Drysdale said it has been "our one ambition to

produce faithful men who are clean rather than clever
we have majored on character."⁵

The subjects taught are:- Bible Study; Theology; Church History; Comparative Religion; Missionary Methods; Homiletics; English Composition, Phonetics and Book-Keeping. The teaching staff is resident at the college with three exceptions:- the minister of Emmanuel Church, Birkenhead, the minister at Emmanuel Church, Rainhill and a local Methodist minister. Teaching is done mainly by lectures and study periods, with essays and other assignments and terminal examinations. The course lasts for two years each consisting of three terms of approximately twelve weeks' duration. A third year was compulsory between 1946 and 1962 after which it became optional and is now taken by those planning to enter the ministry rather than missionary work. In addition there are correspondence students who fall into two groups:- firstly a number of prospective students who need to do preliminary work, consisting of a study of Holiness literature, English grammar and composition, before entering the college; secondly a group of students who have no intention of doing full-time training but who request special courses such as "The Personality and Work of the Holy Spirit", "The Foundations of Doctrine" or Homiletics. This second group comprised thirty students in all between 1959 and 1964.

Full-time students wear a college uniform. The men have black blazers bearing the college crest, white or cream shirts, college tie and grey trousers. The women wear black stockings, a

navy blue skirt and cardigan, a white or cream blouse, a navy blue hat with an enamel college badge and a similarly coloured rain-coat. They are always referred to as "Brother Jones", "Sister Johnson" etc.

In the post-war period the number of students in residence in any one year has ranged from 22 to 54.⁶ Less than 10% of them fail to complete the course, usually because they no longer feel suited for missionary or similar evangelistic work.

In 1964 fees were £32 per term and, though they have increased since the inception of the college in some proportion to cost of living increases, they have always covered less than 50% of the cost of training. Since 1950 Local Authority grants have been made available to some students to cover the cost of fees. The discrepancy between fees and total maintenance costs, and in individual cases between what a student is able to contribute to his fees and his total maintenance costs, is covered by voluntary contributions from outside the college. Every Friday evening a special prayer meeting is held when current needs e.g. provisions, building materials, are announced and then prayed for. This is a part of the students' training programme which is aimed at increasing their faith and teaching them to pray for material requirements. Many ex-students testify to "remarkable answers to prayer" following these meetings.

During a typical week-day students spend three hours in class, three hours of study and assignment work and three hours

doing practical training of the kind described above. They are supposed to observe a set of rules designed to produce discipline and self-control. Among these are:- the observance of quiet periods at the beginning and end of the day for private prayer and devotional reading, the avoidance of prolonged conversation between the sexes, the prohibition of social visits to students' bedrooms (these are normally shared by a group of four) and of unnecessary talking after "lights out" at 10 p.m. Men and women students must walk from the residence building to the teaching block by different routes. Talking is not allowed in college grounds at night nor during study periods. Students can only enter the kitchen when on duty and are penalized e.g. by loss of free time for not being punctual in class. Duties e.g. being on hand to answer the telephone, serving meals, preparing meals, washing up and domestic cleaning are performed by students on a rotational basis.

Emmanuel claims that its general college discipline is more rigorous than that of most missionary training establishments. It holds that foreign missionaries need to be completely self-disciplined e.g. against feelings of loneliness and isolation, as well as sexual deprivation. Students' reactions to situations are therefore tested, particularly their capacity for co-operating with and adjusting to students with personality types which differ from their own. They are made to share a room and work with students with as widely different personalities as possible, an experience which, Emmanuel claims, either develops their character or proves

their unsuitability for missionary work.

At week-ends they have free time on Saturday afternoon and on Sunday afternoon they go for walks when the weather allows it. On Saturday evening those who are not engaged to speak at a meeting either visit public houses, distributing copies of Emmanuel Magazine or attend the open-air meeting on the Pier Head in Liverpool. On Sunday morning and evening they attend Emmanuel Church in Birkenhead. They are allowed to preach at a limited number of mid-week meetings during the term.

On completing the course, students are awarded a diploma and there are a number of prizes and other awards for outstanding students generally, as well as in certain specific subjects. Many "graduates" proceed to more specialized training e.g. at the Missionary School of Medicine in London or at the training establishment of a particular missionary society such as the Worldwide Evangelization Crusade which has a college in Glasgow. About one third of all students have actually become foreign missionaries. Most of them either decide that they are not equipped for such a career or use their college training as lay evangelists. It appears, however, that opportunities for full-time evangelistic work have increased in the post-war period with the spread of professional evangelism and literary and broadcasting methods.

Organization and Finance

Emmanuel Holiness Church was constituted by Deed Poll in

1948. Executive authority rests in the Executive Council, a body of seven, four of whom must be full-time personnel in the movement. The College Principal is ex officio chairman of the Executive Council and acknowledged leader of the movement. He is also editor of Emmanuel Magazine. The General Secretary and Treasurer of Emmanuel is secretary of the Council. They three "lay" members are men who have followed with interest the activities of Emmanuel; at present two of them are lay pastors in independent evangelical churches on Merseyside and the third lives in Wolverhampton but occasionally attends Emmanuel's church in Birmingham. None of the lay group is a member of Emmanuel Holiness Church but all are businessmen and they were appointed because of their expertise in this sphere rather than their potentially informed lay contribution. Drysdale himself set up the first Executive Council and the principle of centralized control remains in that, when through death, expulsion or resignation a member of the Council has to be replaced, this is done by the remaining Council members.

This body meets bi-monthly and it is constitutionally required to reach decisions by a majority vote. The present Chairman has informed me that only on two occasions has unanimity not been reached immediately and in each case the members agreed to wait until unanimity was eventually achieved. It is constitutionally provided for a Church member to lodge a protest against an Executive Council member who has committed a misdemeanour, in which case the other Council members must consider the matter. In fact a protest

of this kind has not yet been made.

The Council meets at the College. Its duties include the making of all policy decisions, the appointment of College Staff and missionaries⁷ and the purchase of property. It is thus a Limited Company as well as a governing body. Field leaders of Emmanuel Missions are called in when business concerning their area is being discussed but in the case of foreign missions they are only able to attend when on furlough. It is through the field leader that communication between the Council and the mission field is maintained. From time to time Council members visit the mission stations to obtain a first-hand knowledge of the situation. All Emmanuel's property on mission stations is owned by the Executive Council.

As far as the denominational activity is concerned the Council is linked to the local churches through local boards of trustees which usually meet quarterly. The movement owns the church premises in Birkenhead, Liverpool and Neston. In Pensby they are owned by a joint trust comprising members of the local assembly and representatives of the Council. At Rainhill they are owned by the local church board, at Birmingham by the local minister and at Nottingham they are rented. The minister's manse in Birkenhead is owned by the movement; at Rainhill ownership of the manse is divided equally between members of the local board and the Executive Council. Financial business in each assembly is managed entirely by the local board.

The Workers' Conference is a recent decentralizing develop-

ment. It is an annual meeting of all full-time personnel, except missionaries not on furlough, and lay representatives of local churches whose number is proportional to the size of the official local membership. Reports are received on every aspect of Emmanuel's activity. In recent years there has been some tendency for discussion to develop.

The above description of executive authority structure and property ownership indicates the amorphous organization in Emmanuel. In terms of its professional ministry the situation is similarly non-uniform. At present, December 1965, there are only four full-time ministers in Emmanuel's seven assemblies. They were appointed by the local board in consultation with the Executive Council whose responsibility it is to ensure that every minister in Emmanuel's local churches is properly qualified. But his dismissal is entirely in the hands of the local council. In the great majority of cases this qualification process has involved training at the College, but where a prospective minister has trained elsewhere he must satisfy the Executive Council that he is suitable to take charge of one of its churches by doing a short course, at the College, usually by correspondence, and then presenting a paper on a set subject. Every minister and missionary must spend at least one year on probation before being ordained. In every case a minister must first express written agreement with the Articles of Doctrine etc. which all full members of Emmanuel Holiness Church must acknowledge.

Much of the centralized control within the movement is

exerted via the ministers, even though they can be dismissed by the local board. It has been customary for a minister, before he or his board makes a decision or initiates a particular policy, to discuss local matters with the movement's leader. Since every minister is chairman of his church board he possesses considerable influence and authority at the local level.

Weekly gatherings of ministers of Emmanuel's churches around Merseyside are held on an informal basis at the College in order to allow them to discuss each other's local church problems, seek each other's advice and maintain standardization of policy and procedure. Theological problems, arising e.g. from a minister's sermon, are also discussed at these meetings.

Although the Executive Council must maintain standards of ministerial competence, Emmanuel's ministry is not professionalized to the extent that it is paid a regular salary. Every minister receives money in a manner agreed between himself and his local board. All of the arrangements include voluntary contributions by local adherents towards "Pastor's Support" which they typically place in a box at the rear of the church or in an envelope. These contributions are collected and paid to the minister by the local church secretary or treasurer. In only one assembly is a minimal stipend paid by the local board and there the voluntary payment system operates as well. National Insurance payments are made for ministers by the Executive Council and 65 years has been officially

stipulated as a compulsory retirement age for all full-time personnel.

All ministers and most missionaries in Emmanuel are ordained by the Executive Council. This usually takes place at a special Ordination Service in the Birkenhead Church, where the ceremony is conducted by the leader of the movement. Technically this procedure means little more than that ministers are placed on the denomination's legal list, which exempts them from National Service. There are three examples of Emmanuel having ordained people from outside of the movement. These are all men who work for missionary societies which are not authorized to ordain and which operate in countries where ordination is necessary to become a legal religious practitioner.

Membership of Emmanuel Holiness Church, which grants the right to vote at business meetings of the local church, to elect the local board and to represent the local assembly at the Annual Workers' Conference, must be applied for by the individual and involves expressing written agreement with the Articles of Doctrine etc. Successful applicants are then issued by their local minister or representative of the Executive Council with a Membership Certificate saying they show evidence of being "Born again", that they have read and are thoroughly in sympathy with the Constitution and have "expressed willingness, by the help of God, to fulfil the conditions of membership". The proportion of members in relation to the size of each congregation is as follows:- Birkenhead 60%; Nottingham 75%; Rainhill 75%; Liverpool 75%; Neston 80%; Birmingham 50%; Pensby, Nil. There are isolated examples

of membership having refused or discontinued. The latter case, which was on grounds of "moral" degeneration," occurred after the party had been interviewed by his minister and a local official who gave him a warning and then deleted his name from the membership list after his conduct continued to lapse.

Emmanuel is maintained financially by voluntary contributions. Local assemblies are financially autonomous and weekly collections are used to maintain the local premises, to support the pastor and to cover such things as the expenses of visiting preachers. These assemblies are under no obligation to contribute to the headquarters of Emmanuel or to the College. But they do send sums to be deployed in foreign missionary activity, often specifying which branch of Emmanuel Missions or in some cases a specific missionary they wish to help to maintain.

The College and Missions are financially administered from headquarters by the General Secretary and Treasurer. Most of the donations received are anonymous and small. They come mainly from supporters in evangelical movements in the British Isles and North America.. Since its inception the Bible College and Missions section of Emmanuel has become so well-known in certain evangelical, Holiness and fundamentalist circles in various parts of the world that it is guaranteed a steady supply of students as well as continuous financial support. This position appears in the main to be the result of the evaluations expressed by ex-students of the College, who came originally from every section of the Protestant denominational

spectrum and who entered, in varying numbers and proportions, most of the evangelical missionary societies with headquarters in Britain. Thus the local assemblies of Emmanuel make only a small contribution to the financial maintenance of the College and missionary activities.

A small proportion of donations is designated for a specific section of the movement e.g. the South Wales Mission, but the majority of contributions are unnamed and the treasurer attempts to divide the total proportionately among the various sections. He does so according to the current financial position of the sections and on a pro rata basis per head according to the number of personnel involved in each section. In the case of foreign missionary sections he takes the cost of living of those areas into consideration.

The total turnover of the movement in 1960, which was not untypical of years in the past decade, was between £25,000 and £30,000. The annual cost of maintaining the college is about £7,000 and a similar amount represents the total annual budget of all the local assemblies. The remainder i.e. about 50% of the movement's total income, is used for missionary purposes.

The Social Composition of Emmanuel.

In an attempt to provide evidence on the social composition of Emmanuel, data have been obtained from three sources:- information on the full-time personnel of the movement which was supplied in 1965 by the present leader; a survey of the adherents of local assemblies, conducted in 1961, in which all but one of the local ministers acted as informants, and a sample study of Bible

College applicants since 1944.

In March 1965 there were 41 full-time personnel in Emmanuel.

These were deployed as follows:-

	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>
Ministers in Churches	4	-
Missionaries in Morocco	1	7
" " Sahara	1	4
" " South America	4	4
" " South Wales	2	3
College Staff	3	3
Secretarial and Administration	1	2
Bookshop	-	2
	<hr/> 16	<hr/> 25

In addition two part-time deaconesses work in Chester and Neston (Wirral).

Data on Emmanuel's present full-time personnel are given in Appendix 3. 34% are drawn from adherents of the movement itself. The remainder have come from a wide range of Protestant evangelical groupings. The virtually uniform urban origins of personnel is striking, the vast majority (85%) coming from large towns and cities outside of London, mainly from the industrial north and midlands of England. Over 75% were trained at Emmanuel Bible College and in addition around 50% have received at least a good secondary education i.e. obtained Matriculation, qualified in Nursing or Teaching or earned a university degree. Their previous occupations were predominantly non-manual, sales and service, clerical and administrative, together nursing and teaching, accounting between them for 29 of the total 41.

In the survey of Emmanuel's local assemblies data were obtained for those at Birkenhead, Liverpool, Neston, Nottingham,

Pensby and Rainhill. Three of these ecclesiae are located in large cities or towns. At Nottingham the Emmanuel Hall is barely a quarter of a mile from the city centre. In Liverpool it is in the Princes Park district, formerly a residential neighbourhood in which the property is dilapidating and the population mixed and shifting. In Birkenhead the church is less than a mile from the town centre in an area containing several large blocks of corporation flats as well as older, narrow streets of small working-class terrace-dwellings. It is, however, close to Birkenhead Park and its residential environs. At Rainhill and Pensby the mission hall and small church respectively are situated close to post-war housing estates which have grown considerably during the past ten years. Partly as a consequence of this housing development the Sunday schools at Rainhill and Pensby are almost too large for the premises to accommodate them. In Neston, a small town on the Wirral Peninsula, Emmanuel Hall is a store-front church in one of the main streets. The Birmingham Church is located close to a mixed residential district on Handsworth Road, a main route out of the city. The only available information on its adherents was obtained as a result of two visits to major meetings on the same Sunday in 1961. The results of the investigation appear in Appendix 4.

A broad definition of "adherence" was used viz:- "average attendance at at least one church meeting per two weeks". It was thought that such a basis for inclusion would cause the informants less difficulty in deciding whom to include and would provide more

useful information on the whole range of membership from highly committed to peripheral followers. A distinction between formal members of Emmanuel Holiness Church and adherents was not made in this survey. A minimum age-limit of fifteen was decided upon in order to obtain as broad a picture as possible of adult adherents, to avoid the inclusion of Sunday School scholars and to attempt to provide data on adherents in later adolescence.

The clearest finding is that almost 73% of Emmanuel adherents, 240 out of a total of 330, are female. There is evidence that a predominance of women exists in most Protestant denominations.⁸ But the sex ratio of 2.7 for Emmanuel is greater than for the more orthodox Protestant groupings and bears a strong resemblance to that found by Wilson in the Elim Church,⁹ although it falls below the extraordinarily high sex ratio found among Christian Scientists.¹⁰

The age distribution of Emmanuel's adherents is consistent with the findings of other studies on the relationship between age and religion.¹¹ It appears to offer some support for the thesis that the 20-35 age group in British society is religiously apathetic and that the "over 35" age group shows an interest in religion which increases with age. But these are only appearances and may reflect nothing more than the recruitment pattern of Emmanuel a generation ago.

Very few of the testimonies of conversion which I have heard give the age of conversion as greater than 25 and the experience of Emmanuel's followers thus lends support to the hypothesis on the relationship between adolescence and conversion.¹² The smaller

proportion of adherents between 25-35 strengthens an impression, obtained from listening to testimonies, that many older followers were converted in adolescence, ceased to participate in early adulthood but returned to an active religious life at a subsequent date.

On the question of socio-economic status the concept of a household unit was used with the occupation of the head of the household as an index. Thus the ^{unnecessary} inclusion of more than one member of the same family, which would probably have inflated some of the figures and thus distorted the analysis, was avoided. The head of each household was one of the following:- a) the employed husband or father in households represented by the husband alone, husband and wife or husband, wife and dependent children, b) an employed adult child, c) an adult not in categories a) and b). The data are provided in Appendix 4. 95 of all household units were unclassifiable because the present or past occupation of the head of the household was unknown. They were mainly housewives, widowed and retired people, but there is no reason to suppose that their socio-economic status is different from the 115 classifiable units which therefore give a reliable picture of the socio-economic composition of Emmanuel's followers.

There were no representatives of higher professional groups. The very small proportion of unskilled manual working-class households was equally striking. When semi-skilled, unskilled manual and service groups were combined they comprised less than 25% of the total. On the other hand lower professionals, clerical and sales and skilled

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manual groups together formed 76%, although over one third of this large grouping were unmarried women. Emmanuel's present following may thus be described as primarily lower middle and upper working class. It is by no means "socially insignificant and often poor" nor is it primarily composed of "members of the working class with very limited material prospects". These phrases were used to describe the followers of Elim in the early 1950's.¹³ Evidence about the present social composition of Emmanuel therefore, does not suggest that the movement currently provides a form of compensation for economic deprivation, but it is conceivable that the social status of new recruits at the time of entry into the movement may have been lower than the 1961 data indicate. Theories about the relationship between Holiness religion and economic deprivation have tended to concern themselves with the period of emergence of movements, rather than their advanced stages. To what extent Emmanuel exerts pressures towards upward social mobility in the manner suggested by Benton Johnson,¹⁴ cannot be adequately gauged from the 1961 survey, but its results suggest that it is a strong possibility.

No systematically gathered evidence about the educational experience of Emmanuel's adherents was obtainable, except in the case of the Liverpool assembly of which 7 out of the 39 had been to Grammar School and 1 was attending university. My personal knowledge of the movement's supporters, however, suggests that this proportion of Grammar School educated (19%) is probably typical of the other Emmanuel assemblies. Since it is also similar to the proportions of

Geographical origins of applicants, as indicated by their

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the population of England and Wales who have attended Grammar School since the 1944 Education Act, there seems to be no evidence to indicate educational deprivation as being characteristic of Emmanuel's followers. Reliable comparisons with the general population, however, are difficult to make since we have no data on educational experience ^{in Emmanuel} related to age. Emmanuel's occupational structure, which reveals that the 55% of household units included in the non-manual categories are nurses and teachers, suggests that the educational background of the movement's followers may well be appreciably more advanced than that of the general population, at least at the secondary level. The possibility exists, again, that this may be the result of pressures towards upward social mobility exerted on second generation recruits to movements of this kind.

The social composition of students in Emmanuel Bible College was examined by means of an analysis of 22 application forms, a 10% random sample from 220 applications received between 1944 and 1961. A list of questions contained on these forms is provided in Appendix 5.

Of the 22 forms examined, 12 were submitted by males and 10 by females. If, as the principal assured me, women have generally outnumbered men among students entering the college, the sample appears to be biased, it nevertheless provides some useful information.

The average age of the sample was 24.75 years, that of women being 25.0 years and that of men 24.5 years. All applicants were unmarried and only one indicated that he was "unofficially engaged".

Geographical origins of applicants, as indicated by their

home addresses at the time of application, were as follows:-

7 of the 22 were from Ireland, including only 1 from Eire; 5 were from London and the South-Eastern counties; 5 were from North-west England (Liverpool, Manchester and Cheshire); 3 were from South Wales and the West Country and 2 were from Scotland (West Lothian and Dumfriesshire).

Among male applicants there was a predominance (9) out of 12) of semi- and unskilled manual workers and only 3 of the 12, a motor mechanic, a male nurse, and a marine engineering draughtsman, could be classed as in any way trained for a skilled or technical occupation. In contrast, among female applicants 7 of the 10 were in lower professional occupations i.e. teachers and nurses.

These socio-economic status differences between the sexes were reflected in educational experience. The semi-skilled and unskilled majority of the males had only attended Public Elementary, State Secondary or Secondary Modern Schools, although 3 of the 12 had gained Engineering and Technical Certificates of an elementary nature. Among the women 2 had been to Grammar School and both had passed G.C.E. "O" level in 6 subjects, another had attended an Independent School and another a High School. Only 4 out of 10 women, compared to 10 out of 12 men, had attended Secondary Modern or Elementary Schools.

Some indication of the level of educational sophistication among applicants was revealed in replies to the question:- "What are your views with reference to works of fiction?" Most expressed

a wholehearted disapproval, primarily, one feels, because that was what they were expected to say, but what was more illuminating was the low level of sensibility, understanding and literary appreciation which some of their replies indicated:- e.g. "Works not of truth are not of God, therefore I never read them". "Mostly trash. Some works are helpful if we have time to read them". "I have never read much fiction and to me there is a certain lack of reality about it".

As far as the social origins of applicants is concerned, only 4 of the men's fathers and 2 of the women's were in unskilled occupations. Among the men, it is noticeable that the status of their parents' occupations e.g. in terms of the Registrar General's classification, is higher than that of the applicants themselves. The 12 men's fathers' occupations were:- Footware Warehouseman; Farmer; Farmer; Security Officer; Creamery Manager; Inspector in Aircraft Factory; Civil Servant; Packer; Small Poultry-farmer and gardener; Furnaceman; Insurance Agent. One was deceased.

Among women, fathers' occupations were of noticeably lower status than those of the women themselves. The occupations were:- Finisher in Pianoforte Trade; Ratefixer; Storekeeper; Stonemason; Manufacturer's Agent; Foreman; Watchman; Shopkeeper; Agricultural Ironmonger. Two were deceased.

Broadly speaking, however, applicants appear to come from the same socio-economic levels as the adherents of Emmanuel's local churches i.e. from the lower middle and upper working classes. There is not a single parent of professional or upper middle class status e.g.

Classes I and II on the Hall-Jones Scale. But the proportion of parents in Classes II and III on the Registrar-General's scale is greater than the proportions of these groups in the general population.

Some measure of the degree of interdenominationalism in Emmanuel Bible College is provided by the data on denominational affiliation:- of the 22, there were 5 Baptists, 3 Methodists, 3 adherents of Holiness Churches, 2 from Pentecostal Churches, 3 from the Church of Ireland, 3 from City or Railway Missions, 1 from the Brethren, 1 from the Church of Scotland and 1 of no particular denomination. There is a notable absence of any Church of England representative, although there has been a minority of Anglicans among students at Emmanuel. No fewer than 15 of the 22 had belonged to their denomination for more than 5 years and may thus be presumed to have been well socialized in the fundamentalist evangelical tradition.

In nine instances parents were definitely not in favour of their child's desire to enter Bible College. Two others were not living with parents at the time of application. In two further cases parents had expressed the wish that their daughters should go to a college other than Emmanuel. Reasons given by parents for not being in favour include:- disagreement with missionary work as an essential part of Christian activity; preferring, in the case of two female applicants, their daughters to stay at home to look after them; thinking that their child will not have enough money; not liking the idea that their child will leave a successful career. The decision of a substantial number of applicants (9 out of 22) to

commit themselves to religious activity in such a total way in the face of parental opposition is worth noting. A number of possible explanations suggest themselves for this. One is that these decisions are a function of problematic interpersonal relationships within the family. Another is that they reflect an over-internalization of the norms and values transmitted by the parents who did not anticipate that their own value commitments would be so highly internalized in their children. But such types of explanation are beyond the scope of this thesis.

In summary, therefore, the social composition of Emmanuel's followers differs only a little from the general church-going community.¹⁵ The proportion of women is comparable to that of similar fundamentalist evangelical movements, notably the Elim Foursquare Gospel Church, and, as we shall later show, the Faith Mission.

The differences between Emmanuel and Elim from the point of view of socio-economic composition suggests that Holiness and Pentecostalist movements may attract people from different social strata. The restrained emotionalism of services in the British Holiness movements compared with the fervour found in Pentecostalist gatherings is possibly a reflection of the differences in social status between members of the respective groups. Holiness adherents appear to have a higher social status than Pentecostalists. The Holiness churches may, however, be more successful in socializing their recruits into value-positions more characteristic of the middle classes than of their own social origins. Certainly the greater tendency among Holiness groups to establish training institutions supports this possibility, as the data on male applicants to Emmanuel Bible College suggest.

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REFERENCES.

1. Appeals are made at earlier meetings when the leader of the meeting thinks that an atmosphere prevails which leads him to expect a favourable response.
2. In 1961 these "Prayer Circles" were located as follows:- Two each in Birkenhead and Birmingham, one each in Bournemouth, Chester, Sligo, Coshestor (South Wales), Haverfordwest, Blackpool, Belfast and Doe Lea (Chesterfield).
3. A photo-copy of a recent pamphlet about Emmanuel Bible College is provided in Appendix 6.
4. J. and L. Drysdale, "25 Years After", pp.19-21.
5. N. Grubb (ed), "Prophet of Holiness", p.103.
6. See Appendix 7.
7. Around 50% of missionary candidates are rejected. Grounds include weaknesses of spiritual experience, temperament, intelligence, health, adaptability and practicality.
8. e.g. M. Argyle, Religious Behaviour, Ch. 7.
9. B.R. Wilson, Sects and Society, pp.103-104.
10. Argyle, op.cit. pp.76.ff.
Wilson, op.cit. pp.198.ff.
11. Argyle, op.cit. Ch. 6.
12. E.T. Clark, The Psychology of Religious Awakening, 1929.
W. Lawson-Jones, A Psychological Study of Religious Conversion, 1937.
J.B. Pratt, The Religious Consciousness, 1924.
E.D. Starbuck, The Psychology of Religion, 1899.
13. Wilson, op.cit. p.107.
14. G. Benton Johnson, "Do Holiness Sects Socialize in Dominant Values?" Social Forces, May 1961, p.309.ff.
G. Benton Johnson, "A Critical Appraisal of the Church-Sect Typology", American Sociological Review, Vol. 22. 1957. p.88.

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G. Benton Johnson, "On Church and Sect", American Sociological Review, Vol. 28. 1963. p.539.

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15. Argyle, op.cit. Ch. 6.

CHAPTER SIX

EMMANUEL ANALYSED.

One of the central concerns of sociology has been the ways in which forms of social organization and types of social relationship emerge, develop and persist. In order to understand how Emmanuel maintains itself as a movement it is helpful to see it as an integrated social system, possessing a structure i.e. relatively stable relationships among its parts, and having to solve certain functional problems. The following four types of functional problem have been delineated as presenting themselves to all social systems¹:-

1. Pattern Maintenance and Tension Management, 2. Adaptation,
3. Goal Attainment, 4. Integration.

The analysis attempted in this chapter uses a modification of this approach. Since chapter 4 concentrated on the movement from the point of view of its adaptive history traced in a dynamic view of organizational change, the second of these functional problems has not been given specific treatment in the present chapter. But institutional adaptation is of necessity referred to during the discussion. The four areas of analysis examined here are:-

1. Pattern Maintenance, 2. Institutional Tension, 3. Goal Attainment and 4. Integration. This is not meant to be an exhaustive categorization of the problems facing Emmanuel but rather a convenient

method of treating in an orderly manner a variety^{of} random and detailed sociological observations.

"Pattern-maintenance" refers to the means which the system employs to perpetuate itself. Three areas have been identified in Emmanuel:- a) the ways in which the movement recruits its participants, b) the process of socialization into its beliefs, values and practices and c) patterns of participation in its activities.

"Institutional tension" includes a) the problems deriving from the relationship between Emmanuel and the wider society which are here labelled "external tensions", b) areas of strain arising from the movement's pursuit of several objectives which are in potential competition with each other for priority and which generate what are here referred to as "internal tensions", c) the ways in which these "internal tensions" and other elements of strain in the system are reflected in the role of the permanent functionary in Emmanuel, particularly the minister and the missionary and d) the tension produced by the pursuit of several types of religious experience by adherents of Emmanuel.

In the area of "goal attainment" an analysis is made, in terms of manifest and latent functions, of the extent to which the movement has developed and attains unstated, as well as stated, objectives.

Under "integration" attention is given to those elements in the system which enable it to maintain some form of unity and which permit the outside observer to see it as a functioning whole.

1. Pattern Maintenance.

a) Recruitment. As a constituted denomination Emmanuel has a prescribed qualification for formal membership, but its following is comprised of several types of believer. In addition to official members who comprise 60% of all adherents² it contains converted individuals who do not wish to formally join Emmanuel Holiness Church, others who do not know about formal membership, some who attend other denominations as well as Emmanuel and a number who feel unable to sign membership forms because they cannot agree to some of the movement's social proscriptions e.g. cinema attendance and the consumption of alcoholic beverages. There is also a small minority of adherents who do not claim to have had any religious experience but attend merely because they are interested or want to go to a place of worship. Casual attenders are found in Emmanuel as in most other denominations.

In considering recruitment as a means of pattern maintenance it must be remembered that Emmanuel is part of a wider evangelical community within which a minority of believers are constantly changing their allegiances from one particular denomination to another. Thus there has never been one single method of recruiting followers to the movement, such as the revival campaign which figured so prominently in the early activities of Jeffreys' Elin Evangelistic Band.³ The earliest followers of Drysdale in 1916 already comprised a separate religious group and, although the movement has employed typical revivalistic methods, the growth and maintenance of its following

has occurred in diverse ways. Revivalism has always been a central feature of Emmanuel's activities and, although there has been a noticeable reduction since World War II in the number of outdoor meetings, the movement has continued to hold evangelistic campaigns in its churches, often in co-operation with other groups and denominations. Moreover conversions which take place purely as a result of personal contact with an Emmanuel follower are extremely rare. Testimonies almost invariably include references to attendance at some kind of meeting.⁴ But Emmanuel's expansion has been only minimally effected by revivalism. Typically conversions of young people occur after attending Emmanuel's gospel services, Convention meetings, Missionary Conference meetings or Emmanuel's Annual Camp but this is largely second-generational recruitment. Most of these young converts have attended the movement's Sunday Schools or have been socialized in another evangelical movement. They are rarely complete outsiders. The major source of external recruitment has been the geographical mobility of evangelical believers into areas where Emmanuel operates.

But the increases in the number of its assemblies have been the major source of recruitment in Emmanuel Holiness Church. Two of them, at Nottingham and Rainhill, requested as existing groups, to officially align themselves with Emmanuel. Another, at Pensby, formerly comprised a group who used to attend Emmanuel Church in Birkenhead but decided to acquire their own building rather than travel in order to worship. Several of the early members of the Birmingham assembly were already active evangelicals when Emmanuel

moved there. Before it joined Emmanuel, the Nottingham assembly had been formed as a result of a successful revival campaign in that city. At Rainhill the group had been constituted as a result of the successful outdoor preaching and visitations of one man and his wife who had moved into the district from Westhoughton, near Bolton; it had been attached to the International Holiness Mission and briefly to the Church of the Nazarene before it joined Emmanuel. Thus the pattern of recruitment has been and is still a very irregular one. It is extremely difficult to assess the relative contribution of each source over different periods of time or at one particular period since this would require a phase study of successive generations of followers.

The movement functions within a wide context of evangelical and Holiness religion in which older assemblies, especially independent mission halls, are frequently seeking opportunities to join larger organizations which can provide them with trained ministers, a focus of missionary interest and a sense of belonging to a broader religious community. The absorptive precedents in Emmanuel's organizational growth process enhance its availability for this kind of adaptive measure, as do the range and scope of its contacts. It has been shown that college students, whether or not they become ministers or missionaries in Emmanuel, are recruited from diverse evangelical groups which typically maintain an interested attachment to Emmanuel e.g. through purchasing magazines and receiving newsletters and prayer-letters. Many of them also invite members of Emmanuel's

college teaching staff and some of its ministers and missionaries as visiting preachers to their assemblies. Thus the intricate network of fellowship, maintained by a nation-wide system of communication and exchange, enables the movement to be reasonably certain of its future persistence, especially where recruitment of assemblies and followers as well as students is concerned.⁵ An interesting possibility exists at present that a small independent assembly at Chester, which is led by an ex-Emmanuel woman missionary, and a larger independent church in Skelmersdale, Lancs., whose pastor is a member of Emmanuel's Executive Council, will both formally align themselves with the movement at some future date. Emmanuel ministers and missionaries are frequent preaching visitors to these groups.

As far as recruitment to the ministry is concerned, the co-optation policies earlier employed by Drysdale have now been abandoned. Emmanuel has developed formal qualifying procedures for all its ministerial and missionary personnel.

But the composition of the Executive Council reflects the persisting use of co-optation as a recruiting technique. The two most recent "lay" additions to that body have come from outside the movement. One of them had been a casual visitor to the Birmingham assembly and the other has for a considerable time been pastor of the mission at Skelmersdale where preachers and ministers from Emmanuel have been frequent visitors. Their major qualifications for being admitted to the Council seem to have been their business resources.

The recruitment pattern at all levels of the movement has thus been highly irregular, a factor of central significance in the amorphous tendencies of Emmanuel's development.

b) Socialization. Once recruited to the movement, believers begin to participate in a system of religious action and it is here where Emmanuel must in some way exercise control of its members by providing them with opportunities for fellowship, common worship, spiritual experience etc. and by channeling their interests and enthusiasm in directions favourable for the movement's continuation. Through services, prayer meetings, conferences and conventions, followers are socialized into the beliefs and practices of Emmanuel, although it must be noted again that many of these positions are shared with a number of movements and therefore in the case of adherents brought up in other denominations the process is one of continued socialization. Literature too, in the form of Emmanuel Magazine, books by Drysdale, Emmanuel's founder, Banks his successor, and other Holiness personalities, jubilee accounts of Emmanuel's history and a wide variety of evangelistic, devotional and Holiness writing, helps to deepen levels of commitment and to enable believers to fit into the social system of Emmanuel.

The peculiar in-group fellowship system of minority religious movements like Emmanuel has essential gemeinschaft-like qualities. Such a complex framework of shared experiences, symbolic communication and commitment to spiritual goals presents problems for analysis. But a number of conceptually separable elements can be detected.

Religious experiences within Emmanuel take several forms. The more familiar ones are those which are formally acknowledged in the movement's official statements of doctrine i.e. conversion and sanctification, which the gospel services and conventions respectively are manifestly intended to effect. The early parts of all services revive the feelings of joy, relieved psychological tension and reduced guilt feelings which believers experience at the time of their conversion. Leaders of meetings frequently tell participants that they should have "something solid to sing about", that they should "sing praises to the Lord", that they should "thank God for His wondrous salvation". These leaders often identify themselves with the congregation by means of statements like "We are God's children". The vociferous, cheerful way in which early hymns are sung reveals the latent function which these meetings perform in enabling believers to reinforce, and perhaps renew, the cathartic experiences of conversion and sanctification which they have received. The practice of emphasizing the difference between converted believers and the unsaved is employed in services by references on the part of leaders and preachers to such things as:- the sinfulness of the world as opposed to the godliness of evangelical Christians, the dichotomy of selfishness and unselfishness which separates those who have given themselves to Christ from those who pursue their own worldly ways, the possession by believers of e.g. "real", lasting joy and satisfaction which is contrasted with the "limited" state of personal happiness of the unbeliever.

Testimonies i.e. public accounts by believers of their experiences also have this latent purpose. Believers are able to identify publicly with the testifier and register their approval by interjections of "Amen" and "Praise the Lord", thereby sharing his or her elated feelings. The tendency during the first prayer to inculcate a sense of God's presence in the meeting and to direct the concentration of the congregation towards the prevailing spiritual atmosphere are other ways in which believers are made aware of their shared religious experiences and spiritual condition. Prayers of this kind contain such statements as "We feel thy presence, Lord"; "Draw near to us, O Lord, and help us to open our minds to receive Thy word"; and "Break down every barrier, Lord, which prevents us from listening to Thy message". This kind of language symbolizes the unity of experience and is part of the unique system of communication which is used between and within movements like Emmanuel. The number of meetings which Emmanuel's followers are expected to attend each week⁶ - typically two on Sunday and two others on week-nights - strengthens the degree of commitment secured in this way.

But in addition to the formally prescribed religious experiences, there are other aspects of the belief structure which play a large part in the socialization process and the intensification of commitment. The concept of "doing God's will" is one of these. It refers to the believer's attempt to receive a kind of spiritual guidance concerning the conduct of his life, including such things as choice of marriage partner, of career, of whether to

accept an invitation to preach and even which kind of car to buy.⁷ To obtain this knowledge the believer typically prays for divine guidance and looks through the Bible for a suitable text to which he believes the Holy Spirit leads him and which will support his choice. Often circumstances develop e.g. in the case of someone wanting to know whether to apply to a certain missionary society, a vacancy may occur in it and the scriptural text and the feeling of spiritual conviction of that person support his desire to apply for the vacancy. The notion of a "call" to missionary activity or to the ministry or even to administration is an essential part of the qualification process among Emmanuel's personnel and every full-time worker is expected to "seek God's will" for his future e.g. concerning where he should work and what kind of work he should do.

Also within this context is the notion of "endowment with power", a facet of the movement's definition of sanctification or spirit-baptism which refers to the coming of the Holy Spirit which infuses supernatural power into the life of the believer. This power may take several forms such as:- the ability to preach well, ^{to} bring about the conversion of unbelievers, to witness and pray effectively, to lead meetings, to overcome temptations to sin, to lead a morally upright life. But such "power-anointing" may also occur from time to time after the sanctification experience. Frequently the leader of a meeting will pray that the preacher will receive "a fresh anointing of Power". The conviction that God is continually influencing the lives of believers in these ways is a

useful means of maintaining a high level of spiritual commitment.

Another important element of Emmanuel's socialization pattern is the belief in answered prayer. Typical examples of this are:- successful prayer that a specific individual will be converted or that someone will be cured of an illness and favourable responses to prayed requests for financial support for a specific evangelistic campaign or convention. Leaders of meetings make frequent references to such instances of "answers to prayer". On a more personal level, believers can cite many similar examples in the context of their daily life, with reference to such mundane things as the weather, minor physical ailments and the purchase of household goods.

The least clearly defined type of religious experience in Emmanuel is "blessing". Included in this concept are all experiences which produce a sense of spiritual elation in believers. Examples are:- enjoyable religious services and sermons; exciting prayer meetings; the reading by the believer of a portion of the Bible which can have application to his own personal life; the news that someone has been converted. The feeling of a "blessing" which such situations produce can be shared with other believers. It is seen as a kind of pleasure which only God's people are able to enjoy.

The terminology used to describe these facets of religious experience is part of the symbolic communication system found among adherents of movements like Emmanuel. The use of the terms "Brother" and "Sister" as forms of address is another central feature. They are part of a vocabulary which believers employ to talk among

themselves about their religious experiences, their sense of fellowship and their commitment to common religious goals.⁸ The carrying and use of Bibles at all meetings is another noticeable symbol of in-group feeling.

In addition to exclusively religious activity there is a network of informal friendship patterns in Emmanuel as in most religious organizations. Friendships become broadened and institutionalized as a result of specific types of social gathering which the rank and file members of Emmanuel hold as part of their regular, routine life. Teas are the most typical of these. They involve co-operative cooking, baking, serving and organizing on the part of the women in the local assembly and are held during week-end evangelistic rallies or anniversary services. These occur, on average, about once every six weeks and when they are held in one of the assemblies on Merseyside they are often attended by numbers of people from another assembly. Similar kinds of occasion are arranged for young people at least once a week in some assemblies, often after the Sunday evening service.

There are also annual Sunday School excursions, women's excursions and other outings. In these respects Emmanuel is a kind of folk religion. Wilson has indicated similar features of Pentecostal movements in Britain, particularly the way in which their activities resemble the folkways of the lower social strata.⁹

The above elements of the socio-religious system of Emmanuel into which all believers are more or less socialized

represents a kind of institutionalized enthusiasm, a routinization of the inspirational element in religion where the sharing of common emotions and experiences, religious and non-religious, is of primary importance.

c) Participation. Another central feature of Emmanuel's social system is the active participation in the pursuit of common goals which this sort of religious movement tries to encourage among all its members. It is unlike the sect's attempt to rigidify a pattern of behaviour and deep commitment among its members. Although the evangelization of the unsaved and the sanctification of believers are achieved by the deployment of preaching specialists, every rank and file member is expected to take part. There are a number of ways in which they can contribute. Donation of tithes and other money are the courses of action in which most believers participate. They are also expected to pray for the success of the movement's activities, to support them by attending and to help in the conduct of church affairs e.g. Sunday School teaching. In the case of these latter two forms of activity we have no systematically gathered evidence on the proportion of members who take part, but it appears that Sunday School teachers form a minority (perhaps no more than 10%) of adherents in any one assembly. Many believers give testimonies in public as part of their contribution to the achievement of the movement's goals.

Prayer meetings, and sometimes the prayer period in a service, are occasions for spontaneous participation by those who

present present
attend. Ideally everyone ^{present} is expected to pray at least once during a prayer meeting and a generous estimate indicates that at least 75% do so. But prayer-meetings are only attended by the more totally committed members who number about 40% of each congregation.

Other meetings e.g. mid-week Holiness meetings, special evangelistic rallies, open-air services, provide much scope for adherents to participate by praying, testifying, reading portions of Scripture and giving assistance to those who organize the meeting.

Young people who offer themselves for full-time evangelistic work and parents who encourage their children to do so are also enabled to feel involved in a shared enterprise. In these various ways the enthusiasm which accompanies the experiences of conversion and sanctification becomes externalized in the performance of a set of obligations as evidence of commitment to the movement's aims, purposes and activities.

2. Institutional Tension.

a) External. Religious movements are particularly subject to this kind of tension because the purely religious element in their belief systems and practices tends to conflict at some points with the non-spiritual element involved in their adherents' participation in the wider society. In addition religious institutions function in a societal context where they are prone to conflict with other social and religious institutions.

In Emmanuel's social teachings proscriptions have always

been placed on the consumption of alcohol and tobacco, attendance at cinemas, theatres and dance-halls and gambling. The development of radio and television broadcasting and the gramophone record industry between 1920 and 1950 presented the movement with problems on the question of whether to include these forms of secular entertainment among its proscriptions. Since radio and television are important sources of news and information on political and social affairs it was decided that they could not be totally banned. But believers have always been encouraged to exercise great care in the use of these media and to ensure that they use them for educational, rather than recreational purposes, although some forms of secular entertainment, notably plays and classical music, are condoned.

The sphere of education has probably been the most significant area of external tension in Emmanuel. This has not simply been a question of the opposition between modern scientific attitudes and spiritual forms of knowledge and experience, but rather the high value which Emmanuel, in common with all but the most sectarian of religious bodies, such as the Hutterites, the Amish and similar isolationist groups, places on education.¹⁰ As far as such problems as the conflict between the evolutionary and Old Testament theories of creation is concerned, Emmanuel has remained utterly fundamentalist in its outlook but the recurrent significance of this particular issue is revealed in the number of condemnatory articles on the theory of evolution which have appeared in Emmanuel Magazine. In the broader area of education there is some suggestion, in terms of

the relatively small proportions of young people who in the post-World War II years have remained in Emmanuel after attending its Sunday Schools, that secular education may be having an adverse effect on the number of adherents. But all the young people who do experience conversion and remain attached to Emmanuel e.g. after reaching school-leaving age are pressed to enter full-time evangelistic work, usually via Emmanuel's College. It appears that the better educated ones in this highly committed group are more likely to succumb to these pressures. Thus the stress put on the value of education has an ambivalent tendency:- to reduce the number of young adherents in local assemblies and to increase, or at least maintain, the number of college students. This area may be the most important single determinant of institutional change in Emmanuel, since its recent development has been, and seems likely to continue to be, along the lines of College and foreign missionary activity rather than evangelism in Britain. The ambiguity embodied in the growth of evangelistic, college training and foreign missionary activities may thus be highly effective in securing Emmanuel's future. If it had merely been a small denomination it might have been obliged either to discontinue its activities through its inability to recruit the young or to join a larger organization like the Church of the Nazarene, as virtually all the British Holiness groups and independent Holiness churches have done, with the notable exceptions of the League of Prayer and the Faith Mission, as well as Emmanuel.

The holding of annual camps (originally in the Lake District,

more recently in the Isle of Man) and weekly Young People's Fellowship meetings in some of Emmanuel's assemblies are partially outcomes of the external tension problems presented by the secular education of the young. The former activity and to some extent the latter (in so far as it often involves party games and other recreational activities, meals and encounters with the opposite sex) represent a kind of concession to the needs of young people for non-religious forms of recreation. But the basic aim of these activities is to attract them into full adult membership.

In the last eight years or so a section called "Frankly Speaking" has been included in Emmanuel Magazine. It is written by an Emmanuel minister and is a commentary on contemporary moral, social and political issues e.g. communism, divorce, General Elections. Emmanuel was rarely such a socially conscious movement in Drysdale's time and these articles represent a deliberate attempt on the part of the editor to introduce topicality, social relevance and readability into the magazine without reducing its evangelistic impact. But the sophisticated language and sharper intellect of the writer of "Frankly Speaking" indicate that this development is partly a result of the general process of institutional adaptation which the movement has undergone. It shows evidence of more educated social awareness and interest in contemporary worldly affairs which was not reflected in Emmanuel's earlier publications.

Another example of this trend of adaptation in response to external tensions is the increasing number of better educated speakers

at the Missionary Conference whose vocabulary and language evidence a more academic training than that given at Emmanuel. The influence of these individuals is gradually to erode the original aims of Emmanuel's training program i.e. the production of people who are "clean rather than clever". It is probably already difficult to decide which of these two qualities is given greater emphasis in Emmanuel College, at least as far as time devoted to study is opposed to worship is concerned.

Relations with other religious bodies are further sources of external institutional tension. In the early years the Drysdales were condemned by many local churches in Birkenhead for their alleged fanatical and over-emotional practices. But the movement's development into a respectable non-conformist denomination has enabled it to co-operate in such activities as revival campaigns with other evangelical groups, notably a local Baptist church, the League of Prayer, various independent gospel halls, the Liverpool City Mission and even, on occasions, evangelical Anglican churches. Moreover, the interdenominational nature of the college and the recent decision to join the Evangelical Missionary Alliance have tended to reduce the separationist tendencies in the movement, as has the widespread contact with other groups which arise from preaching visits by Emmanuel's ministers and other members, especially at special events like Anniversary Services or Conventions. Solutions to external tension problems, therefore, have been a primary element in institutional adaptation in Emmanuel. As was indicated in chapter four,

its organization has been modified in response to the demands and requirements of the wider society and it is likely that similar external factors will be the prime influences on the movement's future development.

b) Internal. There have also been a number of internal tension problems facing the movement. Most of them derive from the dilemma implied in the twin goals of personal piety and evangelism i.e. the tendency for one to be given greater emphasis than the other. Several movements have concentrated on one at the expense of the other, and have consequently developed distinctive characteristics. The Salvation Army has stressed evangelism and neglected Holiness, although the latter was prominent in its early teachings. The introversionist Holiness groups, like Wooster's assembly in Leicester, have concentrated on personal piety and are no longer interested in evangelism. Both remain central to Emmanuel's aims and purposes, but their persistent significance has not been due merely to their continued inclusion within official constitutional statements nor simply by teaching people to preach conversion and sanctification. A number of routinized mechanisms have been developed to enable a satisfactory position to be maintained. Special occasions are reserved for encouraging believers to aspire to perfectionism:- one is the annual Easter Holiness Convention, another is the mid-week Holiness meeting, a third is the series of morning Bible study sessions held during the Annual Missionary Conference. Sanctification never features prominently on other occasions, except in testimonies and

informal discussion. As has been noted already the amount of time devoted to open-air services, open-air evangelistic campaigns and rallies has declined in recent years. But evangelism is carried out in other ways, typically by holding an evening gospel service and series of evangelistic meetings within churches, frequently in collaboration with other denominations every Sunday. However, at these meetings very few attenders are outsiders and the significance of the meetings lies in their contribution to the reinforcement of believers' faith rather than the recruitment of new converts.

Foreign missionary activity and for present purposes South Wales may be included in this category has come to play a larger part than revivalism in Emmanuel's affairs. The amount of money devoted to it and the number of missionary personnel involved have increased considerably since World War II compared to those used in home ministry and college staff. Thus evangelistic endeavour has been more or less displaced from activity in this country to sending and supporting evangelists abroad. This is partly a response to lack of successful evangelism in Britain, and represents a resolution of the tensions produced by the frustrations of unproductive evangelism and the dilemma of "home" versus foreign evangelism. But it is clear that mobilization of interest and sentiments is presently maintained by emphasis on foreign missions. The attraction of the exotic, the bizarre and the dangerous in some missionaries' accounts of their experiences abroad as well as the sense of cosmic significance which the notion of worldwide activity gives appear to be

important factors in causing people to choose to become missionaries and in maintaining a high level of interest among the movement's rank and file.

The opening of Emmanuel's bookshop is another relevant issue in this regard. In selling evangelical literature the movement aims at fulfilling its evangelistic objectives, but one effect of deploying its resources of personnel and time in this way is to reduce the proportion of them which can be devoted to more traditional forms of evangelism such as open-air preaching, house-to-house visitation and campaign meetings. The bookshop's primary contribution is as a source of revenue for the maintenance of foreign missions.

Thus increases in both literary evangelism and foreign evangelism have important implications for other forms of activity and for the survival and the future nature of the movement, since they, together with the activities of the college, have become main foci of interest among its followers. The significance of these trends is perhaps surprising when one considers that the movement's success in missionary work has been minimal. In North Africa there have been very few permanent conversions and no local assemblies have been established. Emphasis there has been given to medical work, primary education and translation of the Bible into the local languages, all of which activities imply an adaptation on the part of Emmanuel Missions to unfavourable circumstances presented by the strength of Islamic opposition, communication difficulties and government restrictions on some evangelistic activities.¹¹

In South America, where development has been of a more substantial kind, the Argentinian church in Formosa had a regular congregation of 40 in 1962; the Annexe consists largely of children and young people, with a Sunday School of 30-40 and a group of teenagers; on local Indian missions numbers are greater than in Formosa, but it is not known how committed the adult followers in these assemblies are. It appears, therefore, that the resources which Emmanuel invests in its Foreign Missions pay only small dividends in terms of converts. This area of activity is thus more effective in terms of its contribution to the maintenance of the faithful interest of Emmanuel's followers in Britain, than in expanding the movement abroad.

c) Role-Conflict. Many of the problems of tension management which the movement is faced with are brought into sharper focus by a consideration of role commitment and conflict among its full-time personnel. Apart from the college teaching staff, they are all evangelists but the difficulties which face missionaries abroad demand that in order to adequately perform the evangelistic role they have to develop other skills. For all foreign missionaries the language of their chosen area must be learned:- Spanish in the case of South America, French in Morocco and the Tifinagh language of tribes like the Tuaregs. In North Africa Emmanuel found that medical work and dentistry was not only a means of attracting Moroccans to come and hear the gospel but that without this kind of help they would in many cases not be in physically fit condition to hear it. It is in the waiting rooms of dispensaries and clinics therefore that the message of the Gospel is frequently delivered. But for the

missionary's role these developments have far-reaching consequences. The learning of languages and medical training and practice are associated with advanced education and professionalism. The purely religious goals of missioning ^{and} evangelization, thus becomes mingled with the less religious ones of learning and the preservation of physical health. After Emmanuel had become a denomination in 1948, its missionaries were ordained and so the professional implications of ministerial status, symbolized in the title "Reverend", came into potential conflict with the inspirational elements of evangelism and reflected a crucial step in the direction of institutional formalization.¹² Although there has been no suggestion that any goal other than evangelism should take priority, the time given language study and medical treatment is probably greater than that devoted to preaching and teaching the Gospel. One Emmanuel missionary is presently engaged in translating the Bible into the Tuareg language, a necessary task, perhaps, if that tribe is to be Christianized, but, with its scholarly overtones, this activity is a further example of the modification of inspirational religion in Emmanuel and a steadily developing accommodation to the values of religious orthodoxy and the secular society.

Another source of this kind of development is the presence of more highly educated speakers at the Missionary Conference. The use of words such as "precursor", "literacy", "Mariolatry", "philanthropic", "seminary", "personnel", "indigenous" may direct the attention of believers away from the purely religious aspects

of the meeting towards admiration for the sophisticated oratory of the speaker and appreciation of his learning rather than his spiritual qualities.

A further source of role conflict, particularly among those senior missionaries who are field leaders, is the growth of administrative duties in the face of increased numbers of personnel and a wider range of activities. Since they are now formally responsible to the Executive Council and participate in policy decisions as well as the organization of the movement's work on their "field", the field leaders are required increasingly to equip themselves not only for evangelism but also for a wide range of administrative and political responsibilities e.g. the management of finance, the deployment of personnel and the purchase of property. Some teaching members of the College staff also spend more and more time dealing with administrative problems and less and less on preaching and spiritual guidance of students.

These dilemmas also confront Emmanuel ministers. They chair the boards of their local churches, supervise the management of financial matters, help to make decisions about the purchase of church equipment and the maintenance of church property. Furthermore, since their role involves obligations to preach salvation and sanctification, they are required to maintain a high level of enthusiasm and spontaneity. But the routine of repeated church services, often attended by the same people from week to week, tends to undermine such inspirationalism. When the duties of pastoral care, including

visits to the sick as well as the healthy, are combined with the status requirements of the ordained professional appointee, the purely religious qualities of the role become less significant, even though every Emmanuel minister sees himself to be "called" to his particular appointment and suitably "baptized with the Spirit" for the adequate performance of his duties. A further secularizing influence is the payment of National Insurance contributions by the movement for all its full-time personnel. The combining of inspiration with formal training is not without untoward consequences in all religious movements.¹³

The peculiar interdenominational element in Emmanuel adds to the ambiguity of the minister's role. He is not merely supposed to maintain believers' commitment to the movement itself and its aims and purposes but also to the wider body of evangelical Christians. He must guard against accepting too many outside preaching engagements in other Emmanuel churches as well as in other denominations lest his own congregation question his loyalty. He has to be careful how much co-operation, and what kind of co-operation he encourages his local assembly to engage in with other denominations, lest he incur the disapproval of the movement's leadership. Thus, if an Emmanuel minister were to encourage his church to support activities sponsored by the World Council of Churches, he would incur the disapproval of the Executive Council of Emmanuel which considers that organization to be modernistic and doctrinally unsound. Another source of conflict embodied in the minister's relationship with Emmanuel's

headquarters arises from the specific commitment to doctrine e.g. Armenian theology which it imposes upon him in contrast to the diffuse requirements of his congregation who are not required to be doctrinally sophisticated and need know only that they are born-again or sanctified believers. The same applies to social proscriptions e.g. on women's use of make-up and earrings, which tend to be clearly defined by the official leadership but which may not be closely adhered to by local adherents. Since he must remain friendly with the latter and avoid dissension and fractiousness, ^{minister} the is likely never to make transgressions an open issue. Equality and brotherhood must be emphasized without damage to the minister's status.

But here another source of tension is found. Emmanuel is loyal to the Protestant Congregationalist notion of the priesthood of believers. All lay members are allowed to preach if requested to do so and all formal members have a say in church government and the appointment of ministers. But the superior status and training of the minister, reinforced by his title and associations with other members of his profession, particularly the movement's senior personnel produce a tendency on the part of the rank and file to permit him a good deal of freedom to direct local church affairs. But he must always maintain a careful balance, lest he overstep the mark and cause controversy or dissension.

The conflicting obligations to maintain on the one hand a high level of spiritual commitment and enthusiasm and on the other to instruct believers in Holiness doctrine and theology are also

embodied in the minister's role. An indirect consequence of the movement's decision to have an ordained clergy, professionally trained, has been the encouragement of scholarly ambition related to aspirations towards a more sophisticated theology. One minister has completed his External B.D. degree at the University of London. Another younger Emmanuel minister has since registered for a similar degree. The increase in the number of articles of social, political, moral and educational interest written by Emmanuel's ministers for its magazine is another reflection of this role ambiguity.

The full implications of increased contact between Emmanuel ministers and other members of their profession are not yet apparent, but the general decline in the social status of the clergy in British society during the present century must have consequences for every religious organization. As was implied during the above discussion on the impact of secular education on Emmanuel's young adherents, the pronouncements of ministers on such questions as biological evolution will be increasingly subject to careful scrutiny, especially by the young, with potentially far-reaching effects upon future recruitment patterns. While a professional ministry may safeguard the existence of Emmanuel during national crises, such as war, it is no guarantee of survival in the face of increasing universal scientific education.

d) Religious Experience. A number of observations can be made upon recent evidence of institutional tension in the area of religious experience. As mentioned in chapter 3, there has grown up

in the Holiness movement as a whole a tendency to teach the daily renewal of sanctification experience, commonly referred to as "day-by-day cleansing" and typically said to be achieved during a period of early morning prayer. Elements of this doctrine have been taught in Emmanuel and one minister described it to me as an "essential counterbalance to radical crisis preaching". This and the prevalence of individual believers who have great difficulty in attaining the sanctification experience instantaneously, in the way traditionally taught in Holiness circles suggest that teaching of "day-to-day cleansing" is another example of the routinization of inspirational religion representing an accommodation of spiritual values and beliefs to the requirements of the human situation.

Further indications that spontaneity is diminishing are frequent statements by leaders of Convention and Conference meetings that the middle-aged and older members of the congregation have "lost" their spiritual experience. They are often urged to ensure that they are "living in the Spirit" and not on some "past experience". One older minister once remarked in a Conference meeting that it was not surprising that the younger adherents were not fully committing themselves when the older ones were setting them the bad example of "lukewarm Christianity". The same minister has deplored the decline in the number of shouts of "Amen", "Praise the Lord" and "Hallelujah" during services, which he interprets to mean that modern services are not so inspired by the Holy Spirit and that modern believers are less devoted to the revivalist cause.

At the local level, ministers are often disappointed at the number of adherents who attend mid-week meetings. The deteriorating situation is revealed in the plea by a minister at a Sunday evening service for "a big effort" to attend the subsequent Wednesday night Holiness meeting. He said that his aim was to have fifty people at the Holiness meeting because regular attendances of 20-30 in a church attended by 100 on Sundays were not enough. The transition from "born-again believer" to "stable church member" appears to have been made by most of Emmanuel's present following.

Goal Goals Attainment.

Since it states its goals in a formal manner, Emmanuel can be usefully considered from the point of view of how far it achieves them. Included in the movement's constitution are the following objectives:- "We seek holy Christian fellowship, the conversion of sinners, the entire sanctification of believers and their upbuilding in holiness, together with the preaching of the Gospel to every creature. We also seek the simplicity and pentecostal power in the primitive New Testament Church".

While it is impossible to systematically assess the degree to which these goals are attained, and even Emmanuel's leadership would doubt its own capacity to do so, it is clear that Emmanuel achieves all of these objectives to some extent. As far as those contained in the last sentence are concerned much of our preceding analysis suggests that "simplicity" and "pentecostal power" (assuming these concepts refer to spontaneous inspirational elements

of religious behaviour) and are decreasing in significance within Emmanuel. The adaptation process which the movement has undergone has reduced the amount of revivalism, formalized the charismatic facet of leadership and changed Emmanuel from its earlier inspirational form, more nearly approximating the typical sectarian position, to a more conventional religious movement, resembling an orthodox denomination. The simplicity of its earlier organization has given way to more complex and formalized procedures, its authority structure is more differentiated and some areas of religious experience, particularly sanctification, show signs of routinization. Although there are still numerous manifestations of what is claimed to be "pentecostal power", they are rarely dramatic or observable to outsiders. Conversions at campaign meetings are small in number compared with those of the pre-war period; there are fewer examples of physical manifestations such as weeping, twitching, rolling on the floor in conviction of sin, than formerly. To some extent therefore the objectives of "simplicity and pentecostal power" are not being so easily achieved as in the movement's early days.

The situation is rather different with respect to "conversion of sinners" and the "sanctification of believers and their upbuilding in holiness". In its local churches and at evangelistic campaigns and conventions Emmanuel retains both of them as core elements in its preaching, although sanctification tends to be given emphasis only at Convention meetings and mid-week Holiness meetings. The

smaller number of gatherings held by Emmanuel in recent years, particularly outdoor revival campaigns and meetings, suggests some reduction in goal-attainment in this sphere. The complaints by ministers about the "lukewarmness" of some of their adherents imply that enthusiasm for such activities is reduced. As has been suggested above, the growth of literary evangelism, the annual Youth Camps and Young Peoples' Fellowship are responses on the part of Emmanuel to changed circumstances in which the direct attainment of the goals of "conversions" and "sanctifications" is not so easy. The movement is thus able to maintain a sense of goal attainment by diversifying and diffusing the methods it employs and, in the case of literary evangelism, using techniques whose effectiveness can never be precisely gauged. There have been many examples of individuals who write to the editors of Emmanuel Magazine saying that it has enriched their spiritual experience and occasionally conversions occur after people have read it, but the significance of literary evangelism, as we have already suggested, seems to be independent of its effectiveness as a revivalistic technique. It is the latent contribution of these diverse and often indirect methods of evangelism, seen in terms of their reinforcing effect on believers' faith, especially the feeling^{that} they are still fulfilling their revivalistic mission, which seems just as important for the persistence of the movement as the extent to which its evangelism continues to be successful.

Similar observations can be made about missionary objectives.

"The preaching of the gospel to every creature" is a justification for every conceivable form of evangelism but, as we have already indicated, the degree of success in preaching the gospel, at least in terms of its observable results of actual conversions, is highly disproportional to the resources employed. Missionary activities and literary evangelism in themselves become major *raison d'être* of the movement.

The training of missionaries and ministers is a manifest goal of Emmanuel, although it is not formally included in the Constitution. There is no doubt that it is attained with consistency and the reputation which the college appears to enjoy in Holiness and evangelical circles in Britain and North America is perhaps evidence of its quality. But the increased emphasis placed on training and missionary activity since World War II and the somewhat reduced stress at least on outdoor evangelism in Britain suggests a modification in the importance given to purely revivalistic goals. If Emmanuel had not developed secondary objectives in addition to evangelism and Holiness preaching it is doubtful if it would have continued to flourish in the way that it does. In this sense foreign missioning and ministerial training become major goals which have been evolved during a period of institutional development and adaptation.

The goals we have considered so far are more or less specific. In the original list of objectives "holy, Christian fellowship" is the one which we have not yet considered. It is a

diffuse goal and it seems reasonable to assume that it must be attained in some degree in order for any denomination to call itself a worshipping community of believers. But it is precisely at this point that the distinction between manifest to latent functions can be more clearly made in an analysis of this kind. It is the area of unintended and unrecognized consequences which, in Merton's words, "may perform a function for the group, although this function may be quite remote from the avowed purpose of the behaviour."¹⁴

In Emmanuel, as in most religious movements, statements of goals and purposes are couched in religious terms. But the reasons for the persistence of a movement, albeit a changed one, may not be those which account for its inception. The crusading revivalist spirit of Drysdale and his early followers has been replaced by the staid orthodoxy of a stable religious community. To a large extent the urge to persist on the part of established movements is little more than the reluctance of participants to break bonds of fellowship or to disrupt a universe of discourse which they have developed among themselves over a period of time.

Emmanuel thus provides its adherents with a sense of belonging not simply to a divinely-sanctioned group but to a community of friends and associates. The proscriptions against worldly entertainments directly encourage the emergence of such a body, since very little of the fully committed believer's leisure time is spent in the company of unbelievers. Apart from the relatively large number of services per week which adherents attend and which bring

the same small group of people together frequently enough for close ties of friendship to develop, they regularly visit each other's homes, often for nothing more than a friendly chat over a cup of tea. They typically help each other with domestic tasks such as decorating, maintaining and repairing the house. In this way they depend on fellow believers for more than purely religious satisfactions.

Emmanuel frequently calls itself a "family". Although this conception has developed more easily because the college has provided a focal point of activity and a reservoir of shared experiences for its students and staff, it is retained in all sections of the movement and is symbolized by the terms "brother" and "sister" which believers frequently employ as terms of address. This is formalized in the college where students are referred to as e.g. "Brother Smith" and "Sister Jones". Sometimes testimonies include references to spiritual "fathers" and "mothers" who typically are older people who influenced believers towards their conversion experience. Within the college there have been many occasions when, because supplies of food have been short, an urgent sense of mutual dependency has developed and a shared feeling of gratitude to God when such difficulties have been successfully overcome has had a reinforcing effect on feelings of fellowship as well as religious convictions. In the case of students who enter the college against the will of their parents or who are rejected by their parents or former friends because of their religious decisions, the "gemeinschaft" nature of college life is a fair compensation for emotional losses.

Communal allegiances also arise from shared participation in religious enterprises, particularly those which set Emmanuel's followers apart from the more orthodox religious associations as well as from non-religious people. The distribution of tracts, magazines and religious literature, outdoor preaching and testifying, attending religious meetings, all of which are performed in leisure hours, when most other members of society are enjoying secular entertainment, are examples of such activity. Converts are encouraged to witness their experience to friends, relatives and workmates. They see themselves, and are seen by others, as different from the people around them. This sense of difference which is religiously legitimated produces a sense of belongingness and community feeling among believers which appears to be more than merely religious. Utter certainty of divine sanctions for their conduct intensifies it.

But there are latent functions other than the development of a *gemeinschaft*-type of situation. A clearly defined status and power structure enables ambitions to be fulfilled in a religious setting which might not be attainable elsewhere. In Emmanuel this is more than the mere substitution of one specific religious status, such that of converted believer, for social status which several sociologists have quoted as a primary function of some minority religious movements.¹⁵ For Holiness groups, more than most others, have a well-defined hierarchy of religious experience, which, in ascending status order, comprises the unsaved, the saved, the sanctified, and the full-time "workers" such as ministers, evangelists,

administrators or secretaries, missionaries. There is also a power hierarchy:- believer, church member, board member, local church official, minister (missionary), Executive Council member and graded levels of participation for believers, symbolized in the exhortations to "pray", "give" and "go" (or allow one's child to go) at the Missionary Conference. Among the elite group in Emmanuel are those who a) teach in the College and b) are members of the Executive Council. A younger minister who has intellectual ability and maintained high academic performances while he was a student in the College is now a part-time teacher there. He is also registered as an External B.D. student at the University of London and writes regular articles on topical social and political issues in Emmanuel Magazine. It appears that educational attainment and intellectual ability are highly rewarded in Emmanuel, as in most voluntary associations. One of its latent functions is thus to provide relatively higher status and greater power to talented individuals than they might otherwise have attained in secular life.

But, as we have seen, the level of educational achievement of entrants to Emmanuel's College, particularly male entrants, is by no means a high one. Emmanuel may thus also have as one of its latent functions that of providing an education to educationally and culturally deprived individuals. To some extent the training they receive equips them for preaching, missionary activity or becoming a minister, although those entering the ministry of other movements have to take further specific training in a denominational

college. From these points of view, therefore, "graduates" of Emmanuel are assured of some status recognition, mainly within the sphere of evangelical fundamentalism, but perhaps in the wider society also for those who become ministers. Certainly this would be true for the many Northern Irishmen who return to their district of origin.

Thus in the status and power structures which it has developed Emmanuel affords prestige and influence to those of its members, not to mention co-opted outsiders, who are ambitious and talented. For groups which are relatively deprived of status, education, culture and influence, this may be a vital appeal of minority religious movements.

A sociological examination of the latent, unintended consequences of forms of activity and organization thus affords a clearer understanding of why and how religious movements survive than does a mere consideration of the extent to which they attain their manifestly stated purposes.

4. Integration.

One of the most distinctive characteristics of Emmanuel among British Holiness movements of similar size has been its persistent reluctance to enter into any kind of formal amalgamation with other groups. Despite the precedent established by the Calvary Holiness Church and the International Holiness Mission both of which, though numerically greater than Emmanuel, joined the Church of the Nazarene, Emmanuel has resisted all pressures to abandon its independence.

Among the main reasons for this determined stand is the activity of the College and it is here that we must locate the major integrative elements in the movement's structure. The College and the church in Birkenhead are the central headquarters. Here is where the Executive Council meets, the Principal of the College and leader of the movement lives, and Emmanuel Magazine is compiled and published. The outstanding events in the movement's calendar such as the Easter Convention, the Annual Missionary Conference and the Annual Workers' Conference are held there. These occasions serve as a focus of interest and a symbol of the movement's unity.

But the College has integrative functions of another kind. Since the good reputation which Emmanuel appears to enjoy among certain fundamentalist and missionary circles within the English-speaking world rests almost entirely on its training activities this provides its supporters with a most effective unifying element:- pride in the movement's achievements and reputation. For there is little doubt, according to the evidence I have been able to obtain from random conversations with ministers and officials of other denominations and missionary societies, that they greatly admire the quality of missionary training received at Emmanuel Bible College. Their judgment appears to rest on the level of performance maintained by missionaries who were trained there.

On Prayer Day, which is held once a month during the College term letters from ex-students are read and it used to be

the practice for the names of all ex-students to be read also. Their numbers are now too large to warrant this. The occasion, which also includes an address on a missionary topic, as well as the prayer session from which it takes its name, is a more frequent form of gathering than the annual Convention and Missionary Conference and it serves to focus the attention of Emmanuel's members on the movement's activities.

Another source of pride in the achievements of the College is contained in the notion of "living by faith". Apart from the students' fees, which cover less than half the total costs, the College is financed by voluntary contributions. There have been several periods - the depression years, World War II and the years immediately after it - when funds were not easy to obtain. At such times prayer is offered that God will provide the required funds and adherents and ex-students possess a reservoir of stories about situations when requirements were met at a time when members were on the point of abandoning all hope of meeting them. Needs for food and equipment are as common as financial ones in these accounts.

The College's reputation is also connected with the arduous nature of some of the experiences which students frequently undergo. Scrubbing floors, washing seemingly endless numbers of dishes, sharing rooms with persons whose disposition is radically different from one's own, eating sparsely, rising early in the morning are all specified parts of the "practical" side of training.

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The fund of stories which these shared experiences have evolved resemble folk legends and battle stories in their reinforcing effect on the corporate feelings of ex-students and rank and file members. Emmanuel thus means something more to them than a college, a small denomination or even a missionary society.

Furthermore one cannot discuss the College without reference to its principals, Drysdale and Banks. Tributes to the founder from ex-students are many and it seems clear that his personality had a remarkable impact on them. He was a teacher, preacher and fatherly counsellor, whose firm discipline and authority, as well as his sense of humour, held Emmanuel together in its earlier years. His wife, an experienced schoolteacher, supplemented with her determination and dedication his own efforts to establish an institution with a reputation for rigorous and thorough methods of training.

Much of Drysdale's charisma still pervades the College environment. The present staff feels it has a primary obligation to ensure that the traditions and standards of the Drysdales are perpetuated. The annual Drysdale Memorial lecture, tributes to Drysdale in Emmanuel's publications, photographs and commemorative plaques are symbols of his leadership. His shadow will linger for many years to come.

Banks, his successor, describes his role as a "developing" one, compared to Drysdale's "pioneering" contribution. He is a more gentle, less forceful and less outspoken man than Drysdale and his charisma tends to be one of "office" rather than "personality".

Since he has succeeded a leader who conceived his own mission from God to be that of founding and developing a new religious movement, Banks's scope for making an original and inspired contribution is reduced. Primarily he is obliged to fit into an established leadership pattern and his opportunities for innovation are restricted to administrative methods, College curriculum changes and missionary policy. It would be difficult for him to introduce radical changes in the sphere of doctrine and the conduct of religious activity.

But Banks's leadership serves as a focus for morale in Emmanuel. He edits the Magazine, leads meetings during the Easter Convention and Annual Missionary Conference, preaches in local assemblies at anniversary and other special occasions and publishes books on Holiness doctrine. He travels widely throughout Britain to preach, to attend conferences and to engage in discussions e.g. with other affiliated groups in the Evangelical Missionary Alliance. He also preaches, lectures and teaches in South Africa at the college of the African Evangelistic Band whose principal is an ex-Emmanuel student. Banks is therefore seen by the movement's members as a specially trained, knowledgeable and educated man. His personal qualities of gentility, patience and intelligence make his image that of the respectable minister, teacher and administrator rather than that of the vigorously enthusiastic evangelist which belonged to Drysdale. Banks's leadership, highly appropriate to a stable religious community, is therefore a decisive factor in integrating Emmanuel.

At the level of interest and morale, Emmanuel's missionary activity plays a vital part. When a student from a local congregation has been trained in the Bible College and is accepted into the movement's missionary personnel, a direct link is established between the local assembly and the movement's leadership which binds them more closely together. These ties are maintained by regular letters from the mission field to local churches, which include accounts of activity and requests for prayer. When missionaries are on furlough they visit some of the movement's assemblies and give talks, often illustrated with slides and films, about their activities abroad. The magazine also disseminates news items about missionaries. All these formal channels, together with informal conversational ones, set up a network of intercommunication among followers of the movement, not to mention interested outsiders, which is of much significance in producing cohesion and loyalty. This is strengthened by the scope for individual participation which praying, contributing finances and attending special services afford. Leaders of meetings frequently make reference to Emmanuel's missionaries and their activities, thus enabling believers to identify themselves with the movement's sense of purpose.

This situation has a corresponding effect on the missionaries themselves. In their letters they are continually requesting that friends in Britain will pray for them. And missionaries give overt recognition that the knowledge that friends

at home are praying for them is a great encouragement. Here is an example:-

"We thank you for your faithfulness in prayer. The need for prayer does not become any less, but on the contrary, we feel the need of spiritual backing and power more and more." (from a Newsletter in 1959).

Another integrating element, which has been discussed above, is Emmanuel's self-conception as a "family" of God's people. Its small numerical size and the frequent close contact which members can maintain among themselves enables stronger identification at the personal level with the aims, purposes and activities of the movement.

Moreover Emmanuel's ministry includes some individuals who are familiar to the majority of the movement's followers because the latter knew them when they were students or because the ministers were recruited from among followers themselves or simply because both groups are able to maintain close personal ties in a small movement of this kind. One of the important functions of the ministry, therefore, is to bridge the gap between the leadership i.e. the Executive Council, and the rank and file.

Something must be said about "out-groups" as having integrative effects on Emmanuel. Foremost among these is the Roman Catholic Church which is encountered primarily in the movement's activities on Merseyside and in Argentina. The Birkenhead church is situated in a predominantly Roman Catholic area. Like most fundamentalist groups, Emmanuel is bitterly

opposed to the Roman Church. The influx of students from Northern Ireland into the college, has reinforced this hostility. References to the wickedness of Roman priests are frequent in Emmanuel's services and converts from Roman Catholic to Protestant evangelical or Holiness Christianity are greeted with joy and granted special status. To a far lesser extent this hostility is also directed, especially by rank and file, towards the Anglican and Methodist churches. Islam too, which is clearly a fierce competition with Emmanuel in North Africa, provides another "out-group". Its "wickedly unfair treatment of women" and its "emphasis on formality rather than spiritual experience" make Emmanuel's followers see it as an instrument of "the Devil".

Thus, from the point of view of the overall integration of the movement, the College is the central feature and there is a sense in which even the preservation of Holiness doctrine and Emmanuel's denominational status are subordinate to it in Emmanuel's priorities. The focal activities of the headquarters are supported by those throughout the movement. The parts - College, missionaries local assemblies, prayer circles, the ministry - work together to contribute to the maintenance of the whole. The name "Emmanuel", not the title "Emmanuel Holiness Church", symbolizes an ongoing corporate entity and provides a reference and identification point for all members of the movement.

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T. Parsons and N. Smelser, Economy and Society, 1956.
2. See above Chapter 5, Section d. for approximate proportions of official members in each assembly.
3. B. R. Wilson, Sects and Society, pp. 35-38.
4. See E. T. Clark, The Psychology of Religious Awakening. Of those respondents in Clark's investigation of conversions in U. S. colleges who answered the question concerning the place of conversion, 75 o/o claimed that it occurred during a revival or church service. See also Wilson. op. cit. pp. 110 ff.
5. See the list of Emmanuel Prayer Circles in note 2 of Chapter 5. Emmanuel also maintains close fellowship with the League of Prayer, the Church of the Nazarene, the Faith Mission and many independent groups throughout Britain. Moreover its attachment to the Evangelical Missionary Alliance ensures that it is known nationally among fundamentalist and evangelistic movements. For a list of these groups see Appendix 16.
6. Ministers estimate that only between 30 o/o and 40 o/o of adherents do attend these meetings.
7. This concept is very similar to that of "guidance" found in the Buchmanite Movement (Moral Re-Armament).
8. A glossary of such terms is provided in Appendix 11.
9. Wilson. op. cit. p. 105.
10. The Drysdale Memorial Lecture is a symbol of Emmanuel's favourable attitude to education and learning.
11. Medical work was stopped in Morocco in 1963 by government restrictions but it continues in the Sahara.
12. B. R. Wilson, "The Pentecostal Minister: Role Conflicts and Status Contradictions" in American Journal of Sociology, Vol. LXIV. No. 5. March 1959.
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15. See the researches of Liston Pope, J.B. Holt, W.E. Mann and B.R. Wilson.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE HISTORY OF THE FAITH MISSION

The last quarter of the nineteenth century was a period of considerable change in the structure of Scottish society. In industry, in social life, in politics and in religion, radical developments took place. Scotland, or at least its centres of industry and dense population, was rapidly losing its independence as an economic and social unity as it became an integral part of British industrial society.¹ Scottish economic life after 1860 had become increasingly geared to heavy industry in cities and large towns. Textiles and agriculture not only occupied a smaller proportion of the working population but their relative contribution to the country's national product declined in the face of coalmining, the iron and steel industries, engineering and shipbuilding. The 50% increase in the urban sector of the Scottish population between 1861 and 1891 has been directly attributed to large-scale migration from rural areas,² but Irish immigration also made an important contribution, particularly in the counties of Ayr, Dumbarton, Lanark and Renfrew,³ which showed the greatest increases in population and towards which, along with Edinburgh and Fife, our attention

is directed in this chapter. Social and political reforms such as compulsory education and the extension of the franchise made great headway. The manual-working classes of the new urban society became more conscious of their deprivations and developed institutionalized forms through which they could express them. Thus the new trade unionism and the Scottish Labour Party were formed principally to further the interests of those groups. The growing popularity of professional sport, particularly association football, provided their male element, who were spectators as well as players, with a convenient aggressive outlet for the frustrations and drudgery of their new industrial life.

The Faith Mission began in 1836. Almost twenty years earlier the Second Evangelical Awakening was beginning to take effect in Scotland.⁴ It received great impetus from the visits of a number of American evangelists. E.P. Hammond, Charles G. Finney and James Caughey were the earliest ones. The latter two were notable exponents of Holiness although they did not emphasize it in Scotland. The interdenominational outlook of those who organized evangelistic meetings during this period has been attributed to their desire to encourage Protestant unity in the face of "religious crises of the day".⁵ Darwinism, "Popery", rationalism, establishmentarianism and political radicalism were objects of attack and complaint for evangelists in the 1860's.⁶ Later D.L. Moody from 1873-75 and again in 1882, and Torrey and Chapman at the beginning of the present century, became the principal leading agents of a widespread religious revival which lasted, but not without several

peaks and depressions, for fifty years. In it thousands of people from almost every town and city in Britain were carried away by a wave of evangelical enthusiasm.

The concepts of "cultural shock" and "relative deprivation" as employed by Holt and Glock respectively appear to have some application to this revival, particularly in Scotland.⁷ The period of social change described above seems very likely to have produced considerable disorganization in the lives of many individuals and families in their efforts to adapt themselves to the new exigencies of urban industrial life, aggravated as they were by recurrent phases of strikes and chronic unemployment. Glock's thesis that radical political movements tend to emerge among groups who perceive their economically deprived condition very clearly and thus devise rational and instrumental means of alleviating it is pertinent to the emergence of trade unionism and a Labour Party in Scotland in the late nineteenth century. His further suggestion that religious movements develop when deprivations, which Glock calls "social", "psychic" and "ethical", are perceived unclearly by those who suffer them but are expressed in terms of feelings of sinfulness or personal inadequacy, accompanied by a view of the social environment as a threat presented by the machinations of the powers of evil, seems to offer a useful approach to the analysis of the Scottish revival. Evidence suggests that those who attended the revival meetings were mainly from the church-going and "godly" sections of the community, including better-educated groups.⁸ It has been claimed that the

masses of the cities and towns were not affected. But many sections of the new urban populations were, as we have seen, recent migrants from rural areas who, as indicated by studies in North America by Holt and Mann, often provide new recruits for evangelical and Holiness religions.⁹ Thus it is conceivable that many of the participants in the Scottish revival, including regular churchgoers, were drawn to it because of the conditions of social disorganization and relative deprivation which they had experienced in their new urban environment. The religion of the churchgoers may therefore have been revitalized. Another factor was the presence of large numbers of Irish immigrants in the cities. Roman Catholicism as an "out-group" or as an unwelcome threat which produced feelings of relative deprivation, may have reinforced Protestant and evangelical sentiments.

British holiness movements were greatly aided in their infant years by the revival. The Faith Mission was one among a myriad of small evangelistic groupings and missionary societies which it produced.¹⁰ The Mission owes its existence to the vision and activity of one man, John George Govan, who was born in Glasgow in 1861.¹¹ His father, William, was a successful businessman, a member of the Town Council and an evangelical preacher, his mother the daughter of a Congregational minister. He was therefore reared in a pious atmosphere of evangelical fundamentalism and made a profession of conversion at the age of 12 after hearing his father preach. During his adolescent years he spent much time at prayer-meetings and evangelistic services. William Govan took a leading

part in organizing Moody's meetings in Glasgow and during the latter's second visit several members of the Govan family (there were six sons and six daughters) were converted. John George was particularly moved by the change in the character of his elder brother, James, who began to hold revival meetings and opened a hall in the Pollokshaws district of the city. Another brother founded the Glasgow Keswick Convention. The Salvation Army had arrived in Glasgow in 1868 and subsequently General Booth and his wife were visitors to Govan's home, which, situated in a residential neighbourhood near the university, became a focal point of local evangelical interest.

William Govan died in 1883 and his last words to his son John George were:-¹² "You are to be a witness for Christ."; this is said to have made a deep impression. John Govan had already become familiar with holiness through the Booths but he now began to attend Salvation Army meetings more regularly and to help his brother with his efforts at "Salvation Hall", as his mission in Pollokshaws became known. On leaving school John had entered his father's business in which he had taken a keen interest, and he appears to have done well. He had also been occupied with sporting and political interests. But he was gradually becoming attracted to preaching. He has, however, continually asserted that he felt unworthy, because he was not satisfied with the standards of Christianity which he had so far managed to achieve. Subsequently the accounts which he heard from visitors to the Keswick Convention in

1884, especially those concerning the Holiness testimony of Rev. E.W. Moore, and a number of serious conversations he held with his brother, James, produced in him the subjectively distressing condition which appears to be a necessary prerequisite of Holiness experience.¹³

The crisis in his life came in August, 1884, in "Salvation Hall" when he was asked to pray at the end of a meeting. He knelt down in the middle of the passageway and prayed that God would "cleanse his heart". From then he felt that his life was quite different from what it was before. He began to devote from 6 to 7 a.m. each day to prayer and bible study. He took charge of a bible class for factory girls which grew in numbers from 13 to 70 and became a Holiness meeting. Six months later Govan and a group of friends began to go out in bands to hold open-air meetings in the district. Their attention was soon drawn to one of the poorest parts of the city, Port Dundas, and they secured the use of the Good Templar Hall in Water Street every Friday evening. Govan's early preaching experience was thus very similar in its form and consequences to Drysdale's in Blantyre and Ardrossan ^{twenty} years later. He referred to the Water St. Mission as a "splendid training ground".¹⁴ Prayer-meetings played a large part in its activities. The scope they provided for democratic participation and their reinforcing effect on feelings of in-group solidarity have made their contribution to modern revival movements a vital one.

But Govan was still thinking about ministerial work. Although he felt he had "some power in speaking",¹⁵ he longed for an experience similar to that of Christ's disciples at Pentecost and at a Salvation Army "half-night of prayer" he "definitely trusted the Lord to baptise (him) with the Holy Ghost".¹⁶ Shortly after this experience he felt unable to go on in business. He claims that he relinquished all his this-worldly ambitions and he appears to have acquired the typical vision of the charismatic leader, similar to that of Drysdale in Birkenhead, that he was God's chosen one for the performance of a certain task. Govan began to try to discover what this task could be. He asked Mrs. Booth about Salvation Army work in India but her reply was:- "God has some other work for you to do."¹⁷ He approached the China Inland Mission but was refused for health reasons. During this period he was reading works by Charles Finney, Asa Mahan and Mrs. Booth.

It was common practice at that time in Scotland for evangelists to be invited to conduct missions and in 1885 such invitations took Govan to Tarbert in Argyll, to Lochwinnoch in Renfrew and to Irvine and Stewarton in Ayrshire. Not only did he meet with considerable success in terms of conversions, but, despite his boyish appearance, he gradually acquired a reputation for his eloquence and preaching ability. His knowledge of the Salvation Army proved useful when he led gospel meetings and he made great use of the hymns, solos and choruses which Sankey had introduced.

Govan's considerable powers of organization were probably the combined product of his experience in business and of his contact with the Salvation Army. They were soon revealed when at Irvine he formed two groups, one of each sex, which on Sundays, after meeting to pray, went out in pairs to hold kitchen-meetings, to visit lodging houses or hospitals and to hold open-air services. At the same time, in the late months of 1885, he attempted to form "The Scottish Mission and Prayer Union" by circulating a set of proposals to his evangelical friends in Glasgow and naming some of them to serve on its "directorate". But his efforts were in vain and it was some time later, in the autumn of 1886, before events leading up to the foundation of the Faith Mission took place.

George Colvin, one of Govan's friends from the Water St. Mission agreed to commence a more permanent kind of evangelism with him in smaller towns and villages rather than merely responding to invitations. Govan had read and heard of members of the China Inland Mission and others going abroad without guaranteed financial support and he and Colvin decided to make their most recent invitations - to Whitehaven and Moffat respectively - tests "as to how the faith principle would work."¹⁸ When they were able to meet all their expenses from the donations they had received they saw their "test" as successful. An entry in Govan's diary for 14th. October 1886 says:- "Faith Mission started." A report in "The Reaper", the monthly journal of the Ayrshire Christian Union, of Colvin's mission in Moffat referred to it as the "first series of meetings of the Faith Mission".¹⁹

The name was considered to be the most suitable for a movement which had "no committee, no financial backing, no influential supporters".

The stated aims of the movement, broadly defined at this early stage, were simply the evangelisation of unbelievers and the sanctification of the saved, but great stress was laid on "the faith principle". According to the first published account²⁰ of the mission's aims, principles, etc., which did not appear until 1889, "faith" implied:- "Faith in God....., absolute dependence upon Him for everything necessary to (the mission's) successful working; faith that He will send forth the right labourer into the harvest; that He will provide for all the needs of those sent forth, and for the general maintenance of the work; that He will guide as to the places where they are to go and as to the means to be used in the different places for the extension of His kingdom." It thus produced a feeling among Govan and his helpers that they had a supernatural sanction for their actions. It was also a deliberate attempt to distinguish their approach from that of the orthodox evangelical churches and some independent organizations which, they claimed, relied simply on human effort and organizing expertise.

The interdenominational character of the movement was, as we have seen, quite in keeping with contemporary revivalism. Many of the earliest Holiness associations in the U.S.A. had been interdenominational, as had the Moody and Sankey campaigns, the Keswick movement and the numerous other groups founded at that time.

Denominational differences on questions such as baptism, church organization, forms of service, holy communion etc., were seen as hindrances to the enjoyment of fellowship among believers and to the pursuit of the all-important goal of evangelization. The Faith Mission, like Reader Harris's League of Prayer which began one year later, has always claimed that it is "entirely unsectarian", that it seeks neither to further its own interests, nor to attract members from existing bodies. To the extent that it has never possessed churches of its own and has always deliberately avoided holding gatherings at the same time of the day and week as Christian denominations, its claims are justified. In terms of its functions as the focal point or main channel of its adherents' religious activity, despite their membership in denominations and churches it is difficult not to see it as a distinctive religious organization.

Govan and Colvin continued with missions at Balforn, (Stirling) and Mauchline, (Ayrshire) respectively. In a letter to a friend Govan referred to himself as a "pilgrim" and this became the name given to the movement's evangelists. But open-air meetings with testimonies, joyful hymns and choruses were unknown in almost all the villages they visited. They encountered opposition from people of Calvinistic persuasion and what Govan, clearly referring to the orthodox churches, called "the usual doubting, hoping, fearing, formalism and hypocrisy".²¹ But this only reinforced his conviction. After unexpected success at Tillicoultry (Alloa) during the winter of 1886-87, he began to convey his satisfaction to his friends at

the Water St. mission hall. He wrote:-

"It is a fight but we are on the side of victory and our "Captain" has never been defeated, but has conquered the strongest powers of hell, and in His strength and at His word we can go forward to victory, certain and triumphant."²²

On another occasion he said:-

"I believe the Lord is going to give us great victories in Scotland."²³

Communications such as these, together with regular reports of its activities which were appearing in "The Reaper", aroused considerable interest in the Faith Mission among the groups of enthusiastic young evangelicals in Glasgow, Ayrshire and Lanark. Within a few months, in March 1887, two young women, who had previously helped Govan and his brother at Water St. and Pollokshaws, offered to join him. Although women preachers were very rare at this time, a number of developments were making for change foremost among which was the growth of the Salvation Army which in 1875 had first placed women in charge of some of its stations. Also a certain Mrs. Colville of Motherwell conducted frequent evangelistic meetings in her home at that time. "The Reaper" in April 1882 had advertised for women who wanted to help with evangelistic activities, although they were required only to assist with meetings e.g. by playing the harmonium, and not to preach.

Govan accepted the two women, carefully outlined to them the difficulties they might have to face, and was with them at their first meetings at Drymen near Loch Lomond. They remained there for five weeks and, in terms of the conversions which arose, appeared

to justify Govan's confidence in them. Their appeal was greatly enhanced by their ability to sing solos and duets and to conduct children's services.

Regular methods of recording and assessing the mission's activities had already been devised. The Chief Pilgrim, by which name Govan was known, insisted that a weekly report of every mission be carefully compiled by pilgrims and submitted to headquarters. These reports included statements of the number of gospel, children's and Holiness meetings, of professions of conversion and sanctification, of hours per week spent visiting and later of copies of the magazine which were sold. These statistics have been kept throughout the movement's history, apart from the period 1912-22, and provide a meticulous record of its development.²⁴

Govan's view of the scope of the mission's activities at this time was that it was to "reach those places which had been most neglected spiritually".²⁵ These he saw as mainly the rural areas of Scotland, although he always admitted the possibility of extending them elsewhere.

Evangelistic operations took the form of "missions" undertaken by two pilgrims who lived (for anything from one to five weeks) in a small village or country town. They spent most of the weekdays visiting homes and studying and praying during the day, and held gospel and Holiness meetings in the evening, some of them, particularly in summer, in the open air. The premises used were either hired halls or, in places where a local minister sympathised

with the mission, a local church. The actual programme was left to the discretion of pilgrims, but it appears to have varied little from the pattern described above. Financially the mission was to be supported entirely by donations. During this early period these were almost entirely from collections taken at meetings.

The question of what would happen to new converts after the end of a campaign soon presented itself to Govan. He recorded:

"We were finding that converts needed more looking after than we anticipated, and that very few of the churches they were connected with gave them either the sympathy, spiritual teaching, or Christian work that was necessary to healthy Christian life."²⁶

Govan did not intend to set up another denomination but saw that believers needed help to maintain and strengthen their new-found faith.²⁷ Many of the local churches which he found unable to meet these needs probably condemned the Faith Mission's activities. But without discouraging converts from attending the services of the existing denominations, Govan formed the Faith Mission Prayer Union in July 1887. It consists of assemblies of believers, who not necessarily but usually have been converted during the Mission's campaigns. They belong to various denominations and meet weekly or fortnightly in order to "pray for each other, for the work of the Faith Mission and for an outpouring of God's Holy Spirit".²⁸

normally

Each meeting ~~is~~^{is} includes a short sermon.

Holiness teaching has certain organizational implications of which itinerant preachers of it are often unaware. It is doubtful whether Govan was conscious in October 1886 that his intentions

regarding itinerant evangelism and interdenominationalism could not be pursued together with Holiness without necessitating the establishment of some form of permanently settled assemblies or at least regular instructive meetings. The doctrine of entire sanctification was still both new and unacceptable to Scottish Presbyterianism in general. Existing religious organizations were therefore unlikely to be in a position to impart it to Govan's converts. The formation of the Prayer Union was thus a response to the difficulty encountered in trying to lead his converts towards the experience of entire sanctification. Furthermore, as we have already shown in Chapter 2, the Arminian type of theology has always been a precondition of successful Holiness preaching. Scottish Calvinism was thus hardly receptive to the Holiness point of view. But, Ralph Wardlaw, a Congregationalist preacher in Glasgow in the early part of the nineteenth century had adopted a modified Calvinism which was influenced by the New England theology of Jonathan Edwards and the United Presbyterian Church had supported the free will element in conversion since 1843. These developments and the Second Evangelical Awakening, particularly Moody's contribution, suggest that a more Arminian approach was becoming more widely accepted in Scotland at the time when the Faith Mission began.²⁹

Originally the prayer groups were very loosely organized but within six months the founder saw that they required to be more closely linked with headquarters. From January 1888 "Representatives", as the leaders of the local groups were called, were asked to keep

names of members who would enlist at the beginning of each year and would receive a membership card for which a small charge was made. This enabled them to receive the movement's magazine each month and a copy of the annual report.

Since the autumn of 1886 a small monthly pamphlet, "Bright Words" had been published in London by Revs. C.G. Moore and J.G. Mantle, two Methodists who were ardent supporters of the Keswick Movement. It was not published in connection with any specific religious organization and contained articles on Holiness and Christian life. Govan was introduced to it in 1888 and in his final letter to Prayer Union members of that year he wrote of an arrangement to have a Scottish edition of "Bright Words" with four or five pages entirely devoted to the Faith Mission. In January 1889 it replaced the monthly "Pilgrim Letters" which Govan had distributed in 1888 and became the main channel of communication. In November of that year it was handed over to Govan altogether and has since remained the movement's official organ. Govan's younger brother, Horace, newly graduated from Glasgow University, who was already helping with administration, became editor and later was in charge of the Mission's publications department. The help that the Prayer Union subscriptions gave towards the production of the magazine was acknowledged as a reason for introducing them.

The movement's success among the mining communities of Fifeshire during its second year produced considerable numerical growth. There were then nine pilgrims, six of them men, and in order

to co-ordinate and direct the fourteen branches of the Prayer Union in Fife a District Pilgrim was appointed. His work was to visit prayer union branches regularly, to hold evangelistic services, to arrange conferences which were normally held on Saturday afternoons with speakers on holiness, as a means of ensuring that the enthusiasm of members was maintained and that the aims of the Mission were carried out. The first conference, held in Dunfermline in 1888, attracted 800 people who travelled from widespread Faith Mission centres. The "conference" is a monthly series of meetings which differs from the "Holiness Convention". The latter is specifically an occasion where the believers are evangelized in an effort to persuade them to seek the experience of entire sanctification. The conference, a form of gathering used by the Scottish County Christian Unions which flourished before the foundation of the Faith Mission, is intended to promote fellowship among believers and an interest in the devotional advancement of the Christian life. In these early years a conference was typically given over to a set subject e.g. "Christian Service", "Christian Witness" on which a visiting preacher or a district superintendent delivered an address. Already Govan cherished the hope that he would eventually "see Scotland divided up, one man over each district with pilgrims under him to go about through it and keep the fires burning everywhere."³⁰ He was, however, intent on preventing his new movement from becoming an independent denomination in the way that Methodism, the Cambellites (Disciples)

and Emmanuel had done despite their original attempts to avoid denominationalism. By encouraging Faith Mission converts to attend existing denominations and by arranging gospel and Prayer Union meetings at times other than when church services were held, he was able to a large extent to resist pressures towards separatism. But the Holiness question presented a threat to his careful arrangements.

In January 1889 a pamphlet called "Perfectionism" was published anonymously, specifically attacking the Faith Mission's teaching on the subject. An argument raged in the Scottish press. J.G. Covan himself refused to enter into it but his brothers thought that written statements should be drawn up clarifying the Mission's position. They published two pamphlets, "The Holy life in the power of the Holy Ghost" and "A Defence of Righteousness and True Holiness". A second outburst came from the major churches condemning the methods used by pilgrims e.g. "the use of song tunes for hymns, and of musical instruments, the lack of dignity in the services and the introduction of the Penitent Form."³¹ Other opposition was apparently personal but its greatest effect as with the opposition which Drysdale encountered seems to have been to reinforce the conviction of the Mission and its members.

During the same year very successful campaigns were conducted at Rothessay and on Islay. The first mission in England was held at Bristol. New areas were evangelised, notably Midlothian and West Lothian. The Lanarkshire Christian Union began intensive revivalism along lines similar to the Faith Mission, using women

evangelists and setting up prayer groups. Because of the active evangelism of the county Christian Unions the Faith Mission held no campaigns in Lanarkshire or Ayrshire for a number of years.³²

In his review of the third year of the Mission, published in 1889 with the first statement of its aims and principles in a pamphlet called "Pilgrim Life", Govan saw much cause for encouragement but was perturbed that in some of the earlier places visited the zeal of many of the converts had been quenched by ministerial and other opposition. There were by that time twenty eight pilgrims, twelve of whom were men. During the first two years Govan had held regular pilgrims' meetings and was thereby enabled to direct their attitudes and methods. In the third year the larger number of pilgrims made such gatherings difficult to arrange, but the Rothesay Convention in May 1889 afforded an opportunity. Together with a similar gathering at Kinross in June this represented the Mission's first annual gathering. The Annual Conventions in Scotland and Ireland have since been of considerable significance in maintaining a corporate identity among the widely dispersed, small, and often isolated branches of the movement.

The outstanding features of the first three years were rapid geographical expansion and growth in membership. Each of these imposed organizational imperatives. Govan responded effectively to the situation by exercising centralised control and outlining clear and institutionalised methods i.e. the Prayer Union, conferences, conventions, pilgrims' meetings, which enabled him to maintain the

spiritual enthusiasm of his personnel and the members of the Prayer Union and to give his Mission a sense of unity. He achieved this without significantly compromising his non-sectarian ambitions. This early tendency towards bureaucratisation, combined with a clarified expression of its aims, gave the Faith Mission built-in features which enabled it to resist some of the more usual pressures towards institutional change which less well-organized movements have found difficult to resist without sacrificing some of their original organizational principles.³³ Govan's clear idea of what he wanted the movement to be and what he did not want it to be, together with his more rational and calculated methods of organization and deployment of personnel, helped the Mission to develop a crystallized structure in its early days which has been well-preserved until the present day.

The year 1890 marked the end of the first phase of the movement's growth. Rapid early numerical expansion was replaced by steady growth and consolidation. The peak number of conversions which had been maintained in the previous two years gave way to a marked depression. Organizationally, however, there were further extensions of the crystallizing process referred to above. Horace Govan's duties as editor of "Bright Words" were supplemented by the establishment of a publications department which had begun with the production of the two defensive pamphlets. It included by this time the sale of a number of booklets and pamphlets on subjects related to Holiness. Apparently these were seen by Govan to be

essential aids in consolidating the faith of the newly converted and sanctified. The Sept. 1890 edition of "Bright Words" contained a detailed list of this literature under the heading "What shall we read?". Earlier in that year it had included a description of plans for selling more copies by enlisting the support of Prayer Union members each of whom was given a district near where they lived in which to sell copies. The functions of this activity in reinforcing the faith of believers were openly recognized; it was described as "not only a healthful salvation exercise, but in many cases an instrument of righteousness unto God."³⁴ Articles on the "development" of Prayer Union branches were written by J.G. Govan himself. Stressing the need for all believers to experience entire sanctification, he described the practical changes which follow it in their daily lives and also the effects which sanctified members have on the "spirit and work of the Prayer Union". What appears to have been the ideal behaviour expected of such members was a "willingness and eagerness to travel even miles, fair weather or foul, not to be fed but to fight, by turning up to open-air, testifying, praying, dealing with souls and giving freely of one's substance to help in the work."³⁵

On the financial side the routinization of procedure was already taking place. At the beginning of 1890 local Prayer Union secretaries were directed to prepare quarterly accounts; they had formerly sent all contributions directly to headquarters. The

reasons given for this innovation were "That our Prayer Union books may be kept more systematically and to save some correspondence on the part of local secretaries."³⁶ But the goal of administrative efficiency which was being aimed at is implied in the request:- "Will all friends take to heart the injunction to have all things done decently and in order...".³⁷

The following year opened with a series of pilgrims' meetings which Govan arranged for the exchange of experiences, the discussion of mutual problems, and direction of policy and evangelistic methods by the centralised leadership. It is clear that well before this time the movement had been dependent for its continued growth, not on the charismatically inspired authority of a single individual, although Govan's ability to attract the initial support of his helpers was doubtless due to his personal qualities, but largely on that individual's capacity to mobilise his supporters, to allot to them clearly prescribed roles and duties and to devise institutionalised methods for maintaining the Mission's evangelistic activities and consolidating the new-found faith of its converts. From its earliest days the Faith Mission was a rationally organized movement.

1891 began with an enlarged edition of "Bright Words" in order to make it more attractive for general sale, as well as to increase the amount of reading material. An assistant was appointed at headquarters to help with correspondence, book-keeping and despatch of publications. In February of that year the monthly reports of the

Mission's activities were begun. At this time there were 95 branches of the Prayer Union, spread over 5 districts with about 3,000 members. The districts were:- Border Counties; West Highlands; Fife and Lothians; Stirling; other parts of Scotland.

But developments were taking place leading to expansion in Ireland. Already in 1890 two pilgrims had held a mission for a fortnight near Dublin.³⁸ In May of the next year Govan was one of the speakers at a conference in Belfast of the International Police Association. There he met the Misses Garrett from Blackrock, near Dublin. They had recently entered into the Holiness experience and had heard of Govan. They invited him to send pilgrims to Blackrock. His brother, Horace accompanied one of the more experienced pilgrims and their proposed four days' stay became four weeks. Their success led to the holding of another mission at Kingstown, but it was in Ulster that the movement was to meet with its greatest source of support. In the years 1892-4 there was a remarkable increase in the number of missions held in Northern Ireland and the peak conversion figure of 3,132 professions and the remarkable increase in income of 1894 were inflated to a large extent by the results of the movement's efforts in that region. By the end of 1894 about 25% of all missions were being held there. In February 1895 there were 20 Irish Prayer Union branches.

Meanwhile there developed further increases in the movement's scope. In May 1892 reference was made to a "sister mission" in Canada. In the previous autumn J.G. Govan had sailed for that country

with two missionaries who were old friends of his and were on their way to China. He visited his sister in Toronto and went on to several cities in the United States. The affiliated branch of the Faith Mission in Canada was at that time little more than a small prayer group which expressed strong interest in the Mission.

But by 1890 Govan had realised that itinerant evangelism made severe physical demands on his personnel and on himself. Although a number of friends had continually let pilgrims stay with them for a while in order to rest, Govan felt that it was increasingly necessary that his movement should have a central rest home. He was also dissatisfied with the quality of some of his pilgrims, and decided that some form of training was desirable before anyone could work in the Faith Mission. At the end of the year 1890-91 a donation of £200 was retained "against the expenses of a Central Home.....for rest and instruction."³⁹ Moreover at the same time the movement was reluctant to take on more untrained workers. One year later we read of applications still being deferred for similar reasons. The departure of one of the leading pilgrims at the end of the year 1890-91 may have had some connection with recognition of the need for training. At a meeting of pilgrims, held at Govan's home in Biggar, in May 1893, tentative plans were made to hold a training session in the following autumn. But it was not until October 1896 that the first session was held in Rothesay for six women. It lasted for only a few weeks but was followed by others in May and October 1897, and in January 1898. But even though by this time there was a long list

of 60 applicants for training, lack of finances made it impossible to continue. Some remarks made in the annual report for the year 1898-99 throw some light on the motives for holding training courses:-

"While we do not seek to neglect either the practical or the intellectual, our main desire is for spiritual blessing, that each worker should go forth with a personal knowledge of the Lord and the insight of the Holy Ghost into His truth."⁴⁰

It is interesting that the emphasis should be upon improving the quality of religious experience in prospective pilgrims and only to a lesser extent on teaching them biblical knowledge and evangelistic methods, but this is characteristic of Holiness training homes. It seems that Holiness teaching is so complex for believers to understand and the experience so difficult to attain that its proponents are obliged to give formal and quasi-formal instruction before they are satisfied with the quality of their followers' experience. The alternative to instruction becomes a rather too easily accepted experience which has no permanent significance. There is thus an educational implication in the Holiness position which partially explains the predominance of bible schools, training homes and special Holiness meetings etc. in these movements. Viewed in a different way, education may be a type of disciplining of religious experience which would otherwise run to emotional excess.

Although the Prayer Union was already divided up on a district basis and a District Pilgrim was already stationed in Fife, it was not until 1893 that the organization of the movement into districts was anything like uniform. Observing that there had been

no increase in numbers of personnel in the previous three years and the stress which this had imposed upon the few who superintended, Govan announced the need for "more division of labour and responsibility". He called a meeting of the male personnel and submitted to them proposals for re-organization which they readily approved. The movement was divided into districts, each district to be in control of its own finances. District Pilgrims were to have oversight not only of Prayer Union activity as hitherto but also of all missions to be held in their district which were each to be allotted a certain number of pilgrims each year. In effecting these necessary changes Govan divested himself and his brother of numerous routine administrative responsibilities and left himself with general oversight and training and his brother with editing and publications. The increased development of a form of bureaucracy therefore took place after only seven years of the Mission's history.

But, as we have seen, the first training courses were short-lived because donations to maintain them were not coming in. This appears to indicate that a curious situation had developed in which the priorities of the leadership were not shared by the rank and file. The latter appear to have been more willing to contribute money to foreign missionary enterprise than to the cost of training pilgrims. From 1891 "Bright Words" had contained comments and articles on missions abroad. The considerable interest shown in foreign missions by evangelical groups at that time probably meant that in even their denominations members of the Mission were being

urged to support such activity. A number of pilgrims had resigned to do evangelistic work abroad and the suggestion was first made in 1895 that experience in the Mission was most advantageous as a preparation for missionaries before they left this country. In more recent years the movement has acquired a reputation in Holiness and evangelical circles for providing a useful apprenticeship-type experience for foreign missionary candidates. But at the end of the last century the very existence of the Faith Mission was almost threatened by the stress on foreign missionary activity and the feeling was expressed that there was a tendency among some members "to consider home work less important". From that time onwards a considerably smaller part of the magazine was given to a consideration of foreign missions. However donations to foreign evangelism have continued to pass through the movement's headquarters and one meeting at the annual convention is devoted entirely to furthering the cause of foreign missions.

Meanwhile several developments had been taking place in the day-to-day activities of the movement. The Publications Department was expanding considerably. In 1895 a colporteur was appointed but only survived for ten months. Two years later this department became the Christian Literature Company and a Circulating Library was formed among the branches of the Prayer Union. At the same time it appointed local agents to sell literature. The headquarters of the Mission were changed from time to time during this period. They had originally been in Govan's home in Glasgow. In

March 1891 they were moved to another part of the city and then in January 1893 to a small hall in Paisley. After the Convention in 1895 a mission hall was taken over by the movement in Rothesay and two years later the house where the short training sessions were held became the Mission's headquarters.

By this time, 1897, the quasi-bureaucratic arrangements made four years previously came to be questioned. The annual report for that year showed a fall in the financial donations of Prayer Union branches and the leadership expressed regret if this meant "a lack of interest among our Prayer Union members". It was added that if all, instead of the current few, saved 1d. per week the Mission's funds would increase by £715 per year. The original centralized form of organization was revived on the grounds that the plans of 1893 were not functioning satisfactorily and "latterly especially we have felt tended somewhat towards disintegration". The District Pilgrims were therefore relieved of most of the business and financial work but continued the evangelistic and pastoral activities. At this time it was observed that growth in organizational routine and business had not been accompanied by a "corresponding increase in spiritual power, fervour, zeal and earnestness...". The gradual fall in the number of professions of conversion in the years 1895-99 was another significant feature of this self-questioning on the part of the Mission.

The dismissal of certain personnel also occurred. In November 1894 the Mission refused to retain a man on the grounds

that he had "adopted - while absent from us on rest in England - views quite alien to our lines of teaching and contrary to our understanding of the word of God...".⁴¹ It has not been possible to discover what these "views" were, but the Faith Mission considered it necessary to "warn against the pernicious doctrines which we learn he is now supporting".⁴² In March 1898 one of the most senior pilgrims who had recently been in charge of publishing was found to have "been overcome of evil of such a character that he can no longer continue as a worker...". These are two indications that institutional tensions were developing as the Mission moved into its second decade.

Govan meanwhile had married. His wife was one of the first two women pilgrims. She had left the movement in 1890 and had taken courses in the Tottenham Hospital and Deaconness Institute. They were married in September 1894. During these years Govan was a frequent visitor to Star Hall, Manchester, the Holiness and evangelistic institution run by another businessman, Frank Crossley. He also made a number of visits to London to preach at convention meetings. Like Drysdale during World War II, he was participating to a lesser extent in the movement of which he was the founder.

The mission entered the twentieth century still beset with problems and tensions of several kinds. Not only was there still not enough money to set up a training home, but there was little increase in the number of missions held and average atten-

dances at evangelistic meetings fell from 84 in the year 1896 to around 65 for the next six years. Although the first year of this century was a relatively successful one from the point of view of professions of conversion, the general trend of this index was downward. It may, perhaps, be related to the economic prosperity which generally prevailed in Britain in these years. But the financial condition of the Mission showed no signs of improving and in a number of annual reports a shortage of funds was mentioned. Although several more short-term training courses were held it was not until 1912 that a permanent training centre was established. Until it became possible to provide courses for all pilgrims the movement used auxiliary personnel, typically people with some experience of, but no training in, lay preaching and evangelism, who made themselves available for only certain times of the year or only in certain districts close to their homes. Most of them conducted missions.

In 1901 the Faith Mission co-operated in the Simultaneous Mission held in England and Wales which was organized on an inter-denominational basis by a National Council of Free Churches which met in Sheffield. The Mission's contribution consisted of sending several pilgrims to hold campaigns in rural districts of Cambridgeshire and Hertfordshire. Follow-up missions were held in May 1905 but few permanent results were produced, at least so far as the expansion of the movement is concerned. The Welsh Revival of 1905 was also given much publicity in the Faith Mission's publications.

It was alleged to have awakened considerable interest among Prayer Union branches, but appears to have had small effect on the Mission in general.

Further cause for concern arose in 1901 when several of the male pilgrims left the movement and began to evangelize independently. This group became known as the Cooneyites.⁴³ It was in 1897 that a pilgrim called William Irvine had begun a mission at Nenagh, Co. Tipperary. He attacked the local Methodist churches for their "lukewarm" liberal Christianity, a step which was clearly not in accord with the Faith Mission's interdenominational principles. William Cooney joined Irvine and together they founded a sect, known throughout the English-speaking world as "No Church" but more commonly as "The Cooneyites", which claims to be the one true church of the apostolic succession, has no formal organization and owns no property, but manages to maintain a network of communication, mainly by correspondence, to hold weekly meetings for worship and the "breaking of bread" and regular conferences. There is some indication that the Cooneyites are not a Holiness movement which may account for their original secession from the Faith Mission. At least, by May 1903 one of them, probably Cooney, himself, who was operating in Ireland, was seen to be such a menace that the Faith Mission publicly disassociated itself from his activities. In November of that year it accused him of using its name and again announced that he was in no way under its control. It condemned his actions on the ground that they had

"almost no organization and little method". Some of his helpers were alleged to be mis-representing the Faith Mission while at the same time taking advantage of it by holding missions where the Mission had already held them and seeking the help of Prayer Union branches. The Mission did not approve of some of this independent group's teachings and stressed that its leader, presumably William Irvine, who was at that time in America, would probably disapprove himself of its current actions. According to a contemporary editorial in "Bright Words" these were in some measure the result of using untrained and inexperienced evangelists. Certainly the Mission was prevented from exercising control over its personnel because it had not the resources to train them. The educational imperatives implied in Holiness teaching are once again apparent for without successfully training personnel and rank and file in these teachings no Holiness movement can hope to survive.

There were allegations at this time that the Faith Mission was not so uncompromising as it used to be, especially towards the churches. Outlining the way in which some of its supporters have urged it to form a separate denomination, the editor of "Bright Words" admitted in 1904 the difficulty of steering a middle course between the independent denominational position and involvement with a particular existing denominational form. He rigorously defended the movement's interdenominational outlook. Later, in April 1907 the Faith Mission was the subject of hostile criticism

in certain newspapers, based on accounts of the holding of baptismal services by the "head of the Faith Mission". These reports were flatly denied by the movement.

These controversial developments are interesting not only because they reveal the numerous stresses and tensions which the institution encountered because of the difficulty of exerting control over its members and because of problems arising from its encounters with the other religious organizations. They also suggest that the Mission's loss of impact, at least in terms of a reduced number of conversions, can be attributed to certain misrepresentations of its aims and methods which other bodies were propagating.

Other reasons which the Faith Mission gave for its failure to maintain its pristine ardour were on the one hand that many of its converts had migrated to cities and lost touch with its activities and, on the other, that many Prayer Unions were not playing an adequate part in its programme. The loss of urban migrants may be evidence not only that evangelical fundamentalism appeals to culturally retarded sections of the population, in this case residents of rural Scotland, but also that for many young people the Faith Mission provided a socializing influence which directed their aspirations towards the higher economic level of living which was increasingly being provided in the towns and cities. On the defection of Prayer Unions, the annual report for 1902 referred to the lapsed commitment of members, as indicated by

a reduction in the size of financial contributions as well as in participation and meetings and help with missions. In April 1903 a pamphlet was issued containing detailed instructions to Prayer Unions on how to prepare for and support a mission by prayer, advertising and participation.

Significant new developments during this period were the beginning of annual conventions in Northern Ireland in 1902 and the creation of a third Irish district, in addition to the ones centred on Belfast and Dublin, in Lisburn in 1909. In November 1903 the essential difference between the movement's activities in Scotland and Ireland were stated to be that in the former most missions encountered difficulties and were unproductive whereas the latter gave cause for the "utmost joy and satisfaction".⁴⁴ In particular the New Year conferences which were held in Belfast produced consistently satisfactory results.

But during this period of tension and controversy the Faith Mission had not the help of its founder. In 1903 he contracted typhoid from which he had difficulty in recovering and in November 1903 he handed over complete control of the Mission to his brother, Horace. After visiting Switzerland for convalescent purposes he lived for five years in Southport during which time he gave considerable help with teaching at Star Hall Bible School. He sent several reports of the activity there to "Bright Words" and although he was not so closely connected with it he retained considerable influence in the Faith Mission. Meanwhile he and his wife conducted

a few missions around Ormskirk, Lancashire in 1909 and in the same year sailed for South Africa to see some of the activities of the South Africa General Mission in which a former pilgrim had a leading role. Consciously or otherwise he was preparing himself for his approaching task of founding and administering a training establishment, perhaps because he saw that the future of the Faith Mission depended on its providing satisfactory training for its personnel.

By the time Govan returned to the Faith Mission in 1911 his brother had become overburdened with the task of directing the Mission and had taken a holiday in Canada. John George re-organized the movement in 1912 because a number of members had expressed concern that its future was in jeopardy. His modifications reflected a desire to spread responsibility for decision-making among the senior members of the Mission. This involved modifications in district organization, there being at that time only two Scottish districts and three Irish ones. The District Superintendents, as they were newly named, were to "arrange the missions in the districts under their charge, receive regular reports from their pilgrims, visit Prayer Union branches and interview candidates for the work".⁴⁵ It is not clear whether they were given autonomous control over the finances of their districts. But most of these duties were not new. What was most significant about the new organization was that Govan, his brother, all the District Superintendents and "one or two interested friends" were to form the

Council of the Mission. The supreme authority which had hitherto rested with the Govans had been given a more democratic quality and the streamlining of the movement's organization was more complete. This parallels the establishment of an Executive Council by Jeffreys in Elim and by Drysdale in Emanuel.

Govan was determined at this time to set up a permanent training home. The premises which he had owned in Rothesay were unsuitable because of their remoteness and were sold. In October 1912 a house had been rented in Joppa, on the outskirts of Edinburgh. At about the same time a gift of £1,000 was received from a businessman in Belfast who was keenly interested in the movement. This sum, together with a further £500 which had helped to swell the Mission's funds in 1912, was immediately retained to enable the purchase of suitable premises for a more permanent training establishment than the one being used in Joppa. Early in the following year a large house in a residential district of Edinburgh was offered by another interested friend. It was purchased and furnished and has remained as the Faith Mission Training Home since 1913.

The formation of the Council and the establishment of the training centre represent the most significant transition which the Mission has undergone from its former loosely organized system of government and training to a more routinized form, more in line with the structure of operations in the older, established denominations. The inspirational vision of the founder was retained

but was given an institutionalized expression via the Council. In providing a permanent form of training Govan was to some extent surrendering the "faith principle" since the tuition was to be given each year in a special, formalized, institutional setting. Of course, it lacked certainty in the sense that income for maintenance was not guaranteed, and to this extent the element of "faith" was retained. But ownership of property and the need to ensure that the Mission would continue after the founder's death necessitated the adoption of organizational methods consistent with the legal framework of secular society.

The question of a constitution arose. It was necessary to use J.G. Govan's name in the title deeds of the new training premises because the Faith Mission had not been legally constituted. But they were purchased under a Deed of Trust in which Govan acknowledged that he owned them as the Mission's representative. He named his brother, Horace, his wife, a senior pilgrim and a Glasgow "writer" as those to whom his heirs and representatives should convey the property after his death.

The Mission was becoming more and more akin to the established religious associations from which it had sought to differentiate itself. But it is clear that this process, although possessing features essentially similar to the sect-to-denomination development which sociologists like Pope and Niebuhr have observed e.g. in the adoption of constitutional forms of government and the deployment of trained personnel, was an attempt on the part of

the Faith Mission to deliberately resist becoming a denomination. Movements like the Mission belong to a different organizational constellation than those typically studied by recent sociologists of religion. The interdenominationalism of the late nineteenth century and the ecumenicalism of the twentieth century have produced a plethora of movements and missionary agencies which are not subject to the sect-denomination-church type of analysis since they represent self-conscious attempts to avoid such organizational forms.

1913 was also a noteworthy year for the extension of the Faith Mission's activities into England. A number of missions had been held in various parts of that country from time to time but never on anything approaching a settled basis. In November 1913, however, a man in Bury St. Edmunds who had known of the Mission when he lived in Scotland appealed for pilgrims to be sent to Suffolk. As a result of the successes obtained there a Prayer Union branch was soon set up and later (in 1930) East Anglia became a recognized district within the movement. Most of the activities there during this early period seem to have been held in cooperation with local Methodists.⁴⁶

Expansion into districts outside Scotland had always been seen as a real possibility. But another kind of growth took place at this time. Already numbers of pilgrims had left the Mission to work in evangelism abroad and some students from the Bible Training Institute in Glasgow had helped in the Faith Mission during their

summer vacation as a means of acquiring experience for foreign missioning. Moreover the movement's headquarters had functioned as a centre for the distribution to overseas missions of funds which had been given by Prayer Union members and readers of "Bright Words". Thus the newly established training centre was to be used not only for the education of pilgrims but candidates, or potential candidates, for foreign missions. It appears that Govan and his wife had this sort of activity in mind even before they visited South Africa in 1909. Their experience at Star Hall had probably given them a view of their future role as primarily educative. Apart from their undoubted feeling that they had a great deal to offer to young evangelists, the comparative comfort and security of such a teaching situation and the opportunity it afforded for fellowship with other leading Holiness and evangelical figures must have been very attractive to the 52 years old Govan. It may also have been a means of coming to terms with his precarious state of health.

The onset of World War I constituted a threat to the Mission's future. There was some possibility that schools and halls which were needed for troops would prevent the holding of gospel meetings. Money was being diverted for military purposes. The supply of male pilgrims was likely to decline. So far as is known none of the pilgrims joined the forces and some of them became conscientious objectors. The Mission, in keeping with its relatively open evangelical position laid down no rigid rulings on the subject.

Quoting Lord Derby (Director General of Recruiting) who was of the opinion that the notion that all denominational ministers were doing their duty applied equally to the Salvation Army, Govan claimed that it applied to the Faith Mission as well. During the war he joined the Society of Friends for reasons, according to his daughter, connected with his hope that none of his children would have to take up arms. However his two sons joined the army in 1917.

The regular operations of the movement continued. Indeed, this period was a highly successful one from the Faith Mission's point of view. For not only did the upward trend in the number of professed conversions which had begun in 1912 proceed steadily but the annual income rose from just under £1,700 in 1911 to almost £3,800 in 1918. The Mission's activities in Northern Ireland contributed much to these increases. The revivalistic preaching of Rev. W.P. Nicholson who had been a speaker at the Faith Mission's Edinburgh Convention in 1912 produced outstanding results and as the Faith Mission was by this time an accepted part of the evangelistic scene in Northern Ireland it shared, as did the Elim Pentecostal Movement,⁴⁷ in the widespread revival which was then taking place. There is some evidence that in Scotland also there were signs of evangelical revival, particularly during the Chapman-Alexander mission which was held in Edinburgh in February 1914 but there is little indication that the Faith Mission reaped any benefit from the Scottish scene. The most one can find is a 50% increase in

professions of conversion in the South Scottish District for 1915, but as this area included the new field of East Anglia, the figure must be interpreted with caution.

There was, however, an attempt to commence a further new branch of the Mission in South Wales. Two pilgrims were invited there at the end of 1915 and their successful operations led to the movement holding missions in that region every year until 1922 when it was considered more desirable to concentrate resources on the East Anglian section. Most of the evangelism in Wales appears to have been carried on in close cooperation with the Wesleyan circuits and the Salvation Army and one possible reason for withdrawing was that the Faith Mission realised that it was in danger of causing ill-feeling between certain denominations and evangelical organizations.

Two other innovations during the period of the first World War are worth mentioning. First the adoption of a Faith Mission crest and enamel badge which all pilgrims wear, in the case of women as a hat badge and of men as a lapel badge. Its utility in providing a symbol of corporate unity is something more than a trivial part of the institution. The same applies to the annual Bangor Convention which began in April 1916 and has continued to be the greatest event in the Mission's calendar in Northern Ireland, which area it must be remembered, contains the vast majority of Prayer Union members. Writing in 1916, Govan said:-

"We rejoice that the work, in its early days confined to Scotland, has spread to Ireland and England and Wales because of the spreading blessing, and recently has been much more encouraging in these countries than in our original sphere of service."

This remains so in recent years and the renewed vitality which Govan brought into the movement on his return in 1911 probably prevented the Faith Mission from declining in numbers and becoming a less dynamic, indeed a dying organization. The only activity which was curtailed in the First World War was Magazine publication, "Bright Words" having to be reduced in size because of the increase in the cost of paper and printing.

The Mission was concerned about the progress of the war, however, in spite of the fact that its formal attitude to it was expressed as follows:-

"The ministry of prayer and a NATIONAL SPIRITUAL AWAKENING could do more to bring about a God-given victory over our enemies, and a deliverance from both external and internal foes, that threaten our country than any material forces."⁴⁸

Many young relatives of the movement's members were engaged in the forces and the Mission in general supported national calls to prayer. Govan and several leading figures of Holiness, missionary and evangelical groups held Prayer Conferences from time to time to pray for the safety of the nation. The Faith Mission thus found it difficult during World War I to avoid accommodating itself to secular society.

The years immediately following 1918 were characterized by widespread unemployment in Britain and a glance at the results

obtained by the pilgrims in terms of professions of conversion provides substantial support for the thesis that religion, particularly sectarianism, flourishes during periods of economic depression and especially among the lower social orders. Annual numbers of professions increased by 250% between 1918 and 1923 when the peak figure of 3,725 became the highest annual one ever recorded by the Mission. However in the annual report for 1924 reference was made to the large number of backsliders and the movement has never pretended that its figures represent the extent of its permanent results.

This realistic attitude has been a striking feature of the Faith Mission. There was comment in the 1916 annual report about the changes taking place in the leisure activities of the British population at this time, particularly regarding new clothing fashions and the increasing popularity of public dancing, professional sport and popular music. During the 1930's these activities were seen to be in competition with the Mission for the attention of young people in their leisure hours. The decline in church attendance which has been a marked feature of the religious history of twentieth century Britain is certainly related to the growth of mass forms of public entertainment and it is not so usual to find a relatively separatist organization like the Faith Mission possessing such a realistic view of the problems facing it. This information also provides tentative support for the thesis that minority religious groups serve as useful functional alternatives

for individuals and groups who find that the associations and culture patterns of the secular society cannot provide adequately for their personal and cultural requirements.

The high number of professions of conversion was maintained until 1926. But the Mission was by this time increasingly dependent for its future existence on the numbers of students entering its training establishment. An examination of their origins indicates that they were being recruited more and more from Northern Ireland, but not, as one might expect, from the rural areas in which the movement was concentrating its activities. From the opening of the Home in 1912 to the beginning of the second World War between 60 and 70% of all students were from towns and cities. From 1924 to 1940 between 20 and 25% and between 1930 and 1940, 64% were from urban areas of Northern Ireland. The Mission was apparently no longer directly self-recruiting. The activities and evangelistic campaigns of other movements were supplying recruits to its evangelistic personnel. Reference has already been made to the successful revival campaigns conducted in Belfast and other Northern Irish towns. Once again the thesis that recent migrants to towns and cities have been a typically fertile group for revivalism seems supported by this evidence. It appears that the Faith Mission's conferences and conventions attracted significant numbers of Nicholson's converts, many of them under 25 years of age, and in this way their religious commitment was deepened by means of Holiness

teaching and experience.⁴⁹ The channeling of their ambitions towards full-time evangelism was but a logical step from there. And the situation was probably reinforced by the shortage of employment opportunities which prevailed in Ulster in the 1920's.

In 1919 Govan's health began to fail him again and he was given medical advice to rest for some months. He and his wife visited Algiers in the early months of 1920 at the request of the Algiers Mission Band. During that year, possibly to have oversight of the movement in Govan's absence, two Vice-Presidents were appointed for the first time. They were two businessmen who were keenly interested in the Mission, one from England and the other a Scot who later became President. By 1924 it was decided to have two Honorary Directors for England and Scotland respectively and although at the time they were not given detailed administrative responsibilities these two officials were the forerunners of the present directors.

Meanwhile further geographical expansion was taking place. In 1924 the African Evangelistic Band was formed; it was commenced by the three sisters who had first invited Govan to send pilgrims to Ireland and in spite of the fact that it has never been attached formally to the Faith Mission it is seen as a branch of that movement and indeed makes considerable use of ex-students of the Training Home. The other extension, which occurred in 1927, was the result of the deliberations of the Missionary Executive of one of the larger Presbyterian Churches in Toronto, a member of which had had connections

with the Faith Mission before his emigration. A letter requesting that two pilgrims be sent out to Canada was received by Govan who sent two women in October of that year. From that date until 1935 a Canadian district of the Mission was maintained; in the latter year it became an independent movement, the Faith Mission in Canada, but it has remained in close association with the parent body.

In 1925, Govan had been forced to spend several months in Switzerland for health reasons. In the following two years he revised a book of hymns and also modified the booklet "Pilgrim Life" which had appeared in 1889 and contained instructions to pilgrims. But he was gradually realizing that his health would not be maintained much longer and so he strengthened the Council of the Mission by adding two businessmen, the one from Belfast whose donation helped to purchase the training premises and another from Glasgow. He died at the Annual Perth Convention of the Faith Mission in October 1927. By his Will the names of his daughter and another member of the Council were added to the board of trustees and from 1927 until 1930 these trustees possessed "wide powers of management and control of the subjects (i.e. the property) and also for the disposal of these or the proceeds thereof, in the event of the Mission ceasing to exist as an organized body."⁵⁰ Govan's brother, Horace, who had been editor of "Bright Words" and co-director of the Mission, succeeded him as president. Govan's widow and daughter became Training Home Principal and Hon. Secretary respectively. All these appointments were made by a unanimous decision of the Council.

The Mission was meanwhile otherwise engaged in preparing for the future. A number of older pilgrims were likely to be unable to continue indefinitely in the burdensome work of either evangelism, especially of the itinerant kind, or administration. Consequently when £5 was received in 1925 towards helping retired personnel a Retired Workers' Fund was established. This development was greatly accelerated by the substantial increase in donations which was taking place. The annual turnover of the movement rose from under £4,000 after World War I to £10,000 by 1930 and to £13,000 by the beginning of the Second World War.

It would appear that this prosperity was not a function of the success of the Mission's evangelistic campaigns, at least so far as sheer numbers of converts are concerned, since these dropped considerably between 1925 and 1928 and continued in a general decline, albeit interspersed with small rises, until after 1945. A possible explanation of this prosperous trend is that the Mission's followers did not experience so acutely the effects of economic depression as did most individuals in the country. But the fact that donations in fact fell during the years of high unemployment and depression would seem to render such a possibility implausible. What is more probable, however, is that the Mission owed much of its larger finances to the gifts of the few evangelical businessmen who were given a good deal of power and responsibility in the conduct of the movement's affairs. Some evidence is provided for this sort of interpretation by remarks in the 1926 Annual Report

which mentioned "ten donations of double figures or more, as against seven last year; four of those of three figures as against one of last year."⁵¹

Horace Govan was President of the Faith Mission for only five years but he determined to see that the movement would continue along the lines which its founder would have desired and that "any development be true to original principles". It was clearly very important to ensure the Mission's continuation and much attention was devoted to this aim by the Council. An Explanatory Statement as to the Origin and Control of the Faith Mission was accepted by it in 1930 and a constitution was drawn up. This formal document concerning the structure of authority within the movement marked the final step from the original inspired authority of Govan to a more conventional, legalized system of government, although much of the new framework had been previously formed by Govan himself. The influence of H.E. Govan's more educated and rational approach to administrative affairs was obviously great. The constitution made provision for the appointment of successive presidents by the Council and for the government of the movement in the event of the president's absence from the country or physical incapacity. The Council was also made responsible for the acceptance of students and pilgrims. Indeed total control of the Mission was vested in this body. But there was a small concession of authority to the rank and file of the Mission's personnel:- amendments to the constitution had to be approved not only by the Council but also by a 75% majority of a meeting of pilgrims of at least five years standing.

There is evidence that the Mission was being heavily criticised at this time, mainly on two grounds. Firstly that it was carrying on activities of a settled nature which, its critics alleged, made its claims not to be another sect or denomination untenable. In its early years, in Paisley, Rothesay and Edinburgh, it had hired halls in which to hold meetings on a permanent basis under the direction of a resident pilgrim who was also in charge of the local district of the Mission. But the meetings were deliberately held at times of the week and, on Sunday, at times of the day when the local churches were not holding services. This has always been the procedure in the case of resident evangelism which the Faith Mission has conducted from time to time. In 1925 a certain Mr. Robert Steel of Dunfermline, a man of some social standing and wealth and a member of the Council, bequeathed a mission hall in Dunfermline to the Mission. It has since been used both as a district centre and as a settled evangelistic station, but the attempt is made to avoid holding meetings at the same time as the local churches is carefully retained. In H.E. Gowan's first annual report in 1928 he strongly defended this aspect of the Mission, presumably in response to criticism. His defence was that the movement was an association of Christians of all denominations, that it shrank from the holding of property and that the settled activities existed only "where it seemed called for in order to provide a district centre for the superintendence of the work in a wide field."⁵² The first reason is unquestionable; all the protestant denominations have been represented among the Mission's members. The

second is not strictly true if one considers the way in which the movement had already spent a great deal of time looking for suitable training home premises. But from the point of view that it had to comply with the legal requirements of the secular society and own property, in this case the Dunfermline hall, against its wishes the defence has some relevance. The last defence seems to be something of a rationalization since all the halls which have been used permanently by the Mission have been either offered to them for hire or donated to them by interested friends. It is therefore perhaps more useful to describe this development in terms of the way in which the movement has modified its original intentions because among the unforeseen consequences of deepening the religious and associational commitment of members were that they, in their devotion, virtually forced it to accept their gifts.

The second sphere which was attacked by opponents of the Mission was the methods which they employed. "Emotional feelings, carrying a big, fat Bible under your arm, hanging texts of Scripture in your bedrooms and holding certain dogmatic beliefs" were all denounced. The movement's response to this was to emphasize its difference from the orthodox churches and to stress the importance of "humble supplication before God" as being infinitely preferable to "ecclesiastical arrangement".⁵³ In 1930 there was some objection to the holding of missions in towns as being inconsistent with the Mission's aims and principles. The defence was that "...we have always held ourselves free in exceptional cases to respond to invitations..... and the results have amply justified such visits."⁵⁴ In fact urban

missions have never been in a majority; they have never comprised more than 10% of missions in any one year. These accusations, levelled undoubtedly by the orthodox denominations, reveal to some extent that the Mission had by 1930 not yet reached a level of respectability in the religious community. Whether the opposition of the established churches stemmed from envy, disgust or the fact that the Mission was diverting church members from one denomination to another or altering the beliefs of members of the established congregations is not known. The latter two have always been strong possibilities inherent in the movement's structure and ideology.

A second magazine, called "Life Indeed", was introduced in 1930 solely for evangelistic purposes. It contained only gospel articles and was discontinued in 1935. In 1931 two extensions in organization were made. East Anglia became a separate district and the District Superintendents were given assistants, a further step towards bureaucracy which provide a more articulated means of socializing and selecting future leaders i.e. presidents, directors and superintendents.

Both H.E. Govan and Mrs. J.G. Govan died in 1932 and the presidency was given to J.A.A. Wallace, J.P., D.L., who had been one of the first directors and a member of the Council. He had known J.G. Govan in the years before the Mission was founded and was a pilgrim for a short period in the early years. He was a wealthy landowner and businessman. Thus although there were several pilgrims who had been in the movement continuously for 40 years they were

considered unworthy of becoming leader of the Mission, perhaps because it was known that they did not want that position, but more likely because they would not add the necessary prestige to the office on account of their lack of formal secular education or their lower socio-economic origins. There was clearly by this time an effort to maintain the Mission's ^{more} respectable social position which had arisen partly because of Govan's bourgeois origins and subsequently because of the need to establish friendly contact, without surrendering cherished aims and doctrinal principles, with the respectable religious denominations.

This respectability did not yet extend, however, as far as the naming of the training home. There was some suggestion that it should become designated a "college" in 1933; but Wallace claimed that the movement was jealous over the title "home" and added that "...when we say 'college' we immediately think of heads, but when we say 'home' we think of hearts". The training sphere of the Mission was still seen as aimed at the spiritual education of students by leading them into the necessary religious experiences; there was some effort to avoid stressing intellectual training. But the teachers at the Home were often highly educated ministers from local churches in Edinburgh. They were convinced evangelicals but their influence was increasingly to effect some modification of the concept of the Home as lacking the typical features of a formal educational establishment. This trend is evidenced by the fact that, although Govan's wife up to 1932, and his daughter from then until 1939, had been in charge of the

Home, and had both been assisted by an experienced male pilgrim, in 1939, it was considered necessary to appoint a specially qualified and experienced principal, Rev. D.W. Lambert, M.A., a Methodist minister and tutor at Cliff College.

By 1938 the President was pleased to announce in his annual report that "...concerning the Mission's work in general there is an increasing confidence among the ministers of nearly all denominations. Many who at one time stood aloof are showing signs of sympathy and not infrequently give help in the work." This is further evidence of a move towards a more respectable status.

More tentative evidence for this development is provided by the absence of a reference in any of the movements publications during this time to other Holiness movements. Although the Church of the Nazarene, the Calvary Holiness Church and Emmanuel were all flourishing in the period 1920-40 and in parts of Northern England and Scotland where the Faith Mission was operating, there is no mention of them by the Faith Mission although it held its own Holiness conventions and certainly retained the doctrine of entire sanctification among its teachings. J.G. Govan had been a frequent visitor to conventions held by Reader Harris's League of Prayer in London, but this is the only other Holiness movement to be given space in "Bright Words". Since the death of Govan even it was never referred to. The remarks in chapter 3 about the two broadly different sections of British Holiness movements are supported here. There was developing an

attitude in the Mission, closely related to its new prosperity and respectable status which was probably greatly affected by the higher social origins of its President, Wallace, that some of the Holiness groups were rather extreme in their approach, too radical in their concept of the Holiness experience, and it therefore did not wish to be associated with them.

It is remarkable that the Faith Mission was not greatly affected in its revivalistic activity by the depression years of the early 1930's. At that time the Pentecostal movement as well as the Holiness groups mentioned in the previous paragraph were all showing signs of revival. From 1931 to 1933 there was an increase in professions of conversion in the Faith Mission of only 150; indeed after the severe drop between 1925 and 1928 there was remarkable stability in this regard until 1934 when another downward trend commenced. There is some indication, however, that Northern Ireland was producing considerable success while other districts were declining or stable. Because the campaigns were concentrated in rural areas they may well not have affected those who were victims of the recession. But there was quite a sharp increase in the number of missions held in these years which makes the situation even more surprising. It is possible that the degree of institutionalisation which the movement had undergone by this time made it no longer attractive to the economically disinherited. Most of the other groups which achieved remarkable success at this time e.g. Elin, Calvary Holiness Church and Emmanuel, were movements, inspired by the pure, pristine, visionary enthusiasm

of their charismatic leaders and not yet subject to the secularization and routinization processes which had taken place in the older Faith Mission.

These processes had been accelerated in 1934 by the creation of a new South-West Scottish district because of an increase in the volume of administration. Moreover in 1936 the tendency towards preoccupation of the movement with its own affairs - another force making for a less direct impact on the unsaved - was illustrated by the celebration of the Fiftieth Jubilee Anniversary of the Mission. It was clearly proud of the letters of appreciation which it received from Queen Mary and from the Moderators of the Irish and Scottish Presbyterian Churches. A book of essays by senior pilgrims and members of the Council, being a review of the history of the movement, was published under the title "Faith Triumphant". The Mission was experiencing an increasing affluence in the 1930's which enabled it to purchase a capacious extension to the training home ^{and} a house in Edinburgh for the District Superintendent and to save a sum of over £3,000 for its Retired Workers' Fund. The steady decline in the size of donations specified for foreign missionary work may suggest a loss of inspirationalism and spontaneous enthusiasm among the movement's supporters who were themselves participating in the nation's economic prosperity after 1935. It is more probable, however, that contributions were being directed away from foreign missions to the Faith Mission's activities in this country.

The Mission's secure and more established position in 1939 was one reason why the Second World War did not affect it in any radical sort of way, for it was more formally institutionalized at this time than, for example, Emmanuel. It had a formal organizational structure and was equipped by virtue of its constitution by Deed Poll to withstand some of the potential threat of the war. Since its male personnel were now seen to be performing the same role as church ministers they were exempt from conscription. Generally the movement continued its activities in the usual way. Restrictions were, however, imposed upon it: the "blackout" reduced attendances by making it difficult for many people to reach meeting places and even the availability of halls was adversely affected by it; the government forbade the assembling of large crowds which prevented the holding of large convention meetings and no such meetings at all were allowed outside of Northern Ireland. Evacuation isolated many people from their Prayer Union branch. No meetings at all were held in East Anglia. Apart from these difficulties, however, activity went on apace. The Mission was very fortunate to be able to continue to recruit students from Ireland, which was not fully subjected to conscription in the same way as Great Britain. Thus out of the 46 students admitted during World War II no fewer than 27 were from Ireland. The publishing side of the Mission was curtailed to the extent that only "Bright Words" could be produced but even it had to be reduced because of the economy imposed on the use of paper. From 1943-45 it appeared in a smaller size.

Perhaps the most vital factor in ensuring the movement's continued activity was the way in which the desired financial contributions continued to be received. In every sphere contributions were increased and the burden of financial maintenance appears to have been carried by all sections of the Mission, although there is some indication that individual gifts and legacies to headquarters were not so forthcoming from friends in Scotland and England as from those in Ireland.

The movement's typical attitude to the war, as it was to the previous one was embodied in statements like the following:-
 "...widespread revival, following repentance for our national and individual sins, would do more towards bringing the war to a favourable conclusion than anything else." But although there is some indication that the pilgrims had an increasing degree of success in Ireland, the years of World War II showed little tendency for people to take refuge from the menace of conflict in the assurance of personal salvation. Commenting upon this in the 1941 Annual Report the Mission's president said it might be supposed that war circumstances "would have disposed many to listen more eagerly to the 'Good News'. This is not generally so, at least in country districts."⁵⁵ But he went on to say that the dangers of bombing were not so acute in the remote areas where the Faith Mission concentrated its efforts. He added a further explanation i.e. that "...most of the young people have been called up, and there is no doubt that conversions are much fewer when people reach 30 years of age or more."⁵⁶

One feature of the movement's activity which deserves special attention is the holding of believers' conferences which increased in number during this period and were exceptionally well-attended. This further indication that the Mission was as much preoccupied with internal matters as with evangelism may indicate that the enthusiasm of believers was heightened by the prevailing military situation, in contrast to the absent signs of religious interest among the unconverted. These meetings were particularly popular in Northern Ireland and have continued to be so since the war. Reference was made in 1942 to the fact that "the arranging of Conferences has become a fine art", illustrating further the Mission's more pragmatic and secularized perception of its role and achievements. Some idea of the relative amount of time and energy devoted to the movement's activities can be gained from an analysis of the contents of a typical annual report at this time. In 1942 its Irish and Scottish (which includes East Anglia) sections were divided up as follows:- 12% was devoted to a consideration of the previous year's evangelistic work; 12% to the Summer seaside campaigns and the Prayer Union; 12% to the conventions; 12% to conferences and literature; 25% to an obituary to an ex-pilgrim; and the remaining 27% to the jubilee services held to celebrate the centenary of J.G. Govan's birth. The latter kind of activity which became more and more frequent in the post-war years is yet another pointer to the Mission's level of age and maturity which caused it to become as much interested in its past life and its current status and identity as in sheer evangelistic action.

An important aspect of its status-consciousness and accommodation to the more conventional outlook of the established denominations was the modification of training arrangements. In 1944 the course was extended from one to two years, in order to "make the training more thorough and at the same time less hurried and tense." It appears that the former aim included the extension of the curriculum to include Church History, The Theology of an Evangelist, Homiletics, Child Evangelism, Literature, Nursing, Homecraft etc. Some of the courses were given by staff of Edinburgh University and the number of visiting lecturers with university degrees was increasing. Since 1945 university graduates have consistently formed 63% of all visiting teachers. Another interesting fact is that they have continually been referred to as representing all the major protestant denominations. The Mission has therefore institutionalized its interdenominationalism and in doing so has elevated its status by utilising the services of men of learning, even though these men may also be qualified by their religious experience to teach Faith Mission students. During the war the name "Bible College" was added to that of "Training Home" in the training establishment's title.

Immediately after the war, in 1946, D.W. Lambert, the Principal, resigned in order to open a Missionary Bible College of his own in Berwick-on-Tweed. J.G. Eberstein, M.A. was then placed in charge of the training in an effort to maintain the status of the establishment. He was certainly the most educated of the Mission's leaders, if not the longest-serving nor the most experienced or able evangelist. When

J.A.A. Wallace was compelled through ill-health to relinquish the Presidency in 1946 it was Eberstein who was asked to take over despite the greater experience and length of service of the Mission's Scottish Director and Treasurer. Eberstein's degree was certainly considered useful in ensuring the respectable status of the movement. In 1947 Eberstein became President, Editor of "Bright Words" and Training Home and Bible College Principal, although in the case of the latter position he was only referred to as being "in charge".

A comment which may be closely associated with these developments is that of the Scottish Director in 1946 who mentioned "intelligent and discerning petitions of prayer" which he had encountered at even small Prayer Union branch meetings.⁵⁷ By this time the movement was reluctant to be considered emotional or narrow or uneducated.

With the exception of the Lewis revival of 1949-51, the professions of conversion made at campaigns have remained fairly constant since before the Second World War, but with an apparent long-term tendency to decrease. They have never approached in any way those attained in 1923 or even of the early 1930's. It was readily seen by the Irish Director in 1945 that although the clouds of war would soon pass there were other likely obstacles to the movement's progress in the form of what he called:- "godlessness, selfishness, pleasure-seeking, Christ-rejecting". As a matter of fact the sections of society to which the Faith Mission has traditionally appealed i.e. young people in rural areas, have been diminishing since 1945 because of increased urbanward migration. The increase in education and the

more secular outlook of British society generally also appear to have reduced its appeal.

As has already been noted, the exception to the general situation described in the previous paragraph was the Lewis revival. This appears to have been relatively independent of the Faith Mission's operations, but a leading pilgrim, Rev. Duncan Campbell, who had re-joined the Mission after a period in the ministry of the United Free Church, made a great contribution to its spread. The beginnings of this revival, which is an interesting case-study, can be traced to a series of prayer meetings in the Church of Scotland parish church in Barvas in the later months of 1949. In his account of it Campbell distinguishes between a "successful" evangelistic campaign and the kind of revival which occurred in Lewis.⁵⁸ He describes the "successful" campaign as "a time of religious entertainment, with crowds gathering to enjoy an evening of bright gospel singing". The campaign managers use "high-pressure methods to get men to an enquiry room - whereas in revival (such as occurred in Lewis) every service is an inquiry room; the road and hill side become sacred spots to many when the winds of God blow." But the crucial difference, for Campbell, is that

"in the former we may see many brought to a saving knowledge of the truth, and the church or mission experience a time of quickening, but so far as the town or district is concerned no real change is visible; the world goes on its way and the dance and picture-shows are still crowded: but in revival the fear of God lays hold upon the community, moving men and women, who until then had no concern for spiritual things, to seek after God."

Prior to the outbreak of the revival, local ministers of the Free Church of Scotland had expressed deep concern at the poor spiritual condition of the community. In the issue of the Stornoway Gazette and West Coast Advertiser of December 9th, 1949, the Free Church Presbytery of Lewis issued the following declaration:-

"The Presbytery of Lewis having taken into consideration the low state of vital religion within their own bounds, and throughout the land generally, call upon their faithful people in all their congregations to take a serious view of the present dispensation of Divine displeasure manifested, not only in the chaotic conditions of international politics and domestic economics and morality, but also, and especially, in the lack of spiritual power from Gospel Ordinances, and to realize that these things plainly indicate that the Most High has a controversy with the Nation. They note especially the growing carelessness toward Sabbath observance and public worship, the light regard of solemn vows and obligations so that the sacraments of the Church - especially that of baptism - tend to become in too many cases an offence to God rather than a means of grace to the recipients, and the spreading abroad of the spirit of pleasure which has taken such a hold of the younger generation that all regard for anything higher appears with very few exceptions to have been utterly dismissed from their thoughts.

"The Presbytery affectionately plead with their people - especially with the youth of the Church - to take these matters to heart and to make serious inquiry as to what must be the end should there be no repentance; and they call upon every individual as before God to examine his or her life in the light of that responsibility which pertains to us all, that haply, in the Divine mercy, we may be visited with the spirit of repentance and may turn again unto the Lord whom we have so grieved with our iniquities and waywardness. Especially would they warn their young people of the Devil's man-traps - the cinema and the public-house."

"The Presbytery call upon 1. - all families within their bounds to remember the Lord as governor of their homes, and to give Him daily the homage that is His due: 2.- Upon all parents to be conscientious and diligent in bringing up their children in the nurture and admonition of the Lord.

3.- Upon all young people to make a conscientious practice of regular attendance upon the means of grace and to realise that from the human side the responsibility for shaping the future of our island and our Church lies with them - whether it is to be for God and His Truth or against Him.

4.- Upon all unconverted persons to seek without further delay a saving interest in the only Saviour provided in the mercy of a Sovereign God to meet the needs of sinners.

5.- Upon all praying people to abound in supplications at a Throne of Grace that haply the Lord may return again and make our wilderness to rejoice and blossom as the rose."

It must be noted that the Lewis revival was confined to the rural parts of the island, although it did extend to parts of Harris and also to the small neighbouring island of Berners. Significantly, however, it made virtually no impact on Stornoway, the only community in the Outer Hebrides which is in any way an urbanized segment of modern British society.

The revival began, as we have noted, in Barvas. For months the parish minister and his church officers had prayed for a local spiritual awakening. The minister himself visited a Convention in Strathpeffer (Ross and Cromarty) and was advised by one of the preachers to invite Campbell, of the Faith Mission, to preach in Lewis. On his return to Barvas the minister discovered that in his absence a member of his prayer group claimed that he himself had experienced a vision during which God had revealed to him that Campbell should be summoned to Barvas. These circumstantial beginnings set the scene for the subsequent unusual manifestations which are claimed to have been characteristic of the revival, such as weeping, trance phenomena and

"physical manifestations of the power of God". An example of the latter is the shaking of a house during a prayer meeting. Services were held during the night and many experiences of conversion were recorded. The Faith Mission's statistics of conversions in its Scottish and English districts for the years 1949-50 and 1950-51 show the effects of the Lewis revival. In the first of these years 715, and the second 607 conversions were recorded in Scotland and England. These figures greatly exceed that of the year preceding the revival i.e. 1948-9 which was 173 and also that of the year after the revival, 1951-2, which was 331.

In an attempt to provide some sociological understanding of this revival, a number of points can be made. Firstly the population of the rural districts of the Outer Hebrides has been decreasing steadily during the present century. The urbanward migration of young people, to Stornoway and to the Scottish mainland, has greatly increased the age-structure of the rural population of Lewis. Moreover a high rate of unemployment (between 20 and 25%) prevailed after World War II and typical of the serious concern which had developed over the deteriorating state of the local economy is a resolution of the Lewis Local Employment Committee:-

"In view of the high rate of unemployment in Lewis and Harris and the serious economic state of the area consequent on the deterioration of the herring fishing and to prevent further depression in the Harris Tweed industry the Lewis Local Employment Committee expresses concern at the present state of affairs.....increased and prolonged unemployment may arise unless immediate measures are taken by the government."⁵⁹

A previous report of an emergency meeting of the Stornoway Town Council,

called "to discuss the plight of the Herring Fishing and Harris Tweed industries", claimed that "agriculture in the island is in a worse state than it has ever been" and that "the situation in this island at the moment, economically, is pretty desperate".⁶⁰

The typical correlation between economic depression and religious revival, however, provides only a partial understanding. The theory that religious movements develop in response to a form of relative social or cultural deprivation seems applicable to Lewis during this period. Its way of life was described by a visiting "sociological" observer as

"that of a very old, and in many ways primitive human culture existing in an administratively awkward and physically refractory terrain set on the fringe of a highly industrialized urban civilization..... There is an intense social life.....but there is little knowledge of the constructive or artistic use of leisure."⁶¹

This observation on leisure activities is somewhat substantiated by a Report on the County (Ross and Cromarty) Library Scheme for the year ended Oct.31st. 1951. Lewis readers borrowed no books at all on philosophy, philology or natural science. Moreover in Lewis twice as many theology books were borrowed as on the mainland.

Compared to the more advanced, industrial and urban areas of Britain, therefore, Lewis is culturally deprived. Its culture is narrowly centred around the family and the church. According to one historian, religion has been the main agency in promoting the progress of civilization in the Western Isles.⁶² He claims that the "simple faith and the exceptionally high moral standard of the Western Islanders

are due, in no small measure, to the inherited precepts of.....Puritanical mentors of the past". Their culture showed an absence of frivolity and they took "a serious view of life and responsibilities". Another relevant feature of the religious life of Lewis was the intense Protestant-Catholic rivalry which, as we have noted, appears to be found in many areas, particularly Glasgow, Liverpool and Belfast, where evangelical and Holiness religion have flourished.

Thus the religio-cultural base of Lewis may be usefully seen as a necessary sociological condition of the emergence of the Lewis revival. The prevailing social and economic deprivation of its rural population approximates to a sufficient condition, together with the anticipatory concern for a spiritual awakening which was shared by leading local churchmen. At any rate the part played by Campbell and the Faith Mission took the form of encouraging the continuation of the revival rather than initiating it, or indeed profiting from it, since very few new branches of the Faith Mission Prayer Union were established and the revival did not swell the Mission's membership, although a small number of converts entered the College and are now pilgrims. One reason why the Mission did not benefit a great deal was that the Free Church of Scotland, which predominates in Lewis, was bitterly hostile to the revival and particularly to the Faith Mission's part in it.⁶³ The Free Church, which clearly saw the whole affair as an attempt by the established Church of Scotland to dominate the area, may have succeeded in discouraging the formation of local prayer unions.

It is interesting that, in trying to emphasize its usefulness as an evangelistic movement, the Faith Mission stresses more and more,

presumably since its direct evangelistic efforts have been only minimally successful since 1935, the indirect contribution it has made to worldwide evangelization. Thus in 1946 the "major contribution" of the Mission was seen in terms of "those scattered over the world today in many walks of life, who were led to Christ by the Faith Mission pilgrims in some country district." Moreover in several post-war annual reports the Directors have laid emphasis on the importance of house-visitation, conferences and the distribution of "Bright Words" as those areas of activity where much hard work is being done. They are seen as having inestimable results; But such remarks are an inevitable response to the situation in which the Mission has found itself i.e. it finds it very difficult indeed to obtain the conversions which are its primary aim. It has even been said, in an effort to make the most of what small success the movement can claim, that the repercussions of one single conversion are inestimable in terms of the number of individuals who may later be influenced by the new believer.

Immediately after World War II there was a shortage of personnel because the training home had had only a small complement of students during the war. But the success of conventions in Northern Ireland, particularly the large one held annually at Bangor on Easter Monday, has resulted in a steady supply of candidates and the proportion of students from Northern Ireland has averaged over 50% since 1946.⁶⁴ In more recent years the movement's staff (-evangelistic, administrative and clerical-) has numbered well over 100 and has already surpassed the highest number which was maintained in the late 1930's. In personnel

therefore the Mission is unlikely to suffer considerable losses of numbers for some time. Even from the point of view of the numbers of branches of the Prayer Union, which show a net increase of around 200 since 1946, the movement's future is guaranteed. These new branches are very small in some cases and their growth can partly be explained in terms of the Mission's wider field of evangelism. Many of them are revivals of local groups which were established in the evangelically fruitful years of the 1920's.

Organizationally this last feature has made for greater complexity. There has necessarily emerged a larger number of districts, three having been formed since 1940. Two, the Border district and the North-West, are in Ireland and the most recent one, formed in January 1964, is the Yorkshire and Midlands district.

Another venture which was begun in recent years was the correspondence course at the college. This is intended for people who want to do Bible study at home, perhaps to equip them for Sunday School teaching or lay preaching. It is not intended to be a part-time pilgrim's training course but it is significant that the movement has now acquired a status as a missionary training agency and is regarded as having specialized knowledge and expertise at the disposal of individuals and movements outside its own organization.

Commenting on the criticism which the movement had received concerning its field of evangelism i.e. that it is conducting missions in towns, the Scottish Director in 1951 said that the critical and watchful attitude which some sections of the community have towards the

Mission is an "indication of the high esteem in which the Faith Mission is held." He defended it in that particular case by saying that only 11 out of 105 missions had been held in townsⁱⁿ the previous year, plus 9 summer seaside campaigns.

A further example of the Mission's respectable status is provided by the fact it was pleased to participate in the Festival of Britain 1951 where it had a stall, together with 187 other missionary organizations, at the Exhibition organized by the World Evangelical Alliance. The Faith Mission stall showed photographs of pilgrims evangelizing, of the training home and numerous illustrations of the movement's activities generally. The account of the Faith Mission which was contained in the handbook of the exhibition is interesting. Rather than mentioning "Holiness" or "entire sanctification", the more commonly used phrases, this aspect of the movement was referred to in the following:- "...some 180 Christian conferences annually are held in centres readily accessible to Christians in outlying places who have few opportunities of gathering to hear of the Fulness of the Blessing." The latter is a very seldom used term, seems to admit the dispensability of the instantaneous element in Holiness teaching and puts the Mission's position on the subject nearer to the moderate one of Keswick Convention than to the more radical point of view of the Holiness denominations. It is conceivable, however, that the writer of the handbook is a member of the moderate element in the Faith Mission's leadership.

In terms of the methods it employs the Faith Mission has undergone some important changes. There is an increasing number of

portable halls and caravans being used by pilgrims. The difficulties and cost of obtaining hired premises in the post-war years led to the use of the former and their purchase was made possible by the steady prosperity of the Mission, although several of the halls and caravans were gifts from individuals and Prayer Union districts. The caravans were considered more and more necessary in view of the smaller facilities for pilgrims to stay with friends of the movement and the increasing cost of accommodation elsewhere. One cannot resist observing, however, that the impression of prosperity given by such quite well-furnished and costly caravans may go some way to explaining the Mission's less successful impact.

The dangers of institutionalization have been fully realised by the leadership in recent years. In 1957 Eberstein spoke of the way in which "many a work truly begun in the Spirit has developed on stereotyped lines, with the resultant loss of vision, lack of vitality and leakage of power". Two years later he wrote "As organization of necessity increases with the growth and development of the work, it is possible for the spontaneity and freedom of younger days to lessen. May this never be so of our beloved Mission...". And in 1964 he referred to the dangers of third generation of the movement i.e. when its workers are people who did not know the founder. In such a stage, he said, "many a movement has settled down and begun to live on the traditions of the past."

His warning is highly relevant to the Mission's situation. But it seems that it has come too late. Already in 1947 a Former Pilgrims

Fellowship had been instituted to enable members and ex-members to maintain contact and correspondence - a venture which reveals some of the spontaneity-reducing pressures which long years of shared experiences and the pursuit of common aims and aspirations in a corporate community-type setting tend to produce. In 1955 a film was made to enable the activities of the Faith Mission to be presented to those without first-hand knowledge of it, especially potential students. A more recent innovation for the mobilization of the younger generations within the movement has been the Young People's Fellowship, begun with a house-party at the college in 1960. Each of these developments reveals the manner in which the purely religious element is becoming increasingly modified as organs are evolved for accommodating the institution to its ^{more} own spiritually impoverished situation. The use of films for propaganda purposes and the formation of a young people's organization are efforts to improve its image and to enhance its appeal.

Since 1948 it has paid full National Insurance contributions for its personnel. The interest from investments in the Retired Workers' Fund now amounts to £1,300 each year and the economic security provided for personnel is therefore considerable. For those who stay long enough and show ability there is the benefit to be had from the house and car provided for the District Superintendents of which there are now 12. All these security factors which the movement has found itself obliged to adopt make for feelings of comfort and cosiness which have never been associated with successful and enthusiastic revivalism. The Faith Mission's efforts to preserve its interdenominational identity have been

successful but not without unintended consequences for its future activity as a revivalistic movement. In adapting itself both to the external pressures of secular society and to the security needs of its personnel, it has inevitably lost much of that pristine fervour which the processes of routinization and formalization are always likely to erode.

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63. The Free Church distributed a leaflet entitled "Resolution of the Free Presbytery of Lewis re - the Faith Mission" during the latter months of 1950. Correspondence relating to it is contained in the Stornoway Gazette and West Coast Advertiser, 17th. November and 8th. December, 1950. The edition of 22nd December, 1950 included correspondence on the Free Church's attitude to the revival.
64. Since 1950 the Banger Convention has been attended each year by 5,000 people.

CHAPTER EIGHT

THE FAITH MISSION DESCRIBED.

As with Emmanuel the movement known as the Faith Mission can be conveniently divided into three fields of activity:- first, its evangelism, secondly the Faith Mission Prayer Union and finally the Faith Mission Training Home and Bible College. We begin our description of it by considering each of these in turn, dealing later with organization and finance and social composition.

a) Evangelism. The Faith Mission is primarily an independent evangelistic agency. Its essential aim has been "the evangelization specially of villages, country districts and small towns in Scotland, but open to extend further.....".¹ The pursuit of this aim is carried on by itinerant "pilgrims", the name given to the Mission's full-time personnel. Most of its "missions", as the series of evangelistic meetings are called, are conducted by pairs of pilgrims of the same sex in rural communities throughout Scotland, Ireland and parts of England, notably Northumberland, Durham, Yorkshire, Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire, Leicestershire and East Anglia. The Mission also holds summer campaigns in holiday resorts e.g. Oban, Aberdeen, Felixstowe, and Portrush, where four pilgrims of the same sex typically operate.

A minority of the rural missions are held in response to invitations from local groups of believers, who may belong to one or

to several Protestant denominations and in these cases the pilgrims benefit from having added support in their work from local believers. On the whole, however, an attempt is made to evangelize places "where there is little or no real aggressive work."² These locations are chosen by the District Superintendent often with the advice of pilgrims or members of local Prayer Unions both of which groups are expected to prospect for possible locations. In remote areas, where pilgrims are frequently given authority to arrange a mission by themselves they only do so with the advice of the District Superintendent. He occupies a key position in the Mission's organization and has usually had at least ten years' experience as a pilgrim. For administrative purposes the Faith Mission is divided into twelve districts, six in Ireland and six in Scotland and England, each having a Superintendent. The evangelistic missions and the branches of the Prayer Union are organized on a district basis and pilgrims are each allotted to a district for a quarter, during which time they may conduct anything from one to four missions. An attempt is made to avoid holding missions in places which have recently been missioned except where, to quote the handbook that is circulated among pilgrims, "There are indications of the Lord's working, also where the local Christians make adequate preparations by prayer and publicity."³

A few weeks before the mission is due to begin the Superintendent or pilgrims visit the locale both to publicize the mission with posters or by requesting local ministers to announce the coming mission in their services. Handbills are also distributed and friends

and supporters of the Faith Mission are requested to tell members of the local community about the forthcoming meetings. A letter is written to every local minister and local schools are visited in order to announce the forthcoming meetings. In recent years the problem of securing accommodation for the pilgrims has been virtually removed by the use of caravans. Likewise the increased number of portable meeting halls means that local halls or churches no longer have to be rented. According to one superintendent these portable halls have the advantage of enabling the Mission to hold gospel meetings "on neutral ground", which prevents its activities from being associated with any particular denomination, as they would be if meetings were held in a local church building. Meetings on "neutral ground" are therefore considered to attract greater numbers from several denominations. Permission has to be obtained to site the hall and caravan, usually in a prominent position in the village e.g. the green. In Northern Ireland the Orange Halls, which have traditionally been obliged to open for the preaching of the Gospel, are still frequently used for missions, but in other areas where a portable hall is not used the pilgrims still make use of local churches or halls. The average duration of a mission is about four weeks, although some close after one week. The latter is rare and is usually because of poor attendances or more likely intense local opposition and irreconcilable conflict with local churches or ministers. The most successful missions have been as long as three months and the duration is decided on the basis of the local response by the pilgrims

in consultation with the District Superintendent after about three weeks of the mission.

The activity of pilgrims on a mission is three-fold:- the holding of evangelistic meetings, visitation and administrative duties. The first of these is normally carried on each evening except Friday. Prayer meetings are held before every gospel meeting. In the case of Sunday meetings every attempt is made to hold them at times which do not clash with local church services, normally at 8 p.m. to enable people to attend church beforehand. Children's meetings are held before the nightly gospel services. Also special Christians' meetings are held, usually on Sunday mornings or afternoons, where there are local Christians in sympathy or enough new converts, in order to encourage believers to aim at the experience of Holiness. The form of service at the evangelistic meetings is little different from that of most fundamentalist evangelical groups in this country. Thus, as in Emmanuel, hymn-singing, choruses, Bible-reading and a testimony are customary features. One of the pilgrims leads the service while the other is preacher for the evening. At the children's meetings there is a greater use made of chorus-singing and illustrative material, e.g. "a flannelgraph". The latter meetings are seen as a vital part of the programme because children are considered more likely to be responsive than adults and may be useful in persuading their parents to attend the evening gospel services.⁴ In the instructions given to pilgrims it is stated that the services should be "varied and interesting, and not too lengthy. They should not be mere imitations of church

services. Brevity and brightness should be cultivated, and long prayers in public avoided.Good gospel choruses are helpful but ranting choruses should be avoided. Heart-searching solos or duets can be of great value in a meeting."⁵ An after-meeting is often held for those answering the preacher's appeal to become converted. The pilgrim's handbook also says that the penitent form should be used in preference to the holding up of hands in response to an appeal, but whatever means is employed "open confession should be insisted upon as essential".⁶ "Confession" is witnessing to the experience of conversion which believers are urged to do as soon as possible after praying for salvation. It is an institutionalized way of reinforcing their assurance that God has saved them and an example of the psychology of the group being employed to strengthen the faith of believers. Pilgrims are also advised to take the names and addresses of new converts and to visit them as soon as possible afterwards - another technique of psychological reinforcement. A mission which produces sufficient numbers of converts results in the formation of a branch of the Faith Mission Prayer Union which holds regular prayer meetings for people of different evangelical denominations.

The second aspect of pilgrims' missionary work is visitation. This is usually carried on in the afternoons and consists of visiting the houses in the district to attract interest in the mission by persuading people to attend meetings or to send their children to them. Opportunity is also sought to evangelize in conversation and by the handing out of tracts. Instructions on visitation read:- "In visiting

it is important to get into the houses, and to have talks with the people and perhaps prayer."⁷ During these visiting periods, more usually on the second visit, literature, particularly "Bright Words", is sometimes sold. At all evangelistic services during a mission literature is displayed and local believers, who form the majority of those who attend, are encouraged to make purchases.

Finally the pilgrims have administrative duties to perform. Each week they submit a report to the local Superintendent. It contains details of hours spend visiting each day, times of prayer meetings, open-air services, times of and numbers attending gospel, Christians' and childrens' meetings; professions (of adult and child conversions, of restorations and of sanctification); offerings and donations.⁸ At the close of each quarter Superintendents compile a balance-sheet from their weekly reports which also includes details of expenditure on the following:- travelling, hall or tent expenses, stationery, advertising, postage, board, lodging and personal allowances. This quarterly report also includes the information on meetings and professions which the weekly reports contain, the number of Prayer Union branches formed and the number of copies of "Bright Words" which have been sold.

At the close of a mission a full week is spent in resting and preparing for the next one. Missions usually end on a Sunday evening; on the Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday the pilgrims move their belongings to their next location (and, where appropriate their caravan and portable hall) which are usually moved with the help of

the Superintendent's car. The Thursday is spent in prayer and discussion with the District Superintendent. On Friday a preliminary visit to the local community is made. Those local ministers who are in sympathy with the mission announce the pilgrims' forthcoming services in their church on the following Sunday and the first meeting of the mission is normally held on the Monday evening.

The financial maintenance of each mission is largely dependent on donations to the movement's central headquarters most of which are allocated to the districts. Although a collection box is placed at the rear of every meeting during the mission the amount received from this source and from individual donations to pilgrims during a mission is only very rarely sufficient to meet the expenses of the mission which require a subsidy from the district headquarters. During the Faith Mission's early years it became quite common for local believers to make presentations in the form of cash or gifts to pilgrims in gratitude for their efforts, but there is now a clause written into the movement's "Aims and Principles" stressing the undesirability of such presentations. In the handbook "Pilgrim Life" the pilgrims are urged not to encourage gifts of money for personal use, but (they) should at the same time without question or explanation accept such gifts offered to them...". But it is stressed that they should not be used indiscriminately, rather that pilgrims should be guided in their disposal of them by "the state of the finances of their present mission, or of the Mission as a whole." They are also asked to report such gifts and how they are disposed of to their

District Superintendent. It has not been possible to ascertain the extent to which these official requirements are complied with.

Since 1945 an average of 236 missions has been conducted each year, the lowest for one year being 159 (in 1945-6) and the highest 287 (1946-7). The number of pilgrims used by the Mission has averaged 40 each year since 1948 and has ranged from 32 to 50. Although fewer missions have been held in Ireland than in Scotland and England, there is a noticeable excess of adult conversions in the former. No systematic evidence is available on the relative duration of missions in the two broad areas but it appears that they last longer in Ireland, which may contribute to the greater numbers of conversions gained there. It seems more probable, however, that missions last longer because more conversions can be achieved. In any case a significant factor in the Mission's particular success in Northern Ireland is the evangelical tradition which has prevailed there at least since the Second Evangelical Awakening in the latter half of the nineteenth century. The consistently greater number of child converts in the Scottish and English districts presents something of a paradox, but opposition to religion which has grown in Great Britain, as compared with Northern Ireland, during the present century has caused movements like the Faith Mission, and there is some indication of this in Emmanuel too, to concentrate their revivalism on the young. Since child conversions usually involve little more than the raising of the hand in a gospel service it would be unreasonable to suppose that the Faith Mission has been producing conversions of a

permanent kind in Scotland and England in recent years. Northern Ireland is the area where the missions show the greatest degree of success. The receptivity of its population to revivalism is contrasted by many pilgrims to the stiff opposition which they encounter in Scotland and England.

The Faith Mission has its own publishing centre at its headquarters in Edinburgh. "Bright Words" is its monthly magazine. It is used to disseminate information about the current activities of the movement which includes reports of conferences and convention meetings, details of missions being held in each district and of the location of pilgrims. An example of a report from pilgrims while on a mission is the following:-

"We had one mission where things were rather hard, and there were not many attending, but early in the mission a young Christian acknowledged that he wasn't what he should be, and sought the Lord to meet his need. In this mission there was one family for whom we were specially burdened, the father being much addicted to drink. We were encouraged therefore when four of his children were saved, one of them a married daughter. On the last night of the mission there were six who responded, the father of this family and his wife, two sons and a daughter, also a young married woman whose husband has been saved since. The father lost his job as a result of his conversion because he was no longer drinking. His home has now been opened for a Prayer Union meeting, to which quite a number gather." (from "Bright Words, April. 1965. p.79.)

Articles are also included from time to time on the foreign missionary activity of other movements. The names of the Mission's leading personnel i.e. Council members, president, directors and college principal, are provided in each issue, together with the address of each District Superintendent and of the three "associate missions",

the African Evangelistic Band in Capetown, the Faith Mission in Canada in Toronto and the Mission-Foi-Evangile in the Ht-Rhin, France.

Obituaries of Prayer Union members are frequently included, as are Bible texts for every day of the month. Articles are typically concerned with biblical and devotional subjects and more and more of them are reprinted, or original, articles by ministers of orthodox denominations, particularly the Church of England, who are university graduates. Holiness is rarely mentioned as such, although there have been several articles during the past five years on the Holy Spirit. Testimonies are frequently included as part of series with titles like "Stories of Saving Grace". The January issue of "Bright Words" includes an Annual Report and Financial Statement for the previous year. The main report is written by the President. Regional ones are included on the Mission's activities in Ireland and in Scotland and England by the two Directors. A third one is written on the college by the principal. Financial statements concern the two regions of the Mission, the college and the Retired Workers' Fund. At the end of each issue of the magazine advertisements appear for situations, as evangelist, clerical or administrative assistant, in other evangelical organizations. There are also advertisements for holiday accommodation in guest and boarding houses run by evangelicals. The Mission also announces its forthcoming Conventions and Conferences in this section.

"Bright Words" is a sober and socially respectable magazine. There are no striking headlines and few illustrations, apart from photographs e.g. of pilgrims and conference visitors. Its language

and style are more sophisticated and shows evidence of greater learning than does that of Emmanuel Magazine, which is not surprising since the editor of "Bright Words" is a Cambridge University graduate in Modern Languages. Sales of "Bright Words" have averaged 17,000 copies per month during recent years, including 200 to individual subscribers abroad and 600 to the Faith Mission in Canada. Apart from postal subscribers, who number less than 2,000, copies are sold by pilgrims, Superintendents and Prayer Union members and representatives.

The regular activities of the publishing centre also include a typed "Mid-monthly Letter" which is circulated among Prayer Union branches and a similar monthly news-sheet, called "Pilgrim News", which is sent only to members of the Mission, i.e. pilgrims, superintendents and council members. The latter includes details of the location of pilgrims and brief reports on the progress of missions by all the superintendents. An example of one of these reports is:-

"EAST SCOTTISH DISTRICT. Brothers MacQuien, Moynan, Spencer & Dawson report increasing interest in Fraserburgh, but no outward response as yet. The team ask special prayer for the salvation of some local young people who attend, and also for a family who come regularly from a village a few miles away. Kirriemuir. Sisters Stephen & Hamilton closed on Sunday but we have no news of their week-end meetings. I was glad to be with them one day last week and we had some good opportunities to witness both in the open air and in the hall. Lossiemouth. Sisters Givans, Pitcher and Johnston have had smaller meetings, as many of the local people were away on holiday. Interested ones still attend and we pray for a break in this their closing week. Sisters Stephen & Hamilton are to join with Sisters Givans & Johnston for the campaign in Aberdeen commencing on Saturday, 8th. Miss Pitcher has not been keeping well and goes home for a short break. We had encouraging meetings in Carrubbers Close over the week-end and on Saturday night a man was led to the Lord after the meeting.

The Faith Mission also publishes occasional small books, frequently written by its leading personnel. As well as those dealing with its history and Govan's biography, more recent ones have contained sermons and articles on revival by Rev. Duncan Campbell. Two of these are called "God's Answer" and "God's Standard". The President of the Mission has compiled small books with the titles "This is Victory" and "It Happens Today", containing testimonies which have appeared in "Bright Words". The publishing centre also issues copies of the official Faith Mission hymnbook "Songs of Victory" and numerous occasional tracts and booklets. Its sales department, known as the "bookroom", also handles Sunday School prizes, Bibles and other Holiness and evangelical literature. Pilgrims on missions are supplied with books, pamphlets and other literature from the Bookroom which they sell to numbers of people whom they visit or who attend their meetings.

The combined aspects of itinerant and literary evangelism, therefore, constitute the primary active sections of the Faith Mission. Evangelism is its *raison d'être* but, as we will show in the next section, it cannot be accomplished without the support of the settled activities of the movement as found in the Prayer Union.

b) The Faith Mission Prayer Union. A booklet called "The Aim and Character of the Faith Mission Prayer Union" has been produced for the use of members of Prayer Union groups. It is a concise account of the Mission's aims and activities and the reasons for the formation of the Prayer Union. A group of new converts after a mission

should be allowed to associate with "whatever churches or meetings are found most helpful to spiritual life and service" but the Mission, says the booklet, considers it important that these converts should associate with each other and help one another in Christian fellowship and aggressive work. Moreover, "it is good to keep converts interested in the work over the country, that they may pray regularly and intelligently for it as well as for one another!"⁹ The basic objective of the Faith Mission Prayer Union is to provide regular meetings and fellowship for members, as focal points for their common interest in the current evangelistic progress, not only of the Faith Mission, but of their own denominations and perhaps other denominational and independent evangelistic organizations. The Union's branches, however, are essential to the maintenance of the Faith Mission, since without their financial support it is doubtful whether its evangelism could continue on its present scale. In the Irish section of the Mission contributions labelled "Donations from Prayer Unions" consistently comprise 30% of all donations received. "Freewill Offerings during Missions" produce over 30% and since missions are attended by many Prayer Union members they therefore probably contribute a large proportion of these offerings. In the Scottish and English districts the total contributions of Prayer Union branches are a smaller proportion of total donations than in the Irish ones, but the offerings during missions comprise a similar proportion of total receipts to those found in Ireland. The attendance of many Prayer Union members at missions exemplifies the curious feature of evangelical religion

that believers never tire of hearing the gospel preached to them repeatedly.

The leader of the Prayer Union branch meeting is usually the "representative" which is the name given to a member of the local branch whom the Mission appoints to manage branch affairs. The responsibilities of the "representative" are:- to arrange branch meetings, to keep local membership records and to receive information from the District Superintendent which is to be supplied to branch members (one of the main communication media is the "Mid-monthly Letter" which the representative reads to branch members), in short, to act as a kind of liaison officer between the District Superintendent and the local branch, as well as performing the duties of Secretary. Two members of each branch are also given the task of counting donations and submitting them to the treasurer who is appointed to keep a detailed account of the collection and disposal of funds and to read a statement of finances to the branch every quarter.

The branch meeting is usually held for between 45 and 90 minutes on a weekly basis but in many cases less frequently. Its contents vary throughout the Mission but it usually begins with either a hymn or some choruses; the leader then prays generally, thanking God for His salvation and asking Him to bless the current meeting and to comfort those who are unable to attend through sickness etc. A portion of the Bible is read and the leader, or another member whose turn it is that evening will offer a short commentary upon it, relating it to the work of the Faith Mission and to the

duties of members as its supporters. The length of this commentary is greater in those sections of the Mission e.g. areas of Northern Ireland, where enthusiasm and commitment are stronger and where attendance at evangelical meetings, prayer meetings etc. is an important part of the local culture pattern. In some areas it is quite usual for the meeting to operate along the lines of 'The Friends', and more particularly the Brethren's, meetings i.e. anyone present can comment on the portion of Scripture which is read. After further hymn- or chorus-singing the leader reads information, usually from the Mid-monthly Letter, about the current activities of the Mission such as missions, conferences, conventions etc. in order to give members objects for prayer. The Letter begins with a general comment on the current activities of the Mission e.g.

"We rejoice in the signs of spring these days with the appearance of new life here and there, and we trust we shall also see a corresponding movement of the Spirit of God resulting in New Life coming to both young and old throughout our land. The pilgrims are still pressing ahead with the good work, and the following will bring you up-to-date with the news."

The newsletter is then divided up into brief accounts of work in the separate districts. One example is:-

"From the Highland district. Sisters N. Wylie and O'Driscoll had quite encouraging interest and attendance at Sandness, Shetland. Seven children trusted the Lord, and we trust adults would respond over the closing week-end. They had a special rally in the public hall on Friday, 12th. Their next mission is at Nesting, starting on the 21st. Brothers McQuien and Moffett had a few families showing interest at Onich and North Ballachulish, but closed without seeing any break. They start at Lewiston, Invernesshire, in the mission hall on the 21st. Pilgrims missioned this village in 1955. Aird, Point, Isle of Lewis. Brothers Ferguson and Gowing have very good interest, with some large meetings in the public hall. Two women have come to the Lord since the last Letter, and several others are concerned."

The letter ends with aspects of the Mission's program which are of general interest e.g. Conventions, Conferences, Young People's House Parties. Separate letters are issued for the two sections of the Mission i.e. Ireland, and Scotland and England. After this information has been given to members the meeting is thrown open for individuals to pray for one or more of the items mentioned. These prayers, although spontaneous, tend to be stereotyped and often very short and simple. Members frequently use this opportunity to thank God for saving them. Depending on the numbers present, this section of the meeting varies in length from 10 to 50 minutes, after which a hymn brings the proceedings to a close. Where a collection is not taken during the meeting, donations are placed in an offertory box on the way out.

There are certain sections of the Mission, particularly in Northern Ireland, where a visiting speaker is present at every branch meeting which in such instances resembles a Holiness or convention service. The widespread prevalence of "amateur" evangelists in Northern Ireland makes this phenomenon more understandable, but it is in such districts, where the more enthusiastic forms of evangelicalism have a large following, that the demand is considerable for a meeting which is something more than a mere prayer meeting or an occasion for the dissemination of information. Believers in this context need to experience a form of religious uplift at every meeting. In addition the interdenominational character of the Northern Irish sections of the Faith Mission Prayer Union is one that is already built

into the religious culture of that region. The presence of religious and political hostility has been a strong unifying factor among the Ulster Protestant churches. Thus, when a Prayer Union branch is formed there is a lesser need than there is in, (for example) East Anglia, for members to consciously prevent their allegiance to their respective denominations from marring their enjoyment or participation in the Prayer Union activities. In districts like East Anglia the Mission is cautious in its approach since the potential for denominational dispute or for controversy over such questions as the degree of emotionalism in meetings is greater. The greater reserve and "sang-froid" of the English people, compared with the Irish, is probably another significant factor in causing the Faith Mission in England and Scotland to be more peripheral in its impact on the religious scene. In Northern Ireland, where there is a more open hospitality to revivalism and widespread enthusiasm for evangelical religion, there is greater freedom of expression in meetings and evangelistic organizations like the Faith Mission receive wholehearted support. The Faith Mission in that region is therefore an integral part of the religious scene. This is clear from the size of attendances at the annual convention at Bangor, Co. Down, each Easter which include a large group who have no official connection with the Mission. It is conceivable that on the one hand many Prayer Union members from East Anglia would find Northern Irish meetings unacceptable or too emotional and on the other many from Northern Ireland might find a proportion of the East Anglian meetings cold, formal and uninspired, if visits were

arranged between them. These reactions would not be surprising in view of the interdenominational composition of the Mission's following.

The District Superintendent has oversight of the Prayer Union branches. He visits each one at least quarterly, where possible, and is expected to give an address. He also acts as the official representative of the Mission's hierarchy. In some ways therefore his role is similar to that of the pastor or minister of a church, although he is in charge of several "assemblies".

Each branch of the Prayer Union has an annual "Re-joining Meeting", attended by the District Superintendent who, if a special preacher is not invited as well, delivers a short address. Members of the Prayer Union re-join each year at this meeting by having their membership card endorsed by the Superintendent. "Members failing to report themselves at this Meeting, or within three months thereafter, will be regarded as having withdrawn from the Branch."¹⁰ An annual subscription of 2s. is payable.

The arrangement of "conferences" is also the responsibility of the District Superintendent. These are special meetings which are held at regular intervals ranging from one month in the case of Edinburgh, Dunfermline and Belfast to one year in other cases. The most popular occasions for conferences are Christmas, New Year, Easter and Whitsuntide. Each year over 200 are held throughout the Mission. They are usually conducted in church buildings which may belong to any one of the Protestant denominations and are attended primarily by Prayer Union members from the district in which they are held. They

are organized on a basis which provides members within a district with a chance to attend a conference at least every two months. They last for one day and consist of a series of meetings at which both visiting speakers and the District Superintendent give sermons on the devotional aspects of evangelical experience. The conferences originated in the Scottish County Christian Unions which existed before the foundation of the Mission and are intended as occasions to promote fellowship among believers to enable the Mission to maintain contact with converts, to encourage Prayer Union members to take a broader interest in the Mission and to provide teaching on the advancement of the Christian life. In former years they were given a set subject as a title: e.g. "Christian Service", "Christian Witness", "The Fruit of the Spirit" which to some extent explains why they are called "conferences". But in recent years the speakers have chosen their own subject. Testimonies are frequent at these conferences and there is sometimes a final open meeting when those attending can feel free to comment on what has been mentioned in the course of the meetings, and they often provide examples from their own religious experience. Some of the longer missions, particularly when they result in numbers of conversions, are brought to a close with a Conference. In some instances the Re-joining Meeting of a Prayer Union branch takes the form of a Conference, especially in Northern Ireland. To those who are unable, because of their remote location, to attend the movement's large Conventions, the Conferences provide an opportunity to hear preaching on entire sanctification.

The Faith Mission Conventions which are not normally advertised as "Holiness" Conventions, are held annually in Edinburgh, Stornoway, Bangor (Co. Down), Larne, Ballymena and Bandon (Co. Cork). They are specifically aimed at the promotion of Holiness experience among the Mission's following, although these meetings are attended, particularly in Northern Ireland, by numbers of evangelicals from outside the movement. There are usually three speakers at a convention which lasts for 4 or 5 days. At the large Easter Convention in Bangor five churches are hired at which meetings (with full congregations) are held concurrently. Aggregate attendances of over 5,000 have been customary at both the Bangor and Edinburgh Conventions in recent years. In the case of Larne, Bandon and Edinburgh one large church or hall is used. In Stornoway meetings are held in surrounding villages culminating in a large gathering in the town itself. The speakers are usually well-known to the Mission's supporters as Holiness preachers and the methods employed, which often include intense revivalistic preaching and an appeal, give these occasions a serious grandiose character and an air of enthusiastic excitement. The emotions experienced within a mass setting, generated by the singing of catchy choruses and rousing hymns, as well as an expectant atmosphere, are similar to those experienced by all believers at revival meetings and Faith Mission Conventions are very similar to those held by Emmanuel.

One other kind of meeting is held by branches of the Faith Mission Prayer Union in Northern Ireland. It is a Valedictory Service for one or more young people who are about to enter the Faith Mission

Training Home. A special speaker is invited and a collection is made which is contributed towards the payment of students' fees, for Irish students, unlike many from England and Scotland, do not receive state or local authority grants towards their college expenses. The meeting is arranged by one or several Prayer Union branches and in some cases by the Superintendent on behalf of his district.

The Faith Mission also has a small number of mission halls where it conducts regular weekly gospel and devotional services, taking great care to avoid holding them at the same time as those of the orthodox denominations. These halls are located in Dunfermline, Fort William, Ballymena and in one or two villages near the latter town. All of them were bequeathed to the Mission and they are something of an embarrassment to it since they tend to make its activities more closely resemble those of established Protestant denominations. But they are little more than extensions to the Faith Mission's Prayer Union and evangelistic operations. In certain areas of the Mission, particularly Northern Ireland, some branches hold regular gospel meetings e.g. in the North Irish district, which includes 75 branches, 20 have weekly meetings, 6 have fortnightly ones and 6 have monthly ones. This information was provided in 1964.

The Faith Mission Young People's Fellowship was formed as recently as 1963. It had its beginnings in a series of house parties the first of which was held in Easter of 1960. To quote from its Membership Card,

"Members covenant to pray for the activities, workers and members of the Fellowship; also for the Faith Mission

work and its Pilgrims. A Quarterly Letter is issued to members, who are distinguished by the badge which they receive on joining, and which is to be returned to the Secretary if membership is discontinued. The annual subscription of 5s. is renewable at Easter each year when the Membership Card is endorsed."

The card also contains a "Daily Prayer Scheme" which is a schedule according to which members, who must be 13 years old, pray for a certain section of the Faith Mission and for the evangelization of a certain area of the world each day e.g.

"Wednesday - Young People's Fellowship - East Anglian District, Yorkshire and the Midlands. Missionary Topic - China, Japan and the Far East."

This section of the movement has objectives similar to those of the Sunday School in other organizations. It represents an attempt to engage the attention of young people, to secure their conversion and to recruit them into the Faith Mission Prayer Union and where possible to the body of the full-time personnel, not only of the Faith Mission but of other evangelical or missionary organizations.

Activities in the Young People's Fellowship consist of the Annual House Party; an annual rally during the Edinburgh Convention, both of which include addresses by eminent speakers from the personnel of the Mission or from another organization; a Correspondence Course of Bible Study and the quarterly letter. The latter includes news of forthcoming events in the Young People's Fellowship, as well as generally throughout the Mission, and of individual members of the Fellowship.

e.g. "R_____ M_____ who lives near Portlaoise, also takes a Sunday School class; R_____ K_____ is a member of the Richhill Testimony Choir which gives great opportunity for witnessing; R_____ M_____ with a few other nurses, has started a prayer meeting in the Infirmary in Carlisle."

In addition a section is set apart for short devotional articles on e.g. "The Life of Holiness" and "The Adequacy of Christ".

This section has attempted to portray the settled, ongoing activity of the Faith Mission. Unfortunately research could not be conducted on the question concerning the extent to which the activities of Prayer Union members in the Mission took precedence over their participation in those of their own denomination. It has not even been possible to discover what proportion of Prayer Union members do not worship with, or belong to, any other organization, which are crucial questions. It is clear that a large proportion of Prayer Union members do worship in particular denominations and assemblies but in areas like Northern Ireland where the Faith Mission enjoys high esteem as a fundamentalist evangelical movement it is more than conceivable that it serves as a kind of denomination for its followers, although it makes every effort not to do so. Its Prayer Union branches, its Young People's Fellowship, its Conferences and Conventions are all parts of its integrated system and the close fellowship which its supporters share seems certain to replace at some point that which they enjoy in their separate denominations.

c) The Faith Mission Training Home and Bible College.

This section of the Faith Mission does not differ greatly from its counterpart in Emmanuel. It provides training in the spheres of

missioning and evangelism, but not, as Emmanuel does, for the ministry. The Faith Mission Training Home is interdenominational in two senses:- its students, like Emmanuel's, are recruited from diverse movements within fundamentalist evangelicalism, and its teaching staff, unlike that of Emmanuel, is predominantly composed of visiting lecturers from denominational bodies outside of the Mission. The only resident teacher is the Principal who is an experienced Faith Mission pilgrim and an ex-minister of the United Presbyterian Church. No less than 6 of the 14 lecturers during the 1964-65 session were university graduates. In recent years they have included people from the following bodies:- Church of Scotland, Church of England, Church of the Nazarene, Congregational, Baptist and Methodist churches, the Brethren and the Society of Friends. In addition to the teaching staff there are two resident members of either sex who supervise the personal welfare and conduct of male and female students respectively.

The Training Home is located in two large, old houses in an attractive residential district of Edinburgh. The normal course of training lasts for three years, the first two of which are spent in residence and the final one in the itinerant evangelistic work of the Faith Mission. Each year consists of three terms and a summer vacation and the first two terms of the course are probationary.

Entry requirements are similar to those of Emmanuel Bible College:-

those....."wanted are physically healthy young people (a medical certificate is required) who have had at least, a good ordinary education, can testify to a

a clear spiritual experience, and have proved themselves to be wholly devoted to the Lord Jesus Christ, and earnest and useful in aggressive Christian work."¹¹

The questions on the application form (see Appendix 10) are likewise similar to those on that of Emmanuel, although the Faith Mission appears to be in a position to make use of its ex-students as referees for candidates for entry into the Training Home. (see Question 28).

The content of the training, described under the threefold heading of "Scriptural, spiritual and practical", parallels closely that of Emmanuel. Instruction is given in:- "General Knowledge of Old and New Testaments; Detailed Study of Special Books (of the Bible); Bible History and Church History; Christian Doctrine; Practical Mission Work; Work among Children; English Grammar and Composition; Voice Production and Singing."¹² In most of these areas lectures, assignment work and examinations are used. The "spiritual" training is an attempt "to give pre-eminence to the deepening of the spiritual life by prayer, waiting on God, meditation and praise."¹³ Institutionalized methods of achieving these objectives are daily periods of "Quiet Time" for personal devotions and a devotional lecture, each Friday morning, followed by a prayer meeting for several hours. In the "practical" sphere the Faith Mission programme appears to be less exacting than that of Emmanuel both in terms of the smaller proportion of time allotted to it in the former and also a lesser, though not absent, emphasis on the character-building effects of drudgeries like floor-scrubbing, domestic cleaning and sharing a room

or duties with other students whose personalities may be "incompatible" with one's own. Household duties are performed by students in the Faith Mission Training Home, but less time each day is given to gardening, household maintenance, sewing and other "practical" exercises which are done at Emmanuel. On the other hand, the emphasis placed on acquiring experience of leading gospel services, both outdoor and indoor, of visitation and of literature distribution, particularly in public houses, is just as great as at Emmanuel Bible College. Students sometimes acquire experience in evangelism by helping with missions during their summer vacations. A glance at the weekly time-tables of the two establishments, however, reveals that the Faith Mission gives more free time to its students than does Emmanuel.

College fees, which are only a partial contribution to students' board and maintenance, are £35 per term. Donations to the Training Home are allotted to a special fund at the Mission's headquarters and this fund may be augmented when necessary from the general funds of the Mission. The principal estimated in March 1965 that 54% of all students from England and 60% of those from Scotland receive grants from the State or Local Authorities. Other students, particularly from Ireland, who may lack the financial means of supporting themselves in the Training Home, often receive support not only from offerings at the valedictory services we have described but often on a regular basis from the Prayer Union branch to which they belonged or from a group of friends. An effort is made to

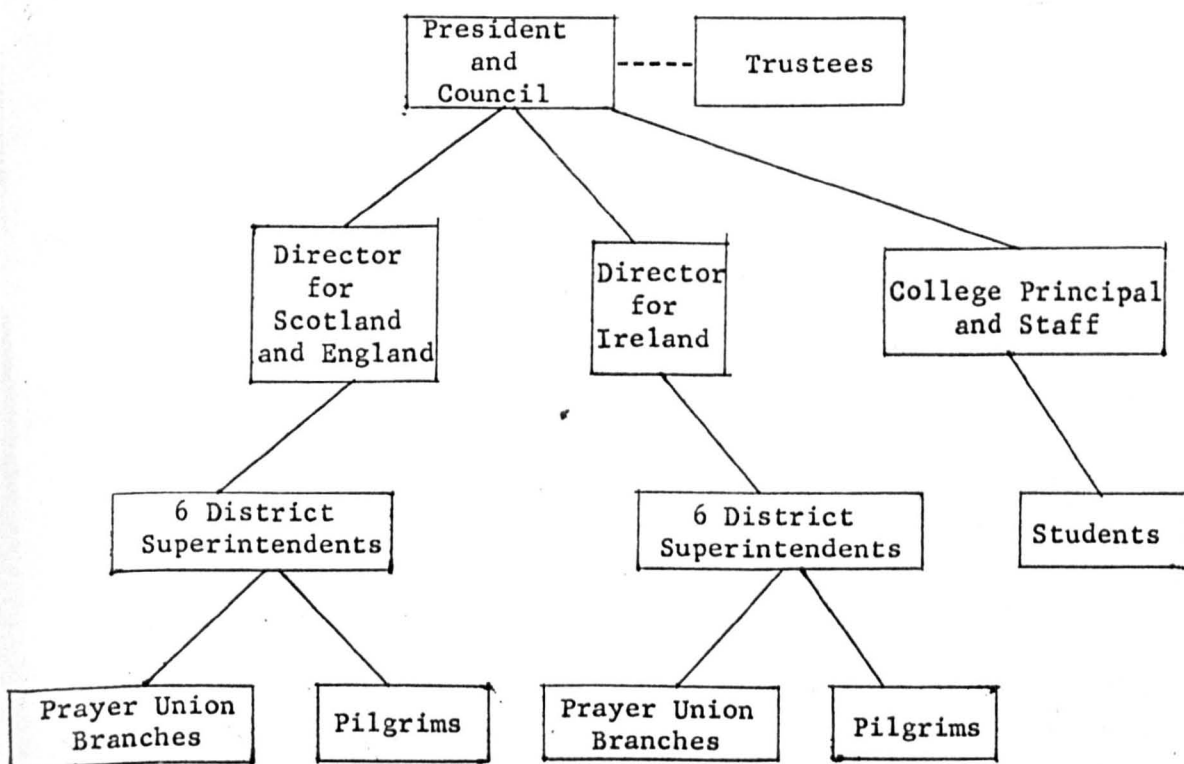
encourage students to exercise faith "that, if God is calling to missionary service, He will move people to provide the means for the necessary training",¹⁴ but the increasing number of institutionalized methods of financing students like the above is making this approach more and more unlikely.

Successful completion of the three years of the course enables students to apply to become pilgrims. The analysis of students reported in Appendix 10 revealed that 45% of all students since 1912 have served in the Faith Mission after completing the course. 23% entered foreign missions and 10% other evangelical organizations in Britain. 5% accepted pastorates or became ministers. 15% moved into "other forms of activity and this group includes a proportion of female students who were married immediately after completing their course.

The Training Home and Bible College, therefore, makes a significant contribution to the Faith Mission's evangelistic and interdenominational activities. As well as supplying its own movement with personnel it serves many other missionary and evangelical organizations by providing a satisfactory form of training for their personnel.

d) Organization and Finance. The accompanying diagram (Page 298) illustrates the structure of authority and responsibility within the Faith Mission. The four Trustees, all of whom are members of the Council, are the legal owners of the movement's property according to a Declaration of Trust which J.G. Govan signed a few years before

THE ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE FAITH MISSION



his death. In the event of a trustee having to be replaced the choice is made by the others. Although the normal duties of this body are confined to signing documents relative to the purchase and sale of property, they would make decisions on the question of its disposal if the Mission ever disbanded or ceased to exist as an organized body. However, according to the movement's small constitution the Trustees, at least as a distinct body, will not interfere in policy decisions unless there develops "serious disagreement among (the Mission's)...members or the Council."¹⁵

This latter body is the supreme source of executive authority in the Faith Mission. Its chairman is the President of the Mission, who at present is also Treasurer of the Mission and editor of "Bright Words", but these positions have been held by separate individuals during different periods of the movement's history. The President does not make an important policy decision without consulting the Council. The other members of the Council are:- the 4 Vice-Presidents, two of whom are children of the Mission's founder, another is retired Director and the fourth is an ex-Army Captain who is a keen follower of the Mission and a frequent speaker at conferences and conventions; the Training Home and Bible College Principal; the two Directors of the broad areas, Scotland and England on the one hand and Ireland on the other, into which the Mission is divided; all District Superintendents of more than one year's standing and several lay members. As in Emmanuel this "lay" contingent consists mainly of businessmen who are keenly interested in the

activities of the Mission and lend to it their experience and judgment on business affairs. There is no available evidence concerning the size of their financial contribution to the Faith Mission but, in view of the strong emphasis which it places on donations as an essential aspect of Christian service, it seems reasonable to assume that it is considerable. The other lay members include a retired Director of the Mission, a retired pilgrim, the two members of the Training Home staff, themselves former pilgrims, who are in charge of students of either sex, and a young university lecturer who is married to a former pilgrim. The entire Council meets only once each year, in Edinburgh in January, but Council meetings are also held at Bangor, Co. Down during the Easter Holiness Convention and in Edinburgh, at the time of the Annual Convention which is held in August or September. These two meetings are usually attended by all Council members, except that only one Superintendent attends from the region in which the meeting is not held i.e. from one of the Irish districts at the Edinburgh meeting: The reason given for this is that it is in the interest of economy in the use of funds. All three meetings normally last for two days and are devoted to:- a consideration of the general policy of the Mission; the sale, purchase and maintenance of its property; the allocation of finances, including any major change in the personal allowances which all full-time personnel receive; appointments e.g. of Superintendents, and the acceptance of students into the College. Three standing committees, composed of Council members who reside in Edinburgh, discuss and

decide on routine business between Council meetings. They are known as the Training Home Committee, the Candidates' Committee (which considers College applications and those of ex-students wishing to become pilgrims) and the Executive Committee, a general purposes body. The President or any two members of the Council have constitutional power to convene a Council meeting at any time. The Council appoints the President and, in the case of his illness or absence from the United Kingdom, may appoint an Interim President. When it cannot reach unanimity, on any matter, which it is constitutionally requested to do "under the Divine guidance", decisions must be made by a 75% majority of those members present.

The headquarters of the Faith Mission are in Edinburgh and they house the Bookroom, the President and the Director for Scotland and England. In Belfast there is a similar "Bookroom" and the office of the Director for Ireland. These two Directors combine that position with the duties of District Superintendent, but they are responsible for the collection and dissemination of information relating to their areas. They receive the pilgrim's weekly reports and return them to the appropriate District Superintendent. Each Director compiles the Mid-Monthly letter from the reports of Superintendents and circulates it among Prayer Union branches and the Mission's personnel. The Directors are also the organizers of the larger Edinburgh and Bangor Conventions which are the chief occasions of the Faith Mission's year.

There are 12 District Superintendents, including the two

Directors. The districts are:-

Scotland and England:-

South Scottish - with headquarters in	Edinburgh
West Scottish	- Glasgow
East Scottish	- Dunfermline
Highland	- Fort William
Yorkshire and the Midlands	- York
East Anglia	- Ipswich

Ireland:-

Central	- Belfast
North	- Ballymena
West	- Omagh
North-West	- Londonderry
Border	- Portadown
South	- Dublin

With the exceptions of the two who are also Directors, the Superintendents manage their districts from their homes, all of which are private houses owned by the Mission. Each Superintendent, as well as the President and the Training Home Principal, is provided with a car to enable him to travel readily to Prayer Union branches and Pilgrims' missions. Only one of them is unmarried and each of the present Superintendents has been a pilgrim for at least 12 years. They are still pilgrims, as also are their wives, each of whom has had some itinerant evangelistic experience in the Faith Mission and continues to assist her husband in his duties, frequently conducting meetings or participating in evangelism in some other way.

The duties of the District Superintendent revolve around his responsibility for all Faith Mission activity carried on in his district. He attends to district finances and submits a quarterly account to the movement's headquarters in Edinburgh where all its

financial accounts are recorded and audited annually. In consultation with their Director, Superintendents make decisions about the pairing and precise location of pilgrims within their districts. Decisions concerning which district a pilgrim will be working in are made by the Directors every six months and some attempt is made to provide pilgrims with as wide an experience as possible in various districts of the Mission. In co-operation with the pilgrims and in response to invitations, as well as according to the Mission's policy of trying to operate in relatively unevangelized areas, they decide where missions will be conducted. The Superintendents visit each mission at frequent intervals to give advice to pilgrims and to preach at the meetings. On these occasions decisions are made on such matters as how long the mission will last. On regular visits to Prayer Union branches in their district, Superintendents attempt to ensure that they are running smoothly. They also supply the branches with information about the Mission's activities and deliver addresses, typically on devotional topics. Their other major responsibility is the organization of Conferences within their district. It is they who hire premises, invite speakers, arrange for refreshments to be served between meetings and usually to lead each meeting. Three of Superintendents i.e. the two Directors and the one in charge of the North Irish district, which is the largest, have each an assistant.

As has already been noted, every pilgrim spends two years in the Training Home and Bible College, followed by one probationary

year in itinerant evangelism. He or she, if wishing to join the Mission at the end of that period and if considered acceptable for permanent work signs the following declaration:-

"I have carefully read and accept the printed Constitution of the Mission, and approve of the Aims and Principles and Teachings described in the Mission's official booklet, with further elucidation in the booklet entitled 'Pilgrim Life': I promise that, if at any time I find myself unable to endorse these booklets and render such loyalty as they require, I shall resign my membership of the Mission."

This statement embodies the legal obligations which the pilgrim owes to the Mission. As a reflection of Govan's effort to provide for a form of democratic self-government of the Mission by its members i.e. the Council, the Superintendent and the general body of pilgrims, the Constitution is alterable by "(1) the approval of the Council at a Meeting, of which seven days' notice shall have been given specifying the special business to be put forward; and (2).....approval by a three-fourths majority of those members of the Mission who have had not less than five days' membership.....".¹⁶ Although there have been isolated cases where pilgrims have been requested to resign e.g. for sexual misdemeanours, there has never been any necessity to invoke the law. The continuing relationship between pilgrims and the Mission, therefore, is not purely voluntary, since the Constitution empowers the Council to temporarily suspend and even to terminate the membership of a miscreant, as well as to request him or her to resign. The most typical form of action taken when a pilgrim's performance appears to be unsatisfactory is for the Director to

advise him that perhaps the Faith Mission's work is unsuitable for him, after which he either develops stronger motivation and improves his performance or resigns. Other evangelical and missionary societies frequently request information from the Mission concerning pilgrims who may be leaving its ranks and who may prefer other kinds of evangelistic work. Two months notice of resignation are required from a pilgrim.

Evidence on the length of service which pilgrims have spent in the Mission is given in Appendix 12. The figures reveal a remarkable consistency in the proportions who remain in the Mission for given periods, a consistency which does not vary much according to sex or year of entry. Thus an average of 64% of all pilgrims spend less than 5 years in the Mission and 24% stay for a period of 5-10 years. The proportion who remain in the Faith Mission for the rest of their lifetime is very small, but the Mission discourages applicants from doing college training if they do not intend to make evangelism their life work. However, the relatively small proportions who remain with the Mission for periods of more than ten years do not imply that pilgrims decide not to remain evangelists. Two major reasons account for this low figure. The first is that pilgrims withdraw after a short period of service because they had merely intended to use it as a means of acquiring experience which they could later use in other spheres, particularly foreign missionary and evangelism.¹⁷ Indeed a number of foreign missionary societies recommend experience in the Faith Mission to their candidates. The second primary reason

for early withdrawal are related to marriage. Over two-thirds of all pilgrims have been women and they usually marry men who are not in the Mission, frequently ministers, pastors and evangelists in other organizations. Many of the male pilgrims also tend to withdraw from the Faith Mission for reasons connected with marriage, in some cases to seek a wife by working in another movement and in others to live a more settled family life which the itinerant nature of pilgrims activities does not permit. Married male pilgrims have become District Superintendents but opportunities for obtaining a settled position within the Mission are clearly restricted. There are certainly several other reasons why pilgrims do not continue e.g. they may change their mind about being evangelists or may be thoroughly dissatisfied with the unsettled nature of Faith Mission activity. Although no systematic evidence is available on this question, discussion with senior members of the movement suggests that the two reasons mentioned above account for the vast majority of withdrawals.

When a member of the Mission is about to contract an engagement to marry he or she is expected to consult the appropriate District Superintendent. It is considered that none should feel free to enter into an engagement, still less into marriage, during the first few years as a pilgrim. Moreover, pilgrims are advised "not to place themselves in positions that would make proposals of marriage likely."¹⁸....."No engagement should ever be entered into, during a mission with anyone belonging to that part of the country."¹⁹ The

marriage of pilgrims is very often a crucial factor in determining the length of their stay. In cases where male pilgrims marry after a relatively long period of service e.g. 5 years, it is sometimes convenient for them to become District Superintendents. But most of the women who marry do so to someone outside of the Mission and are therefore obliged to resign. The recent large increase in the number of caravans used by the movement provides an opportunity for it to make use of married couples as evangelists, but the limited supply of male pilgrims makes this unusual.

That the booklet "Pilgrim Life" is supposed to be ready before every mission or at least once a quarter gives some indication of the Mission's intention concerning the seriousness with which the booklet should be taken. It describes the qualities which are expected of pilgrims. Foremost among them is "Faith"; this is said to imply a belief that God's promises, as stated in the Bible, will be fulfilled, although these "promises" are not specified. The broadest and commonest statement of them is that those "who, because they continually seek first His Kingdom and His righteousness know that 'all these things shall be added unto them' (Matthew 6.33.)".²⁰ This verbalization is typical of all Holiness and many fundamentalist groups. In their attempts to adhere to the letter of the Bible they often formulate their doctrinal statements in very imprecise terms, typically literal quotations which are capable of diverse interpretations. But the Faith Mission has used the phrase "Seek First the Kingdom" as its motto. It appears to mean that the ideal form

of behaviour is to become converted, to endeavour to develop a holy life and experience sanctification, and then to use the results of these experiences to evangelize others. Thus the other desired qualities of a pilgrim include:

"men and women who are willing to spend and be spent in his service, trusting Him to provide for and preserve their whole spirit, soul and body"....."whose daily life and conversation will confess to others that they are 'pilgrims and strangers' on earth; who have taken up the cross to follow Jesus, and who will not be ashamed of Him or His words."

The requirements continue:-

"We regard the fulness of the Holy Spirit as being a necessary endowment for such service. Only those who experience in hearts and lives His cleansing and sanctifying power and are set free from the fear of man and from formality, and have power to be God's witnesses and to declare His truth with holy boldness, are desired for this work."

Stressing the importance of aggressiveness in evangelism and of Bible study, prayer and personal evangelism with individuals, the booklet continues:-

"Waiting on God that we may renew our strength (we emphasize as very necessary in our daily life) that we may continually be anointed with fresh oil' and be kept fresh and alive and in touch with God for all His service, guided by Him in all details.A Holy life is expected of all our workers - as indeed, all Christians are called to this. It...can only be maintained by a close walk with God, through prayerfulness, constant study of His word, self-examination in the light of it and His presence, and the supply of the Spirit of Jesus Christ. It will be expected that all who offer for the work have counted the cost of thus taking up the cross daily to follow Christ, and have considered the trial of separation from relatives and friends."

From these statements it can be seen that the Mission has a highly

institutionalised conception of the pilgrim's role. This is even more apparent when it is noted that the vocabulary used in the above quotations must first be learnt by candidates; it is the typical language of fundamentalist evangelicalism, a kind of folk-lore which must be fully understood before full acceptance in the groups can be achieved.²¹

In the section of the pilgrims' handbook where it is stated that pilgrims cannot be smokers or consumers of alcoholic drinks stress is placed, in a section entitled "Glorify God in your Body", on the care which pilgrims should take of their health. "Strenuous", "primitive" and "trying" are adjectives used to describe the most arduous aspects of pilgrims' work. They are asked to secure healthy food and lodgings, to avoid over-eating and under-eating, to take regular meals, proper open-air exercise and plenty of fresh air, to keep their persons and apartments thoroughly clean. Early rising is encouraged. In the case of illness the District Superintendent should be informed by other pilgrims. The Mission undertakes responsibility for three months for those who become ill. No support is given to pilgrims who are forced into temporary absence "owing to home circumstances or the illness of friends." Apart from the breaks between missions the only resting periods given to pilgrims is a maximum period of one month, usually after the Edinburgh convention in September. Older personnel may take a longer vacation.

On the question of dress, although the handbook says that there is no regular uniform, a considerable uniformity of dress is

worn by the pilgrims. The men are invariably found preaching or visiting in the black Faith Mission blazer which carries the Mission's crest. The women wear the special black Faith Mission bonnet and a black, navy blue or grey costume. The final sentence on dress runs:- "We should seek to dress 'to the glory of God', and in our general appearance and deportment to declare plainly that we belong to another world, 'a better country' and confess that we are 'strangers and pilgrims on earth'.

The section headed "loyalty" emphasizes the need for pilgrims to be fully committed to the movement's principles and forbids them to say or repeat anything that would depreciate it in the minds of others. In cases where significant differences arise between two pilgrims when they are on a mission together, after trying to reconcile themselves by mutual prayer consideration and forbearance, they are encouraged to bring their differences before the District Superintendent. Moreover "All talking or writing about the real or supposed faults of any worker before the scriptural injunctions have been obeyed is contrary to the teachings of Christ and the Bible." A list of 12 injunctions issued by Wesley to his helpers is provided for pilgrims' guidance and includes such things as:- optimistic thinking about the conduct of others; openness about another person's faults; avoidance of levity and jocularity, the pursuit of seriousness, diligence and total commitment to evangelism; punctuality; methodical use of time; modulation of speech and lack

of affectation. Some of the above pronouncements are no longer strictly adhered to, particularly those on health and some of Wesley's "injunctions", but many of them reflect the difficulties which the Mission has faced from time to time in trying to exercise control over its personnel. Since many pilgrims enter the Faith Mission with only an elementary education and two years training in the College, it is not surprising that they require to be instructed on how to organize their lives to maximize the Mission's impact on potential converts and other religious groups. The "apprenticeship" which they undergo when, while in training and during their probationary year, they assist experienced pilgrims with missions, goes some way towards socializing those students who are unfamiliar with the Mission's methods into the requisite behaviour patterns.

Pilgrims are not salaried or employed but they receive each quarter a personal allowance from the funds of the Mission after all its other expenses have been paid. Information on the size of these allowances was unobtainable. In addition they draw from the funds their National Insurance contributions which they pay as self-employed persons. They are therefore not employees but self-employed members of the Mission. The amount of the allowances is the same for all members with minor exceptions. Thus as a recognition of status with the ranks of pilgrims, those who are in their first probationary year have £2 per quarter deducted from their personal allowance and those who have served for 6 years or more have a similar amount added to their allowance. Since 1945, when the Council agreed

that retirement at 65 for male pilgrims and 60 for females would become compulsory, a Retired Workers' Fund has been maintained. It is made up of donations which are specifically designated for it but is augmented from time to time by sums of money which the Council transfers to it from the general funds. Much of it is invested and the annual interest received from these investments has risen from just over £1,200 in 1962-3 to a little less than £1,500 in 1964-5, an indication that the sum invested is considerable. Retired pilgrims receive two thirds of the quarterly personal allowance and also their state Old Age Pension payments.

The Faith Mission is financed by voluntary donations. The total annual turnover of the Mission is over £60,000 excluding capital investments. Pilgrims try to use the offerings which are donated during missions in order to cover the expenses incurred. But it is very rarely that those offerings and donations are sufficient to meet the expenses. The District Superintendent therefore makes up the deficit with money from the District Fund which is made up of donations and subscriptions from Prayer Union branches and from individuals. This Fund is also used to pay all the expenses of the District, including the maintenance of the Superintendent's house, family and car, travelling expenses and the cost of holding conferences and conventions. If necessary the District Fund is augmented from the General Fund of the Mission, for many donations and legacies which are generally given to "The Faith Mission" are held in the General Fund, from which other funds, the Caravan Fund,

the Portable Hall Fund and the Foreign Fund (from which gifts are made to foreign missionary societies) are also supplied. The Mission publishes four separate audited accounts each year in "Bright Words", those of 1. the Scottish and English General and Foreign Funds, 2. the Retired Workers Fund Revenue Account, 3. the Irish General and Foreign Funds and 4. that of the Faith Mission Training Home and Bible College. It is clear that the financial position of the movement is healthy. Methods of raising money, including tithing, have become firmly institutionalized throughout the Mission and the increase in average income per head throughout Britain since World War II has clearly contributed to this favourable financial position.

e) Social Composition. The number of adults involved in the Faith Mission is probably about 10,000. Sales of "Bright Words" each month number 17,000 but many of these go to people outside of the movement altogether. Since the Mission does not record Prayer Union membership figures, a 20% random sample survey was conducted in 1964 in each district of the Mission, the results of which appear in Appendix 13. Each District Superintendent was asked to draw up an alphabetical list of all branches in his district and to provide information on the sex and age of members, its present size and its size 5 years previously i.e. 1959, for every fifth branch on the list, the first to be chosen randomly from the first five. With the exception of two districts, the sampling appears to be adequate, at least - when compared to the total numbers of branches in each district.

The survey indicates that at the close of 1964 there were

over 500 branches of the Faith Mission Prayer Union, with an overall average size of 18 members. The size of each branch ranged from 6 to 33 in Scotland and England and from 3 to 53 in Ireland. Over 300 of the branches are in Ireland and only one district in Scotland and England i.e. East Anglia, has more branches than some of the Irish districts. Yet the average size of branches in the sample was 19 in the case of the Irish region and 17 for the Scottish and English region. A crude estimate of the number of Prayer Union members, obtained by multiplying the average size of branches in each of the two regions by the number of branches in those regions, is just over 8,000. The above generous estimate of 10,000 for the total numbers involved in the Mission includes Prayer Union members and those peripheral, yet interested, believers who do not belong to a particular Prayer Union, but who, for example, read "Bright Words" regularly, attend the Mission's Convention and make donations.

Regarding trends in the size of the Prayer Union membership no substantial evidence is available. There was a decline between 1959 and 1964 in the number of branches in each of the 4 Scottish districts, but the Scottish branches included in the sample survey show no clear evidence of a reduction in the size of the membership. In England there was a substantial increase in the number of branches in both districts and an apparently clear indication from the branches which appeared in the sample that membership in the English districts is increasing. For the Irish districts the comparable numbers of branches for 1959 were not available but there is a suggestion from

the Irish branches included in the sample that membership may be increasing. This suggestion has been confirmed by leading personnel in the movement.

The sex ratio of the Prayer Union membership resembles those found in similar evangelical organizations, women outnumbering men in every district. But there appear to be significant differences between districts. Thus the English and Scottish districts taken together have an overall female/male sex ratio of 2.1, which is the same as that found in Emmanuel in 1961. But the ratio in the Irish districts, and indeed in the Highland district of Scotland, though still greater than unity, is nevertheless considerably smaller than that generally found in Scotland and England. One possible explanation of these differences is that religion retains a relatively high level of popularity in Ireland and the more remote areas of Northern Scotland, which makes it more probable that a greater number of males will be religiously active in these areas than in the more urban and culturally advanced parts of Britain. With regard to the latter areas i.e. in British society generally, considerable evidence exists indicating a decline in membership of religious organizations and church attendance in the last hundred years or so.²²

The age of Prayer Union members appears to lend support to the frequently posited relationship between age and religion in modern society.²³ A crude distinction between those over 35 and those under 35 was used and the results, at least for the Scottish and English districts where the overall ratio was 2.7, resembled those found in Emmanuel. But once again Ireland proved to be something of

an exception, having generally a lower over 35/under 35 ratio than those found in other districts, although Yorkshire and the Midlands proved to be an exception. Again, the generally greater respect, regardless of age and sex, shown for religion in Ireland than in the rest of Britain seems to offer at least a partial explanation of these differences.

It was not possible to gather evidence on the socio-economic status of Prayer Union members but visits to meetings and discussions with senior members of the Mission who have been familiar with its followers for many years suggest that they are largely recruited from the working classes. Although there are examples of professional people belonging to Prayer Union branches and it is probable that every point of the social status continuum is represented among them, the vast majority are, as one informant put it, "ordinary folk". They do not, however, appear to come from the poorest sections of the community. Moreover, the rural concentration of the Faith Mission's evangelism makes it impossible to recruit many members from white collar occupations which predominate in urban centres.

Evidence was also, and more regrettably, not forthcoming on the denominations to which Prayer Union members belong, although one or two District Superintendents offered observations of a general nature regarding their own districts. In the case of the Yorkshire and Midlands district Appendix 14 contains the information which the Superintendent provided. Methodists appear to predominate,

although these data must be interpreted with care since the numbers of members in each branch is not given. Anglicans, Baptists and the Free Churches seem to comprise the next greatest proportions, with English Presbyterians, Brethren and Pentecostals each making minor contributions. In the East Anglia district, by comparison, the Methodist churches no longer co-operate readily with the Faith Mission and only a very small proportion of Prayer Union members, according to the District Superintendent, are Methodists. Baptists, Anglicans and Congregationalists, along with independent evangelical and the Free Churches, form the majority of them. On the other hand in the South Irish district Methodists comprise over 75% of total membership, Irish Presbyterians, Baptists and Brethren virtually accounting for the remainder. In the Scottish and Northern Irish districts only the most general statements can be made. The more extreme Calvinistic bodies, such as the Free Church of Scotland, severely oppose the Faith Mission's position and although some members do claim attachment to that denomination, their numbers are very small. The Church of Scotland and the other Presbyterian bodies, the Methodist, Baptist and Congregational churches and the Brethren together provide a very large proportion of the Prayer Union membership in Scotland. In Northern Ireland the Irish Presbyterian Church, the Baptists and Methodist churches, the Pentecostals and the Church of Ireland all appear to contribute. It is most unfortunate that evidence on the proportionate representation of these denominations among Prayer Union members is not

available nor the extent to which any of them do not belong to another religious organization.

Substantial evidence relating to the social composition of the Faith Mission was obtained from the records of the Training Home. Although the information recorded concerning students has varied in kind and degree during the Mission's history, much of what is available about every student who entered the Training Home between 1912 and 1960 was used in research for this thesis. I myself did not have access to the actual data, but, knowing what kind of information was available, I instructed the secretarial assistant at the Training Home, to code the information in a manner that I expected to be meaningful and illuminating. Thus, for example, I did not know the precise native of the data on geographical origins, but I thought that the categories which were used would prove to be as convenient as any; the same applied as far as the age-groups were concerned. The results are provided in Appendix 15.

As might be expected, bearing in mind the high proportion of females contained in the Prayer Union membership, women more than outnumber men among students. But the overall average of 28% of students who were males is 10% less than the proportionate representation of their sex in the Prayer Union. Although no data are available for Emmanuel students the sex ratio found among them is probably similar to that found in the Faith Mission's students.

The average age of students on entry into the Faith Mission

College, somewhere between 20 and 25, resembles that found in the sample survey of Emmanuel students' applications. Even the difference between the sexes i.e. that in each case there appear to be more female applicants who were over 25 years of age, is found in both movements.

Data on the time between conversion and point of entry into the Training Home indicate that 69% were converted no more than ten years before entering. Since only 5% were over thirty at the time of entry and only 16% were under 20 the vast majority of them appear to have been converted during adolescence, probably between 15 and 20; the data prevent us from being more precise. The figure of 45% for males who had the conversion experience in the five years preceding the time of entry, compared with the figure of 29% in the case of females prompts one to speculate that there is a greater readiness on the part of male converts to make a decision to embark on full-time evangelism at an early date after their conversion experience, but since we cannot compare these data with those for young believers who do not enter into training, it is not possible to test this speculation systematically.

In view of the rural concentration of the Faith Mission's evangelism it is at first glance surprising to find a greater proportion of students (53%) who at the time of their application to enter the Training Home were living in towns and cities, rather than villages. But since no definition of "town" was employed, it is certain that the conception of a "town" held by the secretarial

assistant who coded the data heavily influenced the picture e.g. if she originated from a village she may have been more likely to categorize large rural communities as "towns". It is also possible that students who were living in urban communities when they applied to enter the college were recent migrants from rural areas where they had been converted at the Faith Mission's meetings. On the other hand, the relatively high proportion (30%) of students from England and Wales suggests that many students may attend the Training Home who have not been converted in the Faith Mission's own meetings, since the number of missions held in England and Wales has always been small. Moreover this relatively high proportion is heavily inflated by the large numbers entering the College from England and Wales between 1912 and 1932, a period when there were even fewer missions held in those areas than in more recent times. However, there is a possibility that applicants from England and Wales migrated there from areas where the Faith Mission had operated. The 66% of all students who were living in Scotland and Ireland at the time of their applications suggests that on the whole the Faith Mission successfully recruits its personnel during its own evangelistic "missions".

The information on denominational origins indicates that the Faith Mission admits students from virtually the entire range of British evangelicalism. Although the designation of "Presbyterian" - which was the term used by the student applicants themselves - is imprecise, this category together with the Baptists, the

the Methodists, the Independent churches, the Church of England and the Church of Ireland, accounts for 75% of all students. A further 17% were from the United Free Church, the Church of Scotland, the Holiness churches, the Congregational churches and the Brethren.

The occupations of the students, which were only recorded after 1925, were classified according to the method used by the Registrar-General, except that "Farmers" and "Clerical Workers" were allotted to separate categories, as also were those who helped in the home. 65% of all students were in the Registrar-General's Classes 2 and 3. These were predominantly schoolteachers, nurses and clerical workers in the case of females and farmers and skilled manual workers in the case of males. None of the professions was represented and there were comparatively few unskilled manual workers. The large contingent of farmers was largely from Northern Ireland and many of them were probably either smallholders or the younger sons of farmers.

Clearer evidence about social origins is provided by data on fathers' occupation. A remarkably high proportion of fathers were either farmers or skilled manual workers, the presence of the former seeming to provide support for part of the last statement in the previous paragraph. Among male students the proportion of fathers in the unskilled manual category closely resembles the representation of this category within the population as a whole. Their sons, as well as those whose fathers were in the skilled and semi-skilled manual i.e. 32% of all male students, were upwardly

mobile (presumably into Class 2) as Bible College students. It appears that educational establishments of this kind provide opportunities for upward social mobility to young men with a lower level of education who do not normally have the opportunity in secular society.

The data on the educational experience of students appear to lend support to this statement since 43% of male students since 1934 have only received an Elementary School education, although many of the schools they attended might have been "all-age" schools, which retain pupils throughout the whole of their school career. But an additional 28% had received a secondary education and had not specified what kind. A fair proportion of these probably did not attend Grammar school or its equivalent. Thus a majority of all male students appear to have received a low level of education. Taken as a whole the educational experience of students seems to have been a limited one.

On the whole, therefore, the social composition of the Faith Mission is female, middle-aged or over, working-class and poorly educated. Female pilgrims seem to be recruited from higher social strata than males i.e. from lower professional groups which prompts the speculation that belonging to the personnel of religious movements of this kind provides compensation for frustrated attempts on the part of young women to secure personal fulfilment in minor professions. From the point of view of the range and number of denominations represented the Mission's claim to be interdenominational seems to be substantiated.

REFERENCES

1. Quoted from the booklet, "The Faith Mission: Its Aims, Principles and Methods", p.2.
2. Pilgrim Life: the Pilgrim's Companion to "Aims and Principles", p.9.
3. ibid.
4. The belief that children are more responsive than adults does not seem to be borne out by the movement's statistics. Since World War II there have been consistently fewer child conversions each year than adult ones and in the years since 1957 this discrepancy has tended to increase.
5. Pilgrim Life: the Pilgrim's Companion to "Aims and Principles", pp.10-11.
6. ibid. p.11
7. ibid. p.10
8. "Restoration" is the term used to describe the experience of being "restored" to a "saved" condition after having lapsed from a previous conversion experience. An alternative term is "the conversion of backsliders".
9. The Aim and Character of the Faith Mission Prayer Union, pp.5-6.
10. Quoted from the membership card of the Faith Mission Prayer Union.
11. "Workers Together With God", Prospectus of the Faith Mission Training Home and Bible College, p.6.
12. ibid. p.2.
13. ibid. p.4.
14. ibid. p.8.
15. Explanatory Statement as to the Origin and Control of The Faith Mission and Constitution, p.4.
16. Constitution, pp.7-8.
17. See Table D in Appendix 15.
18. Pilgrim Life, p.21.

19. *ibid.* p.22.
20. This and the subsequent quotations in this section are taken from *ibid.* pp.5.ff.
21. See Appendix 11 for a selection of expressions used by groups of this kind.
22. M. Argyle, Religious Behaviour, Ch.3.
23. *ibid.* Ch.6.

CHAPTER NINE

THE FAITH MISSION ANALYSED.

Primarily to give an orderly presentation of a number of diverse sociological observations, the same method of analysis is used here in relation to the Faith Mission as was employed in Chapter Six on Emmanuel. This analysis therefore considers:- 1. Pattern Maintenance, 2. Institutional Tension, 3. Goal Attainment and 4. Integration. Adaptation is again omitted from the original framework provided by Parsons and his associates, because, as in the case of Emmanuel, the historical chapter, in this case Chapter Seven, discusses how the Faith Mission has adapted itself to its social and religious context. But several observations are made in the section on institutional tension which perhaps could be more appropriately viewed as problems of adaptation. However, since adaptation can to a large extent be viewed in terms of responses to external tensions, it was thought preferable to retain the framework used for the analysis of Emmanuel, rather than to include a further section on adaptation.

Largely because it is an interdenominational mission agency and because its adherents do not attach themselves exclusively to it but retain their allegiance to other movements, the Faith

Mission does not constitute a clearly circumscribed organization to the same extent as Emmanuel. The Faith Mission is in some respects a highly organized movement but the degree of voluntariness in the status of its members makes them less amenable to integration by means of centralized commitment or control. It does not pretend to be the "all-embracing, divinely prescribed society"¹ of the typical sect. However, the maintenance of the Mission, which does possess a collective identity, can be better understood by a consideration of the relations among its interdependent parts.

1. Pattern Maintenance.

a) Recruitment. In order to survive the Faith Mission must recruit people to the Prayer Union, to the full-time personnel and to the Council. Prayer Union members are typically recruited by means of the direct evangelism of pilgrims' missions. The Prayer Union was formed because of the perceived need of the Mission's early converts for continued fellowship, spiritual experience and guidance. It has not been possible to discover the proportion of members who were not converts of missions, but it is probably considerable. Many of the Faith Mission's followers were converted in meetings held by other organizations and there are two primary reasons why they attach themselves to the Mission. On the one hand there are those who believe that their own denomination or church assembly does not give adequate provision for their continued spiritual growth or for further religious experience especially sanctification. For this group participation in the Faith Mission

supplements their denominational activity and is considered to augment the quality of their religious life. On the other hand are those whose denomination, whether it is the one in which they were converted or one which they attended after conversion, completely fails to meet their requirements and they find the activity and approach of the Faith Mission more satisfying. These are members of the Prayer Union who do not belong to other movements and are more likely to be found, in Dunfermline, Fort William, Ballymena and other parts of Northern Ireland where the Mission has gospel halls and holds regular weekly meetings which resemble the gospel services of fundamentalist evangelical denominations. In this case the Mission replaces the denomination as the focal point of the believer's activity. The second of these groups is probably small since the Faith Mission positively encourages its Prayer Union members to belong to denominations.

In addition, there are one or two Prayer Union branches which were previously independent prayer groups comprising believers of different denominations and who, after making contact with the Faith Mission e.g. as a result of a local visit by pilgrims, decided to attach themselves to the Faith Mission Prayer Union because it provides them with concrete matters to pray for i.e. its missions, college, conferences and conventions. Previously these groups had been praying for "revival" or "an outpouring of the Holy Spirit", more abstract matters which, unless objectified e.g. in the form of evangelistic activities which members could themselves participate in, talk about and observe the results, were unlikely to sustain their enthusiasm for very long.

Finally there are Prayer Union branches which are revivals of groups which were founded years ago e.g. during the campaigns of the 1920's and 1930's, which had lapsed into inactivity but which have been revitalized e.g. by a visit by pilgrims to the locality.

The Faith Mission has profited a great deal from re-evangelizing areas which had been evangelized in earlier periods. Wilson has noted that the Elin movement was highly successful, particularly in Northern Ireland and Essex, in areas which had experienced revival during an earlier period. This observation can be made about the Faith Mission's successes in Northern Ireland, East Anglia and the Outer Hebrides, although in the latter case successes like the Lewis Revival brought no considerable increase in Prayer Union membership.

Particularly in the last twenty years, the Mission has enjoyed greater support from local evangelical denominations for its evangelistic activity. As it has become more widely known, these more orthodox churches realize that, rather than presenting a threat to their own continued existence, it can actually help them, both by supplementing their activity and thus increasing the commitment of their adherents, and also by recruiting members for them through its campaigns. Since it carefully avoids holding meetings at times which clash with the services of local churches and actually encourages converts to join a local denomination, it is seen as an ally in the churches' battle to attract the British people into their fold.

Membership in the Faith Mission is renewed annually at branch re-joining meetings. Thus in order to continue as a member each adherent

must make a deliberate decision each year, a decision which is reinforced in its deliberateness by the special meeting, at which members are reminded of their obligations and commitments and of the aim and character of the Prayer Union. In this way a higher level of seriousness and commitment is maintained, albeit in a routinized form, than might otherwise prevail if membership continued indefinitely and members were not reminded on a special ceremonial occasion, of their obligations as Prayer Union members.

It is not known what proportion of pilgrims are recruited from among members of the Prayer Union branches. Certainly it is considerable, but the Mission's capacity to attract students into the Training Home also depends on the extent to which it is known among British fundamentalist and evangelical movements. Here the Mission's interdenominational outlook and composition is a great advantage, as also is the wide geographical spread of its activities. The Faith Mission, like Emmanuel, the other Holiness groups, and, in varying degrees, other evangelical organizations, is part of a nation-wide system of fellowship and communication. Missionary societies and bible colleges are widely known throughout this system. The Mission's reputation for providing a useful training ground in its itinerant evangelism for foreign missionary candidates enhances the appeal of the Training Home and attracts pilgrims, who may, if they intend to become foreign missionaries, only remain pilgrims for a short period of one or two years, but who are vitally necessary for the Mission to be able to continue its activities.

A further factor in the recruitment of pilgrims is that, as

a result of the 200 or more missions which are held each year, the work of the pilgrims becomes known to young evangelicals who attend their meetings and may provide a concrete means of identification for potential students who might otherwise conceive their aspirations in vaguer terms, such as to become a missionary, or an evangelist.

Since all Council members are either full-time or retired personnel or members of the Faith Mission Prayer Union, the Faith Mission does not co-opt outsiders into positions of influence over policy decisions. But the "lay" element on the Council i.e. those who are neither full-time nor retired personnel, comprises individuals of some social standing. They include businessmen, a farmer, and, recently, a university lecturer. From the financial viewpoint i.e. the business expertise which these "lay" members contribute to the Mission as well as their donations to its funds, they are a very valuable asset and a safeguard for the future of the Mission. But just as useful, it seems, are their contacts with members of other religious organizations and the image of the Faith Mission which they project. The co-operation of other organizations, especially the orthodox denominations, in evangelistic activities depends a great deal on the extent to which the Faith Mission is seen to be a respectable organization. Part of the obligations of these "lay" Council members is to ensure that this is how the Mission is seen.

Recruitment of rank and file members to the Faith Mission therefore is primarily, but by no means completely, the result of the movement's direct evangelism. In the higher ranks of the Mission i.e.

the full-time personnel and the Council, other factors operate which are, in the case of pilgrims, more related to the interdenominational context in which the Mission operates and in the case of the Council, to the requirements of status and respectability, than the direct result of its evangelistic recruiting operations.

b) Socialization. The process by which members are socialized into the way of life of the Faith Mission differs little from that found in Emmanuel. Thus the Mission holds regular Prayer Union branch meetings during which members come to learn about the movement's activities and by also attending pilgrims' gospel services which are being held in their locality, members are in a position to acquaint themselves with the Mission's evangelistic activity at first-hand. When pilgrims are operating a mission they often visit the local Prayer Union branch meetings and make friendly contacts with members. Moreover the conferences which are held in each district on a regular basis enable the Prayer Union members to learn about the deeper religious experiences, particularly sanctification, which the Mission urges them to pursue. The conferences and the visits which the District Superintendents regularly make to branch meetings are all occasions when members develop a closer acquaintance with the aims of the Mission, the methods it employs and its personnel. The same applies, but to a greater extent, to the Mission's convention meetings. On these occasions members hear the leading personnel of the Mission preaching and praying during meetings and are more easily able to identify with the aims and activities of the mission.

These regular gatherings, however, are the occasions when fellowship is generated among the Mission's followers. At conferences and conventions they meet old friends, who may have moved to other districts of the Mission or to other branches. They also meet pilgrims who have conducted missions in their locality and who have since moved to different sections of the Mission. Comments such as "we've been praying for you" or "the Lord has blessed us recently" enable these believers to share their experiences with each other and to mutually reinforce their faith and confidence in the support which they believe God is giving to the Mission.

The method which the Mission employs of moving its personnel around from district to district, which, so far as the District Superintendents are concerned, although they do not move either frequently or regularly, resembles the Methodist Circuit system of deploying its ministers, is also a very effective means of enabling members of the movement to get to know a reasonable proportion of its personnel. The rank and file Prayer Union members are not therefore isolated and they do not hear only their representative and District Superintendent talk about Mission affairs, for at the very least they encounter numbers of pilgrims throughout the year.

The Faith Mission appears to be less of a *gemeinschaft* type of association than Emmanuel, not only because of its interdenominational characteristics but also because of its large size and wide geographical spread. While the college and headquarters in Edinburgh are the focal point of the movement, they do not have the same unifying effect as the

Birkenhead centre of Emmanuel does, since those members of the Faith Mission in Ireland and England are far removed from the movement's headquarters. But many of the language forms employed in Emmanuel are also used in the Faith Mission and the verbal symbol system is something that every member must be more or less socialized into, as a result of attending prayer meetings, gospel meetings and conferences, as well as informal contacts with other members.

Testimonies are widely used in meetings throughout the Mission and they are a very useful means whereby new recruits can be familiarized with the forms of religious experience, attitudes and beliefs in the movement. Included in testimonies to varying extents are such things as accounts of "answered prayer", finding out and doing "God's will" and "being endued with power" all of which, as in Emmanuel, are part of the movement's belief system. Testimonies of sanctification are also means of informing those who do not claim the Holiness experience of the advanced forms of spiritual experience to which they can aspire.

By means of "Bright Words" and revivalist and Holiness literature the Mission to some extent educates its followers and influences their thinking to some extent along desired channels. The effects of this literature are impossible to estimate but "Bright Words" is probably read at least superficially by a large number of members.

As well as the formal activities of the Mission, its members develop friendships and informal associations among themselves, which supplement the structured methods which the Mission uses to socialize its membership into its belief and action systems.

c) Participation. As far as possible the Faith Mission encourages its members to become committed to the attainment of its goals and offers them a number of ways in which they can participate in an enterprise shared by its entire following. Thus members are made to feel obliged to donate money although they are not always directly urged to feel thus by the movement's personnel. Rather it is the "faith" element in the Mission's title and belief system which implies that adherents will give generously. The stated objects of the Prayer Union i.e. to pray for the activities of the Faith Mission, assumes that members are motivated to support the movement by attending its prayer meetings. They also, although they are not formally required to do so, attend pilgrim's meetings and frequently help with arrangements for missions. Some of them allow pilgrims, while on a local mission, to lodge in their homes. They also contribute by testifying at conferences, pilgrims' meetings and in outdoor meetings e.g. beach meetings during summer holiday campaigns. In all these ways members are given opportunities to become, or at least to feel, actively involved in the Mission's affairs.

Young people who decide to enter the Training Home and become pilgrims take advantage of the most obvious avenue for full participation in the Mission's enterprises. But if the young person is from a branch of the Prayer Union the other members of the branch derive enormous satisfaction from supporting him or her by donations towards college fees or merely by praying for his or her continued well-being and successful activities. In these cases the level of interest among the

branch members is heightened, more personal and thus more gratifying for them. The valedictory services which are held in Northern Ireland reinforce the effects of this sort of situation on the rank and file of the Mission.

2. Institutional Tension.

For several reasons the Faith Mission does not encounter the same institutional tensions as other small religious movements, particularly those of a sectarian or revivalist type. First among these is that the Mission, which is here taken to include Prayer Union members as well as those, the pilgrims and the Council, who are constitutionally the members of the Faith Mission, makes no claim to be democratic and does not try to maintain a priesthood of all believers. The greatest concession to democracy is the 75% majority vote, by pilgrims of more than 5 years' standing, which is required in order to alter the constitution. Thus the movement is directed from headquarters. Even the local Prayer Union representative is appointed by the Mission. Given this oligarchical framework of decision-making and authority which is rational in the sense that roles and positions are carefully prescribed so that each person - President, Director, District Superintendent, Pilgrim, Prayer Union Representative - knows more or less exactly what he can and cannot do, the possibility of strain deriving from problems of the legitimacy of authority, is not so strong. This is not to say that individual persons have ^{not} on occasions tried to exercise an authority which they did not possess.

Secondly the Mission claims to be interdenominational and

possesses only minimal doctrinal principles:- Arminianism, evangelicalism and Holiness. Thus the possibility of controversy arising over doctrinal issues is never great, especially because the movement aims to be hospitable to all denominational positions and thus deliberately avoids doctrinal issues. It has been accused of performing baptismal services but has strictly denied these accusations.

All this is not to say, however, that it does not develop tension management problems. The external/internal distinction seems again to offer quite a useful approach to them.

a) External. The Faith Mission maintains its interdenominational position by admitting members from denominations and by encouraging converts of its missions to affiliate with denominations. It is therefore always possible that other movements, simply because the Mission's adherents also belong to them, will in some way exert an influence upon the Mission. In Chapter 3 a distinction was made on the question of Holiness between the radical section of the Faith Mission which is to be found mainly in Northern Ireland and the moderate group which has an English and Scottish background. Those leading members of the Faith Mission who stressed the ways in which it differs from "Holiness denominations" i.e. mainly in terms of the terminology it employs to describe sanctification, were mainly adherents of the Church of England which on the whole tends to look askance at emotionalism and extremism as contained in radical Holiness teachings like "getting rid of the old man" or the "eradication of sin". J. G. Govan himself warned pilgrims against using radical phraseology of this kind which, he said, are unscriptural and are "o

and are "open to exaggeration and misrepresentation, and often cause unnecessary misunderstanding and prejudice".² I do not wish to suggest that the Mission's basic tenets on Holiness differ from those of other groups, but the emphasis which some of its leaders place e.g. according to one District Superintendent, on "a balanced, workable experience" reflects the Mission's deliberate concern that it must not antagonize adherents and that it should be as moderate as its basic principles allow. Thus in its efforts to accommodate members from orthodox denominations it is always prone to weaken its position on Holiness.

Another external source of tension, very similar to the above, is the use which the Mission makes of university-educated lecturers in the Training Home. These lecturers belong to the same denominations as the moderate Holiness wing of the Mission and are therefore always likely to de-emphasize radicalism and emotionalism and to stress learning and respectability. It is clear that these lecturers have made considerable contributions towards the Mission's attainment of a respectable status in the eyes of orthodox Protestantism.

Like Emmanuel the Faith Mission has, since World War II, placed emphasis on the spiritual welfare of the young. There is a course at the Training Home in "Child Evangelism" and the Faith Mission's Young People's Fellowship was recently formed. The Mission has always held children's meetings, as the statistics in Appendix 9 indicate. The question arises as to why it is only recently that the movement developed specialized methods of dealing with young people. One obvious answer is that the trends in modern organization towards greater special-

ization of functions have taken some time to become effective in religious organizations. In Chapter 6 it was suggested that the growth of Young People's activities in Emmanuel was a response to the difficulty which that movement was encountering in its efforts to make converts amongst the young, particularly because of the extension of secular and scientific education which appears to have operated against the aims of fundamentalist evangelicalism. These remarks also seem applicable to the way in which the Faith Mission has handled these problems presented by secular society, although the explanation in terms of increasing institutional specialization is highly relevant.

The increasing prosperity of post-war British society is another external influence upon the Mission. One of its consequences has been to increase the financial donations which members make. Expenditure on cars for District Superintendents and on portable halls and caravans for the use of pilgrims has increased considerably during the past ten years. The effect of these developments has been to give the movement on the one hand a feeling of well-being and on the other an image of financial respectability, neither of which, it seems, have been characteristics of highly successful evangelistic organizations. The Mission's wealthier status has thus probably made some contribution to declining numbers of conversions since World War II.

Another continuing trend in modern British society has been the migration from country to town, which has tended to reduce the total numbers of possible converts in the pilgrims' rural missions. Since those who migrate urbanwards also tend to be in the 15-25 age groups

another source of converts is gradually being exhausted.

Finally, the high increase in life expectations throughout the twentieth century has presented retirement problems for pilgrims. At a Council meeting in 1945 it was decided that 65 should become the fixed retiring age and that retired pilgrims would receive 2/3 of the usual allowance in addition to their State Old Age Pension benefits. But retirement allowances have been paid from a "Retired Workers" Fund" which is supplied by specified donations as well as from the surplus which the Mission has each year after meeting expenses from its general funds. Considerable sums of money have been invested from the Retired Workers' Fund and these developments will inevitably have repercussions on the future nature of the Mission. Pilgrims will be less and less economically insecure, will be able to look forward to a satisfactory retirement income. The "faith" element in their conception of their "calling" has been considerably eroded and they will probably tend to see their role as occupational, rather than divinely or spiritually ordained. The Mission's adaptation in an effort to take care of the well-being of its members seems likely to produce unintended consequences.

In contrast to Emmanuel, and perhaps unexpectedly in view of its larger numbers of university-educated personnel and visiting lecturers the Faith Mission has been reluctant to make pronouncements on current social and political affairs in its publications. The one exception in recent years has been an obituary to Sir Winston Churchill whose life was said to set "an example from which a valuable spiritual lesson can be learned. As he was so utterly devoted to his country and

its interests, so the Kingdom of God and the interests of our Lord and Saviour should have the supreme devotion of our hearts."³ This seems to reflect a hospitality to the traditional political institutions of British society which has always been present in both Emmanuel and the Faith Mission. But the series "Frankly Speaking" which Emmanuel has produced in its magazine has no counterpart in the Faith Mission and "Bright Words" continues to restrict itself to devotional articles on the Christian life, testimonies and reports of meetings, conferences and other activities.

External sources of institutional tension in the Faith Mission have therefore resulted in considerable adaptation on its part to the requirements of orthodox denominations and it has also found itself influenced by pressures imposed by developments in secular society. The overall consequences have been to make the Mission a more respectable organization, in line with the conventional Protestant evangelical churches, but maintaining its revivalistic activity, albeit in a thoroughly routinized form.

b) Internal. For the reasons outlined at the outset of this section on Institutional Tensions, the Faith Mission has removed the possibility of internal strains arising out of organizational and doctrinal controversy. But the dilemma of all Holiness movements i.e. the implications of pursuing the two goals of evangelism and personal piety, is continually present. By restricting Holiness teaching and preaching to special occasions like Christians' meetings (during missions), conferences and especially conventions, and by using the mission as its

major institutionalized form of evangelism the movement has to some extent resolved the dilemma by routinizing both of these aims in separate formalized activities. But even this solution has resulted on the whole in less financial resources being used to arrange conferences and conventions and less emphasis being given to Holiness so that the Mission sees itself as primarily an evangelistic agency and only secondarily as a Holiness movement. To this extent one of the goals has been sacrificed so that the other can be better attained.

In its early days the Mission laid greater emphasis on supporting foreign missions. But, as was shown in Chapter Seven, the amount of money that supporters of the Faith Mission were contributing to foreign missionary activity by other movements, became so great that the Mission's own financial situation was in serious jeopardy. Deliberate measures had to be taken to redress the balance by channeling donations to support the Mission's evangelistic enterprises. This way of handling internal tension ensured the continuation of the Faith Mission's major activity i.e. rural evangelism, and prevented its resources from being used for the pursuit of more peripheral goals. Unlike Emmanuel, where activities have always been diversified, the Faith Mission has been more deliberate in adhering to its centrally important aims and purposes, especially evangelism, even though contributing to foreign missions continues to be among the Mission's activities.

The growth of the publications department of the Mission was the result of Govan's dissatisfaction with the levels of spirituality which his converts were attaining. They appeared to him to need some

edification in the business of leading a satisfactory Christian life. Here is one of the perennial problems of revivalistic activity - how to ensure that the spiritual after-care of converts will be satisfactory and how to prevent them from "backsliding" i.e. lapsing from their conversion experience. In choosing to embark upon publishing in an effort to deepen the spiritual life of converts, John Govan and particularly his brother, Horace, who was mainly responsible for the early ventures into publishing, were able to satisfy themselves that this problem was being solved. Meanwhile publishing has become a central feature of the Mission's activity and the sale of literature is a useful source of finance. It has also enabled the movement to become more widely known throughout the fundamentalist evangelical world, and has probably helped to attract students to the Training Home, as well as donations.

Another way in which the publishing department has helped to resolve internal institutional tensions has been by producing pamphlets which advise participants in various sections of the Mission how to perform their obligations most effectively. One of these is "The Aim and Character of the Faith Mission Prayer Union" which was produced because "in many cases there has not been the success and fruitfulness desirable"⁴ in the Prayer Union. Other examples are:- "The Faith Mission: Its Aims, Principles and Methods", "Pilgrim Life: the Pilgrim's Companion to 'Aims and Principles' ", and "The Chief's Talks to Pilgrims". In the latter two of these pilgrims are given advice about how to conduct missions and to maximize their performance.

c) Role-conflict. The role of the District Superintendent

in the Faith Mission is a crucial one. It embodies most of the institutional tensions with which the movement is faced. Since the Prayer Union branches are not strictly the equivalent of Church assemblies, the Superintendent cannot be easily likened to a minister. In addition, he is no longer primarily an evangelist but a functionary with administrative duties to perform on behalf of the Council of the Mission. Yet his role includes elements of those of the minister and the evangelist. He has oversight of Prayer Union branches, visits them regularly to inform them of the Mission's current activity and future policy and is also expected in most cases to give a short address i.e. to preach, during his visit. He is also usually the chairman and frequently one of the main speakers at the conferences held in his district. On such occasions he attempts to meet the spiritual needs and guide the spiritual activity of Prayer Union members. In these various aspects his role resembles that of the pastor. But the peculiar interdenominational composition of the Faith Mission Prayer Union makes him adopt a very cautious approach to these activities particularly in the case of newly-formed branches. He must avoid contentious doctrinal issues in his addresses. He must be careful not to offend any of the Prayer Union branches or members by making statements which are in opposition to the tenets of their particular denominations. The didactic element in the District Superintendent's role is therefore minimal and he must preserve a delicate balance between directing the lives of members along lines prescribed by the Mission, particularly the pursuit of sanctification, and enabling them to preserve their denominational positions. This

equivocal situation is aggravated by the absence of any clearly formalized legitimation of the District Superintendent's authority. He is simply the co-ordinator of Prayer Union activities in his district. The only link between Prayer Union branches and the Council of the Mission is an "understanding" that all financial donations collected during Prayer Union meetings, after local expenses have been met, are to be designated for Faith Mission activity or to be passed on via its headquarters to other movements, usually foreign missionary societies. There is thus no clear or formalized basis, other than ties of fellowship and the Prayer Union branch's desire for information about the Mission's current activities, upon which the District Superintendent can exercise authority in the Prayer Union. Prayer Union members have no stake at all in the government of the Mission. Whatever authority he does maintain is largely a function of his own personality and the expectations of local branch members. Bad judgment in the performance of these "pastoral" obligations of his role could drive members or whole branches away from the Mission.

The above diffuse elements in the District Superintendent's role are in sharp contrast to his more specific obligations both to the Council of the Mission and to the successful organization and planning of missions in his district. He is responsible directly to his colleagues on the Council for the conduct of affairs within his district and this implies that he maintain as high a level of performance among his Prayer Union branches as he is able, by preventing some from withering away as well as encouraging the beginning and continuation of others. He must

also try to generate local interest in the Mission and maintain its "good name" by avoiding local controversy over its aims and principles. In the case of his obligations to help pilgrims to arrange and conduct missions his role is relatively unambiguous and causes him the least anxiety. This is largely because he himself is a pilgrim, usually with longer and broader experience than those who conduct missions in his district, and his seniority is therefore accepted by them. In helping to conduct meetings, sometimes by preaching, he is able to set them an example and to help them to acquire a greater level of evangelistic competence.

But in arranging and conducting meetings he inevitably comes into contact with local ministers and some District Superintendents are frequently invited to preach in local churches. Since he is not an ordained minister and does not wish to be seen as the pastor of a denomination lest he damage the cherished interdenominational ideal of the Mission, these situations can create status anxiety and role problems which he finds difficult to manage on occasions.

As well as his "pastoral" and "evangelistic" functions the District Superintendent has to make, or help others to make, business and administrative decisions e.g. on questions of house and car purchases, the length of a mission, travel and accommodation arrangements for pilgrims and conference speakers etc. He is also responsible for the maintenance of the Mission's property in his district i.e. his house, the portable halls and caravans. Some of these latter obligations require him to be a painter and decorator as well as a religious functionary.

The peculiar features of the Mission i.e. its itinerant evangelism, its interdenominational but Holiness emphasis, the purely voluntary relationship it maintains with its Prayer Union, all combine to make the District Superintendent's role unclearly defined, beset with strains of several kinds and difficult to perform. Yet the continued existence of the Mission is evidence that most Superintendents manage to maintain a more or less satisfactory level of role-performance.

d) Religious Experience. The only area of the Faith Mission's system of belief and experience which appears to evoke comment from the point of view of institutional tension is Holiness. In the booklet "Aims and Principles" the movement is quite clear about its stand on this question:-

".....we emphasize heart-cleansing, the baptism of the Holy Spirit and the possibility of a life of continuous victory over all sin through the indwelling of Christ in the heart."

In the booklet "The Aims and Character of the Faith Mission Prayer Union" there are statements that members should pray "for an outpouring of the Holy Spirit" and that the representative should be "an earnest Spirit-filled Christian". It is by no means certain, therefore, that all new converts of the Mission and all new Prayer Union members are aware that the Faith Mission is a Holiness movement. When they join the Prayer Union, for example, they are not required to have read "Aims and Principles" and thus many of them only become gradually aware, after attending Christians' meetings, conferences and conventions, that the Mission expects them to progress to the higher level of spiritual experience known as sanctification. In a sense the caution which

Govan, in his "Talks to Pilgrims", urged them to exercise on the question of Holiness preaching, was a response to the difficulties he and his early helpers had encountered and to alleged misrepresentations of their preaching on the subject. Since the Mission, in giving priority to evangelism and the formation of Prayer Union branches, cannot afford to have the latter disrupted or their members antagonized by radical and extremist Holiness preaching, it must tread cautiously. This kind of tension, as well as the diverse denominational and personal attitudes which the Mission is obliged to accommodate, accounts for certain sections of it adopting a moderate approach to Holiness, as described in Chapter 3.

3. Goal Attainment.

The Faith Mission is an atypical religious organization. It does not fit into the traditional typology of religious groups - church, denomination, sect, cult etc. but is rather an evangelistic agency. One of the primary reasons for its persistence in this form and its expansion has been its ability to adhere to its original aims and purposes and to deploy and co-ordinate its resources in a rational calculating manner.

Foremost among its goals is the "evangelization, specially of villages, country districts and small towns".⁵ In spite of the reduced numbers of converts which the Mission has managed to attain since World War II, the missions which continue to be held throughout the year are a sufficient indication that it pursues this goal relentlessly. Although its critics have suggested that it tends more and more to hold meetings in urban centres, the lists of missions contained in

each edition of "Bright Words" lend no support to these allegations. Rural evangelism continues to be the primary activity of the Mission. The form of evangelism has, however, changed considerably. A greater number of portable mission halls is being used and fewer pilgrims' meetings are being held in hired premises. It is clear that the increased number of portable halls enables the Mission to operate "on neutral ground", as one District Superintendent described it, suggesting that this is to the Mission's advantage since it prevents it from being associated locally with the organization in whose premises the meetings are held. But, as has already been remarked, the impression of affluence which the new halls, and especially the caravans, convey, may be damaging from the point of view of the Mission's impact on the community.

The second stated aim of the Faith Mission is "to get professing Christians really and deeply blessed through the power of the Holy Ghost"⁶ i.e. to encourage believers to enjoy the Holiness experience. To the extent that Christians' Meetings, Conferences and Conventions continue to be held by the Mission and its statistics show hundreds who profess sanctification each year, this aim is also patently being achieved, although annual numbers of professions are considerably less than before World War II. Table C in Appendix 9 indicates that each year there are consistently about 100% more professions in Ireland than in Scotland and England, even though, on the whole, more missions have been held in the latter two countries. It is possible that missions in Ireland last longer than those elsewhere, in which case the above comparison would not be quite valid. But there is no doubt that evangelicals in Northern

Ireland are more receptive to Holiness than other areas of Britain. In order to continue to achieve each of the above manifest goals the Mission has relied heavily on a single region of the country.

What may be considered to be its third stated aim has also been more readily achieved in Northern Ireland. This refers to the Mission's self-conception in regard to the Christian church at large and is included in each of the following stated purposes of the Faith Mission:-

"...to promote union among all true Christians"⁷

"...to get the Lord's children interested in His work everywhere, that they may pray, and give, and present themselves as a living sacrifice for His service wherever He leads..."⁸

"...to unite in Fellowship and Love the converts of the Mission and others in sympathy, who desire to be wholly the Lord's and to seek first His Kingdom..."⁹

"There is a right sense in which we can become all things to all men, without laying aside principles..."¹⁰

"...the Prayer Union.....is designed to be an auxiliary to all evangelical movements of a live character."¹¹

The Mission operates, therefore, on the assumption that the existing Christian churches are not quite performing their duties adequately. They are seen to be characterized by disunity, disinterest in God's work and in need of assistance in the pursuit of the evangelical cause. Like the modern ecumenical movement in the more conventional Christian churches, the Faith Mission is able to attract support from sections of Christianity which feel the need for fellowship, a common purpose and an increasing tolerance among its diverse elements. Because it has only a limited number of principles and because they are relatively broad, it is supported by believers of diverse Protestant evangelical denomi-

nations and provides these adherents with a common sense of identity. But the research for this thesis has not been able to answer the question:- to what extent has the Faith Mission displaced the denominations to which its Prayer Union members belong by providing the focal point for believers' religious activity and enabling them to worship together and to pursue a shared set of objectives? For even though they may still attend the services of other organizations, members may be more committed to the Faith Mission, may derive greater satisfaction from attending its services and may therefore subordinate their denominational activity to participation in the Faith Mission. If these statements hold, the Mission is something more than an "auxiliary" to the denominations which, then, could be a major factor in its persistence and expansion.

On the other hand, as far as providing trained missionaries for other movements, the Mission does perform auxiliary functions. A considerable proportion (see Table D in Appendix 15) of students from the Training Home move on to evangelistic activity with other organizations. But the Mission also includes among its achievements the numbers of celebrated preachers and religious leaders who were converted during pilgrims' missions. Among these are a past President of the Irish Methodist Conference, a Moderator of the Presbyterian Church of South Africa and several notable speakers at the Keswick Convention who are mainly evangelical Anglican ministers. These auxiliary functions which the Mission performs for other movements appear to be largely unintended and latent.

Among what can conveniently be called the subordinate manifest

goals of the Mission the publishing section, the Young People's Fellowship and the recent emphasis placed on "child evangelism" are all interpreted by its membership as evidence of goal attainment.

Two latent functions of the Faith Mission's activity are prominent. Firstly the Mission's fellowship system has a basis which is more than religious, for many of its supporters make friendships and other social ties, including those of marriage, with other followers of the Mission. It thus provides forms of association in the same incidental way as e.g. sports organizations, professional societies and industrial concerns, all of which are special-purpose organizations like itself.

Secondly the Mission provides opportunities for prestige and power by means of positions of leadership within its hierarchy. From District Superintendent upwards these positions are occupied by men, and, when the relatively low educational level of Faith Mission students, especially males, is borne in mind, it seems that, like Emmanuel, it unintentionally provides status and power to educationally and culturally deprived minorities in modern British society.

4. Integration.

The collective identity of the Faith Mission and its adherents owes much to the unique aims and purposes of the movement. There are similar groups in Britain, like the Friends' Evangelistic Band, which conducts itinerant evangelism in parts of Essex and East Anglia, and the League of Prayer whose branches are similar, in their purposes and

activity, to those of the Faith Mission Prayer Union. But these movements are small and although the League of Prayer was formed at the same time as the Faith Mission, it has not experienced the same growth processes, perhaps to some extent because it did not extend to Northern Ireland. But in combining evangelism and an interdenominational Prayer Union within the same movement the Faith Mission is certainly unique in Britain and probably has no counterpart in the U.S.A., although there are movements in that country which closely resemble it. Furthermore, the steadfastness with which the Faith Mission has adhered to its original purposes and has not changed its main foci of activity has enabled it to preserve its unique identity, despite the processes of routinization and formalization which it has undergone. Among the main sources of integration within the Mission, therefore, are uniqueness and clarity of purpose which serve to maintain the interests of its following.

These interests and the morale which must be generated to support them are carefully channeled within the movement's activities into institutionalized forms of participation. Regular attendance at Prayer Union branch meetings and at local pilgrims' missions are co-ordinated in that activity at the prayer meeting is directed towards a higher level of achievement in the missions. And even when prayer is offered for and interest is taken in, missions that are held in other districts, the communication process within the Faith Mission i.e. the Mid-monthly Letter and "Bright Words", keeps members informed about activities throughout the movement. Interest is also maintained by means of the personal acquaintances which members make with pilgrims

during missions. In these ways a form of social solidarity is maintained among the Faith Mission's supporters, based on feelings of shared commitments and common participation in the accomplishment of its aims and purposes.

During district conferences but even more during the annual gatherings, particularly the Bangor and Edinburgh Conventions when members are reminded of their collective identity, the social solidarity of the Mission is strongly reinforced. Conventions thus perform the functions which ritual ceremonies accomplish in more formal types of religious movement.

Symbols of the Faith Mission which support its corporate identity are:- the magazine "Bright Words", the crest and badge of the Mission and the uniform of the pilgrims.

On the question of leadership, it appears that the charismatic personality of J. G. Govan did not have the same dominating and integrating effect on the Faith Mission, as did that of Drysdale on Emmanuel. But this observation may reflect the difference of thirty years between the ages of the two movements. Drysdale's charisma lingers now but will it do so in thirty years' time? One reason why it probably will is that Emmanuel Bible College has been a greater central focus of interest in that movement than that of the Faith Mission. The size and wider dispersal of the Mission necessitated the localization of interest on the part of its members who in many cases live so far away from its headquarters that they rarely visit them. It is therefore to the organizing genius of J. G. Govan that one must look for the integrating consequences of his leadership. For, although he is clearly considered by the

Mission's followers to have set them a fine example of Christian conduct and experience, he appears never to have dominated them in the manner that Drysdale dominated Emmanuel. The interdenominational position of the Faith Mission demanded tolerance and some degree of liberality on the part of the leader if its aims were to be achieved.

The persistence of the Faith Mission, therefore, may be largely attributed to its rationally co-ordinated organization for the pursuit of a set of clear purposes within a framework which allows for a range of denominational opinion. Its activity supplements that of the more orthodox evangelical denominations but it attracts its supporters mainly from culturally retarded areas of modern British society.

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3. Bright Words, March.1965. p.59.
4. The Aim and Character of the Faith Mission Prayer Union, pp.4-5.
5. The Faith Mission: Its Aims and Principles, p.2.
6. Pilgrim Life, p.4.
7. The Faith Mission: Its Aims and Principles, p.4.
8. Pilgrim Life, p.4.
9. The Aim and Character of the Faith Mission Prayer Union, p.2.
10. Talks to Pilgrims, p.24.
11. The Aim and Character of the Faith Mission Prayer Union, p.4.

CHAPTER TEN

CONCLUSION

Since many comparative and analytical observations about the two movements have been made above, it seems unnecessary to repeat them in detail in this closing chapter. Instead, the two movements are compared and contrasted in a general overview and the reasons are explored for the different processes of development which they have undergone. Although the organizational changes which they have undergone can be usefully understood in terms of some of the elements in the sect-denomination-church typology, the groups appear to belong to a rather different organizational constellation. An attempt is made, however, to show how they can be understood in relation to the society in which they function and in the light of their socio-psychological appeal. The chapter closes with some speculative comments on the emergence of new religious movements and suggests an approach to their understanding which has been given insufficient emphasis.

Striking similarities immediately appear when a comparative consideration of the two movements in this study is attempted. Emmanuel and the Faith Mission are parts of the same fundamentalist wing of evangelical Protestantism as well as of the wider British Holiness movement. Their basic theology and their evangelical aims and purposes

are similar, they share the same social attitudes, teachings and practices and generally attract supporters from the same lower socio-economic strata. They are revivalistic missionary agencies each managed by a centralized executive council and they are financially supported by believers' voluntary donations. Both of them are interdenominational and they run similar training establishments and publishing departments. Furthermore, their gospel services and conventions are conducted in almost exactly the same way and the forms of religious experience which they encourage their followers to enjoy are identical. These similarities are borne out by the close and amicable relations which exist between their personnel and their rank and file members. The two movements are in close fellowship with one another.

But they differ in age, size and geographical spread, and most importantly in their organization and religious activities. The Faith Mission was one of many small interdenominational evangelistic movements which grew out of the late nineteenth-century revival in which the Moody-Sankey campaigns were prominent. Many of these tiny organizations have since disappeared while the Faith Mission has continued to flourish and grow. Emmanuel was formed thirty years later during World War I and, although its following has shown little evidence of either numerical growth or wide geographical outreach in this country, it has been able to persist for forty years and its survival in the foreseeable future seems guaranteed.

In searching for reasons for these differences in numerical

size and geographical spread one must first consider the different aims and purposes of their founders and the ways in which they set about trying to achieve them. J.G. Govan seems to have had a very clear and specific notion of what he was about. His aim was the evangelization of remote rural districts with the help of itinerant preachers and, although he was obliged to extend the range of his movement's activities into the training of evangelists and the establishment of the Prayer Union, these were rationally conceived to provide support for the Mission's major concern, rural evangelism. They have never presented a threat to this primary aim nor have they tended to become separate spheres of activity, competing with rural evangelism for the resources and attention of the Mission's leadership. Thus, although many of the familiar processes of organizational change in religious movements have occurred in the Faith Mission and it has acquired a number of extensions within its structure, it has remained an interdenominational revivalistic agency, albeit in a routinized form. The success which it has maintained in securing conversions has enabled it to attract a large number of believers into its Prayer Union, although when compared to the total numbers of conversions which its personnel records annually, the number of new Prayer Unions is very small.¹

On the other hand Emmanuel began as a small assembly of believers whose leader appears to have had a rather hazy notion, compared to that of Govan, of what he wanted to achieve. Drysdale, in the early days was both pastor and evangelist. He was in charge of the Birkenhead assembly and he wanted to establish a "Holiness centre"

which would revitalize the spiritual life of the Christian community in Birkenhead. But he was also busily engaged in evangelism and was certainly bent upon securing the maximum numbers of conversions, although he by no means wanted to be the leader of a new Holiness denomination. The events which led to the establishment of Emmanuel Missionary Training Home and Emmanuel Missions and to the affiliation of a small number of assemblies to Emmanuel Holiness Church were generally unforeseen and unintended. These developments were partly a consequence of the diffuse self-conception which Emmanuel held of its role and the lack of clarity of definition in its aims and purposes. The amorphous structure which it has acquired, may be both a response to and a cause of its stunted numerical growth, although it never had ambitions to expand the size of its following. It has become a foreign missionary enterprise which is projected from a small home base, as the Faith Mission's evangelistic activity is maintained by its Prayer Union. But in diversifying its activities and being less motivated towards numerical expansion Emmanuel has prevented itself from acquiring a typical organizational form. It is both a small denomination and a foreign missionary agency, a revivalistic grouping and a training establishment. Whereas the Faith Mission, anticipating at an early stage the pressures in the direction of denominationalization which it would encounter, took measures to handle them and still preserve its identity as an interdenominational missionary agency, Emmanuel appears to have succumbed to all the pressures whether resulting from internal developments such as the demand on the part of younger

followers for some kind of missionary training or external ones such as requirements that young men do military service, which it encountered and thus lacks a clear organizational identity.

Whatever the categories used to describe these two movements or the dynamic processes which have occurred within their organization over a period of time, they do not belong to the sect-denomination-church constellation which has been referred to so frequently in modern sociological studies since Troeltsch. Like the British Elin movement which Wilson has researched they inherited the interdenominational revivalist tradition of the nineteenth-century. All three groups emphasize the religious experiences of conversion and the baptism of the Holy Ghost as means of revitalizing the Christian Church and, although these tenets are certainly not entirely distinctive, they are seen by the leaders of these three movements to be the special contribution which they are to make towards restoring the power of Apostolic Christianity to the unsatisfactory situation which prevails in the orthodox churches. There are no extreme separatist tendencies in any of these movements. All three have associated and co-operated with other denominations and evangelistic agencies and none has developed unique social and ethical teachings. Their stress on experience is seen to have the support of the Bible as the Word of God and this experience is claimed to bring the believer into a special relationship with the living Christ and the nearest they come to the separatism of the ideal-type of sect² is in providing their followers with evangelistic and religious roles to perform, not by prescribing a

unique set of ethical precepts. Moreover, their essentially Arminian theological standpoint prevents them from developing sectarian characteristics. Like Elim, however, Emmanuel, and to a lesser extent, the Faith Mission, have, in a sense, showed signs of a development towards sectarianism in their preoccupation with their own internal affairs, their pride in their achievements and their belief in their specially privileged position in the eyes of God. But they have also undergone a process of adaptation to respectable Protestantism as well as to secular society and these unique self-conceptions have never seemed likely to modify their essentially interdenominational outlook which, in spite of their distinctive Holiness position, has been their most outstanding characteristic.

The twentieth century has witnessed the growth of modern ecumenicalism and of a vast number of interdenominational evangelical bodies.³ Sociologists of religion have neglected them and one of the contributions of this thesis is to draw attention to their significance in the structure of modern industrial society. They are partly a response on the part of Christianity to its own state of institutional ossification and disintegration, threatened as it continues to be by the continuing spread of universal education and the scientific outlook. But they are open to more insightful sociological understanding when their growth processes are examined against the background of secular society.

Emmanuel, the Faith Mission and Elim have all flourished during times of economic depression, although the Faith Mission

benefitted less from the slump of 1929-31 than it did from those of the closing years of the nineteenth century. The geographical regions where all three movements have thrived, especially Merseyside and Northern Ireland, have experienced most acutely the severities of twentieth-century unemployment and industrial unrest. The socio-economic strata from which they recruit their followers are the culturally deprived manual working classes, although there appears to be more evidence of poverty among Elim adherents than among Emmanuel and the Faith Mission. Emmanuel, the Faith Mission and Holiness groups in general, moreover, show a far greater respect for secular education than do the Pentecostalist groups. But by censuring the achievement of this-worldly wealth and status as worthless compared to the riches God will provide for his children in the next dispensation both Holiness and Pentecostalist movements provide a compensating religious status for lack of social status and it is therefore in the area of latent functions that one should seek the reasons for their persistence.

As Wilson has suggested, the increasing affluence of British society since World War II makes it less and less likely that the association between religious expression and economically disinherited circumstances will continue to hold. But the Lewis revival, and the persisting hospitality in Northern Ireland to this type of religion, is evidence that in the more culturally retarded and socio-economically depressed areas of Britain there is still much scope for enthusiastic revivalism. Furthermore, the predominance of women in the two movements discussed here, which seems to include, according to the evidence

on Emmanuel, a large proportion who are single and over thirty-five years of age and a fair number who are married but do not attend with their husbands, suggests that groups of this kind may be rfunctional alternatives to some of the institutional arrangements in secular society which emphasize affectivity, including marriage and family life. Elin and Emmanuel encourage their followers to feel that they are part of a family grouping and the warmth of fellowship and the satisfactions of vital emotional relationships are fair compensation for the emotionally deprived in modern society. These groups are indeed repositories "of sentiments, ideals and associations, and an integrating and stabilising factor in the individual's social life."⁴ There is also a homespun, folklorish quality about their meetings, services and informal activities which make them a conservative and traditional force in modern society,⁵ as well as havens of emotional refuge. The readiness to give an uninhibited public response and to regard the emotion-arousing devices of the evangelist with an uncritical eye which is characteristic of the revivalistically converted is to be found only among the lower socio-economic groups. Wilson has drawn attention to the "cultural appropriateness" of minority religious groups in sharing the same general social assumptions as the strata from which they recruit adherents. The homeliness, spontaneity and absence of formality in the activities of groups like Emmanuel and the Faith Mission make them more congenial to their working-class followers.

In their training establishments, however, and in their

concern to appear respectable in the eyes of orthodox Protestant churches, Holiness movements show characteristics which set them apart from other emotional and revivalistic groups like the Pentecostals. Both Emmanuel Bible College and the Faith Mission Training Home appear to offer useful compensation in the form of social status and respectability to numbers of young men who have had only a minimum amount of education. Benton Johnson's observations on the manner in which Holiness sects socialize their adherents into middle class values seems appropriate to this branch of Emmanuel and Faith Mission activity.

It is clear that the commitment of adherents of minority religious groups, even those which, like the two examined in this thesis, are not radically sectarian or extremist, can only be understood in terms of differential psychological and social conditions. In providing their adherents with a sense of identity, by offering a means of comprehending a confusing world and a meaningful interpretation of their circumstances, by giving them a recognized status and a feeling that they are performing a purposeful role within the hospitable and friendly environment of a religious association, these groups provide a refuge and a positive sense of personal fulfillment which secular society and the more orthodox religious denominations have failed to give them. In the manner in which they fill the gaps in the structure of modern society they may be compared to such organizations as criminal sub-communities and delinquent gangs which to some extent isolate their members from the competing value-systems of secular society - the pursuit of marital happiness, social status, occupational and educational success - and also supplant these orthodox

value-systems with more meaningful frameworks or Weltanschauungen. For individuals in those groups such as the culturally deprived, the poorer educated, the unhappily married and the emotionally insecure, who are bewildered by the complex demands and stressful anomic situations imposed upon them by modern society, these minority organizations have useful adjustive functions. Their persistence in modern society is therefore of no small significance.

To conclude on a speculative note, the rise of new religions, particularly during the Christian era, has frequently been sociologically interpreted in terms of prevailing social conditions. But it seems to me that religious innovation can only be fully understood within the context of a general theory of cultural change and it can be usefully interpreted when it is compared to innovation in such other areas as politics, economics, art, science and forms of deviant social behaviour.

Anomic tendencies making for a breakdown in the structure of society e.g. during periods of rapid social change, culture contact or the discontent of oppressed or underprivileged groups have been included among conditions conducive to the emergence of new religious syntheses. Examples are:- the emergence and spread of Christianity in Jewish society during the time of Roman dominance; the proliferation of sects among European underprivileged groups during the later Middle Ages; the growth of, on the one hand, new sects and cults during periods of economic depression and among socially dislocated groups in North America and, on the other, of nativistic movements in

underdeveloped colonial societies, particularly in Africa, Melanesia and the Caribbean.

Glock's suggestive paper on relative deprivation and religious groups provides one convenient, but limited, form of interpretation. He maintains that the kind of deprivation, which is felt by social groups greatly influences the type of movement which is likely to emerge among them. Thus "economic deprivation", when directly perceived by those who experience it, will be more likely to lead to the formation of trade unions, "organismic deprivation" to healing cults and "ethical deprivation" to movements concerned with moral improvement. These are *ex post facto* observations and in order to test them adequately it would be necessary to study deprived groups of various kinds before the emergence of movements which cater to their deprivations. But Glock mentions the crucial innovative element i.e. that new sects, cults, new religious groups and other social movements are frequently conceived in the mind of one person, such as Mary Baker Eddy, Joseph Smith and William Aberhard.

Thus, while contemporary social developments and a conducive institutional framework may be among the necessary conditions for the emergence of new syntheses, charismatic leadership is perhaps the sufficient one. But charisma in an individual bears a strong resemblance to the capacity for creative insight. Therefore any adequate theory of specifically religious innovation must embrace the general social and psychological conditions of creativity and in this regard the capacity to inspire, found and direct new social movements has to be considered as an exercise of imaginative insight

in ways similar to the process of scientific invention and artistic creativity. For the capacity to perceive, perhaps unconsciously, the relevance of a particular religious message e.g. Wesleyan holiness, to the social and psychological circumstances of the prospective followers of a movement e.g. the newly urbanized working classes who were predominant among the early converts of Methodism in the 18th century, demands extraordinary qualities of mind and personality such as are possessed by men of genius who are capable of initiating social change, or in Wallace's terms, of exercising "a deliberate, organized, conscious effort.....to construct a more satisfying culture".⁶

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1. See Tables B and D in Appendix 9.
2. e.g. as outlined by Wilson in Sects and Society, p.326.
3. Appendix 16 indicates how numerous they are in Britain.
4. Wilson, op.cit. p.321.
5. see Holt, "Holiness Religion, Cultural Shock and Social Reorganization", American Sociological Review, Vol: 5.1940. p.746.
6. A.F.C. Wallace, "Revitalization Movements in American Anthropologist, Vol. LVIII. April. 1956.

APPENDIX 1The National Holiness Association of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

A number of meetings were held in 1941 and 1942 in London to discuss the holding of United Holiness Conventions. Representatives of all the British Holiness denominations were present. It was after these discussions that Drysdale, the leader of Emmanuel, began to consider the possibility of a United Holiness Association being formed and he invited about twenty ministers to a Ministers' Retreat at Emmanuel Bible College in April 1942. In addition to those from specifically Holiness movements, which included the Faith Mission, those attending included Methodist, Congregational and even Anglican ministers who were sympathetic to Holiness. Drysdale's intention was to form an organization similar to that of the National Holiness Association of America which consists of members of Holiness denominations and others who preach the doctrine. In 1939 Drysdale had visited the U. S. A. to give a report on the Holiness movement in Britain and it is clear that his attempt to form a British Holiness Association was influenced by the familiarity which he acquired on this occasion with the movement.

A United Holiness Association was formed on the 5th November, 1942, and Drysdale in outlining his conception of its purposes, suggested that it would be to combine its members in a

APPENDIX 1 (Cont'd)

greater fellowship while leaving them free to carry on their own activities in their own way. It was decided at the early meetings that the suggestion that the Association have a membership on an individual basis should be rejected for this kind of membership, might cause it to develop into another distinct denomination. To prevent this it was agreed that membership of the association should be open to movements as movements who would send representatives to sit on the Council of the Association. The League of Prayer, the Faith Mission and the Japan Evangelistic Band all found themselves unable to join as movements. But arrangements were made for the Council of the Association to invite other Christians in sympathy with its principles to become associate members. The first Council of the Association included Drysdale as President and representatives of the Calvary Holiness Church, the Church of the Nazarene and the International Holiness Mission. A resolution was passed that the chief function of the Association would be the organization of Holiness conventions in some of the larger British cities.

In 1943 the association became the National Holiness Association of Great Britain and Northern Ireland. It held a number of conventions from 1943 to 1950 but was never really a viable organization. The two basic reasons for this appear to

APPENDIX 1 (Cont'd)

have been: first, that the question of individual versus organizational membership was never fully resolved because there were those Council members who were unwilling to admit individuals who were not members of Holiness denominations or independent Holiness assemblies; and second, that there was concern on the part of Drysdale and Emanuel that the Association was becoming a means of amalgamating some of the existing Holiness denominations. Drysdale accordingly withdrew in 1949 and when the International Holiness Mission in 1952 and the Calvary Holiness Church in 1955 were absorbed into the Church of the Nazarene he felt that his suspicions were confirmed. The National Holiness Association was disbanded in 1950.

APPENDIX 2The Cooneyites or Go-Preachers

This group is a good example of sect persistence. It originated in the secession from the Faith Mission in the winter of 1900-01 of William Irvine and at least one other pilgrim. The reasons why they began to evangelize on independent lines are not fully known but from their teachings and approach it appears that they considered that the "faith principle" of the Faith Mission did not extend far enough and that its evangelism was conducted on a highly organized basis which prevented the freedom of activity which characterizes preachers who are "full of the Holy Ghost". In addition, since there appears to be no reference to Holiness in the teachings of the Cooneyites, this was probably a further source of dissension.

Irvine began by holding meetings in Methodist churches at Nenagh, Co. Tipperary, where he was working for the Faith Mission when he seceded. He soon attracted support and concentrated on itinerant rural evangelism. It appears that his criticism of Govan's movement and of the Methodist Church which brought him into disfavour with most evangelical organizations, obliged him to build portable wooden halls in which to hold meetings.

One of his early converts was Edward Cooney, described as "a strong personality, combined with fiery zeal" who seems to have

APPENDIX 2 (Cont'd)

taken over much of Irvine's authority and to have given a more sectarian appearance to the group. Before Cooney's arrival Irvine and his fellow-evangelists called themselves the Go - or Tramp - Preachers because of their essentially itinerant activity and their reluctance to form settled assemblies, traits deriving from their original attachments to the Faith Mission. Cooney increasingly launched attacks against all organized forms of Christianity and converts were forbidden to associate with any other body. Whether or not he superseded Irvine as leader, the group was called the "Cooneyites" by evangelicals who knew the strength of Cooney's influence. Converts who had savings or property were urged to surrender it and follow the "Jesus Way", according to Christ's teachings in Luke IX. 1-5; X. 1-9 and Matthew X. 5-42. The movement at various times has taught that the "Jesus Way" was indispensable for salvation, although it became modified to enable converts to pursue a secular calling. All preachers other than their own are imposters and their converts alone are the saved elect.

Since their beginnings in Ireland they have acquired followings in other parts of Britain, notably Southern Scotland and East Anglia. They have also sent missionaries to Australia, Canada, U. S. A. and, more recently, to France, Barbados, Chile

APPENDIX 2 (Cont'd)

and the Falkland Islands. A sociological student of them in the U. S. A. has estimated that they may have more than 400,000 members in North America where they have acquired the name of "The Invisible Church".¹

Their organisation is minimal. They have no regular publications and, apart from a small booklet of hymns, have never been known to publish anything. Communication within the group appears to be confined to the circulation of the typed schedules of their travelling evangelists and announcements at meetings. Their financial affairs are conducted from district funds made up of money from gifts and property sales. But the location of their headquarters, if indeed there is one, appears not to be known to the rank and file, although they are expected to provide board and lodgings for evangelists who are preaching locally.

Apart from evangelistic campaign meetings, the Cooney-ites meet for worship twice each Sunday in the home of a local leader, usually known as the "elder". They also hold two mid-week prayer meetings in each other's homes. They celebrate the "Breaking of Bread" each Sunday morning and practise Baptism by immersion for converts of over three years' standing. There is no music at any meetings and followers are forbidden to read any book other than the Bible. Sunday morning meetings are "open"

APPENDIX 2 (Cont'd)

and anyone present may comment on a portion of Scripture which has influenced them during the previous week. On Sunday evenings the local "elder" leads a Bible Study meeting in which he comments on a particular chapter. No Sunday School is held and, although children may attend meetings, child conversions are not permitted. Their meetings bear a close resemblance to those of the Brethren. But the latter's refusal to allow women to speak at their meetings makes the Cooneyites very antagonistic towards them.

From time to time Union Sundays are held when a number of assemblies in a given locality meet for worship. On a larger scale annual conventions (not Holiness Conventions) are held when followers assemble for a whole week's meetings in a marquee tent where they live a communal existence, cooking, eating, washing clothes etc., although the sexes, even if married, are segregated for sleeping purposes. A nursery is provided at these gatherings for mothers with babies. At Convention meetings much time is given to testimonies concerning individuals' religious experiences throughout the previous year. Admission is restricted to regular adherents.

Cooneyites are forbidden to have any contact, other than that involved in the routine of everyday life, with people

APPENDIX 2 (Cont'd)

from outside the movement. Their preachers, however, attend churches in the district where they are preaching in order to advertise their own services, but personal evangelism by believers is discouraged because only those who have taken up the "Jesus Way" and become full-time evangelists, albeit without any formal training, are allowed to have social contacts outside of the movement. Social teachings and proscriptions are therefore more extreme than in most fundamentalist groups. The consumption of tobacco and alcohol and attendance at places of secular entertainment are prohibited. Restrictions are put upon dress, modern fashions being discouraged, and women are forbidden to wear make-up or have modern hair styles. Nor may they wear wedding rings or jewellery. All marriages are civil and endogamy is strongly encouraged. Men are all conscientious objectors to military service and also refuse to become members of Trade Unions. Children are not allowed to attend morning assembly in school nor school entertainments such as pantomimes.

This movement possesses features similar to those of the Exclusive Brethren, i.e., a rigid sectarian position and an apparent absence of formal organization. Nevertheless the built-in mechanisms of endogamy, social and religious separation and absolute assurance that it possesses the Truth have enabled

APPENDIX 2 (Cont'd)

this sect to persist in a form not very different from its original one. Its confinement to rural and culturally retarded areas has provided a restricted environment in which social changes have been relatively slow and, together with its clandestine and unofficial methods of operation, this has prevented any considerable modification of its sectarian position such as would probably have occurred if it had functioned in a more urban context.

REFERENCE

1. K. Crow. "The Invisible Church". M. A. thesis. University of Oregon. 1963.

APPENDIX 3Data on Emmanuel's 41 full-time personnel - January 1966.Places of origin

Birkenhead	7
Chester	44
Barnsley	3
Birmingham	3
Nottingham	3
Bristol	2
Leicester	2
Glasgow	2

1 each from London, Liverpool, Bradford, Leeds, Rotherham, Caernarvon, Skelmersdale (Lancs.), Blackpool, Shrewsbury, Maidstone, Chesterfield, Edinburgh, Belfast, Portadown, Tyrone.

Denominational origins

Emmanuel	14
Methodist	6
Independent Evangelical	6
Baptist	5
Church of Scotland	2
Church of England	2
Presbyterian (Northern Ireland)	2

1 each - Church of Ireland, City Mission, Calvary Holiness Church (now the Church of the Nazarene), Church of Christ.

APPENDIX 3 (Cont'd)Place of training

Emmanuel Bible College	32
Faith Mission Training Home	2
Mount Hermon Bible College (Ealing, London)	1
Beech Lawn Bible College (Manchester)	1
South Wales Bible College	1
No training	5

Note:- The total of 42 is due to the duplication of one person who was trained at Emmanuel Bible College and the Faith Mission Training Home.

Other Education and Qualifications

Nursing (S.R.N.)	7
Teacher's Certificate	6
Matriculation	3
Diploma of the Missionary School of Medicine	3
Degree	1
Naval Officer's Certificate (First Mate)	1
Minimal Formal Education	20

APPENDIX 3 (Cont'd)Previous Occupation

Clerical and Administration	10
Nursing	8
Teaching	6
Sales and Service	5
Technical and Mechanical	4
Armed Forces	2
Others	6

APPENDIX 4Data on Adherents of Emmanuel.Table A.Emmanuel Adherents by Age and Sex.

<u>Age Group</u>	<u>Sex</u>		<u>Total</u>
	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	
15-24	13	36	49
25-34	9	26	35
35-44	22	32	54
45-54	13	35	48
55-64	10	38	48
65 +	13	32	45
	<u>80</u>	<u>199</u>	<u>279</u>

Note:- These data refer to six of Emmanuel's seven assemblies. The seventh, in Birmingham, is estimated to comprise 50 regular adherents, 10 male and 40 female.

Table B.Emmanuel Adherents by Marital Status and Sex.

	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Total</u>
Married	61	81	142
Single	14	90	104
Widowed	5	28	33
	<u>80</u>	<u>199</u>	<u>279</u>

Note:- Data on the Birmingham assembly are excluded.

APPENDIX 4 (Cont'd)Table C. Emmanuel Adherents by Occupation of Head of Household.

	<u>Occupational Group</u>						Uncl.	Total of Households	Total Adherents
	A	B	C	D	E	F			
<u>Assembly</u>									
Birkenhead	13	9	6	11	1	2	29	71	94
Liverpool	5	4	5	3	2	1	7	27	39
Neston	4	-	2	-	-	-	9	15	18
Rainhill	2	1	2	1	-	1	24	31	36
Pensby	4	1	6	1	-	1	9	22	31
Nottingham	5	13	6	-	1	2	17	44	61
TOTAL	33	28	27	16	4	7	95	210	279

Key to Occupational Groups

A - Lower Professional e.g. Manager, Supervisor, Nurse, Teacher, Accountant.

B - Clerical and Sales e.g. Typist, Shop Assistant, Clerk.

C - Skilled Manual

D - Semi-Skilled Manual

E - Unskilled Manual

F - Personal and Service e.g. Cook, Waitress, Launderess

Uncl.- Unclassifiable, includes the widowed, the retired, the disabled, scholars and housewives whose husband's occupation is unknown.

APPENDIX 5

(a) A List of Questions Contained on Emmanuel Bible College
Application Forms

1. What are your reasons for believing that you are truly BORN AGAIN? State when, where and under what circumstances this event took place.
2. Have you had a definite experience of Heart-cleansing or Sanctification since your conversion? If so, when did this happen and what has been its effect on your life?
3. What evidence have you of a call to the mission field?
4. Have you victory over sin?
5. Do you find access to God in prayer and therefore delight in it?
6. Do you believe in entire separation from the world's sinful pleasures--theatres, cinemas, dances, fashions, etc.?
7. Are you a total abstainer from alcohol and from tobacco in every form?
8. What are your views with reference to works of fiction?
9. How much time daily do you give to reading your Bible?
10. Have you read right through the Bible?
11. What Bible study have you undertaken?
12. To what religious denomination are you attached, and how long have you been in association with it?
13. What Christian work have you engaged in?
 - (a) House-to-house visitation with the object of winning souls to Christ?
 - (b) Open air work?
 - (c) Addressing indoor meetings?

APPENDIX 5 (Cont'd)

13. (d) Sunday School or Bible Class teaching?
(e) Any other kind of work?
14. Have you ever personally been used to lead a sould to Christ?
15. Do you offer the Gospel to those within your reach day by day?
16. What books have influenced you most?
17. What education have you had?
Name any examinations which you have passed.
18. Can you speak any foreign language?
Have you given any serious study to one?
19. Can you play any musical instrument, lead singing, sing solos?
20. Are your father and mother alive? If so, do you live with them?
What is your father's occupation?
21. Are they in favour with your desire to enter the Bible College?
22. If they object, what are their reasons for so doing?
23. Is anyone dependant upon you for support, and have you any debts?
24. Have you any friends interested in your call who would back you up by prayer and effort?
25. Each student is expected to provide h60 per year, i.e. h20 per term, towards board, etc., what expectation have you of being able to do this?
26. Please give names and addresses of your present or last employer and two or three Christian friends who would be prepared to answer enquiries about you?

APPENDIX 5 (Cont'd)DECLARATION (included at end of every form)

As a Christian I have sought to answer the above questions truly and conscientiously, and to the best of my belief the replies given convey a true impression of the facts.

If accepted I will gladly submit to the necessary discipline of the Bible College, and undertake any work apportioned to me in the course of training.

(b) Typical Examples of Salvation Testimonies Among Student Applicants

Question: "What are your reasons for believing that you are truly BORN AGAIN? State when, where, and under what circumstances this event took place."

Example 1.

"27th March 1955. Hill Street Presbyterian Church, Lurgan. There was a mission in the church and the preacher convinced me I was missing something, and that is one of my reasons for believing that I am born again, for I know now I most certainly was. The joy and satisfaction of knowing I belong to the Lord also the strength which he gave me so that I could finish with the world and all its pleasures."

APPENDIX 5 (Cont'd)

(b) cont'd

Example 2.

"On the 6th November 1949 at 12 midnight I accepted Christ as my personal Saviour. It was through the preaching of Len Ravenhill, I became a new creature in Christ and old things passed away. The spirit of God witnessed with my spirit that I was born again from above. My sense of guilt vanished and I knew my sins forgiven. My entire life was changed and all my bad habits were broken by the power of Christ. I knew a satisfaction hitherto unknown and the joy of the Lord was mine and still is."

Example 3.

"Since surrendering my life to Christ I find it complies with all the scriptures on the new birth. I also have a deep assurance in my sould that I am a child of God. On December 26th 1938 I was taken to Bethsham Tabernacle, Manchester, where I heard the full gospel of Christ preached. As I was passing through a great trial at the time it seemed a most natural thing to me to "Cast my burden upon the Lord"--I came away with my life left entirely in His care, and most amazing to me--a deep sense of peace in my heart. Very quickly all worldly desires left me, as more spiritual onces enveloped me. I soon proved that "If any man is in Chirst he is a new creature."

APPENDIX 5 (Cont'd)

(b) cont'd

Example 4.

"I was born again in August 1947 at a special meeting held in Castlefin Congregational Church, County Donegal. I can't tell what happened to me that night but things were different since then. My only desire was to please Him. Jesus saith, "Him that cometh to me I will in no wise cast out". God cannot break His word so I know he did not cast me out. I am sure I am safe for He has promised and cannot break His word."

(c) Typical Examples of Sanctification Testimonies Among Student Applicants

Question: "Have you had a definite experience of Heart-cleansing or Sanctification since your conversion? If so, when did this happen, and what has been its effect in your life?"

Example 1.

"1) Yes

2) In January 1948 I was much burdened concerning besetting sins which try as I may I could not suppress and time after time the Devil was victor, Christ was betrayed. After a meeting at which I had enquired the possibilities of freedom from the power of Sin, I approached the only one who had given me any help during the meeting on this matter. Later that night in the very real presence of the Holy Spirit she led me through the scriptures showing me the way God had provided but none were effective in the convincing

APPENDIX 5 (Cont'd)

(c) cont'd

of my sould until a small word from Matthew 10 in this fashion convinced me beyond all doubt. If God could cut out the root of sin the fruit would no longer abound. Praise God for that revelation. The strife was over, the battle won, the life of victory begun. As I have abode in Him that victory has continued."

Example 2.

"I had been exercised about holiness since January this year, and as I attended the monthly conferences in Lisburn the desire for this heart-cleansing increased. My people were Brethren and they gave me strong arguments against it but I searched the Word with an open mind. I was firmly convinced from God's word that this second experience was necessary. On the 3rd of August last, under the minstry of Rev. J. S. L. I asked God to wash me from every stain and give me power over sin and I believe He did it. Since then I have found a new joy in my salvation, a greater desire for the Lord's work, more power in prayer and a greater desire to see others led to him."

Example 3.

"Last July at your Missionary Convention I realised that my life was not showing forth Jesus, I was like a bottle in the smoke" Psalm 119.83. I needed to be emptied, cleansed and

APPENDIX 5 (Cont'd)

(c) cont'd

filled with His Holy Spirit. I claimed this cleansing from Luke 11.13, and I knew that He had answered--"Behold the former things are come to pass, new things I do declare",--Is. 42.9. Since then I have been helped to read and understand His word, to speak of Him to others, and to know the way of victory through Calvary."

Example 4.

"I had the experience of sanctification on the 13th of August 1956. I had been in contact with many nurses who testified to this experience, and I too longed that the Holy Spirit might cleanse my heart and take full control of my being. At this time things seemed to be getting on top of me at the hospital and in desperation I sought the Lord in prayer, but somehow I just couldn't pray. In desperation I went to a nurse's room in the Nurses Home and told her how I felt. She knew what it was to be baptised with the Holy Ghost and she spoke to me on this subject. We then had a time of prayer together during which I poured out my life to God yielded my life, my will, my all completely to Him, and prayed that I might be filled with the Holy Ghost and with fire, that my heart might be completely cleansed. The Lord heard my prayer and answered. From that time onwards I have been conscious of a greater power" in my life. Opportunities for witnessing became more frequent and prayer and Bible study very

APPENDIX 5 (Cont'd)

(c) cont'd

precious times in my life. Through this experience the Lord has laid upon me a greater burden for lost souls and has made me more long-suffering with those with whom I work. "I am crucified with Christ, nevertheless I live, yet not I, but Christ liveth in me", Gal. 3.20."

Introducing . . .

EMMANUEL BIBLE COLLEGE

How easy it is to have mistaken ideas about Bible Colleges, their purpose and function, and to build up an image in your mind which is not true to fact.

Every College has its own particular emphasis and purpose in training; though as far as studies are concerned most interdenominational missionary training colleges use an agreed, basic syllabus. This article has been written to introduce our readers to the particular scheme of training adopted by us.

1. EMMANUEL — What is it ?

WE AIM to make our College a family unit rather than a mere institute of learning. Regulations are necessary in any well-run household, and you will find them in ours. The staff are regarded as senior members of the family whose example and experience are available to the less experienced and newer members of the family.

As in any family, so in ours, the great lesson to be learned is how to live together in harmony. We have discovered that the three things essential for achieving this are atmosphere, authority and adjustment.

The right atmosphere is created by respect for each other, by the practice of Christian love and by the spirit of self-denying service.

Authority, too, is an essential part of any well-run family; there must be a head and only as we respect those whom God has placed over us will our College life be effective.

This will mean constant adjustment to new people and situations. We are called upon to do things we have never done before, and things we may not like doing. The success or failure largely depends upon the way we face these adjustments.

2. EMMANUEL — What is its purpose ?

AS FAR AS our College is concerned its objectives are threefold:

i. Spiritual

Our chief objective is to teach the students so to know God that confidence, assurance and stability will be given to their Christian experience and service. No man is ignorant who knows God intimately and personally, and no man will be effective in Christian work without this knowledge, whatever else he knows.

ii. Mental

In one of Wesley's great hymns he prays that Christians might "work, and speak, and THINK for" God. He recognised the need not only of the burning heart, but also of the active mind: and so do we. Paul urged Timothy to "study" to show himself approved unto God. This implies diligence and earnest effort in the use of the mind. One of the objectives of training is to teach us to use our minds for God.

iii. Practical

Students are expected to share in the practical work of the College. The reason for this is something much more fundamental than a mere economic help to our finances. Practical work is vital in the training of Christian workers because it is character forming as well as physically and mentally beneficial to the student, and it makes him more adaptable and useful in whatever sphere of service lies ahead.

3. EMMANUEL — Whom is it for ?

WHAT ARE the basic requirements for one who desires to take this course of training ?

Spiritual, mental and practical ability are the qualifications for which we look in those who apply to us.

In things spiritual we look for a definite experience of the new birth accompanied by a genuine desire to do the will of God. We expect to find evidence that the life is fully yielded to God and that the candidate has a definite call into training. There should also be some evidence of a willingness to trust God for the supply of all needs, and a readiness to submit to discipline.

In the academic realm, previous education is taken into account, and also what the applicant has done since leaving school. It is some advantage to have passed accredited examinations such as G.C.E., etc., but this is not absolutely essential. We are really looking for the applicant who has the ability to learn and the determination to do so.

In the merely practical things we require the applicant to be healthy and to pass a medical test. We also expect them to have had some experience of Christian work in connection with some branch of the Christian Church. In addition it is desired that they should have had some experience of life such as can only be acquired through daily employment in office, hospital, school or workshop.

If you are interested in training we will be pleased to send you a Prospectus which sets forth in more detail the information you need about our syllabus of studies, fees, requirements, etc. This can be obtained from —

THE PRINCIPAL
1 PALM GROVE
BIRKENHEAD
CHESHIRE

APPENDIX 7Approximate Numbers of Students in Emmanuel Bible College each year 1920-64.

1920	6	1944	23
1921	15	1945	30
1922	20	1946	40
1923	15	1947	52
1924	14	1948	51
1925	21	1949	54
1926	28	1950	44
1927	34	1951	40
1928	22	1952	30
1929	28	1953	27
1930	26	1954	32
1931	26	1955	28
1932	30	1956	25
1933	24	1957	24
1934	29	1958	31
1935	25	1959	36
1936	31	1960	37
1937	40	1961	32
1938	37	1962	23
1939	36	1963	22
1940	32	1964	31
1941	41		
1942	33		
1943	27		

Note: These figures were supplied by the College' Principal, Rev. S. Banks.

APPENDIX 8

A List of Interdenominational Evangelical Movements which were formed at the time of the revival campaigns of Moody and Sankey and others in the late nineteenth century, compiled from "The Reaper", journal of the Ayrshire Christian Union.

- Ayrshire Christian Union (formed in 1877)
- Bible and Prayer Union (1876)
- Clackmannon and Kinross Christian Union (1885)
- Dundee United Evangelistic Association (1876)
- Forfarshire Christian Union (1888)
- Galloway Christian and Evangelistic Association (n.d.)
- Glasgow United Evangelistic Association (1884)
- Lanarkshire Christian Union (1882)
- Perthshire Christian Union (1885)
- Scottish Evangelistic Association (1886)
- Scottish Evangelization Society (1868)
- Scottish Navy Mission (1880)
- The Rescue and Evangelization Mission (1887)
- University Holiday Mission (Edinburgh, 1885)

APPENDIX 9

FAITH MISSION STATISTICS.

Table A. Numbers of Missions held each year since 1904-5.

	<u>Number of Missions</u>
1904-5	185
1905-6	208
1906-7	166
1907-8	152
1908-9	126
1909-10	162
1910-11	152
No Figures available for 1911-22	
1922-23	220
1923-24	296
1924-25	260
1925-26	307
1926-27	302
1927-28	237
1928-29	268
1929-30	300
1930-31	294
1931-32	325
1932-33	354
1933-34	303
1934-35	368
1935-36	360

APPENDIX 9 (Cont'd)

	<u>Total Number of Missions</u>	<u>Missions in Scotland and England</u>	<u>Missions in Ireland</u>
1936-37	300	191	109
1937-38	306	159	147
1938-39	310	172	138
1939-40	291	160	131
1940-41	276	137	139
1941-42	250	116	134
1942-43	206	82	124
1943-44	187	67	120
1944-45	184	83	101
1945-46	159	80	79
1946-47	193	124	69
1947-48	165	102	63
1948-49	201	96	105
1949-50	212	113	99
1950-51	265	152	123
1951-52	268	137	131
1952-53	239	133	106
1953-54	245	146	99
1954-55	239	146	93
1955-56	280	161	119
1956-57	287	167	120
1957-58	272	144	128
1958-59	262	131	131
1959-60	253	131	122
1960-61	238	131	107
1961-62	240	136	104
1962-63	215	120	95

Table B. Professions of Conversion Recorded by Pilgrims During Missions

<u>Year</u>	<u>Adults</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Children</u>	<u>Total</u>
1887-8		2,928		824
1888-9		2,920		1,162
1889-90		1,852		1,130
1890-91		1,215		709
1891-92		1,491		504
1892-93		3,132		568
1893-94		1,571		720
1894-95		2,474		588
1895-96		2,478		529
1896-97		2,194		436
1897-98		2,274		454
1898-99		1,877		267
1899-00		2,180		464
1900-01		2,704		702
1901-02		1,764		417
1902-03		1,740		441
1903-04		2,124		615
1904-05		1,963		1,088
1905-06		1,302		592
1906-07		1,102		507
1907-08		875		535
1908-09		803		378
1909-10		713		218
1910-11		767		235
1911-12		840		288
No figures available for 1912-22				
1922-23		3,746		1,553
1923-24		3,097		1,531
1924-25		3,257		1,698
1925-26		3,020		1,784

- continued on next page -

<u>Year</u>	<u>Adults</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Children</u>	<u>Total</u>
1926-27		2,264		1,042
1927-28		1,464		578
1928-29		1,599		974
1929-30		1,569		1,126
1930-31		1,507		859
1931-32		1,535		870
1932-33		1,643		693
1933-34		1,604		813
1934-35		1,284		951
1935-36		1,340		750

	<u>Scotland and England</u>			<u>Scotland and England</u>		
	<u>England</u>	<u>Ireland</u>		<u>England</u>	<u>Ireland</u>	
1936-37	511	583	1,094	444	202	646
1937-38	619	840	1,459	713	291	1,004
1938-39	547	716	1,265	558	258	816
1939-40	370	653	1,023	561	288	849
1940-41	315	655	1,120	582	345	927
1941-42	220	523	743	626	308	934
1942-43	245	590	835	455	282	737
1943-44	240	451	691	314	119	433
1944-45	192	423	615	319	238	557
1945-46	168	348	516	237	138	375
1946-47	106	496	602	348	175	523
1947-48	186	438	624	192	173	365
1948-49	173	538	711	175	209	384
1949-50	715	549	1,264	306	235	541
1950-51	607	569	1,176	277	281	558
1951-52	331	480	811	405	147	552
1952-53	286	406	692	375	200	575
1953-54	378	323	701	371	268	639
1954-55	423	417	810	459	254	713
1955-56	353	493	846	432	314	746

APPENDIX 9 (Cont'd)

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<u>Year</u>	<u>Adults</u>		<u>Total</u>	<u>Children</u>		<u>Total</u>
1956-57	317	435	752	362	211	573
1957-58	285	437	724	209	248	457
1958-59	311	505	816	279	316	595
1959-60	248	525	773	259	252	511
1960-61	228	426	654	231	251	482
1961-62	251	418	669	265	202	467
1962-63	270	403	673	356	115	471

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APPENDIX 9 (Cont'd)

Table C. Professions of Sanctification Recorded by Pilgrims During Missions

<u>Year</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>Total</u>
1887-8	161	1907-08	191
1888-89	886	1908-09	128
1889-90	463	1909-10	167
1890-91	113	1910-11	202
1891-92	148	1911-12	300
1892-93	64	No figures available for 1912-22	
1893-94	307	1922-23	1,509
1894-95	299	1923-24	1,934
1895-96	235	1924-25	1,622
1896-97	187	1925-26	1,903
1897-98	263	1926-27	1,400
1898-99	155	1927-28	599
1899-1900	300	1928-29	741
1900-01	637	1929-30	515
1901-02	251	1930-31	543
1902-03	262	1931-32	623
1903-04	188	1932-33	588
1904-05	169	1933-34	588
1905-06	223	1934-35	981
1906-07	267	1935-36	717

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APPENDIX 9 (Cont'd)

<u>Year</u>	<u>in Scotland and England</u>	<u>in Ireland</u>	<u>Total</u>
1936-37	167	373	540
1937-38	163	545	708
1938-39	163	516	679
1939-40	179	433	612
1940-41	55	358	413
1941-42	220	523	743
1942-43	245	590	835
1943-44	86	321	407
1944-45	97	240	337
1945-46	58	122	180
1946-47	52	317	369
1947-48	66	444	510
1948-49	67	524	591
1949-50	97	538	635
1950-51	68	537	605
1951-52	94	472	566
1952-53	93	250	343
1953-54	44	318	362
1954-55	72	237	309
1955-56	59	289	348
1956-57	117	219	336
1957-58	131	267	398
1958-59	129	316	445
1959-60	164	338	502
1960-61	134	349	483
1961-62	118	268	386
1962-63	182	263	345

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APPENDIX 9 (Cont'd)

Table D. Numbers of Prayer Union branches founded each year since 1927-28.

<u>Year</u>	<u>in Scotland and England</u>	<u>in Ireland</u>	<u>Total</u>
1927-28			20
1928-29			27
1929-30			29
1930-31			34
1931-32			25
1932-33			39
1933-34			35
1934-35			36
1935-36			31
1936-37	18	16	34
1937-38	18	22	40
1938-39	17	10	27
1939-40	21	13	34
1940-41	9	15	24
1941-42	9	11	20
1942-43	10	14	24
1943-44	7	6	13
1944-45	8	17	25
1945-46	10	6	16
1946-47	11	18	29
1947-48	8	16	24
1948-49	5	15	20
1949-50	17	17	34
1950-51	11	12	23
1951-52	14	12	26
1952-53	17	7	24

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APPENDIX 9 (Cont'd)

<u>Year</u>	<u>in Scotland and England</u>	<u>in Ireland</u>	<u>Total</u>
1953-54	18	5	23
1954-55	14	8	22
1955-56	15	16	31
1956-57	12	8	20
1957-58	12	5	17
1958-59	10	7	17
1959-60	11	6	17
1960-61	9	12	21
1961-62	14	9	23
1962-63	18	7	25

APPENDIX 10A List of Questions contained on the Application Form
for entry into the Faith Mission Training Home and
Bible College.

1. (a) Your full name.
(b) Native place.
(c) Date and year of birth, weight and height.
2. (a) Are you single?
(b) Have you any friendship, or any understanding, in the direction of marriage? (If so, give individual's name and address).
(c) If free, are you willing to remain so for the first few years of your service for God?
3. (a) Who of your family circle are alive?
(b) State what is, or has been, your father's occupation.
4. (a) Is there anyone dependent upon you for support?
(b) Have you any debts?
5. Are your parents favourable to your entering the Mission? If not, what reasons do they give for objecting?
6. If any near relatives have died, say, if possible, age and cause.
7. (a) Are you constitutionally strong?
(b) Do you enjoy good health now, and generally?
Please complete enclosed medical report.
8. (a) What is, or has been, your occupation?
(b) How long have you been engaged in it?
(c) When might you be free, and what notice do you require to give?
9. What education have you had?

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APPENDIX 10 (Cont'd)

10. (a) Of books you have read, name some that have most influenced you.
- (b) What religious magazines do you usually read?
- (c) What views have you in regard to works of fiction?
11. (a) How often have you read the Bible through?
- (b) Do you study it diligently and faithfully?
- (c) What time do you give daily to reading it?
12. Are you a total abstainer from alcohol, and from tobacco?
13. Of what religious denomination have you been a member or adherent, and for how long?
14. (a) State briefly your reasons for believing that you have been truly converted to God.
- (b) Date of Conversion.

In addition to this, please give a written testimony on the enclosed paper, telling where and under what circumstances you were converted, and with what result.

15. (a) Since your conversion, have you received the definite experience of being "filled with the Holy Ghost?" Mention briefly the occasion and effects of such experience.
- (b) Do you find this "fullness of the blessing" maintained, and that you have a victorious Christian experience? Answer in a few lines.
16. Do you believe in entire separation from "the world"; its selfish pleasures, such as dancing, theatres, etc.? (See Rom. xii, 1, 2; 2 Cor. vi. 14-18; 1 Jn. ii. 15-17).
17. Do you delight in prayer, and have you had practical experience that God answers?
18. Do you like visiting, and would you be willing to visit two or three hours a day?
19. (a) What experience have you had in conducting and addressing meetings?
- (b) Have you clear utterance in speech?

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APPENDIX 10 (Cont'd)

19. (c) Mention any other aggressive Christian work in which you are accustomed to take part.
20. Have you reason to believe that you have been used of God to the conversion of sinners and in blessing to Christians? If so, give instances.
21. (a) Can you lead singing?
(b) Can you sing solos? If not, state whether you can join in singing with others.
(c) Do you play any musical instrument?
22. Can you speak any language besides English?
23. (a) What are your motives in seeking to be trained for Mission work?
(b) Under what circumstances have you been led to apply?
24. (a) Do you believe yourself clearly and definitely called to Faith Mission work?
(b) If not to Faith Mission work, state to what field or under what Mission.
(c) Have you offered for any other Mission? If so, with what result?
25. Are you able to pay your expenses of board and lodging while in the Training Home as stated in the Prospectus? If not, please say how much you have in hand and if you expect anything more.
26. Have you studied carefully our "Aims, Principles and Methods," and "Pilgrim Life," and do you cordially approve? (If there is anything you do not clearly understand, or approve, please say what.
27. If accepted for the Faith Mission, will you practise strict economy in spending the Mission's money, remembering the sacrifice made by the donors?
28. Please give the names of any present or former Faith Mission workers you have met.
29. Give names and addresses of two or three Christian friends who would be willing to answer enquiries about you.

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APPENDIX 11

A Selected Glossary of Terms used among Holiness and Fundamentalist Groups.

1. Phrases used to describe the experiences of conversion and sanctification, their antecedents, conditions and their consequences.

Descriptions of the act of being converted are "saved", "Born Again", "Letting Jesus come into one's heart", "Giving one's life to Jesus".

Prior to their conversion and sanctification experiences, believers are often said to be "under deep conviction of sin".

After conversion and sanctification the feelings of elation are described as "the joy of the Lord".

Descriptions of the experience of sanctification are "Baptized with the Holy Ghost", "Heart Purity", "Heart Cleansing", "Fully saved", "The Second Blessing", "Going through with God", "Entering into Cansan".

Prior to the experience of sanctification, believers are said to suffer from "Heart hunger" and to have done much "Soul searching".

2. Phrases used in prayer to address God or to make requests of Him.

God is addressed as "The Lord" and in the second person singular "Thee".

Prayer is referred to as "Seeking the Lord", "Having a word of prayer".

When God's help is requested to make meetings successful, He is asked to "Come to us afresh", to "Give us a new anointing of Thy Spirit", to "Help us to hear Thy voice".

APPENDIX 11 (Cont'd)3. Phrases used to describe enjoyable or successful meetings.

The most frequently used descriptions are "A time of blessing", "A blessed time of prayer", "Showers of blessing".

Individuals speak of such meetings as having "Thrilled my soul", and may say they have heard "a glowing testimony" or "a lovely message", that they have "felt God's presence" or "the power of the Holy Ghost".

4. Phrases used to describe or to produce a suitably expectant revivalistic atmosphere.

"God is speaking to someone here tonight".

"God is here to bless you tonight".

"We can feel God's presence".

Faith Mission Pilgrims by year of entry and length of service.Table A. All Pilgrims.Time of Entry.

	1886-96		1897-1906		1907-16		1917-26		1927-36		1937-46		1947-56		ALL	
Length of Service	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Less than 5 years	50	60	52	70	61	70	118	69	90	52	102	68	124	60	597	64
6-10 years	23	28	9	12	15	17	20	12	62	36	33	22	64	31	226	24
11-15 years	2	2	8	11	2	2	19	11	13	8	7	5	(13)	(6)	64	7
16-20 years	4	5	-	-	3	3	8	5	2	1	1	1	4	2	22	2
21-25 years	-	-	1	1	1	1	2	1	2	1	(8)	(5)	-	-	(14)	(1)
More than 25 years	4	5	4	5	5	6	4	2	4	2	-	-	-	-	(21)	(2)
TOTALS	83	100	74	99	87	99	171	100	173	100	151	101	205	99	934	100

- Note:- 1. Tables A, B, and C were all compiled from data included annually in the Faith Mission magazine, "Bright Words".
2. Figures in brackets include pilgrims who are still in service.

Table B. Female Pilgrims.Time of Entry.

	1886-96		1897-1906		1907-16		1917-26		1927-36		1937-46		1947-56		ALL	
Length of Service	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Less than 5 years	32	60	33	70	40	68	91	68	61	50	71	70	76	59	404	63
5-10 years	14	26	6	13	9	15	13	10	47	38	24	24	43	33	156	24
11-15 years	2	4	6	13	2	3	18	14	11	9	4	4	6	5	49	8
16-20 years	3	6	-	-	3	5	6	5	2	2	-	-	4	3	18	3
21-25 years	-	-	-	-	1	2	2	2	1	1			-	-	(6)	(1)
More than 25 years	2	4	2	4	4	7	3	2	1	1	2	2	-	-	(12)	(2)
TOTALS	53	100	47	100	59	100	133	101	123	101	101	100	129	100	645	101

APPENDIX 12 (Cont'd)

Table C. Male Pilgrims.

Time of Entry.

	1886-96		1897-1906		1907-16		1917-26		1927-36		1937-46		1947-56		ALL	
Length of Service	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Less than 5 years	18	60	19	70	21	75	27	71	29	58	31	62	48	63	193	65
5-10 years	9	30	3	12	6	21	7	18	15	30	9	18	21	28	70	23
11-15 years	-	-	2	7	-	-	1	3	2	4	3	6	(7)	(9)	115	5
16-20 years	1	3	-	-	-	-	2	5	-	-	1	2	-	-	4	1
21-25 years	-	-	1	4	-	-	-	-	1	2	(6)	(12)	-	-	(17)	(6)
More than 25 years	2	7	2	7	1	4	1	3	3	6	-	-	-	-	-	-
TOTALS	30	100	27	100	28	100	38	100	50	100	50	100	76	100	299	100

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APPENDIX 13Results of a 20 per cent. Sample Survey of the Faith Mission Prayer UnionScottish and English DistrictsTable A. Results obtained for each districtSouth Scottish District

<u>Branch</u>	<u>Member-ship</u>	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>	<u>Over 35</u>	<u>Under 35</u>	<u>Membership 5 Years Ago</u>
Bathgate	15	6	9	9	6	8
Bonnyrigg	15	4	11	13	2	16
Dunbar	18	4	14	18	-	25
Duns.	23	7	16	20	3	17
Edinburgh	30	10	20	14	16	28
Newbiggin	12	6	6	3	9	8
Penicuik	16	4	12	8	8	10
West Calder	8	3	5	7	1	14

No. of Branches in 1964 - 36

No. of Branches in 1959 - 33

West Scottish District

Alston	17	6	11	13	4	22
Corby Hill	17	4	13	13	4	13
Glasgow	12	4	8	12	-	15
Greenock	12	3	9	9	3	14
Jamestown	15	5	10	9	6	-
Kilwinning	16	4	12	9	7	13
Lochgilpead	18	6	12	18	-	16

No. of Branches in 1964 - 36

No. of Branches in 1959 - 38

APPENDIX 13 (Cont'd)

<u>Membership</u>	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>	<u>Over 35</u>	<u>Under 35</u>	<u>Membership 5 Years Ago</u>
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East Scottish District

Brechin	16	5	11	14	2	20
Fraserburgh	15	7	8	9	6	7
Freuchie	6	1	5	6	-	6
Leven	15	4	11	11	4	10
Perth	18	3	15	18	-	21

No. of Branches in 1964 - 25

No. of Branches in 1959 - 27

Highland District

Fort William	16	6	10	11	5	18
Hannavoe	15	8	7	15	-	15
Kyle of Lchalsh	10	4	6	8	2	10

No. of Branches in 1964 - 14

No. of Branches in 1959 - 18

Yorkshire and Midlands District

Bridgehill	10	7	3	3	7	14
Hamsterley	14	2	12	9	5	10
Leeds	23	6	17	15	8	-
York	33	12	21	17	16	-

No. of Branches in 1964 - 22

No. of Branches in 1959 - 4

APPENDIX 13 (Cont'd)

<u>Branch</u>	<u>Member- ship</u>	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>	<u>Over 35</u>	<u>Under 35</u>	<u>Membership 5 Years Ago</u>
<u>East Anglian District</u>						
Beccles	8	2	6	8	-	11
Bildeston	13	5	8	11	2	12
Bramfield	7	2	5	5	2	12
Chappel	7	2	5	6	1	7
Dedham	23	9	14	14	9	11
Fingringhoe	6	1	5	6	-	6
Kirby Cane	8	4	4	8	-	9
Lowestoft No. 1	12	1	11	10	2	6
Mendlesham	9	4	5	8	1	9

No. of Branches in 1964 - 44

No. of Branches in 1959 - 33

Irish DistrictsNorth Irish District

Ballee	35	-	-	17	18	12
Ballygelly	4	1	3	4	-	8
Ballymoney	18	10	8	6	12	16
Blackhill	20	8	12	10	10	20
Castledawson	20	10	10	14	6	10
Craigatimpin	26	-	-	13	13	26
Cullyvenny	12	6	6	10	2	12
Drumlee	20	13	7	14	6	26

APPENDIX 13 (Cont'd)

<u>Branch</u>	<u>Member- ship</u>	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>	<u>Over 35</u>	<u>Under 35</u>	<u>Membership 5 Years Ago</u>
<u>North Irish District cont'd</u>						
Gortfad	36	15	21	15	21	30
Killycowan	10	3	7	7	3	10
Laymore	12	4	8	6	6	15
Moneymore	6	4	2	5	1	6
Staffordstown	10	4	6	6	4	16
Vow	10	4	6	10	-	10

No. of Branches in 1964 - 75

North-West Irish District

Articlave	12	7	5	8	4	6
Cashel	53	27	26	18	35	-
Derramore	7	-	-	-	-	8
Edenaharnan	14	6	8	9	5	16
Largy	14	6	8	10	4	-
Manorcunningham	9	3	6	5	4	9
Portstewart	18	2	16	13	5	12
Strabane	18	8	10	12	6	18

No. of Branches in 1964 - 36

Irish Border District

Acton	36	14	22	20	16	-
Balteagh	12	6	6	11	1	-
Derryhubbert	12	5	7	6	6	12
Cladybeg	11	5	6	7	4	-

APPENDIX 13 (Cont'd)

<u>Branch</u>	<u>Member- ship</u>	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>	<u>Over 35</u>	<u>Under 35</u>	<u>Membership 5 Years Ago</u>
<u>Irish Border District cont'd</u>						
Drumnaferry	13	6	7	7	6	-
Gilford	6	2	4	5	1	-
Kilmore	22	7	15	11	11	22
Moyrourken	36	14	22	12	24	28
Rostrevor	17	8	9	15	2	-

No. of Branches in 1964 - 45

<u>Central Irish District #</u>						
Ballyhill	24	8	16	21	3	22
Ballymartin	10	4	6	8	2	10
Belfast No. 2	20	10	10	15	5	-
Belfast No. 3	45	-	-	25	20	45
Craigantlet	12	5	7	6	6	12
Edentrillick	24	-	-	18	6	10
Gransha	22	-	-	11	11	14
Kilkeel	16	5	11	14	2	20
Upper Crossgare	45	45	-	29	16	40

No. of Branches in 1964 - 65

APPENDIX 13 (Cont'd)

<u>Branch</u>	<u>Member- ship</u>	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>	<u>Over 35</u>	<u>Under 35</u>	<u>Membership 5 Years Ago</u>
<u>West Irish District #</u>						
Ballymaguire	12	5	7	9	3	14
Bush	24	8	16	11	13	14
Curglasson	12	-	-	6	6	14
Drumquin	17	7	10	9	6	15
Milltown	15	6	9	9	6	-
Orritor	32	-	-	17	15	17
Roughan	18	7	11	11	7	8
Tullyrush	10	4	6	3	7	10

No. of Branches in 1964 - 75

<u>South Irish District (Eire)</u>						
Arklow	5	3	2	3	2	7
Churchcross	11	5	6	8	3	7
Durrow	9	3	6	3	6	9
Kilkenny	18	11	7	12	6	14
Lindsayville	17	4	13	14	3	15
Maryborough	10	4	6	2	8	10
Tramore	3	1	2	3	-	3

No. of Branches in 1964 - 36

The sample in the case of these two districts of the Mission was inadequate. It was due to an oversight on the part of the District Superintendents concerned and, despite my request for information on the other 13 branches which is necessary to complete the sample, it was not possible to rectify the matter.

APPENDIX 13 (Cont'd)

Table B. Summary of Sample Survey of the Faith Mission Prayer Union, 1964.

<u>District</u>	<u>Total No. of Branches in 1964</u>	<u>No. of Branches in Sample</u>	<u>No. of Members in Sample</u>	<u>Sex</u>		<u>Age</u>	
				<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Over 35</u>	<u>Under 35</u>
South Scottish	36	8	137	44	93	92	45
West Scottish	36	7	107	32	75	83	24
East Scottish	25	5	70	20	50	58	12
Highland	14	3	41	18	23	34	7
Yorks and Midlands	22	4	80	27	53	44	36
East Anglia	44	9	93	30	63	76	17
Total for Scotland and England	177	36	528	171	357	387	141
North Irish	75	14	239	82 [†]	96 [†]	137	102
North-west Irish	36	8	145	59 [†]	79 [†]	75 [†]	63 [†]
Irish Border	45	9	165	67	98	94	71
Central Irish	65	9 [†]	218	32 [†]	50 [†]	147	71
West Irish	75	8 [†]	140	37 [†]	59 [†]	75	65
South Irish	36	7	73	31	42	45	28
Total for Ireland	332	55	980	308	424	573	400
Total for Whole Mission	519	91	1,508				

[†] Data incomplete

APPENDIX 14Estimates of the Denominational Composition of Faith Mission
Prayer Union Branches in Yorkshire, the Midlands and Durham.

<u>PLACE</u>	<u>COUNTY</u>	<u>% IN EACH DENOMINATION</u>
Edgehill	Durham	50% Baptist, 30% Anglican, 20% Methodist
Masterley	"	20% " , 10% " , 70% "
South Shields	"	100% Methodist
Wotton Leonard	Yorkshire	100% Methodist
Wetherby	"	" "
Wetherby	"	" "
Wetherby	"	50% Pentecostal, 50% Methodist
Wetherby	"	100% Methodist
Wetherby	"	25% Baptist, 75% Methodist
Wetherby	"	100% Methodist
Wetherby	"	" "
Wetherby	"	25% Free Church, 75% Anglican
Wetherby	"	30% Pentecostal, 30% Anglican, 40% Methodist
Wetherby	"	100% Methodist
Wetherby	"	20% Anglican, 10% Presbyterian, 70% Methodist
Wetherby	Leics.	100% Free Church with Methodist Doctrine
Wetherby	"	50% " " , 50% Methodist
Wetherby	"	50% Anglican, 30% Methodist, 20% Brethren

APPENDIX 14 (Cont'd)

<u>PLACE</u>	<u>COUNTY</u>	<u>% IN EACH DENOMINATION</u>
Leicester	Leics.	100% Free Church with Methodist Doctrine
Whithouse Eaves	"	50% Baptist, 50% Methodist
Whithouse Eaves	"	" " 50% Anglican
Whithouse Eaves	"	30% " 50% Free Church, 20% Anglican
Whithouse Eaves	"	50% Pentecostal, 50% Anglican

APPENDIX 15

Data on Students in the Faith Mission Training Home 1912-60
according to decennial period of entry.

Note: Figures in brackets are male students

Table A Age at entry into the Training Home

<u>Period of Entry</u>	<u>Age Group</u>					
	<u>Under 20</u>	<u>20-25</u>	<u>26-30</u>	<u>30 +</u>	<u>N.K.</u>	<u>Total</u>
1912-22	20 (5)	57 (17)	27 (3)	10 (0)	13 (6)	127 (31)
1923-32	22 (9)	98 (29)	36 (9)	8 (3)	5 (1)	169 (51)
1933-42	9 (2)	66 (20)	29 (8)	5 (0)	3 (0)	112 (30)
1943-52	26 (14)	61 (20)	34 (5)	4 (1)	1 (0)	126 (40)
1953-60	29 (8)	64 (15)	21 (5)	3 (1)	1 (1)	118 (30)
All	106 (38)	346 (101)	147 (30)	30 (5)	23 (8)	652 (182)

Table B Length of Time between Conversion and Date of Entry

<u>Period of Entry</u>	<u>Length of Time</u>					
	<u>Under 5 Yrs.</u>	<u>6-10 Yrs.</u>	<u>10-15 Yrs.</u>	<u>Over 15 Yrs.</u>	<u>N.K.</u>	<u>Total</u>
1912-22	35 (10)	46 (11)	18 (1)	5 (0)	23 (9)	127 (31)
1923-32	50 (16)	62 (20)	9 (0)	9 (3)	39 (12)	169 (51)
1933-42	35 (17)	40 (8)	20 (3)	5 (0)	12 (2)	112 (30)
1943-52	44 (18)	40 (13)	26 (3)	10 (2)	6 (4)	126 (40)
1953-60	55 (20)	42 (7)	18 (2)	2 (0)	1 (1)	118 (30)
All	219 (81)	230 (59)	91 (9)	31 (5)	81 (28)	652 (182)

APPENDIX 15 (Cont'd)

Table C District of Origin at Time of Application for Entry

<u>Period of Entry</u>	<u>District of Origin</u>									<u>Total</u>
	<u>A</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>C</u>	<u>D</u>	<u>E</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>G</u>	<u>H</u>	<u>J</u>	
1912-22	12 (4)	18 (3)	8 (4)	16 (6)	17 (2)	46 (6)	5 (4)	4 (2)	1 (0)	127 (31)
1923-32	21 (7)	32 (8)	13 (8)	36 (6)	16 (3)	36 (9)	8 (7)	5 (1)	2 (2)	169 (51)
1933-42	6 (2)	18 (4)	22 (9)	25 (6)	11 (2)	18 (3)	4 (0)	7 (4)	1 (0)	112 (30)
1943-52	11 (2)	16 (5)	51 (19)	15 (5)	14 (1)	8 (1)	3 (2)	8 (5)	0 (0)	126 (40)
1953-60	10 (3)	14 (4)	30 (8)	29 (8)	11 (3)	14 (1)	5 (1)	5 (2)	0 (0)	118 (30)
A11	<u>50 (18)</u>	<u>98 (24)</u>	<u>124 (48)</u>	<u>121 (31)</u>	<u>69 (11)</u>	<u>122 (20)</u>	<u>25 (14)</u>	<u>29 (14)</u>	<u>4 (2)</u>	<u>652 (182)</u>

Key to Districts:

A - Scottish village	F - English or Welsh town or city
B - Scottish town or city	G - Abroad
C - Northern Irish village	H - Southern Irish village
D - Northern Irish town or city	J - Southern Irish town or city
E - English or Welsh village	

APPENDIX 15 (Cont'd)

Table D Type of Activity which Students Entered into after Training

<u>Period of Entry</u>	<u>Type of Activity</u>						
	<u>Faith Mission</u>	<u>Foreign Missions</u>	<u>Other Evangelism in Britain</u>	<u>Pastorate or Ministry in Britain</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>N. K.</u>	<u>Total</u>
1912-22	60 (6)	29 (9)	10 (2)	6 (6)	19 (8)	3 (0)	127 (31)
1923-32	96 (19)	46 (18)	3 (1)	6 (6)	14 (7)	4 (0)	169 (51)
1933-42	44 (8)	16 (3)	14 (3)	11 (11)	24 (4)	3 (1)	112 (30)
1943-52	45 (11)	30 (9)	23 (10)	8 (8)	18 (1)	2 (0)	126 (40)
1953-60	46 (9)	31 (9)	13 (6)	2 (2)	25 (4)	1 (0)	118 (30)
All	291 (53)	152 (48)	63 (22)	33 (33)	100 (24)	13 (1)	652 (182)

APPENDIX 15 (Cont'd)

Table E Occupational Class of Students since 1925

<u>Year of Entry</u>	<u>Occupational Class</u>								<u>N. K.</u>	<u>Total</u>
	<u>Class 1</u>	<u>Class 2</u>	<u>Farmer</u>	<u>Class 3</u>	<u>Clerical</u>	<u>Class 4</u>	<u>Class 5</u>	<u>Helping at Home</u>		
1925-32	0 (0)	11 (4)	7 (7)	17 (9)	26 (4)	18 (2)	9 (1)	5 (0)	13 (4)	106 (31)
1933-42	1 (0)	15 (3)	11 (11)	22 (7)	20 (5)	15 (3)	9 (1)	13 (0)	6 (0)	112 (30)
1943-52	0 (0)	26 (3)	11 (11)	22 (15)	22 (1)	17 (5)	7 (2)	18 (1)	3 (2)	126 (40)
1953-60	1 (1)	29 (5)	5 (5)	19 (7)	37 (2)	16 (4)	4 (4)	5 (0)	2 (2)	118 (30)
Total	<u>2 (1)</u>	<u>81 (15)</u>	<u>34 (34)</u>	<u>80 (38)</u>	<u>105 (12)</u>	<u>66 (14)</u>	<u>29 (8)</u>	<u>41 (1)</u>	<u>24 (8)</u>	<u>462 (131)</u>

Note: Classes are those used by the Registrar-General except that Farmers and Clerical Workers, normally in Classes 2 and 3 respectively, have been put into separate groups, as also have those whose occupation was stated to be "helping at home".

APPENDIX 15 (Cont'd)

Table F Occupational Class of Students' Fathers since 1934

	<u>Occupational Class</u>								
	<u>Class 1</u>	<u>Class 2</u>	<u>Farmer</u>	<u>Class 3</u>	<u>Clerical</u>	<u>Class 4</u>	<u>Class 5</u>	<u>N. K.</u>	<u>Total</u>
1934-42	2 (0)	3 (0)	26 (9)	25 (4)	2 (0)	5 (1)	1 (0)	37 (14)	101 (28)
1943-52	1 (0)	10 (3)	51 (19)	20 (5)	3 (1)	16 (4)	20 (6)	5 (2)	126 (40)
1953-60	2 (0)	19 (5)	31 (11)	32 (4)	1 (0)	14 (1)	11 (7)	8 (2)	118 (30)
All	5 (0)	32 (8)	108 (39)	77 (13)	6 (1)	35 (6)	32 (13)	50 (18)	345 (98)

Note: Classes used are the same as in Table E.

APPENDIX 15 (Cont'd)

Table G Educational Background of Students Since 1934

	<u>Type of Education</u>								
	<u>Element- ary</u>	<u>Secondary Unspecified</u>	<u>Secondary and Commercial</u>	<u>Secondary and Technical</u>	<u>Univers- ity</u>	<u>Teacher Training</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>N. K.</u>	<u>Total</u>
1934-42	46 (10)	17 (3)	0 (0)	3 (1)	2 (0)	0 (0)	1 (0)	32 (14)	101 (28)
1943-52	63 (20)	35 (13)	11 (0)	10 (4)	1 (0)	1 (0)	2 (1)	3 (2)	126 (40)
1953-60	34 (13)	50 (12)	18 (0)	8 (2)	3 (2)	3 (0)	2 (1)	0 (0)	118 (30)
All	<u>143 (43)</u>	<u>102 (28)</u>	<u>29 (0)</u>	<u>21 (7)</u>	<u>6 (2)</u>	<u>4 (0)</u>	<u>5 (2)</u>	<u>35 (16)</u>	<u>345 (98)</u>

Note: The 'other' category includes training in Domestic Science, Music, Pharmacy and, in one case, another bible college.

APPENDIX 15 (Cont'd)

Table H Denominational Preferences of Students
Denomination

Period of Entry	<u>U.F.</u>	<u>Meth.</u>	<u>C.E.</u>	<u>C.S.</u>	<u>C.I.</u>	<u>Indep.</u>	<u>Bapt.</u>	<u>Cong.</u>	<u>"Pres."</u>	<u>Hol.</u>	<u>Breth.</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>N. K.</u>	<u>Total</u>
1912- 1922	11(3)	14(5)	23(3)	35(2)	7(2)	11(0)	14(2)	6(0)	11(5)	7(1)	1(0)	4(1)	13(7)	127(31)
1923- 1932	15(8)	14(3)	19(3)	4 (2)	10(2)	28(7)	26(6)	3(1)	36(13)	2(0)	1(1)	5(4)	6(1)	169(51)
1933- 1942	2(1)	17(4)	7(1)	6(4)	7(1)	14(3)	14(2)	3(0)	30(13)	2(0)	5(1)	1(0)	4(0)	112(30)
1943- 1952	4(0)	17(7)	1(0)	8(3)	14(5)	9(1)	20(3)	1(0)	42(17)	3(0)	2(2)	0(0)	5(2)	126(40)
1953- 1960	<u>2(0)</u>	<u>15(3)</u>	<u>4(2)</u>	<u>7(4)</u>	<u>14(4)</u>	<u>5(1)</u>	<u>19(2)</u>	<u>1(0)</u>	<u>34(10)</u>	<u>4(2)</u>	<u>4(0)</u>	<u>8(1)</u>	<u>1(1)</u>	<u>118(30)</u>
All	<u>34(12)</u>	<u>77(22)</u>	<u>54(9)</u>	<u>30(15)</u>	<u>52(14)</u>	<u>67(12)</u>	<u>93(15)</u>	<u>14(1)</u>	<u>153(58)</u>	<u>18(3)</u>	<u>13(4)</u>	<u>18(6)</u>	<u>29(11)</u>	<u>652(182)</u>

Key to abbreviations: U.F. - United Free Church
of Scotland
Meth. - Methodist
C.E. - Church of England
C.S. - Church of Scotland
C.I. - Church of Ireland
Indep. - Independent or
Undenominational
Mission or Gospel
Hall

Bapt. - Baptist
Cong. - Congregational
"Pres." - "Presbyterian"
Hol. - Holiness Church
Other - includes Salvation Army, Society
of Friends, Pentecostal groups,
Unitarians and students from
abroad.

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APPENDIX 16

A List of Organizations with Exhibits on the Evangelical Missionary Alliance Stand at the Festival of Britain, 1951.

Africa Inland Mission
 All Nations Bible College
 Austria Bible Mission
 Bible Churchmen's College
 Bible Churchmen's Missionary Society
 Bible Lands Missionaries' Aid Society
 Bible Reading Fellowship
 Bible Testimony Fellowship
 Bible Text Publicity Mission
 Borneo Evangelistic Mission
 British Floating Church Endeavour Society
 British and Foreign Bible Society
 British and Foreign Evangelical Tract Society
 British Gospel Book Association
 British Sailors' Association
 British Society for the Propagation of the Gospel among Jews
 British Syrian Mission
 British Youth for Christ
 Caravan Mission to Village Children
 Central Japan Pioneer Mission
 Ceylon and India General Mission
 Children's Special Service Mission
 Christian Colportage Association
 Christian Endeavour Union of Great Britain and Ireland
 Christian Literature Crusade
 Church Army
 Church of England Zenada Missionary Society
 Church Mission to Jews
 Church Missionary Society
 Church Pastoral Aid Society
 Clifton Theological College
 Colonial and Continental Church Society
 Covenanters' Union
 Crusaders' Union
 Egypt General Mission
 Elin Church
 Emmanuel Bible College
 European Christian Mission
 Evangelical Library
 Evangelical Union of South America
 Evangelical Mobile Units

APPENDIX 16 (Cont'd)

Evangelization Society
Fact and Faith Films
Faith Mission
Fellowship of Faith for the Moslems
Free Church of England
Friends of America
Full Gospel Testimony
The Gideons, International
Girl Covenantors
Girl Crusaders' Union
Girls' Life Brigade
Glynn Vivian Miners' Mission
Homeless Children's Aid and Adoption Society
India North-West Mission
Inter-Hospital Nurses; Christian Fellowship
International Bible Reading Association
International Bible Training Institute
International Child Evangelization Fellowship
International Christian Police Association
International Good News Publicity
International Hebrew Christian Alliance
Imperial Alliance for the Defence of Sunday
Japan Evangelistic Band
Lebanon Missionary Bible College
Leper and Medical Crusade
London Bible College
London City Mission
London Embankment Mission
Lovell Society for the Blind of Palestine
Ludhiana Women's Christian Medical College
Medical Missionary Association
Medical Home Mission Department
Methodist Missionary Society
Mission to Lepers
Mission to Mediterranean Garrisons
Moravian Missions
Mount Hermon Missionary Training College
National Young Life Campaign
North Africa Mission
Nyassa Mission
Oak Hill College
Officers' Christian Union
Open-air Mission
Overseas Mission of the Presbyterian Church of England
Pocket Testament League

APPENDIX 16 (Cont'd)

Poona and Indian Village Mission
Protestant Truth Society
Railway Service Christian Union
Radcliffe Missionary Training College
Regions Beyond Missionary Union
Ridgeland Bible College
Royal National Mission to Deep Sea Fishermen
Royal Naval Lay Readers' Society
Ruanda Mission (Church Missionary Society)
Salvation Army
Scripture Gift Mission
Scripture Union
Seamen's Christian Friends Society
Sentinels' Union
Shaftesbury Society
Slavic Missionary Society
Society for Distributing Holy Scriptures to Jews
Society of Hope for Young Women and Children
Soldier's and Airmen's Scripture Reader's Association
Trinitaria Bible Society
Unevangelized Fields Mission
United Kingdom Band of Hope Union
United Protestant Council
United Society for Christian Literature
Vellore Christian Medical College
Victory Tract Club
Village Evangelists
Visual Education Limited
West Amazon Mission
Whitechapel Mission
Women's Protestant Union
Worldwide Evangelization Crusade
Workers Christian Fellowship
Wycliffe Hall
Young Warriors
Young Women's Christian Association of Scotland
Zambesi Mission
Zenana Bible and Medical Mission

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