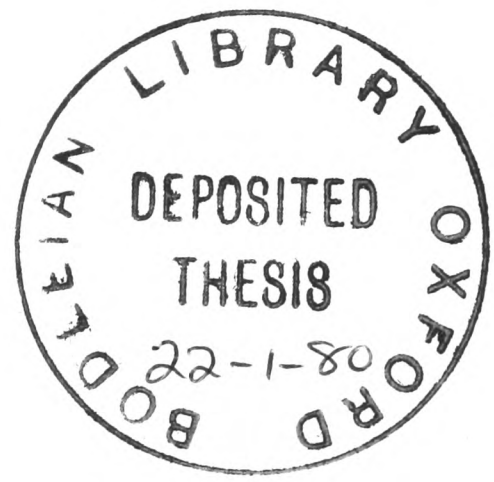
A SOCIOLOGICAL STUDY OF THE CHURCH ARMY

THE ORIGINS AND DEVELOPMENT OF A CHURCH OF ENGLAND SOCIETY



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1979 MT

ABSTRACT

The thesis examines aspects of the organisational adjustment of the Church of England in the nineteenth century which occurred following the recognition that the working classes were so little reached by the Church's ministrations. Church leaders, increasingly aware that the Church no longer enjoyed a monopoly position in religion, came increasingly to accept the need for home missionary work as a way of competing with other religious organisations, and the Church Army was one significant response to this situation. The thesis examines the origins of the Church Army in 1883 and its development up to 1914. The problems of accommodating Church Army techniques within the structure and activities of the Church of England is examined, together with the reactions to this type of new enterprise, by local clergy and by the Church authorities.

An appraisal of the appeal and effectiveness of the Church Army, and of the influences affecting the style of organisation and its doctrinal orientation is made, and the organisation is examined for its quasi-sectarian potentialities. Attention is given to the processes of internal change within the Church Army, both in response to problems encountered in missioning and with respect to its acceptability to the Anglican clergy. The accretion of new goals, particularly in the development of social work, and the gradual domestication of the organisation are the subject of analysis in which the transformation of a quasi-sect into an agency of the Church is documented.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My acknowledgements are brief but considerable. Ilya Neustadt, at Leicester, encouraged an interest in the sociology of religion. Sister Joan Wilbourne C.A. gave invaluable assistance and guidance in the largely uncatalogued archives of the Church Army. Numerous other members of the Church Army gave unknowing encouragement through their interest and questions. Liz Ryder kindly typed the final draft. Above all, however, my debt is to Dr. Bryan R. Wilson of All Souls College, Oxford, whose patient and constant encouragement can be fully understood only by those others who have been fortunate enough to experience it.

List of abbreviations used in this thesis

B.	Battleaxe
C.A.A.	Church Army Archives
C.A.A.R.	Church Army Annual Reports
C.A.G.	Church Army Gazette
C.C.R.	Church Congress Reports
C. of C.	Chronicle of Canterbury Convocation
C. of Y.	Chronicle of York Convocation
C.T.	Church Times
G.	Guardian
Y.B.	Year-Book of the Church of England

Introduction

It has been a frequent criticism of sociologists of religion that they have devoted a disproportionate amount of attention to the study of the marginal phenomena of the field, and in particular to sects.[1] The "pathology" of religion rather than its normal representation has been a primary interest. There are of course reasons for this: sects are small and manageable subjects for enquiry; one piece of research can encompass a sect in almost anthropological style; and sects manifest an intensity of commitment which make them appear "more religious", more authentic subjects for enquiry than the more muted and dilute responses that characterise the membership of churches. Much of the work that has been undertaken into sociological aspects of the dominant churches has necessarily had to confine itself to particular elements. Very often the clergy themselves have stood for "the church" in these enquiries; or one parish has been a case study; or one particular organisational process has been the focus of attention.[2] Even where lay practice has been at issue, the focus has often had to be narrowed to either the purely statistical[3] or the geographical level.[4] The subject matter of this thesis sets

[1] See S. Ranson, A. Bryman and B. Hinings. Clergy, ministers and priests. 1977. p 1.

[2] cf. S. Ranson et al. 1977; A.P.M. Coxon. 'Patterns of occupational recruitment: the Anglican ministry', in Sociology 1. 1967; R. Towler. 'The social status of the Anglican minister', in R. Robertson (ed). Sociology of Religion. 1969; K.A. Thompson. Bureaucracy and Church Reform. Oxford. 1970, and historically E.R. Norman. Church and society in England, 1770-1970, a historical study. Oxford. 1976.

[3] R. Currie, A. Gilbert and L. Horsley. Churches and Churchgoers. Patterns of Church Growth in the British Isles since 1700. Oxford. 1977.

[4] J.D. Gay. The Geography of Religion in England. 1971.

out quite explicitly to study one particular development of the Church's response to the social situation it encountered in the England of the last decades of the nineteenth century. Modestly, it may be said that it includes within this limited perspective something of the advantages that have drawn sociologists to the study of sects, in that the particular movement that concerns us had at its origins something approximating a sectarian style of organisation and activity. It displayed initially a single-mindedness about religion generally untypical of the parent body to which it was attached, even though, as the thesis seeks to demonstrate, the Church Army, like that parent body, also experienced an accretion of commitments and a deflection of goals.

In comparison to the Church of Rome, the Church of England has shown only a limited capacity for the development and containment of specialised agencies for particular facets of church work. Rome, with its orders, congregation, and even with its centres of pilgrimage, evolved a more diversified structure to cope with divergent circumstances. Perhaps because Anglicanism was itself a state church, and thus increasingly became recognised as almost a department of another agency, (the state), its response to internal diversification was retarded. It relied on the efficacy of its traditional geographic distribution, assuming that its work went forward adequately through the parishes. But the secularisation of church life in the eighteenth century, the association of parishes with landownership, the shifts of population in the industrial revolution, all made these assumptions decreasingly tenable. Nor was the Church organised in a way that permitted

it to assimilate the relatively spontaneous responses to changed circumstances that occurred in the course of its history, as the example of the gradual extrusion of Methodism exemplifies. The complexity of the Church's inter-relationship with land ownership; its dependence on lay patronage; its identification with the state; and its possession of an organisational structure inadequately articulated in relation to the state - may all have been circumstances that prevented its adaptation to new conditions. The century of reform did not, however, leave the Church untouched. The increase of the professionalism of the clergy, the growing recognition that there were unchurched masses in the rapidly growing cities, and the inroads on the one hand of Nonconformity, and on the other of an increasingly conspicuous manifestation of religious indifference in the working classes, all conspired to induce churchmen to consider some modifications, or at least augmentations, of the old parish system.

Awareness of the deficiencies in the parochial system led to a number of alterations to existing Church machinery. The movement to restore orders of men, and to institute congregations of women,[1] are examples of the diversification of the Church and its attempt to work more widely in society, while the need for modernisation was made more obvious to Church leaders as they realised that Anglicanism did not enjoy anything approaching a religious monopoly. A response to the recognition of this position of religious pluralism was the development and acceptance by the Church of the concept of mission at home - exemplified

[1] See M. Hill. The Religious Order - A Study of virtuoso religion and its legitimation in the nineteenth century Church of England. 1973; and P.F. Anson. The Call of the Cloister, revised ed. 1964.

to some extent in the settlement movement, as well as in the emergence of the Church Army.

One significant influence which affected the new concern with mission work, especially among low churchmen, was the by now well established pattern of activity embraced in revivalism. American revivalists had been active since early in the nineteenth century and, of course, the example of Wesley lay in the background. The Church Army built in part on this and the general evangelical tradition with which revivalism was associated.

In undertaking mission work, churchmen had recourse to novel methods, some of them imports from Nonconformity. The Church Army was perhaps the most extreme example of Anglican borrowing from other organisations, since it was in large part a duplication (some said, imitation) of the Salvation Army, the methods and style of which were themselves a subject of controversy even though they appeared to succeed reasonably well with the working classes. It was the imitation by the Church Army of these sensationalist techniques, and the problem of accommodating them with the existing structure of Anglicanism, which made the Church Army a subject of contention within the Church. This record of controversy, and the extent to which the Church Army manifested schismatic proclivities are necessarily central issues to which attention is directed below.

Organisational adaptation to a changed environment is influenced by a variety of factors - the degree of organisational flexibility, the ability of leaders to formulate a successful strategy of adaptation, etc. - and also by the values of the organisation itself. Any attempt to adjust the organisational

structure of the Church had to take into account not only instrumental criteria, but also the distinct values of the Church itself, which were seen by some as divinely ordained. Conflict between these two referents was always a possibility.[1] In the Church of England, this tension became apparent when Bishop Blomfield and the members of the Ecclesiastical Commission proposed alterations to Church administration, which, in the opinion of some High Churchmen, compromised essential spiritual elements of Anglicanism. The same is true of clerical criticism of the "irreverent" mission-band techniques of the Church Army, which were seen by some churchmen as methods that had no place within standard Church procedures.

Since the early formulation of the Church/sect dichotomy by Weber and Troeltsch,[2] the systemisation of religious organisations has multiplied to the extent that the compiler of a recent survey of the sociology of religion has called for a moratorium on the use and continued elaboration of typologies of religious movements, and has encouraged the search for alternative approaches to religious collectivities.[3] Classification for its own sake may be of limited value in sociological research, since the refinement of typologies and the multiplication of sub-types may become ends in themselves and prove unproductive in empirical research. This study does not attempt to construct a typology, nor to "fit" the Church Army within established

[1] On this see K.A. Thompson. Oxford. 1970.

[2] Max Weber. The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism. 1930. pp 144-154; E. Troeltsch. The social teachings of the Christian churches. 2 vols. 1931.

[3] Current Sociology. Vol. XXI (1973), No 2 : Religious Organisation by James A. Beckford.

categories of analysis. The model of the conversionist sect[1] is used as a heuristic tool to throw into bolder relief the evangelistic techniques, doctrinal emphases, and organisational transformation of the Anglican mission-band. It is suggested that, in its early years, the Church Army was sufficiently similar to groups that have been characterised as conversionist sects (most notably the Salvation Army), for comparison of its main features with the ideal type to be of heuristic value. The Church Army is, therefore, examined for its quasi-sectarian potentialities.

Despite similarities with sects, the sectarian features of the Anglican mission-band were always complemented - and finally attenuated - by the consequences of continuing membership of the Church. Anglican status, and the fact that its leaders were ordained clergymen who were themselves under episcopal control, rendered the Church Army sensitive to clerical criticism and suggestion, and the movement was subject to a process of domestication whereby its more "sectarian" features were gradually eroded. Sensitivity to clerical criticism prompted modification, but change was also induced by the experience of evangelism itself. An accretion of goals, particularly in social welfare, and subsidiary activities, occurred, reducing the sectarian style of the society, and thus reducing any schismatic proclivities.

Although the memory of its early history is still an essential element of the present organisation - especially the continuing military nomenclature, uniform, and the pervading

[1] The model is borrowed from B.R. Wilson. An Analysis of Sect Development, in Patterns of Sectarianism. 1967.

influence of Wilson Carlile[1] - the work of the Church Army of today is more varied than its founder would, at first, have envisaged. Evangelism is still seen as the "distinctive role" of the society. Many of the four hundred or so Church Army captains and sisters are active evangelists in fifteen dioceses in England and Wales, and proselytism is carried out in parishes, Sunday schools, factories, prisons, clubs, public-houses, hospitals, in fact, "wherever people gather".[2] Nevertheless, much of its work is social as well as spiritual, including the welfare of prisoners and their families; rehabilitation hostels for homeless men, women, discharged psychiatric patients, young offenders, and alcoholics; counselling services for drug-addicts; help for child mothers, the elderly, and those with "problems of living"; housing for those in need; and the provision of rest and holiday homes for clergy. In addition to the work in Britain, the Church Army has independent and semi-independent branches in Canada, the United States, Australia, New Zealand, the West Indies, and parts of Africa.

This study is not concerned with the work of the present-day society, either at home or abroad, nor with the significance of its war-work. Both these topics have been treated elsewhere.[3]

[1] Founder of the Church Army.

[2] Church Army Fact Sheet. No 8. The Church Army Evangelists in the Parishes.

[3] On the war work see J.K.V. Durrell. Whizz Bangs and Woodbines. 1918; D.H. Barber. The Church Army in World War II. 1946; and R. Cholmely. The Church Army on Active Service. 1946. On the present work see K.J. Heasman. Army of the Church. 1968, and M. Turnbull. God's Front Line. 1979.

The focus of study is on elements of the organisational adjustment of the Church of England in the nineteenth century, especially the attempt by a small group of evangelically-minded clergy to "regain" the allegiance of the urban working class by the use of aggressive para-military methods of revival and recruitment.

The Church Army is regarded in this thesis as one response to the problems of which churchmen had become increasingly conscious in the second half of the nineteenth century. It was not offered in criticism of the deficiencies of the parish system and was indeed seen by its founders as a way of making that system work better, particularly in the cities. The origins of the Church Army are documented in this thesis together with accounts of the ideas of its founder and the suspicions of its critics. The movement quickly developed into an agency with aims and activities somewhat different from what was at first envisaged, and its transformation from a pocket of sectarianism within the Church to a fully accommodated department is a primary focus of our concern. The Army's relationship to the Church and the establishment of lines of control between the hierarchy and the movement were of the utmost importance in this transformation, together with the unseen consequences which missioning entailed and the process of the accretion of subsidiary goals and, in some measure, of goal deflection.

There are several biographies of Wilson Carlile - many of the books are hagiographies or "inspirational histories" rather than objective accounts of his life - but as yet there is no serious history of the Church Army. One of the difficulties encountered in research was the absence of much "hard"

statistical information - Edgar Rowan, the author of an early history of the society, was confronted with the same problem, and much of Wilson Carlile and the Church Army. 1905 was, he says, based on interviewing because, "in the case of many important events and epochs, no written records, letters, or diaries are in existence, and I have had to depend on word of mouth".[1] This option, of course, was not available in the present study, since the period of major interest (1882-1889) lies beyond living memory.

Despite the lack of contemporary documents - of which the absence of the weekly "Report Forms" that all officers were required to complete is perhaps the greatest loss - there is still a wealth of material in the Annual Reports, documents, and periodicals preserved in the Church Army Archives. Reports of Church Army work appeared in its own publications, and in the Church of England Yearbook, in Church newspapers and in the secular press. The Church Army was regularly debated in its early days in Convocation, and Church Congress, and at diocesan conferences.

The style of the Church Army was in stark contrast to that of ordinary parish religion. For at least a hundred years the attempt to reach the masses had employed means of increased directness in which the attempt had been made to engage the emotions of ordinary people. The formal and liturgical style of the churches had given way, especially in America, to a more forthright exposition of simply stated teachings, the use of everyday language, and the appeal to a mass public. The voluntarism that had come to characterise Christian religion

[1] Article by 'N.A.Y.' in Church Army Gazette (C.A.G.). 1905. No 1018. p 6.

in the plural religious context of the United States was itself a stimulus to revivalism which became - to use a commercial analogy of a later time - a mass market technique of persuasion. As the conceit that the established Church represented true religion for all but an insignificant sprinkling of dissidents wore thin, so revivalism - successful with other movements - became a method towards which some elements, and especially the evangelical elements were increasingly disposed to turn.

If the activities of Finney, Caughey, and, later, of Moody and Sankey, prompted Anglican interest in the techniques of revivalism, so the example of Methodism (which enjoyed rapid growth in the first decades of the century),[1] induced some churchmen to seek the incorporation of open-air mission work and lay preaching within the Church. The traditions of revival were continued in the later part of the century by the Salvation Army. The activities of Moody and Sankey, and the aggressive techniques of William Booth - who added the military model of organisation - were the most significant influences from outside the Church on the concerns of this study.

Partly a consequence of an increase of the popularity of militarism in general, the Salvation Army was one of a number of religious and secular agencies that saw in military methods a suitable style of organisation. Hierarchical military administration was not only an effective means of control, it was also a style of organisation that seemed to appeal to working-class sections of the community. Perhaps because the pseudo-military processions, the ranks, the banners, and the military

[1] See R. Currie. Methodism divided, a study in the sociology of ecumenicalism. 1968. p 90.

terminology used in evangelism were closer to the cultural atmosphere of working-class life than the late nineteenth century chapel or the Church, the Salvation Army enjoyed rapid growth in the late seventies and early eighties, and it was this apparent success in recruiting the poorer sections of the community that attracted Anglican attention, and persuaded some clergy that William Booth's organisation might be successfully incorporated as an arm of the Church. In the early eighties, it became quite common for Salvation Army corps to attend Anglican services, and the supporters of incorporation were able to convince the Convocation of Canterbury that the methods of the Salvation Army merited the establishment of a Convocational committee.[1]

All of these influences resulted in the initiatives within the Church which are explored in detail below. The Church Army, heavily influenced by the success of demotic tendencies in Nonconformity, was consciously organised to exploit these techniques for the Church. It sought to do so in augmentation of the parish system. It should therefore have appealed to conservatives who wished to preserve that structure. At the time, more radical alternatives were scarcely contemplated within the Church, and the Church Army, although intended to supplement the parochial system and to make it more effective, was radical enough for most Anglicans, and far too radical for many. It was seen as a concession to the less civilised elements in society and its schismatic potential was feared from the beginning. Its organisation appeared not easily to fit in with Anglican conceptions of order, and the likelihood that it would

[1] Chronicle of Canterbury Convocation (C. of C.). 1882. p 179; pp 219-224.

become a sect must - with the example of the Salvation Army in mind - have been widely feared.

But the Church Army was from the beginning an Anglican society. Its leadership was drawn from the clergy and wealthy laity whose loyalty to Anglicanism was never in doubt. The hierarchical and autocratic military style of administration gave its leaders effective control of the officers and membership, and, once some initial problems had been overcome, their insistence on continuing Anglican membership was sufficient guarantee of loyalty to the Church.

No settled or established organisation in which protocol and hierarchy are well entrenched, and in which all officials have acquired vested rights in their offices, can be expected easily to accommodate new ancillary agencies. Lines of power are sure to be crossed at the beginning, and a variety of anxieties are likely to be experienced at many points in the system. The new society might well interfere with "normal" relationships; the power and potential of a new agency may seem overwhelming; divergence of style may create problems without certainty of what court of appeal might settle them - and so on. The course for the Church Army was gradually to devise mechanisms which would allow accommodation to the existing patterns of parochial order. Inevitably there had to be compromise - and compromise, rather than conflict, was chosen. It had to be so, for, enthusiastic and confident as the early Church Army leaders were, they were the marginal innovators and the Church was the almost immovable complex of relations into which the Church Army sought at the periphery to intrude. Eventually it was to do so in ways that the Church - which, in this context, means very largely the clergy - found not too uncongenial.

Early difficulties in officer/incumbent relations, and some local propensities for schism, were attenuated by increased control of captains working in parishes - a financial bond, itinerancy, and the weekly report strengthened central control of parochial officers. Greater care in the selection of candidates, and extension of the length of training reduced the likelihood of captains "setting up on their own". The sectarian features of para-military methods were further diluted by a high turnover of both officers and "soldiers" which prevented the growth of a cohesive community of believers. The rapid turnover of officers and soldiers re-inforced the power of the relatively stable leadership.

At another level, the Church Army was modified by alterations that were in part a response to clerical criticism, which was in itself a reflection of the quest for "acceptability". Its leaders wished the Church Army to become a standard part of parish machinery, and the pursuit of this status was reflected in the continuous solicitation of patronage (both lay and episcopal) and in a willingness to make concessions in the face of criticism. Thus the military emphases, and the sensationalism and "irreverence" of mission-band techniques were steadily diminished - incumbents were offered evangelists "without the organisation".

New organisations, or old ones embarking on new activities, frequently discover unintended consequences of their policies. Social action envisaged as limited and clearly circumscribed may awaken demands for further action. Charitable acts in particular establish a structure of expectations between benefactor and beneficiary which the instigator may never have

envisaged. Those who profess to do good may have to learn from the context of their own activity just what divergences prevail in the interpretations of "good" between their clientele and themselves. They may also come to see that their own effort is itself of little avail without further effort in other directions or without action to sustain the impact of their charity. Evangelising agencies encountered such demands in various periods. Wilson has described the way in which the imperative need for "the aftercare of the converted" led a revivalist unit (the Elim church) into setting up charges and training pastors and so, eventually, into becoming a separate sect.[1] The history of Methodism, with the gradual outworking of the consequences of open air preaching and the establishment of separate meeting places is an earlier example. The Salvation Army, seeking out a different public found that spiritual destitution could not easily be relieved without undertaking steps to relieve physical destitution, and once such a policy was embarked upon, so the raison d'etre, practical activities, and organisation of the movement underwent considerable modification. The case of the Church Army is in many respects comparable - allowing that here, because the society was part of the Church itself - there were other pressures at work leading towards modification of its structure and functioning. The thesis documents this process, examining both the pressures intrinsic to the Church Army's operation and those which arose as a consequence of its need to establish itself as an agency of the Church.

The longer term consequences of these processes of change had manifested themselves before the end of the nineteenth century, but the period up to 1914 was a period of expanding

[1] B.R. Wilson. Sects and Society. 1961, esp. pp 35-36.

evangelism, even though there was a diminishing concern to build up permanent corps of soldiers. Despite the continuation of permanent stations, many of the missions tended to be temporary operations, with the Church Army acting more as a mobile spiritual relief agency, going out to particular parishes and other locations - prisons, reformatories, etc. - for a limited operation. In this sense, they were more nearly the equivalent of the short revival campaigns sponsored (mainly) by Nonconformist churches and independent revivalists than they were of the Salvation Army with its permanent local corps. On the other hand the Church Army maintained a variety of social welfare facilities - and these were under the control of the central headquarters. In some respects the process shows a tendency for central control to become more important than grass roots evangelism. The Church Army became increasingly a department of the Church, viewing its affairs from its central headquarters, rather than establishing a widespread, socially somewhat segregated clientele of permanent soldiers for Christ in the parishes. The course of these developments is documented in the pages which follow.

CHAPTER I

The Church at the beginning of the nineteenth century

The nineteenth century may be seen as a period of reform for the Church, during which the abuses and neglects of the eighteenth century were rectified and some attempt made to adjust the ministrations of the Church to modern conditions.[1] The introduction of military mission-band methods to the parochial machinery of the Church in the later part of the century may be seen as a response to this need for organisational adjustment.

The Anglican assumption of religious monopoly

Nineteenth century churchmen tended to assume that in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the Church had been an integral part of the fabric of English society, involved with the secular order at all levels - that the Anglican Church was, "nothing less than society itself, in one of its most important manifestations. Every child was deemed to be born into it".[2] At the parish level, the local church was registrar of births, deaths and marriages; tax collector, and, at least in theory, the centre of the community.[3] Through the parochial system the clergy had a measure of control and influence over the whole population and this influence was exercised in the interests of the State. The Church, "served the function of sanctifying the established order, and in return the State succoured the Church".[4]

[1] See W.L. Mathieson. English Church Reform. 1815-1940. 1923; and C.J. Abbey and J.H. Overton. The English Church in the Eighteenth Century. 1878.

[2] K.V. Thomas. Religion and the Decline of Magic. 1971. pp 149-50.

[3] See H.W. Wilberforce. The Parochial System. 1838. for the imagined ideal, and for an exaggerated account of Church failings in parochial (and other) matters, see J. Wade. The Black Book, on Corruption Unmasked. 1820.

[4] K.A. Thompson. Bureaucracy and Church Reform. 1970. p 2.

These assumptions were the model with which nineteenth century clergymen may have compared their own position. After all, till 1687 it was an offence not to attend Church[1] and the reward of heresy may have been, in the sixteenth century, hanging or burning, or, in the seventeenth, imprisonment or the loss of the rights of a citizen. But the idea that there had been a golden age for the Church, in which the entire community both literally believed its teaching, and actively and willingly attended its services,[2] is open to serious question. Thomas, in his study of religion and magic in Tudor and Stuart England found, with others,[3] that

> "the hold of orthodox religion upon the English people had never been complete. Indeed, it is problematical as to whether certain sections of the population had any religion at all. Although complete statistics will never be obtainable, it can be confidently said that not all Tudor or Stuart Englishmen went to some kind of church, that many of those who did went with considerable reluctance, and that a certain proportion remained throughout their lives utterly ignorant of the elementary tenets of Christian dogma".[4]

Often, even if Church services were attended, they had little significance for some of those present.[5] In addition, there was competition for the Church from its old enemies of paganism and magic. Even where Christianity did penetrate to the level of the

[1] Compulsory attendance was suspended by The Declaration of Indulgence (1687). There followed a perceptible fall in the number of moral and non-attendance cases brought before the ecclesiastical courts. Its effect on Anglican monopoly was, "immediate and catastrophic". see G.V. Bennett. Conflict in the Church, in G. Holmes (ed). Britain after the Glorious Revolution. 1969. p 159.

[2] see P. Laslett. The World We Have Lost. 1965. p 71.

[3] see also J. Obelkevitch. Religion and Rural Society: South Lindsey. 1825-75. 1976.

[4] K.V. Thomas. 1971. p 159.

[5] Ibid. p 161:- ..."(T)he conduct of many church-goers left so much to be desired as to turn the service into a travesty of what was intended. Present ments made before the ecclesiastical courts show that virtually every kind of irreverent (and irrelevant) activity took place during divine worship. Members of the congregation jostled for pews, nudged their neighbours, howled and spat, knitted, made coarse remarks, told jokes, fell asleep, and even let off guns"...

populace, Obelkevitch has shown it did not do so without modification - in South Lindsey, after undergoing a process of distortion and edition at the hands of its rural practitioners and complemented by the addition of elements culled from magical and superstitious beliefs,[1] popular Christianity was radically different from the version held in clerical circles.

Common fallacies may, as much if not more than historical fact, determine social action and such fallacies become "facts" which influence history. Since nineteenth century clergymen tended to believe that the Church's position had declined that belief prompted some to seek to restore the Church to its former status as "church of the nation". This was a dominant theme in the call for church reform.

In spite of the extent to which the Church actually fell short of a monopoly of religious expression, at the level of its connection with the State, the Church remained "national and established", in practice an umbrella organisation sheltering diverse parties and interest groups, but providing a sense of comprehensiveness of doctrine and belief.

With no Convocation[2] and the consequent lack of internal division and debate, the eighteenth century had been a period of calm and prosperity for the Church. Walpole's policy of non-interference ushered a period of inactivity and neglect, during which abuses grew up that were to generate public hostility and ecclesiastical anguish at the turn of the century, while the membership of the Church fell behind population growth.[3] The somnolent

[1] J. Obelkevitch. 1976. p 302. [2] Prorogued in 1717.
[3] see R. Currie, A. Gilbert and C. Horsley. Churches and Churchgoers. Patterns of Church Growth in the British Isles since 1700. Oxford. 1977. pp 21-23.

rural parish was typical, and a kind-hearted, disinterested wordliness was the general attitude of most clergymen.[1] In the eighteenth century, enthusiasm was a perjorative term, and those whose religious interest much exceeded passive acceptance were looked at askance.[2] The association of religion with a brass-band (one of the hallmarks of mission-band activity) was as improbable in the eighteenth century as the non-residence of the Bishop of Llandaff[3] and the Vicar of Hull[4] would have been in the late nineteenth.

In the nineteenth century, the role of the Church of England as "church of the nation" came to be increasingly under attack, not only from the ranks of Dissent and radical politics, but also from a steady flow of statistical information that demonstrated that the ministrations of the Church were not "national", and that a significant proportion of the population was outside its influence. Yet churchmen were reluctant to give up their assumption of an all-embracing medieval Church, with the parish church as the centre of an undifferentiated community life, to which people came, not only to worship, but also to trade, to meet, to

[1] Members of the Evangelical party were notable exceptions.

[2] For example, the sending-down in 1768 of several "enthusiastic" undergraduates at Oxford, for ..."having been tainted with Methodistical tendencies"... G.R. Balleine. A History of the Evangelical Party in the Church of England. 1908. pp 98-99.

[3] The see of Llandaff was worth only £924, and was held "in commendam" with the deanery of St. Paul's, value £5000. G.F.A. Best. Temporal Pillars: Queen Anne's bounty, the Ecclesiastical commisioners, and the Church of England. Cambridge. 1964. p 197. See also E.T. Davies. Religion and the Industrial Revolution in South Wales. Cardiff. 1965. p 30.

[4] It was discovered in 1862 that the Vicar of Hull had been absent for fifty years. See H. Kirk-Smith. William Thomson, Archbishop of York, his Life and Times. 1819-90. 1958. p 17, cited in G. Kitson Clark. The Making of Victorian England. 1962. p 154.

be entertained, or to receive welfare provision in time of need.[1] The process by which institutional arrangements - law, economics, politics, education and recreation - became increasingly differentiated as activities and acquired separate and much specialised organisational form, entailed, as sociologists have extensively documented, the loss by the Church of its presiding position over social life. Churchmen certainly did not perceive the implications of these structural changes for the narrowed social role of religion, and many of them displayed recurrent optimism about just what various measures of church reform might yet achieve.

The Organisational Revolution

The rapid process of social change clearly affected the clergy and some recognised a need for the adjustment of the Church's traditional role. But such envisaged adjustments were affected both by the structure of the Church itself and by the particular perspectives of the clergy.

The Church was affected by a series of changes that Boulding has popularised as the "organisational revolution".[2] He makes the conceptual distinction between the "demand" and "supply" sides of factors governing the organisational response of the Church. On the demand side we have, first; demographic changes, urbanisation, and the problem of maintaining social order in the towns; secondly, the competition in a "market" of rival religious bodies; thirdly, political changes which undermined the financial dependence

[1] see S.C. Carpenter. The Church in England 597-1688. 1954, and B. Harrison. Religion and Recreation in Nineteenth Century England, in Past and Present. No 38. Dec. 1967. pp 98-125.
[2] K.E. Boulding. The Organisational Revolution. 1953.

of Church on State; and lastly the Church's need to develop a sense of responsibility in its laity to provide financial support and intellectual defence. On the "supply" side we have changes in the skills of organisation such as transport, communications, and statistical budgetary techniques.[1]

The general features of this organisational response have been characterised by Tönnies[2] as the transition from Gemeinschaft to Gesellschaft, and during the nineteenth century the Church of England gradually evolved the organisational machinery of an association (central monetary control, rational bureaucratic criteria for decision making, etc.) at the expense of some of its more traditional features such as tithe, private patronage and a feudal network of ecclesiastical courts. However, the development to a rational bureaucracy from a more traditional type of structure was complicated in the case of the Church by the values and norms of the Church itself, which were interpreted by some parties as being directly opposed to the principle of change legitimised by rational criteria. In the Oxford Movement we see a re-assertion of more traditional values in contrast to the instrumental interests and more pragmatic approach of other reformers.[3]

Pragmatic rationalisation was important in the foundation of the Church Army which, although it used techniques and methods

[1] K.A. Thompson. 1970. p xiv.

[2] F. Tönnies. Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft. Leipzig. 1887.

[3] These two points of view are demonstrated in the "sisterhood" debate that took place late in the century. One group emphasised the spiritual contribution of orders to the spiritual life of the Church; while the other faction was prepared to accept the utility of sisters as nurses; or, in the case of brotherhood; as cheap additional clergy; as sufficient justification for their existence. See M. Hill. The Religious Order. 1973. pp 154-183.

that caused horror among traditionalists, and upset the sensibilities of some clergy, nevertheless obtained results among that class of person which the Church was most manifestly failing to reach. Wilson Carlile was more concerned with results than with the ecclesiastical nicety of the methods he used, just as Bishop Blomfield, the "arch-reformer" of the early nineteenth century, was more concerned with the practicalities of Church administration and finance as a whole, than with long-standing local endowments and privilege.

Demographic and political change required adaptation of the role and organisation of the Church. Thompson argues that there were two alternatives: "either to elicit new, or an extension of existing, state provisions for its benefit, or to promote structural growth of autonomous instrumental agencies with varying degrees of integration to its own system".[1]

These two responses are described as the "instrumental" and "autonomist" modes, and they differed in respect of the sources of legitimacy and authority to which they appealed. The former appealed to the pragmatic values dominant in society as a whole, which, in the case of the Ecclesiastical Commission, were the middle-class values of utility and expediency in the cause of maintaining social order. The "autonomist" response was represented by the Oxford Movement, which appealed to pristine, exclusive values resident in the Church, that might be used to make manifest the Church's autonomy and independence. An unintended consequence of this position would be that it might make the Church into a more "sect-like" type of organisation. The advocates of this position successfully exerted their influence for a revival of Convocation.

[1] K.A. Thompson. 1970. p 3.

According to Thompson, the adaptation of the Church in the nineteenth century was characterised by tension between these two modes. The development of new organisational arrangements involved a "dialectic" between the quest for instrumental efficiency and the need to emphasise exclusive, religious values which represented the ultimate purpose of the Church. This is discussed in terms of Weber's distinction between "formal" and "substantive" rationality.

In the Church of England the Ecclesiastical Commission attempted to adopt formal rationality as a criterion for action. This laid it open to charges, from groups like the Oxford Movement, of compromising the ultimate goals and spirituality of the Church in the search for expediency. An action such as the redistribution of capitular endowments for the benefit of poorer livings could be "formally rational", but not, on the criteria adopted by the Oxford Movement, "substantively rational", in that it took no account of traditional rights and privileges such as rights of patronage and endowment. The tension between these different forms of legitimation and the groups which represent them is crucial in the adjustment of Church organisation in the nineteenth century.[1]

> "The present form of the Church of England's organisation can be understood and explained only when its history is seen as a process of evolution. In this process instrumental adaptation to changing social circumstances required the acceptance of empirical, temporal goals, which facilitated the adoption of bureaucratic structures and their appropriate operational criteria of effective functioning. A dialectical process has constantly been generated, however, by the Church's unrelinquishable commitment to transcendental goals and values."[2]

One problem was the adaptation of traditional financial arrangements to conditions prevailing in a modern urban setting,

[1] Ibid. pp 1-25.

[2] pp 23-24.

where the out-dated financial and administrative machinery was at its least efficient. The whole structure of Church administration and ministration was based on the parish, but in a society in which migration and urbanisation had already been extensive, and were vigorously continuing, actual parish distribution could be seen to be under strain, and with hind-sight it might be said that a parochial structure as such was proving less and less tenable.

Population Growth and Urbanisation

Not only did the population growth of the nineteenth century produce the familiar disruption of social life and the squalor of new cities,[1] but it led to the breakdown of religious provision, the reorganisation of social classes and, we may assume, to transformations of social consciousness. Urbanisation helped to diminish the significance of shared and established norms. Secular and religious values became increasingly autonomous, and economic changes increased class divisions. MacIntyre describes how:-

> "when the working-class were gathered from the countryside into the industrial cities, they were finally torn from a form of community in which it could be intelligibly and credibly claimed that the norms which governed social life had universal and cosmic significance, and were God-given. They were planted instead in a form of community in which the officially endorsed norms so clearly are of utility only to certain partial and partisan human interests that it is impossible to clothe them with universal and cosmic significance."[2]

Although the extent of consensus and community that existed in pre-industrial England is open to question, nevertheless, in the new urban connurbations the Church was faced with a radically

[1] See for example, G.F.A. Best. Mid-Victorian Britain. 1857-79. 1973. Asa Briggs. Victorian Cities. 1963.

[2] A. MacIntyre. Secularisation and Moral Change. 1967. p 15.

new set of conditions. Whatever the practical extent of its earlier religious monopoly, in the industrial towns and cities of nineteenth century England churchmen were made increasingly aware of the limitations militating against any plausible claim for Anglican supremacy. In the new cities religious symbols, agencies and assumptions were much less evident than in older, smaller settlements where, even if men were not very religious, then at least the culture was much more fully impregnated with religion (including pre-Christian supernaturalism). Now, in a pluralistic religious situation, the Anglican Church was forced to combat competition from other religious groups, secularity, and indifference, as against its old enemies (in an earlier age) of paganism and magic.

In the towns and cities, separate class identities developed that could not find symbolic expression in the same systems of moral values and norms. In the religious census of 1851, Horace Mann was critical of the lack of community and shared values in the cities of his time and explained the relationship between town life and religious indifference revealed in the census in terms of this.[1] Later, in the Mudie-Smith survey of London (1904), Percy Alden traced the chief cause of this indifference to the industrial revolution, "which has transformed England from an agricultural community living in villages and small towns to an industrial population aggregated together in large cities, or, as is the case of London, in a congeries of large cities". Life had been metamorphosed:- "Trees and fields have given way to bricks and mortar; streets and not gardens are the playground; homes have changed to 'rents'; men become 'hands'

[1] Religious Worship in England and Wales. 1854. p. cxxviii.

. . . All ties with the past have been broken, and especially the bond of religion; disintegration has set in".[1]

The demonstration of the extent of non-attendance brought concrete evidence of this "disintegration", and for many churchmen it was an easy assumption that the decline in attendance was the result of a lack of facilities - such terms as "spiritual destitution" even implied a hunger for religious ministrations[2] which could be satisfied simply by building more churches and providing more clergy, and most reforms in the first half of the century were based on this oversimplified view. The call for reform was soon heard.

"Not only were the instrumental agencies of the Established Church inadequate in their present state to meet its practical commitments, but the constitutional revolution between 1828 and 1832 served to undermine the legal basis of the Establishment. The repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts destroyed the formal principle of Anglican monopoly in offices of state and municipalities; Catholic Emancipation admitted Roman Catholics to the legislative; and the Reform Act gave greater political strength to the intellectual and sectarian enemies of the Establishment. The Utilitarian Radicals and the rapidly increasing Protestant Dissenters were thus able to join forces in a campaign against the established Church."[3]

The call for reform

Groups both within and outside the Church exerted pressure for reform at many points, from non-residence, pluralities and the inequality of clerical incomes, to deficiencies in church accommodation and building. The Church was not the object of popular sympathy during the early part of the century. The main cause for complaint was the widespread abuse of privilege -

[1] Percy Alden. The Problem of East London, in R. Mudie-Smith (ed). The Religious Life of London. 1904. p 294.

[2] K.S. Inglis. Churches and the Working Classes in Victorian England. 1963. p 18.

[3] K.A. Thompson. 1970. p 8.

according to Carpenter, the Church was "honeycombed with nepotism, sinecures, pluralities and non-residence. The machinery of the ecclesiastical courts was clumsy and inequitable. Church rates were a great and genuine grievance to the Non-conformists. The cathedrals were ill-used, ill-kept, and even the very fact of their existence was disliked by many".[1] Bishops were burnt in effigy during riots after they voted against the Reform Bill of 1831.

A disadvantage of establishment was that in the popular imagination the Church was heavily identified with its partner, the State. It was associated with the act of governing and the ruling classes. Zealous clergy-J.P.'s did little to dispel the image of the Church arrayed on the side of the State against the underprivileged in general, and against any attempt at change in particular.[2] Although nothing like as corrupt as the Church in France, the Church of England admitted many abuses. Pluralities, non-residence and place-hunting were rife, and most clergymen seem to have been more concerned with the affairs of the world than with those of the spirit.[3] John Wade, the author of an exaggerated expose of Church corruption, claimed not to dislike the Church as such, but "her extreme oppressiveness on the people, and her unjust dealings towards the most

[1] S.C. Carpenter. Church and People. 1789-1889. 1933. p 54.

[2] See D.O. Wagner. The Church of England and Social Reform since 1854. New York. 1930; and his source J.L. and B. Hammond. The Town Labourer. 1760-1832. 1917. p 269. The parson-magistrate did not have a reputation for leniency when dealing with cases of ebullitions of popular feeling. see S.C. Carpenter 1933. p 18.

[3] On discovering that the new Rector did not shoot or fish, T.T. Carter's clerical neighbours enquired: "What will he do?" Life of T.T. Carter: quoted by S.C. Carpenter. 1933. p 55.

deserving members of her own communion".[1] As Chadwick comments:- "To abuse the Church of England was not new. What was new was the amount of vituperation and the number of people who listened".[2]

Pressure for change came from within the Church as well, for the late eighteenth and nineteenth century was a period of religious revival: an active Evangelical party and other groups discontented with the condition of Anglicanism advocated the cause of reform.

The Evangelicals

In a society in which many citizens found their entertainment in brutal blood sports like cock-fighting and which boasted a penal system that rewarded minor offences with capital punishment, the Evangelicals worked to establish a social voice in the Church.[3] They "gradually changed the whole spirit of the

[1] He was referring to "lofty prelates with £20,000 or £40,000 a year, elevated on thrones, living sumptuously in splendid palaces, attended by swarms of menials, gorgeously attired . . . Beneath them are crowds of sinecure dignitaries and incumbents, richly provided with worldly goods, the wealthiest not even obliged to reside among their flocks; and those who reside not compelled to do any one act of duty beyond providing and paying a miserable deputy just enough to keep him from starving. Contrasted with the preceding, is a vast body of poor laborious ministers, doing all the work, and receiving less than the pay of a common bricklayer or Irish hodman." see John Wade. The Extraordinary Black Book. 1831. p 8.

[2] O. Chadwick. The Victorian Church. 3rd edition. 1971. Part I. p 32.

[3] On blood sports see A.S. Turberville (ed). Johnson's England. Oxford. 1933. 2 vols. On the penal system see C. Hibbert. The Roots of Evil. A Social History of Crime and Punishment. 1963. p 71:- ..."'There was probably no other country in the world', so it was suggested in a Parliamentary debate (Parliamentary Debates. 1810, XV), 'in which so many and so great a variety of human actions', were 'punishable with a loss of life as in England'. The number of a hundred and sixty capital offences was mentioned in authorative work published in the late 1760s (Sir William Blackstone. Commentaries on the Laws of England. 4 vols. 1765-9); but by 1819, according to another authority, sixty-three further offences had been added to the formidable

English Church. They infused into it a new fire and a passion of devotion, kindled a spirit of fervent philanthropy, raised the standard of clerical duty, and completely altered the whole tone and tendency of the ministers".[2] Carpenter attributes to the Evangelicals "the moral improvement which can be traced in the quality of English life between the latter part of the eighteenth century and 1830".[3] Often characterised as narrow-minded and short-sighted, they worked not for the good of society as a whole, nor to some overall plan, but for one overriding ambition - the salvation of individual souls. Their social conscience and welfare work developed out of this prime concern.

"The Evangelicals did not invent any new theology. They simply taught the old doctrines of the Reformation - the doctrine of the Trinity, the guilt of man, his acceptance only through the merits of Christ, renewal and sanctification by the Holy Spirit, and the obligation of universal holiness. They accepted the Thirty-Nine Articles as an almost perfect summary of the Faith".[4]

Evangelical religion has been described as the "moral cement of English society",[5] but it also had an important radicalising effect throughout the century; for the Evangelical clergy were willing to experiment in organisational forms and in technique.

list (Sir T.F. Buxton. Parliamentary Debates. 1819. xxxix)"... Damaging Westminster Bridge and impersonating a Chelsea pensioner were both capital offences.

[2] W.E.H. Lecky. History of England in the Eighteenth Century. 1899. vol. II, p 527; quoted in K.J. Heasman. Evangelicals in Action. An Appraisal of their Social Work in the Victorian Era. 1962. p 15.

[3] S.C. Carpenter. 1933. p 29. See also, I. Bradley. The Call to Seriousness. The Evangelical Impact on the Victorians. 1976.

[4] G.R. Balleine. 1908. p 106.

[5] E. Halevy. A History of the English People in the Nineteenth Century. 1951.

They were the most zealous in advocating reform perhaps because in the early part of the century they were excluded from positions of authority.[1] However, an examination of their activities later in the century (when Evangelicals occupied more prominent positions in the hierarchy of the Church) reveals that they still maintained this concern for reform and an enthusiasm for innovation. Separated as they were from positions of power at the beginning of the century, they could not implement their ideas from "above" but they were able to propagate their opinions through the formation of societies and to further their causes by national campaigns of support - the particular genre of the Evangelical was the voluntary society.

At the beginning of the period under discussion, Evangelical activity was centred on the Clapham Sect, based on John Venn's church in South London and perhaps "the most notable congregation in all England",[2] with representatives from the highest echelons of government and business. Wilberforce and his campaign against the slave trade (1787-1807) is well-documented; so too is the Evangelicals' role in establishing the "six societies" designed to further Church influence at home and abroad. They were responsible for the Church Pastoral Aid Society (1836), which made grants to fifty-eight curates and thirteen lay assistants in its first year;[3] for the Church

[1] K.A. Thompson. 1970. p 15. Henry Ryder became the first Evangelical bishop when he was appointed to the see of Gloucester in 1815. C.R. Sumner was elected to Llandaff in 1826, and caused amazement by residing during the short time before he became Bishop of Winchester. His brother (J.B. Sumner) became Bishop of Chester in 1828. See G.R. Balleine. 1908. pp 152-4.

[2] G.R. Balleine. 1908. p 106.

[3] F. Warre Cornish. A History of the English Church in the Nineteenth Century. 2 vols. 1910. Vol. I, p 35.

Missionary Society and the Religious Tract Society (1799); the British and Foreign Bible Society (1804); the London Society for Promoting Christianity amongst the Jews (1809); and the Colonial and Continental Church Society (1838). The Evangelical willingness to co-operate with Nonconformists was demonstrated in these agencies, and interdenominationalism was further encouraged by the establishment of the Evangelical Alliance (1846).

Evangelical concern for reform was reflected in the pages of the Christian Observer and by a series of pamphlets and articles. In view of their willingness to use rationalistic criteria like expediency in their "passion for spiritual efficiency",[1] Thompson sees the Evangelicals as part of the instrumental response to the need for reform. Evangelical doctrine emphasised personal guilt and redemption, stressing the importance of an individual relationship with God, and implying universal equality of access to the means of salvation. This conviction diminished the significance of established ritual and procedures and effectively reduced the status of priest to that of minister. The importance given to personal commitment and an emphasis on salvation fostered co-operation with other like-minded groups, and this interdenominational work had radical implications for the Church of England and the Anglican claim to "church of the nation" status, in that an evangelical, interdenominational orientation to, in this case, mission work, implied that no institution could claim exclusive legitimacy as God's ordained ideal. This theology reduced the significance of established collectivities.

[1] K.A. Thompson. 1970. p 15.

Evangelical voluntary societies had a secularising effect on the Church and often displayed manifest or latent tendencies to schism. In the long run, the Evangelical concern for philanthropic issues, and their enthusiasm for moral crusades as, for example, The Lord's Day Observance Society, the temperance movement, and the R.S.P.C.A., accentuated secularising trends within the Church - all three encouraged Christians to abandon theological debate (and especially issues of controversy) and to concentrate instead on humanitarian issues, thus secularising the very content of religion and pushing the Church nearer to the largely social and wordly role that it performs in modern England.[1] In evangelistic work the societies often had separatist tendencies, attaching converts to a specific organisational form and ritual rather than to the Church or a church as such. In the late nineteenth century, the military guise of the Church Army prompted the question to be posed of whether converts were primarily "soldiers" who owed loyalty to the mission-band, or Anglicans who owed allegiance to the Church as a whole? This issue of differential commitment sometimes created problems in Church Army parishes. In addition, because these organisations often grew up with little reference to the hierarchy, they came to confront the established institution as existing, quasi-independent units with all the difficulties of incorporation and control that this might entail.[2] Thus the implications of Evangelicalism were more radical than some of its exponents realised, and the tenuous nature of Evangelical commitment to the normative order of the Church was significant throughout the century.

[1] see B. Harrison. Religion and Recreation in Nineteenth Century England. 1967.
[2] K.A. Thompson. 1970. p 96.

Other reforming groups

It would be mistaken to suppose that the Church had remained altogether oblivious of changing social conditions or that it had made no efforts to remedy a deteriorating situation. Belated, inadequate, piecemeal and haphazard as these attempts had been, and outstripped as they increasingly were as the nineteenth century progressed, none the less, pressure for reform did come from other sources within the Church. Richard Yates, the "best of all writers on practical church reform between 1780 and 1830",[1] brought attention to the large deficiencies in church accommodation. In both Lancashire and Middlesex he estimated the deficiency as a million seats.[2] His pamphlet appeared at a time well-suited for its favourable reception:- Napoleon was virtually beaten and peace was in prospect, but the horrors of the French Revolution were not yet forgotten. Moreover the Government was alive to the political and social value of religion and to the importance of the influence exercised by the national Church.[3]

Yates was one of a group of High Church clergy and laity, but mainly laity, that was known as the Hackney Phalanx. Joshua Watson seems to have been the most active member of this club which Thompson sees as part of the conservative reaction to the need for reform. Its members had a deep regard for the established order in Church and State, and wanted to work only with the sanction of the episcopacy.[4] This group had played an

[1] G.F.A. Best. Temporal Pillars. 1964. p 147.

[2] see R. Yates. The Church in Danger: a Statement of the Cause, and of the Probable means of Averting that Danger, Attempted. 1815.

[3] W. Walsh. Progress of the Church in London during the Last Fifty Years. 2nd edition. 1908. p 10.

[4] see M. H. Port. Six hundred new churches. 1961. p 14.

important part in the church education movement and were moderate conservatives "welcoming new initiatives but fearing innovations".[1] Acting through traditional agencies, they brought pressure to bear on Parliament in a campaign which led to the passing of the Church Building Act (1818). This was not the only Government money used for Church support: "Between 1809 and 1820 parliament voted £100,000 each year to endow and increase benefices in populous districts. In 1818 parliament gave the Church a million pounds, and another half million in 1824, to build churches in parishes of at least 4,000 inhabitants where there was Church accommodation for fewer than 1,000 worshippers".[2]

Money spent in this way was seen by some as an investment in social order. Devout, church-going members of the working class were considered less susceptible to radical politics than the unchurched inhabitants of industrial slums. C.J. Blomfield, the Bishop of London, expressed this sentiment in his appeal for the Metropolis Churches Fund in 1836. The new churches, he said, would do the work:

> "of evangelising thousands, and hundreds of thousands, of their poor brethren; of reclaiming them from practical heathenism; of importing to them the Word and Sacraments of God, through the ministry of His Church; of placing them under the guidance and teaching of men rightly appointed to the office, and duly qualified for its discharge; of gathering them together into Christian neighbourhoods, each round its centre of knowledge and godliness; of giving increased efficiency, and therefore increased stability, to our Church; and so promoting at once the cause of social order and pure religion".[3]

Later, in 1883, Wilson Carlile (the leader of the Church Army) was to see the activities of this organisation as an antidote to the dangers of socialism and nihilism, which he regarded as

[1] K.A. Thompson. 1970. p 33. [2] K.S. Inglis. 1963. p 7.
[3] quoted in W. Walsh. Progress of the Church in London During the Last Fifty Years. 1887. p 17.

potentially threatening ideologies.[1] "Fear of the mob" was a significant factor in considerations of reform throughout the century.

Relief and gratitude for victory at Waterloo also played a role in state munificence. The Commons passed the resolution "That it would be necessary and becoming to make some great demonstration of thankfulness to Almighty God, for the return of peace, by promoting the building of Churches".[2]

Voluntary societies were also established to further this cause. In the same year that the Church Building Commission was commenced (1818),[3] the Incorporated Church Building Society began its activities. In its first twenty years this organisation provided £200,000 for the construction of new churches, and like other societies helped to draw forth local funds by making local contribution a condition of the grants. Similar initiative in 1836 produced two societies whose aim was to provide the clergy and lay-help for the new churches. These were the Church Pastoral Aid Society and the Society for Promoting the Employment of Additional Curates in Populous Places. Church building was also encouraged at the diocesan level.

In addition to this practical progress, Lord Henley[4] and Thomas Arnold[5] put forward more comprehensive plans for reform, and some of their suggestions were adopted by the major agency of reform in this period: the Ecclesiastical Commission.

[1] C.C.R. 1883. p 132. [2] W. Walsh. 1908.
[3] Set up under the Church Building Act.
[4] A Plan of Church Reform. 1832.
[5] Principles of Church Reform. 1833. See A.P. Stanley. Life of Dr. Arnold. 1858. Vol. 1.

The Ecclesiastical Commission

Some piecemeal reforms were instituted and some of the intricate provisions of ancient laws adjusted before the Ecclesiastical Commission settled to its business.[1] The major reforms were, however, accomplished by the Commission, and in it was institutionalised the main thrust of the instrumental response. Using utility as their criterion for action, the Commissioners introduced a series of modifications to the feudal network of church administration. Their first report recommended the erection of two new sees (Manchester and Ripon), and some rearrangement of diocesan boundaries. The following year changes were proposed in capitular bodies, whereby each chapter, with a few exceptions, was to consist of a dean and four residentiary canons. The bonds of the suppressed stalls, sinecure rectories, rich prebends and other benefices released in this way were to remain in the hands of the Commissioners for general purposes, but principally for the augmentation of poor livings.[2] These proposals became law in the Bishopric of Durham and Established Church Acts (1836), which included a clause making the Commissioners a permanent body; the Church Pluralities Act and the

[1] The Church Building Act (1818) made possible the division of parishes, rendered the supply of new churches much easier, and provided £1 million of public money and the necessary initiative for the Church Building Society to enlist voluntary subscription as a source of income for new buildings. Queen Anne's Bounty provided the statistical information essential for the development of more rational bureaucratic techniques in Church management, while Sir William Scott's Residence Act (1805) also furthered this end by requiring the bishops to make returns to the Privy Council and to supply information about the spiritual conditions in their dioceses. Thompson suggests that Queen Anne's Bounty might have pre-empted the Commissioners' major role in reform if it had continued to develop. See K.A. Thompson. 1970. p 13.

[2] see F. Warre Cornish. 1910. Vol. I. p 113.

Church Building Act (1838), which made the division of parishes easier; the Ecclesiastical Duties and Revenues Act (1840), which enabled the redistribution of sequestrated capitular revenues; and the Tithe Commutation Act (1836), which abolished the feudal anomaly of tithe. Until the later decades of the century, the Commissioners were hampered by a division of authority with "deans and chapters and bishops and their subordinates",[1] which mediated against the development of efficient bureaucratic techniques, but by the sixties their role as a central reforming agency was well established.[2]

The reforms, however, laid the Commission open to criticism from groups within the Church (such as the Oxford Movement), whose leaders saw the alterations as a threat to the distinct identity and values of the Church, and their re-assertion of these values was a reaction to that. One objection was that the pragmatic criteria used as a basis for reform made no reference to the Church of England's historical role as a spiritual society. Criticism also came from more conservative members of the High Church party, who were outraged by the Commissioners' disregard for local and historical considerations. "We have suffered a half-heathen population to arise among us, for want of churches and parochial endowments, and we hope to remedy this evil, by violating the sanctity of those other endowments whereby men who had carefully provided churches and ministers for every portion of the existing population, went on to secure the perpetual daily intercessions of cathedrals, and the maintenance of learned clergy".[3] For H.W. Wilberforce (the

[1] G.F.A. Best. 1964. p 368. [2] K.A. Thompson. 1970. p 78.
[3] H.W. Wilberforce. The Parochial System. 1838. p 55.

author of this statement), the answer lay in the restoration of the parochial system, and the suggestion that the parochial system "properly worked" could be a solution to the ills of the Church was to occur frequently in the following decades - "Our parochial system once restored, the Church would arise like one raised up from a seizure of paralysis, whose every limb is once more instinct with life and energy",[1] he declared.

In spite of the criticism, by 1840 the Commissioners had taken the worst of church abuses in hand. The archaic structure of financial and administrative laws that had prevented the distribution of income, and created "somnolent cathedrals" on the one hand, and "starving curates" on the other, had been simplified, but perhaps the most important work of the Commissioners was the creation and endowment of new urban parishes and their contribution to the stimulation and encouragement of voluntary giving.

Horace Mann, the compiler of the Religious Census of 1851, was impressed by the results of the church extension movement. "Of the 14,077 existing churches, chapels, and other buildings belonging to the Church of England, there were built:-

Before	1801	9,667
	1801 - 11	55
	1811 - 21	97
	1821 - 31	276
	1831 - 41	667
	1841 - 51	1,197
Dates not mentioned		2,118 ."[2]

However, to build new churches was one thing. To fill them was another.

[1] Ibid. p 39.

[2] Census of Great Britain : Religious Worship - England and Wales. Parliamentary Papers. Vol. 89, 1852-3. p XL.

The extension of Church facilities and "spiritual hunger" - an erroneous assumption

Most Church evangelistic activity before 1850 was based on the unjustified assumption that abstention was a function of the lack of facilities. It was assumed that a "spiritual hunger" was present among the non-worshipping portion of the population, and that large numbers did not attend because the Christian ministry was physically inaccessible[1] - the Church lacked "proximity" to its potential membership.[2] So it was that an attempt was made to reduce the gulf between the population and the provision of church facilities: new churches were built, parishes were divided, additional personnel were recruited, and facilities for worship were made more widely available,[3] although not always in the areas where they were most needed.[4]

Once some of the new churches had been built, however, it became increasingly apparent that non-worshippers among the working class were made up not merely of those without facilities for worship but also of a large proportion who either rejected

[1] K.S. Inglis. 1963. p 18.

[2] see R. Currie, A. Gilbert and L. Horsley. Oxford. 1977. pp 59-60.

[3] Obelkevitch reports that in every region of South "there were more clergyman at work in 1851 than in 1830, and more in 1875 than in 1851; and in every region the ratio of clergymen to population improved in the two successive periods. The Establishment reacted to its early Victorian crisis with impressive vigour". James Obelkevitch. 1976. p 119.

[4] Expansion was greater in rural areas where, perhaps, there was less obvious "need", and many of the churches built under the "million" and "half-million" grants were of limited value to the working-class, because large costly edifices were often erected with little provision for the less well-off. Proprietary chapels (one way to increase church accommodation before the Church Building Act (1818) enabled the division of parishes) seldom had many unappropriated seats. see W. Walsh. 1908. pp 10-12; and M.H. Port. Six Hundred New Churches. 1961.

religion or were indifferent to it. Inglis mentions Engels,[1] and the French social researcher, Le Play,[2] as two European minds that observed a distinct lack of religious devotion and observance, especially among the working class. Henry Mayhew found similar evidence. His costermongers had "no religion at all".[3] Many of the new churches, especially in the East End of London, were poorly attended. As Horace Mann noticed in 1851:-

> "Teeming populations often surround half-empty churches... Whatever impeding influence may be exerted by the prevalence of class distinctions, the constraints of poverty, or misconceptions of the character and motives of the ministers of religion, it is evident that absence from religious worship is attributable mainly to a genuine repugnance to religion itself. And, while this lasts, it is obvious that the stream of Christian liberality, now flowing in the channel of church-building, must produce comparatively small results. New churches and new chapels will arise, and services and sermons will be held and preached within them; but the masses of the population, careless or opposed, will not frequent them.[4]

His census, perhaps "the central piece of evidence about mid-nineteenth-century religious practices",[5] revealed the actual extent of non-attendance.

The Religious Census of 1851

The census showed that "a sadly formidable portion of English people are habitual neglectors of the public ordinances of religion",[6] and helped Church leaders to realise the extent of resistance to their ministry. The first and only one of its

[1] K.S. Inglis. 1963. p 4. Engels' much quoted, ..."the workers are not religious and do not attend church", is in The Condition of the Working Class in England in 1844. 1892. p 125.

[2] P.G.F. Le Play. Les Ouvriers Europeens. Paris. 1855.

[3] H. Mayhew. London Labour and the London Poor. 1857. Vol. I. p 21.

[4] Religious Worship - England and Wales. 1852-3. p pclxi.

[5] David Martin. A Sociology of English Religion. 1967. p 19.

[6] Religious Worship - England and Wales. p 93.

kind, it demonstrated large deficiencies in church accommodation, especially in towns, and revealed, once and for all, the strength of Dissent. It confirmed the worst fears of some churchmen and surprised others by the extent of unbelief that Horace Mann was able to demonstrate. His survey was designed to discover the proportion of the population that was outside the established church, and (ironically when one considers its actual findings) to show that the Church of England was the church of the overwhelming majority and thus confirm its established status. Paradoxically, the results finally dispelled this myth: in fact, the Church of England accounted for under fifty per cent of the total attendances.[1] The census "finally established the impossibility of treating the establishment as privileged on the ground that it was the church of the immense majority of the country".[2]

In spite of the hostility and lack of cooperation from some clergy,[3] the census revealed that forty-one per cent of the total population, and fifty-eight per cent of what Mann called the "eligible day" population, attended church on that particular Sunday.[4] At her ministrations of 30 March, 1851, the Church

[1] See J.D. Gay. The Geography of Religion in England. 1971. pp 45, 55.

[2] O. Chadwick. 1971. Part I. pp 368-369.

[3] Speaking in the House of Lords three days before Census Sunday, Bishop Wilberforce declared that as far as he could determine the only result would be wrong information, and he felt inclined not to cooperate. Many of the forms were returned blank and some returns were based on the guesswork of local registrars. O. Chadwick. 1971. Part I. p 364.

[4] Mann's "eligible day" population rested on the correct assumption that not everyone could attend church on that particular day. Allowance had to be made for the young, the old, the sick; and those in public service or trade. In the first instance Mann allowed a generous estimate of 7.5m people who could not attend morning services. Another calculation gave him his "eligible day" population: all those who could attend at some time during the day. It was 12.5m, or 70 per cent of the population. For further details see W.S.F. Pickering. The 1851 Religious Census- a useless experiment? In B.J.S. 1967. p 382.

of England had approximately one-half of the worshipping population and one fifth of the population as a whole - hardly figures that justified the claim of national status.

However, stated Mann, "The most important fact which the investigation as to attendance brings before us is . . . unquestionably, the alarming number of non-attendants", that he estimated as 5,288,294.[1] The majority of these lived in industrial areas; the rural/urban differences were most striking. Gay describes "two distinct areas of high religious practice; first, the whole of the West Country extending east into Gloucestershire, Berkshire and Hampshire; and secondly a large group of counties to the south of the Wash where both Nonconformists and Church of England attendances were at their highest. At the other extreme the lowest attendances were recorded in Metropolitan London, Lancashire and the three northern counties of Cumberland, Northumberland, and Durham, and attendances were only a little higher in the belt stretching south from the West Riding to the Black Country".[2] In agrarian Lincolnshire (if March 30, 1851 was anything like a typical Sunday), "church attendance was customary for a large minority of the village population, but not a majority".[3] In some urban areas, the attendance comprised nothing like a majority,[4] and these places were also lacking in church accommodation. Mann hypothesised:-

[1] Religious Worship - England and Wales. p cl viii.

[2] J.D. Gay. 1971. p 57.

[3] James Obelkevitch. 1976. p 156.

[4] In Sheffield (population 135,310), a total of 43,421 attendances were recorded. 14,881 of these were Anglican, and 10,561 were Wesleyan Methodist. There were 44,189 available sittings. E.R. Wickham. Church and People in an Industrial City. 1957. pp 108-109.

"If, by a happy mistake, on Sunday, March 30, 1851, an universal feeling of devotion had impressed our population, and impelled towards the public sanctuaries all whom no impediment, of physical inability or needful occupation, hindered: if the morning or the evening invitation of the service-bell had called, no less from the crowded courts of the populous towns and the cottages of scattered villages than from the city mansions and the rural halls, a perfect complement of worshippers; for what proportion of the 17,927,609 inhabitants of England would accommodation have been necessary?"[1]

His tabular answer revealed the extent of the deficiency in urban areas.

Comparative Accommodation in Urban and Rural Parishes

	Population 1851	Number of Sittings provided by all religious bodies	Proportion per cent of sittings to population
Urban Parishes	8,294,240	3,814,215	46.0
Rural Parishes	9,633,368	6,398,348	66.5
England and Wales	17,927,609	10,212,563	57.0

There is some disagreement over the impact[2] and the accuracy[3] of the Census Report, which was published in 1854, but it was seen as important in church circles, if only because it

[1] Religious Worship in England and Wales. p cxix.

[2] Inglis describes it as "widely read, quoted and written about". Pickering states the results did not "bring about much comment, beyond a summary of the findings and a leader in The Times which attempted to defend the ministrations of the Church of England." Gay agrees with Inglis - from the time the results appeared, church leaders were "haunted by the spectre of the 5½ million absentees". see K.S. Inglis. 1963. p 20, W.S.F. Pickering. 1967. p 405, J.D. Gay. 1971. p 56. See also O. Chadwick. Part I. 1971. p 367.

[3] Some contemporary critics pointed to the date chosen (which fell on Mothering Sunday) as grounds for doubt. W.F.S. Pickering. 1967. p 386. There were complaints that the Anglican returns were below average and that the 200,000 inmates in workhouses should be added, and that some of the later questions were ambiguous and produced inaccurate data. see, R.P. Flindall (ed). The Church of England. A Documentary History. 1815-1948. 1972. p 124.

confirmed facts which were generally suspected, but not always admitted.[1] Evidence from Lincolnshire would seem to question the validity of Anglican/Nonconformist comparisons, for Obelkevitch found that the same people often attended both varieties of service:- "It was a commonplace that most who attended church also attended chapel; those who attended either exclusively were a small minority".[2] A similar pattern was discovered in Liverpool by Abraham Hume - many people went either to Church or Chapel, whichever was convenient, or nowhere.[3] In addition the question of whether religiosity could be imputed from church attendance was left open. Various religious bodies placed differential emphasis on presence at divine worship. In general, the issue of the motives that lay behind church attendance was left unexplored.[4]

Recent commentators such as J.D. Gay, W.S.F. Pickering and others are, however, agreed about the general reliability of the results, and Currie has pointed out that religious

[1] Thirty years later, one clergyman quoted the census from memory. C. of C. 1882. p 149.

[2] James Obelkevitch. 1976. p 157.

[3] Rev. A. Hume. Missions at Home. 1850, op cit Rev. A. Hume. Remarks on the Census of Religious Worship. 1860. p 13, p 17. Hume's early work influenced Horace Mann. see J.A. Lesourd. Un Prete Anglican Pionnier de la Sociologie Religieuse : A. Hume (1814-1884) in Aspects de l'Anglicanisme. Paris. 1974.

[4] Hume is an exception to this. The morning service was the "service of necessity", the afternoon, "... of convenience", and the evening, "... of devotion". Obelkevitch supports this and distinguishes three motives corresponding to service times:- ..."In the morning service the characteristic attendant [at Anglican worship] was the squire or farmer anxious to keep up his respectability; in the afternoon it was the poorer people, showing their respect for the parson; the rare evening services were for the few who were poor and pious but not Methodist"... James Obelkevitch. 1976. pp 157-158.

statistics like Mann's survey are based on records of "actions", and as such might prove at least as reliable as much of the more contemporary social data about religion which, in contrast, is often based on "statements".[1] Pickering argues that, even if Mann did make mistakes, his degree of error would have been consistent, and thus the results are useful for regional comparison - his general conclusion being that church-going was broadly inversely correlated with the size of an urban population.[2]

Despite recent dispute over the impact of the census, the stark statistics of the strength of Dissent and the extent of unbelief, forced churchmen of all parties to admit what many of them may have already known or feared - the Church of England was not, and had not been for some time, the "church of the nation". In the large towns and industrial cities the fact of the "heathen masses" was now presented in a government paper as an undeniable reality. Inglis makes the following judgement:-

> "The statistical analysis and Mann's general observations made it a remarkable essay on the social pathology of English religion. It showed that the well-tried approaches to the working-classes were having little success. It helped church leaders to realise just how solid was resistance to their ministry, especially in the large towns; and it helped them to decide that if old methods were failing, new ones should be sought."[3]

The years 1850-1900 saw increasing use of novel methods by the Church of England - "home" missionary societies became a

[1] see R. Currie et alia. 1977. pp 14-20.

[2] W.S.F. Pickering. 1967. For more discussion of the census, see also K.S. Inglis. Patterns of Worship in 1851, in Journal of Ecclesiastical History. Vol. II. 1960. pp 74-86. J. Rogan. The Religious Census of 1851, in Theology. 1963. pp 11-15. D.M. Thompson. The 1851 Religious Census - Problems and Possibilities, in Victorian Studies. 1967. No 11. p 87.

[3] K.S. Inglis. 1963. p 20.

feature of most dioceses, and innovations such as parochial missions, the settlement movement, and lay-help were used in attempts to bolster the now apparent failings of the national church. Projects to reach the unchurched urban masses turned to new, untested, and often controversial methods in their evangelistic work. Novelty in services or mission became almost a justification in itself, while some churchmen felt that the gravity of the Church's position legitimated the imitation of methods shown to be successful by groups outside the Church.

CHAPTER II

The Re-organisation of the Church of England. 1850-1914

Although some sections of the Church had begun to mobilise for reform before the census, its publication made evident the need for radical re-orientation of goals. No longer in a position to make plausible claims to religious monopoly, some churchmen came increasingly to stress the specifically religious nature of the Church's role in society. "Mission at home" became one of the rallying cries of those who felt the need for a re-definition of the role of the Church.

The attempt to "attract" the working classes may be interpreted in the light of this re-orientation of goals. Many features of Church organisation - the pew-system, the timing and nature of services, even preaching style - were examined and were modified if they could be seen, in any way, as "obstacles" to working-class attendance. The search for "obstacles" and the use of novel methods became more urgent towards the end of the century as legislation and social changes increased the political importance of the poorer sections of the population. In the second half of the century, the Church of England turned to meet the problem of the "lapsed masses" in urban areas and reform began to produce dividends in the latter part of the century, but not among the classes for which the reforms were designed - the relative statistical success of the Church between the eighties and 1914 was predominantly among the middle classes, and although the period has been described as a time of "religious boom",[1] in general the masses remained unheeding of the overtures of all religious organisations. Examination

[1] E.R. Wickham. 1957. pp 107-165.

of the available statistics reveals a picture of continued decline in the most densely populated areas of the country. To a great extent urbanisation and secularisation were coterminous processes.

Attendance at Religious Worship. 1851-1941

Although the religious census of 1851 was the only one of its kind conducted in England, there have been other, unofficial, censuses which are worthy of note. The Religious Census Movement of 1881, the British Weekly censuses of 1886 and 1888, and the Daily News census of 1902 and 1903, are all important documents in the history of church attendance.[1] There are also the illuminating qualitative studies of London undertaken by Charles Booth[2] and Mudie-Smith.[3] Although often confusing, and occasionally contradictory, this considerable body of statistical material gives an overall picture of the period under study.

Generalisation from these figures must be made with care, however, for one of the most striking features of the results is the extent of variation demonstrated. Any assessment of the religious condition of England must make allowance for wide differences along the lines of region, class, and occupation.[4] The statistics available are heavily weighted towards the Metropolis, and to extrapolate national trends from these figures might be to produce too gloomy a picture of the religious scene. The Victorian and Edwardian periods were characterised by

[1] see A. Mearns. The Statistics of Attendance at Public Worship. 1882, and The Nonconformist and Independent. Feb-March 1882.
[2] C. Booth. The Life and Labour of the People in London. 1902-3. Third Series. Religious Influences. 7 vols.
[3] R. Mudie-Smith (ed). The Religious Life of London. 1904.
[4] see H. McLeod. Class and Religion in the Late Victorian City. 1974. p 279.

unrelenting religious activity, but some areas, notably large urban conglomerations like London, were to prove impervious to the efforts of groups as disparate as the High Church slum-ritualists and the Salvation Army.

a) The Religious Census movement of 1881

During 1881 and 1882 a number of provincial newspapers conducted censuses, and the results were tabulated by Andrew Mearns,[1] secretary of the London Congregational Union. As in 1851, church attendance was roughly inversely correlated with the size of town. The biggest connurbation examined was Liverpool which, with the exception of Widnes and Gateshead, had the lowest percentage of attendances. Of the half-million inhabitants, 18.6 per cent were worshippers in 1881, compared with 42.5 per cent in 1851. Ten towns with populations of over 100,000 were studied, and in these, excluding Bristol for the moment, the worshipping population varied from 18.6 in Liverpool to 26.9 in Bradford. In the nineteen towns with populations of between 30,000 and 100,000, the average percentage of worshippers was

[1] The statistics are for eighty towns and villages, but London, Manchester and Birmingham are not included. Some of the figures are estimates. Details are given of the number of attendances, the percentage of worshippers to population (using Mann's formula), and in some cases the percentage of attendances to total population. In the discussion the term "worshippers" is used when Mann's adjustment has been made, and "attendances" is used when it has not. The formula, which allows for variation between services and for those who attend more than once, involves adding to the whole morning attendance one-half of the afternoon and one-third of the evening attendance. This gives a figure which Mann took to be a reliable estimate of the number of worshippers. It tends to favour the Church of England. Mearns also adheres to Mann's estimate that 58 per cent of the population were able to attend at any one time, and 70 per cent were able to attend at some time. The actual percentage of worshippers is 25.44. Comparison is made with the 1851 results. see A. Mearns. 1882.

27 per cent; Bath, with 47.6 per cent, having the highest figures, and Hanley, with 12 per cent, the lowest. Other areas of above average attendance were Accrington (33), Gloucester (32) Hastings (31), Ipswich (38), Scarborough (43), and Bristol.[1]

The 206,503 inhabitants of Bristol maintained their traditionally high level of church-going. Attendances rose from 77,921 in 1851 to 116,148 in 1881. The percentage of worshippers was 35.65. Bath was another town with above average attendance. Attendances here amounted to 75.02 of the population in 1881, that is 47.65 worshippers. Church-going was notably more popular in places of middle, or upper-middle, class character. The spa towns, health resorts, and rural areas not penetrated by industrialisation, maintained relatively high rates of church attendance.[2]

The denominational breakdown reveals losses for the Church of England. In 1851, approximately half of the worshipping population attended Anglican services. In 1881, of all the places counted, 38 per cent attended Anglican services. A table presented by Mearns shows the Church strongest in those places with less than 5,000 inhabitants. In these predominantly rural areas it could claim almost fifty per cent of the sittings and attendances.[3]

[1] See Table III in A. Mearns. 1882.

[2] See Tables II, III and IV in A. Mearns. 1882.

[3] See Table II in A. Mearns. 1882. Care must be taken in assessing the significance of these results. Their consistency can be criticised. It is not always clear whether Sunday scholars and mission services are included, or whether allowance is made for places with no afternoon service. The sample size limits the general validity of the results, although the figures do correspond broadly to what might be expected from extrapolation of the 1851 and 1902-3 results. The figures for Sheffield and Ipswich have been questioned in recent research. see E.R. Wickham. 1957, and P.A. Welsby. 'Church and People in Victorian Ipswich', in Church Quarterly Review. 1963.

b) The London censuses

A similar pattern is shown by two censuses taken in the Metropolis. If the 1886 British Weekly census of London and the results of R. Mudie-Smith in 1902-3 are compared, it is found that although population increased by half-a-million in the interval, the gross total attendance (including a double-count of "twicers") fell from 1,167,321 in 1886 to 1,003,361 in 1903 (Inner London only). Anglican worshippers numbered 535,715 in 1886, but only 396,196 in 1903.[1] Compared with 1851, the total attendance expressed as a proportion of the population fell from about one-half to about one-fifth, with the Church of England proving to be responsible for most of the losses:- "In other words, religious worship generally has not kept pace with population, and in the Church of England there are only three worshippers in 1902-3 for every four who were found there in 1886".[2]

In round numbers the Nonconformist decline was 6,000 (369,000 to 363,000), but the Church lost approximately 140,000 attendances. "Church of the nation" status was still defended in some quarters; and despite the figures one Anglican clergyman could still claim that the results showed the Church "pre-eminent in London". The figures did not, he argued, show "that something called Nonconformity is practically as strong as the Church", on the grounds that differences within Nonconformity were often greater than those between some Nonconformist groups and the Church - "What affinity", he asked, "has the Wesleyan with the Unitarians, or even with the Baptists, from

[1] See R. Mudie-Smith (ed). 1904. p 271. Table showing denominational totals for London.
[2] J.T. Stoddart in R. Mudie-Smith (ed). 1904. p 281. See also S. Mayor. The Churches and the Labour Movement. 1967. p 25.

which he differs on the most cherished articles of his faith".[1] In some respects he had a valid point - between Nonconformist groups there were wide differences of opinion, although by this time the importance of some doctrinal differences was diminishing[2] - however, when confronted with the fall in attendance of 140,000, his comments were inappropriate. National, established status was a statistically indefensible position. The facts were inescapable:- "For one Church of England worshipper there is practically another Nonconformist worshipper".[3]

It was also evident that Dissent had but a fractional hold on the populace. The majority of the population was outside all religious influences. The country, commented Masterman, "is not becoming atheist. It is ceasing to believe, without being conscious of the process, until it suddenly wakes up to the fact that the process is complete".[4] Even the efforts of the Salvation Army met with little reward in the Metropolis, especially in East London, an area which throughout the nineteenth century proved unresponsive to a variety of religious endeavour and assaults.[5] Salvationist membership rose from 3,123 in 1886, to 6,376 in 1903, when 22,402 attended Salvation Army

[1] Rev. J.E. Watts-Ditchfield. 'The Church and Working Men', in J. Adderley (ed). Practical Questions. 1905. pp 165-166.

[2] The Methodists were moving towards union after mid-century schisms, and in urban areas (now a "mission situation"), Nonconformists as a whole were less anxious to proclaim their differences.

[3] J.T. Stoddart in R. Mudie-Smith (ed). 1904. p 282.

[4] C.F.G. Masterman. The Condition of England. 1909. p 270.

[5] According to McLeod (1974. p 60), the only religious revival to make a significant impact on London was that conducted by Roman Catholic missionaries in the mid-nineteenth century. They won back the devotion of Irish Labourers. Even Methodism was weak until the last decades of the century.

services, but this was "a wretchedly inadequate total for a population of nearly a million after all these years of unremitting work".[1] In 1888, the compilers of the British Weekly census of mission-halls had also expressed surprise and disappointment at the results achieved in London by the Salvationists:- "After years of unprecedented activity and public demonstrations, and at immense cost . . . they hardly touch London".[2] In 1886, approximately thirty per cent of the inhabitants of Inner London had been at church services. In Mudie-Smith's period about twenty-three per cent of Inner Londoners attended some church or other.

When taken together, the censuses give an overall impression of steady decline in religious attendance, with the Church of England suffering the greatest losses - in London, Anglican demise was evident in all districts.

However, because most of these figures relate to London where all religious groups foundered on urban indifference, they present an unbalanced, "pessimistic" view of church attendance, and give an especially unfavourable impression of the performance of the Church of England during this period. A.D. Gilbert produces tables that demonstrate a more favourable picture of the Anglican Church.[3] Indeed, examination of the performance of the Church of England in late Victorian times and the Edwardian period reveals a substantial quantitative recovery. Although the losses of an earlier period were not regained, the revitalised Church did succeed in improving its position in relation

[1] Percy Alden, in R. Mudie-Smith (ed). 1904. p 25.
[2] British Weekly. Jan. 13, 1888. p 201.
[3] A.D. Gilbert. Religion and Society in Industrial England. 1740-1914. 1976. pp 28-29.

to other religious groupings and society as a whole.

"Statistical indications of Anglican failure in particular urban contexts and among working-class sections of English society must be placed in the perspective of rising density indices[1] within the society as a whole. Quantitatively the Victorian Church failed only in the sense that most of the ground lost between 1740 and 1830 was not regained, and it is a measure of the gravity of this Anglican failure in early industrial society that the substantial recovery of the Victorian era was too little and too late to reverse the tendency towards institutional decline in Anglicanism. But however it is to be explained, and however much it is overshadowed by the seriousness of the decline which preceded it, the phase of Anglican growth spanning the Victorian and Edwardian years represents the one prolonged period after the Restoration in which the Church of England succeeded in improving its quantitative position within English society."[2]

The Church of England. Churches, clergy, and Easter Day communicants. 1801-1914.[3]

Year	Churches and Chapels	Clergy	Easter Day communicants (000's)	Easter Day communicants density
1801	11,379	-	535	9.9
1811	11,444	14,531	550	8.9
1821	11,558	-	570	7.9
1831	11,883	14,933	605	7.2
1841	12,668	15,730	755	7.9
1851	14,077	16,194	875	8.1
1861	14,731	17,966	995	8.3
1871	15,522	19,411	1,110	8.2
1881	16,300	20,341	1,225	7.9
1891	16,956	22,753	1,490	8.4
1901	17,368	23,670	1,945	9.4
1911	-	23,193	2,293	9.8
1914	-		2,226	9.2

The table shows a definite growth in church buildings, in clergy, and in attendance at the high point of belief in the Anglican calendar - the Easter Communion; and between 1880 and 1914, the attendance at this service grew more rapidly than population. Revitalised by internal reform, the Church recovered some of the leeway it had lost during the preceding lassitude.

[1] Density is a concept designed to demonstrate the relative strength of a religious organisation in a society. In this case (see following table) the density index expresses Easter Day communicant figures as a percentage of the population aged fifteen and over.

[2] A.D. Gilbert. 1976. p 29.

[3] Taken from A.D. Gilbert. 1976. p 28.

The censuses show a clear inverse correlation between church-going and the size of town. Mudie-Smith's team discovered this same relationship between the poorer areas of London and attendance at religious worship. Charles Booth's qualitative study of London also revealed this relationship between church-going and socio-economic class.

c) Church Attendance and Urban Growth

The conclusion reached by all the censuses was that in the churches the urban working-class was the least represented section of the community and that, in general, the larger was the town and the greater the size of the industrial proletariat then the less likely was a high rate of church attendance. However, despite this general relationship there were exceptions to the town-size/church attendance correlation.

In an attempt to account for the often striking success of Methodism in mining villages, Inglis has posited that this was partly, but not wholly, because miners lived close to death.[1] In addition, such places were not only unlike the traditional English village in that the inhabitants had not inherited feudal relationships, but also dissimilar to the large towns in that relations between employers and employees were more personal, partly because they lived fairly close to each other. Here, "it was more likely than in a great town that the workers

[1] For a similar view, see J.G. Rule. The Labouring Miner in Cornwall. c. 1740-1870. University of Warwick Ph.D. thesis. 1971, pp 240-260. The author suggests that the large role played by chance in the lives of miners and fishermen led these groups to develop rituals and beliefs to preclude and explain wrecks, falls of rock, failure to catch fish, etc. and that early nineteenth century Methodism with its special stress on providential interventions, was particularly suited to supplement, and to a certain extent, to replace, these earlier superstitions.

could be persuaded to embrace the religion of their masters".[1] In such places a sense of community and a consensus of values was more likely to be maintained than in towns that had experienced the rapid population growth and urbanisation associated with industrialisation. Perhaps this may partly account for the relatively high rates of attendance in Bristol, for, as a long-established sea-port city its traditions and social relations, and its sense of community, were formed prior to the industrial revolution.[2] Attendance rates were also relatively high in the spa towns and health resorts. Bath and Gloucester - areas minimally affected by the industrial revolution - are examples of areas where church-going remained popular. In places such as these continuity with tradition was more likely to be maintained than in places which had undergone the upheavals of swift industrialisation.

The industrial revolution and associated urban transition broke down traditional patterns of community. To a great extent church-going as a social habit was one of the norms of the traditional English village. Economic and social changes created a new class of industrial workers, who, during the upheavals of the transition lost the habit of church attendance.[3] In the

[1] K.S. Inglis. 1963. pp 10-11.

[2] See Bristol: Capital of the West. Arrowsmith. 1929, and J.F. Nichols and J. Taylor. Bristol Past and Present. Bristol, 1881. op cit. J.H.S. Kent. 'The Role of Religion in the Cultural Structure of the Late Victorian City'. pp 154-157. Transactions of the Royal Historial Society. 1973. pp 153-173. Even here, however, research within the city has shown a variation that corresponds to the general hypothesis. The lower the socio-economic class of an area, the more attenuated the practice. see R.M. Goodrich, cited in D.A. Martin. A Sociology of English Religion. 1967. p 20.

[3] see K.S. Inglis. 1963. p 322-336, and E.R. Wickham. 1957. p 87.

traditional community the Church was a symbol of a shared natural and social order. The sacred and the secular were not divided. In the towns economic change created a world where utilitarian values were the order of the day. The Church, no longer custodian of values, lost social significance. As a symbol of faith the Church was out-of-date.[1]

Notwithstanding the impact on the churches of urbanisation and industrialisation, there is evidence to suggest that these processes only exacerbated rather than created the religious indifference which was increasingly apparent among the poorer sections of the community. Thomas produces evidence from Tudor and Stuart England which would seem to recommend the speculation that in some areas of the country there existed a, "heathen-like ignorance of Christianity".[2] He suggests the possibility that, "many of the poorest classes never became regular church-goers".[3] Although the topic of the "unchurched masses" only became a dominant item of Church concern in the nineteenth century, nevertheless, "it was not the pressure of industrialisation which created the problem: it had always been there".[4]

However, it seldom occurred to churchmen to pause to inquire whether urban, or indeed, rural working-class indifference was such a novel phenomenon. It was only towards the end of the century (as it became increasingly obvious that the reforms designed to remedy deficits in facilities and the innovations intended to "attract" the so-called "lapsed" masses

[1] see T.H. Barnett (ed). Christianity and the Working Class. 1906. p 99.
[2] Notably the heath and forest areas where society was less rigid and disciplined. K.V. Thomas. 1971. p 164.
[3] p 160.
[4] p 166.

were failing to win their allegiance) that some voices began to question the assumption of former working-class religiosity in a "golden age". Even then it was the city that was seen as the enemy of religion: In 1908, the Archbishop of Canterbury (Davidson) expressed himself in doubt, "whether manual workers, 'artisan' or 'labouring', in the great cities of modern Europe have ever or anywhere been keen church-goers";[1] and, writing of the condition of England in 1909, Masterman declared that the population was not losing its religion, "because it had never gained a religion. In the industrial cities of England, since the city first was, the old inherited faiths have never been anything but the carefully preserved treasure of a tiny minority".[2]

However, whether the religiosity of the rural poor was exaggerated then and since, and consequently too much significance has been allotted to urbanisation as an explanation of religious decline, nevertheless, in the nineteenth century, the loss of social significance and increasing marginality for the Church was furthest advanced among those classes most affected by the industrial revolution and the associated growth of a nexus of pragmatic values. The nature of urban working-class life rendered the Church irrelevant. Later in the century churchmen came to accept that evangelism involved an encounter between different ways of life. Some went so far as to speak of the working-class having different "religious needs"; needs which might be met by separate facilities such as mission-room services specially designed to appeal more readily to assumed working-class tastes than more traditional ministrations.

[1] Preface to W. Walsh. Progress of the Church in London. 2nd edition. 1908. p v.
[2] C.F.G. Masterman. 1909. p 15.

Before this took place, however, many explanations were offered for the absence of the poor which did not require radical re-adjustment of the Church's traditional apparatus. Attention was given to factors which might be acting as obstacles to worship, either within, or outside, the churches. In the case of the Church of England a number of possible factors were suggested, and the search for explanation also turned to exogenous factors endemic in working-class life which acted as deterrents to worship.

CHAPTER III

The search for obstacles to church attendance and the development of the notion of mission at home

Reforms of the thirties and forties made progress in remedying the deficit in facilities. Church building and clergy recruitment increased and the Church was revitalised by the continuing effort of the Evangelical party, and the "ginger group" effect of the Tractarians. The reforms could not, however, restore the monopoly of religious practice once claimed by the Church, although this status was still reflected in some parts of its organisation. The Bishops exerted considerable influence on Parliament; in some areas the local incumbent still had considerable power over his parishioners; the parochial system, or at least its framework, still covered the length and breadth of England, and most citizens were, nominally, parishioners. But in many areas, although it was intact in theory, the system was inadequate in practice. In 1885, in a section entitled "Home Mission Work", the Year Book of the Church of England referred to the great masses of people who, "habitually neglect the ordinances of religion". In order to reach them supplementary agencies were necessary, "specially adapted to their peculiar wants".[1] That the Church should consider the "wants" of its flock at all was a relatively new idea. So was the implied obligation of missionary activity at home.

In the eighteenth and certainly the seventeenth century, a clergyman might have felt that a sufficient criterion of his role was the completed observance of his liturgical duties; but now he seemed obliged, not only to hold services in his church,

[1] Y.B. 1885. p 72.

but also actively to encourage consumption. To use the analogy of a market the Church had not only to supply its traditional product (religious ministrations) but also to ensure and encourage consumption. This involved the active promotion and advertisement of its product, and a willingness to consider the vagaries of demand: the consumer was confronted by a number of closely competing alternatives in worship. Moreover he had the choice of not consuming at all.

This situation contradicted some of the Church's most fundamental assumptions about its role and operation in society, and the notion of mission and the search for "obstacles" preventing church attendance were consequences of the re-appraisal that followed. At first, many clergy assumed that the deficits in religious observance could be explained by a lack of facilities, but especially after the middle of the century it became increasingly clear that some sections of the population were absent, not because there were no facilities available, but because they preferred, quite simply, not to attend. This option of voluntary non-attendance became more apparent as some of the deficits in church accommodation were tackled. Many of the new churches built under the auspices of the Bishop of London's Fund remained half empty.

> "Plenty of seats were available in Bethnal Green and Manchester by 1850, but not many of the working classes, the people they were primarily meant for, were sitting in them. Some were taken up by middle-class people, an embarrassing number stayed empty. The lower orders would not come to church, therefore the church had to go out and get the lower orders."[1]

The suggestions to explain their absence were many and various, and with the advantage of hindsight they may appear to

[1] G.F.A. Best. Mid-Victorian Britain. 1973. p 210.

us as sometimes bizarre or amusing. In general two main explanations were offered for the failure of the working classes to attend church.[1] One concerned obstacles created by the actual structure of Church practice itself - long sermons, clergy attitudes, and the pew system were among several of the internal factors mentioned. The other explanation turned to factors militating against attendance outside the Church and peculiar to the non-worshipping population (external factors).

Internal obstacles "preventing" church attendance

a) Seating arrangements: Pews

The argument over appropriated seating highlights a characteristic feature of the working class church attendance debate. Pew rents, so the argument ran, were an evidence of the class bias in the Church of England. Rented pews were a source of income, and even the churches erected under the reforming beneficence of the Church Building Commission, or the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, contained a high proportion of reserved pews. However, the only people able to afford pews were those in the middle and upper echelons of society, leaving the draughty extremities and side-benches for the rest of the congregation. Even where rents were abolished there was still a tacit assumption among congregations, and an actual directive to churchwardens,[2] that people should sit in church according to their rank.

[1] For a typical discussion see W.D. Maclagan. The Church and the People. 1882.

[2] C.G. Prideaux. A Practical Guide to the Duties of Churchwardens. 1841. p 165, cited by K.S. Inglis. 1963. p 55. See also, Archdeacon G.A. Denison at the Church Congress of 1862. C.C.R. 1862. p 190, cited in S. Meacham. 'The Church in the Victorian City', in Victorian Studies. March 1968, p 361.

Uncivil treatment discouraged the poor - according to the Spiritual Needs of the Masses report (1885) they were "pewed" out of the church.[1] Obelkevitch gives examples of how the seating plan came to reflect the social hierarchy in the rural village. The pews "interfered with ritual functions, destroyed the communal, open character of the church interior, and symbolised private property and exclusiveness: everything about them infuriated reformers".[2] For James Fraser, reserved accommodation was an example of the, "undue influence the wealthier classes possess in all parochial arrangements", and it is salutary that he reminded his peers at York that, "the soul of an artisan is just as precious in the sight of God, as it ought to be in ours, as the soul of a duke, and that any arrangement which gives preference to the upper classes at the cost of the lower is not consistent with our position as a National Church".[3]

Campaigns were launched; pressure to abandon rented pews was exerted in Parliament;[4] and the matter was discussed at all levels of Church debate. The stumbling block in the path of "free and open" churches seems to have been local interest and the power of the laity, while incumbents were reluctant to relinquish the income from pew rents, particularly where the church was poorly endowed. Proponents of the "free and open"

[1] C. of C. Report No 182. The Spiritual Need of the Masses. p 6.

[2] J. Obelkevitch. 1976. pp 109-110.

[3] C. of Y. 1884. pp 159-160. See also Arthur Henderson M.P., in G. Haw. Christianity and the Working Classes. 1906. p 115.

[4] A private members bill was before Parliament for almost two decades although it was never given a proper hearing. D. Bowen The Idea of the Victorian Church. Montreal. 1968. p 73. The Incorporated Free and Open Church Association, and a number of local organisations continued the campaign throughout the century. see for example, H. Clark. The Pew system in the national church. 1869.

campaign sang the praises of the alternative - a voluntary offertory system, but the doubt about finance, combined with the risk that a change might disaffect the most lucrative source of voluntary giving in the congregation, discouraged many incumbents from making the transition quite as quickly as they might. By the end of the century, however, churches with rented accommodation were in steady decline and the difficulties they created were "gradually passing away".[1] Notwithstanding its success, the campaign against rented seats was based on an unjustified assumption. Chadwick comments:- "Even in the last decades of the century we find occasional violence against pews. The enemies of pews continued their fight, but less vigorously, partly because the contest was won, and partly because they lost their big argument. They said that if all seats were free the labourer might come to church and they were found wrong".[2]

b) Service arrangements: the Church and market demand - modifications in services

The search for obstacles preventing working-class church attendance inevitably led churchmen to consider the quality of the product itself. It was obvious that the traditional mode of Church worship held little attraction for the poorer sections of the population and the clergy sought both explanations and a solution for the fact that lower class people were largely absent. There were two main suggestions about ways in which services might be modified, each based on a different idea of what was attractive to working men, and on different notions of

[1] C. of Y. 1891. The Spiritual Needs of the Masses of the People. Appendix p xxiv. See also K.S. Inglis. 1963. pp 52-53.
[2] O. Chadwick. 1970. Pt. II. p 215.

the organisational identity of the Church. At one extreme, a group which included the members of the Tractarian movement in the thirties, and the slum ritualists in the eighties, contended that the working classes were fond of ritual and mystery in church worship. Members of this group were anxious to re-assert the identity of the Church as a spiritual society. Ornate vestments and liturgy stressing otherworldliness and reverence could inspire the poor and fill the churches. The Vice-President of the Church of England Working Mens Society wanted the poor to realise, "that they are worshipping that same God Who bade Moses remove his shoes".[1]

Others were sceptical of this approach and emphasised measures of a radically opposite kind, seeking to simplify the performance of the priest, and increase congregational involvement. In general this view was represented by members displaying a Low Church Evangelical orientation, and many of the modifications were importations from Evengelical Nonconformity.

The changes in service during the first half of the century reflected the wish, on the part of the clergy, to re-create the parish as a worshipping community.[2] In an attempt to promote participation, baptism was encouraged as a public rather than a private ceremony. Communion was celebrated more frequently,[3] while improvements in transport facilities and a breed of more zealous bishops enabled confirmation services to take place more regularly. The quality of congregational worship also

[1] E.M. Ingram. How to Recover the Lapsed Masses to the Church of England. 1885. p 39.

[2] See J. Obelkevitch. 1976. p 104.

[3] In the thirties, one devout layman who went to church twice every Sunday might receive Holy Communion only twice during the first five years after his Confirmation. see O. Chadwick. 1971. Pt. I. p 514.

improved. Hymnody, a Nonconformist persuasion, was common in churches by the sixties, and "audience participation" in the responses became more general. With the hymns came music; the organ replacing country bands as support to an increasing number of choirs. Sermons were shorter but more frequent as church became a more "attractive" place by deliberate policy, offering not just spiritual enlightenment but also some degree of entertainment. A combination of pagan and Christian elements, the popular Harvest Festival service was first introduced in 1842.[1] From 1855, services were held in the open-air,[2] in secular meeting-places,[3] and on week-nights in cathedrals,[4] and by the late eighties, outdoor preaching had become an accepted part of Church work.[5]

Observation of Nonconformist practices led some to suggest that evening services would attract more working-class attenders,[6] but objectors believed that evening worship might bring young men and women into undesirable contact, a criticism that

[1] See O. Chadwick. 1971. Pt. I. pp 518-522 and J. Obelkevitch. 1976. pp 158-161.

[2] This was made possible by the Religious Worship Bill.

[3] While the Church Association (1865) hounded ritualists, the rival English Church Union (1859) prosecuted services in theatres. The fracas between these two societies ranked alongside disestablishment and reform as a topic of popular concern. For example see F. Close. The English Church Union. A Ritualistic Society. 1868, and Further Evidence of the True Character of the English Church Union. 1869. G. Balleine. 1951 (ed). pp 195-196. See also James Bentley. Ritualism and Politics in Victorian Britain. Oxford. 1978.

[4] Some of these efforts were criticised for lack of imagination. For an amusing description of the first service at Westminster Abbey, see O. Chadwick. 1971. p 525.

[5] Several bishops were prepared to preach out-of-doors. e.g. A.W. Thorold, Bishop of Rochester (who influenced the founders of the Church Army); and the suffragan Bishop of Bedford. see S. Mayor. The Churches and the Labour Movement. 1967. p 34, and Y.B. 1883. p 55.

[6] In 1882, the Lower House of the Convocation of Canterbury conducted a survey (which was never completed) to establish whether the timing of services was inconvenient for the working class.

the Bishop of Oxford levied against the Salvation Army.[1] The introduction, or an increased frequency of weekday, evening, and afternoon services was a popular, though largely unsuccessful remedy.[2]

Others, pleading for lively, earnest preaching, believed that church worship was too solemn. The working classes might be attracted "back" by services that did not bore them with long, complicated sermons. To the Bishop of Llandaff, services were "too elaborate and too artificial for the minds of uneducated people, who want their feelings excited as well as their minds to be instructed".[3] The people preferred simple congregational worship, with hymns rather than elaborate music and anthems. James Fraser propounded the same view, upholding Spurgeon as an example of what a preacher ought to be like.[4]

Fraser also spoke against the view that working men were attracted by ritual (an opinion that has some support from Weber),[5] which in his experience in Manchester was not true. However, in some working-class areas the "slum-ritualist" did have considerable success. The efforts of Charles Lowder in the East End, and Robert Dolling in Portsmouth are cases in point.[6] Whether it was the ritual itself, or the dedication of the incumbent, that filled some "high" churches is debatable. J.G. Adderley argued that the High Church movement had some

[1] See below.

[2] See Rev. C. Bullock. Is it Utopian? 1881. p 18.

[3] C. of C. 1882. p 222.

[4] C. of Y. 1884. p 158. Fraser was prepared to speak in factories at dinner-time. see J.W. Diggle. The Lancashire Life of Bishop Fraser. 1889. pp 190-191.

[5] Max Weber. The Sociology of Religion. Trans. E. Fischoff. 1966 (ed). p 101.

[6] See C. Lowder. Twenty-One Years in St. George's Mission. 1887. R.R. Dolling. Ten Years in a Portsmouth Slum. 1896. C.E. Osbourne. The Life of Father Dolling. 1903, cited in K.S. Inglis. 1963. p 29.

hold on working men through the Church of England Working Mens Society and the Christian Social Union, and that the service of Holy Communion was particularly popular.[1] Percy Alden believed the opposite to be true in East London. The working man, he felt, "seldom feels at home in a church with a highly ornate ritual".[2] Mudie-Smith and his team came to the general conclusion that, "the power of preaching is undiminished. Wherever there is the right man in the pulpit there are few, if any, empty pews".[3] Some churches were full. More were empty. The actual type of service, be it ritualistic or evangelistic, seemed less important to the investigators than the zeal of the individual minister. A good incumbent could still attract a congregation, especially where opportunity was given for involvement in church life. Adult schools and the Pleasant Sunday Afternoon movement were praised in this respect.[4] Even so, the majority of church-goers came from among the ranks of the middle class and the census showed the churches, "practically powerless to attract the outside mass".[5]

That the Church should be responsible not only for providing services, but also for making them attractive, was a consequence of the competitive nature of the "market" for religious worship. The established church had to take notice of what other religious groups were doing, and some Nonconformist techniques were imported to "attract" the poor. In the 1880s, the Salvation Army was the most spectacular example of (apparently) successful home-mission work, and some of its

[1] In G. Haw (ed). 1906. pp 220-257.
[2] In R. Mudie-Smith (ed). 1904. p 37.
[3] Ibid. p 7.
[4] pp 320-333.
[5] p 314.

methods were adopted in Church evangelistic work either piecemeal (short, lively, open-air services) or wholesale (the Church Army). At one stage it had seemed that some form of amalgamation with the Salvation Army might have been a possibility. It is no coincidence that the Canterbury Convocation of 1883, after dissolving the committee on the Salvation Army, set up another body charged with considering whether, and if so what type of, special action should be taken in view of, "the present unsatisfactory spiritual state of the great masses of the population, especially in large towns?"[1] The Salvation Army was not to become part of the Church. Further research was necessary. Both houses were represented on the committee which presented its report to Convocation on Feb. 13, 1885.[2]

External obstacles "preventing" church attendance

a) The Spiritual Needs of the Masses: a vignette of 1885

The "Spiritual Needs" report provides a vignette of the church attendance discussion as a summary of the situation at the beginning of the period that concerns us. Although most of the traditional obstacles still had support, some evidence can be seen of a shift away from the naive belief that the working classes had left the Church, and a dawning of the realisation that evangelistic work involved an encounter between different ways of life.

The committee found wide differences in attendance between country, town, and city, but felt that general Church progress

[1] C. of C. 1883. p 21.
[2] Report No 182. 'Spiritual Needs of the Masses of the People'. 1885.

was more hopeful than in 1858.[1] However, despite continued strength in country areas where, "every one of the inhabitants can be brought more or less directly under the eye of the pastor", and some progress in small towns, the large proportion of "the darkest and densest masses of the population" were outside the Church: "Whether we take the word 'reached' to refer to the supply of Church ministrations, or to the exertion of spiritual influence, there are still very many town parishes in which a large proportion is not reached at all".[2]

Major "obstacles" to attendance were the pew system and difficulties with the Prayer Book and complicated preaching. There were still deficiencies in facilities, both physical and human, although the situation had improved with the sustained church-building programme. There were local difficulties in some areas - Sunday work and the Welsh language were cited as examples.[3] Some incumbents were "listless", but a more subtle, and perhaps more pervasive problem was, "the gulf that is alleged to exist too frequently between the people and the Clergy".[4] The returns for Chichester were discussed at Diocesan Conference level in 1883, and the moral and religious causes given for the, "partial failure of the Church to reach the people" included pews, Sunday recreation, religious indifference, etc, and, in one local return: "Garden allotments, tempting to Sunday labour; Sunday newspapers, boating and fly-trade, strolling and excursions".[5]

[1] Report of the Select Committee of the House of Lords on the deficiency of the means of Divine worship in populous districts. 1858.

[2] Spiritual Needs of the Masses. 1885. p 3.

[3] For the particular difficulties encountered in Wales by the Church see E.T. Davies. Religion in the Industrial Revolution in South Wales. Cardiff. 1965. pp 24-30, pp 103-115 and p 124.

[4] Spiritual Needs of the Masses. 1885. p 7.

[5] Chichester Diocesan Conference. 1883, in Chichester Diocesan Kalendar. 1884. p 155.

b) The condition of working-class life

Working-class estrangement from the Church was also explained in terms of factors endemic to working-class life. This direction of inquiry was partly a response to the increased availability of information about working-class culture. What emerged was a picture of a social and cultural milieu almost entirely different from that prevailing in middle-class, "respectable", and religious circles - the world of the public-house, the music-hall and the sweat-shop was realised to exist quite beyond the world of the Church, the chapel and the drawing-room. It was discovered that there was "everything in the circumstances of the lives of the poor in towns to discourage religious practice",[1] and it was increasingly asserted that society was becoming divided into separate and often mutually hostile classes.[2]

In his study of the working classes in Victorian fiction, P.J. Keating has drawn attention to the gulf between the classes by demonstrating how some writers felt it necessary to regard themselves as "explorers" when, for purposes of research, they entered the world of the poor and destitute.[3] In 1851, Henry Mayhew had employed the classic image of the social explorer when he compared the working classes of London with distant

[1] Speaker at Oxford Diocesan Conference. 1885. p 41.

[2] This point was made by Marx and Engels, of course, in 1844, and re-iterated by Disraeli in Sybil (1845). Kent has described the situation as one of culture conflict between a religious sub-culture supporting the interest of ruling groups, and a working-class sub-culture (with some aristocratic support). The growth of working-class ghettoes fostered not only a proletarian group-consciousness, but also a suburban, middle class awareness of the working-class as another class. see J.H.S. Kent. The Role of Religion in the Cultural Structure of the Late Victorian City, in Transactions of the Royal Historical Society. Fifth Series. 23. 1973. pp 153-173.

[3] P.J. Keating. Into Unknown England. 1886-1913. 1976. p 9.

tribes, but now in the 1880s, this "foreign land" was given a specific location as attention became focussed on the Metropolis and, in particular, the East End of London. George Sims, in his novel How the Poor Live (1883), described a voyage of discovery, "into a dark continent that is within easy walking distance of the General Post Office".[1] The Bitter Cry of Outcast London concentrated mainly on problems in South London, but in general the main focus of attention was elsewhere - the inspiration of most "explorer" novels originated in the East. All Sorts and Conditions of Men (1882. Walter Besant) and How the Poor Live, were set in the East End of London, perhaps because the problems created by the vicissitudes of the casual labour market were more apparent here, especially in the Docks.[2] "From the early eighties", says Keating, "it became customary to talk of the E. End as somewhere heathen, outcast and totally neglected by religious leaders and social reformers",[3] and it was in this period that words like "unemployment" and the "unemployed" first came into common parlance.[4] Three events in the late 'eighties served to draw further attention to the East. These were the well-publicised Bryant and May strike of 1888 (led by Annie Besant), the Dock Strike of 1889, and the clandestine but notorious activities of Jack the Ripper.[5]

[1] P.J. Keating. 1976. pp 13-14. Some believed that disguise or special methods were necessary to communicate with the poor. e.g. James Greenwood. A Night in a Work-House, favoured disguise. Charles Booth and B.S. Rowntree made use of men with local knowledge.

[2] see G.S. Jones. Outcast London. Oxford. 1970.

[3] P.J. Keating. The working-classes in Victorian fiction. 1971. p 110.

[4] G.S. Jones. Oxford. 1970. Preface. See also J. Harris. Unemployment and Politics. 1866-1914. Oxford. 1972. p 4.

[5] P.J. Keating. 1971. p 115.

The increasing volume of literature about working-class culture fostered the realisation that evangelism involved a contact between two different ways of life which contained not only difference in attitudes and beliefs, but also different rhythms of life.[1] The Head of Oxford House, the mission-settlement in London, appreciated the difficulties involved for the Church in making the average working-man's Sunday a spiritually significant occasion[2] - the different time-structure of working-class life implied a radical change in life-style. For a worker in a railway factory, reported A. Williams, "Sunday is the day of complete inactivity with most of the workmen, and it is possibly the weakest and least enjoyed of all. If the day is dull and wet a great number stay in bed till dinner-time, and sometimes they remain there all day and night till Monday morning comes".[3]

There were other physical hindrances. The churches were the haunt of the middle classes, of the "respectable", and the poor, the public were informed, were reluctant to attend in shabby clothes, or because they were illiterate. Whether a lack of suitable clothes was an explanation of non-attendance at church that was simply a reflection of middle-class opinion, or merely a rationalisation offered by the poor as an excuse for not attending, were questions that were left unanswered.[4] However, in working-class culture, the argument continued, church attendance was not a social habit. Among the working

[1] J.H.S. Kent. 1973. pp 168-169.

[2] See A.F. Winnington Ingram. Work in Great Cities. 1895. p 13.

[3] A.W. Williams. Life in a Railway Factory. 1915. p 254, cited by J.H.S. Kent. 1973. p 170.

[4] This point is made by A.A. Maclaren. Religion and Social Class. The Disruption Years in Aberdeen. 1974. p 128.

class, reported Maclagan, "the marked men are those who go to church - not those who stay away; and the moral courage which is required in any man among the poorer class, when he becomes a church-goer, is not least among the difficulties".[1] George Haw tried to put his readers in that man's position:-

> "Imagine the bewilderment of a working-man without previous training, entering a strange place of worship, no matter of what denomination. The formalism, the social caste, the archaic language, and in some cases the medieval ceremony, leave his mind a blank and his heart unsatisfied. He could not find his place in the Service Book even supposing that one were handed to him. He could make nothing of the mumbling of the congregation, and next to nothing of the prayers and lessons".[2]

That the Church was a middle-class enclave was reflected in the attitude of the clergy - commentators noticed a patronising and often critical slant in their dealings with the poor. George Lansbury complained that the clergy were always on the side of the rich, preaching duties rather than rights, and showed class-based inconsistency in their teaching.[3] This was a complaint levelled against, among other things, the Lords Day Observance Society, and the Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, in that Sabbatarians and clergy tended to concentrate on the evils of working-class life while ignoring their middle and upper-class equivalents.[4] Thus punting and gambling were designated as sins, while stock-market speculation and the owning of race-horses were not. The campaign to keep Sunday "holy" was seen as an attack on the working man's only

[1] W.D. Maclagan. 1882. p 11.

[2] G. Haw (ed). 1906. p 23.

[3] Ibid. pp 163-180. George Lansbury was an Anglican Sunday School teacher who left the Church after reading Robert Elsmere, only to return in 1901, see 'Why I returned to Christianity'. Clarion. 29 July 1904, cited by H. MacLeod. 1974. pp 286-287.

[4] B.H. Harrison. 1967.

holiday of the week, depriving him of leisure opportunities which the more fortunate could take advantage of while he was at work. To the working man, it might have seemed that the Church, and religion in general, stood firmly on the side of the governing and employing sections of the community.[1]

Anglican evangelism involved contact between two different cultures. As Robert Dolling realised when he arrived in Portsmouth in 1885,[2] the social conditions prevalent among the "masses" often precluded church worship either directly or indirectly. The Church was in competition, not only with other religious alternatives, but also with social institutions like the public-house - "the Elysian field of the tired toiler",[3] which made conflicting claims on the working man's time. Alcohol, and certainly drunkenness, were often proscribed as sinful, not only because indulgence itself was considered evil, but also, as William Booth was aware,[4] because the public-house was a competing attraction and to this extent could be seen as "preventing" church attendance. Some sections of the Church saw in secularist teachings and freethought an ideological alternative to Christian belief, and the secularist movement was also discussed as an "obstacle" to attendance.

c) Secularism: an ideological obstacle?

Although most churchmen felt that secularist propaganda had little hold on the working classes, the topic precipitated

[1] See J.H.S. Kent. 1973. p 162.

[2] R.R. Dolling. 1896. see Dolling's candid description of the south-coast town.

[3] The Bitter Cry of Outcast London. 1883. p 7.

[4] See General Booth. In Darkest England and the Way Out. 1890. p 48.

much discussion and concern. While the Christian Evidence Society was attempting to present the Christian message to freethinkers, the leaders of an organisation called Literature for the Working Classes were trying, in 1883, to publish a new Church newspaper for working men and give, "a wholesome direction to public opinion".[1] The Guild of St. Matthew, founded in 1877, declared one of its aims to be, "to get rid, by every possible means, of the existing prejudices, especially on the part of the 'Secularists', against the Church, her sacraments and doctrines, and to endeavour to justify God to the people".[2]

However, although the secularist movement was largely working-class in character,[3] (the National Secular Society reached its peak membership of 6000 in the 1880s), militant atheism was as unsuccessful in gaining the affection of the "masses" as organised religion. Most of the poor were indifferent to both. In addition it would seem that positive atheism involved as much, if not more commitment than Christianity.[4]

Although the secularist movement did provoke anxiety on the part of the leaders of the churches, especially between 1880 and 1886 when Bradlaugh's attempts to occupy the parliamentary seat for Northampton conferred on him the status of national celebrity, and brought atheism to public attention, nevertheless, the main problem was agreed to be, not atheism,

[1] Y.B. 1883. p 193.

[2] see W.S. Smith. The London Heretics. 1870-1914. 1967. p 187. The guild was founded by Stewart Headlam, who was a controversial figure in the eighties and nineties. For details see P. d'a. Jones. The Christian Socialist Revival. 1877-1914. Princeton. 1968. pp 99-158.

[3] see S. Budd. The Loss of Faith. Reasons for Unbelief among members of the Secular Movement in England. 1850-1950, in Past and Present. 1967. See also C.O. Campbell. Towards a Sociology of Irreligion. 1971. pp 48-67, and W.S. Smith. 1967. p 171.

[4] For an example see W.J. Edwards. From the Valley I Came. 1956.

but indifference. James Adderley described the secularists as a, "real power in East London", during the first few years of Oxford House,[1] but the slums proved impervious to their teachings: "Atheism has lost even the faintest resemblance to any hold on the working-classes since the death of Mr. Bradlaugh. Indifference, there is, deep and real, but not atheism".[2] Secularist speakers were a powerful attraction, but freethought did not inspire the "masses" as a whole - with organised religion it foundered on the indifference of an apathetic urban proletariat. In 1854, Horace Mann had found positive infidelity of little attraction to working men, but his description of the masses as "unconscious secularists" was widely accepted. Despite the "evangelists of unbelief" this was still the case fifty years later.[3] The secularist movement did not prove a successful alternative to organised religion - the problem for the Church was one of neglect rather than rejection.[4]

However, secularism did contribute to the "crisis of faith", which, we are told, was the malaise of many Victorians.[5] The reader of novels and biographies perhaps receives a disproportionate impression of the pervasiveness of this "crisis".[6]

[1] J.G. Adderley. In Slums and Society. 1916. p 19.

[2] J.G. Adderley. Practical Questions. 1905. p 176.

[3] But not by secularists themselves, who considered "unconscious" secularism an impossibility. For them, to be a secularist required deliberate thought and action. C.D. Campbell. 1971. p 51.

[4] see J. Eros. The Rise of Organised Free-Thought in Mid-Victorian England, in Sociological Review 2 (i). July 1954.

[5] see W. Irvine. Apes, angels and Victorians. 1956. A.W. Brown. The Metaphysical Society. Victorian minds in crisis. 1869-1880. New York. 1947. W.E. Houghton. The Victorian Frame of Mind. Yale. 1957.

[6] The preacher-novel with the hero afflicted by "doubt" was a common literary form. Perhaps, H. Ward. Robert Elsmere. 2 vols. 1888, is the classic example, but see also W.H. White. The Autobiography of Mark Rutherford. 1881, and Mark Rutherford's Deliverance. 1885.

Although the debate percolated downwards through the ranks of ordinary churchgoers to an unprecedented extent, its significance must be kept in perspective. What A.D. Gilbert calls the "popularisation of controversy" certainly occurred to a greater extent than before. Scientific discoveries and theological controversies were widely discussed in newspapers, pamphlets and, no doubt, in homes and churches.[1] Origin of Species (1859), Essays and Reviews (1860), and Lux Mundi (1889), were topics of popular concern. However, the evidence comes mainly from the writings of the more articulate section of the population who surely encountered active "doubt" to a greater extent than the majority of the community.

One index of secularisation is the decline in church attendance and membership - in religious practice. There is little evidence to suggest that secularist propaganda and the "crisis of faith" caused mass resignation from the churches. However, "doubt" did play an important role in the secularisation process, in that it encouraged Christians to avoid wide-ranging theological and doctrinal speculation, and to concentrate their energies on more specific, less problematic, moral campaigns. Freethought and theological controversy could lead to individual trauma and uncertainty. One reaction was to avoid contentious issues and to concentrate on subjects where there was consensus within, and indeed, between, religious groups. The launching of moral campaigns and voluntary associations concerned with specific, well-defined, "problems", that might or might not be interdenominational in character, implied the secularisation of the Christian message itself.

[1] A.D. Gilbert. 1976. pp 175-184. An example is the discussion of the Colenso affair in Arnold Bennett's, Clayhanger (Penguin ed. 1975.pp 125-129). Many secularist pamphlets designed to discredit religion were circulated, e.g. G.W. Foote. The Atheist Shoemaker and the Rev. Hugh Price Hughes. 1894.

CHAPTER IV

Attempts to bridge the gulf between the Church and the working classes - supplements to the parochial system and novel methods

Awareness of the existence of factors external to the churches which militated against church attendance, and were endemic to the life-style of the working classes, was furthered by an increasing volume of literary explorations of working-class culture. Whether it was undertaken for religious, philanthropic, or literary purposes, the literature produced by the "social explorers" of the late nineteenth century focusssed public attention on the plight of the poor, and provided further evidence of the gulf between the churches and the working-class. Perhaps the most well-known and widely-read of these documents was the pamphlet produced by Andrew Mearns, the Bitter Cry of Outcast London.[1]

Coming at a time of high unemployment, the Bitter Cry demonstrated the abject conditions of the London poor - "a vast mass of moral corruption, of heart-breaking misery and absolute ungodliness".[2] It fostered a change in the religious disposition to social relief and social conditions in general, and encouraged some clergy to re-examine their vocation;[3] while its revelations and proposals led to the establishment of a Royal Commission on working-class housing, to appeals on

[1] The authorship was variously attributed to Mearns, G.R. Sims, and Stewart Headlam. Mayor believes it was written by W.C. Preston who used Mearns' research. see S. Mayor. 1967. p 56.

[2] The Bitter Cry of Outcast London. 1883. p 1.

[3] James Adderley, the author of Stephen Remarx, felt "called" to the slums by the revelations of the document. see J.G. Adderley. 1916. pp 16-17.

behalf of existing, or proposed, relief efforts,[1] and provoked a public discussion in the press and in pamphlets.[2] During this period, London became the scene of numerous evangelistic and social relief agencies, many of them using novel methods. Of these, perhaps the founding of "settlements" and the Christian Socialist movement have received the most attention.

a) Settlements and the Christian Social Union

The settlement movement was a more systematic version of the "call" to the slums and endeavoured to establish working communities of educated laity and clergy in destitute parts of London, hoping thereby to foster understanding and sympathy between the classes.[3] During the eighties and nineties, members of settlements sometimes intervened in trade disputes and were active in campaigns for social reform. The intention was to build through the influence of the Church a national consensus of values that would unite and integrate all classes into one community. By involving the Church in a broad range of social and political issues, they envisaged it becoming a truly "national", inclusive institution.

[1] See for example: Countess of Tankerville. A Bright Spot in Outcast London, (an appeal on behalf of the Mildmay Deaconess). 1884. Anon. A Response to the Bitter Cry (Association for Improving the Homes of the Very Poor). 1884. Pearl Fisher. The Harvest of the City and the Workers of Today. 1884. C. Carruthers. The Root of the Matter, or the Only Cure for the Bitter Cry of Outcast London. 1884. G.W. McCree. Sweet Herbs for the Bitter Cry. 1884. T.C. Garland. East End Pictures. 1885. Rev. F.E. Smiley. The Evangelisation of a Great City, or, The Churches' Answer to the Bitter Cry. Philadelphia. 1890.

[2] see B. Lambert. The Outcast Poor: Esau's Cry, and Jacob's answer to Esau's Cry, in Contemporary Review. Dec. 1883, and Sept. 1884. see also A. Mearns. Outcast London, in Contemporary Review. Dec. 1883, and Light and Shade. Pictures of London Life. 1885.

[3] W. Walsh. 1908. pp 45-46. See also H.O. Barnett. Canon Barnett. 1921, and S.A. Barnett. Practicable Socialism. 1888.

Several varieties of settlement were opened, all more or less religious in character. Toynbee Hall[1] was imitated at Oxford House (1885), and by Nonconformist establishments such as Browning Hall and two settlements in Canning Town. Settlements represented a co-operation between religious and secular reform - the social gospel. The foundation of the Christian Social Union in 1889 brought many of these socially conscious clergy and laymen into union.

The Christian Social Union was a blander version of Stewart Headlam's propagandist organisation, the Guild of St. Matthew (founded 1879), which through the organ of the Church Reformer had tried to promote spiritual and social awareness within the Church. The Christian Social Union tried to establish Church policy on social and political matters in an effort to make it "relevant". Wagner summarises the influence of these institutions:-

> "The settlement movement achieved practical results without much attention to theory. The Guild of St. Matthew evolved a theory and accomplished some definite results. The Christian Social Union theorised without ever evolving a theory or producing tangible results in keeping with its possibilities. All three however, helped to guide Church opinion into social channels."[2]

b) Brotherhoods, sisterhoods and deaconesses

Another "movement" should be mentioned at this stage - the campaign to restore orders of men and congregations of women to the Anglican Church. The Oxford movement was the inspiration of this attempt to re-emphasise the role of the Church as a spiritual society. The first Anglican sisterhood to be founded

[1] Established by Samuel Barnett in 1885, Toynbee Hall was the first "settlement". see S.A. Barnett. Settlements of University Men in Great Towns. Oxford. 1884.

[2] D.O. Wagner. New York. 1930. p 233.

was the Park Village community in 1845.[1] Brotherhoods were authorised by Convocation in 1890. But the constant thorn in the side of the restoration of orders was the question of vows, which many clergy felt to be "Romish". Despite the partisan suspicions of some churchmen, brotherhoods and sisterhoods were acceptable for utilitarian reasons - orders of men might bolster the parochial system by providing "cheap labour", while sisterhoods had a pragmatic value in the nursing duties they performed.[2]

Low churchmen, however, preferred the post of deaconess, an institution which was more paternal in character than the sisterhood or order, and which was more easily accommodated to existing beliefs about the position and status that was "proper" for women. The first group of deaconesses was founded in 1860 in Mildmay Park.[3] Another significant factor in the growth of sisterhoods and the establishment of deaconess institutions was the nineteenth century "surplus" of women. "Ladies" provided the reservoir of assistance to which many voluntary societies and agencies had recourse.[4]

[1] see T.J. Williams and A.W. Campbell. The Park Village Sisterhood. 1965, and T.J. Williams. Priscilla Lydia Sellon (revised ed). 1965.

[2] see M. Hill. The Religious Order. 1973. pp 139-183. For a discussion of the growth of conventual orders within the Church, see A.M. Allchin. The Silent Rebellion. 1958, and P.F. Anson. The Call of the Cloister. 1964. For the mid-century revival of devotional life see M. Goodman. Sisterhoods in the Church of England. 1863, and J.M. Neale. Deaconesses, and Early Sisterhoods. 1869. See also C. of C. 1889. Report No 241. Brotherhoods - Organisations to reach classes outside religious ministrations, and C.C.R. 1887. pp 51-71. The Adaptation of Spiritual Agencies to Modern Needs.

[3] see, 'A Light in a Dark Place'. Annual Report of Mildmay Mission Hospital. 1887.

[4] see M. Hill. 1973. pp 271-295, and A. Deacon and M. Hill, 'The Problem of 'Surplus Women' in the Nineteenth Century, in A Sociological Year Book of Religion in Britain. 5. 1972.

During the eighties, there was a definite shift to the left in attitudes to social relief. The churches were confronted by the emergent existence of a welfare state, an organised labour movement, and changing social and economic conditions, while internal pressure for change came from men like Headlam and Barnett. A re-examination and re-interpretation of established teaching and attitudes was stimulated, and a re-orientation of the religious stance vis a vis the masses and social reform took place. Settlements, the Christian Social Union, and "slumming",[1] represented a changed attitude of the clergy to the "unchurched", of the privileged to the "masses", and, in London, of West to East. They shared a common aim, and answered a common need - all were attempts to supplement the inadequacies of the parochial system.

c) The "attraction" of the poor

One advantage that accrued to incumbents was what Charles Booth called the "not much disputed right"[2] to call at any home within their parish and make themselves acquainted with their parishioners, and a frequent expression was that the parochial system, "properly worked" could solve the problem of the lack of contact with the working classes.[3] Some clergy put this into practice with a measure of success, notably Robert Dolling in Portsmouth and Osborne-Jay in Shoreditch. Osborne-Jay's scheme involved extensive use of house-to-house visitation with the help of mission women, and an attempt to make the Church more

[1] 'Slumming' became quite fashionable e.g. in The Associated Workers League, and the Eighty-Eight Club. see C. Lenox. Henry Drummond (3rd ed). 1901. p 93.

[2] Cited in F. Warre Cornish. 1910. Vol. II. p 65.

[3] e.g. C. of C. 1885. The Spiritual Needs of the Masses. p 19.

"attractive" by providing "something for all" in the form of clubs, meetings, relief work, and special services.[1]

In order to make church "attractive" to the poor, a wide range of entertainments and recreational facilities became parts of standard parochial machinery in some areas.[2] The attendance of the poor was sought as an end in itself, and little attention was given to the motivation of these "adherents". Some comparisons can be drawn with the American phenomenon of an "institutional church", in that formerly religious goals became displaced by increasingly secular motives.

The same criticism may be made of a Nonconformist organisation started by John Blackham, an Independent deacon, in West Bromwich in 1875. The Pleasant Sunday Afternoon, a movement which had some success in the Midlands, was another attempt to attract the poor by offering them what amounted to "consecrated pleasure",[3] in the form of its "Brief, Bright, Brotherly" services (known as the 3 Bs). Like a number of endeavours to reach the masses this movement had its origins in the Moody/ Sankey mission of that year.[4] Later, a Pleasant Tuesday Evening was instituted with similar aims. The principle of counter-attraction can also be seen in the adoption of sensationalist mission-band methods by the leaders of the Church Army.

Most of the reforms associated with the parochial system were based on utilitarian principles. When discussing supple-

[1] A. Osborne-Jay. Life in Darkest London - A Hint to General Booth. 1891, and The Church which began in a stable. 1897.
[2] For examples see Y.B. 1885. pp 38-44.
[3] A.H. Byles. The P.S.A., What it Is, and How to Start it. 1891, cited by K.S. Inglis. 1963. pp 79-85.
[4] see R.E. Goold. 'The P.S.A. Movement', in R. Mudie-Smith. 1904. p 320.

mentary agencies such as the Church Pastoral Aid Society, and innovations like the parochial mission, some churchmen readily accepted the language of utilitarian pragmatism. In 1836, the C.P.A.S. had been established, "to render the parochial system of the Church of England efficient",[1] and it had led the way in adjusting the traditional unit of Church ministrations. The use of paid lay workers was one of its early innovations, and, although lay-help had become generally accepted by the later decades of the century, it met with much adverse criticism when it was first introduced. The Church of England Scripture-Readers Association, established in 1844, was another organisation that was concerned with the inadequacies of the parochial system, especially in the poor and populous parts of the Metropolis, where it also provided lay-help as a supplementary agency. Yet another supplement to the parochial system, the growth of lay-help and the correlated change in the status of the laity was a significant feature of the adaptation of the Church in the nineteenth century, and represented a change in Anglican attitudes to lay ministration that, in 1882, enabled the use of Church Army working-men evangelists to be countenanced as an agency in mission work.

d) Lay-help

In an earlier age the status of layman in the Church of England could, theoretically, have been extended to all those citizens of England who were not ordained clergy. As the Church lost its monopoly status and as religious pluralism developed, so the position of the Anglican Church increasingly approximated to that of the denominations, the members of which were such by

[1] Y.B. 1884. p 62.

virtue of voluntary commitment rather than through birthright. The growth of voluntary societies, which blossomed in the Church from the early nineteenth century onwards, and the increased significance of confirmation, indicated a change in attitude among the laity. As the sacred/secular gulf became wider, traditional parishioners, for whom membership was determined by geographical factors, were gradually replaced by more voluntaristic communities of those who were members of the Church not merely because they happened to have been born in a certain geographical parish, but because they wished to participate.

Although the denominational ideal of voluntary lay commitment was not reached, and "residual members" (those who considered themselves to belong to the Church even though their active involvement was confined to the "rites de passage" of baptism, marriage and burial; and perhaps the occasional Easter or Christmas attendance) continued to comprise a significant proportion of Anglicans, nevertheless participants in church life gradually replaced passive attendance at worship. In addition, the achievement of the denominational ideal was hindered by the refusal, on the part of those who represented the bulwarks of Establishment within the Church, to drop the ideology that the Church of England was "church of the nation".[1]

The first voluntary societies in which lay participation was important were agencies designed to extend the work of the Church, either abroad (the Church Missionary Society 1799), or

[1] For a general treatment of lay-help in the Church see M.J.D. Roberts. The Role of the Laity in the Church of England c. 1850-1885. Oxford. D.Phil. thesis. 1974.

at home (the Incorporated Church Building Society 1818). Much of the early nineteenth century initiative for reform was lay-inspired - the Hackney Phalanx and the Clapham Sect can be seen as phenomena in the first stage of a lay movement that initially concentrated on correcting abuses and restoring deficiencies in Church ministrations, but later, in the "second stage" began to exert influence in evangelistic missions and demands for responsibility in Church government.[1] Paradoxically, the Evangelical initiative for reform was based on an inclusive view of Church membership, while Evangelical doctrine, stressing the need for individual conversion, implied an exclusive view of the Church, and a more voluntaristic concept of membership.[2]

Lay-help was rationalised by the failure of traditional methods in an urban situation and by an appeal to precedent in the Early Church: legitimation was both utilitarian and traditionalistic.[3] Throughout the period, proponents would refer their audiences back to the Early Church in an effort to demonstrate the active role which was formerly played by laymen.[4] However, some sections of the Church saw lay-help as a threat to the status and authority of the clergy, as, for example, in the opposition to the Church Pastoral Aid Society, an agency that envisaged lay-help as a partial solution to the shortage of church facilities and clergy. It was argued that lay agents might undermine the authority of the local incumbent; that they encroached upon his role; or that they might create schismatic

[1] see S.C. Neill and H.R. Weber. Laymen in Christian History. 1963. pp 220-221.
[2] M.J.D. Roberts. 1974. p 16. [3] see M. Hill. 1973. pp 83-100.
[4] see J.M. Clabon. The Church Rights of the Laity. 1869, and A Model Parish - being a Lay Churchman's Dream. 1870.

groups - lay-workers might "set up for themselves".[1] Later in the century, the debate partly devolved around whether laymen should be allowed to speak in Church, and the fear was expressed that they might use the opportunity to make political speeches.[2] Despite opposition, the C.P.A.S. paved the way in the use of lay-workers. As far as the C.P.A.S. was concerned, the "ancient order of Readers" revived in 1866, had been in operation for the previous twenty-six years.[3] Lay-help in evangelism was formally accepted in 1866, but only in attenuated form. Until 1874, a lay assistant in the C.P.A.S. could only be employed in the capacity of District Visitor, Tract Distributor, and Scripture Reader, and, "by no means as a public instructor or preacher".[4]

Lay-help was an Evangelical import from Nonconformity, rationalised on the grounds of precedent and expediency, and made possible by a willingness to use any method which might, "be practically fruitful in bringing the power of the Gospel to bear individually upon the homes and hearts of the people".[5] In addition, of course, the Evangelical doctrine of personal responsibility for salvation was conducive to the growth of lay involvement.

[1] P.B. Coombs. A History of the C.P.A.S. 1836-1861. Univ. of Bristol M.A. Thesis. 1960. pp 68-71. The C.P.A.S. was heavily criticised by the High Church wing, the members of which established the Additional Curates Society (1837). There was a "pamphlet war" between the two societies. The Bishops were almost overwhelmingly against the C.P.A.S., its scheme was "pregnant with mischief and perils of the gravest kind". P.B. Coombs. 1960. p 73.

[2] see Chichester Diocesan Conference 1883, in Chichester Diocesan Calendar. 1884. p 159. See also Peterborough Diocesan Kalendar. 1885. pp 215-218, and an editorial discussion of the topic in Church Family Newspaper. 13 April 1894.

[3] P.B. Coombs. 1960. p 145.

[4] Ibid. p 65.

[5] Y.B. 1883. p 46.

In the traditional parish, the role of "layman" (usually a synonym for "land-owner")[1] depended on the local incumbent; but it had always had elements of "noblesseoblige" whether the layman was patron, giver of alms, or a voluntary district visitor. This assistance, in common with the post of church-warden, was unpaid, and was therefore exclusive to the wealthier, more influential section of the laity. By 1850, laymen had established a "right" to preach in Sunday School, and lay-help was, in general, thought to be desirable. The difficulties arose not over the desirability of lay-help - by 1888, even the conservative Year Book of the Church of England admitted it was, "simply impossible that the Clergy alone can successfully compass . . . the soul-necessities of a great and increasing population . . . Lay help, therefore . . . has become urgently needful"[2] - but about its administration and control. The debate was further confused by some traditionalists who, while admitting the need for an additional agency, sought a solution that might avoid compromising the status and authority of the clergy. They pressed for the revival of the diaconate[3] and orders of men and women.

Lay interest was manifested in the development of new voluntary societies; the institution of lay-readers; the growth of lay-helpers associations at the diocesan level; the commencement of missions by schools and colleges; and by the growth of orders. The established voluntary societies also grew rapidly between 1850 and 1880, and present further evidence of increased lay support and involvement.

[1] M.J.D. Roberts. 1974. p 23. [2] Y.B. 1888. p 127.
[3] e.g. J.W. Irvine. The Revival of a True Working Diaconate in the Church of England. 1882 - paper read at St. Albans Diocesan Conference in 1881.

A significant characteristic of the societies which grew up after 1850 was the degree of specialisation that they displayed. Perhaps as a consequence of an increasing fragmentation of society into groups and its reflection in the growth of organisations aimed at small sections of the community[1] (who were perceived to have specific religious needs), within the Church there occurred a "division of labour" between voluntary agencies, each concentrating its efforts on a particular section of the population, or engaging in a restricted field of interest. The Church of England Temperance Society (1862) was concerned with a well-defined area of "sin", while groups such as the Church Penitentiary Association (1851), the Church Mission to the Fallen, and the Church Army, concentrated on a specific "clientele". Other examples of this division of religious labour are numerous, and include a variety of Seamen's Missions, Missions to Navvies, and Police Missions; as well as more inward-looking devotional groups such as the Mother's Union. Functional differentiation was a process with internal and external ramifications for the Church of England.

The office of Reader was the first to be "restored" or "introduced", and the topic of lay co-operation was raised at Convocation in 1857. Two years later the Lower House of Canterbury Convocation recommended a "new agency" of Readers who would work under Bishop's licence. Although the Upper House rejected the proposals as unnecessary on this first occasion, the need for lay-help was becoming increasingly apparent and had the episcopal support of Bishop Tait.[2] In 1866 Convocation

[1] see S. Yeo. Religion and Voluntary Organisation in Crisis. 1976.

[2] M.J.D. Roberts. 1974. p 208. Tait was an ardent believer in lay-help and open-air preaching, and was one of the churchmen who saw in the Salvation Army a possible solution to the Church's need to reach the working-classes. see below. See also O. Chadwick. 1971. Pt. II. p 286.

formally approved the office of Reader. Readers were under the close control of the bishop and the incumbent, were unpaid, and could not work in consecrated buildings. The London Diocesan Lay-Helpers Association was the first of many similar societies in other dioceses. By 1870 Bishops in eleven dioceses had licensed readers and by 1885 there were at least eight Diocesan Lay-Helpers Associations. Laymen could teach in Sunday Schools, distribute tracts, visit, raise funds, and, with the Bishop's permission were able to hold mission services and perform evangelistic work among the working-classes.[1] The London diocese had 3599 lay associates and 167 licensed readers in 1882.[2]

At the legislative level, the next stage in the recognition of lay-help occured in the eighties; when Convocation discussed the delicate issue of whether laymen should be allowed to preach in Church. In 1884, the joint meeting of committees from the York and Canterbury Convocations was complicated by divergent aims. The northern body wanted an "extended diaconate", while discussion at the Convocation of Canterbury had revolved around a superior class of Reader with some authority to assist in consecrated buildings. Later in the year the final resolution at Canterbury made little difference to existing circumstances - it was resolved that certain closely defined categories of Reader might use the Prayer Book, but the proposal to allow this, and preaching (with the Bishop's permission) in consecrated buildings, was rejected.[3] Motions implying the approval of work

[1] M.J.D. Roberts. 1974. pp 203-210.

[2] Y.B. 1883. p 111. For an example of a lay-reader "at work" see C. Mackeson. Good Friday and Easter in a London Mission Room. 1884.

[3] W.S. Williams. The Case for the Lay Ministry in the Church of England. 1934. p 38.

in consecrated buildings were approved at Canterbury and York in 1889. The resolutions left the initiative at the diocesan level. In 1890, the Bishop of London (Temple) appointed a Diocesan Readers Board, and in 1891 seventeen men were licensed to the office of Diocesan Reader, with authority to assist and preach in all services in consecrated buildings, except that of Holy Communion. This was the fore-runner of many similar diocesan organisations.[1] Laymen were also offered increased opportunity to participate in the government of the Church and the Convocations of Canterbury and York accepted and established Houses of Laymen in addition to their Upper and Lower Chambers.

To a certain extent, the debate over the recognition of the role of lay-help was a side-issue, for during the intervening period between 1860 and the 1880s there had been rapid expansion of lay-involvement in a new area. Lay-help had become an integral part of the home missionary societies and voluntary agencies precipitated by Church response to the "heathen at home". By the time Convocation came to discuss lay-help it was already in extensive use in efforts to reach the "lapsed masses".

In home and parochial missions the C.P.M.S., the C.E.W.M.S. and the Church Army made use of lay-help in evangelistic work. The issue of lay-help in consecrated places was of little immediate concern to these organisations. Their work was based on the observation that the working classes would not come to Church, and that therefore the Church had to go to the working classes - the work of these voluntary agencies was conducted predominantly in places of a most definitely "unconsecrated"

[1] Ibid. p 40.

kind - street corners, theatres, fairs, and schoolrooms; in fact, in almost any place where it was felt that an audience might be gathered. The role of lay-evangelists was not officially recognised by Convocation until 1896, although the proposals incorporated in the resolution had been in extensive use for some years with organisations such as the Lichfield Brotherhood and the Church Army.

The change in the general Anglican attitude to the laity had facilitated the introduction of lay-evangelisation to Church work. Another factor that stimulated the growth of the Church Army and kindred organisations that made use of this agency was the example of the revivalistic preaching of the American evangelists.

e) The Church and Revivalism

The late Victorian period was an age of revival, and although the influence of these has sometimes been overestimated,[1] revivals did have a radicalising influence on the Church of England. Revivalist methods and teachings were imported into the Church by a number of Evangelical clergy who were often involved in inter- and un-denominational evangelistic campaigns that reached a peak in the Moody/Sankey visitation of 1875.

Charles Finney had visited Britain twice for revival tours - once in 1849, and again in 1858-60. The so-called "Second Evangelical Awakening" of 1859 stirred evangelistic revivalist activity in many parts of Britain, notably in Wales and Cornwall. A Conference of Christian Workers was held annually after 1860, with the intention of discussing and promoting evangelistic work.

[1] see J.E. Orr. The second evangelical awakening in Britain. 1949.

The Conference included William Booth, Lord Radstock, Stevenson Blackwood, and W. Hay Aitken, all of whom were later to have direct or indirect influence upon the Church Army. The literary organ of the group was The Christian, established as The Revival in 1859.[1]

The unconventional methods of Moody and Sankey, who within two years achieved national renown in Britain so that in 1875 they "were courted by the most prominent churchmen in Britain",[2] were nonetheless a source of disapproval in some sections of the Anglican establishment. Evangelicals gave them whole-hearted support.[3] Archbishop Tait was prepared to express his sympathy and encouragement for their work, although a suspicion of "after-meetings" prevented him from giving official sanction to the evangelists. Nevertheless, this indication of favour represented tacit Anglican approval for lay ministrations.[4]

The thrust of Moody's message was personal salvation through individual conversion, and he placed emphasis on the Christian virtues of meekness, patience, and self-restraint. The Earl of Shaftesbury, who had been against the Reform Act of 1867, was a prominent supporter, and after some hesitation (in the first instance his patronage had not been solicited) the philanthropist threw the full weight of his influence behind the campaign; urging the evangelists to spread their net beyond the Agricultural Hall (where Shaftesbury believed only the middle-classes were being reached) to a temporary mission-hall/tent that was erected on Bow Common in the East End.[5]

[1] see W.G. McLoughlin. Modern Revivalism. New York. 1959. pp 183-184.
[2] W.G. McLoughlin. p 179.
[3] see H.C.G. Moule. The Evangelical School in the Church of England. 1901. pp 61-62.
[4] J.C. Pollock. Moody Without Sankey. 1963. p 149.
[5] Ibid. pp 141-142.

Revivalist teaching, like the wave of church-building that had followed continental social unrest in the early decades of the century, could be seen as an investment in the cause of social order, and Moody's campaign appealed to those who were supporters of paternalist reform - Christianity, as Engels had seen, could be construed as a means of controlling an urban proletariat.[1]

It is debatable to what extent Moody did reach the "masses". Many of his audiences, especially in London, were constituted in part of middle-class church-goers responding to the curiosity created by Moody's unconventional preaching and appearance.[2] Like their later counterpart of the Church Army Circus (mission-meetings with lantern shows held in tents), the meetings were an "entertainment" and had the appeal of novelty.[3] However, a contemporary observer (C.T. Bateman) estimated that over two million people attended the London meetings[4] (Pollock puts the figure at about 1½ million[5] when those who attended more than once is taken into account) while McLoughlin quotes estimates of conversions ranging from three to seven thousand in the twenty-two weeks.[6] It seems likely that many of these converts came not from the unchurched working-classes, but from the middle-class church and chapel-goers who flocked to hear the evangelist. Even the circumstantial evidence for working-class conversions indicates that the churches did not benefit from an influx of membership on the part of Moody penitents - these went instead

[1] W.G. McLoughlin. 1959. p 180. [2] p 203.
[3] B. 1884. No 14.
[4] in R. Mudie-Smith (ed). 1904. p 317.
[5] J.C. Pollock. 1963. p 150.
[6] W.G. McLoughlin. 1959. p 263.

to the mission-halls[1] and, perhaps, to more revivalistic organisations such as the Christian Mission of William Booth. Despite these doubts, the popularity of the American evangelists was indisputable. Sankey's hymnbook was published in 1873 and became a best-seller.[2]

Although his impact of the "masses" has been exaggerated, Moody did have considerable influence on the churches: "Moody converts sit in Cathedral Chapters and even Convocation itself", declared Eugene Stock in 1905.[3] As well as encouraging the adoption by some religious societies of a military style in evangelism, the campaign furthered interdenominational co-operation, stimulated the use of informal services and methods, and increased the piety of ordinary church-goers. The Keswick Convention "for the promotion of practical holiness" was a by-product of the 1875 mission.[4] For the Church of England, one way in which the mission was significant was in encouraging the young Wilson Carlile to take up the full-time evangelistic work that eventually led him to found the Church Army, and Carlile always attributed his preference for the "worst" in evangelistic work to the influence of Moody. In addition, J.C. Pollock gives to Moody the credit for both raising the necessary funds to finance, and persuading Hay Aitken to abandon his Liverpool living to run the Church Parochial Mission Society; an organisation that was to act as cradle to Anglican mission-band activity.[5]

[1] J.C. Pollock. 1963. p 211.
[2] W.G. McLoughlin. 1959. p 182.
[3] C.C.R. 1905. p 135.
[4] J.C. Pollock. The Keswick Story. 1964. pp 1-33.
[5] J.C. Pollock. 1963. p 151.

Church involvement in the home-mission field led to the introduction into Anglicanism of techniques used by the American evangelists and by "home-grown" revival groups such as the Salvation Army. The innovations were generally pragmatic, their advocates being more concerned with the exigencies of an evangelistic situation, than with the ecclesiastical legality and nicety of their methods. Lay-help was used extensively and working-men were introduced as a "native agency" - partly in imitation of William Booth and the Salvation Army, who believed that the working man could best be reached by evangelists drawn from his own class.[1]

The Church of England Working Men's Society had been recruiting lay-evangelists since 1876[2] and in 1882-3, the Church Army was established to meet the competition and perhaps to repeat the successes of the Salvationists. The use of Salvationist methods within the Church was initiated by a small number of Evangelically-minded clergy, who, after experiencing the deficiencies of the parochial system at first hand, turned to new techniques using working-men evangelists and military mission-bands within the framework of the parochial system.

In common with other "solutions" to Church inadequacy in urban areas, this was an attempt to "patch up" and supplement the traditional system. No radical re-structuring of inappropriate parochial machinery was implied, and an ambigious attitude to parochial ministrations was still maintained. In abstract terms the parochial system was eulogised as ideal,

[1] see W. Booth. Heathen England - And What to Do for It. 1878.
[2] see E.M. Ingram. How to Recover the Lapsed Masses to the Church of England. 1885.

exemplifying the national position and status of the Church, but in practice supplementary agencies were agreed to be necessary. Lay-help was one supplementary agency. Home-missions, parochial missions, and mission-room services became features of most urban parishes.

f) Mission services and the parochial mission

The concept of mission to the "heathen at home" incorporated several organisational elements: the use of lay-help (increased lay-participation); parochial missions admitted the role of the specialist mission preacher (division of spiritual labour, growth of specialists); while the services in mission rooms implied an assumption of different religious "needs" on behalf of the working class.

In a plea for the multiplication of missions, the Yearbook of the Church of England for 1885 confessed that: "in order to bring the great masses of people who habitually neglect the ordinances of religion within reach of the ministrations of the Church, it is needful to supplement the parochial system by some organisation specially adapted to their peculiar wants".[1] In the same year a committee of both houses of Convocation reported on the Spiritual Needs of the Masses (the emphasis is mine). Later (in 1886), when he spoke in favour of the techniques of the Church Army, the Bishop of London (Temple) referred to the necessity to use "different methods" in order to reach "different classes".[2] Explanations of working-class absence from worship sometimes invoked hypothetical, class-based differences in religiosity, and separate services which were designed to cater

[1] Y.B. 1885. p 72.
[2] C.A.G. 1886. No 85.

for "working-class needs" were instituted in an attempt to attract working-class patronage.

Religious practice was a "civilised" trait. Church attendance was associated with respectability. In the parish church, the poor were faced (and were credited with facing) many obstacles which, so the argument went, discouraged attendance. Some of the obstacles were functions of the nature of working-class life - the lack of suitable clothes was an example; while other obstacles were endogenous to Church organisation itself - for instance the class bias in seating arrangements; clergy attitudes; the role-structure of the Church: what one of E. Smith's contributors called "the tyranny of refinement".[1] Moreoever, there were few opportunities for working-class involvement in Church life. In all respects the service provided for a middle-class congregation. In an effort to attract those absent from traditional ministrations, special services were held in mission rooms, catering for the particular "needs" that were assumed to prevail among the working classes. Services in mission rooms and theatres, and the use of open-air services on, for example, street corners, had become widespread by the eighties, not, however, without provoking controversy within the Church.

Some of the suggested modifications to ordinary church worship were introduced at the mission rooms. The service was usually short, and bright, with lively music, and a brief, earnest sermon. The P.S.A. movement belongs to this tradition of simple facilities designed to "attract" the poor. The "success" of the Salvation Army with the lowest ranks of society re-inforced

[1] E. Smith (ed). The Great Problem of the Times. 1884. p 48.

the willingness to dispense with or attenuate traditional liturgical forms.

However, proselytism in mission rooms institutionalised the existing class divisions within the Church, to the extent that the poor were provided with a differentiated product in a separate building, or in the same building at a different time: indeed, mission-room services may have re-inforced the working-class belief that the Church was for the "respectable" classes, and badly heated and poorly lighted tin huts did little to dispel this impression.[1] The leaders of the Church Army were among a large number of Anglican clergy who were prepared to preach in mission rooms or wherever they might attract an audience. Going beyond church premises for an audience became a feature in parochial missions, which radically affected both the style and the structure of Anglican mission-band activity.

At first, parochial missions were confined to a section of the High Church (they were "Romish" in origin),[2] and were brought to prominence in England through the work of men like Canon Body and Canon Mason, Robert Aitken, and G.H. Wilkinson (later Bishop of Truro).[3] In 1869, the latter conducted a twelve-day mission to London. Owen Chadwick refers to parochial missions as "the remarkable new development of the sixties".[4] Full-time mission-work was made possible by the practice of using a diocesan canonry to release a canon-missioner. Perhaps Canon Mason, of the Truro Diocese, was the most famous of these. The parochial

[1]See speech by James Fraser. C. of Y. 1884. pp 157-158.
[2]see H.C.G. Moule. 1901. p 60.
[3]L.E. Elliott-Binns. Religion in the Victorian Era. 1936. p 423.
[4]O. Chadwick. 1970. Part II. p 287.

mission was soon adopted by Evangelicals, notably E.H. Bickersteth of Hampstead (later Bishop of Exeter) and W. Hay Aitken.[1]

Hay Aitken was the dominant personality in the work of the Aitken Memorial Mission Fund, or Church Parochial Mission Society, as it became known. The society was intended to provide the opportunity for specially gifted clergy to devote themselves to full-time mission work. It was a memorial to the life of Robert Aitken, a man who displayed for his time the unusual combination of High Church, almost Anglo-Catholic, liturgical leanings, with the practice of mission-preaching and open-air work. Although influenced by the Oxford Movement, Robert Aitken had been one of the earliest exponents of what later became a predominantly Evangelical activity. Paradoxically, Aitken had been rebuked by Bishop Sumner of Chester for preaching in the streets, "like a Methodist",[2] an accusation that was made against several members of the school of churchmanship to which he may be seen as belonging. Aitken died in 1873, shortly after founding the Parochial Missions Society.

His son, Hay Aitken, was strongly influenced by the stimulus and example of Moody and Sankey,[3] and under his guidance the parochial mission became an occasional feature of many parishes, intended to reach those outside normal Church ministrations. It

[1] H.C.G. Moule. 1901. p 60.

[2] Sumner was an Evangelical (in general a party whose members were the champions of open-air work), while Aitken was a High Churchman. see L.E. Elliott-Binns. 1936. p 423. Ironically, Aitken did become a Methodist itinerant preacher, returning to the Church as Vicar of Pendeen. see D. Voll. Catholic Evangelicalism. 1963. p 44. See also A.W. Thorold. Parochial Missions. 1884. p 21.

[3] K.S. Inglis. 1963. p 30. Like Evan Hopkins (another Church Army personality) he was converted during the 1859 Revival. see J.E. Orr. 1949. pp 234-235 and 240-241.

was seen as proof that the leaders of the Church of England wished "to fulfil her mission to the outcast".[1] Careful rational planning and preparation, both before and after the mission, was stressed. A number of hand-books were issued dealing with the detailed organisation of a mission, and notes to the same purpose appeared regularly in the Yearbook.[2] A.W. Thorold specified three objects in a parochial mission. These were: "to preach Christ's Gospel among the godless and ignorant; to vitalise formal profession into spiritual religion; and to stir up real Christians into more self-denying activity, and a close communion with God . . . In our large towns, if the parochial system is not supplemented by missionary enterprise, whether occasional or permanent, it must hopelessly and ignominously fail".[3]

A parochial mission, consisting of week-day evening services, with an after-meeting where private conference between the mission-preacher and "anxious enquirers" could take place, normally lasted for ten days. The service of Holy Communion was also seen as important, both at the usual Sunday services during the mission, and, if possible, at the evening meetings, thus placing this technique squarely in the tradition of Evangelical Catholicism.[4]

During 1881-1882, the C.P.M.S. held 131 missions and it supported eight mission preachers.[5] In 1882-1883, 167 missions were held and there were ten full-time preachers,[6] and in 1885

[1] Y.B. 1886. p 78.

[2] e.g. Y.B. 1884. p 689. The handbooks include:- A.W. Thorold. 1884; H. Dening. The Parochial Missing Link. 1885; S.C. Morgan. Hints for Conducting a Mission. 1885.

[3] A.W. Thorold. 1884. p 5.

[4] See D. Voll. 1963.

[5] Y.B. 1883. p 83.

[6] Y.B. 1884. p 80.

there were twenty-five clergymen on the staff.[1] Several of the Society's occasional missioners were prominent in the emergence of mission-band activity. Throughout the eighties, F.S. Webster, Wilson Carlile, Evan Hopkins, and H. Armstrong-Hall all conducted parochial missions for the C.P.M.S., often incorporating Church Army methods. In 1883, during the negotiations between the C.P.M.S. and the infant Church Army, it was mooted that Wilson Carlile might become a full-time employee of the Society.

Parochial missions met criticism, particularly concerning the role of the mission-preacher, and especially his relationship with the parish clergy. The local incumbent was nominally responsible for the organisation of a mission, but since the imported missioner conducted the actual services, he might easily be seen as a threat to the authority of the resident clergy, who were not always satisfied with methods or results: the potential for personality clashes and conflict is self-evident. In 1883, in Scarborough, Hay Aitken himself experienced a lack of co-operation from local Anglican clergy, although he apparently enjoyed some support from Dissenters, a fact unlikely to encourage some sections of the Church to increase their patronage of his services.[2] There was also the criticism that a parochial mission had a more significant effect on existing Christians and Church members, than it did on the beliefs of the "heathen masses".

In 1883, mission-band activity became an official feature of C.P.M.S. work. Mackeson's Church Congress Handbook for that year contained an advertisement for the society which announced:

[1] Y.B. 1886. p 78.

[2] C.E. Woods. Memoirs and Letters of Canon Hay Aitken. 1926. p 166.

"Lay agents . . . employed to conduct aggressive work by the formation of Church Mission Army Bands: the agents also conduct Missions in Mission Rooms and Public Halls under the direction of the Clergy of the Parish",[1] and until 1885, the newly formed Church Army operated under its wing. In the early stages, the C.P.M.S. was assisted either in the capacity of patron or worker by several future supporters of the Church Army, among them Lord Aberdeen; Lord Kinnaird; the Rev. Carr Glyn; a Mr. Armitage; G.H. Wilkinson; Canon Body; Canon Mason; and A.M.W. Christopher.[2] Implicit in all revival activity was the problem for the Church of attaching new converts to the day-to-day life and services of normal Anglican practice, and the Church Army was recommended as a "follow-up" technique to a parochial mission, in the hope that a permanent mission band might prevent, or, at least counteract the loss of fervour and adherents that often occurred after a mission.[3] The techniques and general context of home and parochial missions were important in the growth of the Church Army.

Mission-band activity began almost simultaneously in several parishes. In Oxford, Bristol, Richmond and Kensington, the mission-band was utilised as an ad hoc solution to working-class absence. The emergence of mission-band work was an extension of existing methods, and the example and stimulus of parochial missions, home missions, revivalist preaching and mission room services lent much to the format of the work. In addition, there was the example of the Salvation Army.

[1] C. Mackeson. The Church Congress Handbook for 1883. p 9 in Advertisements.
[2] C.E. Woods. 1926. p 161.
[3] Y.B. 1884. See also Chichester Diocesan Calendar. 1883. p 155, and C. of C. Spiritual Needs of the Masses. 1885. p 8.

CHAPTER V

The Church of England and the Salvation Army

The single most significant external influence in the growth of Anglican mission-bands was undoubtedly the success of the Salvation Army. The very style which the Church Army was to adopt borrowed heavily from Salvationism.

Although the Salvation Army had grown up from the ranks of Dissent, its methods had influence among some Anglican clergy. Co-operation with the Salvationists became common from 1880 onwards, with local corps often being invited to attend Anglican services en bloc.[1] In the several parishes where Church Army mission-band activity originated, the Salvation Army acted as a direct stimulus and example; and in Oxford, Kensington, Richmond, and Bristol, close ties were established with the Army. In Oxford, F.S. Webster (one of the founders of Church Army work there) had actually been a Salvation Army soldier for a time, and in London, William Booth gave his permission for Salvationist hymns to be borrowed and published in 1882 as Church Army Songs.[2]

During 1882 and 1883, the topic of the Army was raised on almost every occasion when the Church, whether lay, clerical, or both, met corporately. It was debated in Congress and at Convocation, and was a specific issue of discussion at half of the twenty diocesan conferences held during 1882.[3] A committee

[1] R. Sandall and A.R. Wiggins. A History of the Salvation Army. 1947. Vol. II. p 137.

[2] C.T. 1882. p 618.

[3] Most resolutions approved the Army's results but expressed reservations about its methods e.g. at Truro:- ..."That the Conference, though pained at many of its practices and doctrines, sympathises with the earnestness of its efforts to bring home religion to the people"... See Y.B. 1883. p 426.

to examine the organisation was established by the Convocation of Canterbury. Its brief was "to take such steps as they deem desirable to ascertain the tenets and practices of this society (the Salvation Army); and, after such examination, to consider how far it is possible to attach it to the Church, and generally to advise the Clergy as to their duty in reference to it".[1] The ensuing negotiations not only crystallised Anglican sentiments respecting the Salvation Army, but also set the tone for Anglican attitudes towards its own Church Army when that body came into being, and even determined in considerable measure the scope and style of relationships between that body and the hierarchy of the Church upon which it became so dependent.

The Salvation Army came to the forefront of public concern in the early 1880s. Rapid expansion, and the publicity resulting from the efforts of rival groups to drive the Salvationists from the streets, made the Army a subject of popular discussion, and gave it a certain notoriety. F. de L. Booth-Tucker estimated that during 1882 no less than 669 Salvation Army members were assaulted and injured, and that 86 were imprisoned.[2] Bailey comments that, in its early years, and perhaps in part due to the general nineteenth century fear of the "mob" or anything that might be construed as an organised manifestation of the "dangerous classes", the Salvation Army, "must have appeared an awesome organisation: a body with effective national co-ordination despatching uniformed and disciplined cadres to all parts of the country".[3] Consequently, Salvationism was a topic of interest

[1] C. of C. 1882. p 179; pp 219-224.

[2] F. de L. Booth-Tucker. The Life of Catherine Booth the Mother of the Salvation Army. 1893. 3 vols. Vol. III. pp 166-167.

[3] V. Bailey. The Dangerous Classes in Late Victorian Britain. Univ. of Warwick, Ph.D. thesis. 1975. p 142.

in newspapers, more serious literature, and in Parliament,[1] while the apparent success of the Army among the working classes provoked the interest of other religious organisations. In 1880, William Booth, "to Mrs. Booth's astonishment",[2] addressed the Wesleyan Conference in London, and some Anglican clergy coveted Salvation Army methods as a useful supplement to the ailing parochial system.

There was also Anglican criticism of Army techniques, notably from the Bishop of Carlisle, who had condemned Salvationist methods in a sermon preached in the autumn of 1880. His criticism, however, became the opportunity for Catherine, often the most articulate of the Booths, to conduct a defence against his accusations.[3] This served to draw further attention to Salvation Army endeavours and success among the masses. At least, said Mrs. Booth, the Salvation Army was doing something. This early exchange attracted attention and marked the beginning of dialogue between Salvationists and the Episcopate.

a) The Salvation Army: a cause for popular concern

From the inception of full autocratic control by William Booth in June 1877[4] (when the organisation was still known as the Christian Mission) and the second half of 1882, the Salvation Army enjoyed rapid growth. From 29 corps, 31 officers, and 625 soldiers in 1877, it grew to 320 corps, 760 officers, and 15,000

[1] Pamphlets for and against the Salvation Army were legion, e.g. Admiral Fishbourne. A Calm Plea for the Enlargement of Salvation Army Work. 1883; and O.W.L.A., Why I do not sympathise with the Salvation Army. 1883.

[2] K.S. Inglis. 1963. p 190.

[3] F. de L. Booth-Tucker. 1892. Vol. III. p 98.

[4] R. Sandall and A.R. Wiggins. 1947. Vol. I. p 198.

soldiers in 1882.[1] The religious "pyrotechnics"[2] of Salvationist evangelisation - street processions, banners, "hallelujah bands", and "aggressiveness" - made this numerical expansion particularly visible.

Rival organisations grew up to combat the Salvationists. In Oxford, the Yellow Ribbon Army conducted a campaign against the Salvationists which relied heavily on parody; but reaction in other parts of the country was often less peaceful. Whether a result of indigenous working-class response, or a consequence of the financial interests of brewers and communities dependent on tourism, the reaction to Salvationist "invasions" was often violent,[3] and in some areas of the country the Salvationists received little protection from local magistrates, and it was this that brought the Salvation Army to the attention of Parliament, after a riot in Sheffield, in 1882. In the Commons the leaders of the Army had the sympathetic support of John Bright,[4] and, in the Lords, of Earl Fortescue, who brought to the attention of the House the assaults made on the Army in Chester and Crediton, as well as in Sheffield. In all these places, he felt the Salvationists had not received the support of the authorities, an opinion that was also held by Lord Mount-Temple and A.C. Tait, the Archbishop of Canterbury, who believed the Salvationists were doing useful work among the masses and that the Salvation Army might be used as a supplement to the parochial system.[5]

[1] R.T. Davidson. The Methods of the Salvation Army, in Contemporary Review. 1882. p 190.

[2] F.P. Cobbe. The Last Revival, in Contemporary Review. 1882. p 175.

[3] See V. Bailey. 1975, and below.

[4] H. Begbie. Life of William Booth. 1920. 2 vols. Vol. II. p 3.

[5] Hansard. 3rd Series. Vol. CCCXIX. 1882. pp 818-828.

This thought had already occurred to a number of clergy - in response to numerous enquiries from his diocese, one senior cleric, William Thomson, the Archbishop of York, had, early in 1882, written to Booth requesting details of Salvationist methods, wishing to, "ascertain how far it was possible for the Church to recognise the work of the Salvation Army as helping forward the cause of Christ consistently with our discipline".[1] Raising the topic at Ardwick Ruridecanal Conference, the Rev. J.A. Atkinson recognised a link between deficiencies in the Church and the growth of Salvationism:- "The shortcomings of the Church have been the occasion of the Salvation Army, and are the justification of its existence", he declared.[2]

Anglican opinion of the Salvation Army was, however, divided, and any expressed approval was often mixed and usually qualified. At the 1882 Church Congress, Canon Mason, himself a mission-preacher of some note, summarised this sentiment. Of the Army in particular, and revivalists in general, he said:- "The whole subject of the Church's attitude towards revival movements, has of late been brought into greater prominence than ever by the upspringing of a huge body of revivalists outside the Church, upon whose work we look with the deepest sympathy and with the most sickening misgivings".[3]

b) The extent of Anglican approval of Salvationist methods

By the eighties it was apparent to many churchmen that traditional means of evangelism were failing. Open-air services, home and parochial missions, and the use of lay-help, were

[1] W. Bramwell Booth. Echoes and Memories. 1925. p 59. See also H. Begbie. 1920. Vol. II. p 9.

[2] Rev. J.A. Atkinson. The Salvation Army and the Church. 1882. p 6.

[3] C.C.R. 1882. p 87.

innovations designed to supplement more established methods. The Salvation Army presented an example of "aggression" to augment the parochial system, and demonstrated clearly, "that the pastoral, parochial, edificatory theory of Christian work, though good, is but one-sided".[1] Many churchmen felt, with Lord Mount-Temple, a future President of the Church Army, that, "The Salvation Army is too great a fact, too striking a phenomenon to be omitted from our consideration of what can be done to Christianise the masses".[2] The Salvation Army highlighted defects in Anglican parochial machinery, and its success taught the Church a lesson: some clergy were prepared to learn from this. As Cardinal Manning pointed out, the Salvation Army came as "a warning in the night". It was the result of "the spiritual desolation of England", but for which, he felt, it could never have existed.[3]

The Salvation Army was a phenomenon from which qualified lessons might be taken, and, following Archbishop Thomson's enquiries, the authorities of the Church began a conversation with the Salvationists. In May, Canon Wilkinson (who had much to do with the C.P.M.S. and the Church Army) raised the issue at the Convocation of Canterbury. He wanted to establish a clear Anglican policy towards the Army in order to dispel clerical uncertainty, believing that the Salvationists desired Church sympathy, and that Booth was prepared to be instructed by the bishops. In this he was guilty of the same erroneous thinking that governed the attitudes of senior clergy throughout the ensuing discussions, but he was correct in asserting that, "many

[1] Ibid. p 88.

[2] Winchester Diocesan Calendar. 1883. p 95.

[3] H.E. Manning. The Salvation Army, in Contemporary Review. 1882. p 336.

of the Clergy are anxious to attach this society to the Church, and to use its members as instruments in teaching the masses who are as yet untouched by any Christian influence, but shrink from taking so important a step without lawful authority, fearing lest by any such an operation they may encourage false doctrine, and unsettle the minds of the faithful".[1]

Some clergy, however, had not waited for episcopal sanction, and by May 1882, several parishes possessed pseudo-military mission-bands - a spontaneous growth of innovatory techniques that was partly a consequence of the relatively loose authority structure of the Church, but also a reflection of the lack of concern for ecclesiastical nicety and legality of some Evangelically-minded clergy.

The Salvation Army was seen as a potential solution to continuing Anglican failure among the working classes. Churchmen were encouraged by Salvationist success, but also envious of it. Randall Davidson summarised the Anglican position in The Contemporary Review. As one of the principal characters in the continuing debate with Salvationist leaders, his observations are worth recording. On the positive side, Davidson mentioned six significant factors in Salvation Army success. First, the rapid growth of the Army was, in itself, "an enormous engine for statistical advance",[2] since growth stimulated public interest and encouraged workers to still greater exertions. Other factors in its success were the immediate use of new converts in proselytism; the powers of personal testimony; the style and language of Salvationism; the "ritualism" of the military guise

[1] C. of C. 1882. p 178.
[2] Contemporary Review. 1882. p 190.

and the paraphernalia of uniforms, ranks and banners; and the character of Booth and his colleagues. The article concluded with a testimony to the good work done by the Army in furthering the cause of Christianity and temperance among the working classes.[1]

If these features of the Salvation Army met with Anglican approval, many churchmen, faced with the much discussed "heathen masses", were prepared to tolerate the Army's less praiseworthy features because their methods could bring success among the working classes. The negotiations with the Army were legitimated partly by reference to utilitarian criteria. Notions of evangelistic efficiency and expediency were evoked, although whether the "end" sanctioned the "means" used was a matter for discussion. If some clergy envied, or wished to learn from, the Army, there were others who feared it - for the success of the Salvationists, and, more particularly, their future intentions, could be construed as a threat to formal Anglican monopoly. At Church Congress, the Rev. Resker (whose parish was the scene of Church Army mission-band work) alluded to the implicit threat of Salvation Army plans. He had, he said, heard, "that the Salvation Army have this purpose in view - the planting of barracks in every square mile of our large cities and towns. That is a fact [he felt] which the clergy ought to take into consideration; and ask themselves whether they are to let this matter alone, and whether they would like such an agency in every one of their parishes".[2] The Salvation Army could be construed as competition.

[1] For a similar set of arguments see C.T. 1883. p 304. Sermon by Dean Plumtree.
[2] C.C.R. 1882. p 99.

Careful consideration of the Salvation Army was also justified by reference to the negative precedent of Wesley and Whitefield. At Canterbury Diocesan Conference, Canon Elwyn suggested that gratitude was the suitable response to the bishops' initiative in setting-up a committee to study the Army, since:- "It was well for the Church of England that a future Macaulay should at least not have to point the finger of scorn against it for repeating the blunder of the ejection of Whitefield and Wesley".[1] This precedent was appreciated by another commentator, but, as ensuing events were to prove, he was correctly pessimistic. "Since the Reformation", he declared, "the Church has been terrified at the slightest show of enthusiasm. It has been the same story over and over again - as it was with Wesley - with the Tractarians - with the Ritualists - so it will be with the Salvation Army: always shocked at displays of zeal - always intolerant of innovation - always driving enthusiasts into other communions, and discovering the loss too late, too late!"[2]

It was hoped that the amalgamation which was tentatively being proposed between the Army and the Church, might both invigorate the parochial system, and protect the Salvationists from a tendency to "excess". Anglican patronage, it was hoped, might incorporate the positive features of Salvation Army methods - their "converting zeal", "aggressiveness", and the use of working-men evangelists - and eschew some other features, such as emotionalism, sensationalism, and irreverence, which,

[1] See report in Christian Monthly and Family Treasury. 1882. p 471. See also C. of C. 1882. p 220. Booth was himself aware of the significance of the precedent. See Contemporary Review. 1882. p 181.

[2] J.A. Atkinson. 1882. p 13.

from an Anglican point of view, appeared less commendable. At the Exeter Diocesan Conference for 1882, during the course of a discussion that eventually led to the suggestion that the Church might form its own mission army, it was resolved:- "That the Salvation Army movement is one which the Church will do well to watch with cautious but kindly attention, seeking, if possible, to moderate excess, and to utilise zeal, especially in her home mission work".[1] The Church of England wished to control and direct the Salvation Army.

c) Anglican misgivings about the Salvation Army

Anglican criticism of Salvationism was not confined to those who condemned the Salvation Army: theological irregularities were evident even to those who saw virtue in the movement. Randall Davidson, for example, saw tendencies which, if uncorrected would "impair its usefulness as a permanent agency for God's glory and man's good".[2]

His first objection was to the autocracy that appeared implicit in leadership by "a General" - analogous to the pattern of the Jesuits.[3] With sociological insight, it may be noted in passing, Davidson foresaw future difficulties for succession in leadership (to which, of course, the Army responded by a near-hereditary solution). Davidson found Salvationist

[1] Y.B. 1883. p 426.

[2] Contemporary Review. 1882. p 192.

[3] As Inglis points out, the common charge of Jesuitry against the Army was only accurate in so far as Booth may have admired the Jesuits as organisers. In all other respects the analogy was a false one for the Jesuits, unlike Booth, were believers in the power of argument. Booth, ..."did not believe in it at all", and was contemptuous of intellect in general, and of intellectualised belief in particular. See K.S. Inglis. 1963. p 192.

teaching shallow and there was apparently no place for private prayer and devotion. The Army's tendency to irreverence and excitement was the "gravest danger", and he disliked the approach to children, especially as reflected in the Little Soldier, in the pages of which were related sycophantic accounts of the conversions of precocious children morbidly praying for the salvation of their otherwise Hell-bound parents.[1]

"Irreverence" was the most general charge laid against the Salvationists. The military guise and sensationalist methods brought criticism from all quarters.[2] For one thing the processions were disruptive of normal, day-to-day activity. They stopped traffic, and the "hoarse shrieks and wild noise"[3] of a march created disturbance. Salvationist techniques offended religious sensibilities. In Winchester, the sound of the Army had "made the night hideous",[4] and Bishop Lightfoot complained that the exaltation of sensationalism was dangerous - "Crescit indulgens sibi; it begets a craving which only increases by gratification".[5] The marches were a sacrilege on the Sabbath.[6] Salvationist efforts to reach the working class often went beyond tolerable limits. The Salvation Army had become a "painful burlesque".[7] The service of "creeping for Jesus" came in for particular criticism - episcopal opinion was that it led to immorality.[8]

[1] Contemporary Review. pp 192-197.
[2] For example, see Rev. C.J. Pratt. The Salvation Army. Barnsley. 1882.
[3] A. Osborne-Jay. Life in Darkest London - A Hint to General Booth. 1891. p 84.
[4] Winchester Diocesan Kalendar. 1883. p 97.
[5] J.B. Lightfoot. Primary Charge. 1882. pp 70-71.
[6] C.T. 1883. p 828. [7] C. of C. 1883. p 14.
[8] See below.

The Church Times was especially hostile to what it labelled "Boothism", and one correspondent described the Army as a "revival of the rites of Celtic heathenism of the ancient Britons".[1] The Guardian, although in general more favourable, received letters castigating the Army for its "ultra-Primitive Methodist type" methods, which prostituted the cause of religion - "The spirit of unrest, sensationalism, and lawlessness is everywhere raised, and the whole movement . . . is at its best but the religious side of Jingoism".[2] In addition, churchmen were not prepared to condone the publicity hand-outs of the Army (often inspired by the ingenuity of William Corbridge), especially when the advertised sensationalism actually took place;[3] and there were fears that the techniques, although transparently successful in attracting attention, were not producing worthwhile results. The Christian Monthly and Family Treasury was worried that Salvation Army converts had merely been "galvanised into temporary ebullition and effort", and felt that the work would not last[4] (this was a common Anglican belief).

There was also the question of whether the means were justified by the end. Complaining that the Salvation Army had made religion "rowdy", F.P. Cobbe posed the "very grave question", of, "whether by this deplorable dereliction it is not doing a mischief for which the immediate and ostentatious 'conversions' of hundreds of drunkards and sinners would fail to compensate".[5] Certain of these complaints were subsequently levelled against the Church Army: the Salvationist example

[1] C.T. 1883. p 529. [2] G. 1883. p 213.
[3] See for example the Bishop of Lichfield's complaints at Canterbury Convocation. C. of C. 1883. p 12.
[4] Christian Monthly and Family Treasury. 1882. p 466.
[5] Contemporary Review. 1882. p 185.

prejudiced some churchmen against all mission-band activity as a matter of principle.

Other aspects of Salvationist organisation and doctrine prompted concern. Churchmen generally disapproved of the prominent role allotted to women. There were fears that the "holiness" teachings of the Salvationists were often carried to the extreme of teaching "sinless perfection". Their attitude to the Sacraments was regarded with suspicion, and a frequent general criticism was that the Army had become, or was becoming, (in the perjorative sense) a sect.[1] Booth always rejected this idea, yet, paradoxically, in both organisational and doctrinal matters, the Salvation Army did steadily move towards a sectarian position. On the one hand, he said of what the Army might become, "never . . . into a sect". "We have taken and shall continue to take every precaution against this. Worried by the failure of John Wesley in maintaining his unsectarian position, we are striving to avoid what we think were his mistakes".[2] On the other hand, the actual changes that were introduced led to exclusivity and separatism. Booth said:-

> "1. Instead of refusing to complete our organisation, we strive to perfect it more and more, making it, however, step by step, more exacting on all who join, so as to exclude all but real soldiers, leaving to the Churches all who wish mere Church life.
> 2. Instead of insisting upon attendance on any church, even for the Sacrament, we teach our people to spend all their leisure time with the Army, to visit churches only as corps by invitation, so as to promote general godliness and harmony, and to avoid as the very poison of hell all controverted questions".[3]

[1] See for example C.T. 1883. p 461.

[2] Contemporary Review. 1882. p 181.

[3] Ibid. The practice of taking Anglican communion became quite common for Salvation Army soldiers during 1882, but from March 1883 onwards, it was prohibited by headquarters, often against local wishes. See G. 1883. p 349 and p 426. With the failure of the negotiations the Army increasingly adopted a more "sectarian" position by severing lines of communication with the Church.

The phrase "mere Church life", whilst not likely to have fostered Anglican sympathy, was itself an indication of Booth's concern to induce levels of commitment and exclusivity which at least approximated a sectarian position.

d) The negotiations between the Church and the Salvation Army

It was probably concern at parochial level for outreach to the working class and the conspicuous appearance of Salvationist success there which, from the early eighties, prompted the interest of Anglican bishops in the movement. Certainly the Archbishop of York sought information from Booth following enquiries to him from his own diocesan clergy. The Army was becoming a public concern.

When the Convocation of Canterbury set up its committee to formulate policy in 1882, the preceding debate revealed episcopal ignorance of Salvationism. With the exception of Mackarness, the Bishop of Oxford, they over-estimated the welcome that Anglican overtures might receive and the extent to which General Booth might be willing to accept Anglican control. While the paper from the Lower House gave the impression that the Salvation Army awaited "cap in hand" to receive Anglican patronage,[1] the actual position of the Army was:- "that of entire independence", and, "although they disclaimed all hostility to the Church, they also disclaimed any kind of intention of putting themselves under the guidance of any Clergy, or any preachers or ministers of any kind; and it ought not to be assumed that they would agree to any proposal to receive them under the patronage of the Church".[2]

[1] see C. of C. 1882. p 178; and pp 219-224.
[2] C. of C. 1882. p 223.

The committee consisted of E.W. Benson (Bishop of Truro); Canon Westcott of Westminster; J.B. Lightfoot (Bishop of Durham); Canon Wilkinson; and Randall Davidson (the Dean of Windsor). The first contacts were cordial. Benson was the "moving spirit".[1] He was on amicable terms with William Booth, who wrote him a friendly letter of congratulation in January 1883 when he (Benson) was appointed to the Primacy. Bramwell Booth felt that, "to him [Benson] there had evidently come a kind of revelation of the new strength which the Church of England would acquire with the Army as its fighting auxiliary".[2] Randall Davidson, who played a significant role, attended with Benson a number of Salvation Army meetings and visited a training "garrison" in Clapton.[3] In June 1882, William Booth took the controversial decision to buy and convert the notorious "Eagle" from a public house and pleasure gardens to an institution offering religion and coffee rather than secular entertainment and alcohol. His appeal for funds brought a contribution from A.C. Tait (the Archbishop of Canterbury); another indication of a favourable Anglican disposition towards the Army.[4] Several meetings were held with leaders of the Army, where, "the main point at issue was whether a common basis of union could be formed which would involve on neither side a sacrifice of principles".[5]

[1] W. Bramwell Booth. 1925. p 63.

[2] H. Begbie. 1920. Vol. II. pp 14-15.

[3] p 68.

[4] p 10. The payment was made by Randall Davidson, who acted as Tait's intermediary and informant throughout the debate. The "ear of the Archbishop", and the fact that he was his son-in-law, gave him influence above his rank. See G.K.A. Bell. Randall Davidson. 3rd ed. 1952. p 47.

[5] F. de L. Booth-Tucker. 1892. Vol. III. p 217.

For the Salvation Army, the proposed amalgamation with the Church offered the prospect of social respectability and financial security, and set against recent experiences with the Magistracy, the advantages of "respectability" must have been a powerful inducement in favour of union. Nicol, indeed, credits the General with the additional perception that union would prevent the formation of a rival "army" by the Church.[1]

The prospects for closer association were perhaps never as favourable as some supposed, even had they not suffered the adventitious changes caused by the death of Archbishop Tait. Booth was not really prepared to concede ground on a number of issues and the early image of a "cap in hand" General with an army of humble "soldiers" eager to become Anglicans behind him, had clearly been a misrepresentation. First, there was the question of the position of the General, and the standing of Salvation Army officers in the Church of England.[2] Booth was loathe to concede that his position and his methods of organisation were autocratic. Robertson sees this motive of organisational self-preservation as the most important factor in the breakdown of negotiations,[3] and this was the key obstacle - Booth was directly opposed to the Anglican intention of exercising paternal control over the Army. Although he frequently emphasised a wish not to create a new sect, he was aware that he had control of, "a new thing under the sun. Constitutionally the Salvation Army must be itself".[4] Allied to this was the

[1] A.M. Nicol. General Booth and the Salvation Army. 1911. p 278. See also H. Begbie. 1920. Vol. II. p 35.

[2] H. Begbie. 1920. Vol. II. p 29.

[3] R. Robertson. The Salvation Army: the Persistence of Sectarianism, in B.R. Wilson (ed). Patterns of Sectarianism. 1967. p 52.

[4] A.M. Nicol. 1911. p 278.

question of the extent to which local clergy would be able or entitled to control Salvation Army captains.

Randall Davidson was concerned about the authority of the General. Recalling this, Bramwell Booth describes the Salvationist point of view:-

> "(W)e saw on our side that the absence of authority was a grave weakness of the Church of England, and that its sacrifice on our part would involve the ruin of the Army. There was nothing little or petty in this. It was not a point of personal prestige or dignity; it was simply that the so-called 'autocracy', although it might lay us open to misunderstanding, was necessary for the effectiveness of our War".[1]

Personal antipathy between these two men - one the young Chief of Army Staff, and the other the young Chaplain to the Archbishop of Canterbury - was seen by one historian of the Army as, "the fundamental fact on which the discussion collapsed". Bramwell Booth says of Davidson:-

> "Evidently it was unthinkable to him that William Booth should ever become a high ecclesiastic in the Church of England, and for that reason alone he was careful to ensure that no power beyond what he could not help conceding should remain in the Founder's hands if the Army should come into alliance with his Church".[2]

Referring to this question of authority, Davidson commented:- "We could not get anything in the nature of control over the organisation, and so we had to let it go". He was reluctant to leave power with Booth, of whom, we are told, he had a poor opinion, thinking him, "simple and not very profound", owing his popularity partly to his "magnificent appearance". He was, on the whole, more impressed with Catherine Booth.[3]

[1] W. Bramwell Booth. 1925. pp 69-70.
[2] p 60.
[3] H. Begbie. 1920. Vol. II. p 29.

The equal status allotted to women in the Army constituted another difficulty. Canon Liddon was one of many churchmen who found this practice contrary to Pauline teaching. Anglicans did not acknowledge theological sanction for the ministry of women,[1] and the utmost that the Church authorities were prepared to offer female Salvation Army officers was a role as a form of deaconess. This suggestion came from Canon Wilkinson - whose enthusiasm for community life later led him to found the Community of the Epiphany, an Anglican order for women - although the mooted arrangement would have been conditional on any further additions to the proposed order undergoing an Anglican examination after Salvationist training. Understandably this was not acceptable to the Army.[2]

Anglican and Salvationist teaching differed with respect to the relative significance attached to the service of Holy Communion - William Booth had minimised the importance of the sacraments.[3] The Salvationists accepted the teaching of holiness, seen by one Salvationist historian as the "sheet anchor of their doctrinal creed".[4] Although a small group of Anglicans had endorsed this teaching through the Keswick Convention, many churchmen were suspicious that the Army erred, at times, towards the heresy of teaching "sinless perfection".

Despite all these obstacles, the dialogue had been amicable, although it is difficult to imagine how the differences could have been resolved without considerable concessions on the part of the Salvation Army. As Inglis comments, "Having let the

[1] See W.T. Stead. Mrs. Booth of the Salvation Army. 1900. pp 83-88.
[2] W. Bramwell Booth. 1925. p 63.
[3] See War Cry 13 Jan. 1883. p 4, for a statement of his position.
[4] F. de L. Booth-Tucker. 1892. Vol. III. p 217.

Methodists slip out of its fold the Church could not seriously hope to capture a movement which had begun as a protest, in turn, against the spirit of Methodism".[1] In the Upper House of Convocation, objection was raised to a particular form of service used by the Salvationists, and it was the acrimony generated over "creeping for Jesus"[2] that probably drove the decisive wedge between the two organisations. Two Anglican bishops implied that this practice led to immorality. The libellous implications of this accusation deeply offended the Salvation Army.

The committee which had been appointed to look into the Army had met in the latter half of 1882, declared, in April 1883, that since the affairs of the Army had been in a state of transition at that time, they wished to reserve their opinion until a later date. The Primate had died and among other events, controversy in Switzerland, where the Army had encountered severe criticism, and new publications that criticised Salvationism,[3]

[1] K.S. Inglis. 1963. p 190.

[2] In this service the lights were extinguished and those present were expected to crawl forward, groping towards the altar in an act of obeisance.

[3] Salvationist techniques aimed at the re-socialisation of converts often disrupted family life; especially when young converts became full-time workers with the Army. One instance of this in 1883 brought much unfavourable publicity for the Army. The Rev. S. Charlesworth claimed the Salvation Army had "stolen" his daughter, Maud, who was in Switzerland on a Salvationist campaign. The case was given considerable publicity, and Booth was accused of building a "Spiritual Popedom" by Rev. C. Bullock (A Reply to the Secret Book of the Salvation Army. 1883) which seems to have been widely read. Charlesworth also implied that the Salvation Army issued a "secret book" to its officers.

The accusation - which was imbued with sinister overtones - was perhaps the result of confusion. Booth claimed that only two parts (of an intended six) of 'Orders and Regulations' had been produced, and that there was no "secret book", although the second part of Orders and Regulations (Doctrine and Discipline) had, for a time, been circulated only to officers. This practice had now ceased and the book was available to the public. See Catherine Booth. The Salvation Army in relation to Church and State. 1883. Appendix. Booth also claimed to have sent a copy of the so-called "secret book" to the Times. See G. 1883. p 302.

The issue was further confused by bad publicity from Switzerland (where Salvationist "troubles" lasted several years).

/contd.

all inclined the committee to wait before formulating recomendations.[2]

The ensuing debate was much better informed than its predecessor of the year before. If several bishops had made enquiries, some were worried by what they had discovered. The Bishop of Oxford, whose opinion was shared by Dr. Atlay, the Bishop of Hereford, expressed concern over the possible immoral consequences of late-night meetings. Atlay was also worried by recent events following the Salvation Army "invasion" in Switzerland, and was concerned over the so-called "secret book" controversy.

Booth wrote to both bishops asking for proof of their accusations; and, if this was not forthcoming, for a withdrawal of the calumny. He also sent a letter of complaint to Benson. Mackarness of Oxford was prepared to withdraw his comments, which, he felt, had been misunderstood - he had meant to recommend caution in late-night meetings rather than to make specific charges.[3] St. John Ervine was censorious over the fact that Mackarness, "a learned father in God should in circumstances of unusual publicity have accused humble men and women of participating in orgiastic rites and of filling the

cont. from p 123
See for example Comtesse A. de Gasparin. Read and Judge the (so-called) Salvation Army. 1883. See also A Simple Request to Mr. Booth. 1883.

One may speculate that some of this confusion arose because Orders and Regulations was divided into six sections, but whatever the explanation there is no doubt that the controversy caused considerable acrimony. However, at least with respect to the Charlesworth case, Booth's stand wasvindicated. The apologetic father withdrew his allegations in March at a public meeting in Exeter Hall. See G. 1883. p 371. For the "troubles" in Switzerland, where the Army was banned for a time. see G. 1883, especially pp 194; 226; 603; 718; 750; 786; 1014; 1370; 1442; 1582; 1706.

2 C. of C. 1883. pp 10-21.

3 Mackarness presented his apologies to Capt. Day of the Reading corps in June 1883, see G. 1883. p 907.

maternity wards of the Workhouses with unmarried mothers, with no other evidence than the unsupported word of some suspicious persons".[1] The Bishop of Hereford abided by his speech, and Booth's letter to Benson was only answered in a tangential fashion (by a request for a reply to an overdue circular) rather than an explanation of the accusations. This unhappy incident caused much of the rapport between the bodies to give place to hostility. Against the wishes of Benson, Convocation discharged its committee of enquiry into the Army: an act which Benson thought might appear as a censure.

Many churchmen who had seen the Army as a potential supplement to the parochial system were now disappointed with it. Lord Shaftesbury and Stevenson Blackwood were both public figures who had recently recanted with respect to their earlier support for the Army. In Convocation, episcopal regret was exemplified by A.W. Thorold of Rochester. "During the last six months", he said, "an unfavourable turn has occurred in the nature of the work of the Salvation Army, in their statements and in their methods. I am sorry for it".[2] Commenting on the Anglican interest in the Army and the present state of affairs (March 1883) the Church Times observed how, in an apparently hopeless situation, people are prepared to clutch at any new method which might seem to offer a solution, but that now (March 1883), with regard to the Church attitude to the Salvation Army, "the tide seems to be turning. We hear no more of compliments, but in place of them there is an almost complete unanimity of condemnation".[3]

[1] In God's Soldier. 1934. Vol. I. p 613.
[2] C. of C. 1883. p 13. [3] C.T. 1883. pp 209-210.

Although co-operation continued in some areas, and some clergy - notably those who were supporters of the Anglican mission-bands - still expressed the hope that relations might remain friendly,[1] amalgamation was now out of the question. The Church of England must seek success among the "unchurched masses" without the assistance of William Booth. The committee on the Salvation Army was replaced by a committee charged with assessing the "spiritual needs of the masses".[2]

e) Salvationism and the Church Army

Despite the misunderstandings and even ill-will that arose between some sections of the Church of England and the Salvation Army in the early 1880s, not all Anglicans were prepared to dismiss the significance of Salvationist activities nor their contribution to the techniques of evangelism. Too many had seen its success at parish level to be entirely disillusioned whatever reservations they might have had about the Army's organisation and hierarchy. Others believed that its deliberate search for new and dramatic methods was necessary for the end it sought, and many felt it was a more effective witness, especially against drink, than the Church itself. There were, then, those who, in spite of all the strictures, saw something worth emulating and even imitating in the Salvationists' activities. Wilson Carlile and others adopted Salvationist techniques for evangelistic purposes. Through the organisation of the Church Army they wished to reach those outside normal parochial ministrations.

[1] B. 1883. No 5.
[2] C. of C. 1883. p 21.

Perhaps the crucial difference between the evangelistic work of the Church Army, and that of the Salvation Army, was that the former sought to recruit the working-classes to be members, not solely of the mission-band, but also of the Church. The Church Army wished to make Anglicans of its clientele, and thus it was quite self-consciously only an agency. Its self-conception differed profoundly from that of the Salvationists. Each body was evangelical in orientation and evangelistic in practice, but whereas the Salvationists saw conversion and involvement in their organisation with its implied holiness and an ethical life as sufficient, for the Church Army there was always a further end - the involvement of its members in the work of the Church and their recognition of that as their proper status. In 1884, the author of a report on the annual meeting of the Church Army that appeared in the Morning Post felt that the Salvation Army might be criticised in that it merely awoke a "spiritual hunger" in its converts, but then left them to drift towards a sect, whereas, "the superior and distinguishing characteristic of the Church Army [is] that it leads to the Church by a direct route".[1] Thus, although the leaders of the Church Army admitted the success and approved the methods of the Salvationists, nonetheless, they felt that the work of the Anglican mission-band might prove more permanent, having as it did "the church, her sacraments, her clergy, and her teaching as a solid base behind".[2]

Again, speaking at a meeting held in August 1883, F.S. Webster, one of the leaders of the mission band, summarised this sentiment:

[1] B. 1884. No 24.

[2] B. 1883. No 1.

"The Church Army owes a very great debt to the Salvation Army, and it is always a pleasure to acknowledge this debt. That great body had proved the value (in reaching the lowest classes) of using Badges and Processions, and of a multitude of short testimonies, and it is our earnest desire that the friendly feeling which exists between the two Missions should continue and increase, though there are necessary differences of administration between a society like the Salvation Army and a society like the Church Army".[1]

Another key distinction between the two bodies lay in their authority structures. An important Anglican objection to the Army was made on the grounds of its system of authority, both with respect to the autocratic position of the General, and in terms of day-to-day organisation (relations between captains and clergy for instance). The authority structure of the Salvation Army had no ultimate legitimation beyond the Bible and the assertions of its leaders of biblical premises. This formula is, of course, precisely that of many sects of a generally conversionist type. Without a more universalistic reference, and without the claim to tradition which all the major national churches sought to make, it was not easy to see how the Salvation Army could escape the imputation of sectarianism, or at least the risk of moving into a more sectarian position once its early evangelical ecumenism had waned and its informal or modifiable code of organisation had become rigidified. The authority structure of the Church Army was always subject to the confirmation of the Church itself and short of its becoming an entirely separated or exclusive body (which of course never occurred) its sectarian potential was always muted. Reviewing books about the two armies in 1905, a contributor to the Church Times commented:- "Mr. Carlile has, of course, the safeguard and the corrective (should they be needed) of being himself under authority in the Church, and as sending out his

[1] B. 1883. No 5.

officers to work for and under parish priests. General Booth, however, is frankly an irresponsible autocrat".[1] Although it demonstrated latent sectarian potential in its early years, a process of domestication, and increasing accommodation to the hierarchy of the Church, fostered the dilution of the quasi-sectarian elements in Church Army methods and sponsored a development towards the status of an agency or specialised society within the Church of England.

After the breakdown of negotiations between the Church and the Salvation Army, relations between the two "armies", once friendly, became less so. For one thing, the Church Army no longer wished to be closely identified with an organisation that had become the object of such severe criticism. Some of the objections to the Salvation Army tended to "rub off" onto the Church Army. Another contributory factor to this increasing demarcation of the two bodies was the growth of critical Salvationist comment. Rejected by the Church, some Salvationists poured scornful invective upon what they regarded as an Anglican imitation of their endeavours. It has been implied by some historians of the Salvation Army that the Church Army was established in a deliberate response to the breakdown of negotiations with the Salvationists. Booth-Tucker speculated that the leaders of the Church had decided, "that it would be easier for them to establish an army of their own, of which they would themselves have the entire control, and in which they could incorporate all that seemed valuable and omit whatever was objectionable. . .

[1] C.T. 1905. p 811. Review of E.R. Rowan. Wilson Carlile and the Church Army. 1905, and T.F.G. Coates. The Prophet of the Poor: The Life Story of General Booth. 1905.

Thus arose the Church Army".[1] However, Booth-Tucker was prepared to accept this borrowing and continued: "If imitation be 'sincerest flattery', we may accept it as such. And, if these supposed improvements should indeed be such, none will be more willing than ourselves to learn".[2]

In contrast, Sandall and Wiggins give a less charitable account. Quoting Wilson Carlile, they describe Church Army methods - "The man trained by the society is put to work in a parish under the direction of the vicar and with the official recognition of the bishop of the diocese. Any method used by the Church Army officer has the approval of his vicar, who can at once stop it if he so wishes" - and make the sarcastic (but, paradoxically, accurate) comment: "The 'old bottles' had decided not to risk receiving the 'new wine' . . . until it had been safely watered down!"[3] Thus the lines of control between the Church and the mission-band had been made much tighter than would have been the case had the Salvation Army terms for amalgamation been implemented. The negotiations lapsed, according to Sandall and Wiggins, because the assurances sought by the Church representatives of adequate control of the Salvation Army were not forthcoming, and when the indigenous society was commenced, (and although they were tenuous at first) these lines of control were established. The Church Army could be controlled. Further attention will be given to this below, but it is pertinent to note here that the "watering-down" referred to by Sandall and Wiggins may be seen as a process of domestication, whereby

[1] F. de L. Booth-Tucker. 1892. Vol. III. pp 218-219.
[2] See also W.T. Stead. 1900. p 9.
[3] R. Sandall and A.R. Wiggins. 1947. Vol. II. pp 156-157.

the schismatic potential that was latent in the organisational form assumed by the Church Army was gradually attenuated.

Despite the breakdown of negotiations that were intended to promote union, the Salvation Army still had a significant effect on the Church of England. The very fact that the overtures had been made and that discussion had taken place was important in itself. In the search for novel methods to reach the "heathen masses", another avenue had been explored, and some churchmen were prepared to learn directly from what had been discovered, and mission-bands were introduced to the Church of England both through the employment of the Church Army, and by other, independent, efforts such as the Lichfield Diocesan Mission.

In a letter to the Church Times, in which he recommended the use of the Church Army, the Rev. Osbourne-Jay, a champion of novel methods, exemplified an attitude that was common to many experimentally-minded Anglicans. "Talk as we may about the Salvation Army", he said, "the fact remains that it is able to make interesting to the masses a religion which has neither reason nor sense to back it". The explanation of this success was the use of popular methods, so, asked the Vicar of Stepney, "Why should not the Church of God do the same?"[1]

From 1882, and especially from 1883 onwards, the "Church of God" did try to do the same, even though certain essential differences in authority structure and doctrine rendered the Anglican equivalent a blander version of William Booth's organisation. In 1884, at the Convocation of York, the Bishop of Carlisle could describe the Church Army as, "a kind of offshoot

[1] C.T. 1883. p 262.

from the Salvation Army". However, he continued, the Church Army was not an offshoot as such although the influence of the Salvation Army was apparent. On the contrary, it was "a sort of Church version of the Salvation Army. The intention appears to be to adopt what is hopeful and good in the work of the Salvation Army, and to give it a more sober and church-like character, and so to turn it . . . to great spiritual advantage".[1]

[1] C. of Y. 1884. p 82.

CHAPTER VI

Anglican mission-band activity: the origins of the Church Army

The example of the Salvation Army was one stimulus to the growth of indigenous Anglican mission-bands. Another was the Church itself. The structure of the Church of England facilitated by its inclusive organisation and broad doctrinal basis, a variety of developments in evangelism and worship. Whatever its formal premises, the normative order of the Church of England was in practice diverse.

In their study of the Y.M.C.A., an organisation that faced similar problems of adjustment in response to changing social circumstances, Zald and Denton stress the significance of a federated structure in this transition. The existence of decentralised and relatively autonomous decision centres enables an organisation to adapt rapidly to environmental change in accordance with local needs and pressures:- "Parts of the organisation may experiment with new programs even before other parts recognise the need for change".[1] Although Anglicanism cannot be called a "federated structure" - dioceses and parishes have never been autonomous units - nevertheless, hierarchical authority was mediated through the parish system, giving considerable freedom to local incumbents. The diffuse, comprehensive nature of the Church made it possible for new organisational forms and innovations to be instituted at the parish level, where local clergy were able to launch new techniques without need for specific permission or fear of immediate episcopal intervention. Thus innovations might reach institutional maturity before being subjected to episcopal scrutiny. The Church Army grew up in a

[1] M.N. Zald and P. Denton. From Evangelism to General Service. 1963. p 234, in Administrative Science Quarterly. 8. 1963.

number of separate parishes in this fashion, and was centralised and relatively well-organised before its existence became a matter of controversy at the highest level of authority.

"Church Armies" were established in Richmond, Bristol, Oxford and Kensington by Evangelically-oriented clergy who were sensitive to Church failure among the working classes. The apparent success of the "rival" Salvation Army and the contemporary popularity of the military style encouraged them to introduce mission-band techniques to traditional parochial ministrations in an attempt to reach the "unchurched masses". A similar, but separate venture (in that it was never affiliated to the Church Army and later followed an entirely different course of organisational development) was launched in the diocese of Lichfield.[1] In Robertson's terms,[2] these individual and uncentralised mission-bands represent the incipient phase of the Church Army.

[1] Although, by the end of 1885, it had become limited solely to the activities of the Church Army, when it was first begun, the Church Army newspaper, the Battleaxe, carried reports of all mission-band activity, and the Lichfield Home Mission Crusade, as it was sometimes called, received much attention, especially during 1883 and 1884, when its leader, H.A. Colville (a former officer in the Salvation Army) wrote several articles for the journal. These were mainly of a devotional nature and often about holiness. For example see B. No 4; No 11; No 14; No 19. During 1883 and 1884, the society became the subject of controversy, because its patron, Bishop Maclagan, was prepared to licence its lay-evangelists to preach in church - a practice that was disallowed by the Convocation of Canterbury. see correspondence in the Guardian 23 July 1884 - September 1884. op cit. M.J.D. Roberts. 1974. pp 218-221.

Under the guidance of Colville and Maclagan, the society gradually moved "higher" in party allegiance and organisational style until, by 1896, when its evangelists were granted official Convocational approval and a universal episcopal licence for their activities, the society resembled a fully-developed "order" within Anglicanism. After 1896, members of the Lichfield Order of Lay Evangelists (as it was then called) were required to remain unmarried and its name was changed to the Lichfield Evangelist Brotherhood. see below and C. of C. Upper House. 1897 Report No 303. Lay Evangelists. Its leader, H.A. Colville, made, ..."the very rare spiritual pilgrimage"... from the Salvation Army to the Anglo-Catholic wing of the Church of England. K.S. Inglis. 1963. p 43.

[2] See R. Robertson, in B.R. Wilson (ed). Patterns of Sectarianism. 1967. pp 49-105.

Wach's classification of the different types of "protest within" ecclesiastical bodies is useful in the discussion of the growth of the Church Army. He isolates as an intermediate stage between individual protest, on the one hand, and complete separation, on the other, the "collegium pietatis", a stage in which a loosely organised group unites in a common enthusiasm to attain higher spiritual perfection.[1] Devotional practice is the main focus of emphasis in the examples given, but Wach does mention the possibility of the group emphasising missionary zeal.[2] In the case of the Church Army, the "ginger-group", or "collegium pietatis",[3] consisted of a small group of Evangelically-minded clergy, bound together by an informal nexus of ties, friendships and associations, who were sensitive to the failure of the Church to live up to the "church of the nation" ideology that was implied by its established status, and who were willing to use innovations legitimated in rational pragmatic terms to remedy this failure. Carlile and his associates became aware (to use terminology developed in the study of innovation) of a "performance gap"[4] between the stated goals of Anglicanism and the results achieved by the activities of the Church, and in order to close this perceived gap they borrowed an innovation developed outside established organisational practice. The innovation in this case was the use of mission-band methods. Dissatisfaction with traditional means of evangelism led to the use of aggressive mission-band techniques

[1] Joachim Wach. Sociology of Religion. 1947. The Oxford Movement and Methodism are given as examples. p 177.

[2] p 179.

[3] The concept of a "collegium pietatis" has also been utilised as a suitable mode of description by John Wilson in his study of the British Israelite Movement. see John Wilson. The Relation between Ideology and Organisation in a Small Religious Group: The British Israelites, in Review of Religious Research. Fall 1968. Vol. 10. No 1.

[4] see G. Zaltman, R. Duncan, J. Holbek. Innovations and Organisations. New York. 1973. p 3; p 55.

even though these had no formal place in the organisational structure of the Church.

In this sense, the Church Army was a reformative or restorative movement. Its leaders recognised inadequacies in Anglicanism and sought to remedy them and revitalise the Church. However, like the Evangelical party as a whole, and the Oxford Movement, the society did not raise fundamental objections to the institutional form of the Church, and its leaders were emphatic in their loyalty to what Carlile often called the "dear old Church of England". This allegiance militated against the separatist tendencies that were implicit in the organisational style of the mission band.

In some cases, Wach sees a development from "collegium pietatis" to "fraternitas" to "order", characterised by increasingly formalised organisation and specialisation of function. The originators of the Church Army during 1881 and 1882 may be regarded as a "collegium pietatis", in that they were anxious to use mission-band techniques to reach the masses. In 1883, this intention was institutionalised in the Church Army, an organisation that, in its early years, demonstrated many of the characteristics of a conversionist sect. Wach sees the potential for schism in "protest within" religious collectivities (in the case of Methodism, the "fraternitas" stage of classes and societies was followed by a schismatic movement into a separate ecclesiastical body),[1] and it will be suggested below that during the years 1883 to 1889, and especially before 1885, the Church Army may be characterised usefully as a "pocket of sectarianism" within the Anglican Church, and as possessing a latent potential for schism

[1] J. Wach. 1947. p 178.

and independence. Like the early Methodists,[1] the leaders of the Church Army constituted a "ginger-group" within the Church, and in its organisation the Army approximated to the religious order[2] (although without the vows and the implications of a community life) and to the conversionist sect. Both Carlile and Wesley were often compared to St. Francis.

In contrast to the Methodist case, schism was precluded - it will be argued later - in the case of the Church Army, by certain doctrinal emphases and, more significantly, by the authority structure of the mission-band itself and the "lines of control" that were established between it and the ecclesiastical hierarchy. The consequences of the experience of evangelism later became a further factor in the "domestication" of the Church Army as the more sectarian elements in the para-military style of the society were eroded.

a) Richmond

Mission-bands grew up in a number of separate parishes. In Richmond, Evan Henry Hopkins, vicar of Holy Trinity, was one clergyman who was willing to innovate in order to reach the working-classes.

Hopkins became the first vicar of the new parish of Holy Trinity, Richmond in 1870. An "aggressive evangelical",[3] his background was practical rather than academic, since he had been "converted" in Dorset during the "revival" of 1859, while working

[1] See M. Hill. Methodism as a Religious Order: A Question of Categories, in A Sociological Yearbook of Religion in Britain, 6, S.C.M., 1973.

[2] For an ideal type of the religious order see, M. Hill. The Religious Order. 1973.

[3] A. Smellie. Evan Henry Hopkins. A Memoir. 1920. p 36.

as an engineer.[1] After some local preaching, and a course at King's College, London, his first curacy was at St. Mark's, Victoria Docks, where his Evangelicalism earned him the disapproval of his Vicar. He moved to Portman Chapel in February 1868, where his preaching as curate was better received by a congregation with strong Evangelical traditions. He also spoke at some of Lady Radstock's house meetings. After six months as curate at St. John's, Richmond, Hopkins became Vicar of the new parish of Holy Trinity in 1870.

The Church Gospel Army developed out of a series of weekly meetings for men begun in 1880, and conducted on home mission lines. Evan Hopkins' willingness to innovate is shown by his patronage of parochial missions (Hay Aitken held a two-week mission in the parish in 1877), and the use of evening services of an informal kind in schoolrooms. The "Thames Valley Battalion of Boys Brigade" was also instituted during his incumbency.

Hopkins was impressed by the work of the Salvation Army, and he had seen Booth at first hand in Whitechapel.[2] In 1887, describing a conversation that he had had with the Vicar of Holy Trinity in 1882, the Rev. J. Bowman said that he had asked Hopkins whether, "any of the modern mission armies had invaded his parish". "No", Hopkins had replied, "I have beaten them out of the field . . . by an Army of my own".[3] Evan Hopkins wished to turn the techniques of the Salvation Army to Anglican advantage. Smellie tells us how the actual stimulus for a Gospel Army came in the Easter of 1881 after Hopkins and some of his parishioners had attended the first

[1] see "A standard bearer of Faith and Holiness". Reminiscences of E.H. Hopkins. 1919. pp 10-11.
[2] A. Smellie. 1920. pp 1-44. See also Holy Trinity Church. 1870-1970, a centenary history. 1970.
[3] C.A.G. 1887. No 129.

Salvation Army meeting to take place in Exeter Hall where, "they were witnesses of an enthusiasm for Christ which quite outran their more silent and more decorous religion. What they saw and heard set their spirits on flame, and they went back to Richmond resolved to organise some enterprise of their own on similar lines".[1] F.S. Webster, the founder of the Church Salvation Army in Oxford, was one of this party. A Church Gospel Army was established in Richmond modelled on the Salvation Army. It used Salvationist techniques and working-men evangelists.[2] A mission hall (also used by the London City Mission) was built. "Rules were drawn up; a cord of membership was adopted: each member wore a red cord in his button-hole".[3] The "language" of Salvationism was also taken up: Sunday began with "knee-drill", followed by an open-air meeting at 10 a.m., the Church service at eleven, and a Bible Class at three. It ended with a march to the mission hall led by a banner and "the appealing music of vivacious hymns", and a Gospel Meeting with choruses and personal testimonies. The "penitent-form" was used in the after-meeting.[4]

Hopkins also held "holiness" meetings on Friday nights, and it is in this connection that his name is linked with the Keswick Convention. The "holiness"[5] meetings were times of personal

[1] A. Smellie. 1919. p 40.

[2] see K.J. Heasman. Army of the Church. 1968. pp 16-17.

[3] A. Smellie. 1919. p 41. See membership card preserved in C.A.A.

[4] A. Smellie. 1919. p 41. For a further description of the work in Richmond see, C.C.R. 1882. pp 96-98.

[5] Holiness teaching was founded on the belief that the Christian life, ..."far from being for the individual, a constant battle with not infrequent defeats, was intended to be lived on an altogether higher plane, of continuous victory over sin, and a continued, overflowing sense of God's peace"... J.S. Reynolds. Canon Christopher of St. Aldates, Oxford. Abingdon. 1967. p 178. The English "theologian" of this teaching was Handley Moule. see H.C.G. Moule. Holiness by Faith. A Manual of Keswick Teaching. 1904, and Christ and the Christian. 1919. The teaching originated in the United States and was diffused by Phoebe Palmer and others in the 1850's, and later by the Pearsall-Smiths; and, of course, it had much in common with Wesley's notion of "assurance", and the Salvationist doctrine of "full salvation".

confession and contrition, designed to prevent "backsliding" and to promote the search for " assurance" (a notion of salvation that is associated with Wesley) and a sense of fulfilment and oneness in God. Hopkins' close association with the Keswick movement was later to lead the Church Army at least marginally into some involvement with the controversy over the doctrine of "sinless perfection",[1] the heretical belief in one's own perfection that could lead to aberration.[2] After a trial period, converts were enrolled as "authentic soldiers" at a special service held in the church.

Writing in 1882, Randall Davidson made reference to the mission-band work in Richmond.[3] The immediate context of his article was the mooted union, or at least further co-operation, between the Salvation Army and the Church of England, negotiations to which end were then in progress.[4] In a foot-note, Davidson quoted an informant (presumably Hopkins) who had given details of Church Gospel Army activities and results:

"For more than eighteen months we have been carrying on Salvation Army work, on Church of England lines, with much encouragement. I have at present ten captains under me, each of whom has five to ten men under him. The very lowest stratum is being reached. All our other efforts at Evangelism have failed to gather in the lowest classes. But since we have adopted the present methods the worst characters have been brought within the sound of the Gospel, and most encouraging instances of real conversion to God have been the result".[5]

Working-class conversions were not the only result of the new techniques. The street processions of the Church Gospel Army

[1] see J.C. Pollock. The Keswick Story. 1964; and below.

[2] For example, the belief that Bible-reading was a redundant exercise because the Scriptures had become written on one's heart.

[3] Contemporary Review. 1882. R.T. Davidson. The Methods of the Salvation Army. pp 189-199.

[4] See above.

[5] Contemporary Review. 1882. p 199.

evoked opposition. Serious disturbances[1] occurred when the mission-band marches were attacked and "ruffianism" was much in evidence as an accompaniment of the work in Richmond.[2] In 1882, two men were charged by the police, after, "a crowd of three or four hundred persons assembled and threw mud and stones. On the night in question the "army" paraded in the streets with a flag, shouting and gesticulating in a manner that could not fail to excite the rougher class of people".[3] The indigenous working-class response to the reformatory efforts of middle-class moral and spiritual campaigns was often a hostile one.[4]

The parish of Richmond was the "source" from which much Church Army activity originated. F.S. Webster (who was instrumental in founding a similar work in Oxford) seems to have been converted under the influence of Hopkins,[5] and one of the leading families in the congregation at Holy Trinity was that of the Carlile's. Wilson Carlile's father, Edward, was deacon (there is a stained glass window in his memory), and after his brief association with the Brethren, the future Chief Secretary of the Church Army came to Richmond and ran his so-called "Rough Sunday School", before being ordained and beginning a career which led him to found the Church Army proper.[6] The young Carlile says of Hopkins: "He welcomed me from nonconformity; he afforded me scope for separate mission-work; he believed in bringing the worst to the Best, and he acted on this belief".[7] It is possible to establish another connection with Hopkins and Richmond, for the

[1] For a discussion of the attacks on the Salvation Army and Church Army, see below.
[2] A.E. Reffold. A Noble Army of Women. 1947. p 7.
[3] Oxford Chronicle. 4 Nov. 1882.
[4] see below.
[5] A. Smellie. 1919. p 36.
[6] see below.
[7] A. Smellie. 1919. p 44.

recommendation of Canon A.M.W. Christopher (who had himself been a curate at St. John, Richmond, between 1849 and 1855) of St. Aldate's, Oxford (home of Webster's Church Salvation Army) and also a supporter of Keswick, had been partly responsible for Evan Hopkins' appointment to Holy Trinity.[1] Hopkins was a frequent occasional preacher at St. Aldate's.

b) Oxford

F.S. Webster had been an undergraduate at Oxford from 1878. During vacations he involved himself in the Richmond parish, but in term he came under the influence of an important figure in Evangelical circles, A.M.W. Christopher of St. Aldate's, Oxford, whose encouragement was an essential element in the growth of mission-band activities in that city. Christopher was also a significant character in other ventures, and his name appears with some regularity in the matters that concern us here. Alfred Millard William Christopher[2] accepted the living of St. Aldate's in 1859, after a period as Secretary of the Church Missionary Society. At this time St. Aldate's was a poor parish and the trustees were looking for an Evangelical parson as part of their overall intention to increase the party's influence in the city. Under the auspices of the Oxford Fund[3] they had acquired the living from Pembroke College in 1858. By 1860, Christopher and his curate had raised the average attendance at ordinary services to 300, and in 1886, the average had risen to 700.[4]

[1] J.S. Reynolds. 1967. p 184.

[2] For a full biography see J.S. Reynolds. 1967.

[3] Begun in 1853 by E.P. Hathaway, William Champneys and Anthony Thorold (who later, as Bishop of Rochester, encouraged Carlile to enter the ministry). Their intention was to secure permanent Evangelical livings in Oxford, and they were responsible for several churches coming into Evangelical hands. For details see A.C. Downer. A Century of Evangelical Religion in Oxford. 1938; and J.S. Reynolds. The Evangelicals at Oxford. 1735-1871. Oxford. 1953.

[4] J.S. Reynolds. 1967. p 108, and p 145.

Christopher was never satisfied with church services as the sole means of evangelism, and was actively involved in many other fields of Christian work. Many missionary societies were grateful for his support, and he was responsible for arousing an interest in foreign missions among many undergraduates, especially through his "missionary breakfasts" and early morning prayer-meetings.[1] He was secretary to the local branch of the C.M.S. from 1861; served on the committees of the Oxford and Oxfordshire Society for the Promotion of Christianity among the Jews and the Church Pastoral Aid Society; and was a supporter of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. A staunch believer in the reformed Protestant faith, he was a founder member of the Church Association in Oxford in 1865. The temperance movement also claimed his attention, and he spoke occasionally on behalf of the Church of England Temperance Society.[2] In 1875, at the Church Congress held in Stoke, he had urged his audience (with reference to the clergy shortage) that the solution lay in the recruitment of young laymen who would eventually graduate to the cloth. He favoured the use of non-graduate clergy to supplement trained staff[3] and, as chairman of the interdenominational committees that organised their first visit to Oxford in 1882, and Moody's last meeting in the city in 1892,[4] was a willing defender of the missionary efforts of Moody and Sankey. Moody and Sankey also visited another "source" of mission-band activity when they held a mission in Bristol in 1882. In their 1875 mission, Wilson Carlile had learned much that later he was to use

[1] see C. Oman. Memories of Victorian Oxford. 1941. p 80.

[2] Oxford Times. 15 April 1882. see also A.M.W. Christopher, "Address to the Citizens of Oxford, and especially to Working Men, on the propriety of closing Public Houses and Beer Shops on the Lord's Day". Oxford. 1865.

[3] C.C.R. 1875. pp 417-424.

[4] Oxford Times. 25 November 1882, and J.S. Reynolds. 1967. p 226 and p 271.

in Church Army work. Hay Aitken, who had been an undergraduate friend of Christopher in the 'sixties,[1] held a parochial mission in Oxford in 1879. Later, the Church Army was to begin its operations under the wing of the Church Parochial Missions Society, a body that was founded by Aitken. 1879 also witnessed the foundation of the Oxford Inter-Collegiate Christian Union, an Evangelical student association which included Webster among its members.[2]

In 1874, Christopher came under the influence of what was to be known as "holiness" or Keswick teaching, and was a supporter of the Lake District meetings along with Hardford-Battersby, Evan Hopkins, Hay Aitken, and E.W. Moore.[3] Christopher had been instrumental in Hopkins' preferment to Holy Trinity, and the St. Aldate's-Richmond connection was continued when Francis Scott Webster became his curate in December 1882.[4] This was not the only link of this kind; in 1876, Harry Sturdy (who was Christopher's curate from 1869 to 1875) married Florence, the sister of Wilson Carlile.[5]

Church Army activities in Oxford began on a very small scale, and were rooted in the evangelistic endeavours of F.S. Webster, "probably the only man who has combined the functions of secretary of the Union Debating Society and Salvation Army preacher".[6] A

[1] J.S. Reynolds. 1967. p 127. [2] pp 216-220.

[3] Christopher met the Pearsall-Smiths, and agreed to sponsor a large gathering in Oxford from 29 July to 7 August. Smaller house meetings had been held at Broadlands, the country seat of Lord Mount-Temple. From these preliminary meetings came the yearly Keswick Convention, see J.S. Reynolds. 1967. pp 178-199; J.C. Pollock. 1964; and W.B. Sloan. These Sixty Years. The Story of the Keswick Convention. 1935. Edward Clifford (later Church Army Evangelistic Secretary) was involved in these meetings. see E.C. Clifford. Broadlands as it was. 1890.

[4] Oxford Times. 30 Dec. 1882.

[5] J.S. Reynolds. 1967. p 187. [6] p 228.

number of other undergraduates were drawn into mission and social work during this period: the Bitter Cry of Outcast London encouraged some young men to involve themselves in the work of university settlements in the poorer parts of London, while other students, 'renouncing all", felt themselves persuaded to join the Salvation Army.[1] However, on coming up to Oxford in October 1878, Webster had involved himself enthusiastically in the spiritual life and evangelistic endeavours of St. Aldate's. During his spare time he worked in the streets among the slums of Oxford with Henry Bazely, who introduced him to open-air preaching and work among college porters and servants. Bazely was a great influence on Webster, encouraging him to work at St. Aldate's, first in a lay capacity, and later as curate.[2] The evangelist accredits his continuing Anglican loyalty to Bazely; "Indeed it is to him that I owe very largely that appreciation of the value of order and discipline, that love of unity and hatred of schism, which are the elements of good churchmanship. I have often said that Mr. Bazely was the first to make me a Churchman".[3] There is a paradox here, in that Bazely had himself pursued a rather inconsistent relationship with the Church of England.[4]

[1] S.C. Roberts (ed). Memories and Opinions, by Q. Cambridge. 1944. p 75.

[2] see E.L. Hicks. Henry Bazely. The Oxford Evangelist. 1886. The author was a Church Army supporter, see C.C.R. 1888. pp 136-137.

[3] J.S. Reynolds. 1967. p 221.

[4] During his chequered career, Bazely turned down the curacy at St. Aldate's later occupied by Webster, in order to found a Scottish Presbyterian Church in Alfred Street. He returned to St. Aldate's as deacon and curate in 1876, but rejoined his Scottish Kirk soon after. He died in 1883 and is buried in Jericho cemetery next to his life-long (Anglican) friend, A.M.W. Christopher. see E.L. Hicks. 1886. See also C.S. Isaacson, Roads to Christ. 1904. p 34, in which Webster says of Bazely:- "I owe more than I can tell to the evangelistic zeal, the well-grounded theological faith, and the steady churchmanship of this Presbyterian clergyman - The Oxford Evangelist as he was called". See also R.W. Macan. Religious Changes in Oxford during the last fifty years. Oxford. 1918 (revised ed). p 13.

As was true elsewhere, the example of the Salvation Army was again significant in the growth of mission-band activities. Christopher was a supporter of the Salvationists and later defended their heavily criticised local work to packed galleries at the Oxford Diocesan Conference of 1882.[1] Christopher also spoke in favour of the Salvation Army when he preached the Assize sermon at St. Mary's.[2] Webster tells us how he first heard of the Salvation Army when in the company of Wilson Carlile, in 1877 or 1878 [sic]. Webster reports that, although he was still at school [sic],[3] the membership card and list of rules in the possession of Carlile were of great interest to him and led to some discussion.[4] His first Salvationist meeting was on Easter Monday, 1880, on the occasion of a visit by Evan Hopkins, who, "was interested in the similarities between Salvationist 'full salvation' and Keswick teaching", believing, "that many of the converts, won from the lowest strata by the Army, were entering into the same experience of fullness of blessing and deliverance from the dominion of sin that was being borne witness to at Keswick, and that he wished to test for himself the character of

[1] In the Sheldonian Theatre. Times. Oct. 6.1882. p 7.

[2] July 6. 1883.

[3] There is inconsistency in this statement.
1) If Webster was still "at school", then Carlile was not "at" theological college (Carlile began at St. John's in October 1878, the same time that Webster came up to Oxford).
2) William Booth's organisation was still called the Christian Mission in 1877, and although it was becoming progressively more militarily inclined, it did not become the "Salvation Army" until 1878. It seems unlikely that Carlile had Salvationist membership cards and rules before the society assumed its full para-military title and methods.
Given this, one suspects the meeting occurred in the last quarter of 1878.

[4] F.S. Webster. Personal Reminiscences, in Life of General Booth. Nelson. 1912.

the work".[1] Webster later attended Salvation Army meetings in Whitechapel and Exeter Hall, and holiness meetings run by Bramwell Booth. His interest led to further involvement. During the vacations he worked with Evan Hopkins' Church Gospel Army, and he also became Brother Webster of the Oxford Corps in Greyfriars for three months. In October 1881, shortly before he started as Christopher's curate, he actually met William Booth, and asked him to send the very best officers to Oxford. His Salvationist activities were not allowed to interfere with Church duties however, and he always left marches in time for the 11 a.m. service.[2]

Webster graduated in 1881. It had been decided already that he should become curate at St. Aldate's when he reached canonical age, but in the interval he was, in Christopher's words "let loose" in the parish in a lay capacity: "The result was 'The St. Aldate's Church Salvation Army', a name which reflected its leaders' admiration for the work of William Booth".[3] The mission-band was allowed to continue, with the approval of the bishop, after his ordination.

Webster was also involved with the work of the Blue Ribbon Gospel Temperance Mission, another organisation that was trying to reach the working-classes.[4] He was also associated with the Church of England Temperance Society.[5]

[1] p 155.

[2] Ibid. See also R. Sandall and A.R. Wiggins. The History of the Salvation Army. 1947. Vol. II. p 154.

[3] J.S. Reynolds. 1967. p 230.

[4] It was formed locally in February 1882. see Oxford Times, and Oxford Chronicle. Feb. 4 1882. Although disclaiming military and music, the Blue Ribbon Army were keen supporters of aggressive campaigning. see The Oxford Weekly Record of Christian and Temperance Work. March 6, 1883. Webster marched with the mission throughout his time in Oxford. see Oxford Times. March 3, 1883. On the movement see A.R. Kimball. The Blue Ribbon. 1894.

[5] Oxford Times. April 15, 1882.

As in other parts of the country, the mission-band techniques of the "three armies" (Salvation, Church Salvation, and Blue Ribbon) led to street disturbances and complaints throughout 1881 and 1882. At one stage, Sunday processions were banned by the local magistrates, but despite this ban, reported the Oxford Chronicle:[1] "About half-past two on Sunday afternoon, an undergraduate of Balliol who was wearing a cap on which were the words 'Salvation Army', and a graduate of Pembroke, with two or three women and a youth, formed in procession and started from opposite English's Row, St. Aldate's, in spite of the Magistrates' order issued the previous Friday". There was singing during the march to the Mission Hall, where, "Inspector Dixon took the names of the ringleaders, and there was great disorder inside the building". An application for a similar ban to be imposed in "The Plain" came before the bench in August, 1883: the unpopularity of Salvationist processions did not decrease with familiarity.[2]

The Church Salvation Army directed its attention to groups that were outside normal parochial ministrations. The irreverent mission-band techniques were designed to reach the working classes. It is difficult to be certain to what extent they succeeded. The Salvation Army was making some progress among the "worst"[3] and there is also evidence of some success for the Church Salvation Army. Supporting the Salvation Army at the Oxford Diocesan Conference of 1882, the Rev. Christopher testified that, "he had men and women in his parish whom he had not reached, but had been

[1] Oxford Chronicle. November 26, 1881. p 8.

[2] G. 1883. p 1129.

[3] ..."I am assured", declared the Master of Balliol in 1882, ..."by the police that about twenty of the worst characters in Oxford have been reformed or 'converted' by them. It seems as if religion was leaving the educated classes, and taking up its abode among the poor, and especially among the vulgar"... E. Abbott and L. Campbell. The Life and Letters of Benjamin Jowett. 1897. 2 Vols. Vol. II. p 262, op cit. L.E. Elliot-Binns. Religion in the Victorian Era. 1936. p 427.

reached by his Church Salvation Army",[1] which was endeavouring to, "seek the souls of the working classes without adopting the errors and extravagances of the Salvation Army", and, "there were now about 40 men and 40 women who were engaged in the work of seeking to bring souls to Christ".[2] Examination of the statistics for Easter Day communicants shows tentative proof of success, although there is not sufficient evidence for definite correlation.

Easter Day communicants at St. Aldate's, Oxford. 1879-1893.[3]

Year	Services			Total
	8 a.m.	11 a.m.	7 p.m.	
1879	26	62	71	159
1880	42	66	83	191
1881	34	52	89	175
1882	40	62	105	207
1883	63	74	107	244
1884	104	73	119	296
1885	86	76	121	283
1886	99	53	74	226
1887	67	65	94	226
1888	106	67	87	260
1889	108	61	94	263
1890	94	48	102	244
1891	119	48	89	256
1892	103	38	89	230
1893	112	44	99	255

Points

Webster began Church Salvation Army activities late in 1881.

Webster left Oxford in 1885 when the Church Army Training Home was moved from St. Aldate's to London. On his departure, Church Army activity was reduced.

It may be suggested (albeit tentatively) that the increased figures for the years 1882, 1883 and 1884 were the result of Church Army activities (especially as the rise is mainly accounted for by the early morning communion service which was the celebration that Church Army soldiers were urged to attend) and that the relative decline in the ensuing years, 1885, 1886 and 1887 was due to these activities being reduced, or to a decline in the recruiting power of para-military methods as the attraction of their novelty began to wane. There is a fair amount of "circumstantial evidence to suggest that the communicants came from among the working-classes.

[1] Report of Oxford Diocesan Conference. 1882. Oxford Times. Oct. 7, 1882. p 8.

[2] Oxford Chronicle. Oct. 7, 1882.

[3] Records of St. Aldate's Parish Church, Oxford.

In Oxford, the influence and example of the Salvation Army was more manifest than elsewhere. Webster commenced Church Salvation Army meetings in the Victoria Theatre and St. Aldate's Rectory Room, and apparently "borrowed" some dozen Salvationists for the first march. Webster himself was a Salvation Army "brother" at this stage, and for a while there was close co-operation with the Salvationists: "The two Oxford Corps used to join together on Bank Holidays, and the St. Aldate's Rectory Room, built for Mr. Christopher's classes for undergraduates, was invaded and possessed by a noisy band of Salvation Army and Church Army soldiers".[1] Despite disagreement at the national level, in Oxford co-operation between the two mission-bands continued until well into 1883, and in July of that year it was reported that the Church Army held, "a holiness meeting in union with the two Oxford Corps of the Salvation Army". The aim was to achieve, "Pentecostal unity, in order to get a Pentecostal blessing".[2] As well as the street processions and revival meetings, the leaders of the Church Salvation Army also organised excursions, especially at Bank Holidays.[3]

Church Salvation Army work was aggressive in nature, and assumed the language of an "army of God" fighting the "battle" against the "Devil and all his works". An advertisement in the local section of the Oxford Times of November 1882, announced:[4]

[1] F.S. Webster. 1912. pp 159-160.
[2] B. 1883. No 4.
[3] A river cruise enjoyed by 260 members and friends is described in the Oxford Times. 12 August 1882.
[4] 25 Nov. 1882. For more handbills of this nature see below.

"CHURCH SALVATION ARMY.
Renewed and vigorous
WARFARE
against Sin and Satan, by a portion of
the Church Militant, every week-night
(except Saturday) till FRIDAY DECEMBER 1st.
G.H. SOMERSET GARDINER (From Headquarters)
will lead each night.
Assembling of forces, 6.30 p.m.; for Procession
Salvation Meeting, 7.30 p.m. Open to ALL."

This aggressive campaign provoked a local response. Letters appeared in the Oxford press condemning the inconvenience created by street processions, and the offence given to sensibilities, both civil and ecclesiastical. The "intolerable nuisance" of street processions disturbed local inhabitants, and the irreverent revivalistic techniques upset the sensibilities of some church people.[1] A correspondent to the local press complained in 1882 how:

"Night after night and on Sundays a special morning and afternoon performance have the inhabitants of the west inflicted upon them for several hours, the most hideous uproar and disturbance possible by the so-called Salvation Army . . . and an imitation thereof, yclept the Blue Ribbon Army, led by a lay-helper of St. Aldate's, who would be thanked if he would confine his gyrations and exhibitions to that parish".[2]

Later, Webster defended his "antics", especially his practice of walking backwards when leading a march. It was, he claimed, a method of keeping in touch with what was happening behind and a way of ensuring a clear passage through a crowd. It was introduced into Church Army training.[3] A more physical reaction is described by Webster as (the) "exciting times when the undergraduates of my own college emptied the water-jugs from their bedroom windows upon our Sunday evening march, and the mob tried to put me in the river at Abingdon because I emptied a pint of

[1] Oxford Times. Feb. 18, 1882.
[2] Oxford Chronicle. Oxford Times. Sept. 30, 1882.
[3] C.A.A.R. Doings in 1885. p 15.

beer into the gutter".[1] In 1883, in Oxford, a "Yellow Ribbon Army" was established in opposition to temperance and mission-band activity of all kinds, and a manifesto was issued condemning the fanticism of other armies. In common with the "Skeleton Army", an organisation that opposed street processions in all parts of the country, all Yellow Ribbon activities were a parody of the Salvationists. Here, as in other places, it was suggested that publicans, "victuallers of the city", had had a hand in the formation of the movement, but in Oxford it appears that more "respectable" elements (including clergymen) were also involved, and that the Yellow Ribbon Army was not just a "rag-tag" of local ne'er do wells that temperance reformers wished the public to believe.[2] This issue is given further attention below.

c) Bristol

St. Paul's Bedminster, in Bristol, had one of the first mission-bands which met before Church on Sunday evenings, marched to the services and continued its activities in a meeting afterwards.

In the parish magazine, the Vicar (Rev. C.I. Atherton) described his concern at Church failure to reach the working class, and, "propounded a scheme, similar to that which has been taken

[1] The undergraduates of Pembroke also gave their unwelcome attention to an attempt by a Roman Catholic to hold meetings in college. They screwed fast the door to the meeting-room and demonstrated in the quad outside. Thus they opposed both poles of the religious spectrum with "direct action". According to the Guardian of March 1883, p 371, the event was, ..."inspired neither by 'Puritanic zeal"..., nor, as alleged at the time, by bad champagne, but was, ..."a genuine 'No Popery riot', to be placed alongside that other medievalism of our age - namely, the 'Salvation Army'"... For ensuing events see G. 1883. p 868; p 925; and Times. 11 June, 1883. p 9.

[2] See Oxford Chronicle. 10 March, 1883; 24 March, 1883; 17 Aug, 1883. See also G. 1883. p 477.

up in some other places, notably at Kensington and Richmond, whereby a Mission Army may be formed for the purposes of holding special services, and bringing the people who will not attend ordinary services within the power of the Gospel".[1] There was a "hearty" response and over sixty people gave their names to take part. Regular meetings for prayer were announced to begin on 6 June.

Atherton seems to have given some considerable thought to the logic and organisation of the mission-band, for the endeavour was rationally planned in advance. The magazine announced: "During the summer months two meetings will be held each week, on Tuesday at this end of the parish, and on Thursday at Ashton Gate. If found necessary as the summer advances, more will be added, and in the winter months it is proposed to begin an effort of this sort nightly".

The plans for the winter included a fortnight of mission services by W. Hay Aitken in Colston Hall, and a series of meetings at the Ashton Gate Mission Hall, "conducted by the Rev. Walter Carlyle [sic] of the Parish Church, Kensington".[2] Church members were requested to give the movement their support, and asked to make any newcomers welcome to the Church by helping to "conduct them to the free seats, and lend them prayer and hymn-books".[3]

[1] St. Paul's Parish Magazine. June 1882.

[2] When Hay Aitken and Moody held their meetings, those of the American evangelist proved more popular. Aitken commented:- ... "if Moody and I could split things, and he give me one half or one quarter of his crowds, and I give him a portion of my empty chairs, we would do"... see C.E. Woods. Memoirs and Letters of Canon Hay Aitken. 1928.

[3] St. Paul's Parish Magazine. June 1882.

The Vicar supported other mission-bands in the Bristol area, for example the "Black Ribbon Army", and the "White Ribbon Army",[1] the main concern of which was temperance. The White Ribbon Army was invited to attend St. Paul's as a corps in June 1882.[2]

A sister organisation was begun at Holy Trinity Church, "where a good number of working men attached to the church met together under the presidency of the Rev. Armstrong-Hall".[3] The two armies combined for marches and meetings, and adopted the "red cord" as a symbol of membership. Press reaction was favourable: "The first efforts seem to have met with favour", declared the Bristol Times and Mirror, "thus confirming the belief that a mission army in connection with the Church of England would do good amongst the masses of the people".[4] Carlile was at the joint meeting of 14 June. In July, the St. Paul's Church Mission Army claimed 140 recruits and, after a period of trial, it was announced that they would be, "divided into various offices", and admitted to the mission-band "by a solemn service at Church". The publication describes how, "as a means of awakening and sustaining the zeal of the laity, this movement can hardly be surpassed".[5]

As in Kensington, Richmond and Oxford, Anglican mission-band activity met with some complaint. A correspondent ("True Churchman") to the Bristol Times and Mirror of 27 June complained bitterly about the Salvation Army and the involvement of Church

[1] Founded 1878. See Oxford Weekly Record of Christian and Temperance Work. 19 Jan. 1883.

[2] St. Paul's Parish Magazine. June 1882. The White Ribbon Army boasted a female "General" - a Mrs. Tennett. For a report of the service, attended by 3000, see Daily Bristol Times and Mirror, 22 June, 1882.

[3] Daily Bristol Times and Mirror. 17 June, 1882.

[4] Ibid.

[5] St. Paul's Parish Magazine. July 1882.

of England clergy with "sham armies".[1] The following day a clergyman disapproved of Church Mission Army "sensationalism" and postulated that the existing parochial machinery of the Church of England was sufficient to reach the masses without resort to "armies". A more sympathetic correspondent of 30 June considered that the name of the Rev. Atherton was sufficient guarantee that the Bedminster Army would not become "undignified".

During the Vicar's summer absence, the Church Mission Army suffered a relapse,[2] but on his return the Hay Aitken/Wilson Carlile meetings took place. The parish magazine suggests that not all parishioners approved of their techniques; even though it was conceded that, "Though perhaps some more quiet and orderly people might be shocked at some of the methods adopted, they have been the means of drawing the very class for whom they were intended . . . We must not be too particular as to the method, if only the godless and impenitent are reached".[3]

The mission-band's success in reaching these classes was chronicled in the December issue of the magazine. Although the lack of previous figures prevents comparison, that only sixty-six of the one hundred and ninety-five candidates at the special confirmation service documented were under the age of twenty is perhaps evidence that is indicative of mission-band conversions

[1] Daily Bristol Times and Mirror. 27 June, 1882.

[2] The parish magazines for August and September record only routine mentions of the mission-band, while the October issue speaks of "trial", "testing time", "hindrances", and reports: ..."The Vicar's letter during his absence, and the meeting for prayer on that occasion, seemed to give new life to the movement, and reminded all of their duties"...

[3] St. Paul's Parish Magazine. November 1882.

among the "unchurched".[1] The report continues, "Out of these 103 were married people, and there were 19 men and their wives confirmed at the same time. The Bishop was specially struck with the number of working-men; and well he might be, for it was good to see the 46 men of middle age, all of them bearing the marks of toil, and presenting very evidentially the signs of being led by the Spirit . . . for their demeanour was most reverent and earnest". At the Thanksgiving Service, celebrated the following day, further impressionistic evidence of success is given by the description of what "a wonderful sight it was in Church to see so many men and women whose one aim and purpose is to strive for the salvation of those belonging to their own class". Fifty new members were admitted to the Army and there were six hundred and eighty communicants.[2] In May of the following year two hundred and thirty soldiers were claimed to comprise the membership of the mission-band, with some seventy more candidates being prepared for an Easter confirmation. However, the male-female balance seems to have changed somewhat in the interval - of these only ninety of the soldiers were men.[3]

d) Kensington

Although mission-band techniques were introduced almost simultaneously to a number of parishes, pre-eminence must be accorded to the work of Wilson Carlile in Kensington. Despite the claims on behalf of Richmond, which was perhaps the "seminal

[1] Breakdown of candidates: Under 20, 60; 20-30, 54; 40-50, 21; 50-60, 10; 60-70, 3. Source: St. Paul's Parish Magazine. Dec. 1882.
[2] Ibid.
[3] B. 1883. No 2.

parish", or "source" of mission-band activity within the Church of England; (Carlile and Webster had both been parishioners there, and the Vicar, Evan Hopkins, the author of two early booklets[1] explaining the principles of mission-band work, was, in some senses, "the human foundation stone of the enterprise")[2], nevertheless, St. Mary Abbots, Kensington, claims primacy in the annals of the Church Army. It was from this parish that Carlile began his "Church Militant Mission", and from here that the scattered works in other areas were amalgamated to create the Church Army proper. To a great extent Wilson Carlile "was" the Church Army, and even now his image is stamped indelibly on the organisation. Almost all Church Army officers and premises contain a picture of the "Chief", and every Church Army captain or sister is well acquainted with his biography, or, rather, his hagiography - one of Carlile's biographers describes his study as, "an essay in hero worship".[3] A recently-published series of case-studies of Church Army work makes frequent reference to the "spirit of Wilson Carlile" which still pervades the present society.[4]

Robertson, in his study of the Salvation Army, argues that reference back to persecution in the "early days" may help to re-inforce and preserve group solidarity in the face of changing social conditions. For fundamentalist, evangelising groups like the Salvation Army and the Church Army, the memory of former persecution has a very positive role to play. In many respects,

[1] Conditions of Membership. 1883? What is a Church Army? 1883.
[2] The Life of Faith. 1913. p 1380, in C.A.A. Clippings.
[3] Great Churchmen. No 2. Wilson Carlile, by A.E. Reffold. 1974. p 4. A sentiment shared by Edgar Rowan, see preface to Wilson Carlile and the Church Army. 1905.
[4] M. Turnbull. God's Front Line. 1979.

acceptance by the wider society may be more of a threat to survival than rejection and persecution. For the Church Army, the so-called "Westminster days", or at least their memory, are an essential part of the ideology and organisation of the present institution.[1] The continuing military structure and the "battle terminology" of evangelism are examples of this. Church Army workers still refer to the "field" when they take a parochial position, become warden of a hostel, or run a mission.

Any attempt to understand the organisational development of the Church Army must include some examination of the life of Wilson Carlile, who was founder and Chief Secretary until his death in 1942. The impression given by his biographers is that of an intensely busy and dedicated man possessed of great reserves of character and personality.[2]

Wilson Carlile was born the eldest of twelve children, in Brixton, on 14 January 1847, into a family with strong Scottish traditions. Despite suffering from a spinal weakness as a child and spasmodically throughout his life, he was an enthusiastic sportsman. His early ill-health made him a little backward at school which he left just before his fourteenth birthday in order to work in his grandfather's City business. We are told that the young Carlile determined to make £20,000 before his twenty-fifth

[1] In B.R. Wilson (ed). 1967. p 56. In the Church Army, this tendency to recall with pride times of earlier persecution began as early as 1893. See C.A.G. 1893. No 481, and No 483. For a recollection of the "Westminster days", see C.A.G. March 25, 1899. "Under Red Fire".

[2] The best biography is E. Rowan. Wilson Carlile and the Church Army. First published 1905, but revised several times. The most complete statement of the "early days" can be found in The Early Days of the Church Army. 1883-1888, and its Present Position 1891, written partly by Carlile. For the many other "inspirational histories" of the movement, see bibliography.

birthday. However, unhappy in his first employment, he was labelled a "duffer" and sent once more to school, this time in Lille. Here he won a prize for proficiency in French in competition with thirty French boys. On returning to England in 1862, he re-entered the Cheapside business, and due to his grandfather's failing health was practically head of the firm by the time he was eighteen. At twenty-one the business was virtually his own.

As well as his work, Rowan recounts a variety of other interests, including riding, boxing, wrestling, and music. When still a boy he had formed a negro band and, when he was sixteen, a choral and orchestral society. His musical ability was to prove useful in Church Army work and in his contribution to other missionary efforts, for instance; the Moody-Sankey visitation of 1875. Rowan imputes divine purpose to his early life:

> "All this time however, music, athletics and other recreations were mere side issues. His whole heart was in his business. Increased responsibility and a free hand, which came when he was eighteen, brought wider ambitions, and young Carlile at once set out to enlarge the firm. He had already made several trips to France, buying silk, and he now began to speculate still further in the market . . . The singleness of aim, which to-day is set so effectively on the welfare of the outcast and destitute, was then set just as steadily on commercial success. Ambition, energy, imagination, tenacity, daring, all these were being trained and strengthened against that day when God should stop this young businessman in the height of his career, and claim these qualities for his own service".[1]

At eighteen, Carlile had become a member of Stockwell Congregational Church, where his father was a deacon. William and Catherine Booth were married here, and here too Carlile met his future wife, whom he married at Twickenham Parish Church in 1870. However, we are told that religion concerned him little at this stage and his regular attendance at chapel was more a product of

[1] E. Rowan. 3rd ed. 1926. p 19.

his wish to please his parents than a sympton of burning religiosity. Business was his main concern in life, and his target of £20,000 was easily surpassed by the time he was twenty-five. He travelled extensively on business to the Continent and opened branches in Manchester and other towns. The disturbances in Europe enabled him to buy silk cheaply and Rowan also attributes a, "wistful groping after Christ"[1] to his experiences in the arena of the Franco-Prussian War.

The depression of 1873 caused problems for many businesses, and the bank suspensions and stock-market collapse of so-called "Black Friday" ruined Carlile's enterprise. Shattered by this downfall, he suffered a recurrence of his spinal trouble. In his own words, "God threw me on my back that I might look up the better",[2] and during his illness he was converted through the spiritual attentions of his aunt who belonged to a local Brethren community. Shortly afterwards his wife too became a Christian. Paradoxically, the depression that contributed to Carlile's conversion also provided the clientele for his future evangelistic social relief work, when, towards the end of the so-called "Great Depression" (1870's - 1890's),[3] the sub-division of the "unemployable" (the "worst" in the parlance of the Church Army) was added to the social jargon of the period.[4]

On recovery, Carlile returned to the world of business as his father's partner in Bow Lane, where he worked for the next four years. His aunt's influence led him to a little community of Brethren in Blackfriars, where he soon became interested in

[1] p 21.
[2] p 26.
[3] See D.H. Aldcroft (ed). The Development of British Industry and Foreign Competition. 1968. pp 11-36.
[4] See J. Harris. Unemployment and Politics. Oxford. 1972. p 51.

in their practical Christian work. His offer of help was accepted and he was put in charge of a Bible Class recruited from the "hooligans" of the area. Often rowdy, these classes were his introduction to that group of people with which he was to be most concerned - those outside the sphere of "respectable" middle-class Christianity: "Here was I", says Carlile, "out on my own for the first time, with a gang of the roughest and jolliest lads you ever met. I was supposed to teach them the Bible, but they cannot have known less about it than I did".[1] With a touch of humour, Rowan describes how Carlile's first audience was so moved by his well-spoken entreaties that they stole his Bible as a memento of the occasion.

Although the influence of his vicar, Carr Glyn; his advisor, G.H. Wilkinson, and his training at Highbury must not be overlooked, it was perhaps among the Brethren that he first learned the importance of the service of Holy Communion, which was to be a central feature of the sacramental doctrinal emphasis of the Church Army and, of course, a sharp point of contrast with the Salvation Army. The same service was also the cause of his expulsion from the Brethren as a "disorderly brother", when it came to the notice of the elders that he had attended Holy Communion at Evan Hopkins' church in Richmond with his father, who had latterly become a member of the Church of England.[2] It was not long before Wilson joined him, being confirmed at Clapham Parish Church by Bishop Thorold of Rochester.

Hopkins encouraged him to begin a Bible Class for the local roughs, and despite a certain amount of window-breaking and rowdiness his efforts were rewarded by a number of conversions.

[1] E. Rowan. 1926. p 33.
[2] See A.E. Reffold. A Noble Army of Women. 1947. p 6.

Later, some of these youngsters were to become Church Army soldiers.

He filled his spare time with religious activity; starting what became known as, "Mr. Carlile's Rough Sunday School", and beginning a night-school in the Old Baths, Richmond, "seeking to gather in the worst lads from the streets, and teach them the 3 R's". In this he was helped by a Miss Elmslie, who later married Dr. Barnado. The Bible Class and Ragged School occupied him during 1874 and the Spring of 1875.[1]

In 1875, the two American evangelists, Dwight L. Moody and Ira D. Sankey, came to London. Carlile had met them at the Y.M.C.A. at Exeter Hall on their previous visit in 1873,[2] and now he volunteered to help in their campaign and found himself playing the harmonium and leading the choir at the Agricultural Hall meetings. He also assisted at Henry Drummond's meetings for young men that were connected with the mission.[3] These were intended to develop the speaking power of those present. Although his experiences with the Brethren must have given him some belief in the value of lay agency, Rowan sees particular importance in the occasions when Carlile had to conduct the meetings on his own. "In an important sense", he says, "from that moment dates the Church Army. He saw that laymen could take their share in the work of preaching Christ. Hitherto he had fancied that their place was only in the classroom and club, and that aggressive work must be left entirely to the recognised minister".[4]

[1] E. Rowan. 1926. p 38.

[2] British Monthly. July 1901. p 412.

[3] In 1877, Drummond gave up a scientific career to become Moody's associate evangelist. see C. Lennox. Henry Drummond. 3rd ed. 1901. p 25.

[4] E. Rowan. 1926. p 41.

Apparently he discussed this idea with Drummond, who described to his assistant the use of college men in a lay-preaching capacity. Carlile learnt much from the revivalists. From Moody he acquired the principle of always "going for the worst" in his evangelistic work, and from Sankey he gained an appreciation of the utility of revival hymns and singing.[1] In 1884, Carlile was described in the Nottingham Guardian as, "a persuasive and earnest speaker, [who] possesses a gift for homely and felicitous illustration which he uses with great effect".[2] However, it was to Henry Drummond that Carlile himself felt the greatest debt was owed - it was he, declared the Chief Secretary of the Church Army, who "made a preacher of me".[3] After some work for the Evangelisation Society, where his belief in simple theology was encouraged,[4] Carlile felt a "call" to full-time Christian work, as an ordained Anglican minister.

He gave up his business interests and, in October 1878, at the age of thirty-one, he followed the advice of Bishop Thorold (an "old-fashioned Evangelical"[5] who had himself shown enthusiasm for novel methods) and entered the London College of Divinity. During his time at the college, Carlile continued his involvement in open-air work using unorthodox methods in the Blackfriars and Borough districts. Here, along with other college members, he

[1] Ibid. p 42. See also framed letter in C.A.A. Carlile to Miss Moody, Feb. 2, 1928, in which Carlile wrote, ..."[It was] your father [Moody] and Mr. Sankey that set me on evangelistic lines"...

[2] B. 1884. No 36.

[3] Sunday Circle. 27 May, 1905. p 496; in C.A.A. Clippings.

[4] He was taught that every sermon ought to touch on five points in a definite order - the "5 R's" of Repentance, Redemption, Reception, Renovation, and Rejection. This scheme was incorporated into Church Army training. S. Dark. Wilson Carlile. The laughing cavalier of Christ. 1944. p 44.

[5] C.H. Simpkinson. Life and Work of Bishop Thorold. 1896. p 76.

had more contact with the methods of the Salvation Army.[1] In a letter to the Church Times of 1884, Henry Gee (the Principal) described during 1880 a "movement of curiosity" among students at the college about Booth's activities in Whitechapel.[2] According to one hostile commentator, twenty-eight of the candidates at St. John's (three of whom later "defected" to the Salvation Army) had had what he called "Salvationist leanings", and had taken part in Army meetings and "knee-drills" - practices of which he himself had disapproved.[3]

Despite these diversions, Carlile worked hard, completing the course in half the normal time.[4] After his training he was appointed curate to the Vicar of Kensington, the Rev. Carr Glyn,[5] and became a member of a large clerical staff where all schools of churchmanship were represented. This experience was perhaps significant in his later insistence that the Church Army should be an all-party organisation.

Carlile was appointed to the district church of St. Paul's, under the Rev. W.E. Haigh, who says, "He soon began to do good mission work in Kensington, and that among classes which we clergy do not, as a rule, get much hold of . . . Kensington had as vicars Dr. Maclagan, afterwards Bishop of York, a most sympathetic missioner, and Dr. Carr Glyn, an ardent and most faithful parish priest; but neither they nor any of us got hold of the kind of people whom, through the grace of God, Mr. Carlile won for God and the Church".[6]

[1] British Monthly. July 1901. p 412.
[2] C.T. 1884. p 749.
[3] C.T. 1884. p 591.
[4] see G.C.B. Davies. Men for the Ministry - the History of the London College of Divinity. 1963. pp 125-128.
[5] Carr Glyn was also a Moody supporter, and often appeared among platform parties at his meetings. see J.M. Recollections of Mr. D. L. Moody. 1874-1882. 1901. p 241. For more details on Carr Glyn (later Bishop of Peterborough) see profile in Home Words. 1882. p 134.
[6] E. Rowan. 1926. p 54.

Part of Carlile's work was responsibility for the spiritual welfare of the Guard at Kensington Palace, and, each Sunday morning he would march in procession with the soldiers to the 9.30 service at St. Paul's. This was, of course, a technique that he would later use with success in Church Army work, and it was here, too, that he adopted the attenuated form of matins and shortened sermon that were to be the hallmarks of mission-band meetings. In addition, he was Chaplain to the workhouse in Marloes Road; he held out-door services in the poorer areas of Kensington; and in co-operation with a Miss Catherine Gurney, he was involved in a work among local policemen that soon developed into the Christian Police Association.[1]

Dissatisfied with the attendance at evening service he held a series of schoolroom services after the normal service, aimed at the "unchurched".[2] These meetings attacted too much "respectable" interest at first, but the use of innovations such as the "magic lantern" soon discouraged the somewhat shocked orthodox church people, and attracted instead, "the careless, indifferent outsiders, to whom, he believed, his mission lay".[3] In order to reach this class, Carlile was prepared to sacrifice ecclesiastical nicety. Even his Sunday evening sermons were designed to attract the careless, and were somewhat less than conventional. His series at St. Paul's for Lent 1882 were advertised with the following titles:- " 5 March. The Wrong end of the Right Ladder.
12 March. A Voice from the Prison Cell.
19 March. A Mystery Unveiled.
26 March. The Summons to Surrender.
2 April. An Appalling Night Scene."[4]

[1] pp 54-58.

[2] For a personal recollection of Carlile as a Kensington curate, see Isabella M. Holmes to S. Dark. Oct. 8, 1943, in C.A.A.

[3] E. Rowan. 1926. p 60.

[4] St. Mary Abbots, Kensington Parish Magazine. March 1882. p 78.

In addition, he began unorthodox week-night meetings for "rough lads", again using slides to good effect. Another unconventional interpretation of his parochial duties was to lead almost directly into Church Army work, for in the early months of 1881 (?), he secured Dr. Glyn's permission to hold open-air services on week-nights. Carlile began these evening efforts, because, as he explained to Iremonger, "on Sunday mornings he (Carr Glyn)[sic] had the church full, and in the evenings I had it empty".[1] These services were held outside Kensington Vestry Hall between 9 and 10 p.m. Carlile elaborates; "This was the hour . . . and the place where numbers of coachmen, valets, grooms, and others took their evening stroll before returning to finish their duties, and in addition there were hundreds of casual passers-by".[2] The meetings borrowed much from the revivalism of Moody and William Booth. New converts were expected to contribute personal testimonies and participation was encouraged. Carlile describes the format:

"Then began what we now know as a Church Army meeting, conducted by myself in my cassock, in which it was felt that downright work was quite possible on strong and broad Church lines. The hymns and choruses were always very bright; the extempore prayers rarely exceeded one minute, and if they were longer, a verse of a hymn was usually begun; the addresses, which generally commenced or ended with some pointed passage of holy writ, scarcely ever lasted more than three or four minutes, and very often were much shorter. These addresses were almost invariably from the lips of tradesmen or working people, and sometimes fifty would take part in one evening. At the close I appealed to those who wished to decide for Christ to kneel at the old magistrate's table, so that our most experienced helpers could kneel beside them."[3]

[1] F.A. Iremonger. Men and Movements in the Church. 1928. p 105. Carlile was probably referring to W.E. Haigh rather than Carr Glyn, since Carlile does not appear to have preached regularly at St. Mary Abbots, but to have spent most of his time at St. Paul's, Vicarage Gardens, where Haigh conducted morning services.

[2] The Early Days of the Church Army. 1883-1888. 1891. p 8.

[3] Ibid.

In the archives of the Church Army there is preserved a copy of one of the handbills used to advertise these meetings, in this case at Easter, 1882. It gives a clear insight into the energy of Carlile and his helpers and some indication of the form and character of the services they held. It reads:-

" EASTER SUNDAY
Morning, early at 6
PRAISE OPEN MEETING
Rev. W. Carlile in the Chair
No Prayer, Praise, or Word to exceed One Minute.
No Scripture or Hymn more than one verse. Make an effort and get up.
Proceeding to the Holy Communion in Parish Church
6.45 (every other Sunday at 7 a.m.)

GOOD FRIDAY, 1882
Outside Vestry Hall
Long Open-Air Meeting
From 3 p.m. to 10 p.m.
Come and bring Friends to help sing and speak.

EASTER MONDAY
Kew Green near Garden Gate
Open-Air Meetings
12 to 2, and 4 to 6
Try and come, and bring a large Party.

Every night till further notice, outside Vestry Hall, Open-Air Meeting 8.30 except Sunday and Wednesday, then Open Meeting in Vestry Hall, 8.30."[1]

The future Chief Secretary of the Church Army requested assistance in this open air work from anyone who was willing to speak or sing, "however imperfectly"[2] and he formed these early workers into a band and began to send them into the, "one bad slummy corner left in Kensington in those days".[3] This was the "Potteries" in the northern part of the parish, and here were held the evangelistic meetings of the "Church Militant Mission" (known locally as "Carlile's Monkeys" or "Carlile's Lambs") that

[1] For another example, see C.T. 1882. p 687.
[2] Parish Magazine. May 1882. p 155. This is the earliest reference to the mission-band work I have found, although Rowan and others date the first meetings as 1881.
[3] Mrs. A.M. Burnett to S. Dark. Oct. 11, 1943. C.A.A.

formed the nucleus of the Church Army in West London. Salvationist techniques, familiar in London through the work of William Booth, were utilised by Carlile in an attempt to "go for the worst" (a phrase he often used to describe his evangelistic vocation). As in Oxford, the new methods (whether from novelty or because Carlile had touched the pulse of a latent working-class religiosity) met with considerable success in the form of increased numbers of communicants, and in order to accommodate, "the large increase in the number attending Holy Communion at [the] Church [St. Paul's]", it was deemed desirable to alter the service times.[1]

The processions and open-air meetings were often led by Carlile himself, who provided the musical accompaniment on a cornet which he played (badly we are told), while leading a march.[2] Church Army marches met with opposition in all parts of the country, and Kensington was no exception - Carlile was later badly hurt in one particular incident involving a member of the "Skeleton Army".[3] However the street disturbances in Kensington during 1882 were to lead, ironically, to a further consolidation of the mission-band work.

Carlile's vicar, Carr Glyn, was deluged with complaints from local publicans and shopkeepers anxious to continue their business without the ideological hindrances (temperance campaigning) and actual physical inconvenience of Church Militant Mission meetings. Representations were also made to the police, and Rowan informs us that Carr Glyn felt obliged to terminate

[1] Parish Magazine. May 1882. p 155.

[2] Carlile also used a trombone, which is preserved with pride in the Church Army Archives. This is another instance of "reference back" to the "early days".

[3] See below.

the meetings (in June 1883) before the forces of law and order decided to.[1] However, he was still disposed kindly towards Carlile and his work among the poorer sections of the community, and arranged for his curate to meet G.H. Wilkinson, then a parishioner[2] and the vicar of St. Peter's, Eaton Square (later Bishop of Truro) and W. Hay Aitken of the Church Parochial Missions Society (C.P.M.S.). Wilkinson, who has been described as, "the most prominent figure among the 'Catholic Evangelicals' of the second generation of the Oxford Movement",[3] was himself an exponent of open-air preaching and processions[4] - a combination that had persuaded the writer of a leader in The Times of February 2, 1874, to dub his parish as, "well-known for its High Church Methodism".[5] In addition, he was a member of the Convocational committee that had been appointed to study the Salvation Army, and thus was well-qualified to advise Carlile.[6] The outcome of this meeting was the recommendation that the mission-band work should if possible be continued and commenced in a more formal manner as a branch of the C.P.M.S.

[1] E. Rowan. 1926. pp 72-73.

[2] Parish Magazine. Feb. 1882. p 31. Wilkinson himself was a former curate in Kensington. The meeting is not recorded in his biography, Memoir of George Howard Wilkinson. 1909. 2 vols, by A.J. Mason.

[3] D. Voll. 1963. p 53.

[4] While Vicar of Bishop Auckland in 1864, Wilkinson began open-air services, proceeded by a procession led by Wilkinson in hood and surplice, and terminated with an invitation to evensong. He continued this technique at St. Peter's, Great Windmill St., and during the London missions of 1869 and 1874. D. Voll. 1963. pp 54-59.

[5] Ibid. p 70. The same point was made by the Standard in 1883. Wilkinson, ..."combined many of the best elements of Wesleyanism on the one side and High Churchmanship on the other"... Ibid. p 72.

[6] Ibid. p 53. Wilkinson appears to have been something of an "ecclesiastical troubleshooter", since he was frequently asked to mediate in quarrels over ritual.

The ensuing negotiations with the C.P.M.S. were complicated by an issue that became an essential feature of Church Army organisation - the insistence (by Carlile we are told by Rowan, although, given the influence of G.H. Wilkinson, one suspects that he, too, might take some, if not most, of the credit for the opinion) - that the work should not be the province of one particular Church party. (Carlile was, after all, only in the second year of his Anglican ministry, while Wilkinson was vicar of an important London parish; the examining chaplain to the Bishop of Truro and the future bishop there himself; and a man sure enough of his own vocation to have, in 1878, refused a suffragan bishopric in the diocese of London, and, in 1882, to have declined the invitation of the Bishop of Durham to become Canon Missioner).[1] This inclusive doctrinal stance was significant in the relationship between the Church Army and the parent body of the Church: the all-party base militated against the schismatic potential latent in the organisational form assumed by the mission-band work.

In 1882, the C.P.M.S. was predominantly Low Church-Evangelical in its emphasis, but Wilson Carlile insisted that the scope of mission-band work should not be limited by partisan loyalties. It was suggested that the C.P.M.S. committee be strengthened (and broadened doctrinally) by the inclusion of representatives from other Church parties. At first, this was resisted by the committee, and other alternatives were suggested by the interested parties;[2] but eventually Carlile's conditions were accepted and

[1] Ibid.

[2] One suggestion was that Carlile might become a paid C.P.M.S. Mission-preacher. Another (from Wilkinson) was that the Church Army might become a working brotherhood. Wilkinson's enthusiasm for communal life has been noted above. see S. Dark. 1944. pp 56-57.

George Body and L.E. Shelford were invited to become members of the committee. Carlile was re-assured that the principles of the Church Army should be, "as broad, as high, and as deep as the Church herself".[1]

Carlile left St. Mary Abbots when, in July 1882,[2] the Church Army was incorporated into the C.P.M.S. as a semi-independent section directed by a sub-committee of which he was honorary leader and Chief Secretary.[3] During the summer he also seems to have done some work for the Children's Special Services Mission.[4] Nevertheless, under the guidance of Carlile, the mission-bands in Oxford, Bristol and Richmond were amalgamated as branches of the London work. Carlile's aim was to establish mission-band work as a standard item in parochial machinery, and a number of working men were trained for this purpose.

At first it was difficult to find parishes willing to entertain sustained mission work of several weeks' duration - ten days was the accepted norm, although it was agreed that this type of work was useful, "to stir up those already affected by Church influences, yet . . . it was not sufficiently long to reach the lapsed masses of our parishes".[5] Interviewed in 1928 or so, Carlile recalled these early difficulties; "We had half a dozen of our men trained, and knocked at one vicarage door after another, where we were told we were not wanted, even if we found

[1] see R. Cholmely. Edward Clifford. 1907. pp 103-104. These views on party allegiance were duplicated by the founders of mission-band work in Bristol. Armstrong-Hall and Atherton were Evangelicals, but were known, ..."to fraternise pretty considerably with Dissenters"..., and also to have ritualistically-inclined friends. see C.T. 1883. p 347.

[2] Parish Magazine. July 1882. p 195.

[3] See announcement in C.T. 1882. p 618.

[4] Anonymous news-cutting describing a mission run by Carlile in Dawlish. C.A.A.

[5] Early Days of the Church Army. 1891. p 15.

the money to keep them". Only the Bishop of Oxford seems to have been friendly towards the work at this stage - apparently the normal clerical reaction was the "cold shoulder", and it appears that the problems of church party were the main difficulty: on one occasion F.S. Webster is reported to have suggested that a "Low" Church Army and a "High" Church Army might be necessary.[1]

However, Carlile conducted a series of parochial missions[2] of a few weeks' duration in Walworth, Tunbridge, Marylebone, and Bristol, and by the end of 1882, "Church Mission Armies" were also at work in Birmingham, Manchester, Barrow, and Kings Lynn.

The Walworth Mission was mentioned at the Church Congress held in Derby, in October 1882, when the Rev. R. Resker, Vicar of St. Mark's, Walworth, spoke on behalf of the Church Army mission that had recently commenced work in his parish.[3] Open-air services and parochial missions had been utilised before in efforts to reach the "great unwashed", but now Salvation Army competition provided the stimulus for further innovation and the introduction of mission-band methods to the Church. "Are we to sit still?", he asked, and "with folded arms contemplate the Salvation Army marching through our streets and sweeping them [those outside Anglican ministrations] into their barracks, without the Church putting forward a finger to draw them within her fold by similar means. I believe that the Church can do this work". He testified that the two-week-old mission, under Wilson Carlile, had "led to many coming into the services at the

[1] F.A. Iremonger. 1928. p 106.

[2] Hopkins, Webster, Armstrong-Hall, and Carlile, all undertook work for the C.P.M.S. see Y.B. 1883-1890. 'Chronological Record'

[3] C.C.R. 1882. pp 99-100.

Parochial Mission Hall who could never be got within the walls of the Church. It had already rescued many whom we have hitherto failed altogether to reach". The procedure began with a Church service for the mission workers (many of them working-men, but here including some Mildmay Park deaconesses),[1] and was followed by a procession (with a banner and hymns), the purpose of which was to invite people to the mission meeting. Often the testimony of a recent convert (frequently described as a former wife-beater and drunkard) was utilised in the meeting. Like the Salvation Army the Church Army was proud of the change effected in the lives of its members by a Christian conversion.

At the beginning of 1883, the goodwill of the vicar having been obtained, and with the help of volunteer working-men evangelists from Kensington, Oxford and Richmond,[2] it was decided to commence a campaign of one year's duration in the slums of Westminster. This was the start of the so-called "Westminster days" that represent the beginnings of Church Army operations in the guise that became the norm for much future activity. To publicise and to make arrangements for the permanent establishment of the work, a meeting was held at the Exeter Hall, London, in January.[3] Hay Aitken took the Chair and all the other principals in mission-band activity were present. The Church Army proper was in operation within the fold of the Church of England.

Mission-band activity had been introduced to the Church by a small group of Evangelically-minded clergy, who may be

[1] C.T. 1882. p 687. See also anonymous press-cutting (framed) in C.A.A.
[2] C.A.G. 1886. No 89.
[3] G. 1883. p 47.

characterised in Wach's terms as a "collegium pietatis". As Evangelicals they were relatively loosely bound to the traditional structure of Church ministrations, and demonstrated the Evangelical concern for reform that had been a characteristic of the party's emphasis throughout the century. Carlile, Hopkins, Webster, and the other leaders of the "Church Armies" were aware of Church failure to reach large sections of the population, and were willing to introduce reforms and innovations to remedy this. These innovations, like the reforms of the early decades of the century, were legitimated in the main by appeal to rational pragmatic criteria, although the example of the early Church was also seen as a justification for mission-band methods. The intention was to "save" the "heathen masses" and so realise established status as "church of the nation" in practice as well as in theory.

The members of this group held an inclusive view of the Church, and were willing to co-operate with other religious groups. Webster, Christopher and Carlile were closely associated with the Salvation Army. Carlile was involved in the inter-denominational mission of Moody and Sankey, and with Henry Drummond's work among young men. Hopkins was a leading figure in the inter-denominational Keswick Convention. All of the group were supporters of the temperance movement.

It is perhaps significant that two of the leading members of the group, Carlile and Hopkins, had not followed the traditional path of entry into the ministry. Both came to the Church after periods of employment in the outside world. Both had had definite "conversion experiences" - Hopkins in the 1859 "revival", and Carlile at the feet of his Brethren aunt. Both had done some revival preaching before being ordained, and both had had

experience of other religious groups. Their willingness to use new methods, especially techniques utilised successfully by other religious organisations, is symptomatic of their relatively low level of commitment to traditional patterns of ministration. In a sense Carlile and Hopkins can be seen as "under-socialised", and although both men, and especially Carlile, were "loyal Anglicans", nevertheless they were committed primarily not to the Church of England as an exclusive "church-type" of organisation, but to the Evangelical notion of a "church of God", dedicated to the conversion of the whole world. They were willing to use methods that occupied no formal place in the practices of the Church that they legitimated on the grounds of expediency, in order to approach this goal.

This small group of clergy was bound together by a network of social relationships that involved many cross-connections. Christopher (Webster's patron) had helped in Hopkins' preferment at Richmond. Hopkins was instrumental in Webster's conversion. Webster and Carlile were associated with Hopkins in the Richmond mission-band. Christopher and Hopkins were leading members of the Keswick Convention. They constituted a "ginger-group" within the Church, aware of Church failure to reach the working-classes, and willing to use Salvationist techniques to attempt to remedy this. Their willingness to innovate is demonstrated by previous use of parochial missions, lay-help, open-air services and involvement in other evangelistic efforts. The activities of this group precipitated the emergence of mission-band activities in Richmond, Kensington, Oxford and Bristol, and the eventual establishment of the Church Army, at first under the wing of the C.P.M.S. In this evangelistic work, the leaders of the Church Army sought to utilise a para-military style in their efforts to

achieve working-class conversions. Partly an imitation of the Salvation Army, but also a response to the widespread enthusiasm in the late nineteenth century for all things military, this use of the aggressive and sensational techniques of "salvation warfare" was an attempt to present Christianity to those outside normal ministrations in a style that (in the opinion of the leaders of the mission-bands) seemed attractive to this section of the population.

The association of militarism and Christianity in Victorian England

From the first, the leaders of the Church Army made use of military mission-band methods. The fact that such aggressive, "enthusiastic" methods could be countenanced as a part of Anglican parochial machinery was a radical change from what had been considered appropriate in the eighteenth century. The incorporation of the military model in evangelism was a sympton not only of the radical changes that had occurred in Anglican attitudes to the heathen at home, but was also an indication of a changed public attitude to all things military.

The conception of the Christian life as military service for Christ the King and of the individual Christian as a spiritual soldier occurs very early in Church history.[1] Although in part it may have been an inheritance from non-Christian sources,[2] the origins of this emphasis on the Christian life as a battlefield can be traced to St. Paul (especially the epistle to the Ephesians) and his stress on asceticism, training, and

[1] G. Bonner. The Warfare of Christ. Leighton Buzzard. 1962.
[2] The Roman Empire for instance.

the "Christian as athlete". The persecution, imprisonment and execution of Christians in the arena at the hands of gladiators and wild beasts fostered a situation in which it is not difficult to imagine how notions of martyrdom might sponsor ideals of training, bravery and duty among Christians. With the reduction of persecution, the martyrs were replaced as carriers of military imagery by the monks.[1]

The Church Army was one among a number of religious, recreational, and philanthropic voluntary associations that grew up in the late nineteenth century which adopted as a model for its activities the style, terminology, and organisation of the military. The attraction of the military style was merely one facet of the more general growth of militarism in late Victorian society, which in itself was related to the expansion of Empire, the growing self-image of many Englishmen as a successful military people, and the increasing identification of the nation with its military successes abroad. Anderson,[2] in her study of the militarism of the period, suggests that the broad process that occurred was first, the Christianisation of the British Army, and subsequently the adoption by Christian organisations, whether specifically Christian in themselves, or promoted in the general name and aim of Christianity, of the military model.

Anderson argues that, by 1858 or so, Christian virtues had become identified with military virtues. This association contrasted sharply with the public image of the British Army in the first half of the century when, in the public imagination, soldiers were equated more readily with rascals and thieves than

[1] G. Bonner. 1962. pp 36-64.

[2] O. Anderson. The growth of Christian militarism in mid-Victorian Britain. English Historical Review. 1971. pp 46-72.

with "soldier-saints". Anderson regards the years between 1854 and 1865 as especially important in this change of attitude. Events in the Crimea and the Indian Mutiny promoted public identification, not only with the aims of the Army as a whole, but also with the hardships of the individual soldier. Soldiers came to be seen as worthy recipients of aid, both material and spiritual, and religious societies and voluntary organisations arose to provide it. Evangelicals in particular came to see the Army as a worthwhile mission-field and organised shipments of Bibles and tracts to military units and supplied them with the services of missioners and chaplains. The mid and late-nineteenth century reservoir of middle and upper-middle class philanthropy was tapped and "slumming" the increasingly popular activity among middle-class "ladies" with a surfeit of spare time, found outlets abroad in such institutions as Army missions and nursing institutions which were two of the organisational forms taken by this new public identification with the Army.

Anderson sees the propaganda contained in the hagiographical literature inspired by the wars as particularly important in the diffusion, throughout society, of the belief that the virtues of a good Christian were synonymous with those of a good soldier.[1] By 1858, in many religious circles (especially those of the Evangelical Puritan type), it was felt that Christians made, not merely good soldiers, but the best soldiers.

This changed public opinion of the Army was facilitated by a change in the attitude of the military authorities. By 1858,

[1] Hedley Vicars, (1855), by Catherine Marsh; and the tale of Henry Havelock (hero of the Indian Mutiny) are accorded especial significance in this process. see pp 48-52. A sketch of Havelock's life was reprinted as an example to Church Army officers in the mission-band newspaper. see C.A.G. 1893. No 446.

it was Army policy, wherever practical, to provide denominational spiritual welfare services for the men. Full-time chaplains were commissioned in a denominational ratio that was intended to reflect the religious divisions that prevailed in the wider society.[1]

The Christianisation of the Army and the increasingly favourable public image of the military led to the imitation of the military model by the leaders of religious and other voluntary organisations. This was already true in the 'fifties when the first brass band was established at Black Dyke Mills in Queensberry. The brass-band was a clear sympton of public enthusiasm for military paraphernalia. Around this time there was also an influence from the United States; not only through the example of the Civil War, but also through the military imagery of American revivalism. Hymns such as 'Fight the Good Fight', 'Onward Christian Soldiers', and 'For all the Saints' manufactured religious capital from the revived emotional sentiment of a "Holy War".[2] The virtues of militarism were reinforced in the public eye by the Volunteer Movement.[3] Military organisation was already being exploited for religious evangelism and philanthropic purposes in the late 'fifties and the 'sixties. Imitation of military accoutrements and imagery became especially marked in the early 'eighties, a period that witnessed the establishment of the Salvation Army, the Church Army, and the Boys' Brigade. All these used military methods; with uniform, processions, and the paraphernalia of ranks, orders

[1] O. Anderson. 1971. pp 61-62.
[2] p 70.
[3] Ibid. see also G. Cousin. The Defenders. A History of the British Volunteers. 1968.

and discipline. Here too there was a significant American influence - Moody's evangelism (his first of a number of visits to England was in 1867) was vividly militaristic in vocabulary; while the hymns of Ira Sankey, for example, 'Hold the Fort, for I am Coming!', borrowed heavily from military terminology. The influence on Wilson Carlile of the 1875 Moody/Sankey campaign has been noted above.

The growth of the ideal of (so-called) "muscular Christianity" was no doubt an associated influence: Christianity was for men. David Newsome has documented how the mid-Victorian ideal of "godliness and good learning" taught by S.T. Coleridge and Thomas Arnold was, in the later Victorian period, gradually replaced by the "godliness and manliness" ideal sponsored, among others, by Thomas Hughes and Charles Kingsley. In a series of case studies, Newsome examined a change of spirit between the mid and late-Victorian period through which, "moral earnestness became 'theumos' - the hearty enjoyment of physical pursuits, the belief that manliness and high spirits are more becoming qualities in a boy than spiritual zeal".[1] "Manliness" was increasingly associated not with, "the fulfilment of one's potentialities in the living of a higher, better and more useful life" (Coleridge), but with, "robust energy, spiritual courage and physical vitality" (Kingsley).[2] The growth of "muscular" Christianity fostered the association of military virtues with Christian organisations.

[1] D. Newsome. Godliness and Good Learning. 1962. p 2. The case studies are 1) The ideal of "godliness and good learning" applied in schools. 2) James Prince Lee, headmaster, first Bishop of Manchester, and idealist in the tradition of Arnold. 3) A reconstruction of a schoolboy's life in this tradition (Martin Benson, eldest son of E.W. Benson). 4) The abandonment of the ideal of "godliness and good learning" and its replacement by "godliness and manliness".

[2] D. Newsome. 1961. pp 196-197. The first ideal is represented typically in S.T. Coleridge. Aids to Reflection in the Formation of a Manly Character. The second is exemplified in 'Westward Ho!

The growth of para-military organisations from the 1850's onwards was part of the increasing militarism of British society in general. In addition, the military style had considerable appeal - it was useful in attracting recruits. Anderson attributes the adoption of military methods by the leaders of the Salvation Army partly to desire, on the part of William Booth, to capitalise on the Russo-Turkish War and the spirit of Jingoism prevalent in the 'eighties, and one contemporary criticism of the Salvationist movement was that it was merely "religious jingoism".[2]

The leaders of the Church Army recognised the attraction of the military style to the classes to whom they directed their evangelising efforts. They sought to create, from among the ranks of the working class, first, converts and soldiers, and second, confirmed and communicant Anglicans. In a sense (given the affinity of late nineteenth century religious organisations for hierarchical disciplining movements) military organisation was almost "ready-made" for their purposes. The new converts had to be welded into some sort of organisation, and it was already clear that they might not be so readily placed in existing churches, where their self-consciousness alone might be enough to make them uncomfortable, and where there was no certainty of a warm reception from existing members. If they were to be sustained in the faith, the obvious community was one recruited in the same way. In 1886, Carlile described the Church Army as "a sort of club where he [the convert] would receive

and 'Tom Brown's Schooldays' by Charles Kingsley and T. Hughes. The contrast found human expression in the difference between Prince Lee (first Bishop of Manchester - "godliness and good learning") and James Fraser (second Bishop of Manchester (1870) - "godliness and manliness"). Fraser was once referred to as "Tom Brown in lawn sleeves", see J. Diggle. The Lancashire Life of Bishop Fraser. 1889. p 9, quoted by Newsome.

[2] G. 1883. p 213.

friendly and sympathetic treatment".[1] Since, at first, the anticipated recruits were principally men, and since they were men of the lower classes, recruited at the beginning in large part by men of the middle classes, the parallels with the military were already self-evident. Once adopted the military style must have seemed an almost natural basis of order for the movement. It was, after all, the one large scale organisation which was single-sex, voluntarily joined, mobilised for action, and dependent on the maintenance of esprit de corps. Clearly, other possibilities of organisation were too significantly sect-like, and the Church Army was not a separated, protest group. The idea of a corps attached as a special arm of the Church was analogous to the army attached as a special arm of the state and the nation. On almost every count, the military model was in itself highly accommodative to the purposes of Wilson Carlile, and to the psychological and social aspirations and motivations of those whom he and his associates converted.

A Theoretical Outline

In his study of sects, Wilson has noted the problems encountered by institutions in maintaining their original value orientations in the face of a changing social situation. He has been concerned with the extent to which the original values and norms, and the relative organisational forms, of distinctive types of sect, may or may not be subject to a process of dilution. Some sociologists of religion have noted the general tendency for sect-type organisations to lose their pristine character and

[1] Report of London Diocesan Conference in G. 1886. p 377.

become denominationalised,[1] but other work has demonstrated the enduring character of some sectarian bodies.[2] Certain elements in the make-up of sectarian organisations may either militate against, or engender, this process of attenuation in the face of changing social circumstances. These include: the conditions in which a sect may emerge; the internal structure and coherence of sect values and organisation; the degree of separateness from the outside world; and the nexus of group commitments and relationships.[3]

It has been demonstrated that the emergence of Anglican mission-band activity during 1881 and 1882 was the result of the innovatory efforts of a small group of evangelically-minded clergy. The example of the Salvation Army was significant in this, in that it provided both a model for imitation, and a stimulus to action. The relatively loose normative order of the Church facilitated the growth of mission-band activity, allowing "Church Armies" to be established in an "ad hoc" manner and to reach relative institutional maturity before being subject to episcopal scrutiny. The Church Army was not fully discussed at the highest levels of the Anglican hierarchy until 1885.

In an early formulation, Wilson developed a typology of sects based on the type of mission implicit in the doctrinal and ideological stance of the sect, which constitutes its response to the world. He distinguished four main sub-types of sect.

[1] See H.R. Niebuhr. The Social Sources of Denominalisation. New York. 1929. Liston Pope. Millhands and Preachers. New Haven. 1942.

[2] J.M. Yinger. Religion in the Struggle for Power. Durham. 1946; and Religion, Society and the Individual. New York. 1957.

[3] See B.R. Wilson. An Analysis of Sect Development, pp 22-23, in Patterns of Sectarianism. 1967. The article is a modified version of one that appeared in American Sociological Review. 24, No 1. February 1959.

Adventist; which "predict drastic alteration of the world, and which seek to prepare for the new dispensation - a pessimistic determinism", Introversionist sects, which "reject the world's values and replace them with higher values, for the realisation of which inner resources are cultivated", Gnostic sects, which "accept in large measure the world's goals but seek a new and esoteric means to achieve these ends"; Conversionist sects, which "seek to alter men, and thereby to alter the world".[1] The characterisation of the fourth type can be combined with the earlier typification of the sect per se, to produce the following propositions, which adumbrate the main characteristics of the conversionist sect, and which demonstrate, in outline, the main similarities and dissimilarities between this model and the organisational form initially assumed in Anglican mission-band activity.

Although the Church Army does not fit neatly into any of the standard categories of sect or cult, nevertheless, and especially in its early stages, the ideology and organisational style of the mission-band were sufficiently similar to other groups that do fit into this classification (notably the Salvation Army), to invite comparison.

The Church Army was clearly never a sect: its fundamental commitment to Anglicanism makes this clear. But it was a very special agency, which began in something like the circumstances of a sect. It was influenced by external and sectarian or near-sectarian styles and activities. Its ideology was initially very much confined to its own specific sphere of operations, and the connection with the Church was sometimes a background matter.

[1] See B.R. Wilson. An Analysis of Sect Development. 1967. pp 23-29.

The idea of recruiting for Christ - a common - apparently ecumenical - goal of many conversionist sects was, to a certain extent, a stronger impulse than merely recruiting for the Church of England. If all this is taken into account, there is perhaps some point in using the ideal typification of the sect as a heuristic measuring rod to throw into bolder relief the points at which the Church Army converged with and diverged from, a sectarian position.

The conversionist sect. Five propositions.

1. The conversionist sect is a voluntary association the teaching and activity of which centres on evangelism.

In pristine form, the Church Army was an organisation in which considerable emphasis was placed on evangelistic activity. Although this evangelism was conducted within the fold of the established church, which itself demonstrated less exacting conditions of membership, the work of the Church Army placed emphasis on conscious adult choice as a basis for membership. A rejection of the notion (implied in the idea of birthright membership) that the working classes were residual Anglicans was implicit in Church Army evangelism among the masses. To the extent that the Church Army wished to create Anglicans, it was a voluntary association. The Church Army, and its leaders (especially Wilson Carlile) did place emphasis on Anglican teachings, in addition to, and following from, the evangelism and the experience of conversion. As part of the Church of England, great importance was given to uniquely Anglican doctrines and services:- knowledge of the Prayer book and attendance at the service of Holy Communion were seen as particularly desirable items for the attention of Church Army soldiers. The stress

on Anglican doctrine played a key role in the mission-band's continuing membership of the established church.

2. Membership of the sect is by proof of a claim to personal merit. Conversion experience and the acceptance of Jesus as a personal saviour is the test of admission to the fellowship; extreme emphasis is given to individual guilt for sin and the need to obtain redemption through Christ. However, despite the theoretical limit on the number who might gain salvation, the conversionist sect precludes no-one and revivalist techniques are employed in evangelism.

Church Army recruits were required to have undergone a definite conversionist experience, and, at times during the early stages of the mission-band, this seems to have been a sufficient criterion for "soldier status" - the achievement of which was symbolised by the reception of the "red cord". However, the leaders of the Church Army wished not merely to gain converts for the mission-band, but also to recruit members for the Church of England. From the first, attempts were made to make "Churchmen" of converts. Paradoxically, because of the fundamental-revivalist stance adopted in the work, membership of the mission-band implied rather more to the individual soldier in terms of commitment and performance, than being a "churchman" implied for the average parishioner-Anglican, in that Church Army members were expected to have undergone the "virtuoso" (and sectarian in the Christian sense) experience of conversion. In addition, soldiers were expected to abstain from alcohol and tobacco, and they had to take an active role in evangelism, sometimes in situations where personal injury was a possibility. Lay participation and testimony were significant elements in Church Army proselytism.

Membership of the Army was hierarchical. The military guise implied that soldiers should be commanded by officers who, in turn, were controlled by Headquarters. Officer-candidates were required to demonstrate particular merit and to undertake special "training" and as the mission-band work became more extensive, and as increasingly more formal relations were established with the hierarchy of the Church, the length of this training became longer, and the contents of the course became more demanding.

There was sometimes confusion among both soldiers and clergy as to the relative significances of Church Army and Anglican membership. In addition, the Church Army recruits were not always well-received by the local parish congregations.

In 1882, Anglican mission-band work was revivalism, pure and simple; but with the growth of social welfare work from about 1887, the original evangelistic purity of Church Army goals was increasingly diluted. Although conversion was maintained as the most important goal of the society, nevertheless, the social work introduced an element of the "service agency" to the organisation of the Church Army and, as the welfare wing grew, contact without membership became an increasingly available option to the clientele of the mission-band. So it was that recipients of relief were not always willing candidates for the "red cord". To a certain extent, the development of welfare services attracted "rice-Christians". Moreover the continued growth of subsidiary activities such as the publication and sale of a newspaper; the raising of necessary finance; and the services that were essential to maintain an expanding bureaucratic administration; served to modify the membership criteria of the society. There came to exist a variety of options for association with the society - for example; as an "agent-friend" (who sold

Church Army Gazettes), or as a "Church Army Associate" (who promised to pray for the work and to provide a certain amount of financial assistance) - all of which required partial rather than total commitment from the participant. This was, of course, a development that tended to attenuate the quasi-sectarian format of the mission band.

3. The sect conceives of itself as an elect, a gathered remnant possessing special enlightenment. Exclusiveness is emphasised, and expulsion exercised against those who contravene doctrinal, moral or organisational precepts.

Not only did the para-military guise assumed in Church Army work emphasise the exclusive nature of "soldier status", but the uniform and the "red cord" of membership differentiated the Church Army recruit from his fellows. The street processions, the music, the open-air meeting, and the stress on the importance of personal testimony, were important boundary-maintaining devices, in that they demonstrated, both to the convert and to his former colleagues, that, as a Church Army soldier, the recruit's life had changed in the social sphere as well as in the spiritual dimension. Conversion and recruitment presented the recruit with a new set of obligatory social rules and proscriptions as well as the Scriptual "cleansed heart" of a penitent: the consequences of salvation were social and spiritual Failure to observe the proscription of alcohol and tobacco; a lapse in attendance at meetings; or a reluctance to testify to salvation - might all result in expulsion, and errors of this nature were known, institutionally, as "backsliding". However, although there are some examples of expulsion of officers for breaking Church Army regulations about the expression of party

allegiances, voluntary withdrawal seems to have been a more common method of departure from the mission-band than forced expulsion, and, like most revivalist organisations, it would appear that the Church Army experienced a high turnover of membership of both soldiers and officers.

The exclusive, coherent, military format adopted by the Church Army was potentially schismatic. In doctrine and evangelistic technique, it was a latently separate, and independent entity, but it was bound to the hierarchy of the Church by the insistence of its leaders on continuing Anglican status. The growth of social welfare work; increasing centralisation; and the development of a closer rapport with the Church, served, with other factors, to reduce this schismatic potential.

4. The sect accepts, at least as an ideal, the priesthood of all believers; there is opportunity for the member spontaneously to express his commitment.

Lay participation and the spontaneous expression of commitment were key features in Church Army work and members of the "working man's mission to working men" were encouraged, often obliged, to take an active part in evangelistic work. However, the testimony and "free spontaneous expression" were subject to certain social controls, the extent of which increased with time. Charges of sensationalism and over-emotionalism were levied against the Church Army as well as the Salvation Army. Spontaneous testimony and the priesthood of all believers were potentially dangerous ideas, since they might promote doctrinal and practical aberrations.

Despite this emphasis on lay-participation, the Church Army operated only with the consent of the local incumbent and the

permission of the diocesan bishop. They determined in what form Church Army operations might take place. Captains were trained to use certain techniques, but whether these were actually implemented depended, to a great extent, upon the local incumbent. In view of this, clerical co-operation was most important in Church Army "success" or "failure".

Thus the Church Army was linked to the authority of the Church and its internal structure of military control was complemented (at times overridden) by the traditional hierarchical order of the Church as a whole. The dual character of authority and control was occasionally a source of conflict as, for example, when uncertainty occurred about whether the local incumbent or Church Army headquarters was in charge of and responsible for the Church Army captain?

5. The sect is distrustful of, or indifferent towards, the denominations and churches, which they saw as at best diluting, and at worst betraying, Christianity. This type of sect is typified by extreme bibliotary: the Bible is taken as the only guide to salvation and is accepted as literally true. It is hostile to clerical learning and especially to modernism; it is opposed to modern science, particularly to geology and to evolutionary theories; it disdains culture and the artistic values accepted in the wider society.

Members of the Church Army would not be expected to show hostility towards the Church of England - this was axiomatic to the mission-band's position as an agency within the established church. It cannot however be said that the relations of captains and clergy were without difficulty. The presence of a captain might, in certain instances, undermine the authority of the local incumbent and, given this, actual hostility was a possibility.

This "collegium pietatis" within the Church of Church Army leaders took great care to make the Church Army a "non-party" organisation, in the hope that the methods of the Army might be utilised by High, Low, and Broad churchmen alike, but as in any revivalist group, great emphasis was placed on the Bible as a source of inspiration, even though Anglican loyalties involved the additional authority of the Prayer Book and, in this sense, Church Army recruits were both converted and "Churched".

Despite the Army's declared intention of remaining neutral on controversial party issues, nevertheless Wilson Carlile declared himself hostile to excessive theological training for his evangelists. In his opinion, the niceties of party allegiance and the subtleties of modern biblical criticism were not the concern of his officers. Their task was evangelism - the saving of working-class "souls"; and this did not, in his opinion, require a degree in divinity of a knowledge of Greek. To this extent, the Church Army was opposed to elevated standards of theological education and clerical learning. In addition their fundamentalist earnestness about the importance of salvation often appeared to imply a rejection of the cultural and artistic values of the wider society. The conversionist stance devalued not only the importance of Anglican theology but also fostered a willingness to cooperate with other like-minded religious organisations. This led some churchmen to complain that many Church Army captains knew more of Dissent than they did of Anglicanism.

The latent schismatic potential of the Church Army is highlighted by the extent to which certain resemblances of structure, doctrine, and organisational form can be demonstrated between this model of a conversionist sect and the organisational form

of Anglican mission-band activity. By the same token, the comparison illuminates the unique nature of authority relations and doctrinal emphases, implicit in the position of the Church Army as a society within the fold of the Church of England. These peculiar features of Church Army doctrine and authority relations militated against the schismatic potential latent in the revivalist format and military style of mission-band activities. In addition, and again unlike the Salvation Army, the Church Army was sensitive to ecclesiastical comment, and clerical criticism led to certain adjustments of Church Army methods and techniques that served to dilute the latent "sectarianism" of the organisation.

In his study of the Salvation Army, Roland Robertson[1] has tried to account for the persistence of the sect-type of organisation. Drawing on the insights of Smelser, Yinger and Pfautz,[2] he has argued that the Salvation Army was the object of a process of terminal institutionalisation, whereby it became a stabilised established sect. He argues that, in the growth and development of the Salvation Army, it is possible to distinguish several phases, which he describes in the following way:

1. The incipient phase. This was the period 1865 to 1878, when William Booth was involved in evangelistic work in the East End of London. Up to 1878, the movement was known as the Christian Revival Association.

[1] Roland Robertson. The Salvation Army: The Persistence of Sectarianism, in B.R. Wilson (ed). 1967. pp 49-105.

[2] N.J. Smelser. Theory of Collective Behaviour. 1962. J.M. Yinger. Religion, Society and the Individual. New York. 1957. W. Pfautz. The Sociology of Secularisation: Religious Groups, American Journal of Sociology, 61, September 1955. pp 121-128. op cit. Robertson. pp 49-50.

2. The phase of enthusiastic mobilisation. This expression describes the period from the institution of the Christian Mission in 1878 until the "social wing" of the Salvation Army was formally adopted in 1890 with the publication of "In Darkest England".

3. The period of organisation. This describes the years from the early 1890's to the early 1930's, during which routinisation and formalisation occurred, and certain "aberrations" such as faith-healing and millennialism were excluded. A more flexible system of social teaching was developed.

4. The most recent phase distinguished is that from the 1930's to the present, during which a process of "terminal institutionalisation" has taken place. Robertson posits that during this period the Salvation Army became an "established sect".

This analysis is heuristically useful in considering the Church Army. The growth of mission-band activity in the Church of England exhibited a somewhat similar pattern, although the time scale was much reduced, and the "terminal institutionalisation" process occurred in a much modified form.

In the case of the Church Army, the years 1881 and 1882 may be regarded as an incipient phase, when mission-bands grew up in a number of separate parishes. In 1882-3, the work of these separate groups was united under the title of the Church Army within the auspices of the Church Parochial Missions Society. The Church Army remained under the patronage of this society until 1885, when it was established as a separate organisation within the structure of the Church of England. The years 1883 to 1889 witnessed rapid development of Church Army methods and organisation, including the military format, and the growth of a

centralised, increasingly bureaucratic hierarchy of control. 1883 to 1885 may be characterised loosely as a phase of enthusiastic mobilisation, while the years 1885 to 1889 may be termed a period of organisation. In the case of the Church Army, the processes of routinisation and domestication were, however, in operation towards the end of the phase of enthusiastic mobilisation as the mission-band became increasingly accommodated to the hierarchy of the Church.

Robertson argues that certain factors within the Salvation Army facilitated a process of "terminal institutionalisation" whereby the Army became a stabilised "established sect". In this process the maintenance of the organisation qua organisation became a recognisable goal, especially among the leadership. Other important factors included the military structure, the institutionalised pragmatic interpretation of doctrine and teaching, and the social welfare services of the Army.

Despite the similarity of many characteristics to those of a conversionist quasi-sect, especially in the early stages of its development, the Church Army differs significantly from the Salvation Army simply by virtue of its continued position as an arm of the Church of England. This was always an integral feature of its organisation. In the case of the Church Army, the original evangelistic intentions were increasingly augmented and supplemented, from 1887 or so, by the growth of social welfare services which had the latent function of "domesticating" the "heroic", potentially schismatic "pocket of sectarianism" to a social work agency with evangelistic principles. Certain elements of Church Army organisation fostered a process of accommodation both to the wider society, and to the parent body of the Church and, over time, the sectarian characteristics of

the Army were increasingly modified. In this process a significant factor was the "lines of control" mediating between the Church Army and the authority structure of the Church of England. The exigencies of the evangelistic situation and of developments within the Church Army itself, (especially the growth of an increasingly centralised bureaucratic structure), also facilitated the trend by which the Church Army increasingly became a social work agency. The years from 1889 onwards witnessed the continued growth of Church Army activity and organisation, with diversification into increasingly varied areas of evangelism, but, more significantly, into a rapidly expanding field of social relief work. It will be argued that the characterisation of the Church Army as a pocket of sectarianism within the Church, although illuminating in the early years (especially until 1885) is less heuristically useful from 1889 onwards. From that time, the Church Army was fully accommodated to the Anglican hierarchy and may be characterised more usefully as an order or agency within the Church.

In its early development, with significant exceptions, the Church Army may be usefully characterised (for the purposes of exposition), as a conversionist quasi-sect, and from 1882 onwards many sectarian characteristics may be distinguished in Church Army organisation. However, the peculiar authority structure of the Church Army; certain elements in its doctrinal emphasis; and the exigencies encountered in evangelism engendered a process of domestication in which the latent and potential sectarianism of the organisation became increasingly muted.

And yet, despite the domestication of potentially schismatic sectarian characteristics, the Church Army retained much of its distinct organisational form - notably the military guise, and a

cohesive system of internal authority. To this extent Anglican mission-band activity was subject to the same process of institutionalisation described by Robertson with reference to the Salvation Army.

With this theoretical perspective in mind, the main features of Church Army activity will be examined, using Robertson's "phases" as a vehicle for exposition.

CHAPTER VII

The Church Army. 1883-1885. Evangelism and Anglicanism

In 1883, Anglican mission-band activity was centralised and placed under the jurisdiction of the Church Parochial Missions Society and towards the end of that year Wilson Carlile announced that the Church Army had thirty-nine stations.[1] Leaders of independent mission-bands were urged to affiliate their organisations to Headquarters: "Unity is strength", declared the Battleaxe in October 1883, "even in Christian work. The local corps, of course, remains as before, solely under the Vicar's command; but it is found that there are many ways in which Headquarters can assist in developing the spirit of Christian heroism which is necessary for success".[2] By June 1884, fifty-nine stations had been founded, of which fifty were still "active". Of these six were in London; four each in Manchester; in Birmingham, and in Barrow; and there were two in both Oxford and Tipton. Thirty-nine Church Army officers had been trained.[3] The Annual Report for 1885 listed sixty-five full-time officer-evangelists and estimated the membership of the Army at six thousand "soldiers".[4] In 1885, the Church Army was separated from the C.P.M.S. and became an independent agency, and by the end of that year, there were Church Army stations in the United States, a Church Army Committee had been established in Australia,[5] and requests for officers had been received from Canada and India.[6]

[1] C.C.R. 1883. p.132. [2] B. 1883. No.7.
[3] Report of Church Army Annual Meeting, in B. 1884. No. 24.
[4] C.A.A.R. "Doings in 1885". p.63. [5] B. 1885. No.65
[6] B. 1885. No.49.

Between 1883 and 1885, which has been characterised below as a phase of "enthusiastic mobilisation", certain methods and sets of procedures were developed in Church Army work. These were influenced both by the physical context of the evangelism (the mission-field) and by the reaction, on the part of the Church authorities themselves, to the techniques used in the work. The development of the Church Army was influenced throughout by the exigencies of the evangelistic situation and by the doctrinal and practical constraints imposed on it by the organisational and ideological structure of the Church of England. In formulating a regular method of working the leaders of the Church Army had to consider both the (imputed) needs of their selected clientele (the "masses") and the wishes and sensibilities of their earthly masters (the bishops and clergy of the Church).

The Evangelistic Approach

As Evangelicals, the leaders of the Church Army believed in the necessity of conversion. An enrolled member of the Church Army had to be able to "testify clearly to a sense of acceptance with God".[1] The revivalist methods used by the mission-band were a direct consequence of this belief. The Church Army sought to confront its clientele with an awareness of "sin" and with the belief in the necessity for repentance and a changed life. The organisers of the mission-band had

[1] Church Army Series No 1. Conditions of Membership by E.H.H. (Evan Henry Hopkins) 1885? An enrolled member of the Church Army was: ..."a) One who is able to testify clearly to a sense of acceptance with God. b) And who shows the reality of conversion by a consistent walk. c) And is a Church Communicant."

a clear idea of the methods that they felt might be successful in achieving this goal of working-class conversions.[1] Anything different or novel might be tried in the search for success: the circumstances of working-class indifference to religion justified experimentation. They entertained a number of implicit assumptions about the religious nature and religiosity of the working classes, based on further assumptions about working-class culture. They believed that working-class culture lacked refinement - that it was more emotional, ruder, more vociferous and sensual than that of other classes. Hence, if the message of organised Christianity was to reach them, it would do so only by methods appropriate to the cultural atmosphere: an attempt must be made to recreate the mood of the pub and the penny gaff. Excitement, sensationalism, and, perhaps most of all, noise, were appropriate (and perhaps even necessary) for a successful evangelisation of the working classes. "If the peal of the church-bell has no voice for the sinner, the procession with drum and banner may stir his dull senses",[2] and the leaders

[1] see What is the Church Army? by E.H.H. 1883. The aims were: ..."The Conversion of souls from sin unto God; aiming especially at reaching those classes who are never seen in any place of worship, and who show by their lives that they are living 'without God in the world'"... The idea that the target for Church Army evangelism ought to be the "worst" became an established principle, and, like the military nomenclature, is part of the present-day society e.g., in 1977, one Church Army sister attached to an area health authority described her ministry ..."as following Wilson Carlile's dictum - 'go for the worst'"... see Church Army Review, Autumn 1977, p 7.

[2] J.H. Wilson, speaking in favour of the Church Army, at Oxford Diocesan Conference, 1885, p 57.

of the mission-band would probably have agreed with William Boyd Carpenter, another supporter of emotionalism in evangelism when he stated (rather uncharitably):- "Unintelligent people only begin to think when their brains are stirred through emotion".[1]

The main thrust of nineteenth century moral reform may be seen as an attempt to impose the values of "respectability" on working-class culture - in their different ways, temperance campaigners, Sabbatarians, and the anti-cruelty societies all wished to discipline the "emotion" and "vitality" of traditional working-class pursuits.[2] The Church Army sought to harness rather than to inhibit these dispositions, and to turn them to ecclesiastical advantage. Sensationalist methods were deliberately employed as a counter-attraction: religion was presented to the urban poor in the (imputed) language and style of their cultural milieu, and in the kind of setting where, unlike the church or the chapel, it was hoped that working people might feel at home.

Despite the attempt to meet their potential clientele on their own ground, the Church Army - and indeed the Salvation Army - were committed to a type of "moral imperialism"[3] in

[1] quoted by H.D.A. Major, The Life and Letters of William Boyd Carpenter, 1925, p 229.

[2] see for example, B.H. Harrison, Religion and Recreation in Nineteenth Century England. Past and Present. No 38, December 1967; and R.W. Malcolmson, Popular Recreations in English Society. 1700-1850. Cambridge. 1973.

[3] V. Bailey. 1975. p 148.

seeking to induce working people to accept their "respectable" values. Inevitably some conflict of values became apparent when lower middle class Salvationists, and when the Church Army, with its upper and middle class clerical and lay patrons sought to invade the rougher working-class districts. Both were attacking the institutions of working-class life - the pub, and the music hall, the gambling and the spontaneous boisterous recreations, and in consequence they were occasionally subject to mobbing.

The Church Army took up techniques employed contemporaneously by the Salvation Army who had introduced the Hallelujah bands and whose methods had been sensationalism since the late 1860's, but they also invoked Primitive Methodism, and even Wesley and Whitefield as precursors in the introduction of "rough and ready" methods. The eventually schismatic course of Methodism was used to draw a cautionary comparison for those churchmen who were felt to be too ready to criticise mission-band activity.[1] The Church Army even sought legitimation from the early Church. Wilson Carlile believed that he and his supporters were attempting to make the Church of England revert more fully to the form of the Church in the days of "apostolic zeal",[2] and it was in this sense that their movement was one of reformation and revitalisation for Anglicanism.

[1] C.C.R. 1884 pp 261-262. C.T. 1884 p 808. C. of Y. 1885 p 23. B. 1883 No 5. The defenders of the Church Army were fond of citing Macaulay as evidence of the mistaken attitude to enthusiasm normally adopted by the Anglican Church. see T.B. Macaulay, Ranke's History of the Popes, esp. pp 43-47, in Nineteenth Century Essays, Cambridge, 1912 pp 15-58.

[2] B. 1884 No 36.

The Church Army was not an organisation "of" the working-classes - it was not the result of a need felt by the working-class or a spontaneous revival in religious life. Rather it was imposed from "above" by a group of churchmen who offered a type of religion to which they believed the working-classes might be particularly sensitive.[1]

The Church Army and Salvation Army were unusual among the mainstream of late-nineteenth century moral campaigners in that both movements attempted to reach like with like. Their leaders believed in the effectiveness of lay ministration, and especially in the power of the preaching of working-men evangelists. To use terminology developed in the foreign mission field, both organisations believed in the use of the "native agency". In the opinion of Wilson Carlile, the Church of England might be characterised as an army, "in which the officers do all the fighting, and the army sits down and puts threepenny bits into the plate".[2] Carlile sought to find a place in church life for men like "the preaching shoe-maker" who appeared in an illustration on the front page of the Battleaxe for January 1884, with a caption that read, "he ought

[1] In Religion and Voluntary Organisations in Crisis, 1976, S. Yeo draws this distinction between organisations provided "for" the working class, and those "of" the working class. He also points out the more facilities that religious leaders and others provided, then ..."the more working people would be seen in distorted ways, refracted through the disappointed expectations of the providers."... In The Making of the English Working Class, Pelican edition, 1968, p 41, E.P. Thompson characterises Primitive Methodism as a religion "of" the poor, while orthodox religion is "for" them.

[2] S. Dark. Wilson Carlile. The Laughing Cavalier of Christ, 1944 p 89.

to be a parson".[1] The leader of the Church Army wished to incorporate lay-help at every opportunity and for this the para-military style seemed especially well-suited. It was perhaps in the techniques used in evangelism that the Church Army most resembled a quasi-sect. The military hierarchic structure of authority in the organisation was, in potential at least, a separate and autonomous unit. It is not surprising that the para-military methods caused uneasiness among a great number of churchmen.

Para-military Revivalism

We have already seen that revivalism had acquired a pseudo-military style and that military imagery had become popular by the 1880's. Wilson Carlile was himself an enthusiast for all things military - in his first curacy in Kensington a favourite part of his duties was the work among soldiers who constituted the Guard at Kensington Palace, and he was not without a certain "military" bearing himself - in later life Arnold Bennett described the Chief Secretary of the Church Army as, "a retired colonel who had dressed by mistake in clerical raiment",[2] and, in 1901, the British Monthly dubbed him, "the Church's Lord Kitchener".[3]

[1] B. 1884 No 13.

[2] Arnold Bennett, "Diversion on the Riviera (A Reminiscence)." From The New Age n.d. C.A.A. Clippings.

[3] British Monthly. July 1901 p 411.

Early in 1883, a Church Army procession was led by a man with a red banner, and the hall where the ensuing meeting took place was "gaily decorated with Union Jack flags, texts of Scripture, and religious mottoes".[1] Commenting on behalf of the activities of the St. Benet's (Stepney) Church Army, in a letter to the Church Times early in 1883, the Rev. Osborne Jay observed that it used "flags and drums and trumpets", and (it)

> "apparently attracts and holds as nothing else could, the dwellers in these dull, dull streets. The hall on the Mile End Road is crowded; and all who join are communicants, and the church has never been so full as since the foundation of the Army. The tambourines, the big drum, and the cornet-a-piston, are not the essentials of religion; but are they in themselves inherently evil? Military methods made the system and success of Ignatius Loyola; why should they not cause the recognition of the Church Army, as at any time our means of fighting the Church's battle and bringing souls to God!"[2]

The work of the Church Army was pervaded by military imagery and nomenclature. The streets were a mission "field", the evangelism a "battle" with "sin and Satan". "Orders" came from "Headquarters", prayers were "knee-drill", Bible-reading was "sword exercise",[3] and even the instruction given in Anglican doctrine to soldiers was described as "Prayer-book drill".[4] Sometimes during a "march", passers-by were invited to "fall-in", while a report of the work in Manchester that appeared in the Battleaxe in 1883 began, "War is still raging in St. James's, Collyhurst".[5] Wilson Carlile was referred to as the "Chief". "Officer-cadets" were "recruited" for

[1] G. 1883 p 47. [2] C.T. 1883 p 27. [3] B. 1884 No 13.
[4] C.A.A.R. "Doings in 1885" p 27. [5] B. 1883 No 7.

"training" and became "captains". Correspondence between members was signed, "Yours in the fight",[1] and, "Yours in the Holy War".[2]

Given this adoption of military style and the use of aggressive campaigning, it is not surprising that the arrival of a mission-band procession, or the setting up of a parish station, often provoked a local response. In common with Methodists in the eighteenth century,[3] the Boys Brigade,[4] and the Salvation Army, the Church Army workers were sometimes attacked in the streets. Whether it was a consequence of indigenous working-class reaction to the "moral imperialism" of the mission society, the product of a working class resistance to any form of organised militarism because of its association with army recruitment,[5] or a result of hired troublemakers attempting to protect the interests of brewers, publicans, or communities dependent on tourism for their livelihood,[6] the meetings often took place against a background of hostility. In Oxford, the meetings were opposed by a rival "Yellow Ribbon Army" and throughout the country by an organisation that called itself the "Skeleton Army". Both were secular parodies of Salvationist and Blue Ribbon (temperance) mission-bands, and, perhaps because some sections of the magistracy sympathised with their intention of driving the Salvationists from the

1 B. 1884. No 14. 2 B. 1884. No 15.

3 J. Walsh, Methodism and the Mob in the eighteenth century, in G.J. Cuming (ed.) Studies in Church History, Vol. viii. Cambridge, 1972.

4 see J.O. Springhall, The Boy Scouts, Class and Militarism in Relation to British Youth Movements, 1908-1930, in International Review of Social History. Vol XVI, 1971, p 130.

5 Ibid. p 141.

6 V. Bailey, 1975 pp 134-173. For the suggestion that publicans were behind the Skeletons see George Lansbury. My Life. 1928. p 84.

streets, Salvationist marches were often banned[1] (perhaps to prevent trouble), and, especially in the South of England, the Skeletons seem to have received certain protection, or, at least, "laisser-faire" from the courts and the police, both of which might have been influenced by the social consensus of opinion about Salvationist methods.[2] Red ochre, soot, and stones were often thrown at the captains and soldiers, and these attacks occasionally resulted in serious injury - for example, in 1883, Carlile himself was forced "out of the fight" for six months after being set upon by an assailant with a grudge against the leader of the Church Army.[3]

The persecution of Church Army workers did, however, show that the meetings were "noticed" and thus justified the "battle terminology" used in evangelism: the presence of a physical enemy gave additional credence to the notion of a "Holy War". Moreover, the persecution became part of the received history of the society: the so-called "Westminster days" (a period of frequent assaults) were referred to with pride, bolstering group identity and perhaps affording legitimation for the quasi-military style of the movement.

The military terminology was even extended to the use of new converts in evangelism (sometimes referred to as "skirmishing work"),[4] and testimony was considered to be, "firing straight into the ranks of the enemy".[5] In 1884, Carlile advised the

[1] e.g. in Oxford. see S. Alexander. St. Giles' Fair. 1830-1914. Oxford. 1970.
[2] V. Bailey. 1975. p 166.
[3] For a colourful account of this incident see E.R. Rowan. 1928. pp 94-99.
[4] B. 1883. No 2. [5] B. 1884. No 13.

Church Congress at Carlisle that, "one of the best sequels to a mission is not to spike one's conquered guns, but to turn them on the enemy, using a systematic way of developing the power of those laity duly fired by the Holy Spirit through the agency of the late mission".[1] As in the Salvation Army, even death was seen as an event with military significance. It was not merely the end of earthly life, but a "promotion to glory".[2] The name of the mission-band newspaper, the Battleaxe, sustained the imagery, and the first issue, appearing in April 1883 and costing ½d., laboured the intended analogy in words which forsook no occasion to elaborate the imagery. Thus in the first issue:-

> "It is hoped that the BATTLEAXE may be a real weapon in the Almighty Hand to strike a real blow at real sin. . . The spirit of aggression must be forced on the Church laity or they will slumber. They must either "manfully fight" or die. The good Parish Clergyman is everywhere overworked, and the laity must put their hand to the sword."[3]

The journal was designed to be sold, or given away, to working men. It contained sensationalist "hell-fire" preaching and illustrations that were designed to catch the eye, perhaps "alert the soul", of the working classes; and news about the activities of Church Army stations throughout the country. "Soldiers" were encouraged to sell as many newspapers as possible - "Every soldier should sell or give away at least two

[1] C.C.R. 1884. p 362. In 1885, Carlile was to offer to abandon the title "Army" and to reduce the "military" nature of the work. Given the position of the Church Army by that time - nearly sixty stations - it is difficult to imagine how his proposals could have been achieved without radical re-structuring of Church Army techniques.

[2] The pages of the Battleaxe contain many examples of Church Army funerals, see for example that of Reginald Braithwaite. B. 1885. No 45, No 46.

[3] B. 1883. No 1.

dozen",[1] recommended the editor - and in each edition there was printed the result of the "Battleaxe contest" (which stations had sold the most) in order to draw attention to relative success in this endeavour. Selling the Battleaxe was seen as an opportunity for testimony and evangelism: soldiers were to go to public-houses and other haunts of sin in search of prospective customers and potential converts. As circulation increased, the Battleaxe, at first a monthly, became fortnightly in October 1883, and weekly from October 1885 onwards. It was possible for one column to be left blank in order that the newspaper might be localised and used as a parish magazine.[2] At first the journal was edited by Wilson Carlile himself; but from October 1885, when he assumed control of the Church Army Training Home in London, F.S. Webster took over this task.[3] Later, in 1886, the title of the newspaper was altered to the Church Army Gazette.[4]

The use of a brass-band, emotive techniques, and "battle" jingles turned the Church Army preacher into a "performer" competing for the attention of the urban working-classes with the music-hall artist, the street singer, and the barrel-organ. The leaders were willing to use any method to "attract the giddy gay crowd", and, to achieve this end, captains were encouraged to attempt to "invent a new device every day".[5]

At Christmas 1883, the market analogy was carried to extremes when captains were urged to notice how Christmas novelties were advertised. "Go out", they were told,

[1] B. 1883. No 4.
[2] This option was first offered in Battleaxe. 1884. No 20.
[3] B. 1885. No 55. [4] see below.
[5] B. 1883. No 3.

"and look at the shops. Take the lesson home to your heart and see what you can do. We cannot expect the same monotonous style to catch every night, set a new bait, and you will catch the fish. Oh, that we would devote as much thought to seeing how we can devise some new plan to attract as the grocers do with their plums and lemon-peel, or the publican with his little pocket flask bottles of "pure gin."[1]

Religion was a commodity: consumption had to be encouraged!

Sensational news items, especially murders, fires, explosions, drownings and epidemics were also used for evengelistic propaganda. Not infrequently some topical tragedy (such as the suffocation, in July 1883, of 182 Sunderland children)[2] was presented on the front page of the Battleaxe in pictorial form, with a caption that urged the need for repentance.

The contrast between the ordinary Anglican vicar decorously attending to his liturgically prescribed duties and the Church Army evangelist, described often as "red hot" for souls is striking, and the difference could not but provoke criticism of the Church Army and raise doubts about the long-term consequences of its methods. The leaders themselves had to defend their style and tactics. Hopkins admitted that their policy might not always be in harmony with, "the conventional methods of the Church of England", but he believed that novel methods were justified, taking into account the religious indifference of working men, "Before you can get a man to shake off this indifference", he explained, "you must arouse his attention, you must excite his curiosity".[3]

Excitement could lead to irregularities. The "salvation showers"[4] described in Birmingham, and the uncontrolled

[1] B. 1883. No 12. [2] B. 1883. No 4.
[3] Speech by Evan Hopkins at Church Army Annual Meeting. B. 1884. No 25.
[4] B 1883. No 7.

enthusiasm often displayed by new converts,[1] did not receive universal clerical approval. Irreverence was an accusation that was frequently made against the Church Army, although what a conservative cleric might see as "excitement" might be regarded by a Church Army member as "plain, practical, salvation warfare".[2]

The magic-lantern, "a new form of attack",[3] (free slides were available from Headquarters) was one innovation employed by the leaders of the Church Army with great success, especially during the summer months when it was used in conjunction with tent-meetings. By the end of the summer of 1883, the so-called "Church Army Circus" had become a well-established technique,[4] and, in Manchester it was claimed that four months of this type of work there had seen the enrolment as soldiers of 500 converts, with attendances at the Circus often reaching 1500 a night.[5]

The recruitment of "soldiers"

The official beginning of the Church Army was publicised by the Exeter Hall meeting of January 1883, and by a series of evening marches held in conjunction with it.[6] Shortly afterwards, Evan Hopkins produced a small booklet designed to provide information about the objects, methods, and special techniques of mission-band work.[7]

[1] B. 1883. No 6. [2] B. 1883. No 3. [3] B. 1883. No 11.
[4] For example see the description of this method in Swansea during October 1883. B. 1883. No 8.
[5] B. 1884. No 13. Additional publicity was obtained here when, in January 1884, the Circus was demolished by a gale.
[6] Not all of the publicity was favourable - ..."stones, broken bottles, various missiles, and mud"..., were thrown at the procession. G. 1883. p 47.
[7] What is the Church Army? 1883.

The Gospel Army "performance" nearly always began with a march or procession through those parts of the town considered to be good catchment areas for the "worst". The theory was simple:-

> "Open air meetings, at which short addresses are given, and notices of indoor services announced. Open air marches during which bright Gospel songs are sung accompanied if possible by instrumental music. Crowds of just those people desired to be reached are thus attracted to the Hall or Mission Room where the meetings are held."[1]

Short hymns and choruses with simple lyrics that relied heavily on military analogy, and tunes that were culled from the popular songs of the day, were used to simulate an attractive carnival atmosphere. Many of these were published in the pages of the Battleaxe as Church Army "originals". One that appeared in 1884 bore the chorus,

> "I'm fighting beneath the flag of the cross,
> And though I must grapple with pain, grief, and loss,
> I'll stick to my post with my sword in my hand
> And I'll march with the Church Mission Army."

and included the following verses to match,

> "If you would conquer, if you would win,
> If you would see your foemen give in,
> Plunge in the fountain, get saved from all sin
> And march with the Church Mission Army.
>
> If you would see the drink swept away,
> If you would set the masses to pray,
> If you would speed the millennial day,
> Enlist in the Church Mission Army.
>
> If you would see the churches all filled
> If to win souls you would be well skilled,
> If in God's temple you'd usefully build,
> Enlist in the Church Mission Army."[2]

In contrast to this light-hearted festivity, extempore prayers and brief testimonies from the lips of "humble speakers for Christ", were used to set a mood or urgency in meetings, which were usually terminated with an appeal for penitents who

[1] p 10.

[2] B. 1884. No 25.

were often encouraged to come forward and sit on a "penitent form" to await spiritual counselling, and, perhaps, a "conversion experience".[1]

Great emphasis was placed on the significance of conversion and in his testimony the convert was encouraged to stress the difference between his old and his new life. Perhaps in order to underline the benefits of their present status as Church Army soldiers, ex-wife-beaters, gamblers, drunkards, pugilists,[2] dogfighters,[3] and criminals (for example, in Swansea, a man was converted who had been 49 times in jail)[4] were expected to parade lurid details of the evils of their former lives to those who had assembled at the revival meetings. This emphasis was continued in Church Army publications: almost every week the editor of the Battleaxe presented a "before and after" narrative, often with illustrations. For example, in June 1885, there was produced on the first page of the Battleaxe the following (which was claimed to be a true story). In the first illustration, read the caption, there appeared a man, "Rushing through the snow in the middle of the night, scarcely clothed, with a razor in his hand to cut his wife's throat". In the second illustration and after conversion, the same man was shown

[1] The Church Army was first mentioned at Congress in 1882, when the Rev. R.Resker of Walworth described a typical mission-band occasion. A devotional meeting in church was followed by an hour-long procession, ..."somewhat on the lines of the Salvation Army"..., with a banner and hymns to attract attention. Occasionally the entourage paused, and someone gave an invitation to the meetings e.g.:- ..."There is one working man...who has most successfully worked in these out-of-door missions. He tells them that he is a 'working chap like themselves' and urges them to go where he himself has got such blessing"... The magic lantern, hymns, working men's testimonies and a talk were used at the meeting, which, according to Rev. Resker, was "crowded by the right class". C.C.R. 1882. p 100.

[2] B. 1883. No 3.

[3] Report from the Dudley station. C.A.G. 1886. No 98.

[4] B. 1883. No 9.

walking in the country with his wife and daughter; caption, "A changed heart, a changed life, a changed husband, a changed citizen, with a changed home".[1] Implicit in this approach was the suggestion that a Church Army conversion, the rejection of alcohol, and the acceptance of mission-band Christianity might bring material, as well as spiritual reward; and perhaps provide an avenue of escape for the Church Army soldier from the unemployment and destitution that was prevalent among many of the lowest sections of the urban working class of this period.[2]

Early in 1884, this sentiment was made explicit by the leader of the Church Army when he addressed a "drawing-room meeting" in Richmond. Speaking about the recently published Bitter Cry of Outcast London, Wilson Carlile proposed a solely spiritual solution to the problem of economic deprivation. "When the people got the Gospel in their hearts", he assured his audience, "their lives would be different".[3] Again in 1884, at a Church Army station in the Metropolis, he declared, "If all the people in Bermondsey were to become Church Army soldiers, two things would immediately disappear, namely, public-houses and intoxicating drink, and the workhouse would follow them".[4] Unbelief and alcohol were seen as the root causes of destitution. With the introduction of social welfare services by the Church Army from 1887 or so onwards, however, this faith in a purely spiritual solution was increasingly replaced by the realisation that the provision of material as well as spiritual relief was a necessary prerequisite for successful evangelism among the unemployed.

[1] B. 1885. No 48.
[2] For example see B. 1883. No 3, and 1884. No 16.
[3] B. 1884. No 14.
[4] B. 1884. No 28.

Initially, membership of the mission-band was achieved by a simple testimony to a spiritual change and the, "acceptance of Christ as Saviour". Unlike their counterparts in the parent body of the Established Church, the leaders of the Church Army stressed the need for conscious adult choice as a basis for membership. Conditions for membership were more exacting than those of the Anglican Church. The Church Army was a more exclusive body - recruits were required to show proof of personal merit (a sectarian characteristic), and this feature of Church Army doctrine attracted criticism. One clergyman felt that the Church Army went beyond sound Church teaching in the demands that were made on recruits. The revivalist preaching and call for penitents was, he felt, "unwholesome, and entirely out of harmony with Church teaching", and the "unreality" of the testimony to conversion was demonstrated, "by some whose lives, up to that moment, had not been all that satisfactory, going up to testify to this sudden conviction of security, while consistent and regular communicants did not do so."[1] At Peterborough Diocesan Conference, Canon Twells said that he appreciated the need for conversion, "an absolute turn from darkness to light, to bring a penitent to God; but he could not think it was in accord with the Church's idea of salvation to be taken to a penitent's bench, ticked off in a notebook, and flaunted in the Battleaxe. He should rejoice to see the Army going more completely on Church lines, and with less sensationalism in its actions".[2]

[1] G. 1884. p 1604. Letter from H.R. Baker. see also p 1764 and 1765.

[2] Peterborough Diocesan Kalendar, Clergy List and Almanac. 1886. p 230.

The Church Army was also accused of asking its communicants to state a definite date of conversion,[1] and of teaching an heretical version of "holiness" or "assurance"[2] - accusations that were denied by Carlile who justified the fundamentalist insistence on a conversion experience and the proscription of alcohol and tobacco, in pragmatic terms. If one were to be a successful evangelist of the "worst", he argued, then one had to be sure of one's own salvation; and abstinence from alcohol was essential in view of the fact that many converts came from among the ranks of drunkards. "It has been stated", he wrote, "and correctly too, that none can be members unless they can testify clearly to a sense of their acceptance with God; and for this cause the Church Army is openly declared to be off the lines of the Church. This is quite correct; but I maintain, however, that whereas the Church Army is not the formation of a Church, it is on true Church lines, as much as the C.E.T.S. and the C.E.P.S."[3] In making these comparisons Carlile was on firm ground, since both these organisations had conditions for membership which were more exacting than those of the Church.

New converts were given the probationers' "red and white cord" of membership almost at once (it was available to anyone "after [he] professes a desire to forsake sin through Christ and serve God by his help").[4] Those who received it were expected to wear it at the following evening's meetings. As members of the "working-man's mission to working men", they were required

[1] G. 1884. p 1684.

[2] The doctrine of "holiness" was an issue of church party dispute. In the Guardian, this criticism of the Church Army became the occasion for a party wrangle. see G. 1884. p 1838, p 1880, p 1958.

[3] C.T. 1884. p 808.

[4] B. 1883. No 1.

to take an active part in evangelism.[1] Indeed, the editor of the Battleaxe occasionally drew attention to the differential commitment required from, on the one hand, the "ordinary" church-goer, and, on the other, the "red-hot" Church Army soldier. The latter was charged actively to seek the conversion of others. After a period of probation new converts were given, often in church, the "red cord" as a symbol of full membership. In 1885, one group of "penitents" from an evening meeting were,

> "admitted first as probationers,and after a period of six weeks or two months, if they remain faithful and they still desire it, they are admitted into the Church Army as soldiers, and receive at a special service in the Church from the hands of the Vicar, the Red Cord as a solemn badge of enrolment. Those who are thus enrolled become total abstainers, and also regular attendants at Church, and communicants, when confirmed." [2]

Some accounts of Church Army conversions seem to indicate a "two-stage" model of the process: first, "conversion" per se, which involved repentance and an acceptance of salvation, and after an interval (in which, of course, some "backsliding" might occur), "sanctification", a state of mind that included some sense of assurance.[3] In common with the assumptions made about conversion and sanctification by the Keswick Convention (of which Evan Hopkins was a leading member), and other Holiness

[1] Carlile subscribed to the idea of an active laity. When asked how one should win the "masses", in W.R. Davey (ed.) Evangelistic Grindstones. Methods of Christian Work. 1913. p 13; his answer was straightforward:- ..."Win one, and then get that one to win another. If five thousand men won three others each year for Christ, then, in less than twelve years the whole thirteen hundred million inhabitants of the world would be at the foot of the Cross"... One of Carlile's great rallying calls was, "Every communicant an evangelist". K.J. Heasman. Army of the Church. 1968. p 47. Illustrations urging participation and warning of the consequences of reticence to testify appeared regularly in the mission-band newspaper. see for example B. 1883. No 2.

[2] "Doings in 1885". C.A.A.R. p 54. See also speech by Bishop of Manchester at C. of Y. 1885. p 16.

[3] e.g. in "The Life and Conversion of Spider" (a Church Army evangelist) in B. 1884. No 17.

movements, for a Church Army soldier, it would appear that conversion was only the start, the beginning of the "life of preparation for Heaven". "Conversion is only entering the straight gate which leads into the narrow way - the way of Holiness, over which the unclean may not pass".[1]

Meetings were held daily with open-air gatherings on four nights of the week at which the presence of all Church Army soldiers was required; "On these occasions it is the duty of every soldier in the corps unless unavoidably prevented, to obey the summons of the Captain, and to march through the streets after the Army flag".[2] Thus the consequences of salvation were social as well as spiritual: the new recruit was expected to accept fresh social mores (such as the abstinence from alcohol and tobacco) and was required to wear some kind of uniform. A recruit who joined the Church Army or the Salvation Army received not only the "cleansed heart" and "new life" of Scripture, but also a new set of values and patterns of behaviour reinforced by a new set of peers. The orange jersey and bonnet of the Salvationist, or the "red-cord" of the Church Army, were the insignia of this new social identity, while the testimony expected from the new recruit served to reinforce the newly erected boundary between his "old" and "new" lives.

The convert, who may have been attracted by what opponents saw as the "poison of irreverance"[3] - the sensationalism of the Army - was thereafter, however, subjected both to hierarchic organisation and discipline. The military style was not only

[1] B. 1883. No 7. [2] "Doings in 1885". C.A.A.R. p 54.
[3] see below.

a device to attract, it was also an instrument of control. Some latent tension might of course persist between the excitement of recruitment, conversion, and the routine of orderly disciplined Christian life, and like the Salvation Army the Church Army had to devise a means of reconciling these two experiences. The method was by getting the convert to relive his conversion by repeated testimony - recited in controlled circumstances, and by directing him to relive it more actively, if vicariously, in undertaking the work of converting others. Latently disruptive enthusiasm ("enthusiasm" had, a hundred years before, been a perjorative term, of course), was channelled into emotional, but strictly delineated, evangelistic work - every recruit was also an evangelist.[1] He was expected to testify; often immediately after conversion. This emphasis on the priesthood of all believers served to attenuate latent conflict. It also fostered immediate identification with the fresh social identity that was implicit in accepting conversion: testimony reinforced the "changed life" of Scripture by providing material evidence, both to the recruit himself, and to his former "mates", that his life had changed, both in the theological and social senses.

The Church Army held as an ideal the principle of a priesthood of all believers, but in practice the extent to which a working man was able to contribute to a service, and the limits of testimony, were carefully circumscribed. From the beginning,

[1] At the Church Congress of 1884, Carlile used the expression "safety valve" to describe this policy. It not only directed potentially disruptive enthusiasm into useful channels, but might also produce further working-class conversions... "Now it appears to me that this safety valve is not only for their [the converts'] good, but for the benefit of others who are likely to be impressed by the newly-found sense of pardoned sin confessed openly to others. By this means the result of the mission will be to carry to a lower stratum than reached in the church the blessed tidings of the Gospel"... C.C.R. 1884. p 362.

a paternalistic, sometimes patronising, control, was exercised over the length of "spontaneous testimony" that a working man was allowed to give. In the earliest meetings Carlile himself used to decide when an "extempore" prayer or speech had reached its conclusion by beginning a hymn.[1] Between 1883 and 1885, as the army format became more organised and established, this control was institutionalised in the hierarchy of ranks. In services and processions soldiers were controlled by "captains" who received their orders and parochial positions from a centralised "Headquarters".

Once established as a principle, the borrowing of military terminology was extended rapidly and the hierarchy of ranks became increasingly diversified. This multiplication of ranks served not only to provide a significant proportion of the soldiers with a definite rank and visible status (reaffirming the beginning of a "new life" and a fresh social identity by the offer of an opportunity for upward social mobility through the system of ranks) but also reduced the potential for "back-sliding" among converts, in that the demand for continuous, or, at least, considerable participation by soldiers in the activities of the corps might diminish the likelihood of a new convert lapsing into his old habits.[2]

In 1885, reviewing seven months of mission-band work in his parish, the Rev. W.V. Jackson noted the significance of the opportunity for involvement. Participation was a key element in success, he said: "We have secretaries, bandsmen, banner

[1] E. Rowan. 1944. p 65.

[2] The role of Church Army soldier required the sacrifice of much of one's free time for meetings, and, even on Bank Holidays, members were expected to join mission-band excursions. e.g. B. 1884. No 29.

bearers, and others, who delight to feel that they are taking a part in some organised system, the responsibility of which they are sharing with others".[1] In addition, monetary commitment was also encouraged. The lack of a sense of involvement and the unavailability of positions of responsibility for the working classes in Church life was one explanation offered for the relative failure of Anglicanism, and, in contrast, a contributory factor in the relative success of the Chapel among these groups.[2] In their insistence on local financial support on the part of working-class participants, the leaders of the Church Army were importing a feature of Non-Conformity into the Church. In some stations there was more-or-less direct imitation of Methodism, for example in Oxford, where "class-money" was collected from mission-band members;[3] and it was a proud boast of those connected with the Church Army that to a large extent the movement was self-supporting, deriving a proportion of its income from, "working people's pence".

Uniform is itself of course a form of social control, but for the religious organisation, the question is, what sort of uniform - not a monk's or a priest's - and there was a convenient model in the military - perhaps the agency par excellence in which control is vital - a near total institution, and so the uniform expresses the totality of commitment. The ranks and uniforms of the Church Army were, in July 1883:-

"I. Private, tunic of black serge, plain or one line of silver lace at the bottom of collar.

[1] Report of Southwell Diocesan Conference. In B. 1885. No 61.
[2] E.T. Davies. Religion in the Industrial Revolution in S. Wales. Cardiff. 1965. p 21.
[3] B. 1883. No 1.

2. Corporal, "do", with one line of silver lace at the bottom of collar, and one loop on right cuff.
3. Sergeant, "do", with one loop on each cuff.
4. Lieutenant, "do", with lace all round the edge of top and bottom of collar, and one circle round both cuffs.
5. Captains, "do", with two circles round both cuffs."[1]

In addition, a Captain and Lieutenant wore a cap, with, "silver lace along the front of the peak on the mohair braid", and the captains often wore a white surplice over their uniforms. Ordinary soldiers wore a blue jersey, "with letters in white worsted, two inches high". There was also a distinction between "clerical captains" and "working-men captains", and several more specialised posts existed; for example, "colour-sergeants" and "Battleaxe sergeants"[2] (whose job it was to organise the sale of Church Army newspapers).

However, the rapid extension of military methods was viewed with concern by many churchmen; some felt the uniforms and the paraphernalia of ranks to be inconsistent with a reverent attitude to worship. In addition, the formal hierarchy of ranks was considered by some as tending to undermine the authority of the local incumbent: the growth of a para-military mission-band led by a captain who owed partial allegiance elsewhere might be construed as an "invasion" of the parish rather than as a useful and subordinate supplement to day-to-day methods. This possibility was given added significance by the early practice of a corps visiting another parish in order to give assistance to a new endeavour; thus, in early 1884, a Manchester branch visited Ashton under Lyne with the specific and expressed purpose (in the words of the captain in Ashton), "to help us stir up the place".[3] The prospect of disruption

[1] B. 1883. No 4. [2] B. 1883. No 1. [3] B. 1884. No 16.

enhanced the fear on the part of some clergymen that an organisation of this nature might prove difficult to control.

However, as an Anglican organisation (and unlike the Salvation Army) the leaders of the Church Army were responsive to clerical criticism, and, even from the beginning, the use of ranks and uniforms in a parish was allowed only with the vicar's permission.[1] Later, this option of clerical veto was stressed, perhaps in response to criticism, and it was realised by the leaders of the Church Army that, in some areas, the military bands and processions might, "do more harm than good".[2] In 1885, reviewing the problems experienced in Exeter by the Church Army, the Rev. W. S. Mallet of St. Mary Major admitted that, at first, the mission-band had been misunderstood, and, at times, it had interfered with ordinary parish work. In addition, the para-military style of the work had created difficulties. However, he said, "The question of uniform, badges, etc., is not now troubling us as Headquarters are now more than ever convinced that the quieter way is the more excellent way".[3] The limitations imposed on the system of ranks were one example of the "lines of control" between the hierarchy of the Church and the organisation and methods of the Church Army.

The Training of Officers

In the very early stages of the movement, in Oxford and Kensington for instance, such training as was available was received on the spot from the local leader of the mission-

[1] B. 1883. No 4. [2] B. 1884. No 14. [3] B. 1885. No 40.

band.[1] The "captain" leading the early marches was usually an ordained clergyman, assisted by "soldiers". He sometimes wore a "laced cap and uniform",[2] but often a white cassock was preferred.[3] In the middle of 1883, however, a training-home was established in Oxford with F.S. Webster as warden, and an appeal for "officer-cadets" was launched. When it was open, the leaders of the Church Army declared themselves able to accept, "younger and less taught men than before". The essential qualification for candidates was that, "they shall be filled with holy fire and burning love to God, and an unflagging desire to rescue the lost".[4] Prospective evangelists had to be, "white-hot for Christ".[5] Furthermore, "Great knowledge and education are not necessary, as their duty is not to teach, but to go out, seek and win the wanderer to Christ, and then to his fold. The teaching can be supplied by the clergy and others".[6] The training was, above all,

[1] In February 1883, it was reported that Carlile, then in charge of the Westminster mission, was, ..."drilling men to be sent into various parishes as officers wherever there may be a demand from the clergy for their services"... C.T. 9/2/1883, and in Richmond, Evan Hopkins trained other captains. Contemporary Review. 1882. R.T. Davidson. 'The Methods of the Salvation Army'. p 199.

[2] G. 1883. p 47.

[3] The cassock added drama to the "performance". There is one much repeated tale of a working man who, when confronted by a captain leading a march and wearing this apparel, believed he had seen a ghost. He was converted at the ensuing meeting. For the first report of this incident see "Doings in 1885". C.A.A.R. p 20.

[4] C.T. 1883. p 830.

[5] B. 1885. No 49.

[6] In the Church Army Archives, there is a framed copy of the thirty-seven questions that potential captains had to answer. Some dealt with religious knowledge and experience, how long the applicant had been a communicant, or asked for clerical references. Others are less orthodox:- ..."Can you take a back seat, and play 'second fiddle' with a happy heart? Can you use the same homely language in speaking for Christ as for your trade? How much indoor and outdoor persecution can you stand without being angry? Can you turn a disturber out of a meeting in a kindly and smiling manner? Have you ever kept an open-air meeting going for an hour without one person to help you?"...

practical. Carlile later told F.A. Iremonger that some men could, "be spoiled by theology".[1] In the Church Army training course, care was taken, he said, to ensure, "that the training we give does not unfit our evangelists for that work [saving the "worst"]. We want them to know about men and not books. A theological college would disqualify them for their work at once".[2] A Captain Cox, of the Richmond corps, a typical mission-band character, was known as the "Happy Coal Heaver".[3]

However, an advertisement that appeared in the Battleaxe for July 1883, announced that candidates for officer-training, "should not belong to the lowest social grades. If of the working-classes, they should be foremen, and in all cases must be intelligent men with a good ordinary education".[4] "Wanted, 100 men to become officers", read another advertisement, "bold, humble, sharp-witted, good singers; but, above all, filled with heavenly fire for perishing souls. Strong in body, and full of common sense; who know what full Salvation means. The earthly pay is poor. Who will make the sacrifice for Him who gave all for you".[5] Candidates were required to be members of the "respectable" working class.

[1] F.A. Iremonger. Men and Movements in the Church. 1928. p 106.

[2] In the Church Army Archives there is a set of lecture notes taken by Alfred H. Ward, a cadet at the training-home in 1919. Although from a later period and the earliest document available, nevertheless the notes illustrate the type of information thought suitable for officers. Stress is laid on conversion, confirmation, and communion; on basic doctrine, scripture and the prayer-book; and on more mundane topics such as the preparation and delivery of addresses. M/S. note-book belonging to Alfred H. Ward. C.A.A.

[3] For the story of his conversion see B. 1883. No 1.

[4] B. 1883. No 3.

[5] B. 1883. No 5.

Many of the early applicants for training came from the ranks of Dissenters.[1] Carlile described how, at the beginning of the work, "Hundreds of Primitive Methodist local preachers . . . applied to be admitted. They wanted Evangelism instead of Chapelism".[2] Rowan tells us that in the first year of the society's existence, seven hundred applications were received from Nonconformists, most of whom were local preachers, and Carlile himself informed the Church Congress in Portsmouth, that "a great many" of the 1,300 applications for work in the Church Army during 1884 and 1885 had been Dissenters.[3] Their motivation in applying may have been to obtain paid evangelistic work: Rowan preferred to call it, "this opportunity of returning to the Mother-Church".[4] Carlile told his audience that many of these men, "stated that they had been brought up as Church people, but that as the Church did not avail itself of the services of such uneducated preachers as they were, they had joined the dissenters simply because they would give them the class of work they wanted to do".[5] For the leader of the Church Army, the existence of his movement constituted, "the very missing link where every unlettered person can find his niche, and can soon become an acknowledged parish worker amongst his own class".

[1] For example, see the biography of Capt. S.J.H. Hotchkiss, ... "the Church Army Blacksmith from Lancashire". . ., an ex-Nonconformist who returned to the Church through the agency of the Church Army. B. 1885. No 56.

[2] F.A. Iremonger. 1928. p 106.

[3] C.C.R. 1885. Portsmouth p 217; see also C.C.R. 1896. Shrewsbury p 128.

[4] E.R. Rowan. 1928. p 113.

[5] C.C.R. 1885. Portsmouth p 217.

Whatever the motivation of the applicants, recruitment policy led some clergy to say that the Church Army was too ready to allow insufficiently trained, and occasionally untested ex-Dissenting evangelists to become Church Army captains,[1] and this, they said, created difficulties of control for local incumbents, and the latent possibility of schism.

Episcopal interest in the movement was manifested in a visit to the training home of the Bishop of Oxford (Dr. Mackarness) soon after it had opened. Although, at first, he was suspicious of the movement,[2] the bishop examined the first six cadets then in training, and consented to become a patron of the society and an annual subscriber to the training home. Towards the end of 1883, he arranged for officer-cadets to take a modified form of the Oxford Diocesan Lay-Readers examination, and agreed that successful candidates might be granted his authority.[3] He took the Chair at several Church Army meetings,[4] and was the first bishop to express a measure of approval.

The "cadets" were given a course which, in December, 1883, officially varied in length from one to four months according to ability,[5] although it was later admitted that some men were given a parochial position after only a few days' training.[6] They emerged from the training homeas "captains", and were considered competent to organise and initiate mission-band work in any parish to which they might be invited. Men from headquarters

[1] see below. [2] C.T. 1884. p 10. [3] B. 1884. No 13.
[4] In May 1884, he acted as President to the Conference in Oxford, and took the Chair again at the first Annual Meeting in Prince's Hall, Picadilly. 28 May 1884.
[5] C.T. 1883. p 830. [6] G. 1884. p 1803.

were thought more effective than local leaders who lost spiritual power perhaps because they were not itinerant. Central training and itinerancy were strongly urged by the Battleaxe in February 1884.[1] Itinerancy was, of course, also a means of reducing any local proclivity to schism. Centralised training became increasingly the norm. In 1885, training was moved to London, and, with the financial support provided by friends,[2] Webster resigned his Oxford curacy to become full-time warden of the new, larger home, which accommodated twelve cadets. The early trainees appear to have come mainly from the North of England, and one early batch listed by Webster included men who had been carpenters, painters, millhands, colliers, post-office clerks, and shopmen.[3] They were recruited by advertisements in the Battleaxe, and through clerical recommendations, and applications were more rigorously scrutinised than in the early days. Aspiring cadets had to complete a trial period, to present several references, and to undergo interviews before being accepted by the Training Home.

By the end of 1885, an appeal for "Church Army curates" (who would both study and use the methods of the mission-band) had resulted in a number of university ordination candidates undertaking a part of the training course.[4] Closer association with the hierarchy of the Church increased the acceptability of the Army's techniques and, by April 1885, its activities were already seen to be more "respectable". In Oxford, several undergraduates were active "soldiers" in the St. Clement's corps; while, in Richmond, seven members of the Varsity boat-race

[1] B. 1884. No 15.
[2] B. 1885. No 49.
[3] "Doings in 1885". C.A.A.R. p 12.
[4] B. 1885. No 64.

crews were persuaded to speak in favour of the Church Army and to give personal testimonies at a mission-band meeting.[1]

In increasing the length and the specifically Anglican content of the training, the leaders of the Church Army hoped not only to pacify clerical criticisms of the shortcomings in the socialisation of officers, but also to increase their control of individual captains. By the end of 1885, aspiring Church Army officers were subjected to a more intensive and rigorous course of training, in which a typical day began at seven and did not end until 10 p.m. Examinations were often held on Saturdays, and occasionally the weekend included the relaxation of "fishing" for converts in Hyde Park. The maximum period of three months was short, but this was unavoidable, since funds were limited, and many of the men were married with families to feed; and there was a demand for their services in the parishes. However, it was hoped that the additional instruction and superintendence of the parochial clergy might supplement any deficiency in training.[2]

In October, 1883, the predominantly male, para-military style of the organisation was complemented by the introduction of a specialised role for women, who had hitherto (and in contrast to their Salvation Army counterparts, or "Hallelujah lasses") been permitted to serve only as female "soldiers", more commonly referred to as "sisters". Now they were offered the opportunity of full-time, paid work as "Mission-Women". "At H.Q. a register is kept", stated an advertisement in the Battleaxe,

[1] B. 1885. No 43.

[2] "Doings in 1885". C.A.A.R. pp 12-19.

"for any Church Army Soldiers (sisters only) who may be desirous of giving themselves wholly to the work. The Church Army does not employ women as commissioned officers, but it gives its official recommendation to sisters being soldiers in the Church Army, duly tested and tried, who are desirous of devoting their whole time to Christian work. All particulars, including the remuneration required should be sent to H.Q.... No guarantee can be given of providing applicants with the positions they desire.

The register is open to clergy requiring such persons . . . The work during the day will be somewhat that of a Parochial Mission Woman, and, in the evening, if there be a local corps of the Church Army, she will be ready to take a part in its meetings".[1]

At first the leaders of the Church Army saw their role in this matter as agents, but the introduction of mission-women was the first tentative step in the direction of its future role as an evangelistic social work agency.

The "Army" of the Church. An Anglican society

Superficially, the activities of the Church Army bore close resemblance to those of the Salvation Army, but its operation was significantly different because it worked in a parish only with the approval of the incumbent. That approval was not initially easily obtained, partly reflecting perhaps the unfavourable publicity which the Salvation Army had attracted in Anglican circles, and perhaps also because the evangelical style did not suit everyone. One parishioner was shocked to be asked by Wilson Carlile during the course of a service whether he was "saved" or not?[2]

Interviewed in 1928, Carlile recalled these early difficulties. "We had half a dozen of our men trained, and knocked at one vicarage door after another, where we were told we were not wanted, even if we found the money to keep them". Only the Bishop of Oxford was friendly - the normal clerical reaction

[1] B. 1883. No 8.

[2] G. 1884. p 1764.

was the "cold shoulder". At one stage, F.S. Webster had suggested that a "Low" Church Army and a "High" Church Army might be necessary in order to overcome these party difficulties.[1] Rowan postulated that the spread of the Church Army might have been more rapid had Wilson Carlile been founding, "a sect instead of a society". Had this been the case the problem of finding parochial openings would not have arisen, although, "its [the Church Army's] constitution might not have been so sound".[2] The insistence on the parochial attachment and on the necessity for clerical permission were two features of Church Army work that served to attenuate the potential sectarianism of the military format.

The Church Army was a society within the Church. Its leaders saw the mission-band as essentially a recruiting agency,

> "for work outside. Instead of inviting the people to come to the Church the Army is really the Church going to the people.
> A Gospel Army without a Church is an imperfect organisation, and a Church without an "Army" is an agency which is incompetent to reach the masses who habitually neglect all means of grace."[3]

An enrolled member of the Church Army was a person who fulfilled the following conditions:- "a) One who is able to testify clearly to a sense of acceptance with God. b) And who shows the reality of conversion by a consistent walk. c) And is a Church Communicant".[4] The Church Army wished to recruit not only "soldiers", but also Anglicans. "After souls are brought to a saving knowledge of Christ, the next thing is to instruct them more perfectly in Scripture truth and practical duties, as well as to give them definite Christian work, and to train them

[1] F.A. Iremonger. 1928. p 106.
[2] E. Rowan. 1944. p 101.
[3] 'What is the Church Army?' 1883. pp 15-16.
[4] 'Conditions of Membership'. 1883?

to become devout worshippers and Church Communicants. In a thoroughly organised Church Army means are provided to carry out all these ends."[1] Great emphasis was always placed on the importance of Holy Communion and Confirmation, and devotional articles that stressed this were a frequent feature in the Battleaxe.[2]

The Gospel Army was administered from a central headquarters based in London. Between 1883 and 1885, the committee operated under the auspices of the Church Parochial Missions Society, but at the beginning of 1885 it was decided, in view of the increased scale of Church Army work, to separate the two societies. In 1883, with Carlile as unpaid Honorary Leader and Chief Secretary, the Committee consisted of six men,[3] increased in 1885 to eight, to whom were added all those parochial clergy who had had a Church Army agent in their parishes for more than six months. Carlile was aware of the traditional legitimation that might be achieved through the solicitation of patronage, and sought it from among the episcopacy and from public figures and philanthropists. The Annual Report for 1885 paraded eighteen episcopal patrons,[4] and four Vice-Presidents (including the Earl of Aberdeen, and Lord Mount-Temple). Patronage was intended to imbue the Church Army with "respectability" and to make it more acceptable to the majority of Anglicans.

Although lines of control from the Anglican hierarchy were set up and although the creation of a committee gave some appearance of democracy, in effect the movement was always an autocracy under Wilson Carlile. Edward Clifford, the artist

1 'What is the Church Army?' 1883. p 16.
2 e.g. B. 1883. No 2, 1884. No 17, 1885. No 44.
3 E.R. Rowan. 1944. p 78.
4 'Doings in 1885'. C.A.A.R. p 62.

and Treasurer of the organisation, attributed the committee's efficiency to, "Carlile's root principle of never settling an issue by votes or majorities. He says the Holy Spirit works by unanimity not by majorities".[1] In a letter to Sidney Dark, the author of Wilson Carlile. The laughing cavalier of Christ, Lord Darynton (a past President of the Church Army) recalled in Carlile, "the genius for leadership which was conspicuous in Wesley and Booth". His method was, he said, "not to initiate the discussion on any special subject but to practically always get his own way by postponing it if there did not seem any possibility of unanimity. On the next occasion when the matter came up again it was always found that what he wanted was agreed to ! !".[2] An example of his style is revealed in a letter of 1885 in which Carlile made proposals for a radical change in mission-band methods mentioning that he had taken this decision without consultation but on the assurance that his action would be endorsed by his committee.[3]

Throughout the 'eighties, Carlile was the spokesman of the Church Army and, during these early years, the history of the mission-band is very much the story of Wilson Carlile and his dealings with individual clergy, diocesan conferences, Church Congresses, episcopal assemblies, and less formal gatherings such as meetings in drawing rooms. During this period to a great extent, Carlile "was" the Church Army. His original vision had been that of a mission-band operating in every Anglican parish, but much as he was prompted by what he saw to be the

[1] R.Cholmely. Edward Clifford. 1907. p 39.
[2] Darynton to S. Dark. 31 Oct. 1943. C.A.A.
[3] C. of C. 1885. p 65. The suggestions included the proposal that the title "Army" might be dispensed with.

need of the masses, he was, as an Anglican always aware that he must first get the clergy to respond, and so it was that Church Army techniques were modified. Sensationalism; the challenge to clerical authority; the propriety of using evangelists; and the fear of schism all stimulated critical responses. When the St. Albans Diocesan Conference in 1883 approved of the use of lay help and short lively services but declined to endorse the Church Army, they indicated the reservations that were more widely held among some of the clergy.[1]

To overcome such early resistance and to find parochial openings, Carlile embarked on a publicity campaign pleading the cause of working-men evangelists. In the Church press he seized on any topical event and used it to focus attention on the advantages of mission band work.[2]

He spoke at many diocesan conferences and, in October 1883, he addressed the Church Congress held in Reading on "Layman's Practical Work", advocating the use of lay-help as, not only a solution to the clergy-shortage, but also as a defence against the, "undercurrent of communism, socialism, and Nihilism", which, he said, "is already powerful on our land".[3] The Church Army (with thirty-nine stations in operation at that time) might offer a way of dealing, "with the root of the matter". The work could "implant Christianity in the hearts of the very lowest

[1] St. Albans Diocesan Kalendar. 1884. p 48.

[2] For example see G. 1884. p 174 and 547, where Carlile harnessed the publicity given to a controversial incident in the Canadian church (the dismissal of Dr. Henry Wilson for conducting Communion with members of the Salvation Army) and directed it to the Church Army. See G. 1884. p 122 and 425.

[3] C.C.R. 1883. p 132.

strata of society, and so deal with communism and socialism in such a way that its influence vanishes".[1] He recommended working-men evangelists for this task, and sought to allay clerical suspicion of the schismatic potential latent in Church Army work, the fear that, "a working man might form a clique round himself, or make a sort of little local schism", by explaining the principle of itinerancy that was then being adopted in the mission-band work.[2] Evangelists would remain in a parish for six months only, and then move on to a new posting.

Later in the Congress, Carlile spoke in the discussion on "Services of the Church and Modern Needs", and his suggestion that the testimony of working men might be incorporated into ordinary church services (at that time such testimony was permitted only in mission rooms) is reported to have had a stormy reception.[3] A.E. Reffold (who knew Carlile well) said he was "literally howled down",[4] perhaps because Reading was traditionally an area that was predominantly High Church in character,[5] and this party bias was reflected in the composition of the Congressional assembly, and perhaps because of unfavourable reports

[1] p 133.

[2] The working-men evangelists were, he said, very effective in reaching the "lowest". He gave an example where 180 adults had come forward after two months of work by one working man. Three or four months was long enough in one place for this type of evangelist - he might become "as it were played out because he has not the power of study". Thus the use of itinerancy might provide variety and attenuate schism. Carlile warned that clerical support was essential and that the new convert must be made to feel welcome in the church.

[3] I can find no official record of this incident but it is recorded by several writers, see E.R. Rowan. 1944. p 112, K.J. Heasman. 1968. pp 18-19.

[4] A.E. Reffold. The Audacity to Live. Wilson Carlile and the Church Army. 1938. p 36.

[5] The preponderance of High Churchmen was alluded to in the Guardian. 1883. p 1229; p 1496.

of actual Church Army work, such as those of the Church Times which said that "as a theory there is something to be said in its favour, but the accounts that reach us of Church Army operations in some districts are anything but helpful", and which went on to say, "perhaps the conditions of these modern schemes are spiritual vaccinators, and believe that the inoculation of their converts with the poison of irreverence will save them from a more virulent form of the disease".[1] The debate about the Church Army and another similar organisation, the Lichfield Diocesan Mission (which was under the patronage of Bishop Maclagan and run by H.E. Colville, an ex-officer in the Salvation Army, and a society which operated on lines very similar to Carlile's movement) revealed deep suspicion of the lay-role on the part of traditional clergy and laymen. Both organisations provoked fears of doctrinal distortion, accusations of irreverence, or of the lack of respect for the regular clergy and existing denominational boundaries. Complaints were also voiced about the permanence of conversions that were the result of excitement, and the problems of accommodating such enthusiasm within the bounds of regular parish worship.[2] E.M. Ingram regarded any adoption of Salvation Army methods as "a fatal

[1] These comments were made in a review of Evan Hopkins' pamphlets about the Church Army. C.T. July 27 1883. In Birmingham during a court case it was suggested that the Church Army included thieves among its members, that a deserter had held the post of captain, and that meetings continued after midnight. Although these allegations were denied, the publicity did little to encourage ecclesiastical confidence. See, Birmingham Gazette, cited in C.T. 1883, p 703. See also B. 1883. No 8.

[2] For a brief period in 1883, and with the support of his diocesan conference and the upper chamber of Canterbury Convocation, Maclagan licensed laymen to preach in consecrated places. The lower chamber protested and the decision was revoked. It was most uncommon for a layman to preach or to read services in church until after 1900. See M.J.D. Roberts. 1975. pp 218-221.

mistake". Despite their popularity, to him they were simply "fires of straw".[1]

Not all clerical comment was hostile. In some places the methods of the Church Army succeeded. One clergyman who wrote to the Reading Headquarters of the mission-band during the Congress there said he felt sure that, "if some of our brother clergy working amongst the poor could only see the result of a month's Church Army work in their parishes, they would jump at it. We have 91 candidates for Confirmation between 50 and 60 of whom are Church Army people, mostly adults. Last year, with no Church Army, we had 31, 3 of whom were adults".[2]

Episcopal doubts persisted in the following year. Archbishop Thomson (of York) indicated his concern at the York Convocation about an unorthodox enrolment service that the Church Army had attempted to introduce. Although he wished the mission-band well and was an active supporter of the movement,[3] in his opinion this particular service constituted an infringement of the Act of Uniformity.[4] The Bishop of Manchester (James Fraser) alluded to the difficulties of controlling the mission-band work in some parishes and was concerned about the "lawless-

[1] E.M. Ingram. How to Recover the Lapsed Masses to the Church of England. 1885. p 39. For an extreme example of the case against enthusiasm, see A 'Layman'. "Sensational Religion". A Broadsider into Moody and Sankeyism. A Skirmish with the Salvation Army and a side-thrust at Shakers, Bible Thumpers, Jumpers, Latter-Day Saints, and other "Pecular People". 1884.

[2] Letter from Rev. S.A. Selby, reprinted in B. 1883. No 9. See also B. 1883. No 10 for more favourable testimonies.

[3] The Bishop offered to speak in favour of the movement at a drawing-room meeting in August 1883. B. 1883. No 5.

[4] The service was to be held in church, but below the chancel steps, and consisted of questions with answers in the form of promises. The questions were taken from the confirmation and ordination service. C. of Y. 1884. p 88.

ness" in its work:[1] occasionally there was a conflict of authority between Church Army headquarters and local clergy. "The members [of the Church Army] seem very much inclined to act of their own lines", he said. "They seem disposed to take their instructions from a central council in London rather than from the clergyman of the parish".[2] In the opinion of the Bishop, the key to the successful working of the Church Army lay in the attitude and ability of the local incumbent. He gave two examples to illustrate his point. Later, in July in the same assembly, he recommended that no clergyman ought to adopt the mission-band methods unless he (the clergyman) was possessed of a strong will and "powers of command".[3]

The first annual meeting of the Church Army was held on May 28 1884, in London. It was reported by the Guardian in early June and the general tone of its leader was friendly.[4] It was felt that the Church Army had harnessed the military methods and "general tactics" of the Salvationists to good effect; but an important difference between the two movements was that Church Army converts (unlike those of the Salvation Army), "are reconciled to the Church, and taught to value the Sacraments and rites: They feel themselves admitted afresh into the great society of Christian worshippers, not into a new and exclusive sect". In the parishes where it had been active, it seemed that both Confirmation candidates and attendances at Communion had increased.

[1] T. Hughes. James Fraser, Second Bishop of Manchester. 1818-1885. New edition. 1888. p 356.

[2] C. of Y. 1884. p 91. The Church Times reported that "Bishop after Bishop bore witness to the difficulty which is already felt in keeping the "Army" under control", a statement that was challenged by Carlile. See C.T. 1884. p 378, p 409.

[3] C. of Y. 1884. p 162. [4] G. 1884. p 825.

However, although prepared to welcome this success, and feeling that the mission-band might offer a way of reaching the working classes, the author of the report remained suspicious about future developments:-

> "The organisation has now entered upon a stage at which it will undoubtedly call forth some sympathy, but more criticism, on the part of Churchmen at large. The movement is too recent to justify us in making a decided forecast of its future. The stability of its conversions has still to be proved. The tendency to Antinomianism, which seems to beset the path of revivalism wherever it appears, is not wholly absent from the proceedings of those who are working in the new "force". Other perils might be mentioned, which must of necessity beset them in their course".[1]

One of the "perils" alluded to in this comment was that of schism and defection. An example of this, with indirect relevance to the Church Army and concerning the Salvation Army and the Church of England, occurred shortly afterwards. In the middle of 1884, three Anglican clergymen, Pigott, Oliphant and Sampson, defected to the Salvation Army. All three had been contemporaries of Wilson Carlile at the London College of Divinity. During their training, they had, with him, expressed sympathy for the work of the Salvation Army, and had attended "knee-drills" and "holiness" meetings. At the time of their defection, one correspondent to the Church Times (who saw sinister implications in this interest)supplied a list of twenty-eight students who had had Salvationist leanings; and suggested that there had been trouble at the College between the Salvation Army sympathisers and what he called "loyal Churchmen".[2] However, in his reply, the principal of the College (Henry Gee) felt that what had taken place was rather, "a movement of curiosity, prompted by the remarkable demonstrations and excitement of the Army in Whitechapel about Whitsuntide, 1880".[3]

[1] Ibid.
[2] C.T. 1884. p 591, p 616.
[3] C.T. 1884. p 749.

Two of the men (the Rev. H.E. Sampson, and the Rev. W.E. Oliphant) had had ties with the Church Army - both had been attached (as curates) to parishes containing a branch of the Church Army: respectively St. Benet's, Stepney, and St. Paul's, Onslow Square. The other, the Rev. J.H. Pigott, had been deacon at St. Jude's, Mildmay Park.[1] Explaining to a meeting his decision to leave the Church, the Rev. Oliphant (wearing a red jersey to indicate his allegiance to Salvationism) said he "preferred travelling by express train at express speed to travelling by slow train at its ordinary pace". All three felt that the ordinary ministrations of the Church lacked the aggression of the Salvation Army.[2]

It is significant that when Carlile spoke at the Church Congress at Carlisle in October 1884, he felt it necessary in the opening sentence of his address to place great emphasis on the fact that Church Army workers were "loyal servants of our vicar".[3] Earlier in the debate, the secretary of the C.E.T.S, A. Sargent, had warned the assembly not to be afraid of aggressive Christianity, even though the "doings" of the Church Army were easy to condemn.[4] Carlile again requested the increased use of lay ministration by the Church, and asked once more that groups such as the Church Army might be permitted to hold services in part of the church rather than in mission rooms. He described the difficulty he had experienced in getting, "the drunken, the blasphemer, and the careless up narrow courts, and

[1] Later, Pigott was accused of teaching "sinless perfection", a criticism made of both the Salvation Army and the Church Army. See G. 1884. p 1920, p 1958, p 1995.

[2] G. 1884. p 854. For Rev. Sampson the rift with the Church was temporary - he became curate of St. John, Upper Holloway, in 1886. See Crockfords Clerical Directory.

[3] C.C.R. 1884. p 218. Debate, "Lay Ministrations".

[4] p 215.

then, perhaps, up some stairs to our mission room",[1] and felt that if the Church Army mission services could be held in the church itself (perhaps in the nave), then the meetings might be more successful; and the converts more likely to associate their new found Christian belief with the Anglican Church.

He pleaded the cause of the uneducated layman, and requested that some role, however humble, might be found in Church life for him - perhaps as a street preacher. He urged that if the leaders of the Anglican Church were prepared to use rather than to discourage such lay-help, they might retain the allegiance of some working-class converts, who, in the absence of any active place for them in Church life, would otherwise become Primitive Methodist "exhorters" and Methodist local preachers.[2]

Carlile also wanted prayer meetings, "in which the laity, under due control, may take part".[3] In a further demonstration of his unorthodox approach, and warming to his theme of innovation, Carlile ventured to leave for the consideration of the Congress the suggestion, in view of the "large numbers often coming to the [8 a.m.] Holy Communion of members of the Church Army", and, "where there is only one officiating minister", that it might be possible for "duly licensed laymen to assist in and expedite the service".[4] He also requested that grave-yards might be used as sites for moveable mission rooms.

[1] p 218.

[2] Carlile emphasised how important it was that a clergyman should be present at after meetings, especially when penitents were "bowed down under a burden of sin", because, at that moment, the penitent, "may be led to become almost anything to which his helpers belong, either a Plymouthist or a Romanist, and if it be the Church, and especially the vicar, who is blessed to his soul, he becomes, if watched over, a loyal communicant of the Church of England". p 362.

[3] p 218.

[4] Ibid.

Congress favoured lay-help more than it had at the previous year's meetings in Reading, (although not, as Carlile wished, in consecrated buildings).[1] Several speakers welcomed, "this tidal wave of lay preaching so full of promise",[2] but many congregations did not want "the drunken, the blasphemers, and the careless" in their church buildings: they did not want the Parish Church filled with what one correspondent to the Cambrian called "street scrapings, brought in by the Church Army";[3] neither did they wish to see mobile mission rooms in church grave-yards, or laymen administering Holy Communion. In the minds of many churchmen, Carlile's proposals only made clear the necessity for careful control of Church Army methods.

Towards the end of 1884, the methods of the Church Army came under the scrutiny of correspondents to the Guardian. The correspondence was begun by Carlile when he used the occasion of an editorial leader that discussed mission clergy as an opportunity to advertise the Church Army. The leader asked the question (which had been put originally by Archdeacon Farrar in a sermon) where suitable men might be found for mission and rescue work. Carlile suggested that the "brotherhood" of the Church Army officers "provided the answer to the question and the solution to the need".[4]

In the next four months questions and accusations followed that illustrate the uneasy relationship between some churchmen and the Church Army. The new organisation was the cause of many difficulties. To one clergyman, this seemed inevitable, "A new and somewhat untried institution is sure to present certain faults at the commencement of its work".[5]

[1] See speeches pp 216-226.
[2] p 223.
[3] Reported in B. 1883. No 5.
[4] G. 1884. p 1352.
[5] Ibid. p 1765.

The possibility of schism was a dominant issue. One correspondent was worried by "rumours of schism in the ranks, and of former officers leaving the work, and starting Dissenting oppositions to and denouncing the Church".[1] Carlile admitted that, in the early days of the work, there had been occasions when this had happened. Some men were admitted to the Church Army who had since left it and encouraged schism.[2] One instance of this seems to have occurred in Leicester in the middle of 1884.[3] According to Carlile this was an "early mistake", in which a former Dissenter, on account of his excellent qualifications, was allowed to begin Church Army work after only a brief period of training and while he was still unconfirmed. Shortly afterwards he had left the Church Army and commenced to hold meetings on his own account in the same town.[4] Despite a letter of dissociation in the Battleaxe that read, "We are requested to state that A. Johnson, late a Captain in charge of the Leicester Corps of the Church Army, was dismissed from his post on July 28th. last for insubordination, and has no connection whatever with the Church Army",[5] the "rebel captain" was to cause trouble in Leicester throughout 1884. Occasionally there were allegations of scuffles between his processions and rival groups.[6] In the following year, when Carlile addressed the Peterborough Diocesan Conference, he said that this unhappy occurrence, "which had done more to cripple the Army all over the country than anything else", made it difficult for him to speak without embarrassment.[7]

[1] p 1421. [2] p 1562. [3] p 1723. 2 letters.
[4] p 1803. [5] B. 1884. No 31. [6] C.T. 1884. p 924.
[7] Peterborough Diocesan Kalendar, Clergy List and Almanack. 1886. p 230. The captain worked in Leicester on Church Army lines for six months, but then, according to Carlile, ... "something disturbed his mind, and he started in opposition within a few yards of where he had been previously working with the Vicar"...

The main complaints voiced over this incident were: that the Church Army was too ready to admit recruits from Dissent to its ranks; that neither the length nor the content of the training period were adequate enough; and that not enough care was taken to ascertain whether or not the officers were loyal to the Anglican Church. It was felt that many Church Army officers might be "Dissenters at heart",[1] and that no lay-agents ought to be employed to do Church work, "until they have been proved to be bona-fide Churchmen, and until they are morally incapable of leaving the Church and starting Dissenting schisms".[2] Carlile, although prepared to admit that errors had been made at the beginning of the work, was reluctant to concede the entire point. He believed, he said, that the explanation of why so many Dissenters had applied for Church Army membership lay in the past history of the Church itself.

> "We are quite willing to admit the errors of our infancy, but yet our real apology for allowing at times men who had been Dissenters to fill up vacancies in our ranks is in fact that in so many cases the former generations of clergy have practically ignored distinct Church teaching, and have succeeded in a marvellous manner in despatching to Dissent most of those working men whose hearts God had touched with a burning desire to preach the Gospel to their own fellows."[3]

He justified the employment of these ex-Dissenters in similar fashion:- "Owing to the fact that the Church of England had so long discouraged the employment of the laity in direct spiritual work, we have found ourselves compelled in many instances to fill up vacancies in our ranks with devout Dissenters only too ready to return to the Church".[4]

He also pointed out that the individual incumbent was partially responsible for the mission-band work; having complete

[1] G. 1884. p 1421.
[2] Ibid.
[3] G. 1884. p 1803.
[4] p 1562.

control of it in his own parish. In consequence, the Church Army was not entirely to blame for what happened to individual officers when the incumbent ceased to take an interest in the work.[1] He maintained that neither of the schisms mentioned, "would have occurred had the existing members of the congregation given a kindly sympathy towards the outcasts reached".[2] In Leicester, for example, it would seem that the methods of the Church Army caused alarm among the "good old-fashioned Church people", and it seems reasonable to assume that the new converts might not have received the whole-hearted welcome of the existing congregation.[3] Clerical sympathy and support were vital to the success of a Church Army captain. Carlile also felt that there was less potential for schism in the appointment of a Church Army officer than in the employment of a lay-reader, for had not the Church Army Captain to itinerate after six months?[4] Earlier in the year, again in response to criticism that appeared in a Church publication, Carlile described his officers as, "only revolving lay-readers of an aggressive type".[5] Church Army officers were, "nothing more", than, "itinerant lay-readers", it was claimed.[6]

Experience, and a sensitivity to criticism, did, however, lead to changes in the methods of the Church Army. At the end of November, Wilson Carlile announced that more caution was now taken in the selection of candidates for officer-training; that the length of training and the emphasis on Church teaching had both been increased; and that all Church Army captains now had to be confirmed before they were appointed to a parish.[7] In

[1] p 1352. [2] p 1562. [3] B. 1884. No 22.
[4] G. 1884. p 1562. [5] C.T. 1884. p 409.
[6] p 808. [7] G. 1884. p 1803.

addition to a greater emphasis being placed on the necessity for clerical instruction of the officers in the parish itself, and the six-monthly itinerancy rule, each officer was also asked to give a legal undertaking, with a bond for £100, "in which they agree that whether they resign or are dismissed they will not undertake any mission work of any sort within two miles of any place to which they may have been appointed when in the Church Army, without the written consent of the Committee".[1] Moreover, each evangelist was required to complete a weekly report form, in which he was expected to give details of the number of meetings he had held; the number of hours he had spent in evangelism; the number of conversions, confirmations, penitents achieved, etc. Although it is unclear when this was introduced, nevertheless the weekly report was a response to the need for greater control over the activities of captains, and it seems likely that the insistence on this statement commenced early in the history of the movement - almost certainly before 1885. The R.F. as it was known,[2] not only gave the leaders of the society an accurate statistical picture of the mission work (in passing it is worthy of note what a great misfortune it is that none of these early documents have survived a number of removals), but also strengthened clerical control of the evangelist, in that the incumbent's signature was required before the report was despatched to headquarters.

There was also modification of the para-military methods, and, at the end of 1884, in response to criticism, the leaders of the Church Army announced themselves prepared to provide for parishes working-men evangelists, "without military nomenclature

[1] G. 1884. p 1562. See also C.T. Dec. 1884.
[2] E.R. Rowan. 1905. pp 248-250.

whatever, and with a very simple uniform, black throughout". This modification was intended to allay fears about extravagance of style[1] and to make the Army more acceptable to the clergy.[2]

The Church Army and the Episcopate. The accommodation and domestication of the mission-band

It is symptomatic of the relatively loose organisational structure of the Anglican Church that the Church Army did not come to the attention of the Convocation of Canterbury until 1885; by which time the mission-band had been in operation for three years, and had established stations in approximately fifty parishes.

The debates were occasioned by a series of letters that Carlile had written to the bishops, urging them to consider granting to local Church Army officers some sort of episcopal licence for their activities. He wanted the mission-band to become fully accommodated to the Church and its methods to be accepted as a standard part of normal parochial machinery. The Church Army might supply help for the over-worked and over-stretched parochial system, by providing the Church of England with itinerating evangelists, and "developing under the guidance of the clergy the speaking power of the laity, and thus providing them with assistance in their parishes". He requested that, "some informal licence should be accorded to the work so as to link it more closely with the Church system".[3]

[1] In the opinion of one correspondence, the excitement generated by Church Army methods was identical to that of, ..."Mohammedan dervishes and Indian faquirs"... G. 1885. p 66.

[2] G. 1884. p 1684.

[3] C. of C. Feb. 12 1885. p 66. Letter from Carlile quoted by the Bishop of Oxford. The letter was printed in full in G. 1885. p 265.

Carlile made the same request to the Convocation of York, which met in April of the same year.[1] The two debates on the subject of the Church Army give a useful vignette of the position of the mission-band vis a vis the Church of England, and document the establishment of "lines of control" between the latently schismatic mission-band and the hierarchy of the Church. By the end of 1885, the Church Army was becoming increasingly accommodated to the parent body of the Church, and, from that time on, it became less and less like a quasi-conversionist sect.

In the course of the debate at Canterbury, both the Bishop of Oxford and the Bishop of Truro spoke favourably about the Army. Dr. Mackarness (Oxford) had had some experience of its workings, and testified to its ability, in many places, "to lay hold of a part of the labouring people which no other institution or organisation has succeeded in doing".[2] At present, he said, the position of the mission-band was one of transition. Soon to be separated from the Church Parochial Missions Society (for which it had grown too large), and using quasi-military methods (that the Church of England would never, of itself have adopted) the leaders of the Army were, nevertheless willing to put themselves under Church guidance, and, if necessary, to correct any mistakes and errors of which they might be guilty. "(H)ere was a movement", said the Bishop of Truro (G.H. Wilkinson), a clergyman who had been involved in the inauguration of the mission-band as a branch of the C.P.M.S., "headed by earnest men, supported by earnest Clergy and laity, who appealed to the Bishops, offering

[1] C. of Y. April 1885. pp 13-31. 'The Episcopate and the Church Army'.
[2] C. of C. 1885. p 67.

to be guided, offering to modify their own plans according to the advice that might be given them".[1]

At York, where, on the whole, the debate was more informed than its earlier counterpart in Canterbury, the Bishop of Manchester who, with the Archbishop of York had, in January 1885, addressed the first conference of Church Army officers held in Manchester, spoke in favour of the Army. He, too, emphasised the need for some kind of clarification of the status of the mission-band which, at that time, had no organised relationship to the Episcopate. "At present", he said, "the organisation of the Church Army has its headquarters in London, and is worked by a certain number of persons who form a council, and establish relations directly with the clergymen of the parishes who desire to employ the agency".[2] He also made the point that the Church Army was willing to modify its methods, even to the extent of changing its military title (Carlile had suggested the "Church Evangelisation Society" as an alternative). However, Fraser was not himself in favour of this proposal. He approved the aggressive sound of its existing name.[3]

None the less, some bishops were undecided. At Canterbury, the Bishop of Lichfield (W.D. Maclagan) described his uncertainty about the benefits of a Church Army. He was unsure whether the Bishops, "had any guarantee or security for either the orthodoxy or the discretion of the agents whom it sent into their dioceses",[4] a criticism that earlier had been voiced about the use of lay

[1] In his letter to the Bishop, Carlile had mentioned the possibility that, in the near future, the military format and the "Army" title might be dropped. This seems to have been in response to clerical criticism. C. of C. 1885. p 68. Letter quoted by the Bishop of Truro.

[2] C. of Y. 1885. p 13.

[3] Ibid. pp 14-15.

[4] C. of C. 1885. p 70.

evangelists by the Church Pastoral Aid Society.[1] Given the outcry over Maclagan's own society of lay-preachers,[2] it is somewhat ironical that he should feel it his responsibility to raise these questions: the Bishop expressed a preference for his own diocesan lay-helpers association.[3] Maclagan remained indifferent to the methods of the Church Army and reluctant to give his official blessing for some time. He declined to become a patron of the society while he was Bishop of Lichfield, and when, in 1891, he became Primate of York, he withdrew his predecessor's patronage. He withheld this sign of approval from the Church Army until 1905.[4] Perhaps, when in 1881, he visited Wilson Carlile's early work at St. Mary Abbots,[5] the Bishop (himself a former Vicar of Kensington) had not received a wholly favourable impression of the (then) infant Church Army. With other bishops at York, Maclagan appears to have felt that similar work might be organised at the parish level by individual clergy, or, through episcopal patronage, and that there was no need for a separate organisation.[6] His continuing hostility may have arisen from bad feeling following criticism of his own proposals. The Bishop of Sodor and Man (Rowley Hill) felt that the growth of societies and organisations was tending to undermine and supersede the Church, by performing tasks that ought to be accomplished by standard parochial machinery;[7] the Bishop of Liverpool(J.C.Ryle)

[1] M.J.D. Roberts. 1974. pp 139-40. [2] see above.

[3] For a description of the Lichfield Lay Mission see C. of C. 1885. pp 69-71.

[4] See the lists of patrons in C.A.A.R. 1885-1905.

[5] E.R. Rowan. 1928. p 70, records that Maclagan was "deeply impressed", by the sight of kneeling working men. Given his actions, it seems reasonable to assume that the Bishop was less favourably impressed with other aspects of the work.

[6] C. of Y. 1885. p 21, 22 and 24.

[7] p 21.

agreed, and urged that, if the Bishops decided to support the mission-band, then steps should be taken to ensure control of it;[1] while the Bishop of Chester (William Stubbs) was suspicious of any movement, "coming between the bishop and his clergy or the bishop and his flock". He supported the appointment of a committee to formulate ways in which the Church Army might be controlled.[2]

Many clergy were reluctant to adopt a Church Army evangelist because, they felt, his presence might result in an "invasion" of their parishes by a para-military organisation using techniques over which they (the incumbents) would have little control.[3] Carlile fought a continuing battle to dispel clerical suspicion about the dual control of the officer-evangelists. In March 1885, he tried to reassure the readers of the Guardian that, although a Church Army evangelist was the agent of the society, he was, nevertheless, "under the control and direction of the parochial clergy". It was, he said, the decision of the local incumbent not only whether or not to appoint a Church Army agent in the first place, but also which techniques might be used in the work. The local incumbent was able to determine both how long the agent might remain in his parish and whether or not to use the military methods. There was no conflict of authority between the local incumbent and Church Army headquarters.[4] Rather than an "invasion", the methods of the Church Army constituted a "development" of Church work.[5]

[1] p 25. [2] p 30.

[3] This anxiety was even felt by two clergymen who supported the movement. see G. 1885. p 454.

[4] G. 1885. p 453. Letter from Carlile.

[5] Ibid. p 454. Letter from C. Lea Wilson. See also B. 1885. No 45.

But, as Dr. Mackarness had said, the problem before their lordships was: "What were they to say to the existing body called the Church Army".[1] He felt that the then existing organisational form ought to be retained. He approved the aggressive military stance, even though this feature of Church Army methods was often the cause of complaint. Episcopal advice might curb any tendencies to extravagance. Speaking at York, E.R. Wilberforce (the Bishop of Newcastle) was confident that the Church Army could become of great use if the Bishops were to regulate and guide it, but even those Bishops in favour of the mission band methods were ready to admit that the agency had its drawbacks; particularly "the emotional element".

The bishops were, of course, being asked to endorse a development which had already occurred, and which had grown up ad hoc without episcopal advice or guidance at its origins. Now, as the bishops discussed it, the Church Army was already a well-organised movement with a central headquarters and many local branches, and their problem was how to incorporate the movement within existing diocesan and parochial structures while allowing it to maintain its methods and identity. This difficulty was ameliorated by the Anglican apparatus of committees, reports, etc., that served to prevent direct confrontation, and by a general preparedness on the part of Anglicans to resolve matters by discussion.[2]

Dr. Mackarness stressed the need for urgent and positive action. "Before the army had taken a complete and autonomous

[1] C. of C. 1885. p 67.

[2] For a comment on this characteristic of the Church, which is perhaps a consequence of the comprehensiveness and inclusivity of Anglicanism, see Beryl Wright. The Sect that became an Order: The Order of Ethiopia, in 'A Sociological Yearbook of religion in Britain. Vol. 5. 1972.

shape", he said, "it should have some guidance as to what that shape should be".[1] In the northern assembly, James Fraser mentioned the wish of Wilson Carlile that the mission-band might continue on Church lines, and shared the anxiety of the leader of the Church Army that without episcopal support the society might be found to be, "wandering from these lines".[2] The Bishop of Liverpool drew the attention of the Convocation to the cautionary precedent of John Wesley, and expressed his hope that the assembly might not, "throw cold water on this or any movement which appears to have about it the elements of good". Unlike the missions of Moody and Sankey, or, in his opinion, a number of parochial mission preachers, it seemed in his experience that the Church Army was achieving some success in reaching the lowest stratum of society - "those of the lowest class, such as we have never succeeded in getting into our churches or mission rooms, and who have been entirely left out in the cold".[3] Several others agreed with him and gave examples of successful Church Army work in their own dioceses.[4]

Potentially, the Church Army was a separate and independent body. The Bishop of Truro felt that the need for positive action on the part of the bishops was urgent, and, perhaps anticipating the possibility that the Church Army might follow the sectarian path travelled by the Salvation Army, he recommended that the bishops should not let the Church Army, "slip from their hands".[5] A motion was passed:-

> "heartily welcoming the working men who have expressed a desire to serve Christ in His Church, and to convert their fellows who have hitherto lived without God in the world, respectfully requests his Grace the President to nominate a Committee to report upon existing methods of employing working men for evangelistic purposes."[6]

[1] C. of C. 1885. p 68. [2] C. of Y. 1885. p 18. [3] p 23.
[4] For examples of success, see p 14, 16-17, 20-24, and 26.
[5] C. of C. 1885. p 71. [6] p 72.

The brief of the committee was rather wider than Wilson Carlile had intended.

At Canterbury, the Church Army was also mentioned in the report of the committee on the 'Spiritual Needs of the Masses'.[1] Three Church Army stations were described in favourable terms.[2] The work was, "a remarkable effort", . . . "in which some features of the Salvation Army are retained, while precautions are adopted to exclude the evil".[3] However, it was felt that the rapid development of the Church Army since the survey returns were received may have rendered the information out-of-date. In view of this the committee did not feel themselves qualified to pronounce a definite opinion on the work.[4]

At York, it was the speech of the President (William Thomson, Archbishop of York) that came out most strongly in favour of the Army. "Caution is a very good thing", he declared, "but life is short and souls live and sin, and perish, and to my mind of all things that have been done, and of all notes that have been sounded too often, is the one which has said, "Let us wait and stand still and see".[5]

He supported positive action and urged the bishops to support the existing motion proposed by the Bishop of Manchester:- "That it is desirable to consider, and if possible define, what should be the relations between the Bishop and any branch of the organisation known as the Church Army, which may be established in his diocese".[6] It was passed unanimously and the House formed itself into a Committee to consider what the nature of the

[1] C. of C. Report No 182. 'Spiritual Needs of the Masses'. 1885.
[2] pp 8-9. [3] p 8. [4] p 11.
[5] C. of Y. 1885. p 25. [6] p 13.

relationship ought to be.[1] By the following day, a number of proposals had been formulated. They represented not only the modifications thought necessary by the Convocational Assembly, but also a re-iteration of the various changes that had been made to Church Army methods during the year. The sanctions served to reduce the potential for schism, and to attenuate the difficulties about authority, by establishing a clear episcopal control over the diocesan branches of Church Army work. The resolution represented not only Convocational approval of the Church Army, but also a reciprocal acceptance, on the part of the leaders of the mission-band, of official episcopal authority and control. The Church Army received at York, "a kindly though guarded approval".[2] The resolution read:-

> "The Upper House believes it to be desirable to give encouragement to the movement called the Church Army. The sanction of the bishop should be obtained to the commencement of the work of the Church Army in any parish. The Church Army should not work in any parish without the invitation and sanction of the incumbent. Any service or form of enrolment to be used in churches or chapels, should be so framed as to be consistent with the existing Church services both as to law and as to spirit. The officers should be bound to withdraw from any parish when the incumbent no longer desires their help. The bishop should be able, if he sees fit, to inquire into, and to allow or disallow, the mode of conducting the services. With these limitations the bishops are prepared to watch with sympathetic interest the work of the Church Army, and to favour experiments of its working in their dioceses."[3]

The Bishop of Durham drew up an unofficial licence based on these suggestions.[4]

The visit to Lambeth, in July 1885, of a party of forty Church Army officers, at the invitation and under the personal guidance of the Archbishop of Canterbury, presented further evidence of the extent to which the mission-band had become acceptable, perhaps even "respectable".[5] By October of the

[1] p 31. [2] G. 1885. p 625. [3] C. of Y. 1885. p 77.
[4] It was a modified version of one he was already issuing. See Primary Charge, 1882. p 32.
[5] Much publicity was made of this visit. See B. 1885. No 49.

same year, at the Oxford Diocesan Conference, F.S. Webster could describe the society as a "handmaiden of the Church".[1]

If in the years 1883-1885, the Church Army somewhat resembled a conversionist sect, as has been suggested above, we may note two specific points at which it showed potential for schism. First: it is apparent that there is little distinctly Anglican about the military style of the mission-band, and this can be said even though Wilson Carlile was committed to the Church, and was insistent in restating this allegiance. Of course the Army espoused certain distinctive Anglican doctrines and emphasised Holy Communion and confirmation, and its leaders were ordained Anglican clergymen. None the less, what even the sympathetic Bishop of Oxford could say in February, 1885, that the Church of England, "would never of itself have adopted that particular [quasi-military] form",[2] was undoubtedly true, as many clergymen were aware. Organisationally, it was, potentially, an autonomous unit, in many ways resembling the sectarian military style of the Salvation Army.

Second, there was potential for schism at the local level - which sometimes, as at Leicester,[3] was realised. Revivalism; the distinctive military emphasis; the ideal (however qualified) of a priesthood of all believers - were all features that might prompt a local captain to lose sight of his Anglican attachment, and "set up on his own", as it were. Less seriously, there was also the possibility of conflict of authority between the captain and the local incumbent. The suspicion that a Church Army captai might undermine a vicar's authority seems to have made many clergymen reluctant to adopt the Church Army.[4]

[1] Reported in B. 1885. No 57.
[2] C. of C. 1885. p 67.
[3] See above.
[4] For an example that appeared in the Preston Herald, see B. 1884. No 34.

The Church Army was, however, not a replica of its non-conformist sectarian contemporary. Within it there was no possibility of a soldier rising from the ranks to become a leader; authority was linear and the highest station to which in practice a captain might realistically aspire was a position in the training home. Nor were captains themselves recruited directly from the ranks - candidates had to come from the "respectable" working class although later, once social welfare developed, new roles were open to officers and by the end of the century long-serving captains might get departmental responsibilities (for example Captain Prior who was given charge of the Van Department). Generally, however, vacancies were filled not from among army converted soldiers and trained officers (both of which groups were largely lower-class in origin) but by ordained clergy or occasionally by better-to-do laymen (for example Edward Clifford, the Treasurer, and late Secretary of the Evangelistic Department, who was a well-known artist and philanthropist). Indeed, given that for reasons of economy Carlile preferred Staff to serve in an honorary capacity, the ideal candidate, lay or cleric, was someone with a private income. For the leaders to be already loyal Anglicans with a place or a commitment to the Church was in itself the best guarantee of the continuing loyalty of the society to the Anglican Church.

The latent autonomy and sectarianism of the Church Army was also attenuated, locally, by the insistence on a parochial attachment and of the necessity for clerical approval; and, centrally, by the links between the leadership of the mission-band and the hierarchy of the Church. Each Church Army station came under the administrative control of central headquarters exercised through the system of military authority and obedience.

Control over captains "in the field" was reinforced by the practice, which became increasingly common during 1885, of "staff specials" from headquarters visiting Church Army parishes to encourage the work. The arrival of a "special" served not only to invigorate the mission-band (the manifest and expressed intention) but also to reduce the possibility of irregularities. By the end of 1885, it was recommended that each station ought to receive such a visit at least every six weeks.[1]

The measures taken in response to criticism of irreverance, unorthodox doctrine, and un-Anglican activity included itinerancy; better selection of officer-candidates; improved training; the requirement that the evangelist submit a weekly report countersigned by the local incumbent; and the institution of the financial bond. At the higher level, the latent autonomy of the military structure was diminished by the strengthening of links between the Church Army and the hierarchy in two directions. On the one hand, there was an increase in the number of patrons. This was a deliberate policy of Carlile's - he realised that the recruitment of episcopal and other patronage provided legitimation for Church Army methods - the good-will of a bishop or of a well-known figure made the Church Army seem more "respectable" and consequently more likely that parochial openings would be offered to it. At convocation, formal episcopal approval was both sought, and accepted, by the leaders of the mission-band. In April 1885, in an obituary to Reginald Braithwaite, the Battleaxe commented how happy Mr. Braithwaite was before his death because he had been able to see the "once despised Church Army" accepted in the Convocational debates.[2]

[1] B. 1885. No 62.

[2] B. 1885. No 46.

CHAPTER VIII

1885-1889. A period of organisation: the formalisation and domestication of mission-band methods

The years 1885 to 1889 saw the Church Army establish a mode of operations that was to remain the norm for all future work. The latently schismatic and quasi-sectarian elements of mission-band work were modified and by becoming more "respectable" the society became more recognisably an agency of the Church, whilst other changes were prompted by exigencies encountered in the evangelistic situation. As a conversionist organisation with an enrolment economy, the methods of the Church Army were sensitive not only to the "needs" of its clientele (the working-classes and, increasingly, the destitute), but also to the social and psychological demands of its leaders and officers that their activities were effective.

Church Army work diversified in several directions: there was limited expansion abroad; at home both the scope and range of mission-band activity was extended to include evangelism in villages; women were given a responsible role; social relief work was begun; and greater stress was put on the sale of society publications as an end in itself.

An "acceptable" Anglican society

In March 1885, the Church Army was separated from the Church Parochial Mission Society, and began to operate as a

semi-independent agency within the Church of England.[1] During 1885 offers of episcopal patronage (which had been very few during 1883 and 1884) began to flow in. The visit of a party of Church Army officers to Lambeth Palace under the guidance of the Archbishop of Canterbury may be regarded as a manifestation of the growing acceptability of the movement. The Archbishop of York (Thomson) became an official patron of the society in April, 1886.[2] To publicise this endorsement, the leaders of the Church Army continued to seek episcopal presence at their meetings, and a number of bishops, including Temple of London, Lightfoot of Durham, Mackarness of Oxford, and Wilkinson of Truro, agreed to act as chairmen during 1886. In October, Temple consented to open the new Church Army Training Home in his diocese.[3] By the end of 1887, twenty bishops had become patrons. There was also support at a lower level of the ecclesiastical hierarchy: the Church Army Annual Report for 1885 reported, "a most kindly reception" for Carlile at the several diocesan conferences that he addressed during the year.[4]

Despite some recent criticism of the Army over its alleged teaching of "conscious sinlessness"[5] - an accusation that the Archbishop of Canterbury sought to refute,[6] the talk

[1] On 31 March. B. 1885 No 43. [2] C.A.G. 1886 No 80.

[3] See C.A.G. 1886 No 85, 86, 108 and 111 for Temple; 1886 No 95 (Lightfoot); 1886 No 117 (Mackarness); and 1886 No 87 (Wilkinson).

[4] "Doings in 1885". C.A.A.R. p 11. [5] See below.

[6] G. 1886. p 1020. Report of Canterbury Diocesan Conference.

by Carlile on the Church Army was "extremely well received" by the Canterbury conference. Although some clergy were still concerned that the Church Army was merely, "the Salvation Army in Church clothes",[1] nevertheless, at the meeting in the diocese of London, his speech was very warmly received, in particular by Bishop Temple, who suggested that he might visit the Training Home to receive similar instruction to that given to the officer-evangelists.[2] There was also a favourable reception for the leader of the mission band at the Newcastle conference[3] while, at the Church Congress in Portsmouth he was allowed to deliver a comprehensive description of the methods and organisation of the mission-band, and to conduct a careful defence against criticisms that had been levied against them.[4] With regard to the status of the Church Army, said Carlile "It is not a church, but a society or guild within the Church, and it is always most anxious to be the Church's active hand-maiden, having its basis as wide as the Church of England."[5]

On the basis of this support from the Church the leaders of the Church Army were able to begin a programme of expansion into formerly closed areas, and the number of Church Army evangelists rose from sixty-five in 1885[6] to one hundred and sixty-two by the end of 1889.[7]

[1] G. 1886. p 377. Report of London Diocesan Conference. Comment of Rev. C. Neil.

[2] Ibid. [3] G. 1886 pp 1692-1693. Report of Newcastle Diocesan Conference.

[4] C.C.R. 1885. pp 212-228. [5] Ibid.

[6] "Doings in 1885". C.A.A.R. p 63.

[7] C.A.A.R. 1889-90. p 52.

The Church Army was a subject for debate at the Church Congress in 1886 held in Wakefield, and Carlile, who was never slow to seize an opportunity for publicity, arranged for the Army Officers' Conference to coincide with the gathering,[1] and thus guaranteed a conspicuous Church Army presence in the town. Processions and meetings were held to attract the attention of any casual participants in the Congress who might be unaware of the existence of the Army. During the Congress, the Church Army was mentioned by several speakers in the debate entitled, "The Church in Relation to the Urban Population". F.S. Webster (the Principal of the Church Army Training college) emphasised the Anglican nature of the mission-band, "as one of the best supplementary agencies for helping the Church of England to recover the lapsed masses", and commented: "It is Church work, it is cheap work, and it is very cheering work",[2] while C.I. Atherton (then of Snaith, Yorkshire, but formerly the Rector of St. Paul's, Bedminster, and an early supporter of mission-band work) attempted to justify the imitation of, "whatever has proved good in others". The Church Army did the work of the Salvation Army; "on a more real basis",[3] he said. Carlile himself made the same point at Newcastle Diocesan Conference, claiming traditional legitimation for aggressive lay-ministration: "The object of the Church Army was not to introduce any new-fangled notions", he said, "but to bring the old ways and means into vogue once more".[4]

[1] This became a regular practice. [2] C.C.R. 1886. p 266.
[3] Ibid pp 257-258.
[4] Newcastle Diocesan Conference, 1886, in Newcastle Diocesan Kalendar and Clergy List, 1887. p 267.

The theme of submission to episcopal control, articulated in the 1885 Convocation debates, found renewed expression in the Church Army Gazette, which printed a drawing of the Bishop of London shaking hands with Church Army members, accompanied by the caption, "Our picture this week represents a very simple but by no means unimportant process; two people shaking hands. The one is a Church Army soldier who has been rescued from a life of open sin and transformed by the grace of God, the other is his Lordship the Bishop of London, one of the greatest scholars and most powerful men in England".[1] The Ely Diocesan Conference for 1887 passed a motion sympathising with the work of the society, and noting with approval the "subservience" of its constitution to the Church.[2] Again, at the 1887 Church Congress held in Wolverhampton, speakers on behalf of the mission-band tended to stress the degree to which the leaders and officers of the Church Army were amenable to Church control, and testified to the determination of these men to, "bring others into the fold of the Church".[3]

This attitude of flexibility was given typical expression by the Rev. T. P. Ring, Vicar of Hanley, Staffs., in the debate on the "Adaption of Spiritual Agencies to Modern Needs": "the Church Army of the future," he said, "will be what the bishops and the clergy of the Church of England make it. We have a body of simple and earnest men (you see the officers modestly

1 C.A.G. 1886. No 90. See also C.A.A.R. 1886-87. p 11.
2 Ely Diocesan Kalendar and Clergy List, 1888. p 185.
3 C.C.R. 1887. p 67. Rev. W.R. Cosens, St. Thomas's, Dudley.

seated in the corner there) who are ready to place themselves under constitutional authority, to be moulded and trained according to the will of the bishops and the clergy."[1]

Outside the hall, a column of Church Army officers had marched behind the Congressional procession, and Carlile's shout of, "God bless the Archbishop of Canterbury", was greeted by a, "hearty volley of Amens".[2] Two weeks later, commenting on an illustration of a Church Army Council meeting that was permitted to be held in the Jerusalem Chamber of Westminster Abbey, the editor of the Church Army Gazette confessed:

"One cannot help reviewing the past for a little when looking at a picture like this. It seems to speak such volumes for the work done. It shows us that the Church Army has, with God's blessing, won its way into the very heart and soul of the dear old Church. At one time we seemed in danger of being like a piece of putty stuck against the wall, without any living union with the Church, merely tolerated as a nuisance. Those days, thank God, are over. Our working-men Evangelists have been tested all over the land, and have proved themselves a strong, solid auxiliary force which the Church can trust and be proud of."[3]

However, despite its acceptance at Convocation and by other church assemblies, and although the methods of the mission-band were welcomed in many parishes, nevertheless some clergy held the sentiments expressed in the Church Times by a correspondent who signed himself "Anti-fad" - "We have a branch of the Church Army in our parish", he said - "I am looking forward with expectation to the day when it departs, never I hope to return". He continued:

[1] Ibid. p 69.
[2] C.A.G. 1887. No 160.
[3] C.A.G. 1887. No 158.

"The Church Army in this district has utterly misrepresented the Church. It has done a minimum of good, at enormous expense, and maximum harm. It has excited the contempt of the ungodly, the pity of respectable Nonconformists, and the shame of all honest Churchpeople. It has caused an angry and sore feeling which it will take a long time to allay. I earnestly advise no clergyman to have anything to do with this hybrid organisation . . . doomed to die of starvation if left alone. If this is the only lay organisation that the Church of England can produce to win the masses, then I say in all reverence - God help the Church of England."[1]

"Anti-fad" was particularly critical of the notions of salvation and conversion taught by the Church Army officer-evangelists, and felt that these agents knew little of Anglicanism; they, "had the vaguest and most meagre idea of their own Church, and its position". On the contrary, he continued, the captains were much more familiar with organisations outside the Church:- "their acquaintance with all forms and methods of modern Dissent was close and affectionate", he declared.[2]

Like many clergy, "Anti-fad" believed that lay-evangelisation (especially by working men officers) might lead to schism. Democratic assertions of salvation by faith and the emphasis given to personal conversion by the mission-band captains might undermine traditional priestly authority with the implication that the clerical office was redundant. Even some of the supporters of the mission-band were aware of a continuing potential for schism in its organisation, and urged the bishops and clergy of the Church to embrace and shape the society in order to prevent it slipping, "into the open arms of Protestantism",[3] while the Organising Secretary of the Rochester Diocesan

[1] C.T. 1886. p 453. [2] C.T. 1886. p 505.
[3] C.T. 1887. p 41.

Society, the Rev. C.H. Grundy, was undecided whether it was desirable in London, "to set up a permanent department of excitement . . . which might afterwards be found difficult to control".[1] Some clergy, of course, were opposed to all missions that disrupted daily parochial life by stirring up excitement. For churchmen of this opinion, the Church Army belonged to the "worst kind of mission", one which, "throws the whole parish machinery out of gear and leaves the dethroned incumbent bewildered in the midst of a crowd of infant guilds and societies".[2] Work of this nature, they felt, was more likely to produce converts for Dissent than for the Church.

Despite its similarity of style to that of some dissenting revivalist organisations, the likelihood of the Church Army producing schism in the Church steadily receded. If this fear persisted so did that of unorthodox teaching. The emphasis on lay ministration and the personal testimony of converts appeared to hold the potential for doctrinal aberration. The literature of the Church Army was frequently occupied with the question of whether some members taught the doctrine of "sinless perfection", the antinomianist belief in one's own perfection to the extent that sin was precluded.[3] This idea was an heretical development of the Wesleyan notion of "assurance" (in early Methodism the existence of antinomianist teaching had provoked criticism and caused

1 Home Mission Field, 1886. Vol 28 p 63.
2 J. Wakeford. Rural Missions. 1888. p 8.
3 On this see, ReaderHarris. Is Sin a Necessity? 1897.

difficulties for John Wesley[1]) and of the Salvationist doctrine of "full salvation", and, of course, an interpretation that might be derived from the teaching of holiness held by the supporters of the Keswick Convention. Evan Hopkins was the most notable mission-band leader who supported Keswick: he practised its teachings in Church Army "holiness" meetings and taught the Keswick message to officer-candidates at the training college.[2] To the uneducated minds of the working-class evangelists, there might appear to be no clear distinction between "holiness" or assurance of salvation and conscious sinlessness, and, whether from the lips of officers giving addresses, or, as in a case in South London, mentioned at the London Diocesan Conference for 1886[3], from the utterance of strangers giving testimonies, it does seem that the teaching was sometimes (intentionally or unintentionally)given expression at the gatherings of Church Army members. The frequency with which the movement's magazines and advertisements felt the need to deny that sinless perfection was taught by Church Army officers suggests that there may have been more to the accusation than mere rumour, and even a reporter from the Record reporting a visit he had made to the Training Home, felt obliged to state: "Let me say at once that no erroneous teaching on holiness found any place in the Principal's

[1] see F. Baker. A Charge to Keep. 1947. pp 27-28.

[2] Many Church Army personalities contributed to the Keswick journal The Life of Faith e.g. E.W. Moore, Evan Hopkins, and Hay Aitken. The publication carried advertisements for Church Army methods and literature.

[3] G. 1886. No 2118 p 1020. Report of London Diocesan Conference. Closing address by Archbishop Benson.

lessons . . . he did not say that holiness could be attained by one spasmodic effort. On the contrary, he emphasised the necessity for constant prayer and pains and watchfulness, allied with the strongest trust in the power of God to keep",[1] and, as late as 1898, it was felt necessary to despatch with all Gazette parcels a copy of a pamphlet by John Wesley (which Carlile had edited) entitled Perfection: Evangelical not Sinless.[2]

Loyalty to Anglicanism had its price for the development of the Church Army and probably retarded its potential for growth. "Some people will wonder why it is that the Church Army has not made such progress as the Salvation Army", stated Captain Cox (a Church Army officer) at the 1887 Congress, and explained, "Well, there is just this about it. The Salvation Army can raise its standard where it likes, but we cannot go into a parish unless the vicar will give us permission. Nor do we want to, and we will take particular good care that we don't. If you want us, you must invite us, and the sooner the better. We want to come, but we do mean to be loyal."[3] The Church Army was not a separate society, but an agency through which the Church of England might achieve working-class conversions. For the Rev. Ring, the mission-band was a "vehicle of communication" between the Church and the masses.[4] "The Church Army", declared the entry in the Church

[1] Record. 27 Nov. 1886, reprinted in C.A.G. 1886 No 117.
[2] C.A.G. 1898. No 720. [3] C.C.R. 1887. p 71.
[4] p 70.

of England Year Book for 1888, "is a working man's Church Mission to working men. It is the restoration of a minor order in the Church which submits itself both to the Bishop and the parish priest. The Church Army provides incumbents with trained and qualified Evangelists for short or prolonged mission work, adapting its labours to suit the special needs of each parish."[1]

A Modification in style and the development of subsidiary goals

a) A reduction in military emphasis

One result of this increasing accommodation to the Church was further dilution of the para-military style of the organisation, and, by 1886, those clergy who feared an "invasion" of their parishes, or were suspicious that the recruitment of soldiers by a Church Army officer might threaten their authority or hold latent potential for schism, were offered the option of employing an evangelist "without the organisation". Working men officers were made available as aggressive lay-readers who would not however, "seek to enrol persons around [them]".[2] In the Church Army Gazette, officers were told that commissions, except for paid officers, were not to be encouraged, and were advised to be, "very slow at making any appointment of sub-officers. In some places have none."[3]

[1] Y.B. 1888. p 101.
[2] Wilson Carlile at Newcastle Diocesan Conference, in Newcastle Diocesan Kalendar and Clergy List. 1887. p 267.
[3] C.A.G. 1886. No 112.

Later, in 1888, Carlile referred to the Church Army Lay-reader as, "a man who works on modified lines, and who is allowed to remain for any period not exceeding two years".[1] This relaxation of the six-monthly itinerancy rule was further indication that an evangelist who did not seek to recruit a coterie of soldiers was more acceptable, and considered less likely to create conflict, than one who adopted the full paraphernalia of mission-band methods. In a speech to mark the anniversary of the training home, F.S. Webster alluded to this policy of submission to clerical preference. "Great pains were being taken at the Church Army Training Home", he said, "to send out what in commercial circles was a 'marketable item'", and the reports received from all parts of the country showed that that result had been attained",[2] and, in 1888, at a conference held in Nottingham, Carlile reiterated this stance, pointing out that in the Church Army there were neither colonels nor generals, and that even the title "captain" was only retained because of episcopal approval.[3]

Church Army evangelists were made available for short-term mission work, and, during 1887, tent missions were held for a few weeks in a large number of parishes. Again, it appears that to some incumbents this short-term presence of an officer-evangelist might have seemed more acceptable than a permanent

[1] C.C.R. 1888. p 53.
[2] C.A.G. 1887. No 166. Reprinted from the Record.
[3] C.A.G. 1888. No 175. On this occasion, Carlile attributed the preference to the Bishop of Oxford, but earlier, credit for this opinion had been given to the Bishop of Manchester.

Church Army station in the parish, and in the summer of 1888 there were fourteen mission-tents in operation.[1]

Notwithstanding this occasional willingness to eschew the use of military nomenclature - in some instances it was admitted that this was neither desirable nor useful[2] - the leaders of the Church Army were loathe to compromise the aggression that was implicit in the pseudo-military stance. "A Church on the defence is a Church in decline", declared Carlile:- "we must be aggressive or cease to be a power. Surely nothing less than the Church Militant in reality, as well as in name, can deal deadly blows at the ever-increasing foes which modern civilisation has to face."[3] Aggressive methods were a means to arrest the attention of the masses through "the emotional side of their nature". Thus, despite modification of style and nomenclature, the broadly military structure remained an essential feature. Long after the circumstances that provided the example and rationale for military methods had disappeared, the Church Army, like its close counterpart the Salvation Army, continued to operate as a quasi-army, with ranks, training, uniform, and an aggressive military nomenclature, while the memory of earlier persecution, in the "Westminster days", was preserved as a significant element in the received tradition of Church Army history. At the Manchester Church Congress, Carlile continued:-

[1] Y.B. 1889. p 93.
[2] See above, and C.A.G. 1886. No 116. Speech by the Bishop of Durham. See also C.A.A.R. 1886-1887. p 58.
[3] C.C.R. 1888. p 152.

"Hence we maintain that evangelistic zeal in the first instance is necessary to the Church, and that Church order is also absolutely necessary to successful and permanent evangelistic zeal. The one needs the other. We see it distinctly pourtrayed [sic] in the early Church, where earnest mission work was perfectly coupled with Apostolic discipline.

There is a fear, however, in the minds of many of those who rightly value Church order, lest there should be irreverence in evangelistic zeal, which should do more harm than good. On the other hand, there is a fear in the minds of many of those who rightly value evangelistic zeal, lest their efforts should be impeded by too intimate an union with Church order. The Church Army maintains that the two are perfectly compatible, and that the Church, like a boat, needs the two oars to pull it successfully through the storm."[1]

However, despite Carlile's confidence that closer union with the Church would not result in the attenuation of "evangelistic zeal", further accommodation to the parent body and the experience of evangelism did lead to modifications in the goals of the mission-band. Other, subsidiary, goals (that may be seen as a dilution of the original aim of working-class conversions) were added to the aims of the society.

b) Temperance work and the Church Army newspaper - a change in emphasis

From the earliest days evangelists came to recognise that other things besides sin might act as obstacles to salvation. Temperance work had been quickly added to more specifically religious concerns, first as a necessary pre-requisite to evangelism, but later as a venture important for its own sake. Canon Ellison, the Chairman of the Church of England Temperance Society, was an early Vice-President of the Church Army, and in 1887, all Church Army officers became ex-officio members of the

[1] Ibid.

temperance society[1] and began to use its pledge-cards in their evangelism.[2] By 1888, officers were encouraged to spend one night a week in this kind of activity,[3] and with the commencement, in 1893, of coffee-taverns staffed by evangelists and mission-nurses specially trained in temperance work, sobriety and the rehabilitation of inebriates became a specialised role in the society.[4]

The sale of the mission-band newspaper, the Battleaxe (the name of which was changed in 1886 to the Church Army Gazette), also became increasingly an end in itself. When the journal began, in April 1883, the leaders of the Church Army regarded it as an agent in evengelistic work. It aimed to attract attention by sensationalist stories that carried fundamentalist messages. The prospect of an early death and consequent damnation were regular themes.

Periodicals, however, acquire their own goals, and in the absence of large-scale conversions, the actual number of newspapers sold came to be regarded as an evidence of success. Although it cannot be said that publishing eclipsed converting as the goal of the movement, selling the paper came to be something of an end in itself. The journal published a weekly "contest list", indicating which stations had sold the most copies. Inter-station rivalry was encouraged by praising the

[1] C.A.A.R. 1887-88. p 9. [2] C.C.R. 1888. p 154.
[3] C.A.G. 1888 No 193, No 220. Advertisements appeared in the Gazette for "anti-crave tonic" a concoction to assist inebriates in breaking their habit. e.g. C.A.G. 1892 No 421.
[4] See Y.B. 1894 p 70.

"increases" and pointing an accusing finger at the "decreases"; for example, in January 1888, on the occasion of a slight fall:- "How is this? Surely we ought to do better", and, "the stations which have dropped out must be very ashamed of themselves, but will soon, we hope, recover to put in an appearance".[1] Earlier, in November 1887, there had been mention of a Gazette "blacklist".[2] From being an adjunct and aid in evangelism, selling the mission-band newspaper became an integral part of the "war". From 1889 the term "Gazette skirmishing"[3] became a stock phrase for the work of distribution and from 1890 agent-friends and Gazette-agents whose sole concern was selling the paper were recruited.[4] This development marked a significant shift, since these agents had a more specific, partial and less total commitment to the society as such. By July 1892, there were more agents selling the journal than captains and mission-nurses.[5] The role of "colporteur-evangelist", often a younger or less experienced officer, and sometimes referred to as a "Church Army lieutenant", was added to the ranks of the society. His task was to sell literature in the course of evangelism.[6] Moreover, partly in response to criticism that some officers were spending too much time selling the Gazettes,[7] but also as a source of finance,[8] from 1891 local corps were urged to commence

[1] C.A.G. 1888. Nos 171, 173. 174. [2] C.A.G. 1887. No 164.
[3] C.A.G. 1889. No 247.
[4] By December 1890 there were fifty-two in the contest list. C.A.G. 1890. Dec. 10.
[5] Contest list in C.A.G. 1892. No 406. [6] Y.B. 1891 pp 78-79.
[7] For example see C.A.G. 1893. No 462.
[8] Profits from the sale of the journal might help to support an evangelist in a parish where this was otherwise impossible. e.g., in St. Helen's, see C.A.G. 1899 No 761.

specialised Gazette Brigades. These gradually acquired a life of their own. From 1895, a special weekly column entitled "Gazette Brigade News" was started in the newspaper,[1] and a Challenge Banner Competition was begun[2]: by 1896, there were - although the membership of each group was relatively small[3] - brigades holding weekly or monthly meetings in forty-seven different parishes, ten of which conducted their own, local, contest competition.[4]

The Battleaxe became weekly in October 1885, and by 1887, the circulation was about 13,500 each week.[5] The change in name and the emphasis on selling led to a steady increase, and by September 1889, 23,000[6] copies were being sold in 149 stations. By the end of 1891, by which time the society was its own publisher,[7] the Gazette sold 58,000[8] copies weekly in 234 stations.[9]

The publication of periodical literature by any religious movement entails the development of a highly technical activity which has its own imperatives, and which cannot but affect the entire movement's operation, and its self-image. Publishing demands a new time-orientation of a relentless kind: the need for copy; the control of a new type of work-force with new

[1] C.A.G. 1895. No 539. [2] C.A.G. 1895. No 543.
[3] An average of about fifteen.
[4] C.A.G. 1896. No 606. In Army of the Church, Heasman refers to a "Greater Britain Gazette Brigade", the organiser of which posted copies to overseas subscribers. K.J. Heasman. 1968. p 52.
[5] C.A.G. 1888. No 171. [6] C.A.G. 1889. No 259.
[7] C.A.G. 1889. No 261. [8] C.A.G. 1891. No 377.
[9] C.A.G. 1891. No 376. The number of stations selling the Gazette is not synonymous with the number of parishes in which the Church Army was represented. It is conceivable that one parish might have three individual Gazette stations selling the journal - a captain, a mission-nurse, and an agent-friend.

divisions of labour; the inevitable and sometimes urgent questions of what is to be said on particular subjects - are all elements which can be expected to influence the movement's operation in a diffuse and penetrating way. Publishing may lead to new concentrations of power within a movement and there are examples of conflict between increasingly powerful editors and the leaders who they were created to serve (in Christian Science and the Exclusive Brethren for example).[1] The inexorability of printing, distribution and selling set up chains of obligation. The need to sell what is produced, and the need to produce on time become powerful subsidiary concerns which may in themselves dictate, or at least influence, nominally quite independent features of a movement's operation or organisation. Just as among the Jehovah's Witnesses, publishing, selling the magazine, becomes an increasingly significant concern, so something of this kind occurred in the Church Army as the Battleaxe became established. There was also rapid development in both the scope and orientation of the Church Army publication.

Although it was seen originally purely as an agent in evangelism, the editors of the journal increasingly came to realise that they were responsible in its pages not only for the recruitment of converts, but also for preaching to the ranks of the converted "soldiers". From the first, the Battleaxe had included devotional articles on topics to which special

[1] On the significance of publishing in Christian Science, see B.R. Wilson, Sects and Society. 1961 p 162. Publishing acquires even greater significance in movements with no formal priesthood, see 'The Exclusive Brethren: A Case Study in the Evolution of a Sectarian Ideology'. pp 325-326, in 'Patterns of Sectarianism', 1967, by the same author.

emphasis was given in the doctrinal stance of the society, such as the necessity of regular attendance at Holy Communion,[1] the desirability of the quest for holiness,[2] or the importance of testimony; and also to more mundane subjects, for example, tips on holding a meeting, or explications of the rule that Church Army soldiers should neither smoke nor drink.[3]

Perhaps in response to the closer relationship with the Church that was both anticipated and achieved during 1885, the newspaper began to carry a regular column entitled "Church Life" (giving readers snippets of Church news)[4] and items of more general interest.[5] An article in August was entitled, "What you would lose by Disestablishment",[6] and at the beginning of 1886 the modification of the Battleaxe to a more "Anglican" and "respectable" publication was exemplified in a change of name to "The Church Army Gazette. A Church Gospel Paper for the Working Man". "We have thought it advisable", declared the leaders of the mission-band, "to CHANGE THE TITLE of our paper, so as to bring its connection with the Church Army into greater prominence".[7] The aggressive policy of the newspaper remained - "although the name and shape may be quieter and more respectable, we have no intention whatever of diminishing the aggressive and thoroughly out-and-out character of our paper. We shall try to please our sober Church friends as to name and appearance, but we shall continue, by God's help, our plain, searching questions and our burning, soul-stirring words",[8] said Webster.

[1] B. 1883. No 2. [2] B. 1883. No 4. [3] B. 1883. No 3.
[4] B. 1885. No 37. [5] B. 1885. No 43. [6] B. 1885. No 52.
[7] C.A.G. 1886. No 67. [8] C.A.G. 1886. No 71.

Closer rapport with the Church and the resulting expansion of Church Army activity had its consequences for the society. Accommodation to the Church occurred more or less simultaneously with other modifications - in practice if not at first in theory - of Church Army evangelism as the movement began to appreciate some of the structural problems of working class life. As many overseas missionaries had already discovered, the consequences of face-to-face contact with the inhabitants of a "mission-field" were not always intended. For the leaders and officers of the Church Army this opportunity to test the practicalities of their theories about working-class religiosity led to a modification of the original goals of the society.

The introduction of temperance work to the range of mission-band methods was an early concession to this experience: it was recognised that drink as well as sin might contribute to poverty. And, as early as 1883, the leaders of the Church Army were beginning to accept that economic conditions might have an influence: it was conceded that the destitute were not always entirely to blame for their personal circumstances. An appeal for funds to provide relief in Southwick, Sunderland, included the admission that two years of economic depression had reduced even sober and hard-working families to destitution,[1] and from January 1886, free breakfasts were provided for the destitute in London.[2] In April, a "coffee supper" was offered to "roughs" in Nottingham.[3]

[1] C.A.G. 1886. No 73. [2] C.A.G. 1886. No 68.
[3] C.A.G. 1886. No 85.

There were signs, by 1886 in the reports from local Church Army stations that the initial faith in Salvationist methods as an antidote to unbelief and a solution to working-class absence from church was waning, or at least becoming modified by experience. Successful reports of "victory" were supplemented by descriptions of the work "plodding on", or, in the absence of conversions, there appeared the claim that, nevertheless, mission work was "sowing the seed". By March 1886, perhaps ten per cent of the parish reports were rather similar to that from Barnard Castle. "Although at this station we are not actually seeing many of the devil's fortresses tumbling into the dust", declared the local officer, "yet we believe that by a continuous onslaught and firing of Gospel shot and shell that the victory will be ours in God's good time".[1]

The results of mission-band methods

If the urban masses were generally indifferent to religion, this was nowhere more marked than in London. Although the Church of England did better elsewhere during this period,[2] in London its performance was dismal. The British Weekly census of 1886 recorded a total of 535,715 attendances at places of Anglican worship,[3] but, despite considerable evangelistic effort, in 1903 the calculations of R. Mudie-Smith and his assistants could produce a total of only 397,196 attendances at the services of the Church of England.[4]

The Church Army experienced especial difficulties in London and Birmingham. In June, announcing a new opening in the latter

[1] C.A.G. 1886. No 77.
[2] See A.D. Gilbert. 1976. p 28.
[3] See above.
[4] See above.

(where several stations had already failed), the editor of the Church Army Gazette referred to the problem of this type of town:- it was difficult to find suitable premises and to raise sufficient funds, and there was the additional obstacle of "the indifference to Christ's claims, that is always stronger in a large and go-ahead town".[1] In London, "indifference" was perceived to be stronger than elsewhere - a report from St. Andrew's, Battersea, included the comment that, "A London officer needs three times the courage and tenacity and fire that would supply most of the country stations . . . they are in the hottest and hardest part of the fight".[2] In order to counteract this resistance, a special weekly prayer-meeting for the Salvation of London was begun at the Training Home.

Some indication of the progress of the mission-band (or lack of it) in London may be gleaned from an examination of a census taken in 1887. In their calculations for 27 November of that year, the compilers of the British Weekly census of mission-halls in London enumerated a total of eleven Church Army mission-rooms in the city, at which there were 1,166 attendances.[3] At least four more Church Army stations appeared in the returns under the more general classification, "Church of England Missions", namely, the work of Capt. W.F. Elmes in Hackney;[4] the two stations under the superintendence of Capt.

[1] C.A.G. 1887. No 140. [2] C.A.G. 1887. No 134.

[3] 22 at the morning services; 98 in the afternoon, and 1046 at the evening meetings. See British Weekly Mission Hall Census. Jan 13-20, 1888. pp 201-240.

[4] p 218. Hackney District. This entry appears twice in the returns, but has not been included in the Church Army total.

Francis in Camberwell;[1] and that of Capt. Baillie in Marylebone.[2] In order to obtain a more accurate picture of the total number of attendances at the indoor meetings of the mission band, the participants in these services must be added to the official estimate.

British Weekly census of mission-halls. 1887.

OFFICIAL FIGURES	Approximate Accommodation	Morning Attendance	Afternoon Attendance	Evening Attendance	Total
Church Army	3,800	22	98	1,046	1,116
Plus additional stations					
Church Army, Hackney (Capt. W.F. Elmes C.A.)	250	-	-	157	157
Foxbury Rd. Mission, Hatcham	300	90	100	146	336
Woodpecker Rd. Mission (both Capt. Francis C.A.)	50	-	-	45	45
St. Barnabas Mission, Marylebone (Capt. Baillie)	110	120	135	60	315
REVISED TOTAL	4510	232	333	1454	2019

[1] p 239. Camberwell District.

[2] p 239. St. Barnabas Mission at 14 Bell St., Capt. Baillie. It is not absolutely certain that Baillie was a Church Army officer. It seems likely that this was a Church Army station, however, because it was just around the corner from the Church Army Training Home. Other Church Army mission-rooms may also be subsumed under "Church of England missions", but these are difficult to identify.

Thus, on 27 November, 1887, there were 2,019 attendances at the fifteen Church Army mission-halls that held meetings and were counted. Attendances were notably higher in the evening, and the average number of attendants at the twenty-three indoor Church Army meetings recorded in the returns was just under ninety. There were doubts about the accuracy of the figures;[1] complaints of omissions;[2] problems of definition;[3] and discussion of the effects of the weather on the general validity of the results: the day was, "a most unpropitious one - the morning lowering, the afternoon showery, and the evening wet".[4]

The results of the Salvation Army in London confirm the impression that the Anglican mission-band made a negligible impact in the Metropolis. The official census recorded a total of 53,591 attendances at the forty-four Salvation Army mission-halls.[5] This result was considered to be surprisingly poor by the organisers of the poll,[6] and McLeod estimates after a number of mistakes have been corrected, that the attendances at Salvation Army meetings in London were equal to a "mere" 0.7% of the population.

[1] see British Weekly. 27/1/88. Vol III No 65. p 242. Letter from H.W. Webb Peploe; and Vol III No 69. p 315. Letter from Dr. Barnardo.

[2] Vol III No 65. p 242. Letter from Colonel Alec M. Nicol of the Salvation Army.

[3] Some of the "mission-halls" included (e.g. Dr. Barnardo's Edinburgh Castle and F.N. Charrington's assembly hall) were considered to be churches by some correspondents, e.g. Vol III No 65. p 242 letter from Rev. A.G. Brown.

[4] Vol III No 69. p 315. Editorial discussion of a letter from Dr. Barnardo.

[5] This estimate has been criticised. One contemporary critic claimed that the 8,100 attendances at the Salvation Army's Congress Hall in Clapton had been omitted, see British Weekly Vol III No 65. p 242. More recently, McLeod believes the returns exaggerate Salvationist strength because some services outside the Metropolitan areas were included, and because the totals were incorrectly added up. see H. McLeod. Class and Religion in the Late Victorian City. 1974. p 60. Footnote 77.

[6] British Weekly. Vol III No 63. p 201.

Even allowing that an important part of mission-band work was done out-of-doors and thus not included, the showing was poor. It is thus no coincidence that Church Army social work began in London, as a response to the difficulty of straight evangelism. By July 1901, there were sixty-six Church Army homes for the destitute in the Metropolitan area.[1] A review of books about the Salvation Army and the Church Army hinted that their social work may have been undertaken, "in a kind of despair of capturing the masses in earlier ways and in a more quietly spiritual fashion".[2] Charles Booth's judgement of the progress of the Church Army in London was as follows:-

> "They shared with others the notion that if only the people could be induced to listen, the Gospel would surely win its way, and, like others, have been disappointed. As to London I know; as to the country I do not know, but feel assured that they have never succeeded beyond the extent to which novelty will always attract attention. They would not admit failure, and are still actively pursuing the attempt, but as with the Salvation Army, the best of their work, and the bulk of it, especially in London, is now social."[3]

Although it seems that difficulties were encountered in London and Birmingham, nevertheless, the methods of the Church Army were claimed to have met with success in some urban areas - notably in the North West, and by 1887, there were five stations in Manchester, three in Preston, and strong support in Bolton, Blackburn and Barrow. In addition, there were six Church Army parishes in the Wolverhampton area, and many testimonies to the utility of the methods of the society were made at the conferences where the mission-band was mentioned. In the Church Army Gazette, a column entitled "War News" reported numerous examples

[1] British Monthly. July 1901, p 413. [2] C.T. 1905. p 811.
[3] Charles Booth. Life and Labour of the People in London. Series 3 Vol VII. 1900. p 346.

of the positive contribution made by the mission-band in the parishes where evangelists were employed. The Annual Report for 1886-7 (A Year's Advance) commented on the progress made during the year: "As our officers have increased from 65 last May to 105 this April, it is plain that a large amount of new ground has been occupied. Cambridge, Luton, Cheltenham, Northampton, Deal, South Shields, Burton on Trent, Alnwick, Eastbourne have been opened among many others. The work round and in London has steadily increased; new openings have been made at Paddington, Notting Hill, Hornsey, New Southgate, Kensal Green, College Park, Croydon, Hackney and Peckham".[1] In all, the report contained successful accounts from something like fifty parishes, among which that of the Rev. F. Aston of Bushbury, Wolverhampton, was one of the most enthusiastic:

"In relation to the Church, the work of the Army is undoubtedly valuable; it has doubled my confirmation candidates, and people who begin to attend the services generally, end in becoming regular churchgoers. The Army itself, or its quarters form also a fine rendezvous for young converts, where they can meet for mutual fellowship and labour.

Of the men themselves - Those who have worked in my parish, I cannot speak too highly. They have been humble hardworking men, and by the advantages of training, are far more successful and business-like, than the ordinary, old-fashioned Scripture Reader, who is a good sort of fellow, but wants sauce for flavouring.

Of the Army - Its system, its officers and its work, stand second to none. It is the crack corps in the Church of England, and in its results and efficiency, may be backed against any systems of a similar nature".[2]

Other reports stressed the way in which the Church Army was successful in reaching, "elements impossible to reach by ordinary Church routine".[3] It was, "the right and proper link

[1] C.A.A.R. 1886-87. p 10. [2] p 36.

[3] p 30. Report from St. Paul's, Derby. See also Home Mission Field. 1889 No 4 (New Series) Vol I pp 103-105. Report from St. Mary's, Portsea.

between the Church and the people".[1] In Sunderland, the Rev. J.W. Willink, somewhat of an enthusiast for statistics, claimed an aggregate of 52,000 attendances in six months, and a total of 153 confirmations as the result of twelve months of Church Army work,[2] and in his Visitation Charge for 1886, the Bishop of Durham was prepared to attribute statistics of increased confirmations to the activities of the Church Army.[3] Numerous other examples might be given from all the publications of the Church Army, but unfortunately there is little reliable evidence, and little statistical information is available apart from the parish reports in various publications of the society, which show where the Church Army officer-evangelists and mission-sisters were working successfully (one assumes that failures were less likely to be given publicity) and the scattered mentions of Church Army stations at Congress, diocesan conferences, Convocations, and in the Visitation Charges of bishops. Unfortunately for the purposes of this study, the potentially fruitful report-forms that every worker was required to complete each week, and which might have provided a comprehensive account of the frequency and attendance at Church Army meetings, and given details of the membership, number of conversions, confirmations, etc., achieved by each corps, seem to have been lost.[4]

[1] C.A.A.R. Report from St. Peter's, Yarmouth.

[2] C.A.A.R. Report from St. John's, Sunderland.

[3] For a report of this, see G. 1886. No 2139. p 1801.

[4] The location of headquarters has been changed several times, and the disruption caused by two World Wars, the need for economy and a consequent lack of storage space seem to have resulted in the loss of these potentially valuable records.

Information supplied by the Gazette contest list (published regularly until 1900 or so) reveals the stations and personnel selling the highest number of publications. From these sources it may be suggested (albeit tentatively) that if the Church Army achieved any success in the recruitment of working-class Anglicans, then this occurred in the North West[1] - in Blackburn, Preston, Manchester and Bolton (which in 1898 was referred to as a "proper Church Army place")[2] - in the North East (especially Sunderland); and in parts of the Midlands.

Despite the optimism of some of the testimonies to the utility of mission-band work and notwithstanding the relative "success" during the years 1885 to 1886, examination of the membership statistics of the mission-band that are available, does not support the opinion that the methods of the Church Army had any significant permanent influence of the ranks of the "unchurched". The increases of late 1885 and 1886 were not maintained, and despite the continuation of successful reports from existing stations and claims of "new ground opened", large-scale working-class conversions did not result. In 1885, the number of adult communicant members claimed was 6,000; in 1886 it was 10,000; but by 1890, the published membership had risen to only 12,000.

[1] see R.S. Ferguson. Diocesan History - Carlisle. 1889. pp 198-199. The methods of the Church Army had been introduced "with good effect".

[2] C.A.G. 1898. No 700.

Number of "soldiers" and adults confirmed. 1885-1892

Annual Report	Total number of "communicant members"	Number of adults confirmed during the year
1885-1886	6,000	3,000
1886-1887	10,000	4,000
1887-1888	12,000	5,000
1888-1889	12,000	6,000
1889-1890	12,000*	6,000*
1890-1891	12,000	6,000
1891-1892	12,000	6,000

* The Annual Report for 1889-1890 did not contain an abstract of statistics. The figures given are culled from the Year-Book of the Church of England. After 1892, the number of communicant members was no longer published.

These figures, if they are correct, indicate a stabilisation (one might say stagnation) of Church Army membership at around twelve thousand soldiers, and suggest that there may have been a relatively high turnover of members. For example, if 5,000 adults were confirmed and added to the number of soldiers in 1887, then, in order to account for a total rise in membership of only 2,000 from the year before, it seems reasonable to assume, apart from loss by death, that 3,000 other soldiers must have left the Army.

Of course it is possible that these apparent "losses" may be accounted for in part by "communicant members" leaving the mission-band and its coterie of soldiers to become full and active participants in the parish church to which their station was attached. Implicit in this suggestion is the notion of the Church Army mission-band as an organisation characterised by transitory membership, somewhat analogous to the Sunday School, to which "converts" belonged for a limited period before "graduating" to the Church (this, of course would imply a less "sect-like" form of organisation for the society, and

further encourage the term "agency" as a suitable description of its organisational form). In a sense this was the ideal of Carlile, although he would have expected his converts to continue as mission-band workers whilst assuming parish responsibilities.

Stricter conditions of membership may have contributed to the falling-off in recruitment;[1] and, although it seems unlikely - in most cases Carlile and his colleagues were very eager to utilise as publicity any evidence of success - the wish on the part of the leaders not to too much differentiate their society from the Church, may have also influenced the absence of claims for a rising membership. Headquarters also claimed that many incumbents discharged their officer-evangelists after six months or so, and carried on the work by themselves as an independent venture, and that a Church Army captain sometimes developed in others qualities of leadership so that the work might continue on a parish basis after his departure. Closer accommodation to the Church, and "acceptance" by the Anglican community did promote the view that Church Army methods were part of regular parochial machinery rather than a separate agency. This was certainly the case by the end of the century; for instance, in Life and Labour of the People in London, by Charles Booth, a detailed description of St. Mary's, Spitalfields, includes a reference to, "a Church Army captain, who, with his wife, carries on the militant part of the work",[2] although this is not included separately in the general description of places of worship.[3] In this, and other, censuses, mission-band work was

[1] C.A.A.R. 1886-87. Report from St. Peter's, Preston.
[2] C. Booth. Series 3 Vol. II. p 13. [3] Ibid. pp 107-109.

probably subsumed under the more general category, "Church of England missions" (as was the case in R. Mudie-Smith, The Religious Life of London, 1904), or, as in the case of the open-air work of the Church Army (for example in the British Weekly Mission Hall Census of 1887), not included at all.

Despite these explanations for the lack of recruited members, nevertheless, the alternative explanation is that losses were the result of waning enthusiasm. Some of the parish reports suggest declining success after the first novelty of the para-military style had worn off, while the leaders of the mission-band printed reminders in the Church Army Gazette stressing the importance of wearing the "red-cord"[1] and criticisms of soldiers who enlisted in the Church Army but did not turn up for meetings.[2] The "News from the field" in the 1888-1889 report is noticeably less glowing in character than the parish accounts in the reports for 1885 and 1886, and it was admitted that in a few parishes, "from want of sympathy from the Clergy and from the elder Church people, it has been difficult to organise any large results from a Church point of view".[3] Notwithstanding the claims of growing attendances at Church Army meetings, and a steady increase in the number of officer-evangelists and mission-nurses, the number of ordinary "soldiers", and, it will be suggested, the number of stations in which a coterie of soldiers was recruited at all, remained relatively static.

[1] C.A.G. 1888. No 196.
[2] C.A.A.R. 1889-90. p 44.
[3] C.A.G. 1887. No 148.

Number of meetings (outdoor and indoor) and claimed attendance at Church Army meetings. 1885-1892

Year	Outdoor meetings	Indoor meetings	Total attendance
1885-1886	20,000	20,000	3,000,000
1886-1887	30,000	40,000	5,000,000
1887-1888	40,000	50,000	7,000,000
1888-1889	40,000	50,000	7,000,000
1889-1890	40,000*	50,000*	7,000,000*
1890-1891	40,000	50,000	7,000,000
1891-1892	40,000	50,000	7,000,000

* The Annual Report for 1889-1890 did not contain an abstract of statistics. These figures have been taken from the Year Book of the Church of England. The only other figure available is for 1894-1895 when a total number of 45,000 meetings was claimed.

Given the enormous number of claimed "attendances" at Church Army meetings and this dearth of actual members, it appears that the majority of those present at meetings were casual "attenders", attracted by the novelty of the proceedings, rather than fully committed and active participants. The high turnover of membership suggests that even for a "convert", membership of a Church Army corps was on the whole a temporary rather than a permanent decision. A proportion of converts probably "slipped back" into their former lives, or moved, in turn, to other organisations that offered more exciting incentives to membership. The number and variety of religious and philanthropic endeavours aimed at the destitute during this period induced the contemporary speculation that some individuals "floated" from one to another, attracted in one instance by novelty, and in another by the offer of free food or entertainment.

The commencement of social work, overseas and rural evangelism, and the introduction of a responsible role for women

The introduction of the provision of social relief to the range of mission-band methods was partly an extension of the principle of "attraction" and partly a consequence of an increase in social awareness of the Church as a whole. During the 1880's, ecclesiastical attention had been directed towards the problem of destitution by pamphlets like the Bitter Cry of Outcast London and novels of the "social explorer" type. However, unlike the supporters of the Christian Social Union, the leaders of the Church Army did not, at first, conceive a solution to the problem that was social in character. Initially, a purely spiritual remedy was preferred; and, between 1882 and 1885 or so, Carlile in particular was prepared to identify the causes of poverty in purely spiritual factors such as ungodliness and sin. However, contact with the "heathen poor" led to a modification of this extreme position, as first; drink, and, between 1886 and 1889, economic conditions, were seen as obstacles that might hinder social and spiritual salvation.[1] It was realised that many of those who attended evangelistic meetings were there not to get saved, but to get warm.

It was obvious to Church Army officers that the offer of a free meal or warmth might more readily induce the "careless" to attend a meeting than the appeal of the military procession: in 1887, a coffee supper was provided at St. Thomas's, Preston, "to keep men out of the public houses",[2] and at St. Mark's,

[1] For a discussion of this dilemma for Evangelicals, see D.O. Wagner. The Church of England and Social Reform since 1854. New York. 1930. esp. pp 174-233, and particularly p 202:-... "For many years churchmen argued the futile question whether the pig made the sty or the sty made the pig. Evangelicals never submitted to the sty but they learned from bitter experience that it was quite as stubborn a fact as the pig"...

[2] C.A.G. 1887. No 133.

Woolstone, this facility was used, "to get the people in".[1] The welfare work was also founded on the realisation that in order to confront the emotions and intellect of the destitute one had first to provide for their immediate physical needs,[2] and, once this premise was accepted, it is not difficult to imagine how, in a situation where conversions were not forthcoming, the "means" of social relief might increasingly replace, or at least supplement, the "end" of their original inception - the salvation of souls. By 1890, the leaders of the Church Army had launched an ambitious campaign to "solve" the problem of destitution in England, which included a system of labour-homes, lodging houses and training-farms which were to a great extent a duplication, although not, it was claimed, an imitation, of William Booth's Darkest England scheme.

One of the earliest instances of Church Army relief work occurred overseas. Perhaps in response to the needs of emigrants from Europe, the Church Army station in the parish of St. Peter, Sydney, was, by September 1886, providing food and shelter for the "homeless and penniless".[3] In England, social work was introduced more gradually. Free breakfasts and suppers began during 1886, and Christmas of that year saw several stations start the regular practice of giving dinners to the poor.[4] During 1887, "Church Army Teas" became regular events in many parishes.

In addition to the provision of relief, the leaders of the Church Army began to search for a more permanent remedy

[1] C.A.G. 1887. No 162.
[2] An opinion supported by 'Lay Helper', see The Masses - How Shall We Reach Them. 1886.
[3] C.A.G. 1886. No 105. [4] C.A.G. 1887. No 120.

to the problem of destitution. The first suggestion of a more comprehensive policy towards social relief occurred during 1888, when the mission-band newspaper began to print advertisements on behalf of Church Army soldiers seeking employment,[1] and, in May 1899, several evangelists were appointed for special work among specific classes of the "deserving": one captain was charged with the needs of London cabmen; another was given the care of the unemployed who gathered outside the Dock Gates; while a third began the visitation of London lodging-houses. The possibility of prison-gate work was also mentioned.[2]

The Church Army "scheme" for social relief was a response to the exigencies of an evangelistic situation in which it was perceived increasingly that the Gospel message was not a universal antidote to destitution. Their response was at first local and pragmatic - the "first" labour-home was begun during the winter of 1889 at a mission-hall in West London, to cope with essentially immediate needs.[3] In the field - in common with their Salvationist counterparts[4] - the officers of the Church Army found it difficult to avoid the provision of relief.

> "The Church Army workers at St. Mary's Mission Hall, Crawford Street, were distressed by the numbers of destitute outcasts who attended the Evangelistic Meetings, evidently for the sake of the brief respite from weary wandering in the bitter cold . . . it was felt that something must be done. Bread and hot coffee were provided. Some of those who had nowhere to go were allowed to sleep in the Hall, for it was too cruel to turn them out into the streets, and it soon became necessary to devise more suitable accommodation."[5]

[1] e.g. C.A.G. 1888. No 197.

[2] C.A.G. 1889. No 240. For an example of cabmen's work, see C.A.G. 1889. No 248, and on lodging-house work C.A.G. 1889. No 246.

[3] see "Who is My Neighbour?". Oxford. 1905. p 2.

[4] see Christine Parkin. The Salvation Army and Social Questions of the Day, in A Sociological Year-Book of Religion in Britain. 5. 1972. pp 111-112.

[5] see Reform. Fiscal and Physical. 1903. pp 13-14.

Relief was not, however, given indiscriminately, and the leaders of the mission-band held that recipients of aid must also demonstrate a willingness to redeem themselves. Its leaders were aware of the existence of rice-Christians - "Many a man will profess conversion to any religion you like to mention, for a small consideration", confessed a review,[1] and to counteract this unintended consequence of charity and frustate, "the clever loafing adventurer, who exploits in turn all benevolent agencies",[2] the principle of self-help and the labour test became central features of the scheme. At the Crawford St. Mission Hall, a method of selection was devised:- "Rules and Regulations were drawn up, and enforced. A Labour Test was exacted, which generally took the form of chopping firewood".[3]

Wilson Carlile, like William Booth, was prepared, by 1891, to accept destitution and the poor as the responsibility of the Church,[4] and he had propounded and begun an ambitious plan of co-ordinated social work to discharge this care. Again in common with the Salvation Army, it was the value of its social relief work that was to bring public acceptance and royal recognition for the methods and organisation of the Church Army. It is not suggested that there was self-conscious supplementation of the originally purely spiritual goals of the Army, but, by the end of 1891, the diversification of the activities of Church Army personnel was given institutional expression in the formal division of its administration into two major

[1] Ibid. p 11.

[2] The Early Days of the Church Army. 1883-1888, and its Present Position. 1891. p 34.

[3] Reform. Fiscal and Physical. 1903. pp 14.

[4] Wilson Carlile. Retrospect and Prospect. 1891. esp. pp. 12-13. see also 'Facts about the Church Army'. 1892. p 5.

departments - the Evangelistic and the Social.[1] By the end of 1892, there were five departments in the society - Evangelistic; Social; Financial; Publishing, and Training Home.[2] In the absence of spiritual "success", and although the purpose of evangelism was still seen as, "the foundation part of our work [which] supplies the motive power for all the other more social efforts",[3] social work and other subsidiary activities could be construed as a rationale for existence.

For some sections of the Church, social work served to justify in utilitarian terms the continuing existence of the society, in that, as in the case of brotherhoods,[4] the mission-band agent might be considered to be acceptable because of the practical benefit that he provided, rather than in terms of the self-perceived and self-conscious "call" to Christian service experienced by the captain himself. To some clergy, the employment of a mission-band evangelist engaged partly, or even wholly, in social work, might have seemed less of a threat to their parochial authority than that posed by a captain devoted entirely to evangelism and the recruitment around him of a (potentially troublesome) coterie of soldiers. From the point of view of some sections of the Church, and of society as a whole, the introduction of social relief work made the Church Army more "acceptable" - thus from several points of view this development was a "convenient" adaptation of methods and activities.

Experience in the poorer urban areas led to the modification of another tenet of mission-band policy. It was precisely

[1] C.A.A.R. 1890-91. [2] Y.B. 1893. p 66.

[3] C.A.A.R. 1891-92. p 24.

[4] On the legitimation of brotherhood and sisterhood see M. Hill. The Religious Order. 1973. pp 139-179.

in those parishes where the "need" was greatest - in slum areas with poorly endowed churches - that incumbents with limited finances could least afford the expense of a Church Army evangelist. Despite the claim that most officers were self-supporting, in March 1887, the Church Army Gazette launched "The Church Army Jubilee Fund. £5000 Wanted At Once. To assist temporarily in the poorest Church Army parishes where the work must otherwise cease".[1]

Work was also begun in rural areas. Although it was the deficiencies of the ministrations of the Church in urban areas that had first attracted the attention of the leaders of the Church Army, the problems of large country parishes soon became apparent, and officer-evangelists were appointed to assist rural clergy - most notably in the poorer and larger parishes, where to a certain extent the activities of an evangelist might be seen as a substitute for a curate. By 1885, there were stations in places such as Kendall, Copthorne (Sussex), Swanscombe (Kent), and Ulgham (Morpeth), and by September 1886, nineteen evangelists were at work in rural parishes.[2] A paper entitled "The Church Army in the Village" was read at Morpeth Ruri-Decanal Conference in March 1886.[3] Church Army work in the High Church parish of Ulgham was described, but the author stressed the importance of clerical sympathy and involvement in the work:- "It is necessary that the Vicar should be so heartily in sympathy with the object in view, as not only to help in every possible way, but to be willing, if necessary, to make some sacrifice of personal tastes

[1] C.A.G. 1887. No 131, and No 137.
[2] see G. 1886. p 1367, letter from Carlile.
[3] Reprinted in C.A.A.R. 1885-86. pp 56-61.

and feelings".[1] Although the country parish was considered a soft option for an evangelist,[2] by 1886, it was accepted that the methods of the society were useful in villages as well as in towns,[3] and a new technique was introduced to make the work easier in large rural stations - an appeal was launched for funds to buy bicycles and tricycles, or, as they were known in the parlance of the mission-band, "Church Army Chargers".[4] A later extension of this principle was the Church Army Van.

Requests for captains from overseas clergy began in 1885,[5] and by the end of 1886, Church Army stations had been established in Nova Scotia and Australia.[6] By 1887, the work had been extended to Canada, India and the United States.[7] The first issue of the Church Army Gazette for that year began with the statement:- "1887 comes to us with the cry from the heathen abroad. 800,000,000 without Christ".[8] Despite this positive note, and although a foreign fund was set up to finance the venture, there was an ambiguous attitude to the development:- "Though we are not anxious to send men abroad, but to spend our whole energies on the heathen at home, yet some of our most earnest brothers have had it laid upon them to wish to carry the work [abroad]".[9]

The extension of the work to India was stimulated by the visit to England of Ishan Ullah, a "Mahammedan" convert, who toured Church Army stations describing the need for missionaries in India.[10] Several Church Army captains offered themselves for

[1] p 61. [2] C.A.G. 1887. No 134. [3] C.A.G. 1886. No 80.
[4] C.A.G. 1887.No 139. [5] B. 1885. No 49.
[6] C.A.G. 1886. No 105. [7] C.A.A.R. 1887-88. p 49.
[8] C.A.G. 1887. No 119.
[9] C.A.A.R. 1888-89. p 16. see also C.C.R. 1888 p 154. Speech by Carlile.
[10] C.A.G. 1886. No 92, No 97.

the work,[1] and, in September 1887, three officers, accompanied by Edward Clifford, left for India. Mission-work was begun under the auspices of the Church Missionary Society at Amritsar, and by 1890, five captains were employed both here and at other stations in Bhagalpur and Calcutta.[2] The work was continued, "until in 1894 it was felt that it could be carried on more effectively if placed entirely under local control, and accordingly the officers joined the Church Missionary Society, and the Church Army, as a separate body, disappeared from the field".[3] It was the claim of the leaders of the mission-band that many of its former officers went to work for overseas missionary societies, but in the case of the C.M.S., it has proved impossible to discover more than eleven Church Army captains who followed this route.[4] There are, however, examples of evangelists beginning work for other missions while remaining associates of the Church Army.[5]

In Canada, the work was carried out among the fishing community,[6] and among the Red Indians[7] - a report of the corps at Metlakatla stated: "The Captains' uniforms now adopted look well on the Indian, and carry order and form to a race formerly lax in these things".[8]

In Australia, the work began in Sydney[9] and spread later to Melbourne,[10] sometimes trying to make converts among the

[1] For a critical comment on this policy see G. 1887. p 114.
[2] C.A.A.R. 1890-91. p 51. [3] E. Rowan. 1st ed. 1908. p 218.
[4] Result of examination of Church Missionary Society Candidates List, and the C.M.S. List of Native Clergy. A similar search at the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel revealed only three ex-officers who joined the missionary society before 1914.
[5] e.g. St. Paul's Mission in Nova Scotia. see C.A.G. 1889. No 743.
[6] C.A.A.R. 1890-91. p 57. [7] For a report see C.A.G. 1896. No 631.
[8] Report from A.G. Hicks, reprinted in C.A.G. 1897. No 658. See also "How the Red Indians prepared for Christmas" in C.A.G. 1897. No 691.
[9] C.A.G. 1886. p 105. [10] For an account see C.A.G. 1898.No 728.

Aborigines.[1] Meanwhile, in France during 1896, a Church Army station/hostel was opened in Marseilles to assist Armenian refugees fleeing from the Turks.[2] When the emergency had passed this establishment became a Sailors Home and Institute.[3] A Church Army station was started at Philadelphia in the United States, but, as Heasman points out in Army of the Church, the methods of the Church Army did not become well-known internationally until the Pan-Anglican Congress of 1908, when the society held an exhibition of its different types of work at the Albert Hall. The interest aroused in overseas bishops by this display led to invitations for officer-evangelists to undertake short-term mission work in Canada, India and China, but the most significant expansion abroad did not occur until after the first World War, a period that lies outside the scope of this study. Autonomous Church Armies were, however, begun in the United States in 1927, in Canada in 1930, in Australia in 1934, New Zealand in 1935, and other ventures were commenced in India, East Africa, and the Caribbean.[4] Despite early incursions into the overseas mission field during the 1880's and 1890's, the Church Army did not establish a significant presence abroad until the twentieth century, but chose instead to concentrate on evangelism at home.

Despite the commencement of work in villages and expansion abroad, the introduction of social relief work is seen as the most significant development during the period 1885-1889. In a situation where wholesale conversions and expansion of the

[1] C.A.G. 1900. No 808. [2] C.A.G. 1896. No 630.
[3] C.A.G. 1897. No 671.
[4] K.J. Heasman. 1968. pp 146-164. Some of these overseas branches have their own journals e.g. The Pioneer (Church Army in Australia), and Workers Together (Church Army in New Zealand).

"spiritual" side of the society were not forthcoming, the provision of food and shelter might be construed as an alternative form of activity that offered evidence to the leaders and officers that their work was effective.

The role played by social work in the activities of the mission-band was further increased by the introduction, in March 1887, of a position of responsibility for women. Before this date, and although they were prepared to recommend women soldiers for work as sisters (for which a register was kept at headquarters), the leaders of the Church Army did not employ women as commissioned officers.

Despite the somewhat more secular overtones of the job, the announcement of the commencement of "Church Army Mission Women" was headed, "Important War Notice", and asked for "Any Church Army sisters who have had hospital training, and are willing to give themselves, even if only for a year or two, under Church Army Headquarters, to war against sin and suffering for a small remuneration here, but a great one hereafter, are requested to apply at once to the Secretary". Like the officer-evangelists, the mission-women were required to work under clerical supervision, but unlike the male captains, their job included not only, "the conversion of souls", but also "ministering to the sick and afflicted". The mission-nurses were expected to "nurse, visit, take classes and mothers' meetings, [and] assist in Church Army meetings".[1] In June, a course for Church Army sisters was begun, and in October a special training home was opened at 118 Edgware Road. The course lasted ten weeks and included training, "in vigorous Church Army work, with a good ambulance course", and involved

[1] C.A.G. 1887. No 130.

the opportunity for some practical hospital experience. By the end of 1887, the Church Army mission-nurses were, "labouring as well for body as for soul".[1]

In practice, it seems that there was some ambiguity over the extent to which the mission-women were allowed to preach in public. This was a misunderstanding that brought criticism from quarters that disapproved of the public ministration of women - for example, Hensley Henson.[2] In contrast to the arrangements in the Salvation Army, the role of Church Army mission-nurse was in no way comparable to that of a Church Army evangelist - "Headquarters feel that the post of Captain is not in any way suitable for women, whose duty is not so much the terrible anxiety of leading, as to do all they can to win souls in submission to another's authority".[3] In common with the Church at large, the leaders of the Church Army conceived of the woman's role in terms of the position that she occupied in family life: one of submission to paternal authority.[4] The position of mission-nurse was more analogous to that of a deaconess, or a member of a sisterhood, than to that of a female Salvation Army captain (indeed, the first superintendent of the Mission Nurses' Home, a Miss Warner, was herself a former deaconess): the contrast between sect and Church agency is clear.

Most of the early candidates seem to have come from the late nineteenth century reservoir of unmarried, middle-class

[1] C.A.A.R. 1887-88. p 6. For further details see pp 12-14. The college was in Little Queen St., just off the Edgware Road, see A.E. Reffold. A Noble Army of Women. 1947. p 11.

[2] See correspondence in G. 1891. Nos. 2360-2362.

[3] C.A.G. 1887. No 144.

[4] See M. Vicinus. Suffer and Be Still. Women in the Victorian Age. Indiana. 1972.

"ladies" that provided the personnel for much of the philanthropic endeavour of the period - in September 1886, when Carlile's sister (Marie) became superintendent of the training home, she discovered the majority of her early trainees to be "offspring of sheltered homes".[1]

At that time, the college was relatively unorganised, with no fixed term, and a period of training that was sometimes as short as a few weeks. Under the guidance of Miss Carlile (who had helped in her brother's first religious work in Richmond) the college soon became more methodical[2] and began to recruit more candidates from the ranks of working women. Of the eight mission nurses who appeared in the published list for 1887-1888, only three were still engaged by the society in 1889,[3] and by 1890 it was claimed that most of the candidates for women's training were domestic servants or shop workers.[4] This is confirmed by the candidates' lists from 1894 onwards which (although incomplete) represent the earliest evidence I have been able to discover on the social background of the mission-nurses.

In 1895, of the ninety-six women who applied to the training home for whom records exist, thirty-four were accepted. Of these, seventeen were domestic servants; four described themselves as formerly being "at Home" (a category that we can assume to contain "ladies" of the middle class); three were shopworkers; three nurses; and two were former mission-workers for other endeavours. The rest were made up of one packer in a laundry, a companion, a ware-house girl, a dressmaker and a

[1] A.E. Reffold. 1947. p 17. see also M. Hill. 1973. pp 300-307.
[2] Ibid. for further details.
[3] See lists of mission-nurses in C.A.A.R. 1887-88, and 1888-89.
[4] C.A.A.R. 1890-91. p 59.

weaver. In 1896, there is a record of thirty-eight applicants, eight of whom were successful: two were domestic servants and two were mission-workers, with one each of the following:- confectioner's assistant; button weaver; a nurse; and one in the "at Home" category. Sixty are recorded for 1897, and twenty-one were accepted. The occupation of two of these is not known, but of the remainder; six were domestic servants; three "at Home"; two weavers; two teachers; two governesses; a nurse; a clerk; a tailoress and one ex-Salvation Army officer. The average age of the successful applicants was twenty-six.[1]

The officer-evangelists- their role and turnover

The exigencies of external circumstances, such as the need to find roles for the women who were drawn to the Church Army and for whom the military analogy was perhaps less relevant than for men (particularly since they were excluded from officer roles), were not the only forces influencing the development of the Church Army. The authority structure of the mission-band inhibited separatist sectarian proclivities, and militated for the movement's gradual development into a specific Church agency. Although the leaders of the Church Army adopted a para-military hierarchy of ranks that appeared to imply the possibility of upward mobility for working-men (an opportunity that perhaps seemed denied to them in the wider society), nevertheless the authority structure was essentially linear: unlike the Salvation Army, the leading positions were not occupied by men who had risen from the ranks, but by clergy and well-to-do lay patrons. Perhaps, partly in consequence of

[1] Calculations from candidates' lists. I am grateful to Sister J.M. Wilbourne, C.A., for her assistance in finding this information.

this lack of opportunity for promotion, there was a high turn-over of officer-evangelists.

Candidates for the training home were recruited through the pages of the Church Army Gazette and other Church newspapers, and by personal recommendation, but in the early years few appear to have remained in the society for more than two or three years: for many of the so-called "red-hot" evangelists, one year seems to have represented the limit of their service. Notwithstanding the claim of F.S. Webster in September, 1886, on the occasion of the opening as a new training home of 128-130 Edgware Road, that thirty-seven of the thirty-nine men trained at the previous London home (174 Edgware Road) between 1885 and 1886 were still working,[1] of the seventy-two captains who appeared in the list published in the Annual Report for 1885, fifty-nine (82%) were still at work according to the 1886-1887 list, but, of this original sample, only twelve captains (plus one associate evangelist)(18%) were still active for the society in 1890-1891. Thus, there was a relatively high turn-over of officers in the early years: for most "cadets", the role of Church Army officer-evangelist did not apparently become a life-long vocation.

Turnover of officer-evangelists. 1885/1886 - 1892/1893

Year	Number of officers in the 1885/86 list who appear in the lists for the following years	Expressed as a percentage of the original 1885/86 list
1885/86	72	100.00
1886/87	59	81.94
1887/88	40	55.55
1888/89	27	37.50
1889/90	18	25.00
1890/91	13	18.05
1891/92	8	11.11
1892/93	8	11.11

[1] C.A.G. 1886. No 111. He repeated this claim at the Church Congress of 1886, see C.C.R. 1886. p 265.

This high turnover rate may have been in part a consequence of the lack of much opportunity for promotion during the early years, but it also resulted from the demands of the role itself. Although the advertisements for candidates always expressed the hardship and sacrifice involved in the vocation of an officer-evangelist, the work probably turned out to be harder, and in some senses more frustrating than the new cadet could have anticipated. For one thing, the principle of itinerancy (which was held particularly strongly in 1885 and relaxed only gradually towards the end of the 'eighties) prevented the development of local ties and associations - indeed, these were actively discouraged by the leaders of the society. As a way of reducing the possibility for schism, Church Army captains were forbidden to return to a previous posting without permission, and even letters to their former friends and colleagues in an old parish had to be forwarded open to the present occupant of the station.[1] Itinerancy militated against the formation of other ties, and although marriage was not forbidden to mission-band captains, the desire to establish a home and family was perhaps a common reason for giving up work that involved so much moving about.[2]

Nor was there much role autonomy.[3] The incumbent determined just what methods a captain might use and the complaints occasionally received by headquarters indicate that evangelists did not always get the scope they had anticipated.[4] The role

[1] For a strong re-iteration of this rule, see C.A.G. 1893. No 450.

[2] E. Rowan. 1st edition. 1905. pp 252-253.

[3] A complaint to H.Q. from the incumbent might result in immediate dismissal. For an example see G. 1895. p 482. Letter from G.T. Dunne.

[4] C.A.G. 1895. No 545.

was strictly circumscribed to getting conversions: subsequent teaching and pastoral work were the prerogative of the local clergy. They hewed the "rough blocks" and left the finishing to the incumbent and his curate. Captains were not expected to make apparent their churchmanship loyalties.[1]

In 1895, the problems facing the Church Army evangelist were the subject of a series of letters to the Guardian, during the course of which one correspondent (Pro Bono Ecclesiae) tried to classify the dilemma facing the officers. If they were successful, and fortunate enough to work under an incumbent who encouraged mission-band methods, this very success might foster the realisation that there was more to Christianity than campaigning for conversions. Thus the officer might perceive the importance of the sacraments, or come to acquire particular views on Churchmanship. If the captain expressed these opinions in his preaching, however, he was liable to be dismissed for exceeding his prescribed role. On the other hand, if the captain persisted in using aggressive methods in which he had been trained, in a parish where they were disapproved, this might also lead to dismissal. The role of Church Army evangelist was fraught with difficulties created not by the officer or the clergyman, but by the system.[2]

[1] If they did they might be dismissed e.g. C.A.G. 1895. No 545. For a protracted discussion of the problems of the Church Army evangelist see G. 1895. Nos. 2565-2573, and below. See also C.T. 1887 p 96; C.A.A.R. 1886-87 p 56; Facts about the Church Army. 1892 p 9. Some clergy doubted whether it was possible to train an evangelist who could work with all schools of churchmanship, and, one correspondent stated his view ..."that a course training which shall prepare a man to work with equal harmony under the auspices of Canon Christopher, of Mr. Barnett, and of "Father" Suckling must leave him, so far as many matters of primary religious importance are concerned, in a condition too uncritically receptive to be consistent with the office of preaching". G. 1891. p 176.

[2] G. 1895. p 387.

Critics complained that the Church Army really recruited men who instead of eventually taking on work for Church societies at home or overseas or, as dedicated laymen, taking up secular employment - all of which the society itself saw as appropriate destinations[1] - rather tended to enter the Nonconformist ministry.[2] Several of the correspondents in the Guardian discussion implied that some Church Army captains had become dissenting ministers,[3] and, although this was denied on several occasions by the leaders of the mission-band, nevertheless Carlile and his fellow administrators were reluctant to prove their argument by giving the full breakdown of the destinations of ex-officers that was requested by their critics.[4] Whether, as their opponents suggested, this was because the figures would not flatter the Church Army, or whether they were not available, is a matter of conjecture, but the movement's leaders were generally conscious of the importance of accurate records - viz. the wealth of statistical data about social work contained in the Annual Reports - and their disinclination to reveal information may here have arisen from the fear of bad publicity.[5] By 1895, closer accommodation to the hierarchy of the Church, and the acknowledgement of the utility of their social relief work, had rendered the Church Army fairly "respectable", both to Anglicans and to society at large, and the wish on the part of its leaders to retain this reputation may provide the most obvious explanation for their reluctance in discussing former failings.

[1] G. 1895. p 262, p 305 (letters from Carlile).
[2] G. 1895. p 262 (letter from "Ex-Captain. C.A.") and p 305 (letter from "Lay-Worker").
[3] G. 1895. p 415 (letter from "Lay Reader").
[4] See G. 1895. p 305 ("Lay-Worker"); p 414 ("Lay-Worker"); p 457 ("Ex-Capt. C.A.").
[5] This was suggested by a contemporary critic. G. 1895. p 481.

The high turnover of officers indicates that its professional evangelists did not see the mission-band as a permanent vocation, but were in large part a transitory group who were trained, who worked with the society for a year or so, and who then passed on to other Church societies,[1] or who returned to their former employment. Captains who suffered ill-health or who had family responsibilities tended to seek quieter work - for example as Scripture Readers.[2] Thus, in a sense, the Church Army was a training agency for Church workers rather than a close-knit, quasi-sectarian community of worshippers - according to Rowan, its role was, in short, "selecting and training men for Church work all over the world, and not only for its own immediate operations".[3] Later, it was also the claim of the Church Army that some of its workers actually came to the society on the understanding that they would work for three years and then apply to the Church Missionary Society or the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.[4]

Examination of the C.M.S. candidates lists for 1883-1914 reveals that between 1883 and 1888, no ex-Church Army captains applied to join the mission; that between 1888-1900, although twenty-five ex-officers did apply, only eight were accepted[5] (three of whom were already engaged in work under C.M.S. control);[6] that in the period 1900-1914, a further twenty-three

[1] C.A.A.R. 1887-88. p 6.
[2] C.A.G. 1887. No 41, and 1888. No 192.
[3] E. Rowan. 1st edition. 1905. p 254. [4] p 253.
[5] E. Rhodes (1892); S.J. Jessop and W. Walton (1894); E. Perks (1896); E. Hamilton and J.R. Burgin (1898); J. McIntosh (1897); J. Blundy (1900).
[6] Messrs. Rhodes, Jessop, and Burgin.

put themselves forward, but that only three were accepted and successfully completed their training.[1] A similar search reveals that, prior to 1914, only three ex-officers joined the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.[2]

One explanation of this low rate of transfer may be that the C.M.S. was always reluctant to accept candidates with a Methodist or Dissenting background,[3] and the selection committees may have considered the Church Army evangelists too similar to these groups to warrant acceptance. As Potter has shown, both the educational qualifications and social class positions of successful C.M.S. candidates rose during the latter decades of the century,[4] and this, too, may have militated against the chances of Church Army officers. Whatever the explanation, it would appear that neither the S.P.G. nor the C.M.S. were the destinations of many of the missing officers.[5] Moreover, although from 1897 a number of officers and mission-nurses were either seconded to, or paid by, the Church Pastoral Aid Society,[6] nevertheless there is evidence, in the form of complaints from former officers, that jobs with other societies were hard to come by for Church Army captains who no longer wished to continue as itinerating evangelists.[7]

[1] S.H. Biddlecombe (1902); R.A. Whiteside (1903); G.J. Jarvis (1907).

[2] E. Butcher, C.R. Parkerson, H.G. Stacey (1907). Nine others (three of them women) have joined the S.P.G. since 1914. see Card Index of Candidates. S.P.G.

[3] see S. Potter. The Making of Missionaries in the Nineteenth Century: Conversion and Convention, in "A Sociological Yearbook of Religion in Britain". 8 1975. p 112.

[4] p 117.

[5] see M/S Registers of C.M.S. Candidates. 1873-1914, and C.M.S. Register of Missionaries and Native Clergy. 1804-1904. S.P.G. Card Index of Candidates.

[6] See lists of officer-evangelists and mission-nurses in C.A.A.R. and Church Army Blue Books.

[7] G. 1895. p 171.

For some, however, the Church Army was a stepping stone to Holy Orders. In 1901, in a letter to the Rochester Diocesan Chronicle, Carlile described a "serious leakage" of the "ablest evangelists" responding to offers for them to take Holy Orders,[1] and, in 1905, Rowan estimated that "about eighty" had followed this route: two-thirds of them were at work abroad, and the rest had jobs in this country.[2]

Carlile was not unequivocal in his approval of this development (he was not convinced that good evangelists necessarily made good parish priests) but was prepared, although somewhat reluctantly, to concede his blessing so long as the men were employed in densely populated areas where, he felt, their vocation lay. Moreover, he used this opportunity to make the point that fewer of his evangelists might covet the priesthood were they given greater responsibilities, and he canvassed for the right of evangelists to preach in church, perhaps from the chancel steps.[3]

The high turnover of both officers and members militated against the establishment of any cohesive community of Church Army believers as such, and thus tended to dilute the quasi-sectarian aspects of the society.

From analysis of the officer lists published in the 1890/1891 report, a somewhat different pattern emerges. Perhaps because the relaxation of the itinerancy rule,[4] the increased

[1] Rochester Diocesan Chronicle. 1901, quoted in G. 1902. p 5.
[2] E. Rowan. 1905. p 251. [3] G. 1902. p 5.
[4] The post of Church Army Reader was announced at the 1888 conference. He was allowed to remain in the same parish for two years. C.A.G. 1888. No 192. By 1887, officers were permitted to stay in one place for up to twelve months. C.A.A.R. 1886-87. p 62, and by 1894, officers who had served for five years were given the option of a permanent station. C.A.G. 1894. No 495.

chances of promotion, and a career in the mission-band, and the introduction of a number of fixed posts in the social department made the role of evangelist less onerous, and perhaps also because experience led to the recruitment of more suitable candidates, the turnover rate fell. Although approximately the same percentage of officers dropped out of the list after the first year (18% in the first period (13 men) and 16% in the second (26 men)), the relative figures for the periods 1885/86-1890/91 and 1890/91-1895/96 show a definite increase in the number of officers who remained in the society for five years or more (18% (12 men) in the first period as compared with 51% (83 men) in the second).

Turnover of officer-evangelists. 1890/91 - 1896/97

Year	Number of officers in the 1890/91 list who appear in the lists for the following years	Expressed as a % of the original 1890/91 list
1890/91	164	100.00
1891/92	138	84.14
1892/93	101	61.58
1893/94	95	57.92
1894/95	88	53.65
1895/96	83	50.61
1896/97	79	48.17

A similarly high rate of turnover is also characteristic of the early women-officers, although, in their case, marriage might have constituted the most common reason for withdrawal. Moreover it was claimed that, "great numbers [of the women] leave to qualify as fully trained hospital nurses, and then settle down in parochial work in different parts of the country . . . The foreign field also claims a number of these mission nurses".[1]

[1] E. Rowan. 1905. p 253.

Mission-nurse totals

Year	Number of mission-nurses in the 1888/89 list who appear in the lists for the following years	Expressed as a % of the original 1888/89 list
1888/89	24	100.00
1889/90	13	54.17
1890/91	7	29.17
1891/92	6	25.00
1892/93	6	25.00
1893/94	5	20.83
	ditto 1890/91	ditto 1890/91
1890/91	46	100.00
1891/92	38	82.61
1892/93	32	69.56
1893/94	22	47.83
1894/95	19	41.30
1896	15	32.61
1897	16	34.78

A high turnover rate is also apparent in the relatively slow growth of the total number of officer-evangelists and mission-nurses employed by the society. Although something like fifty captains and forty mission-nurses were trained each year, the new staff tended to serve as replacements rather than as additions to the total numbers.

Number of officers (working-men captains and mission-nurses)

Year	Number of captains	Number of mission-nurses
1885/86	65	
1886/87	115	
1887/88	154	8
1888/89	170	25
1889/90	162	41
1890/91	170	50
1891/92	189	58
1892/93	200	73
1893/94	220 + 23 associate evangelists	85
1894	204	101
1895	217 + 52 " "	109
1896	232 + 67 " "	113
1897	316 + 77 " "	154
1898	286 + 87 " "	166
1899	306 + 92 " "	185 +8 associate mission-nurses

Notes to Table

The Annual Reports (from which this information has been derived) were not consistent in their content, nor in their date of publication.

An associate evangelist or mission-nurse was one who had ceased to be employed by the Church Army, but nevertheless wished to retain his connection with the society.

It has been suggested above that between 1885 and 1889, the organisation of the Church Army became less exclusively evangelistic in character. Although the "salvation of souls" was maintained as the rationale for the existence of the society - it was, after all, the fountainhead from which the need for relief work had sprung[1] - nevertheless the introduction of social relief work, the commencement of women's work, and, to a lesser extent, the emphasis on the sale of publications, all tended to dilute the quasi-sectarian para-military format of the organisation. By 1889, the society was fully accommodated to the parent body of the Church and most of the characteristics of its organisation that tended to independence and autonomy had been modified in a direction that reduced the potential for schism.

The high turnover of personnel, especially in the early years, made apparent the dependence for continuity on headquarters itself, and this phenomena is clearly more characteristic of a specialised agency than of a sect in which total and permanent allegiance is the norm. After 1890, the "leakage" of officers and mission-nurses was reduced, but by this time their role had become less exclusively evangelistic in character, and the captains and sisters were required to perform other duties as well as to campaign for conversions and recruit a coterie of soldiers. After 1890, the Church Army became increasingly recognised and recognisable as a specialised service agency within the Church.

[1] S. Dark. 1944. p 17.

CHAPTER IX

The Church Army 1889-1914: an evangelistic social work agency

The range of activities undertaken by the Church Army continued to expand in the 1890's: revivalism, although still vigorously promoted was now supplemented by other goals, and the main lines of expansion were not - as Carlile would doubtless have anticipated in 1885 - through the recruitment of converts and the establishment of parish corps. The new directions were more distinctly social than spiritual. What occurred was a process of goal dilution and extension of a kind not dissimilar from that which Zald and Denton have documented in their study of the Y.M.C.A.[1]

Evangelism continued and indeed increased, but the absence of working class conversions on a large scale led, in conjunction with the periodic expression of clerical distaste for Church Army methods to a tendency to emphasise the cases dealt with in the society's institutions for reform and rehabilitation rather than to dwell on the number of new enrolments. After 1892, membership statistics were no longer published, and attention was focussed increasingly on a range of socio-economic problems and on the development of a "scheme" of material salvation. Conversion was still the long-term aim, but physical and moral rehabilitation was accepted as a more pressing requirement for many of the Army's destitute "clients".[2]

Once begun, the expansion of social relief work was swift. Unlike para-military revivalism, the provision of material relief was acceptable not only to all of its recipients- indeed,

[1] M.N. Zald and P. Denton. 1963. p 221.
[2] C.C.R. 1891. Speech by Edward Clifford, esp. p 130.

in the late nineteenth century the demand for relief must have seemed almost infinite - but also to the Church as a whole: an evangelist whose work was largely social appeared as less of a threat to the authority of the local incumbent, and so acquired more popularity among both clergy and laity. Whereas military mission-band methods alarmed the sensibilities of some Anglicans, relief work assuaged consciences and conformed to high-minded ideals of the Church's role. As Edward Clifford remarked to the Church Congress of 1891, "(I)t will generally be found that a Labour Home is heartily approved of by an average congregation of kindly, well-meaning people - a congregation often prejudiced against the ordinary mission work of the Church Army".[1] Thus, from several points of view, the extension of social relief provisions that Zald has called "missionary work at a distance"[2] was a convenient adaptation of Church Army methods.

The social relief work also brought public approval. By 1906, the expansion of social relief work enabled the Church Army to list an impressive number of patrons. According to the Year Book of the Church of England, these included, "the King and Queen, the Home Office, Prison Commissioners, the Local Government Board, the Charity Organisation Society, a large number of Discharged Prisoners' Aid Societies, Metropolitan Police Magistrates, the leading Police authorities in London and the provinces, Prison Governors and Chaplains, etc., while many Boards of Guardians make yearly grants to the Society in respect of persons taken off the rates and turned into ratepayers".[3]

Another way in which the society became the object of favourable attention was through the activities of its chief

[1] Ibid.
[2] Zald and Denton. 1963. p 228.
[3] Y.B. 1906. p 80.

secretary: Wilson Carlile gradually became something of a celebrity. An early indication of the increasing "respectability" of the society came in 1892, when Carlile was offered the living of St. Mary-at-Hill, a run-down, de-populated parish in the City of London that was intended to be a sinecure for him. Carlile had resigned his curacy at St. Mary Abbotts in 1882, and since then had lived on private funds and the support of wealthy friends; like most of the senior staff at headquarters, his services were honorary. Carlile returned to London in 1892 after a brief stay - for health reasons - in the country parish of Netteswell and took over as Rector of St. Mary-at-Hill. It is typical of the man that he refused to treat his new parish as a sinecure, but chose instead to make it into one of the "liveliest" churches in the Metropolis. Drawing on his experiences of Church Army work, he introduced mission-band methods and social relief facilities to the parish, and, while not neglecting the administration of the Church Army, managed to fill the church each Sunday with a congregation (part middle-class "sightseers",[1] part participants from the lower classes) attracted by his novel, and often controversial, techniques. Introducing quite a lengthy description of the parish, Charles Booth commented of the work carried on at St. Mary-at-Hill:- "It is a strange blend hardly likely to be repeated; but whether or not worthy of imitation, at least worthy of serious study".[2]

The welfare facilities included "free" meat suppers (after a labour test) and a club for destitute clerks, while the standard church services were supplemented by lantern shows, a "monster-

[1] In a letter to Sidney Dark in 1943, Henrietta Taylor describes how St. Mary-at-Hill was a "tourist spot" in her youth. Taylor to Dark. 8 Oct. 1943; in C.A.A.

[2] Charles Booth, 1890-1900. Vol. III. p 20.

phone"[1] through which were broadcast the recorded sermons of various bishops, and the paraphernalia of mission-band processions led by Carlile in his cassock, and often playing his trombone - a feat that he continued in the pulpit. Among the Rector's other "pulpit antics" were sermons of topical interest - the Cup Final, a Test Match, or some public scandal might serve as his starting point[2] - the style of which often led to controversy.[3] Indeed, in 1902, his services were the subject of episcopal investigation.[4] "Mr. Carlile cares not a jot if his methods shock",[5] declared the author of Life and Labour of the People of London, and innovations like "Pudding" or "Doll" Sunday, which were unofficial counterparts of the Harvest Festival, were introduced.

Becoming a parochial incumbent did not make Carlile a more sedate clergyman, and now that social work had become a focus of Church Army activity he extended his penchant for sensationalism beyond revivalism to his social work and charitable activities - although there, too, as in his style of evangelism, notional allies in the work found grounds to criticise his methods. An Easter service that required each member of the congregation to bring hard-boiled eggs that were distributed to "specially

[1] C.T. 12 Sept. 1902. p 272.

[2] The Church Army Archives possess a considerable number of newspaper cuttings that Carlile used in his sermons. Most of them contain sensation of one kind or another.

[3] For criticism of his methods see G. 1899. p 1261. For disapproval of episcopal leniency - ..."If the Gospel appeared to the Greeks foolishness, it was for other reasons than that its preachers were comedians. It is strange that the aid of Parliament should be invoked to banish incense from the Church, while the degradation of Christian worship occasions no uneasiness"... see C.T. 27 March 1903, leading article on church discipline.

[4] C.T. 1902. p 3.

[5] Charles Booth. 1890-1900. Vol. III. p 24.

selected starving and destitute" provoked censor from the Charity Organisation Society, an organisation that looked with favour of much of the mission-band's relief work, but was critical of some of the "extravagances" and gimmickry of its publicity. Although their assessment was probably accurate, nevertheless they resented Carlile's motives:- "(I)t is difficult to resist a suspicion that the chief motive of Mr. Carlile's extraordinary device was to attract attention and gain an advertisement . . . This kind of trifling - to speak quite plainly - is altogether unseemly, and likely to offend people who take a serious view of charity".[1] Carlile was cleared of charges of irreverance by the episcopal investigation,[2] but his popularity may have been an element in his acceptability.

Church Army social work was in many ways similar to that of the Salvation Army, and like that organisation the Church Army carried over sensationalism from evangelism to its new concern with social welfare. The Church Army was never as ambitious as had been William Booth in the proposals made in his book Darkest England, and criticism of that scheme[3] might have deflected support from the Salvationists to Church Army welfare, as the Guardian suggested, but the style in which its more limited ad hoc welfare concerns were promoted was very similar. The fact that social work had made the Church Army seem acceptable was not lost on everyone. The Guardian commentated with disfavour:- "Eminent Churchmen, whose orthodoxy held them back from

[1] Charity Organisation Review. 1895. Vol. XI. p 194.

[2] see C.T. 28 Nov. 1902. p 736.

[3] In 1889, Booth was refused a subsidy by the Home Secretary. Charity Organisation Review. 1889. p 22, and the Darkest England scheme provoked enormous criticism e.g. C.S. Lock. An examination of "General" Booth's Social Scheme. 1890. T.H. Huxley. Social Diseases and Worse Remedies. 1891. P. Dwyer. General Booth's "Submerged Tenth", or The Wrong Way to do the Right Thing. 1891.

subsidising even indirectly the Salvation Army, are indemnifying themselves for their unwilling rejection of "General" Booth by their eager support of Mr. Carlile. The Church Army has suddenly assumed the style of an essential part of general Church machinery, and the parish clergy are exhorted to set aside offertories for its support, and to preach sermons in its honour". Social work as a palliative to make sensationalism in religion more acceptable was rejected. The Guardian commentator was extremely hostile to Church Army proposals, as they adopted, in his opinion, the same "repulsive" style of the Salvationists, and, he continued, "the same sensationalist pictures, the same use of more of less genuine slang, the same anonymous and unauthenticated tragedies, the same irrelevant and exaggerated statistics, the same theatrical verbiage: it is only the list of Archiepiscopal and Episcopal patrons which distinguished the orthodox appeal from its schismatic model . . . We believe that the Church Army is repeating a dangerous experiment when it models its methods and its language so closely on those of the Salvation Army".[1] Sensationalism; military phraseology; the use of women in mission work; and the compilation of conversion statistics - were all equally objectionable. The development of a "native agency" was condemned:- "We do not believe in the special value of lack of culture and education as qualifications for the task of preaching the Gospel to the poor". Orthodoxy must be better guaranteed by the movement. But even stern commentators did not always feel able to sustain their positions and the Guardian later withdrew most of its criticism.[2]

[1] G. 1891. p 92.
[2] see G. 1891. p 176, and pp 250-251.

The extension of social relief work and a scheme for social salvation: public acceptance and royal recognition

The establishment of "experimental" labour homes for tramps and inebriates - institutions intended to accomplish the same purpose as Salvation Army "elevators" - was an early area of growth in Church Army work. Echoing the 1883 debate about precedence, it was claimed that these Church Army establishments were not an imitation of William Booth's more ambitious venture: on the contrary, they were of earlier origin than the Salvationist homes, and in 1891, in a contribution to the Newbery House Magazine discussion of In Darkest England, Carlile stated that the first Church Army institution for the destitute was in successful working order by January 1890, "six months before General Booth opened his on virtually the same lines", and that the Church Army had "already planned setting up under (our) central control similar Labour Homes in hundreds of suitable parishes throughout England".[1] In March 1890 - seven months before the Darkest England proposals - the Church Army scheme for the material salvation of England was outlined in Our Tramps, in which a system of City, Farming and Overseas Colonies was suggested as an antidote to unemployment and destitution. Self-help and emigration were essential elements in the plan which bore great similarity to the proposals of William Booth.[2]

[1] Newbery House Magazine. 1891. Vol. IV. No 1. pp 10-11.

[2] see Wilson Carlile. Our Tramps. 1890. William Booth. In Darkest England and the Way Out. 1890. For a discussion of who was "first in the field", see Rowan. 3rd ed. 1928. pp 124-128, but as Heasman points out, work of this type had been undertaken by other Christian missions in England and Germany, and with regard to who was "first" it must not be forgotten that Our Tramps was a pamphlet while In Darkest England was "a full-grown book". See K.J. Heasman. Evangelicals in Action. 1962. pp 59-61. Another problem is that of definition. Booth had earlier provided social relief through soup kitchens - a practice which was stopped in 1877 or so - but the "first" Salvation Army "shelter" (not labour-home) was commenced in London, Limehouse in January 1888. Christine Ward. The Social Sources of Salvationism. 1970. p 190. For details of Church Army labour colonies see W. Hunt. Labour Colonies. What are They? What Can They Do? 1905.

The institutions were sometimes referred to as "Labour Test Homes".[1] a name that reflected the belief on the part of the leaders of the Army (and one that had much support from Victorians in general)[2], that rehabilitation could not be achieved without instilling the principle of self-help into the inmates. "Self-Help may be regarded as the key-note of the Social work of the Church Army", stated a report in 1903.[3] Relief was not given: it had to be earned. "The men who apply", declared a statement in the Church of England Yearbook, "having passed a Committee of three experienced working-men Evangelists, are received into the Home, and are kept just so long and no longer than they work. They receive board and lodging and, in addition, 2d a day for pocket-money, and another 2d to be put away towards clothing; and as there is at the Training Home a sales-room for old clothing, by this means the tramps can often get an outfit at a very cheap rate . . . After a test-period of two months (which is usually spent in wood-chopping, office work, etc.) Head-quarters can generally find them situations".[4] Thus social salvation was achieved not through charity, but by a process of self-help in which the development of self-respect and the habit of thrift were seen as important elements. Local incumbents were encouraged to contact Headquarters if they wished to begin a labour-home in their parishes,[5] and by the beginning of 1892, there were thirteen Church Army labour homes, and important links had been established with several local Boards of Guardians, the members of which had agreed to send their most promising cases.[6]

[1] Y.B. 1891. p 78.

[2] The tenet of success through self-help finds typical expression in the works of Samuel Smiles e.g. Self-Help (1859), Character (1871), and Thrift (1875).

[3] see Reform. Fiscal and Physical. 1903. p 7.

[4] Y.B. 1891. p 78.

[5] Y.B. 1891. p 643.

[6] C.T. 1892. p 195.

Many of the inmates came from among the travelling population; the "comers and goers",[1] who simply applied for admission at the homes themselves, but, in addition, it became customary for Church Army officers to visit casual wards where, "the scum, and also some of the 'unwashed gems' of London, congregate", in order to select the "decent fellows" with a genuine desire to improve their position.[2] This policy of strict selection was in direct contrast to the Salvation Army (who would accept anyone at their shelters).[3] The Church Army would only admit cases that they considered to be "helpable",[4] a form of discrimination that earned the commendation of Charles Booth,[5] and the approval of the members of the committee on the Organisation of Philanthropic Efforts (Convocation of Canterbury, 1892).[6]

Given the notions of rehabilitation that lay behind their inception, it is not surprising that the conditions of stay in the homes were rigorous. Potential inmates had only to demonstrate a willingness to reform before being accepted: unlike other charitable institutions, the Church Army did not seek a cause for the destitution of applicants, rather they saw their homes as places for "sifting" men: "We sift men not in the same way as the Charity Organisation Society or the Relieving Officer, to ascertain causes of failure and wrong doing", declared the Church Army Quarterly Paper for Spring, 1895, "but in order to discover how we may best and most efficiently help them . . . No

[1] see R. Samuel. Comers and Goers, in H.J. Dyos and M. Wolff. The Victorian City. 1973. pp 118-153.

[2] Church Army Quarterly Paper, Spring 1895. p 24.

[3] see C. Ward. 1970. p 193.

[4] C.of C. House of Laymen. Feb. 1892. Report of the Committee on the Organisation of Philanthropic Efforts. Evidence of W.H.B. Hunt (Secretary to the Social Department of the Church Army) p 9.

[5] Charles Booth. 1890-1900. Series III. Vol. II. p 45.

[6] Organisation of Philanthropic Effort. 1892. p 8. For a confirmation of this policy see W.H. Davies. Beggars. 1909. p 164.

past conduct, however bad, can shut the Labour Home door against a man who is determined to do better".[1]

This policy was a reflection of a gradual change in nineteenth century attitudes to charity. The distribution of relief, or, as it was increasingly becoming, the "science of charity", was no longer seen as something to be judged on the intentions of the giver, but more in terms of its effects on the recipient. So it was that, "the casual duty of the individual layman became the specialised work of the institutionalised professional".[2] The Charity Organisation Society was commenced in 1869, with the specific intention of organising charitable relief in the most scientific manner, and, as we have seen above, its members took a "serious" view of charity.[3]

Once accepted at a Church Army home, the candidate was subjected to four so-called "tests". First, the "Water Test", which included a bath, fumigation, and the swearing of a pledge of total abstinence. Second, the "Work Test" - this was usually wood-chopping for eight or nine hours a day. Inmates were paid a piece-rate, and anything over the cost of keep was kept in credit to be used to buy clothes and tools, or to pay emigration fares. "In this way", stated the Quarterly, "we encourage thrift, for whereas the Poor Law practically says you must qualify for admission to the workhouse by having nothing of

1 Church Army Quarterly Paper, Spring 1895. p 20. For an example to illustrate the way in which selection and inquiry was carried out by the C.O.S., see Special Committee of the Charity Organisation on Exceptional Distress. 1886. Appendix to Report - Local Committees and Their Rules, pp xxi-xxvi. For further discussion of the principles of the C.O.S., see J. Oliver. The Church and the Social Order. Oxford. 1968, esp. pp 14-16; and H. Bosanquet. Social Work in London. 1869-1912. 1973.

2 M.J.D. Roberts. 1975. p 200.

3 For an example of their attitude see; Report of the Special Committee of the Charity Organisation Society on Soup Kitchens, Childrens Breakfasts and Dinners and Cheap Food Supply. 1887. p 19:- ..."To make benevolence scientific . . . is the problem of the age"...

your own, we say, if you live with us you must do your best to save". Thirdly, there was the "Wages Test", and, although there was criticism to the contrary, it was claimed that the inmates of the labour homes and other Church Army institutions were paid trade rates.[1] Moreover, unlike the Salvation Army (which gave tickets) the inmates were eventually given some of the money they had earned in the hope that resistance to the temptation of buying alcohol might stimulate self-improvement. The last test was called the "Work-finding Test" - the inhabitants of the Home received full pay for the first two months but were then "pushed out" into the world and urged to seek work. They received less pay in their third month in the home, and board and lodging only in their fourth month. "We believe in pushing men out into situations where they may be reinstated as good citizens and leave room behind them for their brothers in adversity who would be uplifted too".[2]

In addition to the four "tests", the organisers of the scheme sought to rehabilitate the applicants through three so-called "influences". First, the "comfortable influence" - Church Army homes were relatively small (no bigger than twenty-five

[1] The terms of service and payment in Church Army labour-homes were later to provoke Trade Union claims that the society operated a system of "sweated" labour. See Handbill by Jack Williams. n.d.; in C.A.A., and London Argus, 14 Jan. 1905. C.A.A. Clipping. This accusation was repeated in a series of articles that appeared in John Bull, see 1907 26 Jan. p 77; 18 May p 461; 28 May p 77; 13 July p 626. It was suggested, in some cases, that the Church Army might actually create unemployment - see 26 Jan. p 77:- "How the Church Army assists the Unemployed, or the Sad Tale of Mr. Chip", in which is related the story of a woodman who is put out of work by the alleged Church Army practice of undercutting the price of firewood, and ends up becoming a "case" in a Church Army labour-home - his job as labour-test; cutting firewood! The magazine continued to harass Carlile and his social scheme, and in 1912, the leader of the Church Army tried (unsuccessfully) to persuade bookstalls to stop selling it. See M/S letter. W.J.D. Smith to Wilson Carlile 26 March 1912. For another example of the "sweating" accusation, see Charity Organisation Review 1892, p 305, p 393.

[2] Church Army Quarterly Paper. Spring 1895. p 22.

inmates) and the notion that the establishments were real "homes" was encouraged actively - the captain and his wife in charge of the home were characterised as parent figures who created an atmosphere "where men may get rid of the degrading and demoralising Institution feeling which turns an independent working-man into a pauper". Secondly, and although it was claimed that religion was never "forced" (at the Oxford home the religious training was "direct but unobtrusive",[1] itself a hint that the fundamentalist theology of the Church Army was diluted by the relief work), there was the "Christ influence" through the mission-band meetings held by the local corps. Finally, inmates were encouraged to establish links with a Church - the "Church influence".[2]

There is evidence to suggest that these techniques met with some success, and that the goal of "a fresh start in life" was achieved by a significant proportion of the inmates - 58 per cent was often given as an estimate of the rate of success. Between Jan 7 1890, and Jan 29 1891, of the one hundred cases at the first training home (43 Crawford Street) seventy-three were received on their own application after selection by a working-men committee, the other twenty-seven were recommended by Parochial Clergy, Prison Chaplains, Workhouse Masters, the Charity Organisation Society, and various Church Army officers.

[1] Church Army Labour Home in Oxford. Reports of Executive Committee. 1895. Church Army Quarterly Paper. Spring 1895, pp 22-24. For another description see C.C.R. 1891. pp 128-130.

[2] Church Army Quarterly Paper. Spring 1895. p 22. For more details of Carlile's thoughts on and schemes for social salvation, see; Wilson Carlile, "Reclaiming the submerged tenth of the Church", in C.H. Dant. Distinguished Churchmen. 1902. See also Wilson Carlile. Employment of the Unemployable. Sermons on Social Subjects. 1904.

Of these:-[1]

37	Passed through and obtained situations
8	Went out to look for work and did not return
3	Restored to Friends
10	Placed in Convalescent Homes etc.
20	Promising men still in the Home, not completed their training
22	Dismissed for drunkenness, idleness or theft
100	

Later, in 1900, it was claimed that of the 3016 cases received at the thirty-two Church Army labour-homes during 1899, 1206 obtained situations, 963 left to seek work, 327 were dismissed, 118 left for other causes and 402 were still in the homes.[2] This assertion of success is supported by the results of the Oxford Labour Home which will be examined as a case-study of this type of institution.

The first proposal in favour of a labour home in the parish of St. Aldate's, Oxford, came in April, 1891, from the Rev. S.B. Benson (then a curate at Holy Trinity),[3] and a meeting was held to set up a provisional committee.[4] Canon Christopher was appointed chairman, a property in St. Aldate's St. was rented for a year, and an appeal was launched for funds. Oxford was felt to be in particular need of a home because of the large number of beggars in the town, some of whom were genuine, but the majority of whom were thought to be "professional beggars, who, especially during Term-time, flock to Oxford",[5] an opinion that was also held by the author of a pamphlet on behalf of the

[1] Bodleian Library, Oxford. Church Army Misc. Papers. Pamphlet. 'A Church Army Labour Home for Oxford'. 1892. p 3.

[2] C.A.G. 1900. No 816.

[3] Report of Executive Committee, Oxford. 1902. p 2.

[4] Bodleian. Church Army Misc. Invitation to meeting at St. Aldate's Rectory Room, headed 'The Church Army Social Scheme for Darkest England'.

[5] Ibid. That Oxford was an easy place for beggars was noted earlier in the century. see Vagrants. 1842. For a fascinating piece of ethnography on this topic see, 'An Exposure of the Various Impositions Daily Practised by Vagrants of Every Description'. Birmingham. 1842.

Oxford Anti-Mendicity Society entitled Charity v Beggars which described the city as the "happy hunting ground" of tramps.[1] The labour home would supply the opportunity to help the deserving but discourage the philanderer by a system of labour tests. The home began accepting inmates on April 29, 1892, and was opened officially by the Bishop of Oxford in June.[2] By November 1892, the premises had been enlarged to hold 14 applicants.[3] The main work was wood-chopping and orders for firewood were solicited through leaflets,[4] but jobbing work (gardening, etc.) was also undertaken. In November 1893, new premises were obtained in Cambridge Terrace,[5] and Captain and Mrs. Wallbridge (who had helped to open the first provincial Labour Home in Bath in 1891, and who were to remain in charge of the Oxford Home until 1916)[6] became the wardens.[7]

The first annual report of the labour home appeared in 1894. Before this, the only statistical information about the institution is an appeal leaflet which tells us that fifty-three per cent of the first hundred inmates "obtained a fresh start in life" (forty-eight found situations and five were returned to friends). Between 1894 and 1905, the following results were achieved by the Labour Home.

[1] See collection of leaflets in Oxford City Library. Ref. Oxford 362·5.

[2] Bodleian. Church Army Misc. Leaflets and invitations.

[3] Ibid. Leaflet Nov. 1892.

[4] e.g. Leaflet May 1892.

[5] Officially opened by the Bishop of Reading, May 1894. Reports of Executive Committee, Oxford. 1902 p 2. See also Bodleian. Church Army Misc. Invitation 2 Nov. 1893.

[6] Bodleian. Church Army Misc. Letter mentions this.

[7] Reports of Executive Committee, Oxford. 1894. p 1.

The Oxford Labour Home, 1894 - 1905

	1894	1895	1896	1897	1898	1899	1900	1901	1902	1903	1904	1905
Total in home during year e.g. 1894 - 15 in home on Jan. 1 + 111 entered. Total 126.	15 126	15 129	22 135	22 122	20 144	20 109	21 107	20 100	19 113	24 122	24 118	23 115
Left to join situations	39	33	45	29	49	28	43	40	29	34	41	36
Left to join Army	-	-	-	-	-	3	2	-	4	3	2	1
Returned to friends	20	25	18	26	18	13	11	12	12	14	10	10
Left restored to respectability to look for work	22	17	25	15	16	20	15	16	20	35	33	21
"Success" rate e.g. 1894 - 39 + 20 + 22 = 81 - 15 (no. still in home Dec. 31) = 65 who have been "successful" out of total of 111 who left the home during the year - 58.6%	58.6	70.1	77.9	68.6	66.9	73.6	82.6	85.0	73.0	87.8	90.5	76.4%
Left dissatisfied	13	13	16	14	20	13	9	6	12	3	1	4
Discharged for misconduct or breaking rules	13	12	5	13	17	7	3	4	7	3	1	3
Left ill (to Infirmary)	4	7	4	5	4	3	3	2	4	3	2	1
Emigrated	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	3	5	13
Still in home Dec. 31. Transferred	15	22	22	20	20	21 1	20 1	19 1	24	24	23	26
Number refused admission	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	148	-	-

The Oxford Labour Home. 1894-1905. Notes

1) The "returned to friends" category. Often, after a man had remained in the home for some time and the captain had won his confidence, details of his former life might begin to emerge, and, in some cases, the Church Army was able to arrange a reconciliation with family and former friends.

2) Men were often discharged for making false statements on entry - for example, it was not Church Army policy to accept any man who had been in another society home within the preceding twelve months, and if an applicant was discovered to be in breach of this regulation he was expelled. "As our object is to raise and reclaim men and start them off afresh in the world, we do not accept them a second time until they have been striving to get their living independently for at least twelve months", stated the Annual Report for 1897.

3) It would appear that there was a desire on the part of some of the inmates to remain in the home as permanent residents. This was not possible until the separate lodging home was constructed.

4) Until 1897, the home was subsidised from London, but from then on it became self-supporting.

The number of applicants to the home varied inversely with the demand for labour, and the returns for a slack period during the summer of 1900 (when military commitments in South Africa increased the demand for labour at home) give some indication of the type of person who applied. All were "down and out" in the sense that at the time of application they were unemployed and destitute, but in their pasts the men had held the following and varied occupations:-[1]

2 Domestic servants	1 Grocer's assistant
2 Oxford lads with no trade	2 Labourers (one a navvy)
1 Solicitor's clerk	2 Sailors (one a Mess Steward)
1 Ship's carpenter	1 Clerk
1 Soldier	1 Schoolmaster
1 Deaf and Dumb, no trade	1 Commercial Traveller

Of these, two had been received from prison and one from the London Police Court, while one was taken while he was "out of his mind through drink". It would seem that one of the early tenets of welfare policy - that only the able-bodied were accepted - was relaxed as the work went on; and a circular saw was bought because many of the men in the home were too feeble for manual work.[2] New premises were opened in 1903, including a separate Lodging House for men who had left the labour-home but were unable to find or afford their own accommodation, or who felt themselves likely to succumb once more to the temptations of alcohol in the common lodging-house, and for, "respectable men who require it [shelter] for a single night, for which the charge is 6d". However, the home was "not intended for the ordinary tramp or for any who do not appear clean and respectable".[3]

1 Reports of Executive Committee. Oxford. 1900. p 2.
2 Reports of Executive Committee. Oxford. 1902. p 3.
3 Reports of Executive Committee. Oxford. 1903. p 2.

The labour-home sold tickets to the general public, who were asked to give these to beggars instead of money or other charity. There was a reversal of policy in 1897, when, in conjunction with the Morning Post, short-term relief was provided in labour-yards. In Oxford 900 tickets for temporary relief were issued, of which only 115 were presented by 92 men. The provision of relief was conditional upon the completion of a labour-test, and it was found that some of the men worked willingly, but with the majority it was otherwise. Recording this, stated the author of the 1898 Annual Report:

"Not only has a small proportion of the men presented the tickets at all, but of these several, when they found that work was required and no money (only food and lodging) given, have thrown down the tickets and left in disgust. We earnestly hope that the public may take this object lesson to heart. We have no reason to doubt that all the men to whom tickets were given were thought by the donors to be real cases of distress, and yet in most cases they have been deceived. No great harm is done when tickets only are given, but it is far otherwise when the gift is money".[1]

By means of tickets the leaders of the Church Army sought both to ameliorate the needs of the genuinely destitute and to counteract the activities of the professional beggar, and the Church Army Quarterly Paper for Spring 1895, described the labour home/farm training/emigration scheme as a "National Antidote to Indiscriminate Charity".[2] Wilson Carlile was himself a strong opponent of monetary charity and sought to persuade the general public to give aid of lasting rather than fleeting benefit (i.e. not to give cash). "Restoration - Not Pauperisation", was a Church Army motto.[3]

[1] Reports of Executive Committee. Oxford. 1898. p 2. The leaders of the Church Army believed that many of the "tramps" were not destitute at all, and that they often threw away food parcels given to them by well-wishers. C.A.G. 1900. No 826.

[2] Church Army Quarterly Paper. Spring 1895.

[3] Bodleian. Church Army Misc. Leaflet requesting firewood orders.

Carlile's original plan was to set up throughout the country a system of labour-homes in poorer parishes with assistance from richer churches. "Owing to the steady increase of pauperism, amounting to over twelve per cent in the metropolis since 1892", announced the Church Army Gazette in an appeal for £50,000 during 1895, "the authorities of the Church Army are making a special effort this winter to extend their Labour Home system all over England to the same relative proportions as the Labour Colonies have attained in Germany, where chiefly through their instrumentality, and more stringent penal treatment pauperism is gradually becoming extinct".[1] In this venture, the leaders of the Church Army were influenced by similar efforts in Europe,[2] and by the writings of Francis Peek, the author of Social Wreckage.[3] Indeed, the Church Army Quarterly Paper for Christmas 1894, referred to the destitute as "Social Wrecks", a term borrowed from this well-known publication, and by 1895, both Francis and Cuthbert Peek were members of the Church Army Council.[4] Later, Carlile made extensive visits to colonies of this kind in Europe, and his views on this system may be found in a series of letters to the Times and the Morning Post during 1905,[5] and in a book entitled The Continental Outcast - Land Colonies and Poor Law Relief (1906).

[1] C.A.G. 1895. No 582. See also C.A.A.R. 1890-91. pp 5-6.

[2] e.g. Pastor Von Bodelschwingh's agricultural community at Wilhelmsdorf. See E.R. Rowan. 1926. p 126, and C.S. Lock. An Examination of "General" Booth's Social Scheme. 1890. pp 52-55. Carlile's interest led to a review entitled: The continental outcast: land colonies and poor relief. 1906.

[3] See Francis Peek. The Uncharitableness of Inadequate Relief (1878); Social Wreckage (1883); The Workless. The Thriftless and the Worthless (1888); and Complaining in Our Streets (1892). His role was acknowledged by Edward Clifford. see C.C.R. 1891. p 130.

[4] C.A.A.R. 1895. See also Reform. Fiscal and Physical. 1903. p 5.

[5] E.R. Rowan. 3rd ed. 1928. p 137.

The vision of labour homes throughout the country never materialised, but by the end of the century there were seven of these institutions in London and twenty more in the provinces.[1] Each home was relatively small, and in every part the system was less wholesale than the Salvation Army:[2] "Quietly, with the few the Church Army works. Tumultuously, for crowds, the Salvation Army has catered with its voice", stated the Church Times,[3] and in the Church Army institutions an attempt was made to create a "family" atmosphere. Outlining the chief differences between the social schemes of the Salvation Army and its Anglican counterpart to the participants in the Church Congress at Rhyl (1891), Edward Clifford made four points: "Ours [that of the Church Army] differs", he said, "(1st) In being Church Parochial Work. (2nd) In dealing with cases rather than masses of people. (3rd) In establishing Homes rather than Shelters. (4th) Our plan has the approval of important members of the Charity Organisation Society, and has never been condemned by that society. The Poor Law Guardians have given us money help after much careful inquiry, and their grants have been confirmed by the local Government Board".[4] A committee of the Convocation of Canterbury also endorsed the Church Army system - they felt that of the two, it was, "the one likely to produce the most lasting effects both on the individual and on society"[5] - a view that was confirmed by a man who chose to disguise himself as a tramp in order to compare the two systems. In his opinion (because of the closer supervision and smaller numbers) the graduate of the Church Army home

[1] K.J. Heasman. 1968. pp 60-61.
[2] see Charles Booth. Series III. 1890-1900. Vol. VII. p 346.
[3] C.T. 1905. p 811. For a similar opinion see G. 1891. p 760.
[4] C.C.R. 1891. p 130.
[5] C of C. 1892. Organisation of Philanthropic Efforts. p 9.

had a better chance of obtaining employment than one from a Salvationist institution, and he endorsed Huxley's description of the Salvation Army homes as "the permanent abiding places of the shiftless loafers".[1]

The social work of both the Church Army and the Salvation Army made useful contributions to the relief of poverty in the late nineteenth century,[2] but the utopian schemes of Booth and Carlile were never fully realised,[3] mainly because of shortages of finance, and difficulties of implementation, especially of the final stage in their schemes. Both schemes foundered on the thorny problem of finding employment for the men after they had left the homes or "elevators". One solution to this was emigration. The Salvation Army was unable to persuade any of the colonies to accept their plan for large-scale emigration, and, although the Church Army was able to arrange the emigration to Canada of a number of its "cases" through the Church Emigration Society,[4] in 1907 this channel was closed;[5] and by 1910, farm training followed by emigration was confined to boys.[6] The provision of employment in the offices and departments of the society itself became one way of finding employment but, like emigration, this too was a temporary measure. By the first decade of the new

[1] see G. 1891. p 1457. For similar views see Charity Organisation Review. 1892. pp 91-93 and W.H. Davies. Beggars. 1909. p 223. For a favourable comment on both schemes, see F. Peek. Truth About the Salvation Army. 1892.

[2] e.g. the statistics published in the Church Army Blue Book (as the Annual Reports were called after 1896), and in the reports of individual labour-homes, many of which are available in Church Army archives.

[3] see J.E. MaCulloch. Open Church for the Unchurched. New York. 1905. p 28.

[4] 3000 were assisted like this in 1905. C.C.R. 1906. p 209.

[5] Y.B. 1909. p 83.

[6] K.J. Heasman. 1968. p 62.

century, it was acknowledged by both Carlile and Booth that without an improvement in the economic climate and a reduction in the unemployment figures[1] (factors, after all, that played a key role in the generation of destitution) their schemes would not achieve social and spiritual rehabilitation on the scale that was originally envisaged.

Any change of policy in an institution or organisation or any deliberate addition of new commitments is likely to produce unintended internal consequences, not only because unanticipated functions accumulate but also because new action induces structural adaptations. At times goal deflection occurs - and this might characterise the shift in attitude towards publications. When financial return becomes associated with the attainment of ideological and social goals, goal deflection is a likely consequence. Social work, initially instituted to facilitate evangelism, acquired its own momentum and although the first decision to engage in social work was based on pragmatic considerations steadily its own imperatives came to affect the entire movement. Much of what was done as social work bore little relation to the recruitment of working-class Anglicans. So it was that the labour-homes, designed to meet the needs of the able-bodied destitute, were supplemented increasingly with more specialised institutions that were established in response to the perception of other, more particular, needs. One example of this process was the creation of lodging-houses, at first as a sort of "half-way house" for ex-inmates of the labour-homes - those who, although successful ex-inmates, were nevertheless felt to be unready as yet to resume the everyday business of life in the

[1] In 1906, Carlile went to the Home Office and appealed to the Home Secretary to reduce immigration in order to lower unemployment. C.T. 27 July 1906.

"outside" world, or who had been unable to find employment. Later, the lodging houses were also willing to accept "respectable" men who sought a single night's lodging, but were reluctant to stay in a "common" lodging house. By 1892, in addition to five labour-homes for men in London, and four in the provinces, the Church Army was also operating a Woman's Labour-home, a Good Samaritan Office attached to Carlile's parish church of St. Mary-at-Hill in Eastcheap, two boarding houses, and a sales room for the Poor,[1] and by 1900, the activities of the Social Department had expanded to include a huge variety of relief work:-

> "The Social Department has the charge of 102 Labour and Lodging Homes and other agencies, in London and throughout the provinces from Newcastle to Plymouth and from London to Dublin, Labour Homes for Youths and for Women, Laundries and Homes for Women, a Receiving Home and a Classifying Home for Women, a Free Dispensary for Women and Children, a cheap Food Depot, Lodging Houses for Men and for Women, Discharged Prisoners' Aid Society for His Majesty's Convict Prisons, a Boarding Home for men who have passed through the Labour Homes and obtained situations, a Samaritan Office and Labour Registry in London for the benefit of clerks who are out of situations, Coffee Taverns, where Evangelists and their wives are trained for Town and Village Coffee Tavern work, a licensed Inebriates Farm. Classified Rescue Homes for Women at Shepherd's Bush and elsewhere are also carried on. The systematic visitation of Casual Wards, Workhouses, Refuges, and Hospitals, also comes into this department, besides the Samaritan Clothing Depot for the poor, Fresh-air Fund, etc."[2]

The establishment of labour-homes confronted the leaders of the Church Army with the problems of the unemployed and destitute, and once the decision to undertake relief work had been made, there was rapid expansion of this activity. Experience in the labour-homes demonstrated the need for more permanent lodging-houses, and, in turn, the operation of these institutions revealed other categories among the destitute (for example; married men) with needs that could not be met within their walls. One type of

[1] Y.B. 1892. Church Army advertisement.
[2] Y.B. 1902. p 81.

work led to another - to each labour-home was attached a Special Distress Depot to provide work for married men; specialised work among the inebriate was begun; a Women's Labour Home was opened, and a labour registry was commenced to find work for graduates of the labour homes.[1] Moreover, in London, during the Spring of 1897, in response to the problem of the destitute sleeping on the Embankment, and in co-operation with the Morning Post (which had brought attention to the issue)[2] temporary relief was given in labour-yards (for example; the Morning Post Embankment Home in Millbank St.).[3]

This provision of temporary relief was, of course, a change in the policy of the society. An advertisement which described the work in the previous year had stated specifically, "No shelters",[4] but, in common with the original venture into social relief, this was a measure that was forced on the leaders and officers of the Church Army by the exigencies encountered in the mission-field. It was perceived that relief could not be provided for everyone in permanent, long-stay labour-homes, so alternative arrangements had to be made. The labour test was retained, however, as a necessary qualification of those who were to receive aid, and the public were encouraged to purchase and distribute among the destitute Church Army work-tickets, which were seen as a more beneficial form of charity than cash, and entitled their recipients to two meals and a comfortable bed for the night, on the completion of three hours of work.[5]

1 Y.B. 1894. p 70.
2 Reform. Fiscal and Physical. 1903. p 17.
3 For a report of the opening of one of these by the Duke of Westminster, see C.A.G. 1889. No 715.
4 Y.B. 1897. p 684.
5 see E. Hanmore. The Curse of the Embankment and the Cure. 1935.

Although the commencement of social work set the Church Army on a course that tended to compromise the earlier tenets of mission-band policy, nevertheless, it was the recognition of its contribution to the relief of destitution that brought public acceptance and royal patronage to the Church Army. For example, the members of the Chichester Diocesan conference for 1897 felt able to resolve in favour of the Church Army, not because of its evangelism (which was hardly mentioned in their discussions) but on account of the society's good work among vagrants and lads.[1] Their approval was given for reasons that were social rather than religious. The same was true for the royal family.

Carlile's reputation grew over the years. Not only was he more readily accepted in clerical circles generally, but he devoted some of his time in visits to Europe and America seeking funds for his work.[2] Towards the close of the century his work caught the attention of the Queen who, in 1897, sent him a message about his work.[3] Perhaps in response to this the new Church Army headquarters were built as a Diamond Jubilee memorial.[4] Royal donations were again made in 1904 and it became quite common for minor members of the royal family to be seen on Church Army platforms.[5] The royal interest in social relief work (William Booth received the same favours)[6] was confirmed in early 1905, when Carlile was twice asked to visit Buckingham Palace. Here, in January, the leader of the Church Army explained to the King the role of the society in helping the destitute in London,

1 Chichester Diocesan Conference 1897.

2 For a discussion of how to get donations see, Wilson Carlile A few lines concerning begging, in N. Keymer (ed.), Workers together with God. 1900.

3 Church Army Blue Book. 1897. p 18.

4 C.A.G. 1897. No 655. Issue 665 was a special Diamond Jubilee edition with an illustration of Victoria on the front page.

5 e.g. G. 1903. p 1784; encouragement from the Prince of Wales. see also G. 1904, p 1267, p 1447, p 1495.

6 Daily Telegraph. 14 Jan. 1905.

and the King made a gift of £100:[1] in February, permission was given to name the temporary labour-tents erected behind Clare Market, the King's Labour Tents.[2] The same month, he again went to the Palace, this time on the invitation of the Queen,[3] who had sent a donation of £50 at Christmas, and in September, more money was given to help establish a labour-yard in West Ham which was called the Queen's Labour Yard.[4] By December, there were four Queen's Relief Depots and Carlile was a regular visitor to the royal residence.

Church Army officer-evangelists received final official blessing in 1896 when they were given official status, and Church approbation of Carlile was expressed in 1906 in the granting of a prebendary stall at Stoke Newington by Bishop Winnington Ingram.[5] Further public honours followed: in 1916 Carlile was made an honorary Doctor of Divinity by the University of Oxford, and in the New Year's Honours for 1926, he was made a Companion of Honour.[6] Although social welfare services brought public acceptance and royal recognition to the Church Army, this approval was not achieved without compromise of the original goals of the mission-band. In the shift of orientation the movement, which now no longer published statistics of conversions, had shifted from recruiting a committed following to preoccupation with welfare cases. Its members were no longer converts so much as clients with all the implication for structural change which the difference of those two terms implies. The movement became

[1] Times. 14 Jan. 1905. At the end of January the King sent four deer from Bushey Park. G. 1905. No 3086.

[2] G. 1905. p 175. See also 'Who is My Neighbour'. Oxford. 1905. p 13.

[3] G. 1905. p 255.

[4] G. 1905. p 1419.

[5] M/S letter. Winnington Ingram to Elgood. 8 Oct. 1943. C.A.A. The preferment, said the Bishop, gave him "great joy".

[6] Letter from Prime Minister, 21 Dec. 1925, in C.A.A.

more emphatically an agency and less a community. The officers of course maintained their community feeling but they too came to see their battle ground "Sin and Satan" more in social than in spiritual terms, as destitution was identified increasingly as a proper target for the energies of the officer-evangelists and the mission-nurses, and a social rather than a spiritual conversion was seen as a legitimate goal and criterion of "success". In 1896, the Church Army welcomed 9000 "cases" to its institutions, and by 1905 (when the society was accepted as a social work agency by all sections of the public) 400,000 people were passing through its homes each year.

Number of "cases" in Church Army institutions

1896		9,000
1897		13,000
1898		21,000
1899		24,000
1900		26,000
1901		30,000
1902		68,000
1903		70,000
1904		215,000
1905		400,000
1906	over	400,000
1907		400,000

Source: Year Book of the Church of England. After 1907, the figures were not published. The rapid rise between 1903-4 may perhaps be accounted for by a change in the methods of counting, or by the commencement of temporary relief?

The diversification of evangelism: specialised and transient mission

There was, in the period after 1889, considerable diversification of evangelistic endeavour, but, in contrast to the early work of the mission-band, much of this missionary activity was not organised by permanently established branches.

Examination of the Gazette contest list provokes the suggestion that the number of parish corps (relatively permanent branches of Church Army soldiers, recruited and organised by a captain) remained static. This suggestion is tentative because it relies on a number of assumptions. First, it is assumed that the recruitment of soldiers to form a parish corps was carried out only by an officer-evangelist based in the parish, and that this kind of work was not undertaken by the mission-nurses, the van-evangelists, or by the more specialised officers (pioneer-missioners, labour-home wardens, etc.). Second, it is assumed that officer-evangelists in charge of a local coterie of soldiers would regard selling Church Army Gazettes as part of their duty. If this were so, then most parish corps would be represented in the contest lists. If these assumptions are valid, then the number of parish corps was as follows:-

1887	94
1888	119
1889	146
1890	129
1891	146
1892	144
1893	135
1894	135
1895	130
1896	137
1897	123
1898	126
1899	136
1900	132
1901 onwards	Complete lists unavailable[1]

[1] Extracted from the Church Army Gazette contest lists 1887-1900. There was no list published in 1901, and after that a modified, sectional and incomplete list was printed which is not considered suitable for comparison. Mission-nurses, agent-friends, and van-evangelists have been excluded from these figures. However, the figures may present an overestimate of the number of stations, in that it has proved impossible to isolate accurately those officers whose work was more social in character, but who still sold some Gazettes. Moreover, the calculation is less likely to be accurate in the early years. It would appear that in 1888, there were thirty Church Army stations that did not sell the newspaper. C.A.G. 1888. No 220. However, it is suggested that the stress on Gazette sales might have reduced this figure. Nevertheless, the possibility must be borne in mind that some stations might not appear in the list.

If the list is itself accurate, then it might be said that the number of parish corps did not increase significantly between 1887 and 1900.

It appears that the only expansion in parish-based, permanent evangelistic work was among juveniles - by 1894, Church Army officers were expected to organise Church Lads Brigades in the parishes to which they were attached,[1] and in 1895, Church Army Juvenile Brigades were started[2] - organisations that were akin to uniformed Sunday schools, and which further encourage the concept of an "agency" as a suitable description of the mission-band.

Thus, although stations continued to be established and soldiers recruited into parish corps and many incumbents still relied on traditional Church Army methods to reach those, "unlikely of their own accord to attend church",[3] and despite the retention of the para-military hierarchical style of administration as a suitable form of organisation, nevertheless, between 1889 and 1914, other evangelistic endeavours were introduced which sought not to establish fixed mission-band stations, but concentrated instead on evangelism of the "parochial mission" variety - perhaps a maximum of fourteen days in one place before moving on to a new location and leaving the enfoldment of converts in the hands of the parochial clergy. By 1892, the Yearbook of the Church of England recorded that although many of the 260 evangelists and mission-nurses were attached to parishes, nevertheless:

"Under this department are also included Colportage, Magic Lantern Exhibitions, the Visiting of Public Houses and of Lodging-Houses, Missions among Fruit-pickers, Hop-pickers and Hay-makers

[1] C.A.G. 1894. No 575.
[2] C.A.G. 1895. No 558, No 559.
[3] J. Baylon. Cyril Bardsley. Evangelist. 1942. p 24.

during the summer months, 2 Mission Vans, travelling through the country, and holding Missions in parishes when so desired by the Clergy: the working of Evangelists under Missionaries in India; a Samaritan Fund for sick officers and their families, and a Special Distress Fund for the poor. In addition a Bible Reading Union has been formed, founded on the reading of some part of the Church's daily lesson; and a Prayer Union."[1]

Later, work was also begun among prisoners and other special categories of the destitute.

Work of this nature proved more acceptable to Anglicans than the recruitment of stable parish corps of converted "soldiers", with all the potential for conflict that this entailed. For one thing, if a Church Army mission (for example one conducted by a Van-evangelist) did create excitement and did disturb a local congregation with its sensationalist methods - a complaint that was heard occasionally[2] - then at least the local clergy were assured that it was a temporary, even emergency means of mission, that might be successfully brought under control after the departure of the mission-preacher. Given the only partial success of mission-band methods, it is not difficult to see why attention came to be directed to "captive" audiences that could not escape their ministrations, viz. the occupants of prisons, workhouses and reformatories.

Perhaps one of the most successful developments in Church Army evangelistic work during this period was the introduction of the mission-van - in part an imitation of the Church of England Temperance Society and the Christian Colportage Association (founded 1874) but also an extension of the principle of itinerancy. The first of these mission-vans, or "wheeled tabernacles", was commissioned in 1892,[3] and charged with mission-work in

[1] Y.B. 1893. p 66.
[2] C.T. 1896. pp 216-217.
[3] C.A.G. 1892. No 401.

Surrey, Kent, and Sussex under the control of Capt. Prior, a long-serving officer who later became Mission-Van Secretary, and who addressed the Church Congress at Weymouth (1905) on this subject.[1] In 1895, a separate Van Department was established[2] and by 1898 there were 60 such vans at work.[3] Often referred to as "chariots of war",[4] the vans, which combined mission-work (sometimes using lantern-shows) and colportage, were confined to the particular diocese for which they had episcopal sanction and the parishes in which they had the consent of the clergy.[5]

The vans served an important function in the training of cadets, and it became customary for the vehicles to be manned by one experienced evangelist, and two "earnest young Evangelist-colporteurs".[6] Thus the van-work served to extend the length of training, and was perhaps a contributory factor in the reduction of the turnover-rate of the officers that has been noted above. By 1895 or so, the new cadets entering the Training Home for their three months course had already spent at least nine months as Church Army workers and consequently were less likely to be under misconceptions about their role as commissioned officers. The insistence on a period of pre-training experience in a van may have served to sift the candidates, so improving the selection procedures. By 1897, the training of a Church Army evangelist involved nine-months in a mission-van, three months in the central training institution, and a probationary period of one year under the guidance of an experienced vicar.[7]

[1] C.C.R. 1905. pp 162-163.
[2] Y.B. 1896. pp 73-74.
[3] Y.B. 1899. p 76.
[4] C.A.G. 1895. No 582.
[5] See Rev. J.H. Swinstead. A Parish on Wheels. 1897. p 137, for a brief discussion of parish van-work.
[6] Y.B. 1899. p 76.
[7] C of C. 1897. Report No 303. Lay Evangelists. p 2.

The pioneer mission, when this was introduced, was ironically almost a reversion to the concepts of mission evolved by the old C.P.M.S. under the auspices of which the Church Army had first operated. The first pioneer mission was held in London in April 1898, with Captain Davey in charge;[1] and by 1899, a number of captains had been appointed to the post of Pioneer Missionary; for example, in Manchester, Leeds and the Metropolis.[2] The meetings were generally held in tents, and usually continued for a week. Describing the appointment of Captain Reynolds as Pioneer Missioner for the Manchester and Salford area in December 1898, the Manchester Guardian commented:-

"An interesting development is to take place with the New Year in the work of the Church Army in large centres of population. In addition to the Church Army 'Captains' who are at work in various parishes, a 'Captain' has been appointed to reside in the town, without parochial ties, but ready to conduct parochial missions on Church Army lines in any parish to which the incumbent may invite him. This he will do free of charge, his salary being paid direct from Headquarters. It is hoped that some part if not all, of his salary will be met by gifts of rich Churchmen who realise the value of this effort. It is hoped in this way to bring missionary methods to bear in parishes too poor to maintain a regular Church Army station".[3]

A Pioneer Mission Helpers League was begun in April to provide prayer and financial support for the work, and in their appeal the leaders called upon the same criteria for action that, in 1883, were used to justify the commencement of para-military, Anglican mission-bands: the Church had lost its hold on the people; the large centres of population were a mission area; new methods were necessary - "The Pioneers are Going to the Rescue!", stated the Church Army Gazette.[4] A separate Pioneer and Tent Mission Department was begun.[5]

[1] C.A.G. 1898. No 701, No 720. [2] C.A.G. 1899. No 749.
[3] Excerpt from Manchester Guardian. Dec. 8. 1898, reprinted in C.A.G. 1899. No 750.
[4] C.A.G. 1899. No 756. For more details see the special "Pioneer Gazette". C.A.G. 1899. No 764.
[5] Y.B. 1899. p 76.

That further supplementary mission work was necessary is evidence of Carlile's waning faith in Salvationist methods or at least of its modification as a result of experience. The Pioneer Tents were used for seaside missions, for example (during 1899) in Morecambe, Blackpool and Walton-on-the-Naze,[1] and in that year over 2000 tent services and 1000 open-air meetings were held in connection with one hundred pioneer missions.[2]

At the request of the authorities, missions in prisons were started. Prison-gate work had been begun by a number of societies in the late nineteenth century, among them the Church of England Temperance Society (1879), and the Salvation Army (1884); while the Church Army itself had commenced this type of work in 1888 or 1889,[3] but during 1897, missions were held <u>inside</u> Wandsworth (by Capt. Davey) and Pentonville prisons (by Capt. Spencer), and campaigns were planned for Borstal and Wormwood Scrubs.[4] By December, 1898, the Church Army had received permission to hold missions in all prisons with the consent of the chaplain, and had appointed four full-time Prison missioners,[5] who, by June 1899, had held missions in thirty-seven prisons and visited twelve thousand prisoners in their cells.[6] A Prison Mission Department was established in 1898, and in the <u>Year Book of the Church of England</u> for 1900, it was forecast that this department "appears likely to develop into a huge organisation in itself. For three years, with the warmest approval and co-operation of the Governors and Chaplains, Visiting Chaplains, and Prison Commissioners, Staff

[1] <u>C.A.G</u>. 1899. No 773.
[2] <u>C.A.G</u>. 1899. No 811, No 815.
[3] K.J. Heasman. 1962. p 180, gives 1888, but the earliest reference to this type of work that I have been able to find is 1889.
[4] <u>Church Army Blue Book</u>. 1897.
[5] See feature in <u>C.A.G</u>. 1898. No 741. The Church Army in Gaol.
[6] <u>Y.B</u>. 1900. p 79.

Missioners of the Church Army have been regularly conducting eight days' Missions inside the Prisons of England and Wales. The Missioners are all working-men evangelists of great experience and tact. Every prisoner is permitted by the Home Office to have private interviews with the Missioners".[1]

The evangelism in prisons was linked to the social welfare services offered by the Church Army, and work similar to that being carried out among discharged prisoners by the St. Giles Christian Mission[2] was begun:- "Every case recommended by a Prison Governor or Chaplain is at once admitted (direct on discharge) to one or other of the Society's 90 homes and branches. Two Homes have been opened for first Offenders of superior education". A Relief Fund for prisoners families was also begun, and by 1905, the Church Army was offering four months employment to each of the 200,000 leaving prison who would accept it, and was receiving one third of the discharged prisoners who went to societies.[3] The success of the eight day prison missions encouraged the extension of this activity to workhouses.[4] The Church of England Year Book for 1901 gave the information that nearly one hundred and seventy work-houses had been booked for missions of this kind, and that in recognition of its contribution to reformatory work, the Prison Commissioners had appointed the Church Army an Aid Society for Convict Prisons, and a Discharged Prisoners Aid Society for the local prisons throughout England and Wales.[5] The Church Army advertisement made the claim that the agency was:

[1] Ibid.

[2] see G. Hatton. One Year's Preventive and Rescue Work. 1884.

[3] C.C.R. 1905. p 325. For a description of the work see Capt. W.R. Davey. 'Prison and Prisoners', in W.H. Hunt (ed.) Preachers from the Pew. 1906.

[4] For more details see speech by Arthur Hanson C.A. C.C.R. 1901. pp 374-375.

[5] Y.B. 1901. p 81.

"The only Society in Britain carrying on systematic work inside as well as outside, the Prisons, Workhouses, and Reformatories".[1]

Following the Church of England Temperance Society which had appointed its first Police Court Missioner in 1876,[2] the Church Army became involved in the same work. And in 1906, Carlile actually visited the Home Office to discuss the proposed probation system, and to offer as probation officers twelve captains and mission-nurses.[3] This promise was honoured when the Probation of Offenders' Act came into force (1907), and between the two world wars, many magistrates came to regard the Church Army hostels for lads as alternatives to prison and borstal.[4]

The prison and workhouse missions and relief work represent examples of the role that the Church Army was to fulfil throughout the twentieth century, for, as Lord W. Gascoyne-Cecil pointed out in 1908,[5] in this venture its leaders sought to fill the gaps in the State system of welfare facilities by providing aid for specific classes of the destitute or homeless (in this case the families of prisoners or first offenders) that occupied no formal place in the plans of Government agencies.[6] A more contemporary example is the work among alcoholics and drug-addicts. And, it was for this work (not the recruitment of working-class Anglicans) that the Church Army received the recognition and acceptance of society. Expressing this at the Weymouth Church Congress (1905), the Governor of Dartmoor (Basil Thomson) confessed that so great

1 Y.B. 1901. p 701.

2 K.J. Heasman. 1962. p 181.

3 C.T. 27 July 1906. p 107.

4 K.J. Heasman. 1968. p 119. For more details see Capt. W. Spencer. The Other Side of the Prison Gate. 1938, and Capt. Davey. Missions to Prisons, in N. Keymer (ed.) Workers together with God. 4th ed. 1900. pp 349-353.

5 Rev. Lord W. Gascoyne-Cecil. The Church Army. 1908. p 1.

6 For the society's recent work see Donald Lynch. 'All Sorts and Conditions: The Social Work of the Church Army', in P. Smith (ed.) The Caring Church. Derby. 1964.

was the contribution made by the society to the welfare of discharged prisoners (especially lads), and by Wilson Carlile and Colin Campbell in particular, that he was embarrassed by their presence:- "It is work which ought to be paid for by the State", he said, "since the State benefits pecuniarily by the reformation of every potential Recidivist; but the Church Army voluntarily undertook to bear the burden, and has earned thereby the gratitude of the nation. Other societies - the Royal Aid Society, the Catholic Aid Society, the St. Giles Christian Mission, and the Salvation Army - deserve our gratitude, but it is to the Church Army that I attribute the fact that out of all the boys that have left prison since the initiation of this class so many are doing well".[1]

By 1905, the Church Army had devised a complicated scheme of rehabilitation for ex-prisoners that bore many resemblances to the earlier suggestions made in Our Tramps, and by William Booth in Darkest England. A more elaborated version of this scheme (to apply to all the existing Poor Law institutions and to involve all recipients of relief) appeared in a letter that was printed in the Times.[2] In common with the earlier schemes for social salvation, the principle of self-help was seen as the lynchpin of moral regeneration and social rehabilitation. Carlile put his plans to the Church Congress.[3] He proposed the erection of more Church Army homes, exclusively for ex-prisoners, which would be classified to separate the habitual criminal from first offenders. He preferred that these homes should be part of a land colony, of which there were to be two kinds - one more penal

[1] C.C.R. 1905. pp 315-316.

[2] For a review of these suggestions, see St. Pancras Guardian. 6 Oct. 1905. C.A.A. Clippings.

[3] C.C.R. 1905.

in character provided and run by the State, and the other provided and managed by the voluntary societies (in which life would be pleasanter). Stay in these institutions would be compulsory and desertion would be a punishable offence. Men would be discharged from prison to the homes and be required to pass through one of them before resuming life outside. Good behaviour and industry would be rewarded with privileges and by promotion to society homes, and vice versa. On discharge there would follow a period of probation, and if the ex-offender could not find employment, or if he lost his job, he would be required to return once more to the home - a rule that illustrates Carlile's resolve to reduce vagrancy. It is an indication of the extent to which the tenets of the society had changed that it was not until the end of his speech that Carlile chose to mention religion, and his comment aptly demonstrates the degree to which the work of the mission-band had become secularised. Carlile continued:- "Religious influences, of course, must not be neglected, though they should not be too obtrusively thrust on the attention of the individual man. Rather let him be taught by example than by precept. During his stay in a home, chaplains and other officers will see to his well-being in this as in other particulars, and afterwards it will be the task of the officers of the Society Home from which he was discharged to keep in touch with him, as friends, not as spies or gaolers, and to recommend him to the attention of the clergy wherever he may be".[1]

In the prison work, the coffee tavern temperance evangelism, the labour-homes, and the missions to other specialised groups, the provision of relief and the emphasis on the need for social as well as spiritual rehabilitation - originally in order to

[1] p 329.

facilitate evangelism - had now usurped proselytism and campaigning for conversion as the cardinal purpose of Church Army work. In 1905, asked what he would do with a million pounds, Carlile replied that he would organise missions, "that would be social as well as religious, for I believe that God is as keenly interested in seeing food in the cupboards of the poor and happiness in their homes as He is in seeing them with Bibles and clean hearts".[1] However, in the course of this transformation from a quasi-sectarian evangelistic organisation to an Anglican social work agency with evangelistic principles, the Church Army achieved a respectability that it was unlikely to acquire through its evangelism alone. Even Hensley Henson, who had been very critical of the society's methods in 1891[2] and although with minor reservations was prepared, by 1902, to appear on the platform at the Church Army's Annual Meeting and to wish its endeavours "God-speed".[3] In February 1906, commenting on Carlile's preferment to a prebendary stall at St. Paul's, the Daily News was able to observe: "The Church Army, like its elder sister, the Salvation Army, has lived down its days of scorn and opposition. It now basks in the sunshine of Episcopal favour . . . The Episcopal recognition would hardly have been possible ten years ago".[4]

An ancillary agency within the Church - new categories of membership and official licence for the society's evangelists

At its beginnings the Church Army had had a narrow and well defined purpose largely drawn from contemporary revivalism and

[1] Horner's Weekly. 25 Nov. 1905. p 507. in C.A.A. Clippings.
[2] See correspondence in G. 1891. Nos. 2360-2362, and above.
[3] G. 1902. p 729.
[4] Daily News. 7 Feb. 1906, in C.A.A. Clippings.

informed by radical evangelical currents of thought within the Church and from Nonconformity. Like many sectarian groups that began in revival it was near to being interdenominational or supradenomination - in spirit if not in its formal pronouncements. Its demand was for a conversion experience by no means widely claimed by many of those safely and securely in Church membership, and in this sense it was more exclusive in its requirements than the church it sought to serve. Its officers were to testify to such an experience, and to abstain from alcohol and tobacco - things not required of the clergy themselves. Its soldiers were to wear the red cord of membership, were required to march through the streets and were expected to campaign for more conversions - things which no settled layman or church worker was required to do. The mission-band had more stringent and extensive demands to make than those which an "ordinary" Anglican encountered.

The growth of subsidiary activities, the need for finance and acceptance, all gradually led - as in other comparable organisations - to an attenuation of goals.[1] Less total and more specific forms of commitment came to be required with a growing differentiation of purposes between elite and mass following and within the elite itself. So it was that the stress on the significance of Gazette sales led to the formation of Gazette Brigades and the enlistment of "Agent-friends", people whose only formal commitment to the society was an agreement to sell its publications. As the society grew, the need to mobilise financial and administrative assistance led to the introduction of other categories of membership. Ruri-decanal secretaries were appointed to organise and promote the Church Army in different

[1] See Zald and Denton. 1963. p 222.

parts of the country,[1] and another option for partial allegiance to the mission-band was created with the commencement of the Church Army Associates Union - membership of which demanded a promise to pray for the work, a commitment to give or collect at least 5/- each year, and a willingness to persuade others to join. By 1898, there were 1500 associates.[2] The status of Church Army Auxiliary was another form of partial membership - auxiliaries were not expected to attend meetings, or even to campaign for recruits - but to pray and contribute financially to the society.[3]

As the social work and evangelism expanded, other categories of association that required considerably less than total commitment were added. Leagues were established to assist specific endeavours, and by 1899, there was a Pioneer Mission Helpers League, and an Our Own Candidate League, the aim of which was to sponsor cadets at the training home.[4] Despite the maintenance of military nomenclature, by the end of the century the Church Army was little different from a dozen other voluntary societies in the Church, and was a fully accommodated evangelistic social work agency within Anglicanism.

There were similar changes in the degree of allegiance demanded from the officers. The "leakage" that has been discussed above of officer-evangelist to other church societies, or back to secular occupations, led to the introduction of the role of Associate Evangelist[5] - an officer who worked in some other branch

[1] By 1895, there were 18 rural-decanal secretaries in the Northern Province, and 14 in the Southern. C.A.G. 1895. No 577, No 578.
[2] C.A.G. 1898. No 709.
[3] C.A.G. 1899. No 754.
[4] C.A.G. 1899. No 751 and No 760.
[5] C.A.G. 1892. No 495.

of church work but still wished to continue his association with the society. Again the significant feature of this arrangement is that the allegiance was only partial. Eventually the role of the existing cadre of officers was defined officially, and the officer-evangelists were granted formal status within the Church. Although in most dioceses the Church Army was already using a form of licence that had been drawn up by Bishop Lightfoot, the need for a more universal form of recognition became the subject of Convocational debate, and in 1896, a committee of the Convocation of Canterbury was established to consider the ways in which "general recognition" might be given to lay-evangelists. Although the original brief of the committee was to report on the Order of Lay Evangelists in Lichfield,[1] when it presented its findings in January 1897, the report also discussed the Church Army and the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.[2]

Accepting the theory that a "native ministry" of workingmen evangelists was needed to reach the masses, the committee documented three societies that fulfilled their conditions of work by full-time, trained evangelists on Church lines - the Church Training College for Lay Workers (established and maintained by the S.P.C.K.), the Church Army, and the Lichfield Evangelist Brotherhood. The question to which the committee directed its attention was: "How best can the Church so formally recognise the work of the Evangelist Brothers, the Church Army Captains, and members of other similar organisations, as to show her sympathy with it, and encourage and also control the enthusiasm of these men without interfering with the healthy development

[1] C. of C. Upper House. Feb. 1896. pp 366-367.
[2] C. of C. Upper House. 1897. pp 20-29.

of such societies".[1] It was proposed that the House might consider granting to these men "Reader's licences" in a form similar to that recommended by the bishops in 1866.[2]

The resolution proposed a system practically identical to that already being used by the Church Army, but this formal recognition by Convocation of the role of lay evangelists served to emphasise the acceptability of Church Army officer-evangelists, and to make permanent the lines of control that had been established between the hierarchy of the Church and the ancillary society. It was resolved:-

"1. That it is expedient, in order to recognise a trained evangelist, and authorise him to perform the duties of his office in any diocese, that the Bishop of the diocese should grant him a "reader's" licence in a form similar to that recommended by the Bishops in 1866.

2. That a trained evangelist should, in the first instance, be admitted to his office by the Bishop of the diocese in which the training home is situated, and should receive letters of admission to that office from him, after having produced the following certificates and testimonials:-

a) A certificate that he has received at least one year's training in a home of which the Bishop of the diocese, as visitor, has approved the rules external and internal, has sanctioned the forms of service and text-books in use, and has appointed or approved the Chaplain.

b) A certificate that he has satisfied an examiner appointed by the aforesaid Bishop of his proficiency in the knowledge of Church doctrine and practice, and of his moral, intellectual, and spiritual fitness for evangelistic work.

c) A testimonial of godly behaviour during the period of his training from the head of the training home.

3. That in order to qualify for a reader's licence the evangelist should produce

a) His letters of admission to his office.

b) A nomination by an Incumbent under whom he is to serve.

c) A testimonial of godly behaviour during the period of his training from the head of the training home, or, if he has been already employed, a like testimonial from the Incumbent of the parish (or parishes) where he has been so employed, for twelve months past, countersigned by the Bishop of the diocese".

[1] C. of C. Upper House. 1897. Report No 303. Lay Evangelists. p 4.
[2] p 6.

The following words were to be added to the licence:- "This licence is to be returned to the Bishop when the holder shall cease to work regularly in the parish for which it is granted".

When the report was passed to the Lower Chamber, one clergyman (Rev. E. Phillips) sought to extend the period of training. Although he was loathe to discourage the men, he gave an example from his own experience of the difficulties that could arise from inadequate training. He had employed a Church Army captain, he said; "a really good and earnest man; but owing to insufficient training (he had only eight weeks or so) the results of his work were less satisfactory than could have been wished".[1] The fact that he could find no seconder for his proposal that the period of training should be one and a half years is perhaps indication that irregularities among the Church Army evangelists were, by now, isolated occurrences.

Church Army officers were urged to apply for the licences through their incumbent, and the hope was expressed (one that had caused uproar in 1883) that on certain occasions this might enable incumbents to give evangelists permission to speak in Church:- "This recognition by the whole Church of the office of Evangelist renders it easier for the Clergy to invite the Evangelists to speak inside the churches on certain occasions. All Evangelists who have served 6 months in a Van or other institution of the society, and have passed their three months course at the Trainin Home, are eligible".[2]

Thus this resolution not only gave official recognition to the male officers of the Church Army and confirmed their status within the Church as specialised "Evangelists", but also served

[1] C. of C. Lower House. 1897. p 269. [2] C.A.G. 1898. No 708.

to consolidate the existing "lines of control" which guaranteed that their activities were subject to episcopal and clerical regulation. By 1914, under special circumstances, it was possible for Church Army Evangelists to be admitted as Readers in the ordinary way and to undertake services in consecrated buildings,[1] and in 1934, W.S. Williams was able to state, in passing as he discussed the role of Evangelists in the Church, that, "it need hardly be said [of the representatives of the Church Army] that their work is beyond all praise and invaluable to the Church".[2]

Although formal recognition was given to the male officers of the Church Army, however, the same official status was not granted to its women workers. Several attempts to achieve similar Convocational approval for the mission-sisters and protracted discussion of a suitable title for them took place. Some clergy objected to the title "mission-sister" since the women were not "sisters" in the accepted sense - others disapproved of the title "mission-nurse" because neither were they trained nurses. Eventually it was agreed to call them mission-women,[3] but the Convocational committee[4] was nevertheless unable to recommend any official sign of approval. The committee congratulated the Church Army mission-women for their "excellent work", but, perhaps partly because of a reluctance to compromise in any way the status of deaconesses and members of sisterhoods, did not advocate a universal licence for the workers.[5] The mission-women had to wait

[1] W.S. Williams. A Brief History of Readers and Their Work in the Diocese of London. 1927.

[2] W.S. Williams. The Case for the Lay Ministry of the Church of England. 1934. p 97.

[3] see C. of C. 1906. Feb. 22 Lower House; Feb. 23 Upper House; May 4 Upper House; July 4 Upper House; Nov. 13 Upper House.

[4] C. of C. 1906. July 4 Upper House.

[5] C. of C. 1907. Upper House p 72. Resolutions on Report No 411. Church Army Mission Women.

until 1921 for official approval to be granted,[1] and until that time the women workers of the society were dependent on individual diocesan bishops for any licence they might receive.

Despite this reluctance to recognise officially the work of the mission-women, under the guidance of Marie Carlile, there was continued expansion of their activities into a wide range of evangelistic social relief work. Homes for destitute women were established on the same principles used in the men's labour homes, and a variety of other social work was undertaken including slum visiting and temperance work; night rescue work; medical missions; assistance for young mothers, and preventative homes for delinquent girls. Notwithstanding the refusal of episcopal blessing in the form of a licence, by 1907 the evangelism and rescue work of the four hundred Church Army mission-women was accepted as a standard element in the working of many Anglican parishes.[2] Moreover, the entire staff of the society continued to expand as the Church Army grew into an accepted and "respectable" evangelistic social work agency (see table: "Classification of Church Army workers 1900-1913", overleaf).

Classification of Church Army workers 1900-1913

Date	Officer-Evangelists	Associate Evangelists	[1]Church Pastoral Aid Society	Police Ct.	L/H Mngrs. & Assists.	Mission Nurses	Assoc. Mission Nurses	[1]Church Pastoral Aid Society
1900	335	98	8	4	-	192	18	-
1901	312	99 + 8 Pol. Ct.	8	4	-	213	27	7
1902	343	86 + 6 Pol. Ct.	8	6	-	224	-	-
1903	313	90 + 7 Pol. Ct.	15	9	65	233	-	-
1904	318	61 + 2 Pol. Ct.	?	9	87	248	29	-
1905	314	46	24	9	84	255	23	-
1906	333	49	27	8	81	267	-	-
1907	367	51	34	23 [2]	-	-	-	-
1908	384	62	38	-	90	-	-	-
1909	412	65	43	-	89	353	-	-
1910	415	80	33	-	94	376	26	-
1911	410	77	48	-	92	388	-	18
1912	436	84	48	-	87	395	-	-
1913	445	82	53 [3]	-	80	429	-	-

Notes

[1] From 1897, the Church Pastoral Aid Society began to contribute towards the stipends of some Church Army officer-evangelists and mission nurses.

[2] Probation of Offenders Act came into force. After this, although a number of Church Army evangelists became Probation Officers, and the society continued to receive lads into its homes as an alternative to prison, police court work was dropped from Church Army activities.

[3] In 1913 there was one evangelist working under the auspices of the East London Church Fund.

Pol. Ct. = Police court mission work.

The statistics were not published regularly, but this information has been extracted from the Church Army Blue Books and Annual Reports. As will be seen from this list, sometimes certain figures were inexplicably omitted, to be re-commenced at a later date.

Despite a certain amount of "leakage" to other church societies; to ordination; to secular employment; and other destinations,[1] the number of Church Army evangelists grew steadily between 1900 and 1913. By the turn of the century, the majority of these workers were not engaged exclusively in the recruitment of converts and the enrolment of soldiers (the original aim of the Church Army), but in activities that were social as well as spiritual. Most of the officer-evangelists and mission-nurses were employed in work that had goals other than the reclaimation of the "lapsed masses" for the Church of England, and even though many were still engaged in straightforward evangelism, in contrast to the early years of the society, much of this spiritual work consisted of transient missions in tents, vans, prisons, etc., rather than para-military recruitment and the establishment of permanent, parish-based mission bands.

Conclusion

The Church Army was one among a number of innovations (and restorations) adopted by the Church in the late nineteenth century as a response to a social situation in which there was a growing awareness of failure to reach the new industrial classes. There were a variety of opinions about what was to be done - some of them very much affected by the churchmanship positions of their advocates. The Church Army was clearly a movement favoured by evangelicals and in particular by evangelicals who had accepted increasingly the need for more vigorous effort and the use of revivalist techniques. The Church Army bore all the marks of the influence of Nonconformity and even of American interdenominational evangelicalism. In some respects it set out to be an agency for mass recruitment adapted to the mass society. Its evangelism was offered to the masses (as distinct from the classes) and although its principal precursor was certainly British - the Salvation Army - its style was much infected by the stridency which had become familiar mainly through the activities of American revivalists.

Revitalised by re-organisation and internal reforms introduced to remedy earlier shortcomings, the Church did make substantial quantitative recovery in the late Victorian and Edwardian eras, but this improvement of its position in relation to other religious groupings and society as a whole was not achieved among the working classes. To a certain extent, churchmen were able to rectify the consequences of population growth and urbanisation: re-organisation of parish machinery and increased spiritual vigour did restore the physical accessibility of the Church to the people - as reflected in the

significance of religious attendance and attitude among the Victorian middle class. It cannot however be said that the Church succeeded in winning over the masses. Neither the Church Army nor the Salvation Army proved to be effective in capturing more than a very tiny proportion of the working classes to their cause. To have been effective the Church Army would have needed to be launched on a much bigger scale than it ever achieved. It would have needed more officers, and better endorsement from the Church itself. Indeed to have had a chance of being really effective it would have needed to be on a scale which might have jeopardised the established organisational structure of the Church itself. In the event there was no possibility for such a development, and even as a relatively small scale operation in evangelism, the Church Army was not, as we have seen, without its detractors.

The Church Army sought to establish a less formal pattern of worship; a more open and everyday style of religious activity which, it was thought, would appeal to the working classes. It combined the egalitarianism implicit in evangelism and voluntary choice with a distinctly authoritarian organisational structure. Enthusiasm and spontaneity were combined with ideals of discipline and obedience. The idea of social ranking was quite unchallenged in its structure: officers were superior, and above them stood the Church with its entrenched class and status system. On the other hand, as a society it stood for the ideal that the salvation of every soul was in some sense equally important. Spiritual democracy was conjoined with organisational hierarchy in a way which gave the Church Army - partly because of its Church sponsorship - an element of patronage: indeed a posture

which might be described as "patronising". In this sense it was more compromised than the Salvation Army which was much more fully a "grass-roots", "do-it-yourself" movement. The best a Church Army recruit could hope for was to become, after appropriate training, an officer of the movement and, perhaps, an officer with special departmental responsibilities at headquarters. He would still be under the local incumbent or his superior at headquarters, and far from being "his own man". Further progress could be achieved only through ordination and the acceptance of a more diversified commitment to the Church as a whole. The Church Army was not a "do-it-yourself" religion such as were the sects or the Salvation Army and in this sense it never acquired that independence of style and spirit (nor, may it be said, the contentiousness and friction that went with it) of many contemporary sects.

In the circumstances it is not surprising that the Church Army so quickly turned to social welfare work. This had occurred in the Salvation Army already: how much more likely, then, was it that this development should occur in a movement which was beholden to the established church. Its mission was readily defined as specifically a concern for the poor - action arising from the bounty of the Church itself: that such action should readily turn to charitable ends is therefore not surprising. The Church Army was never going to be a grass-roots movement in which men raised themselves up. It was from the outset a matter of being helped up by committed clerics. No-one would suggest, of course, that the leaders of the movement were ever prompted by other than the loftiest spiritual aims as they saw them. They were not simply salving their own consciences, and yet it might be argued that the terms on which

the Church Army was accorded recognition by the Church as a whole had an element of this type of motivation behind it.

Although there is some evidence of initial success - perhaps explicable in terms of the general popularity of military administration and the appeal of novelty in itself - the original goal of the society was not achieved. Church Army mission-bands were not successful in producing large-scale working-class conversions. In addition, and like most revivalist organisations, it would appear that the turnover of members was high. The Church Army did not recruit any large-scale and stable community of believers.

Despite largely failing in its initial aim of recruiting the working classes as active members of the Church, the Church Army, through its role as a specialised agency, did make some contribution to the re-organisation of Anglicanism: its evangelism and social welfare provisions became an element in the more flexible and many-sided operation of the Church. Perhaps because of the similarity of its structure to that of the military and its acceptability as an agency which, whilst of the Church, was at once identifiable as "military", the society proved especially useful in wartime. Arguably, it was perhaps through its war-work - especially the "Church Army huts" (recreation centres in barracks and at the front) - and not through its evangelism, that the organisation achieved its most intimate contact with the working classes.

Although it may have been due largely to the appeal of novelty, the Church Army did achieve limited success in its early stages - active corps were established in some parishes - not in the heaviest industrial areas of the larger cities, so

much as among the poor in places with a markedly diverse class structure, especially perhaps, among servants, or soldiers - people used to the hierarchic ordering of society, and to the ideals of deference. Even where success was achieved, however, its position as an arm of the Church - a recruiting agency - may have rendered problematical the transfer of converts to the parish church. We have seen above that, especially among traditionalists, its methods were unpopular, sometimes controversial, and one may speculate that in the absence of effective means of transfer, the lack of welcome in the church pew for mission-band recruits tended to attenuate the enthusiasm of officers and soldiers. Indeed, the very existence of the Church Army as an agency within the Church may have been a major element in its lack of numerical success - the Church Army may have succeeded better if it could have kept its recruits entirely to itself in the manner of the Salvation Army. Difficulties of transfer, of course, may also have contributed to the relatively high rate of turnover of members.

The Church Army was one development in the attempt to diversify the Church's mode of operation in society - one which could grow up on Nonconformist example, without directly challenging normal church procedures and without requiring legal changes in the Church's structure or for its operation. The Church Army was part of a new pattern of such specialised agencies in Anglicanism - a kind of "division of religious labour" that may have been in part a consequence of the increasing segregation of society into groups. Similar agencies include a variety of missions to specialised categories of people, for example the Boys' Brigade, and a range of missions to navvies,

seamen, soldiers, "fallen" women, prisoners, etc., and more devotional groups such as the Mothers' Union. All these initiatives were part of a process by which the parochial structure was being supported and supplemented in a variety of ways for special ministries and "particular concerns". These agencies, however, did not represent a fundamental reconstruction of the parish system. Like the Church Army, they constituted supports and supplements rather than a radical alternative in religious organisation, and as such they were no more than piecemeal and partial ameliorating agencies. Despite pressure for reform of parochial methods - which has continued to the present day and which was fully and recently reflected in the recommendations of the Paul Report[1] - the Church of England continued predominantly to operate through its traditional (and largely out-of-date) methods of administration.

As a Church agency seeking to enrol recruits into paramilitary (and latently separate) corps, the Church Army was unpopular with a considerable number of clergy and congregations. Its methods constituted a disruption to normal parish activities and its style was a contradiction of the Victorian belief that religion should be "respectable". The lack of decorousness among its converts must have been a common reason for complaint in those parishes where mission-band stations were established, and there were those who questioned the extent to which Church Army converts (attracted perhaps by the emotionalism and sensation of the military style) constituted suitable candidates for

[1] L.A. Paul. The deployment and payment of the clergy, a report. 1964.

many Anglican communions. Evangelicals may have warmed to the enthusiasm of Church Army recruits, but the lack of respect for established procedures and the implicit challenge to existing status hierarchies (both inside and outside the church) in the Army's concept of a priesthood of all believers, must have made mission-band members a source of uneasiness in many parishes. Even the presence of a captain was a source of uncertainty - his preaching might undermine priestly authority.

The processes of internal change, gradual domestication, and accommodation of the Church Army that have been documented above, transformed many of the less acceptable elements of mission-band techniques. If the presence of a uniformed captain preaching conversion had been anathema to many Anglicans, his successor - the social work functionary/temporary evangelist - was acceptable to almost everyone. Despite some criticism of the manner in which welfare provision was undertaken (for much of the Church Army's somewhat irreverent style was carried over into that field) the society gradually became a fully accommodated and accepted agency within the Anglican Church.

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