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THE YOUTH FOR CHRIST MOVEMENT AS AN EDUCATIONAL AGENCY
AND ITS IMPACT UPON PROTESTANT CHURCHES: 1931-1979

by

Mark Houston Senter III

A Dissertation Submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate
School of Loyola University of Chicago in Partial
Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

March

1989

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VITA

The author, Mark Houston Senter III, is the son of Mark Houston Senter and Alice (Watkins) Senter. He was born 8 December 1943 in Warsaw, Indiana.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

"There are very few things today done in youth work that were not pioneered in Youth for Christ or Young Life - be it in Christian camping, various small group activities or music." ¹ This quotation, attributed to Jay Kesler, former president of Youth for Christ International, was cited by Thom Schultz in an article entitled, "What's Happened to Young Life and Campus Life?" If pressed to explain what he meant by the statement, Kesler may have been willing to concede that he overstated his case a bit. Yet the question remains, what was the contribution of Youth for Christ and Young Life to youth ministry in the local church? This same question may be applied to a number of other para-church agencies which arose in the period from 1931 when Percy Crawford founded the Young People's Church of the Air until 1979 when the National Network of Youth Ministries was established for fellowship among local church youth ministers.

Confusion over the contribution of such agencies was further evidenced when the sociologist Tony Campolo wrote an article in YouthWorker entitled, "Success Can Be Dangerous:

The Professionalizing of Youth Ministry."² Attempting a sociological analysis of the history of youth ministry, Campolo made numerous factual errors about its development as a profession. When questioned about these inaccuracies, the sociologist frankly confessed that accurate data was not available to him and so he leaned more heavily on his theory than on the historic information.

Unfortunately, Campolo's presumption about the availability of historical data is correct. Careful studies of the contributions of recent parachurch organizations to youth ministry in the local church have not been written. One has to look back to the 1930s and before to find such works.³

Admittedly, there are numerous house histories which report the facts about specific youth ministry organizations, usually as understood by a person favorable to those organizations.⁴ Little research has been done, however, of a scholarly nature. One could only surmise that the people most closely associated with the various youth ministries were so busily involved in doing the work of ministry and producing materials which contributed to their ministries that they did not take the time to step back and examine what was taking place through the means of careful research.

Similarly, denominational youth ministries have published materials which have documented their historical development. Using statistics and archival material

available from their various headquarters, these histories have tended to justify the validity of denominational youth programs. Since most denominations are associated with seminaries and their scholarly activities, it is not surprising that dissertations have been written about various youth ministries associated with denominations. Denominational publishing houses have been anxious to publish the story of what their particular denominations have been doing with youth. Thus, there is a body of literature focusing on denominational youth ministries.⁵

Unfortunately, little research has been done to provide a perspective on the nature of youth ministry in local protestant churches and how that youth ministry relates to either the culture at large or the specific antecedents in youth ministry. The most extensive work that has been done in recent years is that of Judith Bowen Erickson, a sociologist at the University of Minnesota. Building on her masters thesis, "American Youth Organizations: An Etiological Approach," Erickson has identified and provided information about fifteen different types of adult-sponsored organizations which work with adolescents, one of which deals with protestant organizations.⁶ Dr. Erickson's work provides a theoretical base from which to further examine the nature of protestant youth ministry and then to examine the contribution of the Youth for Christ movement to youth ministry in the local church.

Purpose

The purpose of this study is to examine the impact of the non-formal educational aspects of the Youth for Christ movement upon protestant churches from 1931 when Percy Crawford founded the Young People's Church of the Air until 1979 when the National Network of Youth Ministries was established in the United States. It was during this period that religious groups, referred to in this work as para-church agencies, came into being to provide religious instruction outside of the walls and authority of the local church. They functioned along side the church but were not accountable to the existing ecclesiastical structures.

Definitions

Before addressing the proposed topic, we must first pause a moment and provide certain definitions. The first has to do with the term "non-formal education." Non-formal education is part of the broader educative process by which society perpetuates itself. To understand non-formal education it is necessary to distinguish among three types of education: informal, non-formal and formal.

The values of a culture are passed from generation to generation in an intentional effort to sustain that culture. In primitive societies where most of life revolves around the clan or family, the vast majority of this transmission

of values is done informally -- as a father hunts with his son or a daughter observes her mother doing daily chores. This is a informal education. It is not structured. It is not predictable. It is not controlled in any formal sense. It merely happens in the course of living.

Modern cultures, too, have informal aspects of the educational process. These include contact with all of the individuals and groups of people a child meets in the course of day-to-day life. Parents, guardians, extended family members, brothers and sisters, baby-sitters, adult neighbors and playmates all help the child to discover her role as a member of society.⁷

As cultures became more complex and the control of the economic welfare passed from the family to the larger society, formal schools were established for the communication of societal values. In Greek societies, described by Plato and Aristotle, Heroditus and Thucydidies, schools were expressions of the polis or city-state and prepared young men for their places in society.⁸ This was formal education.

The Hebrew synagogue first emerged during the period of dispersion when the Jewish people were scattered among the gentile nations. The purpose of the synagogue, like that of the Greek schools, was to provide a means of transmitting the culture of a people whose families were no longer isolated from the surrounding cultures. The synagogue

reinforced and to some extent replaced the informal educational functions of the family. Yet the values and traditions were consistent with the heritage of the family. ⁹

In America, the New England common school served its Protestant constituency in a time when reading the Bible and living by its precepts was of utmost importance to the people of the community. Honesty, hard work, manners and the English language were viewed as the American way of life. ¹⁰ Formal educational structures reinforced these values. The public school was an outgrowth of the common school. But as the nation became more pluralistic, the educational process became more secular. Parents and group leaders, whether religious, ethnic or idealistic began to sense a loss of control over what their children were learning.

In response to secularizing pressures on the educational system, another type of education emerged. It has come to be called "non-formal" education. Situated between informal and formal education, non-formal education has been defined as "any organized educational activity outside the established formal system -- whether operating separately or as an important feature of some broader activity -- that is intended to serve identifiable learning ¹¹ clientele and learning objectives."

Judith Erickson, the nation's foremost scholar in the study of youth movements as an expression of non-formal

education, observes:

Non-formal educational organizations for youth have a surprisingly long history, beginning in colonial times with autonomous local debating, sewing, and self-improvement societies that young people organized on their own behalf. Adults regularly began to enter the youth group arena about the 1830s, primarily through the formation of juvenile divisions of their own national associations, devoted to such contemporary causes as missions, temperance, peace and abolition. Over the next several decades, one finds an increase both in the numbers and purpose of organizations for youth, the activities representing just plain fun, attractive to young people gradually appeared among the more worthy endeavors long favored by their adult sponsors. In the period between 1904 and 1919, ten of the eleven major youth programs that today serve over 22,000,000 young Americans, came into being. The formation of non-formal educational organizations at this point in time was closely related to developments within the formal system. Adolescents were voluntarily and legally drawn from the work force to spend more days per year and more years of their lives in school. As the public schools which enrolled the majority of the nation's pupils became universalistic and secular in outlook, adults with more singular concerns turned to non-formal education as a means of transmitting their own interpretations of the cultural heritage to their young.¹²

In this context the phrases "non-formal education" and "non-formal religious education" will be used throughout this dissertation to describe the educational contribution of the Youth for Christ movement.

"Youth for Christ movement" is a second phrase which needs defining. Apparently was coined by early historian of the movement, Mel Larson, the phrase recently has been revived by the historian of American evangelicalism Joel
¹³
 Carpenter.

During the second World War, there was a mushrooming of concern for the young people of our nation. Spontaneously,

rallies began to crop up across the nation heralding the slogan "Youth for Christ." There was very little relationship among these rallies at first; but as time went along, one organization in particular assumed the name and became known as "Youth for Christ International."

This, however, did not represent the breadth of the "Youth for Christ movement," for there were many other people and organizations which were part of the initial movement and which continued after "Youth for Christ International" was founded. These include Jack Wyrzten's "Word of Life" clubs and rallies, as well as Percy Crawford's "Young People's Church of the Air" and "Pinebrook Ministries." Jim Rayburn's "Young Life Campaign," as well as "Inter-Varsity Christian Fellowship" on the college campus could also be included in the movement. "The Navigators," under the leadership of Dawson Trotman, focused on servicemen during the war, and the "Christian Service Brigade" and "Pioneer Girls" programs focused on children and youth in the church. Yet, all were responding to a similar stimuli. This collection of agencies is labeled by Carpenter as the "Youth for Christ" movement."

A third definition necessary is that of fundamentalism. Church leaders who identified themselves as fundamentalists were very concerned with what they viewed as apostasy in the churches of America. They saw entire denominations as having been captured by the liberal theologies which had found

their way from Europe to America. Seminaries were viewed as the primary vehicle for communicating the liberal heresies resulting in loud calls for separation from both the seminaries and the denominations which funded them. In their place Bible institutes sprang up across the nation which stressed a theological system called dispensationalism. Though European in origin, the system employed a very literal understanding of the Bible and was popularized by the Scotfield Reference Bible which helped lay people to study the Bible on their own. With roots in biblical inerrancy and premillennialism, fundamentalists held to a largely Calvinist theology and emphasized the work of the Holy Spirit to empower effective ministry. This tended to exclude the miraculous works of the Spirit such as healing and speaking in tongues.

The denominational roots of the movement were in the evangelical wings of the Baptists, Presbyterians and Congregationalists in North America. However, the greatest activity grew out of a network of activists concerned with the liberalization of theology and practice in American churches and around the world. Linked by a network of Bible institutes, conferences, faith missions and magazines, the movement found nineteenth century evangelist, Dwight L. Moody, as its spiritual father.

Evangelicalism is a fourth word to be defined. It was a broadening of fundamentalism probably best identified by two

events: the founding of the National Association of Evangelicals in 1942 and the New York Billy Graham Crusade in 1957. Both signified a wider view of Christianity than was held by traditional fundamentalist church members. The founding of the National Association of Evangelicals was a concerted effort by Bible believers in smaller evangelical denominations, leaders of holiness church groups and pentecostal denominations as well as people concerned with the proclamation of the gospel (the "evangel") from major denominations, to provide a united front and a united voice for their concerns.

16

Though the evangelicals were descendents of the fundamentalists, they rejected what they considered to be the excesses of the parent movement. Anti-intellectualism was replaced with a new intellectualism as exemplified in the formation of such seminaries as Fuller Theological Seminary, Trinity Evangelical Divinity School and Dallas Theological Seminary. Strict sectarianism was softened with co-operative efforts spearheaded by the National Association of Evangelicals, Christian Business Men's Committees, and efforts to evangelize students on high school and college campuses. Social unconcern was gradually modified to produce social agencies such as World Vision International, World Relief, and Voice of Calvary Ministries.

17

The Billy Graham Crusade in New York distinguished the evangelicals in another way. Due to their willingness to

cooperate with the liberals and Roman Catholic leaders of the ministerial association in New York rather than exclusively with fundamentalists such as Jack Wyrzten, a distinct rift was created. At least from this point onward, evangelicals saw themselves as those who were willing to cooperate with other Christians while not surrendering their concerns over the authority of Scripture or the need for the evangelization of the world. Fundamentalists, by contrast, maintained a position of non-compromise and thus retained a position to the right of the evangelicals.

Process

This study will set youth ministry in a sociological context then examine what forms of youth ministry were in existence prior to the emergence of the Youth for Christ movement. This will be followed by a survey of the development of the movement with special emphasis on the development of Bible clubs and the club methodology. The study will conclude with an examination of the specific contributions made by the movement to local church youth ministry and draw conclusions about the future of the movement.

What then is the contribution of the Youth for Christ movement to church youth ministry? What were the non-formal educational features which were then imitated and utilized by the churches of the United States? In order to answer

these questions, we first need to understand the nature of a youth movement. To do this we turn to the field of sociology to gain a perspective.

CHAPTER I

End Notes

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3. Frank Otis Erb, The Development of the Young People's Movement (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1917); Myron T. Hopper, "Young People's Work in Protestant Churches in the United States" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1938).
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6. Judith Bowen Erickson, "American Youth Organizations:

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7. Mel Larson, "Youth for Christ Movements," Moody Monthly 45 (December 1944): 205-205, 245; Joel Carpenter, "Geared to the Times, 'But Anchored to the Rock': How Contemporary Techniques and Exuberant Nationalism Helped Create an Evangelical Resurgence," Christianity Today 30 (8 November 1985): 44-47; Joel Carpenter, "Youth for Christ and the New Evangelical's Place in the Life of the Nation," in Recoveries: Religion in the Life of the Nation, ed. Roland A. Sherrill (Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press).

8. Gerald L. Gutek, Education and Schooling in America (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1983), 2-4. Gutek includes the church as an informal agent of education in a configuration which only includes informal and formal education. The author has placed church education in the category of non-formal education.

9. Gerald L. Gutek, A History of the Western Educational Experience (New York: Random House, 1972), 14-30.

10. C. B. Eavey, History of Christian Education (Chicago: Moody Press, 1964), 62-63.

11. Gutek, Education and Schooling in America, 24; H. Warren Button and Eugene F. Provenzo, Jr., History of Education and Culture in America (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1983), 95; David B. Tyack, Turning Points in American Educational History (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1967), 123.

12. D. J. Radcliffe and N. J. Colletta, "Non-Formal Education," in The International Encyclopedia of Education, ed. Torsten Husen and T. Neville Postlethwaite (New York: Pergamon Press, 1985): 3536.

13. Judith Erickson, "A Follow-up Study of the National Youth Worker Educational Project, 1975-1980," Center for Youth Development and Research, University of Minnesota, 1986, 1. The ten organizations which came into being between 1904 and 1919 include Junior Red Cross (1917); Big Brothers (1904)/Big Sisters (1908); Boy Scouts (1910); Boys Clubs (1906); Campfire (1910); 4-H (1914); Girl Scouts (1912); Junior Achievement (1919); Y.W.C.A. and Y.M.C.A. youth programs (1918).

14. Carpenter, 4-6; Robert Wuthnow, The Restructuring of American Religion (Princeton: Princeton University Press,

1988): 173-180.

15.Carpenter, 4-6.

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17.Richard Quebedeaux, The Worldly Evangelicals (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1978), 8-9.

CHAPTER II

PROTESTANT YOUTH MINISTRY IN SOCIAL CONTEXT

Mizpah Mission Circle was a good idea but it was not quite what the young pastor had in mind as a society for the young people of his church. They needed an opportunity to express their devotion to Jesus Christ and utilize their enthusiasm and love in service for their Savior.¹

Harriet Clark had begun Mizpah Circle in order to increase the interest of boys and girls of Williston Church, Portland, Maine, in missionary lore and giving. Weekly the group gathered in the parsonage. Over time a number of circle members had experienced spiritual conversions. Still, Pastor Francis E. Clark felt an important element was missing. Young people were not directing their energies into becoming "a company of devoted, earnest young people, outspoken among their companions in their acknowledgment of Christ's claim and ready to work for Him along all practical and systematic lines."²

Youth groups like Mizpah Circle were not new in the year 1881. Many had developed from mid-century onward

providing training in debate, singing, temperance, missions³ and other aspects of character development. Yet on 2 February 1881, Rev. Francis E. Clark began an adult sponsored youth organization which would within a few short years spread around the world and by 1895 register 56,435⁴ delegates at its annual convention in Boston. It's name was the "Williston Young People's Society of Christian Endeavor."

Though Clark's endeavor was simply another expression of concern for young people in an isolated church, it's initial success and an article published in The Congregationalist, a religious magazine, brought the Society to the public's attention. What appears to have set Christian Endeavor apart from the groups which had preceded it was not the structure or pattern of meetings. It was not the content of the meetings or the theological underpinnings, all of which were consistent with historic evangelical protestantism. The distinctive contribution of Clark's idea, could be attributed to the stringent demands placed upon the individual Endeavorer by the pledge each was required to sign.

So strict was the pledge that Harriet Clark insisted young people would never sign it because it was so demand-⁵ing. Still, Rev. Clark's objective was to get young people to actively take responsibility for their own spiritual nurture and expression. In describing the pledge, W. Knight

Chaplin comments,

[O]nce each month an experience meeting should be held, at which meeting each member shall speak concerning his progress in the Christian life for the past month. If anyone chooses, he can express his feelings by an appropriate verse of Scripture. It is expected, if anyone is obliged to be absent from this experience meeting, he will send his reason for absence by someone who attends.⁶

This pledge, was later modified slightly and appeared in The Officers' Handbook published in 1900. It read as follows:

Trusting the Lord Jesus Christ for strength, I promise Him that I will strive to do whatever He would like to have me do; that I will make it the rule of my life to pray and read the Bible every day, and to support my own church in every way, especially by attending all her regular Sunday and mid-week services, unless prevented by some reason which I can conscientiously give to my Saviour; and that, just so far as I know how, throughout my whole life, I will endeavor to lead a Christian life.

As an active member, I promise to be true to my duties, to be present at, and to take part, aside from singing, in every Christian Endeavor prayer meeting, unless hindered by some reason which I can conscientiously give to my Lord and Master. If obliged to be absent from the monthly consecration meeting of the society, I will, if possible, send at least a verse of Scripture to be read in response to my name at the roll-call.⁷

The pledge demanded loyalty to the local church, evidenced by regular attendance at church services, personal piety demonstrated by daily Bible reading and prayer and active participation as shown by the contribution made during prayer meetings and the monthly consecration meetings. These demands were the heart and soul of Christian Endeavor, at least in the early days.

Still the question should be asked, why did the Young

People's Society for Christian Endeavor come into being and rapidly spread in the later days of the nineteenth century? The early Wesleyan class meetings had established a similar type of accountability, at least on the adult level, a century earlier yet no distinctly youth movement had occurred. Theodore Cuyler had formed a similarly structured young people's society in Brooklyn, New York, in 1867 while other isolated groups had been formed in churches of various denominations between 1858 and 1881, when Christian Endeavor was begun.⁸ Still these noble efforts were at best isolated indicators of adult sponsored ministries to young people which would erupt with an explosion of popularity during the last two decades of the century. A number of social factors appear to have converged to bring about the modern youth group.

Emergence of Adolescence in the Late Nineteenth Century

The Young People's Society of Christian Endeavor, born at the height of the industrial revolution in America, at the beginning of the third wave of European immigration during the nineteenth century and at the very time when the nation was being transformed from a rural agrarian society into an urban culture, was an evidence in the protestant religious community of a factor which was similarly being recognized in legal, economic, educational and scientific

circles. Adolescence, those years after childhood and before full entrance into the adult world, was a product of the social movements of the nineteenth century and produced a specific set of needs in young men and women to which society would have to respond.

David Bakan ties the emergence of adolescence as an identifiable part of human development to the easing of the chronic labor shortage which had plagued the country since colonial days. With a new pool of laborers produced by immigration and the demand for a higher level of skill required by the sophistication of the new industrialization, three social movements materialized which moved young people out of the adult world in which they had functioned into a category which G. Stanley Hall would popularize in his two volume work entitled, Adolescence.

Compulsory education, though not initially successful in keeping youth above age fourteen in school began the process of legally removing young people from the work force by requiring ever increasing durations of schooling. Child labor laws, similarly, began closing the doors of industry and later other types of wage earning to adolescents, leaving a vacuum for young people between childhood and the assumption of adult responsibilities. The invention of "juvenile delinquency" similarly placed adolescents into a category just short of adulthood. In an effort to protect youthful offenders from treatment as adult criminals the

first Juvenile Court Act was passed by the Illinois legislature in 1899. Though the act protected children as well, the primary impact was felt by adolescent young people again stressing that they were not yet true adults.¹⁰

G. Stanley Hall's classic work on adolescence published in 1905 also was a factor in emerging awareness that young people were distinct from children and adults. The two volume work attempted to describe adolescence from the view point of physiology, anthropology, sociology, sexuality, criminology, religion and education. While the work of Hall and others was of great value in discovering and documenting what takes place during the adolescent years, the very fact that the studies were taking place tended to cause people to view the teenage years as a period of psychological pathology. The effect was that young people were deprived of some of their rights as adults and were guarded from themselves and others as they made the transition to adulthood.¹¹

Edward A. Krug, in his preface to The Shaping of the American High School, states, "it was in the period between 1880 and 1920 that the American high school assumed its familiar shape and characteristics."¹² Enrollment figures are one indicator of the changes taking place. David B. Tyack reports that "between 1890 and 1920 the secondary school population mushroomed from three hundred and sixty thousand to 2.5 million in the later year including almost

one-third of the population from fourteen to seventeen years old.¹³ The growth from 1890 to 1912 was just under six hundred percent. During this same period the population of the United States increased from 63,056,000 to 95,335,000, a fifty-one percent increase.¹⁴

No one theory adequately explains this growth in public high school enrollments. Compulsory attendance laws hardly effected students above the age of fourteen. Economic theories fared no better. The pattern of steady increases for neither the theory of enrollment because of good economic conditions or the theory of enrollment because of bad economic conditions inadequately reflected the enrollment data available.¹⁵

Nor could increased enrollments be adequately explained by the rise in technology with consequent demands for advanced training and skill development. Few high schools were providing such training at the turn of the century. Technology may have been an indirect factor, however, as increasing numbers of families moved from rural settings where no public high schools were available and settled in urban communities in search of work. In these larger cities, public high schools were already well established with an adequate tax base provided by technology driven industries to support those schools. As a result, the fourteen to seventeen year old children of the emigrants to urban settings enrolled in high schools.

The Concept of Youth Movements

All of these factors converged on the adolescent during the last two decades of the nineteenth century and set the stage for what S. N. Eisenstadt has called age group or youth group movements. In his study to discover the extent to which it is possible to specify the social conditions under which youth movements arise and the types of societies in which they occur, Eisenstadt suggests that basic characteristics of youth groups in modern societies include age--members are adolescents or early young adults, membership--clusters of small primary groups aligned within a certain bond, and function--tasks which prepare young people for adult roles accompanied by recreational and cultural activities.

16

Eisenstadt goes on to list six characteristics of non-formal youth groups such as church youth groups in the United States. These characteristics include:

1. Small extent of institutionalization, although most of their activities are legitimate
2. No unified organization, although similar developments in many parts of the country. A formal, unified hierarchy may exist in the case of youth organizations and movements. Groups based upon mostly on membership (are) usually homogeneous from the point of view of class and ethnic group affiliation.
3. Corporate organization into small groups and cliques with various organization and informal status system of their own. Different extents of cohesion and stability.
4. Large extent of autonomy, tempered by some very general adult supervision.
5. Most activities centered on recreation,

heterosexual relations (in the later stages of adolescence) and general emulation of certain aspects of adult culture.

6. Ambivalent attitude towards adult culture, strong emphasis on overall, diffuse humane characteristics in opposition to more specific achievements, and on physical prowess, early maturity. Despite this there exists, in most cases, ultimate acceptance of adult values.¹⁷

In From Generation to Generation, Eisenstadt compared the transmission of values from generation to generation in primitive settings, peasant villages and modern societies. The types of youth movements described above arise in societies where certain factors are present. First, there is a relatively complex division of labor. The family has ceased to be the determiner of the vocation of the child. Second, families can not ensure the attainment of full social status within the society at large merely by the factor of who the family is. Third, major political, economic, social and religious functions are performed not by various family or kinship units but rather by various specialized groups (political parties, occupational associations, etc), which individuals may join irrespective of their family, kinship group or caste. These factors are present in the United States from the industrial revolution¹⁸ to the present.

Within this youth culture, Eisenstadt goes on to¹⁹ identify three forms of youth movements. The first is spontaneous youth groups or student movements. These arise at the instigation of the young people themselves and find

leadership and direction from within the peer group. Illustrations of this type of movement in the United States, all set in the 1960s, would include the Students for a Democratic Society, the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee of the civil rights movement and aspects of the Jesus movement. International examples would include the German youth movements and some of the Romantic movements in Europe.²⁰ Such movements happen at periods of social unrest and tend to provide a means for alienated youth to adapt to and be reconciled by the dominant social institutions.²¹

The second type is of more interest for the study of the Youth for Christ movement. This type of youth movement is adult sponsored and springs out of educational institutions. Most of the agencies which work with young people today fall into this category. Judith Erickson's fifteen categories of adult-sponsored agencies which have as a specific goal the transmission of some aspect of the social heritage to the younger generation, are a prime example. Organizations which Erickson lists under the category of "Protestant Organizations" include denominational youth groups and non-denominational agencies such as the YMCA and the Christian Endeavor Society.²² All of the youth ministry groups associated with the Youth for Christ movement, similarly, fit into this category.

The third type of youth movement is a graded educational system. In this category the educational process

is much more formal and the age groupings more closely defined than in the previous two examples of age group movements. This, of course, would include both the public and private school systems in modern societies and would be classified as formal education as opposed to the informal or non-formal aspects of the educational process.

In societies where the value systems of the community and the parents are closely aligned, the graded educational system may perform the functions of the adult sponsored youth group. Examples of this combination would include the early public schools which were in essence protestant in their world view, parochial schools especially in the middle Atlantic states and more recently church school systems sponsored by fundamentalist protestant churches.

Context for Youth Movements

Just because circumstances in the culture at large are ripe for the idea of youth movements does not mean that such movements will appear. Yet between 1881 and the turn of the century, thirty-four adult sponsored youth organizations came into being in the United States. To put this into proper context, only fifteen such agencies had been established during the years between 1727 and 1880. During the first two decades of the twentieth century another forty-six youth organizations were created by adults followed by sixty-two more being founded between 1921 and

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1940.

A closer look at the agencies which came into being during the last two decades of the nineteenth century reveal some interesting data. Of the thirty-four youth organizations founded, twenty-five were protestant in theological perspective. After the turn of the century, the leadership of the youth ministry field was not so obviously dominated by protestant denominations though close to half of the agencies shared a protestant value system. Thus the question could further be asked, what were the factors associated with protestantism that brought about youth ministry agencies both for their own children and for the young people who were the product of a massive migration to the cities of the land? Several responses have been suggested.

The secularization of western society may have been at the basis of the need for youth movements in general and protestant youth movements in particular. Bernard Eugene Meland defines secularization as

the movement away from traditionally accepted norms and sensibilities in the life interests and habits of a people--a departure from an historical order of life that presupposes religious sanctions.²⁴

Pre-Renaissance Europe had an historical order complete with accepted norms and sensibilities which presupposed the religious sanctions of the Catholic church. Between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries the Renaissance brought about a new perspective on the world. No longer was the

Christian world view central to the minds of learned men. This new type of learning accelerated until by the later half of the seventeenth century Western culture had begun a turn toward secularization. Arnold Toynbee comments,

Before the close of the [seventeenth] century, Religion had been replaced by Technology, applying the findings of Experimental Science, as the paramount interest and pursuit of the leading spirits of Western Society. When the century closed, this revolutionary change in Western attitude and ethos was, no doubt, still confined to a minority. Yet it is remarkable that even a minority should have moved so far in so short a time, and, still more, that they should have set the rest of Society moving in their wake.²⁵

Along with this secularization came an emphasis on individualism. Voltaire and Rousseau along with John Locke, rejected the medieval idea that universals have independent status and that abstract ideas are real. Only individuals are real, thus Rousseau's social contract theory. Dennis P. Hollinger, suggests,

Freedom, autonomy, privacy, dignity and self determination became the watchwords of the Enlightenment value system. It is this intellectual tradition that most significantly influenced American social thought. Indeed America's Declaration of Independence could have almost been extracted from Locke's Second Treatise. The Enlightenment ideals were spawned on European soil, but never took root till they were transplanted in American soil With the Enlightenment there clearly emerges in Western civilization a conception of reality that is atomistic, a value system that extols the individual and his rights, and a social philosophy that puts the individual at the center of political and economic life.²⁶

The two streams of the secularization process converged in nineteenth century America as the industrial revolution

brought into conflict autonomous man and technological society. On the one hand, people were free to strive for the creature-comforts made available as a result of industrialization. On the other hand, they were losing out on their human dignity as mass production techniques caused management to view the worker as an extension of the great industrial machines.

Along with this process of secularization came a second factor which precipitated the rise of youth movements in America. There was a perception by protestants that secular forces were becoming more influential in shaping the value systems of the youth of the country than was Biblical truth. "It appears that the loss of autonomy over the socialization of the children is made poignant when a sub-group is forced to send its children to the public school," suggests Judith Erickson.²⁷

Yet the protestants were hardly a sub-group in the society in general and especially in the locations where the youth groups of the 1880s and 1890s had developed. Portland, Maine; Dayton, Ohio; Des Plaines, Illinois; Mt. Pleasant, Pennsylvania; Ottawa, Kansas; and Greenville, Ohio were locations where early youth societies associated with Congregational, United Brethren in Christ and Methodist churches were formed.²⁸ In none of these locations were protestants on the endangered species list. Nor were the protestants being forced to send their children to school as

if it were a new agenda being forced upon them by some outside force. The public school system was their invention. From its inception, protestants had controlled it.

The issue at stake appears to have been the feeling of loss of autonomy and as a result, control over the socialization of their children. The industrial revolution had removed children from being essential for the economic survival of the family. Instead children were becoming more of an economic liability, perceived as being care-free and irresponsible. The greater mobility which accompanied the industrialization process created a greater feeling of lost control. No longer were people living their lives in a single community. No longer were children nurtured solely by the extended family or neighborhood. Though the school was part of this loss as it grew larger, more child centered and more highly organized, it was but one part of the larger picture.

Similarly, it must be remembered that protestants were not one uniform body who all viewed the world in the same manner. Episcopalian roots went back to the Church of England, Methodists to the Wesleyan revivals, Baptists to English and Scandinavian free church movements, Reformed Church and Presbyterians to John Calvin in Switzerland, Brethren churches to the Anabaptist heritage in Germany, and Lutherans to Martin Luther, also in Germany. Each had a special social heritage. Each had doctrinal distinctives.

Each reflected the political influence of the country from which it had come.²⁹

As churches of the various denominations dotted the countryside or clustered together in rural villages, individual churches would be small. If there were an agency within the church to supplement the church services it would be the Sunday school and then, possibly a woman's auxiliary. Little thought was given to creating a young people's organization except as a social extension of the Sunday school.

Only as the population of the nation began to move from rural areas to towns and cities did youth organizations begin to appear. Churches in these more populated areas provided membership bases large enough to allow a diversity of sub-organizations within the church with adequate leadership and a sufficient pool of participants to make the activities appealing. Thus the size of the sponsoring group appears to be a third factor in the emergence of youth groups.

Francis E. Clark's initial Christian Endeavor Society illustrates the point. Though located in Portland, Maine, the first meeting attracted thirty-five young people and, by the end of the day, seventy had signed the initial pledge. Two years later when Clark became the pastor of Phillips Church in South Boston, forty to fifty young people joined initially with the ranks rapidly swelling to one hundred and

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seventy-five. This hardly would have been possible in a rural setting.

The economic status of the sponsoring group also appears to be a fourth factor in the emergence of youth organizations. For the most part youth movements are a product of the middle or upper classes in society. Joseph F. Kett concludes

until the first few years of the 20th century most youth organizations in colleges, schools and churches were intended only for middle-class youth. They were essentially defensive institutions that sought to demarcate the life-style of youths of a certain class from those of a different social class.³¹

Erickson comments, lower-class youth tend to

find spontaneous age-grouping in the form of cliques and gangs. Among the middle-class youth, however, age-grouping occurs in the form of adult-sponsored organizations which supplement the educational experience of the public school. In general, only when a sub-group has a sufficient middle-class base will it be able to muster the requisite financial, leadership and organizational support for a youth organization.³²

The same is true of spontaneous youth movements which have no official adult sponsorship. In commenting on German youth movement during the pre-World War I period, Kohn suggests,

the pre-war youth movement in Germany was not in any sense economic; it represented groups of young persons in a highly prosperous society who took no part in economic life but who, as sons and daughters of the well to do, were relatively care free.³³

Similarly in Israel, Orit Ichilov finds that the youth "movement reinforced already existing tendencies among members who represent primarily the higher socio-economic

echelons of Israeli society."

The relative economic freedom of middle-class or upper-class status allows young people the time needed to invest in the activities of the youth organization, the money to pay for such membership dues and participation fees as necessary and the perspective to see the value of the prescribed activities. Thus youth movements tend to occur only in countries where a significant middle-class exists.

Major conventions, conferences and camps sponsored by youth ministry agencies in the United States are the clearest evidence of this type of affluence among the youthful membership. Christian Endeavor Conventions were held annually, not only within the New England states where the movement attracted 56,425 registered delegates to the 1895 convention in Boston, but registered significant though lesser numbers to New York, Washington, San Francisco, Baltimore, and Seattle.³⁵ The Christian Youth Conference at Lakeside, Ohio, sponsored by the United Youth Movement in 1936; Word of Life Island in Schroon Lake, New York; Young Life's Star Ranch and Youth for Christ International's Winona Lake (Indiana) Conventions, similarly give evidence³⁶ of the middle-class roots of youth movements.

Available leadership is a fifth factor which tends to converge to bring about an adult sponsored youth organization. Francis E. Clark's writings and "contagious personality" was without a doubt the major reason why the

Young People's Society for Christian Endeavor grew to enlist over a million members before his death.³⁷ Upton Sinclair, though his style was different, provided a leadership in the founding of the Intercollegiate Society in 1905. The organization would later become the Students for a Democratic Society.³⁸ Similar stories were true of Percy Crawford of Youth on the March, Jim Rayburn of Young Life, Jack Wyrzten of Word of Life Fellowship, Torrey Johnson and Billy Graham of Youth for Christ International.³⁹ The majority of these men were trained in the conservative seminaries of their times.

Beyond the visionary, however, were a bevy of volunteer and poorly paid team members in the main office and a legion of volunteer workers in local communities who shared the dream of the movement's founder. These were for the most part capable people who had discretionary time and wanted to make a contribution to the young people of their community.

A sixth factor contributing to youth movements is social unrest in the culture at large. Samuel M. Blumenfield in a 1936 article in Religious Education observed,

The youth movement in its present articulate form made its appearance in the second half of the nineteenth century, as a part of a larger wave of social unrest which found expression in such movements as democracy, socialism, woman's suffrage, compulsory education, and other movements of a kindred character.⁴⁰

Richard G. Braungart supports this perspective. He surveyed the historical pattern of youth movements by

focusing on five widely separated movements. These included the Young Europe Movement of the early nineteenth century, the Cordoba University Reform Movement in Latin America during the first half of the twentieth century but which had roots in mid-nineteenth century student movements, Asian youth movements associated with political independence and reform during the second quarter of this century, American student movements of the 1930s which were proportionately larger than the well publicized student movements of the 1960s, and the struggle African youth waged against colonial powers during the middle of the century. Braungart concludes

Youth movements have taken form quickly during periods of institutional discontinuity and rapid social change. Countries experiencing national independence, constitutional reform, urban growth, and at the same time economic dependency and increased poverty have provided sufficient instability and chaos to force youth to grasp desperately at radical solutions to solve their personal and national problems.⁴¹

Hans Kohn concludes his article on youth movements in the Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences by forcefully asserting,

Youth movements are always the symptom of a break in the internal order of a nation, of a much quickened pace of change or of the lack of integration of a civilization with the existing social structure...The growing instability and insecurity of political and social conditions in many countries are increased in the increased vigor of youth movements.⁴²

It should be noted that both Braungart and Kohn addressed the issue of youth movements from the perspective of spontaneous youth groups rather than viewing them as

adult sponsored agencies. Yet Eisenstadt, in discussing adult sponsored youth agencies, came to similar conclusions. He states,

Various types of youth organizations always tend to appear with the transition from traditional or feudal societies to modern societies, along with the intensified process of change, especially in periods of rapid mobility, migration, urbanization and industrialization.⁴³

Braungart focuses on four "watershed periods of extensive generational restlessness."⁴⁴ The first, 1815-1830, corresponds with the emergence of the Young Europe Movement which appears to be the earliest of the youth movements. This preceded any youth movements in the western hemisphere.

1890-1920 is the second period of restlessness and it was approximately during this period that the Young People's Society for Christian Endeavor and all of its denominational counterparts came into being. The 1930s were the third period identified by Braungart and this was when the "Youth For Christ" movement began coming to life. While the 1960s were the final watershed period cited and this was the period of the Jesus Movement and significant change in the operating strategies of the agencies spawned by the "Youth For Christ" movement.

Functions of Youth Movements

As one reviews the purpose statements, organizational procedures and program aids used by the protestant youth

groups which appeared in the waning days of the nineteenth century, there appears to be very little substantive difference except for the fact that each denominational youth organization seemed intent in retaining the social and theological distinctives of its heritage. James Asa White provides an illustration of this concern. In his book, Our B.Y.P.U. (Baptist Young People's Union), he suggests,

The object of this union shall be to secure the increased spirituality of our Baptist young people; their stimulation in Christian service; their edification in Scriptural knowledge; their instruction in Baptist doctrine and history; and their enlistment in all missionary activity through existing denominational organizations."

By "existing denominational organizations," of course, White⁴⁵ meant Baptist missionary organizations.

The perpetuation of values and heritage of the sponsoring adults appears to be the primary function of the youth group envisioned by protestant churches. Yet another function was taking place. The younger generation was given a safe place to differentiate the church's values from the influences which they were encountering in the broader, more heterogeneous American society. The youth group rapidly became a forum for continuity and change.

S. N. Eisenstadt describes the youth group as an "interlinking sphere" which connects the family (and, by extension, the church) to the occupational, political and general value system of society. It is a connection which provides both continuity and change. This is important for

two reasons:

First, it does not interlink segregated, marginal clusters of roles, but those most important from the point of view of the socialization of the individual. Secondly, the role expectations which it attempts to gratify are those oriented towards the attainment of full membership in the community and solidify identification with it . . . and toward the attainment of full social status.⁴⁶

Such a link is not necessary in societies where the family is the exclusive vehicle for conferring identity, profession and social status upon a young person. Though the family was central to achieving adult status in pre-industrial Europe and America, it is still central today in many third world societies. Even in isolated pockets of the United States and Canada the interlinking function of youth groups are not necessary. Amish farmers still see their children grow to maturity tutored only by the extended family of their clan.

There is, however, another function of the youth movement. This is a redemptive activity as the age group attempts to rescue society from impending doom by bringing about either a conservation of older values or a revolution to new values. Braungart describes the phenomenon when commenting on the turbulence among young people in the 1960s.

Middle-class youth in Western society had already achieved high levels of affluence and material success, but expressed dissatisfaction on both the right and left with the status quo. These youth pressed for major reforms and the radical transformations of a highly centralized, contradictory and imperfect industrial society. Its members were convinced of the futility of

Western institutions and they believed in the moral worth and superiority of the post-industrial utopian future.⁴⁷

Braungart then goes on to chart the contrasting responses of youth movements which wanted to provide redemptive functions on five continents over one hundred and fifty years. He concludes by suggesting that one "source of opposition to left-wing generation units has come from young people who are religious--the Catholic Church in Latin America, Islam in Africa and the Middle East, and Protestant fundamentalist sects in the United States."⁴⁸ It is here that the "Youth for Christ" movement finds itself situated, and yet this redemptive proclamation may also be an extension of the value system of the revivalism of their parents generation.

From both perspectives, redemption from the right and redemption from the left, the focus is on the redemption of society. For the most part, this meant the conversion of peers to their point of view and the eventual transformation of society to conform to their world view.

Thus, the functions of youth movements are twofold. On one hand, youth movements provide for the transmission of values from one generation to the next. On the other hand, they seek the conversion of people with different values to the perspective of the members of the movement. For the most part, the transmission of values is closely identified with adult sponsored youth movements. Spontaneous youth groups,

by contrast, tend to be more evangelistic for their point of view, even to the extent that they reject the values of the values of the previous generation.

Conclusion

Though Dr. Francis Clark could not have done market research on the sociological context of young people during the last two decades of the nineteenth century, he could not have chosen a better time to initiate the modern concept of youth ministry when he launched the Young People's Society of Christian Endeavor. Adolescence was beginning to be recognized as a distinct aspect of human development, different from either childhood or adult years of life. Youth movements were emerging as a means for young people to test and appropriate adult values from the broader culture while protestant churches were undergoing an adjustment of major proportions as they rapidly moved from being the dominant force in the American culture to being one of many forces in a pluralistic culture.

Thus, adult sponsored youth movements began to provide a function in society which assisted families by helping to pass social and religious values from one generation to the next while occasionally providing a structure for redeeming young people from other, less desirable sectors of society. It would be into a similar milieu that the "Youth for Christ" movement would focus its energies fifty years later.

CHAPTER II

End Notes

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26. Joseph Flintoft Berry, Four Wonderful Years: A Sketch of the Origin, Growth, and Working Plans of the Epworth League (New York: Hunt and Eaton, 1893) 8-12; Conley, 14-16; Deever, 9-11.

27. H. Richard Niebuhr, "Protestant Movement and Democracy," in The Shaping of American Religion, eds. James

Ward Smith, and A. Leland Jamison (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961), 25-26; H. Richard Niebuhr describes the pluralism of Protestantism of the basis of the movements which fostered their rise in the United States. He suggests that such a classification might turn out as follows:

1. The churches of the sixteenth-century Reformation: the Luthern, the Reformed, the Presbyterian, the Protestant Episcopal churches; left-wing Reformation groups such as the Mennonites and some Baptist societies.

2. The churches of the seventeenth-century Puritan Revolution: Congregationalists; the Society of Friends.

3. The churches of the seventeenth-century Awakening and Enlightenment: the Methodist church; Moravians; Evangelical United Brethren; Dunkers; most Baptist groups; the Unitarians.

4. The churches of the nineteenth-century Revivals in America: the Disciples of Christ; the churches of Christ; the Cumberland Presbyterian church; the Seventh-Day Adventists; many Pentecostal denominations; the Church of the Nazarene.

A fifth group might be added partly on the basis of chronology. It would consist of those groups that had their inception in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Many of these, though not all, show to an unusual degree the mark of having been founded by an individual "prophetic" or "charismatic" personality. Among them are Jehovah's Witnesses (the Russellites); Mary Baker Eddy's Church of Christ, Scientist; Bishop A.J. Tomlinson's Church of God; Aimee Semple McPherson's International Church of the Four Square Gospel; Mrs. Alma White's Pillar of Fire; Alexander Dowie's Church in Zion; Benjamin Purnell's House of David, and many others.

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37.Myron T. Hopper, Young People's Work in Protestant Churches in the United States (Chicago: Private Edition Distributed by The University of Chicago Libraries, 1941), 263.

38.Horn, 1-16.

39.Conrad, 14-16.

40.Samuel M. Blumenfield, "Can Youth Movements Save Us?" Religious Education 31 (October 1936): 256.

41.Richard G. Braungart, "Historical and Generational Patterns of Youth Movements: A Global Perspective," Comparative Social Research 7 (1984): 11. It should be noted, however, that Braungart is describing youth movements, not in terms of adult sponsored activities, primarily found where a homogenous value system exists, but in terms of reaction against the predominant culture by older adolescents who want to change culture. Yet the conditions are similar though the contexts differ.

42.Kohn, Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, 1935, s.v. "Youth Movements", 520.

43.S.N. Eisenstadt, "Archetypical Patterns of Youth," 36.

44.Braungart, 32.

45.James Asa White, Our B.Y.P.U. (Philadelphia: The Judson Press, 1921), 72.

46.S.N. Eisenstadt, From Generation to Generation, 272.

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48.Ibid, 41.

CHAPTER III

PROTESTANT YOUTH MINISTRY IN HISTORICAL CONTEXT

The golden anniversary of Christian Endeavor was 1931. Celebrations were held and books were written but somehow the glory had faded. Though the worldwide movement was still strong, Christian Endeavor in the United States was a pale reflection of the glorious convention in Boston in 1895 which had attracted over fifty thousand delegates.

Denominational youth programs which had picked up the torch of youth ministry shortly after it was ignited by Dr. Francis E. Clark, also seemed to be struggling for direction. Katherine Evelyn Niles surveyed and critiqued eighteen youth societies in the Portland, Oregon, area and reported her findings in Religious Education:

Young People's Societies came into existence nearly fifty years ago, when adult organized and administrated churches gave little opportunity for the participation of youth. For a considerable time these societies were enthusiastically welcomed by young people and championed by forward looking leaders of the churches During the last few years, however, the exponents of this kind of organization have had to face the same sort of confusion and necessity for readjustment as have leaders in other phases of organized religion.¹

The study focused on ministries to high school students of seven different denominations (Presbyterian, United

Presbyterian, Congregational, Christian, Baptist, German Baptist and Methodist Episcopal) as well as conferences sponsored by Epworth League, Baptist Young People's Union and Christian Endeavor. The conclusion drawn was that

The picture . . . is rather unfavorable as to the present conditions and effectiveness of the young people's societies investigated. In a society which has undergone many changes and developments, they have become misfits, even drags on the progress of religious work with youth. Their forms and techniques, which remain much as they were in the beginning, are no longer suited for modern society.²

Niles' comments are especially significant since they are presented, not by an insider attempting to bolster a youth organization's program, but by a seemingly objective outside observer. Such unbiased analyses are rare as one reads the accounts of Protestant youth ministry.

Youth ministry, however, was not at a complete stand still. Even though youth societies in local churches seemed to be weak and ineffective, district and state conferences led by adults had a different dynamic. These were

marked by enthusiasm and a high emotional tone, in the music (led by a trained director), prayer (by an adult) and addresses (also by adults). Here the sponsors of the movement sought to revive the interests of the young people in the "religious" life and to "win them for Christ." Appeals to "surrender their wills" and "come to Christ" were made at all such gatherings.³

Into this setting stepped a young Canadian named Percy Bartimus Crawford. A free spirited and relatively new Christian believer, Crawford vowed to himself that religion would never be the dull, dry version he had experienced in Vancouver. Thus, as he enrolled in the newly formed

Westminster Theological Seminary in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, Crawford began a style of mass youth ministry which would later be copied by evangelical preachers the likes of Jack Wyrzten and Billy Graham.⁴

Percy Crawford was known as the "Master of the seven-minute sermon" because of his ability to make his point rapidly and effectively.⁵ In 1931, just after he was graduated from Westminster Seminary, the energetic evangelist came up with an new method for reaching young people: radio. Commercial radio was in its infancy and there were only a few religious broadcasts using the new medium of communication, none of which were specifically targeted to youth. It was in that year that 29 year old Percy Crawford began "The Young People's Church of the Air." Mel Larson would later write that the "radio program paved the way for the twentieth century youth (for Christ) movement."⁶ It was this movement which heavily influenced the non-formal Christian education of youth in local churches throughout the middle of the twentieth century.

Few of the methods used for ministering to young people by Crawford and those who followed him in the "Youth for Christ" movement were new. The strategies had been crafted for over a century in adult sponsored youth movements and before that in the great awakenings and revivals of the Christian faith. Thus, before looking at the movement and its contribution to youth ministry, it would be wise to take

an historical look at what had happened in youth ministry before Percy Crawford and those who followed him came upon the scene.

Period of Preparation (before 1851)

By the middle of the nineteenth century the nation was moving west. The presidential election of 1828 had forsaken the eastern establishment for the first time and selected a frontiersman, Andrew Jackson, as a representative of the common man in the White House. Technological advances such as the steam locomotive, steel plow, McCormick's reaper, the cotton gin and the telegraph made the traditional methods of travel, agriculture and communication obsolete. In the process fortunes were created for a generation of individualists who had little connection with the landed gentry of the south and east.

Expansion was the mood of the day. America was developing a sense of "manifest destiny." Victory in a war with Mexico, violations of Indian lands by the westward movement of the white men and the discovery of gold in California confirmed the muscle of the young nation.

With the westward expansion and the rise to prominence of the common man as typified by Andrew Jackson, there came a realization that education was needed for this growing populace. Undoubtedly the leading figure in what came to be called the Common School Movement, was Horace Mann who was

the Secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Education from 1837 to 1848. His work was closely paralleled by the leadership of Henry Bernard, Secretary of the Connecticut Board of Commissioners, who popularized the common school concept by editing first the Connecticut Common School Journal and later the American Journal of Education.⁷

During the 1830s and 1840s the primary source for young people in their later adolescence was in various academies. These were private schools which varied broadly in their purposes. There were military academies, monitorial academies, manual labor academies and preparatory academies, some were co-educational but most were limited to a single sex.

But all was not well with the spiritual fiber of the nation. Continued conflict over slavery continued to divide the north from the south, Drinking, gambling, fighting and sexual permissiveness became the hallmarks of the frontier spirit, both in the west and in the settled communities of the east. Movement to the city by young people and immigrants seeking work created a vacuum of societal values and norms.⁸

In response to this vacuum came a spiritual awakening centered around such contrasting figures as the poorly educated circuit-riding Baptist and Methodist ministers who took the Christian gospel to the frontiers in great camp meetings and Timothy Dwight, the President of Yale

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University. As the embers of the awakening began to cool, new means for extending the spiritual renewal were sought and the Sunday school became the standard bearer. Imported from England during the late eighteenth century, it was touted as the means for bringing about a permanent spiritual awakening in "every desolate place" in the Northwest Territories. For this purpose the 1829 Mississippi Valley Enterprise of the American Sunday School Union was undertaken.¹⁰

Concurrent with the growth of the revivalist movement, which was essentially individualistic in nature, was the formation of a variety of associations for young people. Frank Otis Erb suggests eight distinct types.¹¹ "Friendly societies", the forerunners of labor unions in the United States, is one example. Only rarely do records show the involvement of young men in these societies, though there seems to be some indication that the elder tradesmen did encourage the apprentices to organize themselves.

Mechanics' institutions and mutual improvement societies constitute another type of association for young men. Though more popular in England than in America, they "offered classes in practical subjects, lectures, papers by the members, circulating libraries and reading-rooms. They formed, indeed, a sort of club for ambitious young workingmen."¹²

The church, concerned primarily with biblical teaching

and morality, began to embrace the Sunday school not merely as a means of teaching poor children to read and have proper manners, but as a vehicle for educating the youth and adults of the church. By 1816 there were eight adult Sunday schools in Philadelphia and the following year the Philadelphia Sunday and Adult School Union was organized. One of the features of these adult and young people's classes was the fact that they were self-organized and usually chose their own teacher.¹³ This could be considered a third type of primitive youth organization.

Coupled with the Sunday school was another kind of youth society: the teacher's meeting. In the absence of well developed curricular material or theologically trained teachers, Sunday school teachers would meet weekly to go over the Sunday school lesson. From these meetings sprang the local unions which brought teachers from many Sunday schools together for training. The fact that many of these teachers were young men and women, frequently recent converts, made these meetings de facto societies for young people.¹⁴

Another type of association for young people identified by Erb was the singing-school. Regarded by many as the first young people's societies in America, singing-schools date back to 1717 when such a school met weekly in Boston for the purpose of teaching young people of both sexes to sing the hymns of the church. From this activity was born the church

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choirs in America.

Temperance societies were among the first issue-oriented young people's associations and provided, among other organizational features, the idea of a pledge required of all members. Though the early societies were comprised of adult members, many young adults were active members.

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Another issue oriented society was the young people's missionary society. Modeled after adult societies in the churches, the 1802 Young Men's Society in the Second Baptist Church of Boston sought to be "more extensively useful to their fellow-beings" resulting in missionary meetings. Perhaps a more dramatic illustration was the "hay stack prayer meeting" of five Williams College men in 1806 who, while taking shelter from a thunderstorm, pledged themselves to pray for the work of foreign missions. The result was the establishment of the first foreign missionary society in the United States, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.

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A final class of young people's societies as identified by Frank Otis Erb is those organized for distinctively devotional purposes.

In 1706, a group of Harvard students formed a society, which laying to heart the too general decay of serious piety in the profession of it, resolved upon some essays to speak often to each another or to carry on some suitable exercise of religion together, wherein they might prove blessings not only unto one another, but unto many more whom they might be concerned.'"18

Other such societies were formed, especially as a result of

the Wesleyan revivals and the Second Great Awakening.

The church and the Sunday school were doing little to preserve the Christian heritage of the masses of young people who were being swept away in the flow of humanity from safe pools of family and religious settings to the turbulent waters of population centers. Into this whirlpool of activity came the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) as the first significant adult sponsored Protestant youth organization in the United States.¹⁹ During the middle decade of the nineteenth century, this new import from England discovered a strategy for preserving the values of youth who were settling into the cities of the nation.

Period of Discovery (1851-1860)

The issue of slavery became the dominant issue in the United States during the following decade. The Compromise of 1850 was just that: a compromise. Concessions were made by both the slave and free states, but this merely postponed the impending conflict which would explode at Fort Sumter in Charleston harbor on 12 April 1861.

Despite the impending crisis, the cities of America were expanding at an amazing rate. C. Howard Hopkins describes their dramatic convergence:

Urban centers mushroomed at strategic points where transportation lines focused, a growth that was most remarkable in the Midwest. The wonder city that rose beside Lake Michigan trebled its population to pass the one hundred thousand mark by 1860 and street cars were

seen there as in older eastern cities. St. Louis doubled its size during the fifties, and a hundred steamboats plied the father of waters to St. Paul. Manufacturing moved into the Ohio valley and gradually pushed its frontiers to the Mississippi. In New York America's first great department store could justly claim by 1860 to be the world's finest. New York itself had long since outdistanced its earlier commercial rivals--Boston with 137,000 population in 1850 and Philadelphia with 121,000--having almost reached seven hundred thousand at the mid-century.²⁰

Along with the cities came the problems of the cities. The problems were nothing new but with so many people crowded together the away from traditional community restraints drunkenness, crime, and sexual activity fed upon itself.

Children, especially in the cities, became a focus of concern. In 1853 the New York Children's Aid Society was founded by Rev. Charles Loring Brace. The Society provided reading rooms for poor children, lodging for newsboys, established industrial schools while at the same time keeping in view the need of children for religious and moral instruction. Three years later the first kindergarten was established in the United States, again evidencing a concern for the education of children and in so doing, continued to move the control over the informal aspects of education away from the home and into a more public domain.²¹

One of the most significant single events of the period was the publishing of Charles R. Darwin's The Origin of Species. The work called into question the biblical account of creation and set in motion an evolutionary theory which

would be adapted by educators, sociologists, psychologists, even urban planners and would serve as a major influence in shaping modern scientific reasoning.

The spread of the YMCA, however, was the most important aspect of the period as far as the future emergence of protestant youth movements is concerned. The idea was not entirely new, for a Young Man's Society for Christian Inquiry had been founded in Cincinnati in 1848 and other similar associations had appeared in other communities. But the YMCA, modeled after the British association founded in 1844, was the first to have the staying power and rapidly spread until by the end of 1853 there were twenty-seven associations in North America.²²

The purposes of the early associations were closely related to their evangelical beliefs even to the extent that Unitarians and Universalists were not admitted to membership. These beliefs are reflected in a statement made by representatives of associations from Great Britain, America and the continent in 1855:

The Young Men's Christian Association seeks to unite those young men, who, regarding Jesus Christ as their God and Savior according to the Holy Scriptures, desire to be his disciples in their doctrine and in their life, and to associate their efforts for the extension of his kingdom among young men.²³

Weekly prayer meetings, Sunday-school teacher training and efforts to win young men to evangelical Christianity were the primary functions of the associations. When the revival of 1857-1860 swept across the land, the YMCA was a

vital part of the movement. Unlike the First and Second Great Awakenings which had preceded it or the evangelistic campaigns which occurred during the last quarter of the century, the revival of 1857-1860 did not have a dominant figure to serve as catalyst for the revival nor was there a primary figure who emerged from the events which took place. Prayer was the primary focus. Daily prayer meetings for people in business districts of the major cities took place in churches, YMCA's and other available locations.²⁴

The prayer meeting provided the form which later would become the structure for adult sponsored youth agencies. Laymen led the meetings. Participation was expected on the part of the persons attending. Spiritual commitment was assumed and the spontaneous prayers of those attending became a mechanism for accountability in their spiritual lives. The absence of a Jonathan Edwards, George Whitefield, Charles Finney or Dwight Moody left room for the common man to participate.²⁵

Period of Expansion (1860-1881)

Then came the Civil War. The nation was tragically split between the north and the south. Four bloody years the war raged on until over six hundred thousand soldiers lay dead as well as the president who had presided over the Union during its near collapse.

Reconstruction was a trauma of another sort. Troops

were stationed in the south for ten years following the war in order to insure a new order. The institution of slavery was gone and the former slaves were given the constitutional right to fully participate as citizens in the United States of America. Three constitutional amendments (thirteenth to fifteenth) laid the basis for their participation. Yet it was the soldiers who enforced the laws, rather than the laws alone, who enabled black people to participate in the political system.

With the war behind, the nation returned to the business of growing. Improved methods of production allowed goods to be manufactured more rapidly and at a lesser cost to consumers. Lower costs meant greater sales. Greater sales meant wider means of distribution. Wider means of distribution meant more jobs. More jobs meant greater purchasing power. And so the wheels of industry began the process of transforming an agrarian nation into an industrial power.

High school education took a pivotal turn during this period. The Supreme Court of the United States decided in Stuart et al. vs. School District No. 1 of Kalamazoo that local school districts had the right to use tax money to fund public high school education. Previously private academies had been the primary way to educate adolescents. Rapidly this changed. The year 1880 was the watershed year as more students began attending high schools than

academies. Put into proper perspective, however, only one out of fifty adolescents attended high school that year.²⁶

The YMCA, like the economy, began to grow once again after the war:

Primarily the offspring of the Protestant life of the country . . . the Association also reflected the economic and social folkways of the business groups with which they they were intimately related. Both locally and nationally they developed forms of organization closely resembling the companies directed by their leaders. They were counseled to manage their affairs like those of the 'large manufacturing' interests. Communities were urged to construct Y.M.C.A. buildings and maintain their programs because to do so was a 'good investment.'²⁷

The methodology employed by YMCA leaders reflected the entrepreneurial spirit of the day. Though the prayer meeting and Bible study meetings were thought to be central to the Movement, the strategy was much more successfully employed in Canada and abroad than in the United States. By the early seventies only one out of seven or eight YMCA's reported having Bible studies.²⁸

Instead, a wide range of alternative activities were sponsored as a means of reaching young men. Dwight L. Moody, who was the most prominent YMCA figure during the period, recommended a "gymnasium, classes, medical lectures, social receptions, music and all unobjectionable agencies" as means of evangelistic efforts. "Young men's meetings" were another innovation. One example was the "Athletic Sundays" promoted by Henry H. Webster at the New York City Association. In an attempt to attract men who did not go to church, Webster

brought well known athletes to speak to capacity
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audiences.

One of the new focuses of the YMCA was on college students. Initially the target clientel had been young men in the trades located in urban centers. With the expansion of that vision, young men on college and university campuses became a logical extension of ministry. In 1868, Professor Adam K. Spense, founder of the University of Michigan Association, proposed to the Convention that student work be initiated. Though his suggestion was tabled, by 1870 campus associations were fostered by Robert Weidensall as he reorganized a number of existing campus societies, planted new YMCA affiliated organizations and urged the conventions to adopt a student department which it finally did in 1877. Within five years, Weidensall had founded twenty-four YMCA's
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on college and university campuses.

Another significant contibution of the YMCA to the study of the Youth for Christ movement, was the role that evangelist Dwight L. Moody played in its expansion. In addition to founding the YMCA in Chicago and bringing about its rapid growth, Moody was twice vice-president of the national association and was chairman of the international subcommittee on evangelistic work at the time of his
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death.

The success of the YMCA provided the incentive for pastors across the country to begin imitating the

association within their local churches. Dr. Theodore Cuyler organized a young people's prayer meeting in the Lafayette Avenue Presbyterian Church in Brooklyn, New York, in 1860. By 1867, this meeting had been organized into a Young People's Association and on November 6, fifty-four people signed its constitution. Later Dr. Francis E. Clark, founder of the Young People's Society for Christian Endeavor, visited Cuyler's church and used the structure he found there as a basis for Christian Endeavor.³²

Reports abound of isolated experiments in creating young people's associations. The Baptist historian John Wesley Conley reports a number of youth organizations with features similar to those which would eventually be found in Christian Endeavor:

The First Baptist Church of Rochester had a society of this (Christian Endeavor) character as early as 1848. Ten years later D.E. Holteman, D.D., embodied these same ideas in a young people's society in the First Baptist Church of Marengo, Ill. In the First Baptist Church of Troy, N. Y., George C. Baldwin, D.D., in 1863 had a young people's society, known as the Covenant Band, which worked along these same lines. And many other similar societies existed among Baptist churches throughout the country.³³

Other church groups reported similar organizations for young people. The First United Brethren Church of Dayton, Ohio, reportedly organized a Young Men's Christian Association in 1871. The name was later changed to Young People's Christian Association and girls were included.³⁴ In 1872, Rev. T.B. Neely of the Fifty-first Street Methodist

Episcopal Church in Philadelphia initiated a Church Lyceum in order to promote the reading of approved books. The lyceum idea spread to several neighboring churches and by 1876 was adopted by the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church.³⁵ The Presbyterian historian Franklin B. Gillespie reports that in 1874 "we find the first mention of separate gatherings of young people in our churches. 'Young People's Associations for mutual help and development in prayer and church work are highly commended from various parts of the land.'³⁶"

Edward Everett Hale identified several inter-denominational societies which had as their aim to encourage young people to enter missionary and philanthropic work in the world. With interesting names like Henry Wadsworth Clubs, Ten-Times-One Clubs, Lend-a-Hand Clubs, Look-up Legion, and Look-out Clubs, the clubs attempted to link a variety of churches together in a common bond. It should be noted that the Henry Wadsworth Clubs and Look-up Legion were founded by women, Miss Mary A. Lathbury and Miss Ella Russell.³⁷

Then, on 2 February 1881, the modern era of youth ministry dawned. Rev. Francis E. Clark, the pastor of the Williston Church in Portland, Maine, held the first meeting of the Young People's Society of Christian Endeavor. Though the Society varied only slightly from Cuyler's efforts in Brooklyn, Clark brought several new elements to adult

sponsored youth ministry and when combined with the dynamics of late nineteenth century America, a new movement emerged.

Period of Church Appropriation (1881-1889)

The Industrial Age was in full swing in America. Mark Twain called it the "Gilded Age" as the barons of industry attempted to develop cultural refinements similar to the traditions of Europe. Yet somehow the attempts appeared awkward and gaudy.

The industrialists ruled the day, maintaining a strangle hold on the American economy. The laboring man could only stand on the outside of the economic boom and wish for better days. Then came the labor movement. In 1886, skilled laborers formed the American Federation of Labor under the leadership of Samuel Gompers in order to gain better wages and working conditions.

The "joining" phenomenon was not limited to the working classes. Samuel Eliot Morison comments

A human craving for fellowship among the urban middle classes drew the descendents of stern anti-Masons into secret societies and fraternal orders. Freemasons and Odd Fellows, both of English origin, proved to be exclusive to contain would-be joiners. The Elks, Royal Arcanum, Woodmen, Moose and several others were founded in the twenty years after 1868. The Southern freedmen had their United Order of African Ladies and Gentlemen, and Brothers and Sisters of Pleasure and Prosperity. The Catholic church, embracing a movement it dared no longer defy, created the Knights of Columbus for its increasing membership. Based on race and ancestry were the patriotic societies, the Sons and Daughters of the American Revolution, Colonial Dames, Mayflower Descendants, Daughters of the Confederacy, and the like; a drawing together of the older American stock.

These, nevertheless, took the lead in civic betterment, which cannot be said of those formed by the immigrants, such as the Ancient Order of Hibernians and Sons of Italy, which were then devoted to preserving old-world traditions.³⁸

In the field of education, a major shift was beginning to take place. For years education, especially higher education, had employed the liberal arts model - exposure to the educational basics was preparation for life. But with the growing diversity in industry and agriculture, a cry for industrial education was being heard. Calvin M. Woodward, who had pioneered the engineering department at Washington University (St. Louis) in 1868, established the Manual Training School of Washington University on 6 June 1879. The purpose of the school was to provide a three year secondary school divided equally between mental and manual labor. Though the idea was not without its critics, within the decade similar schools were founded in Chicago (1884), Baltimore (1884), Peru, Illinois (1884), Toledo (1885), Philadelphia (1885), Cleveland (1886), Cincinnati (1886), New Orleans (1886), New York (1887), St. Paul (1888) and Cambridge, Massachusetts (1888).³⁹ The concept of training later adolescents for specific functions in society was beginning to change both formal and non-formal concepts of education.

The church, on the other hand, had lost much of the dynamic it had experienced following the spiritual awakening of mid-century. Young people's prayer meetings,

when held, were boring reflections of what they had seen adults do. Frank Otis Erb describes the ordinary church prayer meeting of the day:

In many cases the minister used up all the time except for one or two long, able, and ancient prayers by elders or deacons. Those who spoke must 'speak to edification,' and this frequently consisted in a long review of the entire Christian and pre-Christian experience of the confessor, given for the nth time in the same words. Even the Methodist class-meeting had become formalized. The meetings were without preparation, the singing was spiritless, the prayers tame, and the questions answered perfunctorily. The young people were either absent from such services or silent, and when an especially courageous young soul ventured to testify he was in danger of being waited on by the elders and urged to keep quiet until he could speak to edification.⁴⁰

The Rise of the Young People's Society of Christian Endeavor

Into this vacuum stepped Rev. Francis E. Clark as he founded the Young People's Society of Christian Endeavor. Actually there was little that was new in the Society. The name had been used elsewhere. The pledge idea was to be found in church covenants, young people's societies, and temperance societies, as well as in Greek-letter fraternities on college campuses. The organization of the society was borrowed from Cuyler's youth group in Brooklyn. The consecration meeting was adapted from the Methodist class-meeting. Still, Christian Endeavor brought these elements together in a unique way, at an appropriate time under the leadership of a talented man.

Without a question, Francis E. Clark was the driving

force behind Christian Endeavor. A graduate of Dartmouth College and Andover Seminary, the young pastor began his ministry at Williston Church in Portland, Maine. Though the church grew under his leadership, he was frustrated at the church's inability to attract and hold young people in the church. After several unsuccessful attempts to create an informal prayer meeting for young people, Clark borrowed organizational ideas from Cuyler and from his wife's Mizpah Mission Circle and on 2 February 1881, created the Young People's Society of Christian Endeavor.

The idea caught on. In October, 1881, a second society was formed by Rev. C.P. Mills at Newburyport, Massachusetts. By June of 1882, six societies were known to exist. By the time the second conference was held on 7 June 1883. representatives from seven denominations were present. These included Congregational, Baptist, Free Baptist, Presbyterian, Methodist, Dutch Reform and "Christian" churches.
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The number of delegates at the annual conventions dramatically outline the multiplication of the movement. The Philadelphia convention of 1889 brought together 6,500 delegates; Minneapolis convention of 1891 registered over 14,000 Endeavorers; while the Boston conference of 1895 saw 56,435 persons attend.
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Three factors appear to be especially significant in the spread of Christian Endeavor. The first was that Clark's

society respected young people and as a result gave them authority while holding them accountable. The committee structure which Clark borrowed from Cuyler gave young people more specific responsibilities than were enjoyed by the adults in their churches. The pledge, which was not universally popular, skillfully provided a means for holding young people accountable for participation in activities generally thought to bring about an awareness of God's presence in one's life.

The pledge went beyond the general loyalty type of commitments expected of associations of the day to require each active member "to be present at, and take some part, aside from singing, in every Christian Endeavor prayer meeting, unless hindered by some reason which (he could) conscientiously give to (his) Lord and Master."⁴⁴ Further, "once each month an experience meeting shall be held, at which each member shall speak concerning his progress in the Christian life for the past month."⁴⁵ It was apparent that membership in Christian Endeavor would require more than a passing commitment - it required a conscious effort to know God and the Bible.

The second factor in the spread of Christian Endeavor appears to be Francis E. Clark's use of the media. As a college student, Clark had vacillated between journalism and the ministry as a life's vocation. During his senior year at Dartmouth, he was elected as one of the editors of The

Dartmouth,⁴⁶ the monthly news and literary publication of the college. Even though Francis Clark's call to the ministry prevailed over his journalistic instincts, the development of his writing skills never lagged. His first book, the Life of William E. Howard, appeared during his Andover Seminary days. Of greater significance was The Children and the Church. It was subtitled The Young People's Society of Christian Endeavor, as a Means of Bringing Them Together.

The young pastor also wrote articles for various publications, the most notable of which was one for an American religious journal entitled, The Congregationalist entitled "How One Church looks after its Young People." It described what had happened in the early days of Christian Endeavor at Williston Church. The response was dramatic. Letters came from all over the nation inquiring about the Society. Soon Christian Endeavor Societies were springing up in such remote places as Honolulu, and Foochow, China.⁴⁷

Over the years his writing continued:

Altogether he wrote thirty or more bound volumes, and a score or more of tracts and booklets on different phases of the work. Some of these have been translated into many languages He wrote, too, several important and elaborate volumes not bearing upon the Movement."⁴⁸

Thus, it appears to be as a result of Francis Clark's ability and willingness to write about Christian Endeavor that the idea of the movement was spread and refined.

There was still another aspect of Francis Clark's

ability to use the media to advance the cause of Christian Endeavor. He was in no way shy to advertise. Erb points out that:

Shortly after the conference of 1882, 1000 copies of the constitution were printed and sent to all churches reporting a revival. Five hundred newspapers representing every part of the country were selected and notices were sent to them regarding the methods and the aims of the society.⁴⁹

In 1891, the gentle promoter gave fourteen rules for the conduct of conventions. Five of these dealt with promotion.

(2) Advertise well. (3) Let it be understood that it will be a great meeting (5) Have as many denominational representatives on the program as possible (12) Have a press committee to get notices inserted everywhere. (13) See that delegates report the meeting at home.⁵⁰

A third factor in the rapid deployment of Christian Endeavor appears to be Francis E. Clark himself. His dedication to the youth ministry is evidenced by his willingness to resign his pastorate at the 770 member congregation at Phillips Church in south Boston to become the president and first full-time employee of Christian Endeavor. The date was 4 September 1887. While the movement had grown to include 2,500 societies and 150,000 members, it was a risk, for Harriet Clark was about to give birth to the couple's fourth of five children and the organization had very little means of supporting its new president.

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Dr. Clark's speaking skills contributed to the spread of the movement:

He...did not claim to be ranked as an orator, and did not attempt flights of rhetoric. His power was in his winning personality, the transparent sincerity which touches and holds even prejudiced hearers, and the intense earnestness which is always more effective than oratorical art. One secret of his success on the platform was that he was simply himself. He took hearers into his confidence, and talked with them in a friendly way. He had a good voice which he used in a natural and unaffected manner; his enunciation was cultured and distinct, without any mark of accent, except when he assumed it for the better rendering of humorous quotation or pointed story, and then he could be most amusingly 'Yankee.' Thanks to his varied travel experiences, he had a rich fund of anecdote, and could move his hearers to laughter or tears. Yet, somehow, he was never remembered as an 'impressive' speaker.⁵²

Using this natural speaking style, Francis Clark became an evangelist for the Christian Endeavor cause. Even while he was in the pastorate his schedule included several talks each week for or about Christian Endeavor. After accepting the presidency of the movement his speaking schedule increased. Allowing a few days for the birth of the couple's second son, Harold Symmes, on 16 October 1887, Clark left on a two week speaking trip which took him to four states and as far away as Rochester, New York. Speaking at church worship services, Sunday school conventions, Christian Endeavor meetings, conferences, and wherever he was invited the apostle of youth ministry gave himself untiringly to the expansion of Christian Endeavor.⁵³

By the time of his death on 26 May 1927, it is estimated that this pioneer had traveled no fewer than a million miles in behalf of Christian Endeavor. Great Britain, Europe, Palestine, Turkey, Japan, India, South

Africa, Mexico, Jamaica, Cuba, China, Russia, Scandinavia, Iceland, Australia and New Zealand are just a few of the places visited.

Clark's travels as well as the visibility of the movement brought him into contact with a who's who of his generation. Protestant ministers and writers such as F.B. Meyers, Charles H. Spurgeon, Alexander Maclaren, Dwight L. Moody, and song writer, Ira D. Sankey, were counted among his friends; business leaders John Wanamaker and J.H. Kellogg as well as President Taft, Vice President Fairbanks and would be President, William J. Bryan were friends as well. Such contacts in turn provided additional visibility and influence for the Movement.

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There is another facet to Francis Clark which apparently had a significant influence on the spread of Christian Endeavor. Though it is hard to document, the observer of the movement gains the distinct impression that someone with outstanding organizational abilities was responsible for making the large, highly public events take place smoothly; someone with managerial skills was getting volumes of literature into the hands of Endeavorers all over the world; someone with administrative insights was active in designing and writing materials which would establish the format for the Society. Though Dr. Clark had outstanding help from such people as Amos R. Wells and Daniel A. Poling, the organizational genius appears to have been the founder

himself because most of the organizational structures were in place before Wells or Poling became employees.

Success breeds imitators. Dr. Clark admittedly had imitated other churches and agencies. To the original ideas which he had gathered from others, Clark brought a new vision, that of a youth movement firmly based in local churches and yet interlinked with other evangelical churches across town, across the county, across the state, and across the world. The timing was right in the American culture and before the idea could reach its own adolescence, it had birthed scores of imitators and a few serious competitors. By 1889 the first of many denominational youth organizations came into being in the form of the Epworth League.

Period of Diffentiation (1889-1912)

Reform was the word of the day. Yet there was a spirit of populism which resisted and encouraged reform. The south was a primary example. Still recovering from the indignities of Reconstruction, concluded some fifteen years before, southern whites once again asserted their political muscle, recaptured the political machinery of their various states, revised state constitutions and enacted laws which effectively disfranchised blacks. It was a time of reform, but the resulting changes did not bring about justice for the entire population.

Farmers afflicted by falling market prices and unstable

weather conditions, similarly demanded reform. Farmers' alliances were organized for fraternal and economic purposes. By 1890 the Northwest Alliance had ventured into politics and throughout the farm states the movement gained popularity. In 1892, the Farmers Alliance joined forces with the Knights of Labor and several smaller groups to form the Populist Party which polled over a million votes in the presidential election that year.

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"Poverty, squalor and disease were hardly new to the nineties," points out Lawrence Cremin, "What was new was the number of (middle class and influential people) who suddenly seemed to care." Settlement houses were built in urban areas to assist the poor and aid immigrants in adjusting to America. Jane Addams' Hull House in Chicago is probably the best known example. Civic commissions, church societies, and charity associations came into being for the primary purpose of helping people in need while maintaining the value system of the established families.

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Reform concerning the newly confirmed idea of the public high school was in the air. Hailed by many as "people's colleges," a "Committee of Ten" was established in 1892 to establish a blueprint for high school education. The report set the standards of high school education for the next thirty years.

The concern for the high school was well timed. During the final decade of the nineteenth century and the first two

decades of the century, the high school population would balloon from three hundred and sixty thousand to 2.5 million young people between the ages of fourteen and seventeen. No longer the domain of the rich, public high schools were attended by one out of every three high school aged young people.⁵⁷

Dr. Clark's young people's society was being effected by the currents of change. The movement had grown so rapidly that in September of 1887, the founder consented to resign his pastorate and become the president and first full-time executive of Christian Endeavor. This step Clark took reluctantly due to his convictions that the society should be led by volunteers. The presidency was accepted by Clark based upon six conditions which provide insight to the issues facing Christian Endeavor as its first decade began drawing to a close. The conditions were as follows:

First: the society was not to be independent of the church but an integral part of it. Second: it was to be undenominational. Third: the purely religious features were to be paramount. Fourth: it must sympathize with all true moral reforms, with wise philanthropic measures and with missions at home and abroad. Fifth: it must be managed economically with no large number of paid agents or Christian Endeavor missionaries; and Sixth: the officers must have the enthusiastic support of the state and local unions.⁵⁸

The issues outlined by Clark accurately described the first area of differentiation which would have an impact upon protestant youth ministry between 1889 and 1912--the gradual separation of Christian Endeavor from denominational Youth programs. Clark wanted the youth society to be a vital

part of the church. Two agencies had come into being during the previous century which had been perceived by some pastors as working against the church while at the same time proclaiming the Christian gospel. These were the Sunday school and the YMCA. As Christian Endeavor came onto the scene, similar criticisms were leveled at the movement causing misunderstandings to be a constant theme of the early Endeavor leaders. On every possible occasion, comments concerning the movement's loyalty to the local church were included in speeches, articles, manuals and books.⁵⁹

By contrast, the Clark and his colleagues were firm believers in the undenominational nature of the movement. Christian Endeavor Unions, associations of Endeavor groups within geographic areas, and the national and international conventions were the primary evidence of the desire to bring Christians of all evangelical persuasions together.⁶⁰ It was this very emphasis which caused concern on the part of denominationally loyal pastors. A de-emphasis on denominational distinctives and programs in favor of shared convictions left some pastors wondering where the loyalties of the next generation of young people would lie. To state the issue in sociological terms, the question was a matter of whose values would be transmitted from generation to generation--those of the homogeneous denomination or the more theologically and ethnically diverse Christian Endeavor movement.

Denominational leaders tended to see the issue in terms of control. John Wesley Conley suggests "there was a growing feeling, especially in the West, that there should be some kind of denominational control of the young people's forces in order to secure their best training and utilization for Christian usefulness."⁶¹ Clark's conviction concerning the interdenominational nature of the movement was perceived by some Presbyterian leaders as resisting denominational input to the youth ministry enterprise.⁶² Christian Endeavor leaders countered by implying that the concern of denominational men was more economic than spiritual. The fear that young people would be enticed to buy Christian Endeavor printed materials rather than denominational literature and would give to Endeavor supported causes rather than denominational efforts was probably more rhetoric than fact, yet the tension over Clark's basic conviction continued to grow.⁶³ This idea is complicated, though, by the fact that denominational movements to set up their own youth programs came for the most part from regional efforts to organize. By the turn of the century seven evangelical denominational youth programs had been established.⁶⁴

Clark's third condition for accepting the presidency of Christian Endeavor dealt with what he called the purely religious features of the movement. In all likelihood, this was a reference to the practice of personal piety which was

implied in the Society's pledge. Clark's standards for holiness stressed a consistent (fifteen minutes a day) practice of Bible reading and prayer which was to be reflected in weekly participation in prayer meetings and monthly accountability at consecration meetings. Such public accountability was perceived by many as being a rather superficial standard by which to judge one's spirituality.⁶⁵ The reaction may have reflected concern for which values which would be transmitted from generation to generation--those of the denomination or the interdenominational Christian Endeavor movement. The tension may have reflected American individualism as much as Christian freedom.

True moral reforms were a fourth concern of Francis Clark. From the very beginning of the Society, spokesmen from the temperance movement were speakers at Christian Endeavor functions. Relief work, at least to the extent of helping sick and suffering members of the society, was included as a committee function in Clark's original constitution. It was not until the 1893 convention in Montreal, however, that the founder felt it appropriate to add his voice to the growing chorus of leaders seeking reform in society.⁶⁶

In his keynote address to the Montreal convention, Clark began a practice of introducing themes of civic concern which reached beyond temperance issues. Though individual churches still had the responsibility for

choosing if and how such concerns would be put into action, the president began giving priority to concern for good citizenship and civil righteousness as well as the continued temperance emphasis. In the years that followed, Convention themes reflected Dr. Clark's concerns. In Cleveland the following year the slogan was, "Strike! Strike! Strike!/⁶⁷ for our Principles/ for good Citizenship/ for Missions." The Washington, D.C. slogan of 1896, was even more inclusive. Though striving for balance of emphasis, the theme would appear to have made the movement much more complex and much less focused on the issues faced by high school students. It read as follows:

Fidelity and Fellowship, one and inseparable;
 Loyalty and Brotherhood, one and inseparable;
 Obedience and Independence, one and inseparable;
 Christian Citizenship and Christian Mission,
 one and inseparable;
 Organization and Spiritual Power,
 one and inseparable.⁶⁸

This concern for moral reforms was consistent with the spirit of the day. Joseph Mayer Rice's series critical of the public schools had been published in The Forum in 1892 and had created an enormous stir over the quality of education. Albion Small, head of the newly formed Sociology Department at the University of Chicago, linked solving of the problems in society to education's ability to place the "upcoming generation in contact with three great realities of modern life: interdependence, the realization that in the industrial world no man liveth unto himself; cooperation,

the correlative of interdependence; and progress, the realization that new men and events forever necessitate new social arrangements.⁶⁹

Though the terminology is different, the spirit is very similar to the concerns expressed by Francis Clark. Such was true of concerns expressed by Jane Addams, G. Stanley Hall, John Dewey and a host of social scientists.

The trend seemed to have little negative effect on the major religious bodies of the day. Most, in fact, continued to express similar concerns for society when they formed their denominational youth programs. Only later when the fundamentalist movement reacted strongly against the Social Gospel and its link to liberal theology, did youth organizations find themselves the target of criticism because of their advocacy of moral reforms.

Dr. Clark's fifth and sixth concerns as he agreed to accept a salary to serve as president of Christian Endeavor were organizational. The initial growth of the society had been that of a dynamic movement. Clark did not want to see that damaged through the multiplication of professional staff members taking the momentum away from volunteers. Thus, he requested that the society be managed economically with no large number of paid agents or Christian Endeavor missionaries. Such staffing, suggested Clark, should be the prerogative of denominations. If the various denominations wanted to promote Christian Endeavor, it was their

responsibility to provide the manpower.

Clark desired the enthusiastic support of state and local Christian Endeavor unions. These, however, as much as any aspect of the movement became divisive and stimulated denominational people to form their own youth organizations. The state and local unions were where the majority of Endeavorers would come in contact with young people and ideas which were not in keeping with those of their particular denomination.
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By the turn of the century, most of the major denominations had established their own youth programs and the factors which Clark had expressed as conditions before he would accept the paid presidency, in fact, became the issues which denominational leaders used as rationales for separating from the Society for Christian Endeavor.

Myron T. Hopper analysed the emergence of denominational youth societies from Christian Endeavor as resulting from eight factors. These included:

1. Unwillingness on the part of some denominations to turn the control of the young people's society program for their young people over to an independent, self-perpetuating agency such as Christian Endeavor.
2. Failure of Christian Endeavor to give denominations, as such, a place in the direction and control of the Christian Endeavor movement, and a tendency on its part to minimize the importance of denominational differences.
3. The exclusive policy of Christian Endeavor which would not grant full fellowship to local societies calling themselves by some other name and which, in the beginning, looked with disfavor upon denominational

branches.

4. Objections to the obligatory pledge.
5. Objections to the concept of religious living implied by the emphasis of the Christian Endeavor pledge.
6. Desire on the part of certain denominations to develop denominational loyalty even at the expense of interdenominational fellowship if necessary.
7. The failure of the Christian Endeavor movement to win its way in all the local churches of the denominations, and the resultant desire on the part of denominational leaders for a union of all the various types of local societies in a denominational fellowship.
8. A lack of balance in the Christian Endeavor program, which centered in a prayer meeting and emphasized a pietistic type of religion.⁷¹

An additional factor might be added. It appears entirely likely that the Young People's Society of Christian Endeavor gradually ceased to be a young people's society. Instead it became a society which had as its primary target young people but which included alumni and adults as active members. The inadvertent end product was an informal linkage or association among adults which may have further aggravated denominational suspicions.

The Rise of Denominational Youth Societies

Even as the Young People's Society of Christian Endeavor began to diminish in importance local churches in various communities began using the ideas popularized by Clark's organization to form their own societies. Shortly thereafter denominational programs began to develop.

The movement for a Baptist youth organization appears to have been a grass-roots effort though it was soon turned into a denominational alternative to Christian Endeavor. Oliver W. Van Osdel, D.D., of Ottawa, Kansas, developed and published a comprehensive plan for organizing Baptist young people in 1886. Two years later, the Kansas Baptist State Convention recommended that Osdel's plan be adopted by Baptist churches in the state.⁷²

About the same time, Rev. J.M. Coon of Whitewater, Wisconsin, published "The Self-Help Handbook for Young People" and urged its use in Wisconsin Baptist churches. In all likelihood many similar youth societies were formed in Baptist churches across the nation but because the strategies were not published or publicized, little historical record is left.

Denominational wheels were put into motion in 1889 and the following year a committee was set up to assist churches, associations and states to set up Baptist young people's groups. By the end of 1890, fourteen states had held young people's meetings or had provided for such meetings.

On 22 April 1891, a national Baptist young people's organization was established. The organization was broad enough to include all Baptist youth groups, no matter what their name or constitutional structure. Yet all societies were urged to subscribe to the Baptist national youth

publication in order to provide continuity within the groups with Baptist distinctives.⁷³

The Methodist Episcopal Church had a similar record in developing their Epworth League. Begun as five distinct societies in such diverse places as Des Plaines, Illinois (1883); Baltimore, Maryland (1884); Boston, Massachusetts (1887); Detroit, Michigan (1887); and Ashland, Ohio (1888), the Epworth League was formed on 15 May 1889, in Cleveland, Ohio.⁷⁴ Perhaps one of the most interesting factors about the Epworth League was that it was formed through the cooperation of youth leaders in both the northern and southern churches, nearly forty-five years before the two were unified in 1939.⁷⁵

The Methodist tradition was distinct from Christian Endeavor in its emphasis on missions. Bishop John H. Vincent was among the first to realize that young people could be taught morals not only through preaching but also through actually engaging in good works--deeds of Christian charity. Furthermore, such activity would leave young people little time for "doing the devil's work." Fund-raisers and local service projects were an early part of the League's normal activities.

The story of the Walther League is a narrative of youth ministry in the Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod. Though originally confined to young men and functioning best in local congregations, youth work was organized at a

convention held in Buffalo, New York, 20-23 May 1893, though⁷⁶ the name was not adopted until the following year. Thus another denomination was influenced by the rising tide of inter-church youth associations.

The Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. appointed their first Special Committee on Young People in 1891. Two years later it was reported that,

Many churches have adopted the Christian Endeavor constitution, while others have modified it, by omitting the pledge and consecration meetings. Others have Westminster Leagues, while others have adopted their own.⁷⁷

The major concern in Presbyterian circles was that local churches have control over their youth groups and that the groups be active in training youth in the Presbyterian Young People's Union. Still many people urged the acceptance of the Christian Endeavor program, reasoning that since all youth groups in the local church are under the session (the local governing body), there was no need for concern.

Consequently the Assembly did not rush to form a distinct youth organization.⁷⁸

Other Significant Changes

While Clark's concerns were focused on the differentiation which took place between Christian Endeavor and denominational youth organizations, there were several other forms of differentiation which were taking place during the period. Frank Otis Erb points out that the

YMCA, which had begun as a youth movement similar to Christian Endeavor, began to institutionalize around the turn of the century as evidenced by the fact that \$68,699,150.00 worth of property was owned by the worldwide Association by 1911. Accompanying this growth of facilities came a broadening of the educational functions of many Associations. Instead of merely holding evening Bible studies and teacher's training sessions for Sunday school workers, many YMCA's offered vocational and practical courses both at night and during the day. Thus institutionalization was a form of differentiation. 79

A third form of differentiation identified by Erb is that of sexual segregation. Though there had been individual groups for men and women in churches for centuries, more modern organizational structures for societies of young men or young women began to appear in the 1880s and 1890s. Though only citing a couple of illustrations, Erb suggests these were distinctly evangelistic in nature and even though being segregated by sex they saw a rapid growth of membership numbers. 80

G. Stanley Hall further contributed to the sexual differentiation with the publication of Adolescence in 1904. In the book Hall placed a heavy emphasis upon the training of boys, rather than upon coeducational activities. This theme was pursued with the establishment of single sex agencies such as the Big Brothers of America [1904], Boy's

Clubs of America [1906], and Boy Scouts of America [1910] on the one hand, and Big Sisters, Inc. [1908], Camp Fire Girls [1910], and Girl Scouts of the United States of America [1912] on the other hand.

The missionary movement is described by Erb as another form of differentiation from the Christian Endeavor Societies. This, however, was primarily a college phenomenon and even though churches felt the impact as over a thousand missionaries resulted from the movement by the turn of the century, the locus of activity was the college campus, not the church. Consequently, high school students and young people who were not in school felt little impact from this type of differentiation.

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A fifth type of differentiation can be seen in the movement away from an emphasis on pietism in youth oriented agencies. Joseph F. Kett comments,

Despite a plethora of activities and precedents, boys-work in the first two decades of the 20th century contained some unifying impulses and objectives. One common theme was the relinquishment of any vestiges of pietism. Protestant clergymen continued to play a disproportionately large role in boys work after 1900, but religious conversion and prayer meetings virtually vanished as topics in the literature of boys-work.⁸²

Though the comment was made about agencies doing boys-work, the trend seemed to be broader than the single sex organizations. As noted earlier, Myron T. Hopper indicates the reason for the rise of denominational co-educational youth societies was "a lack of balance in the Christian Endeavor program, which centered in a prayer meeting and

emphasized a pietistic type of religion."⁸³

Differentiation in youth ministry during the period from 1889 to 1912 produced a much broader based strategy of working with young people. It was a strategy which redefined spiritual nurture to include a more wholestic view of the adolescent. Yet even this was tainted by denominational and philosophical biases. The idealism of Francis E. Clark which called for a youth group movement unified under the banner of Christian Endeavor, had been diffused into at least fifteen types of adult sponsored youth organizations. These included protestant organizations, federations of protestant organizations, Catholic organizations, federations of Catholic organizations, Jewish organizations, non-sectarian character-building organizations, rural-agricultural organizations, organizations for negro youth, ethnic organizations, political organizations, social welfare organizations, sports and recreation programs, educational organizations, military, veterans, heredity and patriotic organizations, junior organizations of fraternal and business associations.⁸⁴ This diversity gave rise to twenty years of youth work in which these non-formal educational agencies became more efficient in their public appearance but less effective in the conveying of spiritual values from one generation to the next.

Period of Diffusion (1912-1931)

The second two decades of the century saw the United States enter the modern world. World War I tapped the resources of an isolated giant and forced it into cooperation with European allies in their battle against Germany. The country became evangelistic in its fervor to make the world "safe for democracy" while at the same time it shed much of the value system which had dominated the previous century.

By 1920 the census bureau reported that more than half of the population of the country lived in urban areas. Along with the move to urban areas by a majority of the American population came the breaking of cultural mores which had been held in place, if no other way, by sociological networks in small towns and rural communities. Attempts to legislate the old time value system such as the eighteenth amendment which prohibited the sale of alcoholic beverages, backfired causing a new and unexpected kind of lawlessness. The Roaring Twenties emerged as a time of fast living for young people and a period of concern for many of their elders.

Religious revivals which had been the hallmark of small towns and rural communities came with the population shift to the urban centers. ⁸⁵ Initiated by YMCA leader, Dwight L. Moody during the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the gospel message was most prominently proclaimed by former

major league baseball player turned evangelist, Billy Sunday. Large and emotional crowds were attracted in cities and towns across the nation. Thousands were converted both to protestant Christianity and to a pietistic lifestyle.

More significant to the development of adult sponsored protestant youth movements may have been two reactionary movements within protestant churches--one sociological and the other theological. The sociological reaction was found primarily within the Wesleyan movement where it was felt that the church was betraying its lower class heritage in favor of middle class sophistication. Two kinds of responses were evident. The first, best typified by the Salvation Army, was to return to a primary focus on meeting the needs of the poor and oppressed.⁸⁶

The second sociological response is best seen in the "holiness" movement which sought to foster lifestyles thought to be more consistent with the holiness of God. At first a grass-root movement sprang up with little cohesion. Some felt that holiness was evidenced by an outpouring of the "gifts of the Spirit" such as speaking in tongues, miracles of healing and prophetic utterances. This movement was given momentum by the "Azusa Street revival" of 1906 when evidences of the Holy Spirit were seen at the Azusa Street Mission and soon spread throughout the nation. In 1914 the many of these "pentecostals" gathered and formed the Assemblies of God, the main pentecostal denomination in

the United States.

Other "holiness" seekers stressed the less spectacular workings of the Holy Spirit, preferring to focus on more traditional disciplines of holy living. By 1908 some of these groups had aligned themselves in a new denomination which they called the Church of the Nazarene.

The theological reaction has commonly come to be known as the fundamentalist movement. Though many of the theological concerns were shared by people from the "holiness" traditions, the fundamentalists were primarily people from Calvinistic persuasions. Their reaction was to the liberal scholarship which was based on European higher criticism and displayed a mixture of optimism and skepticism. The optimistic side of the liberal thinkers saw man as the climax of the evolutionary process, fully capable of solving all problems and bringing in an age of joy, freedom, justice, peace and abundance. The skeptical side of the liberal viewed the Bible as a document filled with errors, myths and folk traditions inappropriate for modern man. To both perspectives, fundamentalists took a firm stance of separation.

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The concern over liberal theology was nothing new. As early as 1846, the Evangelical Alliance was formed to join the forces concerned with liberal theology. At a meeting in Niagara Falls, New York, in 1895, the movement gathered to identify the fundamentals of the faith. Five were

recognized: the inerrancy of Scripture, the divinity of Jesus, the Virgin birth, Jesus' death on the cross as a substitute for our sins, and his physical resurrection and impending return to earth. These were later expanded upon in essay form by conservative theologians and distributed by two California business men under the title, The Fundamentals in 1910. Popularized by that publication, the movement was soon designated "fundamentalist."

The theological reaction to liberalism appeared to gain a broad base of acceptance until the infamous 1925 Scopes ⁸⁸ "Monkey Trial" in Dayton, Tennessee. At issue was a Tennessee law forbidding the teaching of evolution in public schools. Though the legal case was won by anti-evolutionary advocates, fundamentalism was soundly beaten in popular opinion.

It would be from the discredited fundamentalist camp that that the Youth For Christ movement would shortly emerge to bring a fresh perspective and renewed methodology to youth ministry. Later, it would be methodologies drawn from the Wesleyan movement which would create a bridge between parachurch ministries and local churches.

The field of education, similar to the theological world, was struggling to rid itself from the myths of the past in favor of education that was in keeping with the modern world. The founding of the Progressive Education Association in 1919, suggests Lawrence A. Cremin, gave a

vigorous organizational voice to the wave of progressive⁸⁹ education which was sweeping the United States. Yet despite the consensus of what these new education specialists were rejecting (bookish educational methods which emphasized rote memory), it is not entirely clear what the progressives were advocating as an alternative. Two emphases were apparent. One was a child-centered curriculum which viewed the student as natural learners who primarily needed help removing the stumbling blocks from the pathway of education. The other was an emphasis on efficiency which stressed the development of instruments to measure the ability of the school to produce better learners at a lower⁹⁰ cost per child.

By 1918, the progressive spirit had effected the shapers of the high school curriculum as the National Education Association published its report entitled The Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education. No longer were the old liberal arts disciplines the cornerstones of high school education. Influenced by the writings of John Dewey, the report called the assessment of individual and social needs which would then lead to determining what the school should do to meet those needs. Latin, history, algebra and other subjects from the classical curriculum were tailored to meet perceived student needs. Some subjects were dropped. Others were combined with other subjects to form more socially relevant courses. Still others were retained with

sp0'estions for more relevant application to modern society.

In the place of the classical curriculum came more socially relevant courses such as business education, household arts, agriculture, art education, industrial arts, music and physical education. It must be pointed out, however, that change comes slowly. Even though thousands of educators adopted the Cardinal Principles rapidly, many others were either unaware of the report or unwilling to adapt its suggestions. ⁹¹ Kett cites studies which indicate that despite the introduction of such elective courses, most students opted for traditional courses, possibly perceived as being more appropriate for college admission for upwardly mobile students. ⁹²

Despite the rising tide of progressive thinking about education, high schools, even with a multitude of extracurricular activities, became places controlled and regulated by adults. Student autonomy was relegated to aspects of campus life which would not effect the central functions of the school. Similar to youth movements, high schools and more specifically, high school extracurricular activities, became adult sponsored agencies which prolonged the period of life during which adolescents were dependent upon adults for guidance. ⁹³

Child labor laws, the Depression, and changing social values clearly influenced the role of the high school in society. By 1929-1930, about 4,804,000 students were

enrolled in secondary schools. This was 51.3 per cent of the
age group between 14 and 17 years of age.⁹⁴

While the public secondary education was experimenting with aspects of non-formal education for this growing population of adolescents, churches were not so innovative. Protestant denominations had been quick to imitate Christian Endeavor but it was not until 1912 that the International Sunday School Association fielded its first paid superintendent to work with junior and senior high school students. This delayed step by the association gave national evidence to the fact that the Sunday school wanted to become a vital part of the church's ministry to youth on the local level. This was followed by acknowledgment of the need for youth ministry by the academic community when a department of religious education was established at Boston University in 1920. Among the first courses offered were some dealing
⁹⁵with adolescents. Slowly, non-formal religious instruction was diffusing into the fabric of the American culture.

Diffusion has both benefits and limitations. As a movement blends into the fabric of society, the values which are advocated by the movement are brought into personal contact with an ever increasing number of people. Systems to perpetuate the spreading effects are built and refined. Ownership of the movement is absorbed by people on all levels of society. These effects are beneficial.

The negative side of diffusion is that the focus of the

movement tends to be lost with the result that people tend to hold onto the forms of the movement while losing sight of its ultimate purposes. Thus it was with youth ministry. The highly defined vision of Francis E. Clark rapidly had become the educational vehicle for an ever growing number of denominations, churches, religiously based parachurch agencies and social welfare groups. Competition resulted. By the late twenties, youth ministry had settled into a safe pattern of in-group socialization cloaked in the garb of religious verbage.

Ever since his appointment as full-time president of Christian Endeavor in 1887, Francis E. Clark had begun turning his attention from American young people to the youth of the world. A majority of the million miles which he traveled in behalf of the society were overseas. The founding and growth of denominational youth programs, which Clark never understood, may have further encouraged Clark to focus on the world scene. Left at home to mind the shop were capable and talented men such as Amos R. Wells, but they were not the visionary that Clark was. Consequently, few youth ministry innovations were made within the Christian Endeavor movement after the turn of the century.

As the Depression years came, youth ministry showed few signs of creative activity. Robert and Helen Lynd in their classic sociological study of Middletown, the pseudonym for an actual midwestern town, concluded that the young people's

meeting, as well as other activities of the church, had remained "fundamentally unchanged since the ninties." By contrast the high school extra curricular activities had become the conveyers of social prestige.⁹⁶

Katherine Evelyn Niles came to similar conclusions about church youth work. After studying eighteen young people's societies in Portland, Oregon, she concluded "their forms and techniques, which remain much as they were in the beginning (i.e. the last decade of the nineteenth century), are no longer suited to modern society."⁹⁷

The anemic condition of church youth ministries toward the end of the third decade of the twentieth century stands in contrast with reports given by denominational leaders. Concentrating on the services provided by denominational organizations rather than on activities on the local level, national leadership patted itself on its collective back. There was a mood of optimism about what was being accomplished in programs sponsored by the major denominations. This was evidenced in published reports:

1929 The first Senior High Summer Conference was held . . . [and] very soon, the Senior High Conferences outnumbered those for older people. A special notebook for the conference delegates was developed containing course material, a hymnal, and a devotional guide.⁹⁸
United Presbyterian

The Epworth League was zealous about securing money for missions. Once in a five year period, 1919-1924, during the Centenary thrust the League gave 'an offering of \$380,000 for Africa at home and abroad.' Today (1981) that sum would be worth in excess of \$2,000,000.⁹⁹
Methodist

One of the (Walther) league's best-known and possibly best-loved leaders, William F. 'Chief' Weiherman, joined the national staff in 1928. 'Chief' helped initiate and sustain the league's long interest in camping...The Walther League now had more than 1800 societies. A comprehensive 4-year program was developed on the basis of its new Christian Knowledge and Christian Service Departments.100

Missouri Synod Lutheran

The B.Y.P.U. (Baptist Young People's Union) sets itself whole-heartedly to the task of training its members in doctrine and in active participation in the world-wide missionary program of the Southern Baptist Convention.

. . . We commend the General B.Y.P.U. Organization as the best instrument known for finding and developing leadership. An efficient General Organization can enlist and train in the Senior B.Y.P.U. and Baptist Adult Union all the leaders needed.101

Southern Baptist Convention, 1929

Reports such as these were justified. Denominational involvement in ministry to young people had increased dramatically from the humble beginnings of a few years before. Community, state and national organizations had been developed in the major denominations. Most were structured with capable and concerned adult leadership, who were not paid for their efforts. Gradually, however, youth specialists were added to denominational staffs. Most frequently these men were associated with the denominational publishing houses.

The logical result of such staff increases was a blizzard of printed materials. Following the example of Christian Endeavor, denominational youth programs published training manuals which provided step by step descriptions of every aspect of the youth program. Program materials quickly

followed, allowing a local youth society to put together a variety of Sunday evening meetings with a minimum of work on the part of the students or their adult leaders. ¹⁰²

With this direct link between the youth societies with their adult leaders and the denominational headquarters, programs became increasingly generic. It was simply impossible to be in touch with the local needs of thousands of young people's societies. The consequent result was that denominational youth workers, influenced by denominational priorities, began establishing the agenda for youth societies much more than did the local pastor or church governing body. World missions, stewardship, social issues, and denominational distinctives became topics for youth society meetings. ¹⁰³

Youth ministries in which denominational leaders participated were effective. Camps, conferences and area-wide meeting were to great an effort for any one church to do on its own and so into this vacuum stepped the professional youth workers. Montreat, North Carolina, became the focus of Presbyterian Assembly efforts. Ridgecrest Baptist Assembly, also in North Carolina, provide the same function for the Southern Baptists. All across the country smaller and yet effective camp and conference grounds were servicing denominational constituents. ¹⁰⁴

In keeping with the educational trends of the day, denominations began to study the church's ministry to youth.

An example is the work done in 1928 by Nevin C. Harner for the Eastern Synod of the Reformed Church in the United States indirectly placed the credit for youth society growth, not so much on the denominational efforts as much as upon the dynamic of the local church. "Whatever else can be said either for or against the Young People's Society," Harner observes, "it can be asserted with some assurance that this society occurs in the same situation as growing Sunday Schools."¹⁰⁵

Despite the growing superstructure in the young people's society "industry," there is little evidence that local church youth programs shared the excitement or dynamic of the denominational or interdenominational youth programs. The city-wide study by Robert and Helen Lynd and the youth group specific study by Katherine Evelyn Niles appear to best describe what was happening within individual youth societies.

Theologically, the youth societies were evangelical in their orientation though there seems to have been a rather dramatic liberal drift when it came to the urgency of personal salvation. The Bible was still viewed as sacred. Christianity was accepted as all-sufficient for all mankind. Three quarters of the boys and 81 percent of the girls in Middletown youth societies professed that God was completely revealed in Jesus Christ but only a fourth held a belief in heaven and hell.¹⁰⁶ It was in this last theological percep-

tion that evangelicals saw a softening of their historic position and without a firm conviction that there is an eternity and that people may spend it in torment, they feared the urgency of the Christian proclamation would be diminished.

The size of the the average youth society meeting appears to have been about twenty to thirty young people and this consisted primarily of white, middle class girls.

Apparently the size of the church did not significantly

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effect the average attendance. Because of the services rendered by denominational and interdenominational youth societies, young people's groups had begun to function with little real connection with the churches in which they were located. At the same time student involvement in the planning for youth group meetings was at a minimum as adult leaders became dependent upon the program materials to establish methods and content. The resulting meetings were increasingly removed from world in which the students lived.

Even when service activities were provided outside the normal youth group meeting, the enthusiasm of the young

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people was minimal.

The purpose for youth groups by 1929 appears to have become diffused if not confusing. None of the eighteen groups which Katherine Evelyn Niles studied had thought through its reason for being or the ends it sought to accomplish. Even the purposes stated by adult leaders

appeared remote from the world of students. Tradition, as much as any other factor, appears to have been the driving force behind the youth groups of the day. ¹⁰⁹

Conclusion

As the first half century of church youth ministry drew to a close in 1931, it appears that the sense of momentum evidenced in the early years of the Christian Endeavor movement had been lost. Denominational interests had divided the original thrust. Theological liberalism had blunted the urgency of the movement. Educational methodology had called into question the appropriateness of the objectives and strategies of adult led church youth movements. Multiplication and diversification of agencies for youth work had created competition for the interests of young people while the public high school had become the focal point of the average adolescent's life.

It was into this milieu that the Youth For Christ movement came along with a variety of youthful evangelicals who were anxious to refocus the staggering religious youth movement. Their tools would be agencies outside of the normal ecclesialastical channels including extensive use of the media technology of a new age. Their emphasis would be on historic evangelical values. Their credibility would be based upon their capacity to attract and hold the interests of the youth of the day.

CHAPTER III

End Notes

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105. Nevin C. Harner, Factors Related to Sunday School Growth and Decline in the Eastern Synod of the Reformed Church in the United States (New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1931), 14-15.

106. Lynd, 316-319.

107. Lynd, Middletown, 393; Niles, "A Survey and Critique of Young People's Societies," 527. Lynd gives a range of fifteen to fifty with "girls in a heavy majority." Niles' study of eighteen groups showed an average of slightly over eighteen persons per group with sixty-two per cent being girls.

108. Niles, 527-528.

109. *Ibid.*, 533-534.

CHAPTER IV

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE YOUTH FOR CHRIST MOVEMENT

For Washakie High School in Worland, Wyoming, 22 November 1952 was an exciting day. Led by halfback, Dick Harkins' four touchdowns, the Worland squad downed rival Douglas, 26 to 13, to become the state class A football champion.

The thrill was even greater for Wendy Collins, Youth For Christ Director for southern Montana and northern Wyoming. The night before the victory, fourteen of those gridgers had gathered in the home of their team physician, Dr. L.S. Anderson, for a time of Bible study and prayer. Then on the evening of the championship victory, sixteen newly crowned state football champions lined the platform at the Worland Youth For Christ rally to give testimony of their personal relationship to Jesus Christ.¹

An isolated occurrence? Not really. By 1952, thousands of communities, large and small, were feeling the impact of the Youth For Christ movement. Newsweek reported on perhaps the most dramatic evidence of the movement's success when it described the Memorial Day Youth for Christ rally attended

by sixty five thousand "sweater-topped bobby soxers, adult civilians and servicemen" at Chicago's Soldier Field. By 1946, there were similar Saturday night rallies in as many as 1,450 cities across the nation.²

Sociological studies of the era paint an entirely different picture. Robert and Helen Lynd, in their classic studies of American culture, describe the youth of "Middletown" in 1929 as apathetic toward religion.

The Sunday school is the chief instrument of the church for training the young in religion; of secondary importance is the 'young people's society' meeting in each Protestant church Sunday evenings for an hour before the evening service. Like the prayer meeting, these discussions attract few people, attendance ranging from about fifteen to fifty, almost invariably with girls in the heavy majority.³

Though the Lynds may have understated the significance of the numbers (fifteen to fifty) of young people meeting for Bible study and prayer on a weekly basis, the dynamic, location and sexual composition is in striking contrast to Worland, Wyoming in the 1950s.

A follow-up study of Middletown in the mid-thirties by the same husband and wife team suggested that the Depression which followed the stock market crash of 1929 may have brought about an increase in "fundamentalism" among the lower economic classes of the town, but that "older denominations have yielded to the pressure of events by becoming doctrinally less demanding." The secularization of Sunday was a practical illustration of this trend. Swimming

pools, which were frequented by a lower class clientele, were now open from 10:00 a.m. to 10:00 p.m. every day, including Sunday, while horseback riding and the annual horse show, the special domain of the wealthier Middletowners, were popular on the Lord's day.⁴

A little over a decade later, August Hollingshead published his findings on Elmtown's youth. Though the study focused primarily on the impact of social class on adolescent behavior, the researcher found a distinct lack of religious fervor within the community. "To young people," states Hollingshead,

the church is a place where one goes to Sunday school, to young people's meetings, to a church party and, to a small segment, it is a place to worship or hear a sermon. It is not something special or supernatural as the ministers and some elders would have them believe. It is plain that about 7 out of 8 young people are not troubled by religious questions or problems.⁵

One would be grossly ill-advised to contrast a fist full of newspaper clippings with the careful scientific investigations of the Lynds and August Hollingshead. But there does seem to be a bit of discrepancy between the two sources. One could discount the press clippings as journalistic hype, geared to popular consumption or look deeper for a more significant answer.

One such understanding might lie in the idea of entrepreneurship in which "the entrepreneur . . . shifts economic resources out of an area of lower and into an area of higher productivity and greater yield."⁶ In a sense this

is exactly what the Youth for Christ movement did for youth ministry. Low productivity was being experienced by the standard approach to working with young people initiated by Francis E. Clark some fifty years before in Portland, Maine. So religious entrepreneurs of the Youth for Christ movement shifted their approach in order to create higher productivity and greater yield among young people.

The Youth for Christ movement was different. It met in homes, store-fronts, classrooms or school buses fitted out as classrooms, not churches. They were led by young and many times unordained Christian workers rather than pastors. They were noisy, flamboyant, irreverent and at times overpowering rather than religious in the commonly accepted sense. Though rallies were attended by adults, club meetings rapidly became the domain of the Youth for Christ entrepreneurs and students.

This chapter is intended to trace the development of the entrepreneurs of the Youth for Christ movement. But first an examination of the existing youth societies is appropriate.

The Condition of Aging Youth Societies

Historical Context

Just when adolescence began to be fun, the depression came, followed by World War Two. The twenties had been a period of social liberation for young people.

passivity and conformity to adult leadership was replaced by an increased autonomy and conformity to peer values. Adults began to model the styles of youth, rather than visa versa. If a new dance came in vogue, the adolescent girl did it first and her mother learned it from her.⁷

With the sudden collapse of the American and world economies on "Black Thursday," 20 October 1929, the progressive advances in adolescent life ground to a slow crawl. Life was no longer filled with a multitude of options. Survival became the concern for both parent and adolescent.

The condition of just about everything in America was shaky in 1931. From the stock market crashed until the middle of 1932 there was a steady decline in personal, corporate and national economic fortunes. In some industries, unemployment was running at 30 and 40 percent. Banks closed. Homes, farms and businesses were lost to foreclosures. Life for the adolescent mirrored the plight of society.

Then came the election of Franklin D. Roosevelt. Roosevelt's program, called the New Deal, created jobs and provided relief for the American worker. Economic concerns dominated the period. Even with the rise of national socialism in Germany and the influence of Marxism fueled by the depression, most people appear to have been concerned with food and drink issues rather than political theory.

Then came World War II. First came the war in Europe as

Germany invaded Poland on 1 September 1939. Though the recovery from the depression was well under way, the European war provided a significant boost to the American economy as the United States began supplying war materials as well as humanitarian supplies to the participants.

The attack on Pearl Harbor brought the United States into the war and rallied the nation around one massive task -- a military victory on two fronts. Fifteen million service men and women went to war. With a shortage of men on the home front, thousands of women went to work in defense plants. The economy, though military in focus, was working at or near capacity.

The war had another impact upon the nation. From the end of the First World War with the Senate's rejection of the Treaty of Versailles and President Wilson's last hope for world peace through the League of Nations, the nation had retreated into a mentality of isolationism. The Second World War ended that mind set as America emerged as the leader of the free world.

Educational Context

On the educational front, 1931-1948, five major factors would influence the church's ministry to high school students. The first, cited by Lawrence A. Cremin, was the Eight-Year Study commissioned by the Progressive Education Association and proposed six steps for making education more

effective on the secondary level. The commission proposed that high schools redesign their curriculum in order to achieve:

(1) Greater mastery in learning, (2) more continuity of learning, (3) the release of creative energies of students, (4) a clearer understanding of the problems of contemporary civilization, (5) better individual guidance of students, and (6) better teaching materials and more effective teaching.⁸

The study ran for eight years (hence its name) from 1932 to 1940 and in the process generated interest on the part of some high school educators while engendering the wrath of others. Conservative protestants in general viewed the study as more of the progressive agenda associated with modernism. The emphasis was much more on process than on product. Preparation for life in a modern society was being stressed above the classic curricular disciplines. This trend was strongly opposed by fundamentalists.⁹

Along with the extension of progressive education to the high school curriculum, came a second educational factor -- the removal of the Bible from the classroom. The concern was over two types of omission of the Bible, one de jure and the other de facto. By 1941, while twelve (mostly Eastern) states and the District of Columbia required Bible reading in the public schools, twelve mid-west and western states did not permit Bible reading as a result of constitutional interpretations or statutes. The trend was definitely away from values of the common school in Massachusetts. This trend was finalized when the United States Supreme Court, in

the McCollum v. Board of Education decision in 1948, held that a program permitting religious instruction within public schools during school hours and excusing students attending such a class from a part of the secular school schedule was unconstitutional.

The de facto removal of Bible reading was equally as disconcerting to conservative Christians, though the evidence was hard to isolate. "Once the 'Forbidden Book,' is it now the neglected Book?" asks school teacher, Mary K. Pittman, in a 1944 Sunday School Times article. There simply was no clear way in which to monitor the amount of Bible being read in the public school classroom and therefore to adequately answer that question.

Conservative protestants saw the reading, studying and memorizing of the Bible to be an essential part of their children's education. Thus as the Bible lost its place in public schools, concentrated efforts were made to either return the Bible to the schools in creative new programs or to stimulate Bible reading outside the classroom.

In 1922, Chattanooga, Tennessee, opened the doors of the public schools to teaching an elective class developed by a joint committee of the Pastor's Association, YWCA and YMCA. By 1936, nine thousand students were enrolled, grades four through twelve. The following year Moody Bible Institute Monthly hailed it as "a most popular elective in high school."

Over the years The Sunday School Times kept the public aware of Bible reading strategies which were being promoted across the land. Headlines read: "The International Bible Reading Association" (1931), "The Bible Mastery Campaign" (1933), "Bibles for Conservation Camps" (1933), "Teaching the Bible in New England Schools" (1941), and "Returning the Bible to the Public Schools" (1946). Concern for this educational trend was a major theme among fundamentalist Christians.¹³

The functional removal of the Bible from the public schools would set the stage for the Youth for Christ movement to create an number of agencies not associated with the existing ecclesiastical structure for the explicit purpose of teaching the Bible to young people. These would come to be known as parachurch agencies.

A third factor was the increased effectiveness of media technology. Though the motion picture had been invented before the turn of the century and "talkies" had been around since about 1925, the educational and religious applications of the media were not seriously considered. Then came Pearl Harbor and the need to rapidly train masses of soldiers for technical aspects of military service. In the process motion pictures were discovered to be more than an entertainment novelty. They could also be used to speed up the educational process. Soon movies were finding their ways into the classroom and before long into the church.¹⁴

The separation for high school students from junior high and post-high school people was a fourth educational factor which influenced youth work. In 1930 there were 1,842 junior high schools in the nation. By 1952 that number had nearly doubled, the count standing at 3,227. Though the primary movement was to separate early adolescents from grade school children, the secondary effect was to accelerate the process of stratifying education by age grouping.¹⁵

For young adults who had completed high school new possibilities had opened for them which tended to separate them from high school students. The Civilian Conservation Corps, colleges and junior colleges as well as military service provided opportunities to meet new people and be exposed to ideas which did not conform to world-view found in their homes, churches and public schools. Sometimes the new ideas and understanding of the world created tension with on the part of people who stayed at home.

World War II was the most influential factor in this trend, removing fifteen million young adults from the American scene and placed them into military uniform. In effect this removed the leadership from many of the voluntary organizations which had come into being to work with church young people. This was especially true of the church related youth societies. For the most part church Youth societies had been comprised of young people from the

age of thirteen or fourteen to the early thirties. The older "young people" provided leadership, stability and financing for their youth groups. But with so many of the leaders off to war, the high school young person became separated from the servicemen and women and thus became a unique focus of the church's ministry.

As the war effort increased, so did the emphasis placed on ministry to service personnel. The concern with military people flourished primarily at the expense of a more general awareness of young people. The Moody Monthly column, "Youth Page" is a primary example of the shift. The column was introduced in September, 1935, shortly after Will Houghton became President of Moody Bible Institute. Houghton assumed the presidency after pastoring Calvary Baptist Church in New York City and brought with him a sensitivity to youth work. The column, while not the most insightful educational printed help available to youth groups, was an attempt by the editors of Moody Monthly to assist churches in their ministries to youth. Yet in the June, 1942, issue the column was replaced by one entitled "Soldiers, Sailors, Marines." Apparently no explanation was thought necessary. Military youth took precedence over church youth groups. The trend was accentuated by what Nevin C. Harner called "a new awareness of certain youth groups." In reflecting over a decade of youth work in the church during the 1930s, he noted how Intermediates (or junior high school age-group)

and college students had emerged as unique focuses of ministry. The ministry to college-age young people from an evangelical perspective can be further noted by a rapid increase of articles in conservative publications describing agencies and issues concerned with college and university students.¹⁶

A fifth educational factor which influenced youth ministry was the Servicemen's Readjustment Act or GI Bill passed in 1944. The law made provision for returning military personnel to get a college education, an option not even considered by many of these people prior to entering the service. Matured by their war time experience and subsidized by the government's financial provision, many veterans looked for ways in which to peacefully express their American and Christian ideals. It was these people who filled the ranks of the "Youth for Christ" movement at home and then very quickly back over-seas.

Decline of Christian Endeavor

1931 was the jubilee year for Christian Endeavor. From a group meeting in one church in Portland, Maine, to a world-wide society with local Endeavor groups around the world, The International Society of Christian Endeavor had embraced the world. So international was the Society that its fifty year history, Fifty Years of Christian Endeavor: A Jubilee Record and Forecast, 1881-1931, was published in

England. The jubilee was somewhat tarnished because four years before, Francis E. Clark, the founder and inspirational force behind the movement had died. Never again would the movement have the leadership or influence of its early days.

Probably due to denominational youth programs which rapidly sprang up during the last decade of the nineteenth century emulating Christian Endeavor's strategy and style, as well as Clark's extensive travels abroad, the growth of the movement had been primarily outside the United States. With its founder and leader gone, the role of Christian Endeavor became something like that of a wise grandparent to youth societies at home and abroad. The program topics recommended by the Society's publishing house were used by such diverse groups as the fundamentalist Sunday School Times and the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., that had within the decade defrocked conservative Princeton Seminary theologian G. Gresham Machen for his doctrinal positions.

By 1951, Howard A. Worth would report on a decade of youth work and nearly as an afterthought would comment, "One of the curious phenomena has been the wane and almost complete disappearance of the Christian Endeavor movement during the last decade." The headquarters was moved from Boston to Columbus, Ohio, in 1946, where the society continued to publish materials and sponsor international conventions. Yet, the time of the greatest influence of the International

Society of Christian Endeavor was past.

United Christian Youth Movement

For those concerned with the spiritual nurture of young people, a vacuum existed. With Christian Endeavor apparently incapable of providing either organizational or inspirational leadership, Christians concerned about young people began to look elsewhere. Denominational programs existed but these, too, were languishing in the doldrums of the depression era.

Into this setting came two new strategies for youth ministry in 1933 and 1934. One started with support from denominational leaders, the Federal Council of Churches, the International Society of Christian Endeavor, the National Council of the YMCA, the National Board of the YWCA and the Boy Scouts of America. The other was a grass-roots movement which spread initially by word of mouth.

The two organizations, the United Christian Youth Movement and the Miracle Book Club, were a study in contrasts. The former was the vision of men; the later, the dream of a woman. The united movement had immediate national publicity through a variety of magazines and journals, the Book club went for more than two years before articles written by the founder were at last published in one magazine. The one began at a conference launched by the International Council of Religious Education, the other, in a

classroom at the request of a handful of teenagers. The first was built on the assumption that young people could change the world, the second on the premise that youth themselves needed changing. The United Christian Youth Movement faded with the coming of World War II, the Miracle Book Club spread rapidly across the United States and the world spawning a host of parachurch youth agencies. The latter will be examined later in the chapter.

"Christian youth building a new world" was the modest slogan of the United Christian Youth Movement. Fashioned in response to the youth movements of Hitler's Germany, national and regional conferences as well as a series of program helps for local youth groups were the primary thrust of the adult generated movement.²¹

Regional conferences highlighted 1935 with 9,152 young people attending sessions held in twenty-four cities from Seattle to Boston. The participants represented 2,017²² churches, demonstrating a significant basis of support.

Though there were national conferences into the next decade, the high point of the United Christian Youth Movement appears to have been the June 1936 gathering of "931 young people and adult leaders, representing nearly every state in the Union and many of the Provinces of Canada." Seventy-one denominations and other agencies were represented, again suggesting breadth of support. The schedule provided for two major addresses each day. Ten

hours in the first three days was designated for young people to spend working on commissions dealing with topics such as "Developing a Personal Christian Life," "Building a Warless World," "Christian World Outreach," "A Christian Use of Leisure Time," and "A Christian and the Use of Beverage Alcohol."²³

The primary emphasis of the movement appears to have been closely akin to that of the Christian Endeavor Society, especially in the latter days of Francis E. Clark. The theme of "Youth Building a New World" was a constant theme, even to the extent that certain local groups even staged parades for world peace and as a result were accused of being communists.²⁴

Other issues of concern for the United Christian Youth Movement were issues of spiritual development, a Christian economic order, race and concerns for homes and families. In keeping with the progressive education orientation of the International Journal of Religious Education, which was the chronicler and primary precipitator of the movement, the emphasis was on doing service projects as an expression of Christian living. To know was not enough; to do was essential.

Despite the lofty sounding ideas of the movement, "how much has actually been done in local churches and communities is another matter." From studies sympathetic to the movement the conclusion was drawn that the activities

were not a priority at the local level. More interesting is the conservatism of the young participants in the 1936 conference. Some of the statements prepared by youth at the conference did not sound at all progressive:

The first step . . . must, of necessity, be conversion, because we must first have experienced the new birth ourselves before we can change others.

We long to do right, yet we crave the pleasures of sin, expecting forgiveness, and a reward of eternal life. We want unselfishness, yet we are selfish. We are our own hindrance to the happiness we seek. Is Christ the answer to this problem? We believe he is.

We recommend that Christian people refrain from drinking and the handling of alcohol in any form.

We believe it necessary to create a new order. An ideal for which to work, a goal toward which to achieve, is necessary for proper motivation of our work in creating the new order, which we hold must be based upon the principles of Christ.²⁶

Nevin Harner's conclusions about the decade of the thirties were best exemplified by the United Christian Youth Movement. "It seems clear that during this period the emphasis upon social action climbed higher and higher above the horizon, reached its zenith, and began to decline." By 1941, the theme of the conference in Estes Park, Colorado, had retreated from changing the world to changing a part of the world. With the coming of the Second World War,²⁷ expectations had become decidedly more modest.

In 1947 the United Christian Youth Movement attempted to merged with the International Society of Christian Endeavor but the effort was never consumated. Yet as Howard

A. Worth reviewed the decade of the 1940s in Religious Education, the United Christian Youth Movement is distinctly absent. Even the themes of the movement had vanished. In its place, though stated in a derogatory fashion, is the Youth for Christ movement which would continue as a visible option in the years to come.

28

Denominational Youth Societies

The depression era and war years were a settling period for denominational youth societies. No longer threatened by the likelihood of losing young people to a youth movement outside the church such as Christian Endeavor, denominations concentrated on providing materials and programs for local church youth groups. Reflecting the national economy, it was a time when simply surviving was a noble goal.

By this time most of the denominations had their own youth societies. These constitute an impressive list:

Baptist Training Union (Formerly the Baptist Young People's Union)--Southern Baptist Convention;
 Baptist Youth Fellowship--American Baptist Convention;
 Christian Youth Fellowship--Disciples of Christ;
 Westminster Fellowship--Presbyterian Church, U.S.A.;
 Presbyterian Youth Fellowship--Presbyterian Church, U.S.;
 Youth Fellowship--United Presbyterian Church;
 Young People's Christian Union--Associate Reformed Presbyterian Church;
 Reformed Church Youth Fellowship--Reformed Church in America;
 Youth Fellowship of the Evangelical and Reformed Church;
 Methodist Youth Fellowship;
 Young People's Missionary Society--Free Methodist Church;
 Nazarene Young People's Society--Church of the

Nazarene;
 American Moravian Youth Fellowship--Moravian Church in
 America.²⁹

Lutheran youth organizations suggest a strong ethnic influence in the formation of youth societies. In 1951 Lutheran youth programs included:

Walther League--Missouri Synod;
 Luther League--American Lutheran Church;
 Young People's Luther League--Evangelical Lutheran Church;
 Luther League in America--United Lutheran Church;
 Luther Leagues Federation--Lutheran Free Church;
 Danish-American Young People's League--Danish Evangelical Lutheran Church;
 Luther League--United Evangelical Lutheran Church;
 Slovak Luther League--Slovak Evangelical Lutheran Church;
 Luther League--Suomi Synod.³⁰

Diversity was the watch word of the period. Even though ministry strategies were very similar, denominational distinctives keep the youth groups from merging or even cooperating on a regular basis.

As the nineteen thirties came to a close, three statements serve as an evaluation for the significant trends in youth ministry. First, programs within individual churches were being unified. The church school and youth groups were working together more closely. Missionary societies for youth were discontinued in favor of creating a missions emphasis as part of other agencies.

A second generalization is that traditional relationships were changing. Adults and young people had a better understanding of the roles each should play in the process of youth ministry. Segregation by gender was eliminated in

order to make the educational process more realistic to the world in which young people lived outside the church. But at the same time segregation by age, a clean split between junior high and senior high students, was encouraged.

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Lesson content in youth work had shifted from an emphasis on pietism to attempting to meet needs felt by the students. This would be a third generalization for denominational youth education. While the trend was induced as much by denominational publications as by any other single factor, there was at the same time a lessening of the rigidity of national leadership in favor of local autonomy. Pageantry and symbols were out. Electives and discussion were in. Even national conventions were beginning to take a back seat to regional camps and conferences.

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As one reads the denominational literature published throughout the period, one cannot help but observe the "top down" nature of denominational youth leadership. Much of the literature and many of the programs were educationally sound and very attractively presented. Most of the programs appear to have deal with issues of concern to at least a portion of the youth group. Yet it would appear to be "their" program, not the young people's. Little effort was made to publicize what was happening in local youth groups, nor did there appear to be much of a vehicle for gathering such information.

Denominationally sponsored youth fellowships appear to

be on the border of stagnation. The program had become institutionalized. The nature of the groups as a movement had disappeared, leaving an educational form which, on paper, had very excellent statements of purpose, but in real life was a type of social club. Thus,

The young people active in the (upper middle class) Federated and Methodist churches welcome class equals and 'turn the cold shoulder' on those who ranked below them. Thus the boys and girls from the lower classes either go to the churches where they feel comfortable or drop out entirely because they are not accepted by the clique in control.³⁴

The net result of youth ministry during the period between 1931 and 1948 was a gradual de-emphasis on traditional protestant spiritual values. Even denominational and inter-denominational religious sources showed signs of secularization while the public schools of the land led the way. Some of the adjustment was helpful for society was changing and the Second World War would produce even greater and more rapid changes. For many, however, the changes had left a spiritual vacuum. It was into this vacuum that the Youth for Christ movement would step.

The Rise of the Youth Rally

As World War II moved dramatically toward a world-wide Allied victory, America was ready to celebrate. Ten years of depression followed by six years of war had put a damper on the nation's capacity to enjoy itself. All that was needed was an excuse and a bit of organizational "know-how." The

Youth for Christ movement provided both.

The excuse was captured in the "Youth for Christ" slogan, as enthusiastic young ministers from a fundamentalist tradition became concerned about the moral and spiritual condition of America's youth. Where the phrase first was used is difficult to determine. According to the movement's earliest historian, Mel Larson, the motto was probably used first in 1934 when Brantford (Ontario) Youth for Christ, under the leadership of a young Australian named Paul Guinness, used the title for a Sunday night youth meeting held in a theatre.

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Oscar T. Gillan apparently was the first person in the United States to use the slogan in any official manner. In 1938, Gillan's Detroit based "Voice of Christian Youth" used as their motto: "Youth for Christ." 1940 found Jack Wyrzten, an insurance man turned evangelist, using the phrase for rallies in New York's Times Square. By 1943, Roger Malsbary had launched regular "Youth for Christ" evangelistic meetings in Indianapolis. St. Louis, Chicago and a legion of other cities would soon pick up on the theme.

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As the war wound down, the response to Youth for Christ meetings increased. Thirty thousand people crowded into Chicago Stadium for a "Victory Rally" in the fall of 1944. Twenty thousand packed New York's Madison Square Garden for one of Jack Wyrzten's "Word of Life" rallies as another ten thousand people were turned away. Minneapolis drew seven

thousand to Municipal Stadium on two occasions; St. Louis saw five thousand in Kiel Auditorium to hear preaching aimed at bringing youth to Christ.³⁷

As one scans the reports of youth rallies in the mid-forties, the impression might be gained that someone had discovered an evangelistic formula for America's youth and had franchised the idea. In nearly every city where rallies succeeded there was one or two particular people who took a bulk of the responsibility and risk to cause the meetings to happen. Most rallies were held in "neutral" locations (a hall or theatre) so that the movement would not appear to be overly religious or tied into a single church or denomination.³⁸

Carl F.H. Henry, who would later become the philosopher of the movement as editor of Christianity Today, commented:

The pattern stays pretty much the same: a radio broadcast with audience participation, programs timed to the minute (individuals testifying in the Chicagoland Youth for Christ are given 45 seconds each, and it must be written out and checked beforehand), short sermons keyed to youth, music thoroughly rehearsed and technically perfect, and the entire program centered on salvation.³⁹

Yet there was no franchise. There was no national organization dictating policy. The movement was more of a network of young men who shared a common concern, exchanged ideas and strategies, and, in the case of those gifted in evangelistic speaking to youth, traveled from rally to rally. Like bees laden with pollen, Percy Crawford (Philadelphia), Jack Wyrzten (New York), Glen Wagner (Washington,

D.C.), Ed Darling (Detroit), Roger Malsbary (Indianapolis), Richard Harvey (St. Louis), Billy Graham (Chicago) and a host of other evangelists traveled from speaking engagement to speaking engagement cross-pollinating the movement.

It should be noted that the movement was almost exclusively male. Women's participation in public meetings was relegated to providing special music. Youth For Christ Magazine acknowledged the scarcity of female leadership in the early days when it singled out Mrs. Morris Anderson, director of the Stillman Valley, Illinois, Youth For Christ Rally, as being "one of the few lady directors" in the
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nation.

Perhaps the factor which makes the popularity of the movement so interesting is the opinion expressed two decades earlier that protestant fundamentalism was dead. The Christian Century had expressed the idea most eloquently when, speaking in the past tense, it stated "Anybody should be able to see that the whole fundamentalist movement was hollow and artificial It has not yet fully run its fortuitous course. But it is henceforth to be a disappearing
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quantity in American religious life."

Before the print was dry on the Christian Century's obituary for the fundamentalist movement, there were new signs of life. Mass meetings drawing tens of thousands of people were nothing new to fundamentalism. Though ignored for the most part by the popular press, The Sunday School

Times, which was the unofficial organ of the fundamentalist movement, kept a running account of these events. The Easter sunrise service in Chicago illustrates the point. Begun in 1933, within two years the meeting enjoyed the city-wide support of more than twenty denominational youth programs including Baptist Young People's Union, Christian Endeavor Union, Christian Reformed, Dutch Reformed, Evangelical League of Christian Endeavor, Fundamental Young People's Fellowship, German Baptist Young People's Union, Mennonites, Nazarenes, Swedish Baptist Young People's Union, Free Church, Mission Covenant, Swedish Methodist, Young People's Christian Union, and the Salvation Army.

The service included all of the elements which later would be standard components of Youth for Christ rallies. A large arena was essential and Chicago's Soldier Field with seating for a hundred thousand people served the purpose. A nationally known or novel speaker was also important. Over the years Dr. Will Houghton, President of Moody Bible Institute (1935), Dr. Charles E. Fuller, radio's best known evangelist (1938), and blind evangelist, Dr. Walter D. Kallenbach (1941), brought prominent reputations to the Easter service. Pageantry was a third aspect of the mass rallies. An enthusiastic choir of twenty-five hundred singers in 1939 under the leadership of evangelistic musician, Homer Hammontree is but one example of the visual aspect of the meeting. Next there needed to be live radio

coverage. WMBI, the Moody Bible Institute station in Chicago, broadcast the service without charge to the sponsoring committee. Finally, a large crowd was essential and fifty thousand worshippers were reported by The Sunday School Times to have attended the 1938 service.

It was not until May 1945, amidst a new mood in America, that the national news media discovered the Youth for Christ phenomenon. An estimated seventy thousand people gathered in Soldier Field for a Memorial Day Rally. The pageantry was present. A five thousand voice choir robed in white sang to the accompaniment of a three hundred member band and eight grand pianos. Gil Dodds, the world class miler, ran two demonstration laps before giving a personal testimony of his faith in Christ. Then came the staccato message of radio's youth evangelist, Percy Crawford. With all of these elements in place, newspaper publisher William Randolph Hearst knew he had a story. One month later, every one of the twenty-two Hearst papers ran full-page stories with pictures on the movement. Other publishers had the same impression as articles appeared in American Magazine,
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Colliers, Newsweek and Time.

Such publicity brought to the public's attention a movement which was already in progress. It was a movement which brought a new strategy to mass evangelism. The showmanship was not new; Billy Sunday had been a master at that. Though the use of the radio was novel, evangelists had

used the mass media in the form of newspapers and books for generations, to broaden their audiences. What was unique was the focus of the evangelistic rallies. Adults could attend the meetings and usually did in large numbers, but the message, the music and the style of the program was squarely targeted at young people--adolescents in the broadest sense of the word.

Five young men were at the heart of the mass evangelistic efforts of the Youth for Christ movement. Though separated by time (late twenties to the mid forties), location (New England to Texas), denominational background (Presbyterian to Plymouth Brethern) and theological sophistication (seminary graduates to a high school dropout), the five men shared a vision. Their ideas resulted in communication systems and organizational structures which caught the public attention by 1945. The first of these men was based in the nation's largest city.

Lloyd T. Bryant and the Association of Christian Youth Movements of America

Rev. Lloyd T. Bryant of New York City appears to have been the originator of a youth targeted evangelization effort in the United States. After graduating from New York's National Bible Institute in 1932, Dr. Will Houghton of Manhattan's Calvary Baptist Church named Bryant as the church's first full-time minister to youth. His ministry

motto was, "Training through Participation" and participation was the key. His young people, ages twelve through the mid-thirties, were involved in hospital visitation, radio work, literature distribution and open-air preaching. Bryant would use just about any means to get high school and college-age people "under the sound of the gospel . . . popular speakers, symposiums, debates, dinners, conferences and retreats." A decade later, Bryant would be so innovative as to open the nation's first "Christian Youth Theatre" in the Times Square district of New York.⁴⁴

Youth centers were at the heart of Bryant's youth ministry strategy. Using his own New York Youth Christian Center on West Fifty-Seventh Street as a base, Bryant was instrumental in developing fourteen or fifteen youth centers throughout the east by 1936. When the number reached forty, Bryant founded the Association of Christian Youth Movements of America to spread the ministry.⁴⁵

Youth centers sponsored evangelistic meetings on week nights so as not to conflict with the normal gatherings of the churches in the community. In order to maintain a position of religious neutrality, none of the regular services of any church were announced at the center. At the same time, members of young people's societies, from Christian Endeavor to the Baptist Young People's Union and the Epworth League, were encouraged to attend.

Meetings were thought to be appealing to youth because

of the outstanding speakers and gospel musicians utilized as well as the "unusual" testimonies of young and older people who witnessed to God's saving and keeping power. Participation in lively singing as well as a youth choir and orchestra were also considered means of attracting and holding youth. One wonders if the various youth centers were not simply an exciting and socially acceptable place for young people to be during the heart of the depression. Undoubtedly, all of these factors worked together to enable Rev. Bryant to establish a model of youth ministry which would be imitated by hundreds of others in the days to follow. ⁴⁶ "Beginning in 1929 Bryant toured the country with the film 'Youth Marches On,' stressed soul-winning, and organized large rallies in forty cities." That same year, the young evangelist initiated a radio broadcast for young people which, by 1932 became a weekly program and continued on that basis for seven years. ⁴⁷

The Moody Bible Institute Monthly, in one of its few references to organizations doing youth ministry, described "Youth Mobilization Week" sponsored by Bryant. The plan was to have a series of meetings simultaneously in nine New York City locations during the last week of October, 1936. The week was concluded on 1 November with a "Youth Witnessing for Christ Parade" and a closing rally featuring Dr, Will H. Houghton, the president of Moody Bible Institute. By featuring Moody's president, Bryant was able to receive

national publicity for his ministry.

In what proved to be one of the most far-reaching contributions of the Christian Youth Campaign, Bryant invited Rev. and Mrs. Frederick Wood of the National Young Life Campaign in Britain to visit the United States and tour the country speaking in youth rallies. While in Texas, a Dallas Seminary student named Jim Rayburn was influenced by the dynamic of Wood and the National Young Life Campaign. Rayburn would later name his Dallas based ministry after the British youth movement.

Percy Crawford and the Young People's Church of the Air

Percy Bartimus Crawford was born in Minnedosa, Manitoba, Canada, in 1902. There was little in his surroundings that would suggest that at age 29 he would establish the most influential evangelistic radio broadcast geared to young people in the United States. The name of the program would be the Young People's Church of the Air.

Crawford's family was only marginally Christian. Socially, they were not much better. Abusiveness on the part of his father divided the family, causing Crawford to live his early adolescent years with his mother awaiting the time when he could get out of his Canadian nest. Graduation from high school afforded the opportunity and Percy Crawford made his way to southern California to seek his fortunes.

In 1923 the young Canadian made his way into Los

Angeles' Church of the Open Door where he made a spiritual commitment which changed his life. After making stops at the Bible Institute of Los Angeles, University of California at Los Angeles and Wheaton College, Crawford enrolled in Westminster Theological Seminary in Philadelphia. It was in eastern Pennsylvania and the surrounding states that Crawford's youth ministry would take wings and fly. Interested in evangelism since his late adolescent conversion, the seminarian began holding evangelistic meetings for young people with amazing results. Soon a quartet was traveling with Crawford as he conducted his one night evangelistic meetings.

Crawford was the "master of the seven-minute sermon." Though he usually took about twenty minutes to preach, he could communicate everything which needed to be included in a gospel presentation in just 420 seconds. Biographer Bob Bahr describes Crawford's style.

Percy insisted on a fast-moving, lively service. He could not forget how the dull dry religion he had been offered back in Vancouver turned him against spiritual things, so he made sure the meetings were spirited. Night after night he would preach the same message, for his schedule was so crowded that he could seldom find time to prepare new ones. The very same jokes were said in the very same way, but if every member of the quartet did not laugh on cue there was a bawling out later because of failure to participate.⁵¹

Percy Crawford's platform style was accompanied by visionary actions. When the Missionary Board of the Presbytery of Philadelphia asked the recent seminary graduate to assume the responsibility for the dilapidated

Albert Barnes Memorial Presbyterian Church, they had no idea of the results. First, there were outdoor evangelistic meetings held on the front steps of the downtown church which drew hundreds of people, then there was a radio broadcast on WIP-WFAN. From his experience of preaching on radio stations KTBT in Los Angeles and WMBI in Chicago, Crawford felt this would be the best way in which to build the church's ministry. Thus was begun the "Young People's Church of the Air."⁵²

Crawford's vision soon multiplied the broadcast on a single station into a network of 275 stations stretching across the nation. Next came a camp and conference grounds (Pinebrook), a book club (Pinebrook Book Club), a college (The King's College) and with the advent of commercial television, a television program ("Truth on the March").⁵³

Percy Crawford's influence was felt widely throughout the Youth for Christ movement. Due to his wide travels speaking at "Youth for Christ" meetings, as well as his exposure through radio and television programs, Mel Larson, the early historian of the movement, would suggest that "unconsciously many Y.F.C. speakers patterned their messages after Crawford's preaching."⁵⁴

Equally important are the people whose lives Crawford influenced. It was through the ministry of the youth evangelist at his camp, Pinebrook, that Marge Smith, the girl friend of an insurance salesman and dance band leader

named Jack Wyrzten, made a spiritual commitment to Jesus Christ. Wyrzten then followed his girl friend's lead, went to Pinebrook and there made a decision to enter full-time Christian ministry. The year was 1933.⁵⁵

The significance of Wyrzten's spiritual commitment under the influence of Percy Crawford is best stated by Gil Dodds, the world class miler who became a popular Youth for Christ rally speaker as the movement grew in the 1940s:

It was not until Jack Wyrzten stepped out to God's call that the reality of Youth for Christ caught fire in the hearts of other present-day Youth for Christ leaders. Jack gave all for Christ. Had he failed, it seems safe to say there would be no Youth for Christ as we know it.⁵⁶

Jack Wyrzten and the Word of Life Fellowship

If there was one person at the eye of the Youth for Christ storm, it was Casper John Von Wyrzten, better known as Jack Wyrzten. Gil Dodds' assessment that without Wyrzten there would have been no Youth for Christ movement, as it was known in the mid-forties, appears to be very accurate.

Born in 1913, Jack spent his childhood in Brooklyn where he developed the musical interests which provide the setting for his involvement in the Jamaica High School dance band. His interest in horses and sports combined with the trombone talent were instrumental in Wyrzten's joining the 101st Cavalry Band. It was there as a young adult that the

personable young man met George Schilling who would later be instrumental in Wyrzten's spiritual conversion.⁵⁷

Though his parents were Universalists, young Wyrzten did not associate with any church consistently. Thus, when a spiritual turbulence was aroused within him and a spiritual conversion took place, Jack turned not to the church but to a group of friends and together they sought to discover and serve God. Chi Beta Alpha, they called themselves. From this group came the Pocket Testament League in 1936 and Word of Life Fellowship which Wyrzten headed in 1939 and later the High School Evangelism Fellowship.⁵⁸

Though all of the young men were preachers, Jack Wyrzten emerged as the most effective in attracting and holding audiences. Like his conversion experience, his audiences were not conventional. Prisons, rescue missions, open air meetings and evangelistic banquets were all sounding boards for the budding evangelist. Stimulated by the challenges of Percy Crawford, Jack and the "fraternity" began radio broadcasts beamed at youth on Tuesday mornings over Brooklyn's WBBC in 1940.⁵⁹

The boldest steps in those early days were Wyrzten's twin decisions to try Saturday night rallies in New York's bustling Times Square and to broadcast the evangelistic meetings over WHN, one of America's most powerful independent radio stations. Two hundred and fifty people attended the first "Word of Life" radio broadcast. Within

four months the numbers would swell to a thousand each Saturday night. From that point on Wyrzten's efforts to evangelize youth grew in intensity.

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Within five years the Saturday night rally-broadcasts were packing the major auditoriums of New York City and the nation--twenty thousand jammed into Madison Square Garden, Carnegie Hall was packed with youth and adults each week, three thousand gathered in Chicago, four thousand came to rallies in Philadelphia and five thousand attended in Boston. Three thousand boarded a ferry boat for an evangelistic ride up the Hudson river. With each meeting came an invitation from the youthful preacher for young people to "come to Christ." Weekly scores, even hundreds, responded walking forward to be counseled by a battery of volunteer youth workers.

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The rapidly paced meeting was similar to those of Percy Crawford. The component parts were lively gospel music, a large all-girl choir, testimonies from nationally known celebrities and a short but rapid moving message from Wyrzten. Seldom did the message ever last more than fifteen minutes but it was carefully tuned to the young person's wave length. The preaching was always followed by an invitation for youth to respond. It was nothing especially creative or original, but it was done with class, precision and enthusiasm. Radio had heightened the awareness of time usage so that even when the meeting lasted four hours (as in the

case of the Madison Square Garden meeting), the audience never appeared to be concerned with the passage of time.

Like the Francis E. Clark and the Christian Endeavor movement of half century earlier, Jack Wyrzten had a world vision. January of 1945 found Wyrzten and a Word of Life team at nine thousand feet above sea level among Mazahuas and Tarascan Indian huts in Mexico. Meetings were held, different from those in the United States, to be sure, but with no less enthusiasm.
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Great Britain was next. In May of 1946, a Wyrzten team made its way from New York's LaGuardia Airport to the British Isles. Unlike Clark's initial visit to England, Wyrzten found thousands of people attending rallies and hundreds responding to the invitations. Meanwhile the Saturday night broadcasts continued, originating from London, Cardiff, Glasgow and Belfast.
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Upon the evangelist's return from Britain, a new phase of the Word of Life Ministry began as Jack, like Percy Crawford before him, sought and found a summer conference center for youth. Located in New York's Adirondack Mountains on an island in Schroon Lake, the camp was called Word of Life Island. The camp ministry soon became the focal point of the ministry and other camp properties were purchased nearby and later in Mexico and Brazil.
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Jack Wyrzten's relationship to Brandt Reed, the founder of High School Evangelism Fellowship and based in the New

York Metropolitan area, adds a fresh breeze to the story. For Lloyd Bryant and Percy Crawford, the Christian gospel was spread primarily by means of preaching done by adults. The arena was primarily a church, youth center or auditorium of some description. Brandt Reed's "High School Born-againers" Clubs, usually called Hi B.A. Clubs, shifted this emphasis. Instead of stressing large crowds and high powered speakers, Hi B.A. concentrated on Bible studies and high school students inviting other high schoolers to weekly meetings in or near the high school they attended. Hi B.A. and Word of Life complimented each other. Wyrzten's meetings gave club members a place to which they could bring their non-Christian friends on Saturday nights while Reed's groups provided a reference group on the high school campus during the week.

Though Jack Wyrzten would later initiate his own Word of Life Bible Clubs, the model of club complementing rally had been established. The closest parallel came from Jim Rayburn and his dual role of evangelist and director of Miracle Book Clubs in Texas.

Jim Rayburn and the Young Life Campaign

Jim Rayburn stood in stark contrast to Jack Wyrzten. Whereas Wyrzten was raised in New York City, Rayburn's home was Newton, Kansas, or wherever in the west his evangelist father planted his tent. Wyrzten's parents were Univer-

salists; Rayburn's were Presbyterian. Wyrzten began his evangelistic work at age nineteen, while Rayburn was weaned on his father's evangelistic meetings and was imitating his father as early as age two and one half. Wyrzten had to drop out of high school during the depression, by contrast Rayburn was a graduate of Kansas State University and Dallas Theological Seminary. The most evident difference was in their speaking styles. Wyrzten used a rapid-fire delivery while Rayburn pioneered a conversational approach to evangelistic communication. Yet as different as the two men were, Wyrzten and Rayburn serve as bookends for the Youth for Christ movement's approach to youth ministry.

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Youth work came easy for Jim Rayburn, at least as soon as he got away from the legalistic approach to ministry which his Presbyterian father espoused. Assigned to a tiny Presbyterian church in Douglas, Arizona, by the Board of Missions, Jim discovered a secret to successful work with kids. When he went camping under the Arizona sky, he simply took young people along--including them in an activity he already enjoyed doing. Then the young people were more willing to listen to what he had to say. This discovery became one of the cornerstones of Rayburn's philosophy of ministry.

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Clifton, Arizona, is a small copper mining town just north of Douglas by a few hours. It was there Rayburn happened upon Lewis Sperry Chafer's book, He That Is

spiritual, and for the first time in his life discovered the grace of God:

How misleading is the theory . . . that to be spiritual one has to abandon play, diversion, and helpful amusement. Such a conception is born of a morbid human conscience. It is foreign to the Word of God. It is a device of Satan to make blessings of God seem abhorrent to people who are overflowing with physical life and energy.⁶⁷

Thus it was that Jim and his wife, Maxine, packed their few belongings and headed for Dallas Theological Seminary where Chafer was the president and theology professor. The years from enrollment in September, 1936 until graduation in May, 1940 were times of growth, change and struggle for the couple. In many ways their free spirits did not fit into what seemed to Maxine to be the dreary confines of the seminary. Yet the couple stayed and in these years the Young Life Campaign came into being.

Jim Rayburn was an evangelist. He had been raised in the tent of a traveling evangelist. He had done evangelistic work in the rural southwest under the Presbyterian Board of Missions. His experience in Dallas was no different. He once again would be involved in telling people about Jesus Christ. The only question was how.

A two pronged strategy emerged. On the one hand Rayburn, using the name and a few ideas from Miracle Book Club, began high school Bible clubs with which he would attempt to reach students who had little or no Christian commitment. By at least November, 1940, he was identified as

"Texas Director, Miracle Book Club."

The Miracle Book Club, founded by Evelyn McCluskey in 1934, was not Rayburn's idea of the best manner in which to gain a hearing from high schoolers but the club idea had laid the ground work for a strategy off getting to know non-churched youth. It would not be in great rallies with thousands of adults and young people present, but in small group settings in and around high schools. Yet evangelistic meetings were the only format for evangelism which young Rayburn knew.

The second prong of Rayburn's approach to youth ministry was plain old evangelistic meetings as practiced by his father and so many other fundamentalist preachers of the day. The name "Young Life Campaign" was borrowed from the National Young Life Campaign of Great Britain after founders, Rev. and Mrs. Frederick Wood, visited Dallas Seminary and described their British ministry. With their permission, young Rayburn used the name to promote to week-long evangelistic efforts in the Texas towns of Galveston, Houston, Dallas, Fort Worth and Weatherford. On 25 February 1941, a Dallas morning newspaper proclaimed "Young Life Pep Rally Draws 2,000." ⁶⁹ Rayburn's approach was beginning to look like the efforts of Bryant, Crawford and Wyrzten. Yet there was one difference. Ted Benson comments:

Most every young people's rally I have ever attended has always had about 25 to 50 percent of older folks taking up perfectly good seats. Nothing like this happened in Dallas. A very careful and skillful job of

ticket distribution had been done and the only adults there were those who drove cars and the (club) hosts.⁷⁰

The school year 1942-43 found the Young Life campaigner speaking at week-end conferences in Bellingham and Mount Vernon, Washington, addressing high school assemblies in Washington, D.C., Chicago, and Memphis, Tennessee as well as holding a week of meetings at historic Moody Church in downtown Chicago. On the final Sunday night, three thousand people attended. These meetings were accompanied by noon time radio broadcasts from the Soldiers' Victory Center aired over WMBI.⁷¹

The ingredients of these rallies were similar to those in the east - large auditoriums, enthusiastic music, preaching appealing to young people. Yet there were differences. Radio never appears to have been a significant part of Rayburn's ministry. Whether the omission was by design or by oversight is not clear. The fact remains that a rally based youth ministry needed consistent radio coverage to spread the news of meetings and events. Rayburn never had a radio vision and as a result the Young Life Campaign rallies peaked in 1943 and thereafter played a secondary role to the blossoming club program and the camping ministries which became part of the ministry with the purchase of Star Ranch in 1945.⁷²

In contrast with Bryant, Crawford and Wyrzten, Jim Rayburn sought to build a team of young men who could win the right to be heard by high school young people. The staff

recruited by the eastern evangelists were used primarily to support the preaching ministries of these men. Young Life staff members were more like duplicates of Rayburn but serving as missionaries to different high school campuses. It would be ten years before the rest of the Youth for Christ movement adopted this strategy in any significant way.

Torrey Johnson and Youth For Christ International

Just whose name should be associated with Youth for Christ International is very difficult to say. As noted earlier, a number of men might be credited with early use of the "Youth for Christ" slogan either in rallies or in promotional literature. Paul Guinness in Brantford, Ontario, Oscar T. Gillan in Detroit, Jack Wyrzten in New York, and Roger Malsbary in Indianapolis all have legitimate claims on giving birth to the use of the phrase. All across the nation Saturday night had become rally night as local ministers initiated their own Youth for Christ meetings modeled after the highly visible Jack Wyrzten. Denominational lines were ignored. An informal ecumenical movement took place around the task of reaching youth for Christ on the local level. This unity was evidenced by the denominational affiliation of the local leadership.

The director of Miami YOUTH FOR CHRIST, Dan Iverson, is pastor of a Presbyterian Church; Dick Harvey in St. Louis and Roger Malsbary belong to the Christian

Missionary Alliance group; T.E. McCully, who is in the bakery business in Milwaukee, is a member of the Plymouth Brethren; John Huffman, director of Boston Youth for Christ, is a Baptist minister; and Chuck Templeton of Toronto belongs to the Church of the Nazarene.⁷³

Yet, until July 1945, there was no organizational structure which tied this mushrooming network of Youth for Christ rallies together. Roger Malsbary was one of the summer speakers at the Winona Lake (Indiana) Bible Conference in 1944. In talking with Arthur W. McKee, director of the conference, the idea was suggested of bringing Youth for Christ leaders from across the country to a conference in August of 1945. The idea clicked.⁷⁴

August of 1944 found eight men meeting at Winona Lake to discuss the idea. By November the group had expanded to include thirty-five men from twenty-one cities who met and elected Torrey Johnson chairman of a "Temporary Youth For Christ International Committee." Offices were set up in Chicago to promote the first Youth For Christ International Convention at Winona Lake during the last week of July, 1945.

Born and raised in Chicago, Torrey Maynard Johnson was a product of Carl Schurz High School, Wheaton College and Northern Baptist Seminary. After college, he spent two years doing evangelistic work before becoming the pastor of the Midwest Bible Church in his home town. Though attending seminary at the same time, the church grew rapidly, claiming to be the "fastest growing church in Chicago" in the year

1940. Johnson's vision for the unconverted in Chicago increased as well. Radio was used as the program which became "Songs in the Night" originated from the North Cicero Avenue location of the church. The program was later turned over to a young pastor in the suburb of Western Springs, whose name was Billy Graham.⁷⁵

Boat cruises similar to those sponsored by Jack Wyrzten in New York were hosted by Johnson's Midwest Bible Church. Twenty-two hundred young people crowded on board. Invitations to speak at evangelistic meetings flooded his desk. One of these invitations was to speak at Roger Malsbary's Indianapolis Youth for Christ rally. "This can happen in Chicago," was the guest preacher's thought.

Happen it did. For twenty-one weeks in the spring of 1944, Chicago's Orchestra Hall was packed with over two thousand young people of all ages. WCFL, Chicago's powerful "Voice of Labor" broadcast the Saturday evening extravaganza. Then on 21 October 1944, Chicago Stadium hosted a "Victory Rally" sponsored by Johnson's Chicagoland Youth For Christ. Twenty-eight thousand people attended to witness the same type of high powered program as Wyrzten would sponsor in Madison Square Garden a little over a year later.⁷⁶

Like a snowball rolling down hill, the movement gathered both size and momentum. Torrey Johnson and Robert Cook's book, Reaching Youth For Christ, did for Youth for Christ what Francis E. Clark's book, The Children and the

Church, had done for Christian Endeavor sixty years earlier --it took what was happening in one location and briefly explained how it could be done elsewhere. Letters flooded into the Chicago office seeking help for rallies across the nation. The need for national organization seemed
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apparent.

When 22 July 1945 arrived, forty-two delegates representing forty-two different rallies were present at the Winona Lake Conference grounds. There was an air of expectancy as the movement attempted to organize itself. A role call of those attending reads like a who's who of the leadership of evangelicalism for the years to come. Most prominent among those present was a young pastor/evangelist named Billy Graham who had already become the first non-clerical employee of the fledgling organization.

It should be noted, however, that none of the other evangelists mentioned in this chapter were present. Reasons varied. Wyrzten distrusted structure other than his own. Crawford was headed in different directions as he prepared to found the King's College. Rayburn had already left the rally emphasis in favor of club and camp work. The net result was that, although Youth for Christ International was voted into being on 29 July 1945 and structure was provided for the movement which would provide a title wave of missionary and evangelistic ministries focused on young people, organizational unity was not and never would be

achieved. Perhaps the very entrepreneurial nature of the movement proved to be it's strength.

Though Torrey Johnson was an outstanding evangelist in his own right, the contribution he made to the movement may have been more political in nature. It took a rather skilled hand to bring together such a diverse group of protestant fundamentalists who still had a tendency to distrust bureaucratic structures which some viewed as being one of the factors which brought about the slide of some mainline denominations into theological liberalism a generation earlier. Yet from the Youth for Christ movement now emerged Youth for Christ International.

Conclusion

Most treatments of Youth for Christ focus on the rally aspect of the movement. ⁷⁸ This is valid since its very name appeared on banners strung across the front of the halls in which the meetings were held. From the time of Lloyd T. Bryant and Percy B. Crawford in the early thirties through the radio rallies of Jack Wyrzten in the early forties to the massive gatherings of Torrey M. Johnson and Billy Graham during its most visible period, 1944-1946, the rallies were about all there was to capture the eye of the public.

Yet, while the public meetings dominated the energies of the movement, an host of other activities were beginning

to carve for themselves niches in the ecology of the movement. The most significant of these niches is that of the club work which was pioneered by Evelyn M. McClusky and Jim Rayburn and which, in time, would completely replace the Saturday night rally as the focal point of the Youth for Christ movement.

CHAPTER IV

End Notes

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CHAPTER V

THE RISE OF PARACHURCH CLUBS: 1933-1949

While large evangelistic meetings which appealed to youth were capturing the attention of both the popular and religious press, another approach to non-formal religious education of high school youth was beginning to happen. In apparently unrelated settings across the country, adults who shared a concern for young people began experimenting with a form of youth ministry which would far outlive the Saturday night rally.

In Chicago, for example, as one glances through the pages of Schurzone 1941, the annual yearbook of Carl Schurz High School, page 112 is distinct. Pictured are twenty-one students and the two faculty sponsors of the Miracle Book Club. The description of the club calls it a "strictly non-sectarian" organization which meets on Friday afternoons in a conveniently located church. In fact, it is a Bible club¹ affiliated with the Miracle Book Club of California.

Two years earlier in Long Beach, California, high schooler, Bob Hopkins, was invited to attend the Dunamis Club. He had recently been led into a spiritual commitment

to Jesus Christ by two sailors associated with the Navigators, a Christian group founded by Dawson Trotman, so he consented. The Dunamis meetings centered around the memorization of Bible passages. To some people these activities might have been considered dull but not by the students involved. Even parents had a difficult time believing that their children were getting up early in the morning just to study the Bible in preparation for the club meetings. It was not something to which they were accustomed in their churches.

2

Across the continent, John Miller began High Light Clubs for high schoolers in Washington, D.C. during 1942. The reason was simple. Some kids he knew wanted to grow in their faith. Apparently something was missing in their church experience. Soon others heard about the idea and wanted clubs at their schools. In time, four clubs met in homes on week nights to study the Bible. There was very little outreach to students who did not share their spiritual convictions but along with his friend, Wade Seaford, Miller led the four clubs and helped students bring meaning to their faith.

3

"Ever attend a meeting on a bus?" asked Kansas City's Al Metsker in a 1949 Youth for Christ Magazine article. Most people have not. Yet for Bible clubbers in Kansas City, the experience was common. Following the Supreme Court's McCollum decision removing religious instruction from public

schools, innovative measures were employed by those Christians who wanted to maintain a Christian presence on the high school campus. Consequently, a school bus was bought for four thousand dollars and fitted like a club house for the "Youth on the Beam" Clubs of the city.⁴

The common denominator of these stories is an innovation which began to happen in youth work during the 1930s and 1940s. High school based Bible clubs were beginning to spring up without ecclesiastical roots. Called "parachurch" agencies from the Greek preposition "para" meaning "along side," the club leaders considered themselves to be along side and thus complementary to the church. Many clubs were the response of one person to a perceived need. Others were initiated by people affiliated with the Youth for Christ movement in some official capacity. But for the most part, these Bible clubs were initiated by church members but they did so outside the domain of the church. Yet the methodology and curricular approach would influence church youth ministry for years to come.

Evelyn McClusky and the Miracle Book Club

In a movement as diverse as Youth for Christ and in a country as sprawling as the United States, it would be folly to suggest that one club spawned the other Bible clubs which began dotting the land. Yet one high school based club did originate earlier than all the others, was widely publicized

in The Sunday School Times and can be found in the records of club programs like Young Life, Hi-C and Voice of Christian Youth. It is the Miracle Book Club founded by Evelyn McClusky in 1933.

McClusky's story is unique from several perspectives. First, Evelyn McClusky was a woman. There simply were not many women involved in leadership positions in the 1930s--especially single women in religious leadership. Secondly, her ministry was unique because it focused on high school students in their high school settings. For the most part, youth groups were still comprised of people ranging in age from twelve to thirty-five. These met in church buildings. McClusky was not hampered by that ecclesiastical tradition because she was responding to a public education setting rather than to the church.

Evelyn McClusky was the daughter of a Presbyterian minister, Dr. McFarlane. Ministry had deep roots in her family. Grandfather, great grandfather and great great⁵ grandfather on her mother's side were also ministers.

As early as age fourteen, Miss McFarlane demonstrated both spiritual sensitivity and leadership skills. Feeling that her Sunday school teacher's grasp of biblical content was shallow, young Evelyn stayed up all of one night reading the Book of Revelation. Shortly thereafter, she announced to her pastor-father, that she was getting nothing out of Sunday school; therefore, she would be quitting.

Wisely, her father sent her to the Sunday school superintendent with her complaint, suggesting that there may have been others who felt the same way. To Evelyn's surprise, the superintendent offered the fourteen year old a class of her own. Thus began a Bible teaching career which would give birth to the Miracle Book Club.

After the death of her husband, McClusky took on a variety of responsibilities, all of which increased her communication skills. She was associated with the Victor Talking Machine Company doing educational work and symphony lectures throughout the country. Chautauqua lectures and advertising work in Los Angeles served to sharpen her skills still more. A position of education director and membership secretary for the Portland, Oregon, YWCA further developed her abilities.

Mrs. McClusky's family lived in the Portland area and as early as 1927 she found herself teaching a YWCA sponsored Bible class for credit at Washington High School. She had come from Los Angeles for the purpose of recovering from surgery and to be near her ailing father in his final months of life. After Dr. McFarlane's death, Mrs. McClusky remained in Portland and taught the Washington High School Bible class for two years. Her "promotion" to an administrative position in the YWCA felt like a demotion since she was no longer able to teach the class. Yet she continued in her position until the YWCA made a decision to de-emphasize the

Christian distinctives of the organization in favor an inclusiveness which would not be offensive to Buddhists in Japan, Muslims in the Middle East and Confucianists in China.

Her resignation from the YWCA began a new phase in her Bible teaching. Mrs. McClusky began making campus calls, having week-end or full week Bible conferences. From this concentration on campuses came a request from a neighbor to teach the "older children" in a Bible class which had outgrown her living room. Reluctantly, Mrs. McClusky consented but her attitude quickly changed. Following her first lesson, a high school girl asked if she might bring some friends from Washington High School the following week. McClusky knew how difficult living the Christian life in that school was since her younger sister had attended it, so she consented. Within a short time the class had grown so much that it had to move to the high school. In 1933 it became the first chapter of the Miracle Book Club.

The name, "Miracle Book Club," was chosen to describe the Bible based on a pamphlet by B.B. Sutcliffe, entitled "The Miracle Book." In June of 1935, The Sunday School Times ran an article entitled, "Winning High School Students for Christ." It was the story of six chapters of the Miracle Book Club which had developed from the Washington chapter. Two well crafted stories about individuals with whom Mrs. McClusky had discussed commitment to Jesus Christ appeared

6
in the next month's issue.

The effect was much the same as the article written by Francis E. Clark in The Congregationalist over fifty years before. Within the year, more than a hundred chapters were in place as the founder continued to promote the club from her home in Portland. In 1937 her book, Torch and Sword, was published for the purpose of explaining the club. By then chapters had been formed in every state of the union and various foreign countries. The August count of chapters from the new office in Oakland, California, was eight hundred. By the end of the year, the count had surpassed one thousand.
7

Miracle Book Club, as envisioned by Evelyn McClusky, had a number of distinctive features. Style of lesson presentation was the foremost. Apparently in reaction to progressive education, chapter leaders were instructed to lecture. Questions and discussion could be used in private after the meeting. From her writings it would appear that Mrs. McClusky was an articulate story teller as well as lecturer. This same skill she expected from adult leaders in all chapters.
8

A second feature was that the public invitation or invitation by the leader for high school students to make a Christian commitment of some type was down-played. No one was expected to raise his hand or come forward during the meeting. There was no sense that someone was trying to

"convert" those in attendance. Students seeking counsel were urged in discreet Presbyterian form to speak to the leader after the chapter meeting.⁹

An emphasis on the supernatural working of God in the lives of the students through the word of God is a third feature of the club. The idea of "making a better world" stressed by the United Christian Youth Movement was specifically rejected in favor of a call to personal piety which reverted back to the early days of Christian Endeavor. Yet Clark's pledge idea was similarly rejected. Lists of activities (such as daily Bible reading and prayer, personal witnessing of faith in Jesus Christ and regular church attendance) were thought of as mere human effort and therefore unworthy of the supernatural working of God. But if they happened spontaneously, at the urging of the Holy Spirit from within a person, that was felt to be desirable.¹⁰

A fourth distinction was that McClusky encouraged the inviting of "wild young people" to attend chapter meetings. "MBC is essentially out after the unchurched, unsaved, restless young society folks who would like to know what God has to say," stated the founder. Thus the emphasis on the "Miracle Book." It was the founder's strong conviction that if these people would hear the Bible taught in a creative manner, they would find their lives fundamentally changed.¹¹ Old things would pass away; everything would become new.

A fifth distinction of Mrs. McClusky's approach to youth ministry was that it attempted to place the "Fundamentalist" versus "Modernist" rhetoric behind her in order to get on with the business of presenting the Christian gospel to students. Her critique of the two groups was simple:

The Fundamentalist often has correct beliefs but incorrect behavior; while the Modernist has correct behavior and incorrect beliefs. Both are to be pitied. If only individuals who wish to be balanced would be balanced in Christ.¹²

Though her comments may not have been logically consistent with her idea that exposure to the Bible will produce changes in lifestyle, they did evidence an alternative mindset. This way of viewing ministry was based on a high respect for the Christian gospel--the evangelium. Not wanting to get bogged down in theological hair splitting, she concentrated on the task of turning the gospel loose (in the form of Bible teaching) and watching for the spiritual renewal which would result. She accepted an historical protestant view of the authority and power of the holy scriptures but did not feel the need to defend that position.¹³

In order to help students discover what the "Miracle Book" has to say about God, the club meeting had to be structured to appeal to young people while allowing a significant amount of time for the teacher to lecture on a Biblical passage. When one analyzes the club format, it

would appear the traditional, one hour Sunday school setting was the model upon which Miracle Book Club was based with three significant exceptions. The first fifteen minutes of the club hour, paralleling the "opening exercises" of Sunday school, were primarily student led rather than adult led in traditional Sunday school settings. In addition, the teaching methodology was more appealing to young people than in Sunday school. After all, the Miracle Book Club was entirely an elective affair. If the teacher were not good, there was little if any family pressure to encourage the student to attend the club meeting as there was to attend Sunday school. Finally, and most obviously, the meeting was during the week, not just before the weekly church service.

Miracle Book Clubs met in private homes, public libraries, high schools, churches, store-fronts, youth centers or wherever else appropriate space might be found. The desire was to hold chapter meetings in as neutral a location as possible. It should be located within walking distance of the high school so that students could go to club as soon as they were released from school. Later some groups began meeting at night and the location criteria
14
changed somewhat.

A typical chapter meeting was divided into two parts. The fifteen minute preliminary time included five minutes of singing which was concluded with the singing of the theme song or "The Christ of Calvary" with everyone standing. The

"MBC Call" was next as a student leader whistled four notes and the rest replied by whistling six. The custom apparently began when a student leader could not carry a tune to sing the theme song and so whistled these notes, and the idea¹⁵ stuck.

The preliminary time continued with activities such as the doxology, a brief prayer, scripture read in unison and "minutes," a clear two to three minute resume' by the club secretary of the previous week's lesson. Young Life clubs, which would come later but were initially associated with the Miracle Book Club, maintained the "minutes" as a part of their weekly program for many years as the club secretary reported the "minutes" and summarized the events from the¹⁶ previous week's meeting.

New people in the meeting were introduced and asked to stand. Then, the person presiding explained that announcements would be made at the close of the lesson. Frequently one of the "announcements" would be the testimony of one of the club members describing how he or she invited someone to club. Finally the teacher was introduced.

The second portion of the meeting was the lesson time which lasted forty-five minutes. Literature supplied to leaders by Miracle Book Clubs prepared the teacher for the lesson. Mrs. McClusky described these lessons as "consecutive Bible study taking the Old and New Testaments and always leading to the challenge of the victorious

(Christian) life." These lesson helps, which were mimeographed at first, were primarily studies in Old Testament books. They were later published in book form.

17

The influence of the Miracle Book Club is primarily attributable to the publicity which the club received in the pages of The Sunday School Times. Three articles appeared in the 1935 summer issues and began to spread information. From 19 September 1936 until 11 September 1937, a column by Mrs. McClusky entitled "Your Class of Girls," was a regular feature. Other articles, usually well crafted narratives, appeared from time to time telling a story of victorious Christian living. Travels and speaking engagements were announced along with other speakers favored by Charles G. Trumbull, editor of The Sunday School Times.

18

It is very difficult to trace the spread of McClusky's club but it would appear that at least three club programs which later took on identities of their own were initially affiliated with the Miracle Book Club. The best known program is that of Jim Rayburn and the Young Life Campaign. In a general letter to supporters in 1940, Rayburn states:

The wonderful "Young Life Campaigns" of last summer grew out of MBC. Everywhere we went people said, "We never saw anything like this".(sic) Young people leading great evangelistic programs, dozens of street meetings and scores of prayer meetings conducted entirely by young people, radio programs, personal work, house to house visitation, tract distribution, yes, by the tens of thousands--and scores of people, young and old, saved or lifted to new heights of spiritual experience as God wonderfully honored these young people in their willingness to be spent for Him

But such a thing would be impossible without Miracle Book Club to prepare the way. That shows our plan-- MBC, a year round, week by week program, of Bible study and heart preparation, summer Gospel Campaigns to give added training in intensive. practical witnessing, and to take advantage of the great impact produced by the Gospel by the united witness of the Christian young people.¹⁹

How the connection between Rayburn and McClusky was established one could only conjecture. In all likelihood, the young seminarian heard of the Miracle Book Club while looking for a way to minister to high school students outside the reach of the Presbyterian church in which he was serving in Gainsville, Texas. Emile Cailliet in his history of Young Life, records that Rayburn "had once heard of an organization called the Miracle Book Club, so he borrowed the name and started a Miracle Book Club of his own."²⁰ But in judging from correspondence with Rayburn's benefactor, Herbert J. Taylor, it is apparent that the relationship was much more extensive.

Though Rayburn gave public affirmation to the Miracle Book Club and served as the organization's Texas State Director, private discussions were soon initiated to end the relationship with Mrs. McClusky's group. While in Chicago talking with Herbert J. Taylor around the end of 1939, Rayburn and his associate, Ted Benson (who acted as Rayburn's liaison with Taylor's Christian Worker's Foundation) sought Taylor's counsel regarding the relationship between Miracle Book Club and Young Life. One

of the major problems centered around the use of materials prepared by Mrs. McClusky. Benson described them as "prepared by a woman who has a penchant for 'lilies and lace' that makes her writing not only feminine but absurd." The problem was not so much for Rayburn and the seminarians from Dallas, for it does not appear that they were using the Miracle Book Club techniques anyway. The concern was for new volunteers whom they would soon be recruiting from outside the seminary family and who did not have the biblical or methodological sophistication to create new club materials.

21

Herbert J. Taylor's advice to the Young Lifers was that as long as the group was associated with Miracle Book Club, they should not prepare their own materials unless those materials had the blessing of the headquarters of the Miracle Book Club. If such blessing was not forthcoming, the options were two; conform or depart. For Rayburn and his close associates, the handwriting was on the wall. It was time to depart and form a new club program.

22

It seems apparent in reviewing correspondence of Jim Rayburn and Ted Benson with Herbert J. Taylor that the decision to break with the Miracle Book Club was not a decision lightly made. Rayburn writes to Taylor:

I remember all the conversation pertaining to this matter of our contact with Miracle Book Club and I can truthfully say that after many months of earnest prayer and work, it looks very much to me as if we will be forced to leave this movement in the interest of perfect freedom for our testimony There are

still some of the same objections to making the change that I voiced last fall, but regardless of this, we must have the very best for this testimony and I know that the only thing that counts with any of us is to have the Lord's will in this matter.²³

Jim Rayburn's break with the Miracle Book Club took place on 25 February 1941, the day following the Young Life rally at the Baker Hotel in Dallas. Over two thousand young people and a few adults had attended. It was as if the movement had come of age.

Evelyn McClusky was in Dallas at Rayburn's request and on the day after the rally, the two met to discuss the concerns that Rayburn had. Initially, the decision by Rayburn to depart from Miracle Book Club was handled most cordially by Mrs. McClusky. Later she and Rayburn met with about thirty-five of the seminarian club leaders and she expressed the hope that there would be no hard feelings with only harmony and cooperation in the future. But that evening Mrs. McClusky met with the women from Dallas in whose homes the clubs met. Many of them had opposed Rayburn and his men because they did not use the Miracle Book Club methodologies as prescribed by headquarters. When McClusky heard this she vowed to return to Dallas and train women for the work.

24

However, this course of action never materialized.

By the end of March, most of the problems resulting from the separation had subsided. A few of the hostesses had decided to part company with the new organization but, for the most part, the network of clubs was solidly in tact. All

but two of the seminarian club leaders stuck with Rayburn and there are indications that these may have rejoined the Young Life team a short time later.²⁵

There is no doubt that Young Life was the product of the unique insights and ministry skills of Jim Rayburn. Yet it appears that Miracle Book Club provided Rayburn with an initial strategy which he then vastly enhanced and ultimately refined to a point where his strategy became the reference point for parachurch high school ministries in the United States.

A second parachurch high school club program which grew out of the Miracle Book Club was Chicago's Hi-C Club. Bill Gothard, who at one time directed Hi-C Clubs, states that in 1936 a group of Christian educators who called themselves the Christian Teachers Fellowship sensed the need for a distinct Christian witness on the public high school campus. They organized the Miracle Book Clubs of Chicago.²⁶

It would appear from conversations with people who were involved in Chicago's version of the Miracle Book Club that clubs started as a grass roots movement. There was no professional staff to recruit and train leaders. People sensed a need and responded by starting chapters of the club. Virginia Stevens was one such person. She and Mrs. Ralph Morgan had been involved in holding Child Evangelism Fellowship classes near Ogden Avenue School in La Grange,

Illinois. Someone suggested that since the building they had rented for the classes was also near Lyons Township High School, they should do something for high schoolers as well. From this came the Lyons Township High School Miracle Book Club.²⁷

The Carl Schurz High School chapter had its picture in the 1941 high school yearbook. The accompanying article identified two teachers, Daphne Swartz and George E. Peterson, as sponsors. Behind the scenes there was other support. J. Chester Bilhorn was the assistant principal and it was Bilhorn who made sure the club's picture was in the annual.²⁸ However, 1941 was the only year in which he did so.

Rev. Torrey Johnson, the pastor of a "conveniently located church," the Midwest Bible Church, was reported by the Schurzzone 1941, to have "generously granted the use of a room" in his church on Friday afternoons. Once again, a network of concerned people brought a Miracle Book Club into being. Rev. Johnson would later be the first president of Youth for Christ International.

By 1943, the Christian Teachers Fellowship felt there needed to be a change in their approach to clubs in the Chicago area. Like the Young Life situation, a new organization was formed. It was called the High School Crusader Club, Hi-C for short. Rev. Bob Murfin, the second director of Hi-C, suggested the reason for the change was that Mrs. McClusky's leadership style had antagonized the local

committee.

A third club program which found its roots in the Miracle Book Club is the Detroit Voice of Christian Youth club ministry. Betty Green, a 1937 graduate of Wheaton College, went to Detroit in 1938 and recruited "knowledgeable Christian men and women from Plymouth Brethren Assemblies" to teach chapters of the Club. She:

Interviewed the 18 high school principals and received permission for such chapters to be held in h[igh] s[chool] buildings after school hours. A Northwestern High School was simultaneously the meeting place of Detroit's first Christian youth meeting. This was the forerunner of Youth for Christ . . . headed up by Milton Strong. MBC continued in our high schools until the mid-fifties . . . MBC was the foundation upon which Y[outh] for C[hrist] built its effective ministry.³⁰

Ed Darling, who followed Milton Strong as director of Detroit's Voice of Christian Youth, the local Youth for Christ program, did not have extensive contact with Miracle Book Club. Yet he remembers:

A super club at Detroit's Cass Technical High School under the wonderful direction of Mrs. Robert Harris (now Deceased). She became the V[oice of] C[hristian] Y[outh] Club person in the transition. The Miracle Book Club had a good reputation throughout the area at the time that VCY began producing the Saturday night stage productions. Then we moved into the Club programs.³¹

Though the club program was begun as the first project of Jack Hamilton for Youth For Christ International, a solid basis had been laid for that program by the Miracle Book Club workers in the Detroit area.

It is highly unlikely that the national office of Miracle Book Club ever did much more than provide

inspirational leadership and provide printed materials to be used within a prescribed format. Yet the high school setting, as opposed to the church building, and the use of a non-ecclesiastical sponsoring group, as opposed to local church bodies or denominational organizations, may have set the stage for a flood of parachurch club programs which would emerge in the days which followed.

Jim Rayburn and Young Life Clubs

If Evelyn McClusky set the stage for the parachurch high school club program, Jim Rayburn forged the high school club methodology which would be perfected in the Young Life movement in the 1940s and 1950s, adopted by the Youth For Christ International club division in the 1960s and then find its way into church youth groups during the decade of the 1970s. Rayburn's contribution is at the heart of the Youth for Christ movement's influence on Church youth ministry.

Jim Rayburn's split with the Miracle Book Club in 1941 was not the beginning of the Young Life Club strategy, but the product of an emerging club system which was fundamentally different from any that had preceded it. Unlike Miracle Book Club, it was not designed for Bible study. Distinct from Baptist Young People's Union, Epworth League and Walther League, it claimed no denominational ties. Different from the Christian Endeavor Society, it was

not based in the local church. Distinguishable from the YMCA efforts, it was focused exclusively on high school students. Rayburn's approach to youth ministry was essentially a missionary effort by Christian adults to win uncommitted high school students to a spiritual commitment to God through Jesus Christ.

Yet Rayburn's approach was not isolated from what had transpired in youth ministry over the previous sixty years. Like Evelyn McClusky, he saw the adult leader as the most important factor in a club's success. Similar to Percy Crawford and Jack Wyrzten, he focused on the evangelization of young people. Following the lead of Francis E. Clark, he stressed traditional evidences of personal pietism. In continuity with most American youth ministries in their early stages, Rayburn's Young Life took a very conservative theological stance. This combination of continuity and discontinuity enabled the Young Life Campaign to reshape evangelical's approach to club work.

There are at least four features of the Young Life approach to youth ministry which have had a lasting effect on evangelical youth ministry. These deserve examination. The first and perhaps most significant contribution is the idea that the club meeting should be leader centered. Though consistent with Mrs. McClusky's idea of the leader's role, the concept was out of step with the democratic ideals of progressive education, the participatory pledge of the

Christian Endeavor Society and the usual practice of denominationally supported youth groups who were interested in training young people to assume leadership roles in the church. The first "Young Life Leaders' Manual" mimeographed in 1941 states the idea clearly:

The Leader is IT! A Young Life Club does not begin and grow by [having] a group of young people sending for materials and methods. It gets results as the LEADER meets his qualifications and is HIMSELF effective in conducting the meeting and teaching the young people to do so.³²

The significance of the leader is seen in the role he played in the club meeting. There was no sitting idly by as students stumbled through poorly prepared portions of pre-packaged meetings. If the adult leader invited students to participate, contingency plans were always kept in mind lest the meeting be allowed to "bog down" as a result of the student's inexperience.³³

This concern for the effectiveness of leaders is also seen in the development of workers conferences as early as 1942. The early training sessions were held at the First Conference Grounds in Bellingham, Washington. In 1945, a workshop was added at Wheaton College during the school's June "Inter-Session." With the purchase of Star Ranch the following year, the training program, called the Leadership Training Institute, was moved to the new facility. By 1954, the Institute had become a Master of Arts program under the leadership of Dr. Laurence Kulp, a faculty member at Columbia University and a member of Young Life's board of

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directors.

Perhaps the most significant indicator of the leader-centered nature of the Young Life strategy was the fact that, for the most part, Young Life club programs were only begun in cities where paid leaders were available. These early staff members were primarily products of Christian liberal arts colleges and Bible institutes while close to half were graduates of evangelical seminaries. ³⁵

Another contribution of the Jim Rayburn's Young Life clubs is the fact that they were evangelistically focused. A quick look back over the purpose statements of youth groups from Francis E. Clark's Christian Endeavor Society to the more progressive United Christian Youth Movement demonstrates a theoretical commitment to evangelism, but even a cursory examination of the materials provided for society meetings indicates that the proclamation of the Christian gospel was not a high priority. By contrast, the youth rallies of Percy Crawford and Jack Wyrzten as well as many of the area-wide meetings sponsored by district or state conferences of either Christian Endeavor or denominational organizations were much more concerned with evangelism. ³⁶

This dichotomy between evangelism on the multi-group level and non-evangelistic communication on the local group level appears to support Eisenstadt's idea that adult sponsored youth movements are primarily employed for the passing of adult values from one generation to the next. For

most groups the conversion of people from outside the group of reference is more of a theoretical value than a strongly held conviction. ³⁷ For Jim Rayburn, the club meeting was the ideal place to tell uncommitted students of God's love for them.

Miracle Book Club had stressed evangelism. The emphasis, however, was on the teaching of the Bible. When it came time to invite students to make a commitment to Jesus Christ, Mrs. McClusky opted for a low keyed approach. In her book, Torch and Sword, Mrs. McClusky stated:

Miracle Book Club definitely invites "wild young people" to come and hear what God has to say, and invites them to come to a place where they will not be embarrassed, not where someone will try to "convert" them. We believe that only the Spirit of God can give new life to a sinner, and He does it through the Word of God. The reason so many are being saved, and so generously and thoroughly turning from the ways of the world, is because there is no personal pressure on the part of human beings.³⁸

Rayburn's concern's were similar. He did not want young people to be embarrassed in club meetings or to feel like the leader was merely attempting to convert their souls without taking an active interest in their whole person. Yet Young Life's founder urged club leaders to call for public demonstrations of conversion to Jesus Christ. In the first Young Life training manual, possibly written by Rayburn, the club aim is stated as follows:

Make your club evangelistic, always trying to reach the unsaved. If your club is all church goers, especially members of a church that is properly teaching its young people, you are missing the FIRST job of the Young Life

Club. Live (sic) them a winsome testimony. Avoid any methods that may alienate them. Use straightforward methods for gaining decisions. Expect the Holy Spirit to bring conviction as you are in fellowship with God, and as you present the true gospel message. Encourage a bold stand by those who accept Christ - out in the open as a testimony, not a raised hand while heads are bowed. That encourages cowardice. Be alert for opportunities for personal work after the meeting.³⁹

The difference between the two approaches may reflect gender related characteristics with Mrs. McClusky being more sensitive to feelings of students and Mr. Rayburn responding to this more competitive instincts. But the difference went further than that. Mrs. McClusky called her club leaders "teachers" while Rev. Rayburn referred to his as "mission-
⁴⁰aries." Evangelism was much more intentional for the Young Life people.

Missionaries they were, seeking to reach the twenty million high school students, who Rayburn claimed in the early 1940s, were attending no religious services--Jewish, Roman Catholic or Protestant. Though the raw numbers may have been a bit inflated, it was safe to say that a large percentage of the high school students in the nation fit the
⁴¹description.

The inspiration for this evangelistically focused ministry was probably Rayburn's, but Rev. Clyde Kennedy, pastor of Gainsville (Texas) Presbyterian Church, helped the Young man crystalize his vision. During Jim's senior year at Dallas Theological Seminary in 1939, the young evangelist committed himself to work with Kennedy's church partially

because of the pastor's concern for the high school campus. "Jim," the minister explained, "I'm not particularly worried about the kids who are in [church]. They're safe, as far as they're concerned I don't need your services. To you I entrust the crowd of teen-agers who stay away from church. The center of your widespread parish will be the local high school." ⁴²

Perhaps the best known contribution of Rayburn's Young Life Campaign was its emphasis on "winning the right to be heard" by the secular high school student. By this slogan Young Lifers meant they needed to gain the friendship and respect of the secular high school student before the young person could be expected to listen to what the adult had to say about Christianity. The campus strategy was relationally based. Cailliet credits the coining of the phrase to staff member, John A. Mackay, but the idea was woven into the fabric of what Young Life was all about. ⁴³

The approach to a high school campus employed a simple strategy - build a relationship with the student leaders and when they show up at club, the rest of the students will follow. To establish these relationships, the club leader would begin by mingling with students on their own turf - football games and practices, the high schoolers' favorite soda fountain, school social events or, when permitted by school authorities, simply hanging around the high school cafeteria. For most Young Life club leaders, the strategy

when accompanied by well developed relational skills was very effective. As many as three hundred students would show up on a week night for a club meeting in an appropriately large home. It was there the club leader had the opportunity to tell the story of the Christian gospel.⁴⁴

The idea of doing "contact work" with students took on a theological perspective when it began being described as "Incarnational Theology." The idea was built on the passage of scripture in John 1:14 which describes Jesus Christ as the eternal Word which became flesh and lived among the human species so that people could see God's glory in Him. That was seen as the role of the Young Lifer. He was to be absolutely sincere with young people, to be genuinely interested in their concerns and to find a place in their hearts.⁴⁵

A fourth contribution of Young Life to youth ministry was the conversational approach to public speaking. Anyone who heard Rayburn speak, whether in a club meeting, high school assembly or at one of the Young Life sponsored camps or retreats, had heard a master communicator.

Rayburn was different from the preachers and evangelists of his day. He was not the type of speaker who shouted or pounded the pulpit. Fellow staff member, George Sheffer, described Rayburn's style:

He really wowed the kids. He had such a shy, quiet approach. He was marvelous building up to the punchline. Like, "High school isn't so bad, is it? It's just the principal of the thing." Kids would cheer and

whoop and howl He was corny as could be [for] the first half. Then he'd talk about the fact that our nation was based on the Christian faith, and there was a heritage in our country that a lot of kids didn't know anything about. "You're doing yourself a disservice," he'd say, "if you don't at least find out what you're missing.⁴⁶

Rayburn's instructions to staff members were simple.

"Talk, don't preach!! Be conversational. Normally 25 minutes is long enough. Prepare thoroughly. Know what you want to drive home, get it said, and quit."⁴⁷ Even his style of

giving instructions was typical of the Young Life communication style which would become a hallmark of staff members and club leaders. Because of the strength of his story telling skills and the similar communication skills of other Young Lifers, that club leaders did not recoil from asking students to make commitments to Jesus Christ. There would be no embarrassment felt by the young person, for the speaker had earned the right to be heard.

Chicago Teacher's Fellowship and Hi-C Clubs

If the contribution of the Young Life Campaign to para-church club work was methodological, the endowment of the Chicago based High School Crusader Clubs (better known as Hi-C Clubs) was geographical. Because of its central location in the nation and the large number of Moody Bible Institute and Wheaton College students active leading Hi-C Clubs in the Chicago area, there was a natural flow of information about the club program to other parts of the

nation as students graduated. Based upon their Chicago experience, these young people established Hi-C clones from Hampton, Virginia to Portland, Oregon. In addition Youth for Christ Magazine provided information about what was happening in these clubs even though the Hi-C organization was localized in Chicago.

Besides the Chicago club program, references were made in Youth for Christ Magazine to Hi-C clubs in Vermilion County and Rockford, Illinois; Elkhart, Fort Wayne and Knox, Indiana; Flint and Owasso, Michigan; Bluffton-Pandora, Ohio; Erie and Lancaster, Pennsylvania as well as Hampton and Warwick, Virginia. The westward spread of Hi-C was not as extensive but clubs were reported in Madison, Wisconsin as well as Albany and Portland, Oregon. The significance of this distribution was the scattered nature of the club locations.

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William Gothard, Jr., director of Hi-C starting in 1959, identified 1936 as the year when the Miracle Book Club, the forerunner of Hi-C, was established in Chicago by a group known as the Christian Teachers Fellowship. Other accounts suggest a more decentralized beginning with individuals such as Gothard's good friend, Virginia Stevens, who heard about the Miracle Book Club from the Sunday School Times and initiated the Lyons Township High School Club as an outgrowth of her Child Evangelism Fellowship work in the Chicago suburb of LaGrange.

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The club program appears to have grown without much supervision. By the beginning of World War II founder Evelyn McClusky was living in Atlanta, Georgia, having moved the club offices from California. ⁵⁰ Articles by McClusky or about the Miracle Book Club had disappeared from the pages of the Sunday School Times and there is little evidence of support from her office of Miracle Book Club chapters across the nation.

The local committee, comprised primarily of poorly paid public school teachers and administrators, did not appear to have provided much substantive help to club teachers, either. On the one hand, public school teachers during the depression years did not have the financial resources to employ a staff person to supervise or assist club teachers. Yet, on the other hand, there appears to be another factor. Relations between the teachers' group and Mrs. McClusky had soured. At issue, suggests Rev. Bob Murfin, the second director of Hi-C, was local versus national control. Whatever the problems were, the net result was a weakened Miracle Book Club in Chicago. ⁵¹

This was the situation in 1943 when the Christian Teacher's Fellowship decided to break with Miracle Book Club and form Hi-C. Edith Lawrence, a former Morton High School club member who was attended the Cicero, Illinois, club at the time of the change, ⁵² commented that the change was needed. A young man named Morgan Gates was immediately hired by the

teachers to head up the new organization. Realizing the need for adequate funding, Gates approached a businessman, William Erny, who attended Midwest Bible Church, the church pastored by Torrey Johnson. The teachers, fearing the loss of control and finding themselves in conflict with Gates' aggressive style of leadership, fired Gates and looked around for another person to head the fledgling organization.⁵³

Don Lonie and Bob Murfin provided organizational leadership for Hi-C for short periods of time. Both men were more gifted in evangelism than administration and as a result the clubs continued to struggle for finances and direction.⁵⁴ The organization solidified under the leadership of Rev. Gunner Hoglund, whom the Teacher's Christian Fellowship invited to head Hi-C from his position with Inter-Varsity Christian Fellowship in New York State.⁵⁵

During the years from 1947 to 1953, Hi-C made the transition from being a club nearly exclusively for Christian high school students to becoming a club which enabled young people to reach out to fellow students who did not share their Christian commitments. Instead of merely focusing on the study of the Bible, Hi-C clubs began to sponsor activities which would build bridges to other teenagers. Basketball leagues were formed in various parts of the city. Saturday morning radio broadcasts, aimed at Christian teenagers, generated enthusiasm. Social activities

and banquets were added to the Hi-C list of outreach activities. The most spectacular event, however, was the formal concert given by the 125 voice Hi-C Chorale at Chicago's Opera House.⁵⁶

The high point of Hi-C, at least in terms of the number of clubs, came during the mid 1950s when Rev. Daniel Ankerberg directed the program. Gary Dausey, who served as the Training Director for Hi-C during the 1958-1959 school year, reported seventy-eight clubs in the Chicago area at that time. Close to 150 students from Chicago's Moody Bible Institute alone were involved with Hi-C in teams of twos or threes working as club leaders. Collegians from other schools were similarly involved.⁵⁷

Ankerberg took over the reins of Hi-C on 1 October 1953, just at the time when Youth for Christ was getting its national club program well established. Rev. Ankerberg had been a Youth For Christ International evangelist and so, when Youth for Christ Magazine announced his appointment, the name Hi-C did not appear in the short article. It was as if the emerging Youth for Christ club program was desiring to claim this established network of high school clubs as part of their national program.⁵⁸

Ankerberg, like Don Lonie and Bob Murfin before him, was more of an evangelist of the Youth for Christ rally type. Gradually, the organizational underpinnings necessary to maintain such an extensive club program began weakening.

In 1959, after Dan Ankerberg's resignation, the Christian Teacher's Fellowship appointed as director a young man who was a product of Hi-C. His name was Bill Gothard, Jr.⁵⁹

Gothard's term directing Hi-C was short and rocky. The idealistic young man refused to depend on promotional letters to generate financial support, choosing instead to trust the Lord to provide. Funding sources began drying up and the whole program began to deteriorate rapidly. With Hi-C in decline, Chicagoland Youth for Christ chose to begin establishing its own clubs in high schools. Competition developed. At one point, Schurz High School had both a Hi-C club and a YFC club with cousins Arnold Mayer and Alan Aigner serving as presidents of the respective organizations.⁶⁰

After Gothard's resignation was requested and received by the Christian Teachers' Fellowship, a series of men directed Hi-C until the club program eventually merged with Chicagoland Youth For Christ. Yet even the merged program never produced as wide an influence in the schools of the Chicago area as did Hi-C in the 1950s.

The contribution of Hi-C to the development of youth ministry was three fold. The first was visibility. Hi-C was in the right place at the right time. Chicago had become a hotbed of evangelical activity in the 1940s and 1950s. A Christian Life Magazine article in 1952 called the city the "Capitol of Evangelicalism." Because of the concentration of

conservative protestant agencies in the area, informal networks were formed which assisted in the cross-pollinization and fertilization of ministry ideas. ⁶¹

The relationship of Rev. Torrey Johnson, the first president of Youth For Christ International, to Hi-C illustrates the point. As pastor of the Midwest Bible Church located near Schurz High School, Johnson invited the Miracle Book Club from the school to meet in his church on Friday afternoons. When, in 1943, the club became a Hi-C affiliate, one of the men in Johnson's church was asked to fund the organization. Though the plan did not materialize, Johnson maintained his contact with the Hi-C ministry. So impressed was Johnson with the ministry at his door step that as President of Youth For Christ International, he recommended to the Executive Council in January 1947 that Youth for Christ International organize Hi-C Clubs. ⁶² Though the suggestion never came to fruition, the groundwork had been laid for a very successful Youth for Christ club program which would be initiated a year later.

The second contribution of Hi-C to the development of youth ministry was methodological. Using the Miracle Book Club idea of clubs meeting without ecclesiastical affiliation, Hi-C began to use high school students to plan and execute meetings which were design to evangelize their peer group. The traditional youth society, pioneered by Dr. Francis E. Clark with the Christian Endeavor Society, had

used adolescent leadership but seldom was this evangelistic on the local level. Young Life, by contrast, focused a majority of its club meetings on bringing unconverted students to faith in Jesus Christ but they used utilized adult leadership to accomplish this end. Hi-C combined the two approaches. Most of the planning for meetings and some of the actual club talks was done by student leaders. Though the quality of these evangelistic efforts was uneven, the idea of student reaching student for Christ was present. ⁶³

The third contribution of Hi-C to youth ministry was strategic. Because of the highly successful Saturday night rallies under the leadership of Chicagoland Youth for Christ, Hi-C clubs became an informal delivery system for getting students with little or no Christian commitment to attend the rallies. Loyalty was built by using the Hi-C Chorale as well as other musical talent from the various Hi-C clubs in the rallies. Hi-C clubbers who were leaders in their student bodies were asked to give testimonies on rally night. Sometimes there were even competitions between clubs to see who would be able to get the most students out to a rally.

The effect was to provide a consistent sense of success in evangelistic efforts. Club meetings tended to imitate the rallies. What the adults did in the rallies, the kids tried in the club meetings. Even if the clubs were not highly successful as evangelistic efforts and few were, there was

always the Saturday night rally to which to invite friends from school. It was a symbiotic relationship. Clubs needed rallies and rallies needed clubs. Youth For Christ Magazine identified Hi-C clubs as a key ingredient in the movement's evangelistic strategy.

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While Hi-C and Young Life clubs were an outgrowth of the Miracle Book Club, there were other parachurch high school club programs which developed in response to local needs without benefit of a wider affiliation. The most significant of these was the strategy pioneered by Jack Hamilton in Kansas City.

Jack Hamilton and the Youth on the Beam Clubs

Judy Raby was a homeless girl who lived with a high school friend. Loaded with talent and creative energy, she would be a senior in a Kansas City high school during the 1946-1947 school year. Already active attending the highly popular Saturday night Youth for Christ rallies, she decided to attend the Second Annual Youth For Christ Convention with rally director Al Metsker. At the Medicine Lake conference near Minneapolis, Metsker shared an idea with Judy: "Maybe we could get some Bible clubs going and challenge kids to bring their unsaved friends to the rally. If you're interested in this sort of thing, let me know when we get back."

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Shortly after school started, Judy showed up at

Metsker's office wondering when the clubs could get started. For the next several weeks the idea was promoted at the rallies. Twelve high schoolers from ten high schools responded and the club program was under way. Permission was granted to hold clubs in the city's high schools by Dr. Harold C. Hunt, superintendent of schools, and now only one piece of the puzzle was missing. Al Metsker was far too busy with his other responsibilities to head up a club program.

The last piece of the puzzle was found when Jack Hamilton walked into Metsker's office and asked how he could get into full-time Christian ministry. Hamilton had recently returned from military service where he had become involved in the Seattle Youth For Christ ministry and now felt he would like to work with the movement on a full-time basis. Metsker knew Hamilton from his work in the counseling room after Saturday night rallies, so Metsker "hired" him. There was one catch, though: Hamilton would have to raise his own salary, much in the fashion of a missionary associated with one of the non-denominational protestant mission organizations. Thus began the first indigenous Youth for Christ club program. It was called Youth on the Beam and according to Hamilton, "They had a 'yob' to do."⁶⁶

Unlike Young Life or Hi-C clubs, Youth on the Beam's stated purposes were not evangelistic. "Christian fellowship among the students. Spiritual growth through Bible study. Higher Christian living as a means of fighting Juvenile

Delinquency. Inter-club activity," were the purposes.

Beginning as an outgrowth of the Youth for Christ rallies, Hamilton's clubs were an opportunity for evangelical students to maintain contact with each other on their high school campuses. Through a trial and error method based on the creative energy of Jack Hamilton and his colleagues at Kansas City Youth for Christ, the club program soon took on a life of its own.

By the spring of 1947, twelve thriving clubs had been established. The number had swelled to twenty by the end of the 1948-1949 school year. The idea from the very beginning was for the club programs to be the responsibility of the students. The rapid growth in high schools and junior colleges clubs represented an affirmation of this strategy and so Jack Hamilton saw his role as challenging those students to succeed.

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The kids planned and led the program. Everything from special music and skits to emceeing and selecting speakers was left for them to do. One factor which made it easy for the student leaders to obtain speakers was that there were a great number of traveling evangelists and performing artists on the circuit just after World War II. Some were from other Youth for Christ rallies, while others were on the road full-time. Some of these would speak at the Kansas City rally on Saturday night and then remain in town for the following week and speak in Youth on the Beam clubs.

pastors, business men and missionaries also were available for club meetings. Hamilton's responsibility was to put the students into contact with these people.⁶⁹

Not everything was an imitation of the rallies, however. Bible quizzing, though not a new idea, had never been a part of the standard Saturday night evangelistic meeting. Sunday school teachers had enlivened lessons for years with quizzes. Listeners to radio programs such as "The Children's Bible Hour" and "Quizspiration" were familiar with a much more competitive level of Bible quizzing.⁷⁰ But, as Hamilton and his wife along with a car load of high school students drove home from the 1947 Winona Lake Youth for Christ Conference, a new idea occurred to them. Why not use Bible quizzing as a part of the club program?

The idea behind it was that we were reaching a number of kids who had no knowledge of the Bible at all. We had to be careful not to do the work of the church, but we felt there ought to be some way to get the Scripture into these kids which would stabilize them. So we came up with the quiz program.⁷¹

Once back in Kansas City a plan was devised to put the quiz idea into action. Initially, no assistance was given to students as to how they should study the Bible in preparation for quizzes. The "instruction" was left to the Holy Spirit. All that was provided was a structure which would encourage club members to master a portion of scripture by Tuesday night of each week when the quizzes were held.⁷²

The response was enthusiastically positive. Teams of seven quizzers from the same Youth on the Beam Club were

formed. This increased enthusiasm and accountability within the club setting. Four teams quizzed against each other at a local church each Tuesday night on a pre-determined book of the Bible. Jack Hamilton and his wife acted as quizmaster and scorekeeper. The local pastor served as judge. The system was simple:

Two clubs line seven quizzers in a row on the platform with red or blue numbers around their necks. The question is fired at them and the first one to his feet, as determined by the judges, is allowed 30 seconds in which to answer. Points from 10 to 25 are awarded for correct answers, with one question worth 50 (points). Scores are totaled separately for each contestant and collectively for the team.⁷³

Soon quizzing found its way into the Saturday night rally, complete with cheering sections. Motivated by the heightened enthusiasm, quizzers began memorizing entire books of the Bible in preparation for the competition.⁷⁴

Since Youth on the Beam Clubs were not modeled after nor controlled by any other club system there was a great deal of room for creativity. But it was not creativity for the program's sake. Under Hamilton's leadership the clubs were highly need responsive. Bible quizzing is a prime example of program responding to need, as is the Preacher Boy contest begun in the fall of 1949.⁷⁵ Hamilton describes the process:

As kids became real leaders and began to use their own capabilities and talents, we began to encourage that talent and they did a lot of their training, preparation, singing and performing in the club meetings.

Out of that came the Preacher Boy contest. My mind goes back to sitting in a meeting in Kansas City where the

speaker didn't get there. The club president asked me if I would do it and I said, "No, you tell what the Lord means to you." He fumbled around through it, giving his testimony, and out of that, I think, the first seeds came. We'd better have the kids prepared to handle their own meetings. So we started the contests.⁷⁶

It should be noted here that what Hamilton refers to as the Preacher Boy contest was called the "Speech Contest" in the Youth on the Beam 1950 yearbook and included a contest for girls as well as boys. Similarly, the quizzing program was a forum for both sexes and if pictures in the yearbooks are an accurate indicator, there were more girls participating than boys.⁷⁷

Creativity was occasioned as well by the United States Supreme Court's McCullum decision which removed religious instruction from the public schools. In response, Kansas City's school officials were forced to remove Bible clubs from school property. For some clubs this was not an overwhelming hardship, for alternate locations for club meetings were available close to the school. For others, the decision jeopardized the existence of the clubs. Hamilton's answer was a mobile club house--a school bus which could travel from school to school and provide meeting space for those clubs which needed it. Outfitted with venetian blinds and an organ connected to the vacuum line of the bus and sporting large green letters which read "YOUTH ON THE BEAM," it housed thirteen clubs a week. This meant that clubs would meet when the bus was available--before school, during

lunch period or after school.

What Jack Hamilton's clubs did better than any other club system in the nation was to wed the rally and club programs and infuse the club meetings with the same creative energy with which the rallies were so widely known. Al Metsker's hope that the clubs would feed the Kansas City rally had been more than realized.

On the east coast, another club system came into being without a prior contact with the Miracle Book Club. Under the leadership of A. Brandt Reed, the New York based program also demonstrated a local initiative to minister to high school students outside the context of a local church.

Brandt Reed and Hi-B.A. Clubs

High School Bornagainers (Hi-B.A.) was initiated in the New York metropolitan area as the result of the concern of A. Brandt Reed for some of his high school friends. His initial contact with these students was the Sunday school class which he had been teaching. In 1938 they came to Reed asking for help in telling their friends at school about their Christian faith and in handling other problems they were facing. Before long this group was meeting on a weekly basis and the young sales clerk was training the students to study the Bible and tell others about Jesus Christ.

It was not long before these students, bolstered by Reed's teaching and encouragement, were finding that their

peers were responding. "Bornagainers," they called themselves. Soon the name stuck and High School Bornagainers was born. Reed left his sales job and incorporated under the name High School Evangelism Fellowship.

The purpose of the organization was to train Christian high school students in the "know how" of personal evangelism so that they might become effective witnesses in their high schools. It was different than Young Life in that the leader of the club was not the evangelizer of high school students. It was distinct from Hi-C in that the club meeting was not seen as forum for doing evangelism. It was dissimilar from Youth on the Beam because Hi-B.A. depended upon an adult leader to teach a carefully outlined four year curriculum.
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Four factors make Hi-B.A. significant for this discussion. In the first place, Hi-B.A. clubs were under the full-time supervision of high school specialists known as Staff Representatives. Except for wives who were considered staff members and worked as hard as did their husbands, these specialists were male. The responsibility of the Staff Representatives was to direct the weekly meetings and teach the Hi-B.A. curriculum in as many clubs as possible using both afternoons and evenings during the week. This left little time for building relationships with students outside the club context. Earning the right to be heard, especially with non-Christians, was not the mission of the staff

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person. That was the responsibility of students.

The second significant factor was Hi-B.A.'s relationship to the evangelical churches of a community. Before a Staff Representative would begin working with the Christian high schoolers in a community, the evangelical pastors had to align themselves with the project. This usually took the form of an invitation from area churches and the establishment of a sponsoring committee to maintain a wholesome working relationship between Hi-B.A. and the churches.

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The third factor was the emphasis of Hi-B.A. on missions. Every club meeting included a missionary emphasis. Each year a high school missionary conference was held as one of the two or three major events which was planned for the clubs throughout an area. Though this type of educational process was not uncommon for some church based youth societies, it was unique among parachurch agencies which tended to focus exclusively on the high school student's immediate world.

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A fourth factor or interest was the relationship with Jack Wyrzten's Word of Life Rallies. Though no formal relationship ever existed between the two organizations, Reed and Wyrzten were warm personal friends and Wyrzten's rallies were frequently used by Hi-B.A. members as an opportunity to bring their friends under the sound of the evangelical message. The relationship was similar to the

cooperation between Chicagoland Youth for Christ rallies and
 84
 the Hi-C clubs.

Other Club Movements

To put the parachurch club movement into perspective, one must be careful not to leave the impression that the five club programs discussed in this chapter were the only ones to emerge during the thirties and forties. In fact, there probably were many short-lived, localized Bible club programs which simply did not last as long as the clubs previously described. A few of these club programs are worthy of brief mention.

Dunamis Clubs, mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, were the idea of Dawson Trotman who is better known as the founder of the Navigators, headquartered in Colorado Springs, Colorado. The name was the Greek word for power which in Romans 1:16 is used to describe the gospel or good
 85
 news about Jesus Christ.

In 1939, while working with service men in the Los Angeles area, Trotman discovered that most youth work employed what he described as the "take-it-easy" philosophy of ministry. He decided to set up a new system of high school work which would layout stiff requirements and make membership a privilege. Thus the word Dunamis was chosen to indicate both the club's name and its underlying philosophy.

What students did between meetings was the key to the

weekly meetings. When the boys gathered there would be spirited singing of choruses and then, what was called, "an oral check-out" on Bible portions which had been memorized during the week. This was followed by reports on TNT (Trust 'n Tackle) assignments in which the fellows told peers about their Christian faith. No partial success was acknowledged. It was all or nothing. The meeting would be concluded with a Bible study or a challenge from the leader.

The club was really a down-scaled version of the discipleship program used by Dawson Trotman to train military personnel to know the Bible and then to evangelize other service men or women. Trotman would later be consulted by both the Young Life Campaign and Youth for Christ International to help shape their follow-up programs for new converts.

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The boys club was so successful that Martures was begun for girls. The name was derived from another Greek word, martyrus, meaning witness. Thus the emphasis on evangelism was continued.

By 1941, thirty-five clubs were sprinkled across Southern California and Lorne Sanny, a student at Biola College, was given responsibility for the clubs which boasted as leading members Ralph Winter, now director of the United States Center for World Mission, and Dan Fuller, now

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Professor of Theology at Fuller Theological Seminary.

The Key To Life Club was another west coast program. By

1940 the clubs were well enough established to be featured in a Sunday School Times article. Based in Oakland, California, the organization appears to be very similar to that of the Miracle Book Club but with an emphasis on reaching the student who did not seem to fit in anywhere else. None of the nation-wide fellowships (primarily denominationally related and the International Society of Christian Endeavor) seemed geared to reach the fringe students.
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Clubs were expected to reach students of all social classes and even made provision for people who were not "born-again" to be officers. In their afternoon or evening meetings, a hostess opened her home to the club, officers were responsible to lead the singing, Bible memory and prayers before the club director taught the lesson for thirty-five to forty minutes.

One of the significant facts about the Key to Life Club is that it demonstrates a network of fundamentalist leaders who were interested in reaching young people with the teachings of the Christian faith. Dr. Charles E. Fuller and Dr. Walter Wilson were two such men who served on the club's advisory board. Fuller was closely associated with the Dunamis clubs for his son, Dan, was one of the outstanding members of Trotman's clubs in Southern California while Wilson was connected with Youth on the Beam clubs through a member of his church named Jack Hamilton.

One of the early clubs of the period was the Young People's Fellowship Club founded by fundamentalist evangelist and college founder, Dr. Bob Jones. Though the club idea was formulated by Jones as early as 1931, the Fellowship got its boost a few years later through a successful club program in First Baptist Church of Pontiac, Michigan and a Bible conference held at Brighton, Michigan, where a number of leading pastors and Christian educators were exposed to Jones' club concept.⁸⁹

The club did not want members who "are going to dance, play cards and live worldly lives." Instead young people could become members by signing the following pledge:

I will

1. Read my Bible daily.
2. Pray at least twice a day.
3. Whenever possible attend religious services, especially prayer meeting.
4. Try to win others to Christ.
5. Unless providentially hindered, attend every meeting of the club.⁹⁰

The fellowship appears to have been both an extension of, and a reaction to, the International Society of Christian Endeavor. It was an extension in that it followed Clark's emphasis on a pledge which promoted piety of life. Prayer by every member at every meeting was seen as very important. But Jones reacted to Christian Endeavor by establishing a doctrinal statement which would omit many of the churches that had been influenced by liberal theology.

Like so many of the clubs which sprang up in the thirties and forties, claims were made that the fellowship

was international in scope, with clubs in practically every section of the United States, which simply was not the case. In fact the most widely circulated description of any aspect of the fellowship was that of a critic, Mrs. McClusky, founder of the Miracle Book Club, who used the exact words from Jones' pledge and the emphasis on every member praying in each meeting as negative examples of what should happen in a club meeting.

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Criticisms of the Youth for Christ Movement

Before leaving the impression that the Youth for Christ movement and the parachurch club programs which resulted from it was universally lauded, several criticisms should be noted. Objections were targeted primarily at the mass meetings and even these tended to be tempered with grudging respect. Harold E. Fey, in a 1945 Christian Century article, calls in question the movement's "streamlined revivalism," use of slick media advertising, and poor relationship with churches but leaves open the possibility, if ever so slightly, that the movement might be the very approach that churches my employ to attract and hold young people.

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The Calvinist Forum, while tolerating the "spiritual jamboree" nature and prevalent Arminian emphasis of the rallies, chastises temporary nature of the movement, the possibility that the work of the church will be usurped by "Saturday evening jamborees" and the failure by evangelists

to distinguish between children born into churched homes ("children of the covenant") and those from unchurched families. At issue in this later point was the effectiveness of infant baptism.⁹³

Frank M. McKibben, writing in Religious Education, was much more pointed in his negative critique. Basing much of his concern on what he describes as a "theology so limited and conservative in nature as to be unacceptable to the majority of us in the R(eligious) E(ducation) A(ssociation)," Mr. McKibben then comments on the movement from a theological perspective. The motivation of those involved was defective. The lack of ecclesiastical control was suspect. The apparent absence of social concern showed imbalance. The methodologies employed too much "ballyhoo."⁹⁴

Writing from a Lutheran perspective and with a decade of observation since the Youth for Christ movement broke into the public's attention in 1945, Leslie Conrad Jr., a youth director, praises the movement for the manner in which it exalts the Bible, the youth work know-how which was developed, the ability of leaders to recruit quality adult sponsors, the boldness of evangelists to call for confessions of Christ and the ring of truth which he perceived through the personalities of the public figures. Objections, on the other hand, focused on the omission of the sacraments from the movement at any level, competition between Lutheran youth groups and those of the movement, the

manner in which the church is demeaned in public meetings, the absence of young people making significant decisions for the movement, and the emphasis on being "born again" which undermines the Lutheran doctrine of infant baptism.⁹⁵

For the most part, however, the criticism of the Youth for Christ movement diminished when Billy Graham's 1949 Los Angeles Evangelistic Crusade catapulted the young preacher onto the national scene. No longer were the rallies exclusively associated with young people. Now the issues were problems with which the church at large would have to deal. Youth work would be left to seek its own directions with relatively little criticism from the media, religious or otherwise.

Conclusion

The period from 1933 to 1949 gave rise to agencies outside the local church which attempted to provide non-formal Christian education to high school students. Though Evelyn M. McClusky popularized this strategy through the Miracle Book Club, there were many Christian adults who initiated clubs around the nation. For the most part these were isolated and limited to a geographic region.

With the coming of the fifties, a new day would dawn for youth work. Though rallies would continue for another ten years and in some cases longer, the day of the rally had passed. In its place would be the club meeting. Two major

club systems moved into ascendancy--Young Life Clubs and Youth for Christ Clubs. By the middle of the 1960s, the two would be nearly indistinguishable as the Youth for Christ leaders would adopt a philosophy of ministry virtually identical to that of Young Life.

CHAPTER V

End Notes

1. "The Miracle Book," Schurzzone 1941 (Chicago: Carl Schurz High School, 1941), 112.

2. Betty Lee Skinner, Daws (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1974), 142.

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4. Al Metsker, "A Bus Did The Trick." Youth for Christ Magazine 7 (June 1949): 26-28, 76 (hereafter Youth for Christ Magazine will be cited as YFCM).

5. For biographical information see E. M. McClusky, Torch and Sword (Oakland, Calif.: The Miracle Book Club, 1937), 43-57. Her picture appeared in an advertizement in The Sunday School Times 79 (15 May 1937): 367 (hereafter The Sunday School Times will be cited as SST).

6. "Winning High School Students for Christ," SST 77 (29 June 1935): 432-433; "The Ruby in the City Dump," SST 77 (6 July 1935): 447-448, 455; "The Sailor Boy in the Greyhound Stage," SST 77 (13 July 1935): 459, 463.

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8. McClusky, "The Miracles Worked in 'Miracle Book Club'," 61; McClusky, Torch and Sword, 116.

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10. McClusky, Torch and Sword, 117.

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12. Ibid., 104.

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22. H.J. Taylor to Ted M. Benson, 4 February 1941. Folder 7, Box 11, Collection 20, HJT Papers.

23. Jim Rayburn to H.J. Taylor, 6 February 1941. Folder 21, Box 70, Collection 20, HJT Papers.

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CHAPTER VI

THE NATIONAL CLUB PROGRAM YEARS: 1950-1979

"From 3 to 147 in 5 Months!" read the headline on the Youth for Christ Magazine article in early 1957. The story was that of three star athletes who traveled from Winfield, West Virginia, to the annual Youth for Christ convention in Winona Lake, Indiana, during the previous summer. There the three were captured by the excitement of the movement and decided to that dynamic home to their four hundred member¹ student body near Charleston.

It did not hurt the club's growth that one of the three athletes was Tom Howell who, in addition to becoming the president of the newly formed club, was president of the student body and captain of the football team. Nor did it hurt that the school principle, G.H. Biggs, was a born-again Christian or that the club sponsor was Leon McCoy, the football coach who had recently been converted to Christ at a Saturday night rally. By the time the article went to press, the club attendance had reached two hundred and the most interesting factor was the fact that there was no paid leadership for the club. Its success was built entirely upon the efforts of the students and faculty sponsors.

For the years of the fifties and the early part of the sixties the pattern of youth ministry in the two national parachurch youth programs was built around student leadership. Young Life Campaign had already established their club strategy during the forties. Youth for Christ International began its national club program with the appointment of Kansas City's Jack Hamilton as the national YFC Club director in October 1949.² By the middle of the following decade, clubs had reportedly been established in more than two thousand high schools reaching from coast to coast.³ The key to numerical growth was consistently related to the active involvement of student body leaders who were involved in the club, while the spiritual impact of the club was dependent upon the effectiveness of adult leadership, either paid or volunteer. This chapter traces the development of these two national parachurch club programs.

Context of the National Club Program Years

Historical Context

The Cold War began with the signing of the peace treaty to end World War II. The phrase was coined by financier Bernard Baruch to describe the political, economic and in a passive sense, military rivalry which existed between the Soviet Union and the United States along with their respective allies. Harry S. Truman and later Dwight D. Eisenhower, seeing the danger and realizing that the rest of

the free world was not economically or militarily capable of responding, provided military assistance to any country threatened by Communism.

The Youth for Christ movement was captured by this same spirit. Exposure to the world by means of the military service had created an evangelical worldview which saw the American Christians as the people most capable of meeting the human and spiritual needs of the war ravaged world. Mission agencies were created as evangelicals responded to the world needs they had observed. Greater Europe Mission and Trans-World Radio in Europe and World Vision International and Far East Gospel Crusade were direct outgrowths of the new perception of American's post war role.⁴

In the United States the Communist scare was reaching near hysteria. Wisconsin's Senator Joseph R. McCarthy led the nation in a virtual witch-hunt for Communists and Communist sympathizers. The scare was two-fold. One possibility was that of conquest from abroad with country after country falling into Communist hands until the United States would be isolated and would fall like a ripe apple into the hands of the Marxist invaders. The other option was worse still - the possibility of nuclear annihilation.

The fear was further heightened in 1950 when the Communist North Koreans invaded the southern part of the Korean peninsula and the United Nations voted to send troops to "maintain" the peace. The United States force under the

command of General Douglas MacArthur carried the brunt of the military load and American fear of the Communist threat increased.

The election of Dwight D. Eisenhower as President of the United States, the subsequent truce in Korea in 1953 along with the censure of McCarthy for conduct "contrary to senate tradition" in 1954 combined to ease the Communist scare until the launching of the Russian satellite, Sputnik I, once again intensified the American fears. The remainder of the fifties were lived under the cloud of the Cold War which concern evangelicals shared and renewed their efforts to reach youth for Christ.⁵

While there was a paranoia about Communism, the twenty-five years following World War II were a period of unbridled economic success. With the production capacity of the rest of the world in wartime shambles, the United State had the globe as its all but uncontested market. Prosperity became a way of life for the adolescents of the fifties and sixties. A post-war baby boom created the need for new housing and in response, affordable housing sprang up in suburban housing developments. With the suburban sprawl and the interstate highway system created by Eisenhower for civil defense purposes, the purchase and use of automobiles doubled by 1960. Television changed the entertainment habits of the new generation. New appliances eased the labors of the housewife. But, while expansion seemed to be happening everywhere

else, church and Sunday school attendance suffered.⁶

While the economy was rapidly expanding booming, the benefits were primarily felt by the upper and middle classes, most of whom were white. It took a Supreme Court decision, Brown vs. Board of Education of Topeka, in 1954 to start the slow process of allowing minorities to enter the mainstream of American life. The ruling made segregation in the public schools illegal. Ten years later the Civil Rights Act of 1964 banned discrimination in employment, public accommodations and voter registration and in doing so allowed the federal government to bypass state and local governments in order to grant and enforce the rights of minorities. Unfortunately the process which brought about this legislation was not actively supported by the majority of the Youth for Christ movement.

The period was marred by assassinations, riots and war as well. After a ten years of nearly apathetic calm during the fifties, the turbulent sixties appeared to be open season on public figures. President John F. Kennedy, Reverend Martin Luther King, and Senator Robert F. Kennedy were the most notable public figures killed. With them died some of the idealism of a new generation. Frustration resulting from poverty and denied hope resulted in race riots which gutted sections of the major metropolitan areas in the mid-sixties. The civil unrest broadened with the growth of the Viet Nam conflict. At the heart of the issue

of the sixties, the media fed the youth culture's view of life. Free sex, drug usage and freedom from external authority became the constant themes of concerts and record albums, movies and theatre productions, magazines and books, and of course, television. At the same time, the television industry was reporting the inconsistencies of political, civic and military leaders. The summer of 1968 saw television cameras trained on youthful war protesters at Michigan Avenue and Balbo Drive during the Democratic National Convention in Chicago chanting, "The whole world is watching." A generation of adolescents was alienated from the world of its parents.

President Nixon defused much of the militancy of a war threatened generation by instituting a draft lottery followed by an all volunteer army which in effect eliminated the threat of being drafted and returned a sense of personal peace and safety to the nation's young men. Then came the Watergate scandal. Cynicism once again was nurtured in the hearts of young people. But perhaps a more lasting impact was left on the generation by the oil crises of 1973 and 1979. Suddenly the realization dawned that America's pie was not going to expand at a never ending fashion. The party was over. Uncertainty emerge. Apathy was reborn.

Educational Context

The baby boom and the post-war national optimism

established direction for secondary education in the United States. In the first place, high schools had to be large enough to accommodate the massive influx of post war babies who would reach high school age in the mid-fifties. United States Office of Education figures show that high school enrollment jumped from 6,453,000 in the 1949-1950 school year to 9,600,000 during the 1959-1960 educational season and 13,021,000 in the 1965-1966 academic year. That was an increase of more than one hundred per cent during a span of sixteen years.⁹ High schools had to be prepared for such a flood of high schoolers.

It was during this period that the word "teenager" came into common usage. Primarily the word was used in reference to junior and senior high school students. Adolescence had come of age. It now had a nickname. By the end of the fifties every state had recognized the fact and had developed special laws for adolescents.¹⁰

Ralph Keyes describes the high school passage as the last tribal experience in the American culture. Every young person is required by law to attend (thus the tribal concept) and every part of high school is a type of initiation rite for adulthood.¹¹ Politicians and educators shared the view and used public schools and in particular the high school as the primary means of socializing the emerging generation. The problems of racial, ethnic, class and gender inequality were addressed most directly in the

secondary schools. Teenage pregnancy, careless driving habits, and problems of drug abuse were met by required units of study. The concept of a comprehensive high school had taken on new meaning.¹²

The comprehensive high school had been a matter of debate for years. Some educators felt that high schools should be more focused and more specialized, while others held that in a public secondary school there should be room for each student to have his or her needs met. James Bryant Conant further fueled the discussion in 1961 when the Carnegie Corporation funded his study of American high schools and the former Harvard University president concluded that "no radical alteration in the basic pattern of American education is necessary to improve our public high schools."¹³ This flew in the face of the well publicized concerns of Admiral Hyman G. Rickover over the lack of math and science in high school curriculums. Rickover's comments were made on the heels of the launch of Sputnik I into earth orbit by the Soviet Union in 1957.

The Soviet space success did shake up the educational establishment, however. While retaining the basic educational framework, the federal government appropriated substantial sums of money through the National Defense Education Act of 1958 for individuals and schools in order to insure sufficient quality and quantity of man power to meet the national defense needs of the nation. Educational

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efficiency was the concern of the hour.

What have gotten in the way of educational efficiency, comments Theodore R.Sizer, a decade and a half later, are the hierarchical bureaucracies which were created to oversee and maintain the educational machinery of the secondary educational system. Bureaucracies depend on predictability. Unfortunately the educational process is a human activity and human activities tend to be untidy and thus unpredictable. The very educational system had to some extent gotten 15
in the way of the high school education process.

Another factor contributing to the educational progress of the high school student in the fifties and sixties was the curriculum. Two phenomena ran into conflict as administrators looked at secondary school curriculum. On the one hand was the post-Sputnik pressure to extend and upgrade the classic disciplines, especially math and science. This was intensified by President John F. Kennedy's pledge to put an American on the moon by the year 1970.

There was also a movement to make education more relevant to the needs felt by the students. "The ultimate goal of the educational system," commented John Gardner, "is to shift to the individual the burden of pursuing his own 16
education." Though most educators today would still agree with Garner's comment, the sixties and early seventies were a period of trial and error in implementing the idea. Rather than making dramatic changes based on solid educational

theory of which none had the compelling force of the progressive educators earlier in the century, high schools were busily engaged in curriculum tinkering and innovation. students were given the opportunity to choose from a selection of classes as if they were shopping in a supermarket or cafeteria. A bewildering variety of non-traditional learning experiences were offered in many schools.¹⁷

Non-formal educational experiences in church programs were impacted by the shift. Sunday schools, youth groups and church-based club programs sought to adjust from traditional cognitively based and highly structured strategies to curricular materials and learning strategies more in harmony with the winds of change on the high school campus.¹⁸

With the discontinuity taking place within public high schools and with the continued secularization of the curriculum, one option which became attractive to parents from fundamentalist churches was the Christian high school. Admittedly, some were used by constituents to avoid racial integration, but for the most part the movement was a broad based reaction to direction of the public high schools. James S. Coleman and Thomas Hoffer in an extensive study of public and private high schools, critiqued the private schools favorably but reminded the reader that 90 percent of high school students in the United States still attend public schools.¹⁹

It should be noted that this retreat from public high

schools was not unique to the sixties and seventies nor to the reactionary followers from blue collar socioeconomic classes. A large percentage of the leaders of the Youth for Christ movement had quietly sent their children to private Christian college-prep schools in the late fifties and early sixties. One school alone, Hampden DuBose Academy in Zellwood, Florida, during the 1960-1961 academic year, was the school of choice for Billy Graham, Graham's associate evangelists, Grady and T.W. Wilson, Word of Life founder, Jack Wyrzten, Hi-B.A. founder, Brandt Reed, and Youth for Christ, International Vice President, David Morken. ²⁰ Other private high schools popular within the movement included Ben Lippen Academy located near Ashville, North Carolina and Wheaton Academy, Wheaton, Illinois.

The Youth for Christ Club Years: 1950-1968

Club Program Begins

The idea of a Bible club program was not new to Youth for Christ, International. Since at least January 1947, Torrey Johnson, president of the newly formed organization had been pushing for a national network of clubs to compliment the rallies which dotted the land. ²¹ The idea failed to materialize until Al Metsker, director of the Kansas City YFC Rally, "gave an interesting report on high school Bible clubs" to the organization's executive

committee during its spring meeting in 1949. "Interesting" appears to be an understatement. Boston's John Huffman moved that a vote of appreciation be given to Mr. Metsker with the recommendation that regional vice presidents send interested persons to see Metsker's Kansas City club operation first hand. The motion was seconded by Canadian Evon Hedley and the motion carried.

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Using the response of the Executive Committee as a mandate to promote the club ideas which Jack Hamilton, under Metsker's leadership, had developed, the young rally director brought a stirring report about "Youth on the Beam" clubs to the 1949 Winona Lake Convention business session. A committee was immediately established consisting of former Hi-C director Don Lonie, Detroit rally director, Ed Darling, Metsker and Hamilton from Kansas City and others to be named later for the purpose of putting the ideas into printed form for distribution to the various rallies across the country. By the time the report was made in September, 1949, Youth for Christ Magazine, the mandate of the committee had been expanded to include the establishment of an "international Bible club department and thereby launch concentrated intra-school evangelism immediately."

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Though he had begun national club work in September, Jack Hamilton was officially appointed High School Bible Club Director of Youth for Christ International at the October executive council meeting and club program was off

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and rolling. His first assignment was Detroit where Ed Darling was the director of Voice of Christian Youth as well as a Regional Vice President of Youth for Christ, International.

The names of local Youth for Christ rallies, such as Detroit's Voice of Christian Youth, sometimes varied from the national designation because the local organization had been in existence before the national program was established. VCY was about as much of a model YFC program as existed in the country and made consistent contributions to the national development of the movement. Yet it always went by the name, Voice of Christian Youth.

Club programs had a greater diversity of nomenclature. Kansas City's clubs were "Youth on the Beam" clubs though they would later conform to the national club program name. As late as 1955, the clubs which Hamilton had started in the Detroit area would still be referred to as "VCY" clubs (Voice of Christian Youth clubs).²⁵ Grand Rapids YFC called theirs "Truth for Youth" clubs while the Hi-C title was still popular in many places.²⁶ Though titles varied, the club strategy grew increasingly consistent under the aggressive leadership of Jack Hamilton.

Though the Miracle Book Club had sponsored clubs in the Detroit area prior to Hamilton's arrival, they had become ineffective in keeping up with the growth of the high school population or the teenage culture. The national club dir-

ector felt it necessary to start from a completely new club program in Detroit. The strategy employed in the motor city soon became the national pattern for initiating clubs.

Using the Voice of Christian Youth Saturday night rally as a spring board, Jack challenged high school students who wanted to have a ministry in their own high schools to meet with him. The policy was simple. If he could find four or five students who were willing to tackle the task of starting a club, Hamilton would work with them to get a program underway. The responsibility for the club was on the shoulders of the students, "servant leaders," he called them. But Hamilton would meet with as many of the high school leaders during the week as he possibly could, Then, once a month, there would be an All City Youth Council meeting when the officers from all the clubs would meet with Hamilton for a time of generating ideas and excitement.²⁷

While the freshly appointed national club director was working in Detroit, Youth for Christ Magazine ran a three²⁸ part series introducing the national club strategy. From the beginning, the intent of the effort was evangelistic. The titles of Hamilton's articles made this clear. "Are High Schools Pagan?" asked the February article. Nearly 90 per- cent of the current high school population is unchurched was the author's reply. "Missionaries Are Made in High School" proclaimed the March article, arguing that a witness on campus is strongest when the kids are bound together in a

club with a common evangelistic purpose.

The April article, "A Bible club in Your High School," defined the national club strategy. Realizing high school students' vulnerability to peer pressure, the club was to be a place to exert a counter pressure--to establish a reputation as being a practicing Christian and then find support from friends in maintaining that reputation. The previous two articles had made it clear that carrying a Bible to school and inviting friends to the Saturday night rallies were two of the best ways in which to declare one's commitment to Christ. But establishing a Bible club, according to Hamilton, was the key to effective outreach.

The steps outlined for starting a club were simple. First, contact the Youth for Christ office in order to be put in touch with other interested students in the school. Local pastors were also cited as resources for establishing contact with young people with a similar vision for the campus. Second, speak with school officials. Permission was to be sought and a location secured from the principal. If such permission was not forthcoming, a location was to be sought at a nearby location outside the school. A teacher needed to be recruited as adult advisor to give the club validity in the school extra-curricular program, but that person was to function only as an advisor. The program was to be student initiated, student planned and student lead.

"Your club meetings should be miniature YFC rally -

live wire and full of pep, proving to the kids that you can and do have a better time than they do." ²⁹ But it was not to be a replacement for the rally. The two fed each other. Contests were held to see how many students from each club attended the rallies, while students who made commitments to Christ during the rallies were referred back to their high school clubs for follow-up.

At the heart of the club system was the local club director who provided program ideas, resources and inspiration for student leaders. Though few existed at first, Hamilton rapidly recruited and trained people to fill the need. A Bible club leaders training meeting was sponsored by the Kansas City program in cooperation with Hamilton in early 1951 attended by twenty-four men and ³⁰women. Yet most of the early club directors were people like Sterling Keyes, a high school teacher in Ventura, California, who responded to a need and became the Pacific ³¹Southwest Region club director during the fall of 1950.

Jack Hamilton's efforts in Detroit paid dividends. By the end of the 1950-1951 school year thirty clubs were "moving ahead at a good clip." The Mumford High School club reached a high of one hundred and forty students at a ³²meeting. But Hamilton was long gone. After getting the club program going in Detroit during the spring of 1950, Jack turned the clubs over to Al Kuhnle in order to move on to other cities. After an illness during the summer of 1950,

apparently due to fatigue, Hamilton moved on to Portland, Oregon, to establish the Youth for Christ club strategy during the Fall months. Though a Hi-C club program in Portland had been mentioned in a Youth for Christ Magazine article earlier in the year, Hamilton found very little upon which to build the YFC club program and so started a new complement of clubs.³³ Though traveling a great deal, especially during the Spring of 1951, Hamilton got the club ministry moving in Portland, complete with a sixty-six passenger bus being used as a mobile club house, and turned them over to Bob Barber.³⁴

The last city in which Hamilton stayed for any length of time was San Diego, California, during the Fall of 1951.³⁵ There it took six weeks to get the club program running well enough to move on to other cities. Through the next ten years Hamilton traveled nearly constantly developing Youth for Christ clubs across the nation.³⁶ By the Winona Lake Convention in 1951, Bob Cook, President of Youth for Christ, International, would report seven hundred YFC clubs in existence across the nation. At the end of the year a thousand clubs were reported. By the summer of 1955, there were 1956 clubs.³⁷

YFC Club Strategy

By 1954 the YFC Club strategy was well enough defined that the club division of Youth for Christ International was

able to produce a manual for student leaders entitled Here's

³⁸
How. The purpose for the manual, as stated in the introduction by club director Jack Hamilton, was to make "the Christian talk 'walk' in the lives of God's teenagers." Hamilton was challenging students live out their Christian faith at school in a manner consistent with what they profess in church or at the Saturday night rally. The manual was a tool for accomplishing this through leading an effective club program on the high school campus.

To emphasize the central role which the high school student played in the YFC Club, chapter one begins by answering the question:

What is a YFC Club? (The answer is) stated as briefly as possible as possible: It's YOU. That's right, you and whoever else you know in your school who loves Jesus Christ as Saviour and wants to see other students find Him too.³⁹

The responsibility for the club was in the hands of the students. This was a slight departure from traditional youth societies in which adults had been the initiator and continuity agents. For Youth for Christ, adult club sponsors were there primarily as resource people and sources of encouragement. The success of the club was seen to be entirely within the hands of the students.

The stated purpose for the YFC Club was threefold:
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 evangelism, Christian development and fellowship. Perhaps the designation "pre-evangelism" would be a better description of the first purpose because the function of

the club in the school was seen as a first step in getting non-churched youth to the Saturday night rally where the gospel would be clearly presented. The club was a context in which uncommitted students could be befriended by an enthusiastic group of Christian students and in turn be attracted to go with them to the rally. It was a comfortable way for students to become involved in evangelism.

Christian development was defined in terms of leadership development and students learning to take responsibility. These objectives were very similar to those of traditional church youth societies, for most churches were concerned with developing the next generation of leadership for their churches and denominations. In the YFC club the entire responsibility for the club was placed on the students. Responsibility was not couched in trivial terms. The student leaders were responsible to do everything from securing a location and permission to meet, to planning and presenting the program. They invited people to attend and then followed up on those who came. Even the securing of adult sponsors and the writing of a constitution was their duty. Here's How was designed to ease that process but the ownership was still with the students.

The third purpose was Christian fellowship. In a day when the Bible had been taken out of the schools and religion was not popular, the YFC Club provided a place for the Christian teenagers to gather on campus and enjoy each

other. Though most churches had some type of youth group, few evangelical churches had more than a half dozen students in any one high school. Consequently, the YFC Club provided a location where Christians from a variety of churches could grow to enjoy each other.

The club meeting took its cue from the Saturday night rally. It was to be short, sharp and to the point. The ideal meeting was thirty minutes in length. The suggested pattern was as follows:

Singing	5 minutes
Special	2 minutes
Announcements	2 minutes
(Remember to mention next weeks program)	
Singing	3 minutes
Special or testimony . . .	3 minutes
Speaker	<u>.15 minutes</u>
	30 minutes ⁴¹

Testimonies from the students concerning their Christian experience was seen as a very important part of the club program. Methods for getting students to participate were outlined. Suggestions of speakers for the club meetings began with the students themselves and included rally and club directors, pastors who could effectively talk to young people, visiting evangelists and rally speakers as well as local businessmen. It was the student's responsibility, however, to select speakers for each week's meeting.

Based on club reports from a variety of cities as well as national reports, it could be concluded that the average YFC Club during the mid-fifties was attended by thirty

students.⁴² This number appears to be a bit larger than the eighteen per church reported in Niles' negative evaluation of youth groups in Portland, Oregon, in 1929.⁴³ It falls right in the middle of the numbers provided by Robert and Helen Lynd in their 1929 study of Middletown. The range provided by the Lynds was fifteen to fifty.⁴⁴ Thus, it would appear that although the approach to YFC Clubs was new, the average attendance was somewhat traditional.

Bible Quizzing and Talent Contests

One of the factors in the rapid spread of the YFC club program was the visibility it received through the Bible quizzing program at the Winona Lake Conventions starting in 1950. The annual gatherings brought together thousands of young people and leaders for two weeks of meetings and youth activities during July. The platform was a virtual midway of the best talent the movement had to offer. Methodologies used at the conference immediately found their way back to the local rally and club. So when Hamilton put the Bible quiz program into the spotlight with a championship quiz between Kansas City and Detroit, the idea swept the nation within a matter of months and with it solidified the need for the Bible club program throughout the nation.⁴⁵

Bible quizzing was not unique to Youth for Christ nor was Jack Hamilton's style of competition the only approach being used within the movement. In January 1948 the Modesto,

California, rally had given Carl Cripe a fifty dollar coupon to buy books from a local department store after he had beaten sixteen other contestants in a Bible quiz contest. The Modesto style was for individuals to compete in monthly contests building up to a championship round from which one person emerged the winner.⁴⁶

Toledo Youth for Christ had another approach to Bible quizzing. Each Monday night the rally presented "Radio Quiz" on WTOL using contestants picked from the local Bible clubs. The clubs were part of a program which would later affiliate with the national program.⁴⁷

It was Jack Hamilton's system of Bible quizzing, however, which came to the fore when Detroit and Kansas City clashed at the Winona Lake conference in 1950. Though initially envisioned as a means of assisting new converts to mature in their faith, the idea soon took on an evangelistic dimension. Though stories were told of individuals who made commitments to Christ as a result of studying for quiz competition, the primary evangelistic thrust was found in the excitement created in rallies. Even young people with little Christian commitment came to watch the seven person quiz teams (five quizzing at a time) from various high schools compete. Supported by cheering sections, teams jumped to their feet and answered the quizmaster's question within thirty seconds. If an incorrect answer was given, the opposing team had an opportunity to answer. Competition⁴⁸

was intense. Many a quiz was decided on the twentieth and final question. Traditional high school rivalries helped to boost rally attendance.

Adding to the incentive for the better quizzers, even if their club team was not winning, all-star teams were chosen to compete in regional and possibly national quiz tournaments. The final competition was held in the Billy Sunday Tabernacle before thousands of cheering spectators at the Winona Lake Convention. The event was a unique blend of Bible study and youthful hysteria. Quizzing captured the imaginations of high school students but almost went beyond the bounds of worshipful dignity. It was a caricature of what Youth for Christ did best and at the same time why it was so vulnerable to criticism.

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But there was another aspect of Bible quizzing. It was what Hamilton called "in-reach." The competitive framework was a stimulus for students to study the Bible in a serious manner. Some would both memorize and thoroughly understand complete books of the Bible. Educationally the system was a throw-back to the recitation lessons of the nineteenth century, but relationally the system was far different. Adult coaches used the competitive context to demonstrate Christian values, both toward the students and winning or losing. Though not all coaches achieved the high standards outlined in the "Bible Quiz Competition Manual," by 1965 over sixty thousand students had been involved.

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The high point of Bible quizzing in the Youth for Christ club program was in the early part of the 1960s. Moody Monthly reported that over ten thousand teenagers had seriously studied the Bible through the quizzing program during the 1960-1961 school year. ⁵¹ The books studied during the year were The Gospel of John and I and II Thessalonians. For these quizzers, "serious study" meant writing a minimum of five questions from each of the 1014 verses and mastering the answers. For most of those who made it to the finals at the Winona Lake Conference and many who did not get that far, "serious study" meant memorizing the three books word for word.

A review of the minutes of the Bible Club Committee meeting at the Mid-Winter Youth for Christ conventions through the period, suggests that the committee functioned as an ad hoc quizzing committee as much as a Bible club committee. A majority of the decisions recorded in the minutes related to quiz rules or policy. All of this attention to Bible quizzing may have been justified since the club program had developed into a rather effective system under the leadership of Jack Hamilton and Bill Eakins, while quizzing's competitive aspect demanded continual refinement. Concern over the amount of energy the club division was putting into the quizzing and contest programs became significant enough that in 1968 the national staff discussed recommending the setting up of a new

division of Youth for Christ for the purpose of administering the quizzing and teen talent competitions. The proposal never went beyond the discussion stage and when the decision was made to discontinue the Winona Lake Conventions in 1972, the competition programs were similarly discontinued as part of the national program.

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The Teen Talent competition similarly grew out of Youth for Christ's club division and reached it's zenith in the early sixties. Originally envisioned as a means to develop student leadership for the high school club program, the contests expanded to include categories for teen preachers, songleaders, vocal groups including duets, trios, quartets, and quintets, instrumental solos, instrumental groups, gospel pianist and chorales. Frequently, however, the students who entered these contests found the Saturday night Youth for Christ rally rather than the weekly club meeting to be the place where their talents were developed. It was in the rally context that competent adult leadership was available at the rally to cultivate talents and abilities. The flow of talent tended to be away from the clubs toward the rallies and then to the area and national Youth for Christ conventions. After performing in front of hundreds or thousands of people it was hard to return to a club of thirty people and sing or speak with the same enthusiasm.

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The quality of the contest winners at the Winona Lake Convention in the early sixties was of professional calibre.

Records were made featuring the talent winners and distributed nationally by Word Records of Waco, Texas. To keep up with this talent which made it's way to the summer extravaganza at Winona Lake, Youth for Christ employed flashy young musicians like Thurlow Spurr and Harold DeCou to harness the abilities in Disney quality production numbers. The idea worked. Evening programs became magical productions, yet still focused on bringing youth to a personal commitment to Jesus Christ.

Bible quiz teams and teen talent groups had another effect upon Youth for Christ International. They provided both a link with the local church and a competition for the most talented teenagers. The link was provided when churches invited quiz teams and musical groups to perform in their church services in hopes of building enthusiasm on the part of their own young people. Earl Schultz, Eastern Regional Vice President of Youth for Christ, reported a trip taken by a Bible quiz team and trio from from Hampstead, Maryland to Arlington, Virginia, to sing and put on a demonstration quiz at the Grace Assembly of God Church. Though there were only seventy-five or eighty people present, the effort was considered a real success.

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At first, the Youth for Christ policy was to limit participation in the competition to clubs which actively supported the local rally. This of course made it impossible for church youth groups to participate directly. Even some

of the locally initiated club programs were excluded. Problems, for example, arose in Chicago when the Hi-C club program which had been informally affiliated with the Chicago YFC rally, appeared to want the right to quiz on local, regional and national levels without providing wholehearted support for the rally. At the mid-winter convention in 1957 a rather stringent policy was outlined which allowed Hi-C clubs to field quiz teams under conditions of loyalty to the rally.⁵⁵

By the late sixties Bible quizzing had become an activity which stood alone. It had become a self-sustaining program which had only occasional ties to the local YFC rally. During the 1967-1968 school year, the Youth for Christ program in Hampstead, Maryland, introduced "Church League Quizzing" which was a major break with past policy.⁵⁶ The reason given was to broaden the base of the program. Now young people who had no YFC sponsored clubs in their high schools could gain the benefit of quizzing by joining the team sponsored through their churches. Though the quizzing idea was fading in other parts of the country, the Hampstead program, at the suggestion of quizzers, lengthened their season. They also sponsored a weekend retreat for quizzers and coaches and provide a mid-season banquet for participants. The innovations brought about an increased number of quizzers and teams resulting in two Bible quiz leagues.

Competition with churches for the loyalties of their young people was a problem in the relationship between YFC and local churches. Young people in musical groups were invited to travel and perform away from their home churches on Sundays. Quiz banquets, retreats and of course leagues garnered the enthusiasm of high schoolers and left church sponsored banquets, retreats and meetings with fewer participants than could otherwise have been expected. It was the same problem that Christian Endeavor had faced in the decade following its founding in 1881. Church leaders feared the loss of their youth to a movement not necessarily controlled by their ecclesiastical distinctives such as doctrinal convictions, significance of the sacraments, and convictions about holy living. Soon steps were taken to imitate the methodology which had been so successful in motivating their students to participate.

During the decade of the sixties many of the smaller evangelical denominations initiated Bible quizzing programs. The Advent Christian Church, Assemblies of God, Baptist General Conference, Brethren in Christ, Church of the Nazarene, Evangelical Free Church of America, and the Independent Fundamental Churches of America were among the denominations to experiment with quizzing programs. By 1968 the National Association of Evangelicals' Youth Commission had a Bible quiz committee which was proposing a seven year cycle of Bible books to be used for all quizzing programs.

yet most denominations saw little reason for cooperation outside their denominational sphere. Preferences for Bible translations varied from paraphrases like The Living Bible and Good News for Modern Man to translations such as the New American Standard Version and the King James Version. Styles of responding to questions likewise varied. Most imitated Jack Hamilton's style of jumping up from a seated position to a full standing position, but others such as the Independent Fundamental Churches of America preferred a more sophisticated approach modeled after television's College Bowl where contestants sat behind desks and pushed buttons to indicate readiness to respond.

Youth for Christ Bible quizzing declined during the sixties. In 1965 Hamilton's rules were replaced by the "Quiz Olympic" format which allowed individuals and teams to compete for gold, silver and bronze chairs much in the same manner as olympic athletes compete for medals. The new system never enjoyed the popularity of the original approach and was a victim of changing times.

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Decline of the Weekly Rally

Youth for Christ International was changing. The affluence and apathy of the fifties followed by the idealism and militancy of the sixties altered the manner in which the organization approached youth ministry. Perhaps the most visible change was the decline of the Saturday night youth

rally.

As the Youth for Christ movement began in the thirties and forties, youth ministry came to be understood in terms of the rallies. A 1949 article in the Minneapolis Star reported that 1,450 cities had Youth for Christ rallies. These may have been journalistic figures but the article was reprinted in Youth for Christ Magazine, thus passively validating the claim.

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As the movement solidified under the leadership of Dr. Bob Cook, a system of chartering rallies was developed. The purpose was to establish a standard of accountability within a movement which had sprung to life on the local level and by the mid-fifties was highly uneven both in ministry impact and organizational effectiveness. One of the reports required when the rally's charter was to be renewed was a statistical analysis the number of rallies held during the previous year and the average attendance at those meetings.

According to the chartering reports given at the Mid-Winter Hotel Conventions, the number of rallies in 1955 had fallen to 290. Over the next twelve years reports indicate a further decrease of the chartered rallies until in 1967 a program evaluation showed 232 rallies were reported as being chartered while only 114 of these were evaluated as being "solid" and able to effectively communicate with students.

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A look at the charter applications for the Hampstead, Maryland, Youth for Christ program provides further

statistical documentation for the decline of the rally. The Hampstead program in most ways would be considered a model program. Hosting 52 rallies each year, it had both junior high and high school clubs, was very active in the quizzing program--placing second at the Winona Lake Convention in 1963. The 1969 application for annual charter affiliation reported three full-time club directors in addition to rally director, Earl W. Schultz, Jr., who was also the Regional Vice President of Youth for Christ International.

Records from the Hampstead charters show that the rally grew as the program developed between 1952 when an average attendance was 150, until 1963 when 304 could be expected to attend a rally at the North Carroll High School Auditorium. Then the slide began. By 1968 crowds were averaging 235 per week, the same as in 1957.⁶¹ Saturday night evangelistic meetings were not the attraction they once were. Times had changed and Youth for Christ would have to change as well.

The Campus Life Years of Youth For Christ, 1968-1979

New Generation of Leadership

During the middle of the decade of the sixties, Youth for Christ International made a bold shift in philosophy. Clubs were severed from the rallies and redesigned to stand entirely alone. Rallies were discontinued in many places. Bible quizzing, which was associated with the older club

philosophy, was phased out. New staff members were recruited to work closely with two or three high schools, shifting the primary leadership of clubs from students to trained Youth for Christ specialists.

In order to understand the change from YFC clubs to "Campus Life" clubs which took place in the mid-sixties, three factors need to be kept in mind. In the first place, there was a fundamental change in the student population. "Baby boomers" had come of age and they were significantly different from previous generations of high school students. The post-Sputnik emphasis on science and technology produced an educational sophistication which separated them from their parents. A parenting and educational methodology exemplified by Dr. Benjamin Spock caused students to prefer dialogue rather than one-way communication from authority figures to learners. The threat of nuclear war compounded by the growing military involvement in southeast Asia and constant media coverage both in the form of news reports and in the popular music of their generation, led the children of the sixties to ignore the future and focus on the present. The high school student was quantitatively different from previous generations of high school students. A generation gap existed.

Secondly, there was a change in the structure of the Youth for Christ organization. In an effort to improve the quality and effectiveness of the organization, a new consti-

tution was adopted which speeded up the decision making process through a representative form of government, tightened personal qualifications for staff members all the way down to the local level, and up-graded benefits for full-time personnel while strengthening the geographic areas of the program. The changes, made in 1962, facilitated adjustments in ministry philosophy, methodology and accountability within the organization.⁶²

Thirdly, there was a hard analysis of the scope and effectiveness of the ministry by a "second generation" of Youth for Christ leaders. With the coming of the sixties a new group of men moved into leadership positions who had not been involved in the formative stages of the movement. Most were products of the movement, yet were not tied to the methodologies of the forties. The questions which they asked forced an alteration in the Youth for Christ club philosophy.⁶³

The first question sought to understand the religious make-up of the American teenage population. It was discovered that only about 5 percent of American adolescents claimed to have had a Christian conversion experience, while another 35 percent claimed to have some sort of religious affiliation. This left 60 percent of the high school student population who Youth for Christ staff described as "unchurched," meaning that they claimed no regular contact with a church or synagogue.⁶⁴ The follow-up question identified

which of these groups Youth for Christ was reaching. The answer was disconcerting. Most of the teens identifying with YFC clubs were in the first category-- students who already claimed to have had a conversion experience. Next came those associated with churches and finally, with a very low number came the unchurched high schooler. A readership survey of those who subscribed to Youth for Christ Magazine in 1960 supported this finding. Of those responding in the non-scientific poll, 96 percent said that their churches had a youth group of some kind while 85 percent said that they attended that group regularly. Only 6 percent said they never attended a church youth group at all.⁶⁵

If this were true as the second generation staff contended, then something was very wrong with the Youth for Christ ministry philosophy. The very people who the organization was claiming to reach were remaining outside the sphere of the program's influence. Thus was ushered in the Campus Life philosophy of ministry.

Campus Life Clubs

Under the leadership of Jack Hamilton, Youth for Christ clubs had grown from sixteen clubs in Kansas City in 1947 to over twenty-five hundred clubs when he resigned in 1960. Nearly single-handedly Hamilton transformed the organization from a rally focused operation to a movement which saw the high school Bible clubs as the front line of student

evangelism. The key to this focus, contends the club founder, was students:

There are too many kids, there's not enough money and there is not enough time to have enough leaders to do what we're trying to do. I believe the only way we'll ever get the job done is through kids.⁶⁶

The goal to which Hamilton was referring was student evangelism and discipleship. A message preached by Bob Pierce at the 1956 Winona Lake Convention had established the student evangelism focus in the mind of the movement. Efforts were not to be spent on proclaiming the Christian gospel to adults or children; energies were not to be siphoned off into collecting clothing and food for missionaries, emergency relief efforts or the poor. The mission of Youth for Christ was student evangelism.⁶⁷

Bill Eakin joined the staff of the national club office in June of 1959. He, like Hamilton, was a pioneer in the club ministry, having established the "Youth Aflame" clubs in Akron, Ohio, about the same time Hamilton's "Youth on the Beam" clubs were getting started in Kansas City. So when Hamilton retired in 1960, Eakin took the reins of club leadership.

Youth for Christ International, by many standards, reached it's high point in the early 1960s. Chartered rallies were at or near an all time high. twenty-five hundred clubs dotted the nation averaging about thirty students per club. This meant that close to seventy-five thousand students were involved in Bible clubs each week.

Nearly ten thousand of these students were members of Bible quiz teams. From most perspectives, the ministry continued to be a continuing "miracle."

There was one problem, however. YFC clubs were not reaching the large masses of "unsaved teenagers." Such was Bill Eakin's report to the Board of Directors in the Spring of 1962.⁶⁸ To remedy the problem, Eakin suggested two innovations. One was a student assembly program whereby professional speakers would tour the nation speaking in high school assemblies on topics of concern to local school authorities thus earning a hearing for evening meetings when they could present the Christian gospel in club meetings. The other was a camping program targeted for non-churched youth. The strategy was similar to that employed by Young Life Campaign.

Still, to a new generation of leadership, the suggestions did not go far enough. Six men met in Salt Lake City that same year in a two day meeting which turned out to be pivotal in the development of a club philosophy which could reach beyond students already committed to Jesus Christ to the non-churched, non-Christian students. Bill Eakin, Willie Foote, Jack Hamilton, Bob Kraning, Ken Overstreet and Bruce Washburn conceptualized a new shape for campus ministry. Still realizing that the teenager was the key to high school evangelism, they drafted a teen-to-teen philosophy whereby "the Christian teenager [could] properly

and successfully communicate in action and words his personal faith in Jesus Christ to his friends, his campus and his world."⁶⁹

Over the next several years innovative approaches to club ministry were field tested. A "2-plus-2" format emerged. Two meetings each month would be focused on outreach while the other two meetings would concentrate more on Biblical content. In San Diego under the leadership of Ken Overstreet, Jim Green and Mike Yaconelli created ways to attract and hold non-Christian youth at club meetings were tested. The idea came to be called Impact meetings. While in Fresno, California, and Arlington Heights, Illinois, Larry Ballenger and Clayton Baumann explored methods for aiding students who wanted greater spiritual formation. This discipleship aspect came to be called Insight. The two together came to be known as Campus Life.

In 1968 the first Insight and Impact manuals were published by Youth for Christ International. The manuals signified the completion of the change process from the old YFC clubs the new Campus Life concept. Though quizzing and talent competition continued for several more years, there would be no room in Campus Life for them in the years ahead.

The first aspect of the Campus Life Club approach to campus ministry was the Insight meeting. This was a bi-weekly gathering of students who professed a faith relationship to Jesus Christ. It was targeted for the same group of

students who had been attending the YFC Club but the emphasis was different. Instead of being student led, Insight was planned and directed by a Campus Life Staff person who would be more effective in accomplishing the goals of the club.

Insight meetings were not evangelistic in nature. They were no longer to be miniature versions of the Saturday night rally. Instead they were designed to develop spiritual maturity in the life of the Christian teen. ⁷⁰ Three questions were to be answered in the Insight meetings: "Who am I in my relationship to God?" "Why should I communicate my faith in Jesus Christ to others?" and "How can I best carry out my responsibility for Christian witness?"

Neither were the Insight meetings designed to be a more efficient form of entertaining church kids. The meetings were designed to equip students, who were serious about their Christian faith, with the skills necessary to reach peers on their campus with the good news about Jesus Christ. It was expected that Insight sessions would be attended by a small group of students.

In each Insight session it was suggested that the format include instruction, inspiration, involvement and initiative. Instruction pertained to specific areas of need which called for help in the lives of Christian students. Some needs were generic among adolescents while others were unique to the local situation. This instruction found its

source of authority in Biblical teachings.

Inspiration came through prayer, specific challenges from the leader or the sharing of personal experiences related to spiritual development and the high school campus. Student involvement was vital to the Campus Life methodology. Young people who attended the Insight meetings were expected to participate in the special assignments, discussions, and/or testimony times provided during the meetings.

The fourth aspect of the Insight meeting was Initiative. The purpose was to encourage and even gently force the student to put his faith into action on the high school campus. Suggestions were made as to how a young person could take a stand for his faith and become effective in getting uncommitted students to think about the spiritual aspects of their lives. One of the primary vehicles suggested was the Campus Life Impact meeting which was held on alternating weeks.

The Campus Life Insight/Impact meetings did not represent a change in the club philosophy of Youth for Christ, International. It was merely a change in methodology. "Teen to teen" was still the philosophy. The best and primary way to reach the high school campus with the gospel was through students enrolled on that campus. These students needed to be healthy individuals living balanced lives who had the skill to communicate convictions about faith and life. This was in keeping with Jack Hamil-

ton's earliest ideas about clubs on high school campuses. The change came in the fact that adults were becoming the initiators. Experience had shown that Christian teenagers tended to settle into comfortable social groupings with other Christian students and thus not become involved in the lives of peers who lacked spiritual dimensions in their own lives. The Campus Life strategy used trained club professionals to "jump-start" the process.

The second part of the Campus Life Strategy was the Impact meeting. Campus Life Impact manual defines the meeting as follows:

Campus Life IMPACT is an INFORMAL evening meeting of ONE HOUR centered around a YFC CAMPUS LIFE DIRECTOR. It contains a significant amount of INVOLVEMENT by students who participate both in the INFORMAL PRELIMINARIES of the meeting and in the DISCUSSION/TALK-TO before the WRAP-UP.

The make-up of the audience should comprise AT LEAST a ONE-TO-ONE ratio of non-Christians to Christians, and the meeting should be at a COMFORTABLE PLACE FOR THE NON-CHRISTIAN TO BE. OFFICERS are optional.⁷¹

The capitalized words in the definition were key to understanding what Impact was all about. It was INFORMAL and COMFORTABLE. Held in a home rather than in a school or church, the students would be seated casually on the floor rather than in rows of chairs.

The length of the meeting was limited to ONE HOUR in the evening. Though students want to get away from home on school nights, the club leader had to be careful not to hurt

the student's academic life by keeping her away from the books too long.

The center of the meeting was a YFC CAMPUS LIFE DIRECTOR. This was a major change from the old YFC Club concept where students ran the program. The reason for this new approach was the greater ability of the trained adult to use the crowd breaking activities to gain a hearing among students, the communication skills of the director to guide discussions and the spiritual sensitivity of the leader to suggest an appropriate response from non-Christian teenagers.

Communication methods used by the director included both DISCUSSION and TALK-TO. Discussions generally progressed from broad topics related to the lives of the students to hone-in on the spiritual aspects of the issues being explored. A Talk-To, used less frequently than the discussion format, was a short and usually witty speech which made a specific point related to Christian values. The WRAP-UP allowed the adult leader to bring to closure the discussion of the evening and provided the non-Christian with an opportunity to respond in an appropriate manner.

The reason why the Campus Life Club sought a ONE-TO-ONE relationship between non-Christians and Christians was for the purpose of helping the young people with Christian commitments to reach beyond their own comfort zone and establish contact with students who were lacking in the

spiritual dimension of their lives. The club would not work as well if there were either too many or too few Christian teens.

With a change of club philosophy as dramatic as the shift from Youth for Christ Clubs with students responsible for club leadership, to the Campus Life format where club professionals planned and led meetings, one could expect dramatic results either positively or negatively. Both happened. On the positive side, though figures were not reliably kept until after 1973, it appears that Campus Life clubs began to reach more unconverted students than they had during the days of the Youth for Christ club approach. In a document comparing statistics over the decade from 1975-1976 to 1984-1985, Youth for Christ shows an average of nine conversion decisions made in Campus Life clubs per year. That is one decision per month as a national average for the one thousand to thirteen hundred individual clubs which were reported during the decade. ⁷² At first this ratio of decisions to clubs does not appear to be any greater than that reported by Jack Hamilton to the Twelfth Annual Convention of Youth for Christ International in July 1956, when Hamilton reported that one decision per club was made during the previous March. The number is suspect, though. Only about a fifth of the clubs in the nation reported to Hamilton's office during the month (212 of 1059). Assuming that the more successful a club was, the more likely it would be

to report results, it is probable that the ratio would have decreased sharply if all clubs had reported. ⁷³ It is safe to conclude that the Campus Life strategy brought about a higher ratio of spiritual conversions to club meetings than did the old YFC club format.

On the negative side, the number of clubs functioning under the new Campus Life format was approximately one third of the 3073 clubs reported by Bill Eakin from the national club office in 1962. ⁷⁴ The reasons for this sharp decrease were twofold. In the first place the new club philosophy required clubs to be led by Campus Life staff people. Unlike the days when a club director would boast of twenty or thirty clubs, Campus Life staff were responsible for no more than two or three. Even with a dramatic growth in staff members during the period, the number of clubs declined.

The second reason for the decrease was resistance to change. When the new club philosophy was adopted by the national office, several large and influential programs left Youth for Christ International to become independent programs. Among these was the Kansas City rally where the original Youth for Christ club philosophy was pioneered by ⁷⁵ Jack Hamilton.

The most significant statistics to come out of the records kept by the National Field Office of Youth for Christ and those scattered throughout reports of of the fifties and sixties, is the fact that the average size of

clubs, whether the original Youth for Christ Clubs or the revised edition, Campus Life Clubs, was consistently the same. With the exception of only two years, the club attendance was within three students of averaging thirty people. It would appear that the consistency of the thirty number might say something about group dynamics which surpasses the influence of club philosophy or methodology.⁷⁶

Campus Life Support Services

The Campus Life concept required a whole new approach to servicing the club leaders. When Jack Hamilton started the national club program, support was provided by sending out mimeographed newsletters with ideals in them, answering questions posed by student leaders and adult sponsors and occasionally visiting local club programs. There were even club programs with whom YFC staff members never had face to face contact. They were euphemistically referred to as "mail-order clubs" because students had written for help and Hamilton had simply done what he could to help them through regular mailings.⁷⁷

Already Youth for Christ Magazine had changed its name and editorial philosophy. The new name, cleverly enough, was Campus Life. After a transition which began with the editorial leadership Vernon McLellen in the late fifties, and continued under Warren Wiersby in the early sixties, the magazine shed its role as a house organ for Youth for Christ

International. By the mid-sixties editors Ron Wilson and Harold Myra had stopped publishing reports on rallies across the nation. Information from Bill Eakin on the club division focused on people rather than club activities and Bible quizzing. Starting with the October 1965 issue, the magazine took on a sleek new image similar to that of Seventeen and other teen oriented publications.

The name and the content were designed to appeal to the average high school student. Though many articles were written to students who already had a spiritual commitment, others were targeted to those who were among that sixty percent of the high school population which had no regular religious affiliation. Thus the magazine became a useful tool to enhance the image of the club on campus.

As the move to the Campus Life strategy developed, the need for programming materials became more significant. Campus Life meetings became the place where the secular high school students were exposed to the Christian message. No longer did the club focus on Bible study; nor did students take the responsibility for planning and leading the meeting. Seldom were outside speakers used to address the club. The responsibility for effective structure and communication rested with the Campus Life Staff member.

To assist the club leaders, Bill Eakin, national club director of Youth for Christ International, called together some of the most innovative thinkers in the movement.

During a few days of intensive brainstorming and writing, San Diego's Ken Overstreet, Fresno's Larry Ballenger, and Chicago-North Area's Clayton Baumann along with a few other people put together the initial "Insight-Impact Manuals." These were stapled together and distributed to club leaders across the nation for the 1965-1966 school year. The procedure was repeated for the following two years. Then, in 1968, the first "Insight-Impact Manuals" were printed and bound in lose-leaf notebooks. From that point, the preparation of club materials took on an ever-increasing degree of importance and sophistication.⁷⁹

The training of club leaders took on a new importance during the late sixties and early seventies. New staff were being brought into the movement from college campuses. Training for the new style of high school ministry was not available in the Christian college curriculum. It was too new. Club leaders were being asked to spend ten hours a week at each of two or three campuses and, as a result, new types of ministry skills were needed by the Campus Life leader. The summer institute took on a high degree of significance in making the Campus Life Strategy work.⁸⁰

At first, training sessions were designed by the person chosen to address a given topic. There was only an informal standardization of content. In 1971, Clayton Baumann was brought onto the national Youth for Christ International staff to put the training materials into training manuals

for the Summer Institute. This brought about national norms⁸¹ and procedures for Campus Life clubs.

Domestic Teen Teams were another innovation of the Campus Life era. Musical groups composed of college age students had been traveling overseas under the auspicious⁸² of Youth for Christ International since 1951. The music competition held at the Winona Lake Convention increased the pool of available talent and in 1961 Wendy Collins assembled the first "Teen Team" sponsored by the organization. On a four month tour, the group sang its way across the Middle East and Europe, telling of the gospel story. Seven hundred and fifty conversions were recorded in response to this ministry. During the remainder of the decade, thirty-six more teams were sent out to seventy countries around the⁸³ world.

As the Campus Life philosophy emerged in the club program, the idea of having a domestic Teen Team resulted. The group would travel into an area where Campus Life clubs were active, put on concerts as part of high school assembly programs during the day and then do Campus Life sponsored evangelistic concerts in the evenings. Groups with names like the New World Singers, the Young and Free, The Random Sample were trained by Youth for Christ music specialists, recorded albums and toured the nation for the school year. Though the concept was well received and the objections to the group's use of secular music and contemporary musical

styles were minimal, the idea was discontinued in the early
seventies because of financial considerations. ⁸⁴

When one examines the Campus Life materials and the entire club format which was adopted by Youth for Christ International in the mid sixties, the impression might be gained that the strategy was an adaptation of the club approach used by the Young Life Campaign since early in the forties. About the only difference between the two was that Campus Life's crowd-breakers and games had replaced the singing in a Young Life club. The impression to some extent may be valid. Clayton Baumann, for example, one of the architects of the Campus Life philosophy and designer of early training manuals, had his first exposure to a high school club in a Young Life setting led by George Sheffer. ⁸⁵

The fact is, however, that the Campus Life philosophy was a response on the part of a number of Youth for Christ International club specialists to adapt to the changing climate of high school youth in the 1960s. The ideas for the new format came from a diverse cross-section of youth workers within the organization as they attempted to remain "geared to the times while anchored to the Rock," a slogan which dated back to the earliest days of the movement. The end product of this transition in ministry philosophy was a club program which bore a striking resemblance to clubs developed by Jim Rayburn a quarter of a century earlier.

The Young Life Club Approach

The Weekly Club

The club program pioneered by Jim Rayburn changed very little over the years. A comparison of the 1941 "Young Life Leaders' Manual" and the 1970 Young Life Leadership Manual shows very few differences in the structure of the club program. ⁸⁶ Rayburn and his Young Life team had merely refined and enhanced a club format which centered around the adult club leader.

Suggestions for effective club meetings in the early forties included four basic components: getting started, song service, message, and close. Thirty years later ingredients of a good club meeting were described as singing, minutes, announcements, message and close. It was merely a reshuffling of the program elements. In the early stages of the movement, student leaders were called upon to open the club meeting with prayer, a testimony or comments ⁸⁷ which would "hit the spot right from the very beginning." It was not long before this student role in the program had been changed from setting a serious tone for the meeting to presenting the "minutes." These were a humorous way for "breaking down barriers and making high schoolers laugh and relax in a happy setting." ⁸⁸ In both cases, students were seen as a key to gaining a hearing for the Christian message in the club setting.

The announcements, listed among the 1970 suggestions for club ingredients, were tucked in among the songs of the earlier set of instructions. There was no change there. The message portion of club meetings, similarly, varied little over the thirty years. The paragraph written in 1941 saw its description of a "down-to-earth message" translated into messages presented in "a dynamic, winsome manner" explained in forty-six pages of biblical and communication principles in the later manual. Yet the substance had not changed.⁸⁹

Even the "close" remained a constant. From the very beginning closing the meeting well and boosting the next meeting was seen as a priority. The stress was on leaving the students with a good impression of the meeting and what was said in the meeting. Though the gospel was presented in the club meeting and a response may have been sought, the conclusion of the meeting was not to be a guilt-laden appeal as was common in many evangelistic meetings of the era.

The first twenty-five years of the Young Life movement was primarily the story on one man--Jim Rayburn. It was his skill and insight which formulated the club philosophy and made the philosophy work. Rayburn's charisma and vision attracted bright young men and women to work for salaries far below expectations based on educational achievements, especially in the early years. His fund-raising ability kept the movement one step ahead of financial disaster. It was the founder's dream which led the movement to purchase six

first-class resort facilities for high school students between 1945 and 1967.

Yet it may have been Jim Rayburn's entrepreneurial management style which kept the movement from expanding more rapidly than it did. Three years after the Young Life Board forced Rayburn to resign for health related reasons in 1964, the movement was in virtual bankruptcy, with all properties mortgaged, assets frozen and six hundred thousand dollars borrowed from the bank. Systems for financial stability were not in place. Rayburn had been the system.⁹⁰

As strong as the growth of the movement was, the figures reported in 1966 showed but 154 staff people, 410⁹¹ clubs and 8243 campers in the North American ministry. This can be contrasted with 272 staff members and 2966 clubs⁹² reported by Youth for Christ International in 1963. The ratio of the number of clubs (410 for Young Life vs. 2966 for Youth for Christ) to number of staff workers (154 for Young Life vs. 272 for Youth for Christ), reflected the difference in club philosophy more than Rayburn's ability to recruit and develop club staff.

Following Jim Rayburn's forced resignation in 1964, the movement went through a period of adjustment during which many systems for the development of the movement had to be built. Bill Starr, named associate executive director and general manager, was given the responsibility of the management of the mission. Though many changes were made to put

the movement on a firm basis financially and managerially, the club philosophy remained basically unchanged.

With the administrative changes in 1963, the movement began to grow again. Though two decades of Rayburn leadership had seen a doubling of staff members each ten years, reaching a high of 136 in 1961 with 7640 people attending camps in 1963, the growth curve had flattened out during early sixties. Under Bill Starr's leadership the following decade concluded with 378 staff members and 17,098 campers. Though precise figures are not available for the number of clubs functioning during the Rayburn years, the increase between 1966 (the first year of statistical records in the annual report) and 1973 (a decade after the change in leadership) showed a 145 percent increase of staff members (154 to 378), a 140 percent increase in clubs (410 to 988), an 84 percent increase in campers (9293 to 17098), and a 35 percent increase in average club size (52 to 70).⁹³

The early seventies were the high point of the movement from a statistical perspective. Though the number of professional and volunteer staff would continue to grow until 1978 (479 and 6368) and then remain constant for the next decade, the number of clubs and campers remained consistently around the one thousand and seventeen thousand marks, respectively. At the same time club attendance was falling from a peak of seventy-three in 1971 to a plateau averaging about fifty in the late seventies and beyond.⁹⁴

Follow-up for New Converts

While the purpose of the Young Life Club was to present the Christian gospel to high school students in a manner appropriate to their adolescent world, club workers had another challenge. The concern was over students who had made a spiritual commitment to Jesus Christ and who had little meaningful contact with a church. These young people needed to be trained in the basics of their newly found Christian faith. To accomplish this task, the movement provided two primary means of follow-up: a weekly meeting for "leadership kids" called Campaigners and a monthly magazine.

Young Life Leadership Manual explains the weekly meeting.

"Campaigners" is the name Young Life has used to signify the work it does in the follow-up ministry with young people who have committed their lives to Christ. This ministry is to encourage Christian maturity individually and through small group situations.

It is ministry that takes place in casual or planned meetings which meet separately from the Young Life Club. The club work is primarily outreach, introducing young people to the Person of Jesus Christ, while the Campaigners' ministry is designed to continue in the Christian life in a vital growth process.⁹⁵

To accomplish the spiritual growth process in the lives of high school students, Campaigner meetings stressed seven aspects of the Christian life. The first concern was with assisting the student to understand the meaning of

their spiritual commitment to Christ. Stress was placed on the submission of every part of the young person's life to Jesus Christ as portrayed in the Bible. The commitment was described as a "love relationship with God."⁹⁶

Aspects two and three of the Campaigner strategy were emphases on spiritual formations in the form of Bible reading and prayer. Young Life leaders were trained to guide their student leaders to develop habits of personal piety which would be continued throughout life.⁹⁷

Getting students involved in Christian fellowship was the fourth aspect of the Campaigner meeting. Though the meeting provided a primary group with whom this fellowship could take place, the Young Life Leadership Manual provided insightful suggestions as to how a high school student could select a church and begin enjoying Christian relationships in an established church. Though this theology of the church's role in the student's maturation process was correct, the effectiveness in getting new believers into local churches was unsatisfactory both to Young Life staff members and to clergymen.⁹⁸

Putting their faith into action was the next concern of the follow-up process. Obedience to the Bible, bearing witness of their newly found faith, social action and service within "Christ's family," became the fifth objective of the Campaigner meeting. Drawing "upon God's resources in times of trouble and temptation" was the sixth building block to

Christian maturity while learning the basic doctrines of the Christian church was the final goal of the follow-up program. It should be noted that all of these aims were interpreted through an evangelical protestant perspective. 99

The emergence of the Campaigner meeting and its early methodology is not clear. By the time the Young Life Leadership Manual was published in the early seventies, the teaching style recommended was very relational and highly interactive. One suggested approach to the weekly Campaigner meeting was to break the session into four parts. "The Conditioning Process" prepared the group to think by putting them at ease and establishing an open, permissive and friendly atmosphere. This was followed by "The Provocative Process" in which the leader selected a question based on one of the seven aspects of the Christian life mentioned above and then guided students to discover answers in the Bible. "The Discussion Process" then followed with the leader guiding the discussion, as much as possible, to prescribed conclusion. Finally, "The Conclusion Process" reviewed what had been covered and the conclusions achieved. The meeting was concluded with an informal time of prayer in which students carried on a conversation with God much as if He had been present in the room with them. 100

The other follow-up tool for Young Life club members was Young Life Magazine. Published in format attractive to high school students beginning in at least 1948 (though

volume numbers would suggest the actual beginning to be September 1943), the magazine attempted to capture the student's imagination by featuring the world in which she lived. Sports, drama, jokes, personality features, highlights from clubs or camps were all present in its pages. Issues of social concern relevant to the high school student were featured from a Christian perspective. Article titles ranged from "How Can We Have World Peace? Five Kids Talk It Over" to "How Safe are the Hot Rods?"¹⁰¹ Other topics covered included moral standards, pornography, reckless driving, being a stepchild, parents, fraternities and sororities,¹⁰² and going steady.

Bible study and the credibility of the Bible was an emphasis especially during the fifties. A monthly Bible guide variously named "Down to Business" or "Know the Book" provided suggestions for students who wanted to study their Bibles on a daily basis. It continued until October 1957, when the column was restructured to use a quartet of high school students as discussants on Bible related questions. Evidence of the trustworthiness of the Bible from the perspective of archeology, was featured in an article on about a movie on the topic.¹⁰³ A series on science and the Bible written by Claude Hathaway, a designer of control equipment for the Bikini atom bomb, was published during 1951. Each of these and many other articles were designed to provide assurance to the high schooler of the importance and valid-

ity of his faith.

The circulation of Young Life Magazine was limited, however, and, as a result, it was marginally effective as a follow-up tool. It appealed more to enthusiastic Young Life regular attenders than to new converts who needed to have their recent commitments to Christ confirmed. Like Youth For Christ Magazine, the Young Life publication was primarily a house organ which promoted the club and camp ministries of the movement.

Camp Programs

To read the annual reports of the Young Life Campaign is to read the history of the camping ministries of the movement. Though the idea of reaching young people through camping experiences preceded the founding of clubs, the turning point in use of summer camps as a cap-stone on the year's club program came in 1946 when Jim Rayburn teamed up with Herbert W. Taylor, president of Chicago based Club Aluminum, to purchase Star Ranch, nestled in the Rocky Mountains near Buena Vista, Colorado. Starting from 332 summer campers at one camp in 1948 and peaking at over seventy-two thousand campers throughout the year at nine camps in 1972-1973, Young Life developed a philosophy of camping which would have a national impact on camps operated by evangelical organizations.

"By providing a setting of 'high adventure'," proclaims

the Young Life Leadership Manual, "We feel that a certain climate of openness is created in the minds of the teenagers that cannot be duplicated anywhere else." ¹⁰⁶ This high adventure was provided at resorts owned by Young Life and operated for the benefit of high school students. The contrast with traditional camp settings was dramatic. Instead of being a primitive settings by a lake or river within a four or five hour travel radius of the campers' homes, fully furnished Young Life resorts were set in the most picturesque locations in the United States and Canada, thousands of miles from home.

The camp experience was viewed as both the culmination of the club season and the basis for the coming year. Even though clubs were designed to confront students with the biblical teachings about Jesus Christ, many times these claims went unheeded. Club workers saw camp as a logical place for the gospel presentation to be made amidst a climate of maximum receptivity. Thus, local leaders heavily recruited uncommitted student leaders as well as others to attend camp. For those who had not graduated from high school, the shared experience in such an exotic setting with adults and peers who loved life and worshipped God laid the foundation for the club program in the fall. Camp became the anchor bolt in the Young Life ministry philosophy.

The camping experience was further utilized to educate club leaders in disciplines of Christian living. Work Crew

was a program which brought student leaders from all over the nation to the camp sites at their own expense and allowed them to work for three weeks in support roles such as kitchen or dining room help, grounds or housekeeping responsibilities and other menial jobs. The purpose was not to get cheap help, though that was appreciated, but to shape student leaders through service, accountability and Bible studies. All of these were accomplished under the watchful eye of a camp's Work Crew boss whose exclusive task was to work with these young people. Camp was a natural extension of the Young Life Club program and became for many people the most prominent feature of the movement. More than any other place, camp provided a forum for its relational theology to be played out in life.

Conclusion

During the years 1950 to 1979, national high school club programs replaced the Saturday evening rallies as the focus of the Youth for Christ movement for reaching young people with the Christian gospel. Jack Hamilton, followed by Bill Eakin of Youth for Christ International, spearheaded a club program which superseded a variety of local club strategies and built a network of over three thousand clubs by 1962.

The sixties saw changes in the Youth for Christ Club format. Students no longer took direct responsibility for

club meetings. This once popular approach to campus ministry faltered and was replaced in 1968 by the Campus Life Club which utilized professional club workers to lead meetings. Consequently the number of clubs dropped to about the one thousand mark and maintained that number through the decade of the seventies.

Concurrently the Young Life movement was utilizing basically the same club strategy pioneered by it's founder, Jim Rayburn, in the early forties. The movement doubled in size each decade until it, like Youth for Christ International, was running about a thousand clubs in the United States as the decade of the seventies came to a close.

It was the club programs, primarily of Youth for Christ International and Young Life Campaign which had the most pervasive impact on youth ministry in local evangelical churches. The youth rallies which had caught the eye of the media in the forties had grown up with the evangelists, such as Billy Graham, who headed them. Now their audiences were primarily adults. In place of the rallies came campus based clubs whose intent was to carry the Christian gospel onto the high school campus. It would be these parachurch agencies which would revise and update a club methodology for local churches to imitate.

CHAPTER VI

End Notes

1. Jim Smith, "From 3 to 147 in 5 Months!" Youth for Christ Magazine 14 (April 1957): 24-25 (hereafter Youth for Christ Magazine cited as YFCM).
2. "Headlines!" YFCM 7 (December 1949): 33-36.
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CHAPTER VII

Contributions of the Youth For Christ Movement to Local Church Youth Ministry

"There are very few things done in youth work that were not pioneered in Youth for Christ or Young Life--be it in Christian Camping, various small group activities or music." ¹ That was the claim which Thom Schultz, editor of Group Magazine, attributed to Jay Kesler in 1985 while the later was president of Youth for Christ USA. The statement does not appear to be an isolated remark by Kesler.

Exploring the same idea in a discussion paper prepared for the YFC Staff planning Conference, July 1982, Kesler commented:

YFC has contributed greatly to [the] professional level [of] youth work in the church. It is rare to find a church or denominational youth worker who does not attribute much or all of his philosophical and methodological underpinnings to YFC or Young Life.²

There is no question that the broader Youth for Christ movement, not just Young Life Campaign and Youth for Christ International but also including many other less known evangelical youth ministries, had a significant effect upon the face of high school youth ministry in the local church. The same could be said, however, about other movements and

organizations dedicated to working with youth in ecclesiastical settings.

The International Society for Christian Endeavor, for example, had far more active participants than did the Youth for Christ movement. In addition, it preceded the movement by a half a century and pioneered the area wide youth rally. Denominational youth programs and the publishing houses likewise left their imprints upon parish youth ministry. Periodicals not directly related to the movement, such as The Sunday School Times, The International Journal of Religious Education, Moody Monthly and Religious Education, promoted ideas and provided materials which influenced the direction of local church youth ministry during the middle decades of the twentieth century.

The question upon which this chapter will focus is not intended to compare which agency of youth ministry had the greater influence on church youth ministry in the United States but to examine the distinctive contributions of the movement. Three areas in which the Youth for Christ movement influenced church-based youth ministry will be examined. These include a redefinition of Christian values, the creation of a youth ministry profession, and innovations in youth ministry methodology. The first of these is the value system which emerged among evangelicals as a result of the Youth for Christ movement.

Redefinition of Christian Values

Involvement in Evangelism

Youth groups dating back to Francis E. Clark's Christian Endeavor movement have claimed an evangelistic intent. Purpose statements for all but the most liberal of protestant denominationally sponsored youth programs included a section on the importance spreading the Christian gospel to world. Unfortunately, this part of the youth group's constitution appears to have been the least heeded aspect and for the most part was given only occasional acknowledgement.

Concerns for the absence of evangelistic efforts among America's youth and admonitions to tell young people about the Christian gospel were constant themes in religious periodicals. Moody Monthly illustrates the point. Dr. Will Houghton, the newly installed president of Moody Bible Institute, initiated a feature in the magazine entitled "Youth Page." It ran from September 1935 to June 1942 when the wartime efforts made it more appropriate for the emphasis to be focused on youth who were in the military, thus narrowing the scope of the youth related articles.

During the the period from 1931 to 1944, 160 youth-related articles were published in Moody Monthly, most of which were featured on "Youth Page." Of these, nearly twenty-five percent of the youth-related articles (41 of 160) were about evangelism. Most were written from an adult

perspective and described the activities of adults as they told other adults or young people about the gospel. Twelve of the articles were about youth ministries current at the time but only half of those spoke of evangelistic efforts which further illustrated the point that there was more talk about the evangelization of youth than there was evidences of it actually happening.³

The Sunday School Times took the opposite approach to the evangelization of youth during the early years of the Youth for Christ movement. Instead of "preaching" to youth about spreading the gospel, the Philadelphia-based paper included scores of articles about people who were attempting to reach young people for Christ. Though articles about ministry to college students were the most prominent, followed by Bible teaching strategies for children, there were a number of features on methods for touching the lives of non-churched high school and junior high school youth.⁴ The articles about Evelyn McClusky and the Miracle Book Club are the best illustrations of these efforts to minister to young and middle adolescents.

The word "evangelism" was virtually absent from the pages of the International Journal of Religious Education during the period of the 1930s and 1940s. Religious Education presents a similar void. This comes as no great surprise since a major emphasis of the journal was cooperative efforts between churches and denominations. The

whole idea of evangelism in the traditional sense, which called people to repentance and to personal Christian commitment no matter what their religious affiliation, was considered proselytism and thus was at odds with the ecumenical spirit of the day. It would not be until the Youth for Christ movement was well under way that the International Journal of Religious Education would directly⁵ address the issue of youth evangelism in the local church.

As one examines the contents of the youth oriented articles published in these periodicals during the days preceding the emergence of the Youth for Christ movement, it is apparent that editors were far more concerned with the passing of values related to doctrine and life-style than to fulfilling Christ's mandate to preach the gospel throughout the world. The evidence is consistent with S.N. Eisenstadt's theory of adult sponsored youth movements examined in chapter two.

The Youth for Christ movement brought to the fore a value which had been tacitly maintained during a half century of church youth ministry, but which had not been given a high priority among the competing values held by Christian parents and church leaders. The actual practice of evangelizing youth became a normal practice when men like Percy B. Crawford, Lloyd T. Bryant, Jack Wyrzten, Jim Rayburn and Billy Graham began addressing thousands of adolescents and adults in old-fashioned mass meetings which

had been made attractive to youth by employing a staccato pacing and popular toning similar to commercial radio shows.

Commercial radio, of which Crawford, Wyrzten and Graham made extensive use, moved the emphasis on the spread of the Christian gospel out of the Sunday school class, past the doors of the church and into the living rooms of the nation. Live broadcasts of Saturday night youth rallies attended by as many as twenty-thousand people became the focal points for youth evangelism. By the late forties, the print media, both religious and secular, were featuring the evangelization of youth through news and editorial coverage.

Youth for Christ Magazine and the Sunday School Times championed the cause with the former leading the way during the decade from the mid-forties to the mid-fifties. Articles on revival spoke of a great spiritual awakening which would draw the nation and the world to repentance for sin and acceptance of forgiveness through the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ as described in the Bible.⁶ Moody Monthly, influenced by the movement, hired former Young Life staff writers, Hazel Goddard and Wally Howard, to bring an emphasis which included evangelism, to its newly established "Youth Supplement" in the years following World War II.

With the weakening of the Saturday night rallies in the early fifties, came a supplementary approach to youth evangelism. Building on the pioneering ideas of Evelyn McClusky and the Miracle Book Club, Chicago's Teacher's

Christian Fellowship and High School Crusade (Hi-C) as well as the club strategies of Jim Rayburn and the Young Life Campaign, national club programs started an ever-increasing effort to reach unchurched students with the Christian gospel. Some clubs were tied into the remaining rallies while others became independent evangelistic tools.

As club methodologies developed, especially those of the Youth for Christ Clubs with its Bible quiz, music and speaking contests, denominational youth organizations began borrowing the program elements in a manner similar to the way in which the Christian Endeavor components had been appropriated fifty years before. At the same time the component parts of the club programs became so popular with students who already had a Christian commitment that the club became an end in itself rather than a means for spreading the Christian gospel. Within a relatively short period of time during the late fifties the original rationale for using the club as an evangelistic enterprise had all but disappeared.

In a few parts of the country where the Saturday night Youth for Christ rallies were still a viable option, some clubs retained an evangelistic flavor. Many clubs, however, became "S.M.O.T.S." (Secret Meetings of the Saints). Church youth groups which had been influenced by Youth for Christ club-craft, similarly, began running programs which looked much like Youth For Christ clubs but without an

evangelistic impact. Some churches were even using YFC or Young Life materials which were made available through the publications like Moody Monthly.⁹

High school students were the primary link between club and church. On a weekly basis they brought club ideas back to the church youth group from their high schools. The imitation of YFC program ideas which church youth groups did usually focused on employing the innovative methods rather than on understanding the curricular questions of how these strategies assisted the youth group to achieve specific learning goals. In the process the evangelistic impact of the club took a back seat to smoothly functioning youth group programs. Nationally the cutting edge of evangelism in the club had been dulled and one of the most important contributions of the Youth for Christ movement had been severely diminished.

It should be noted that YFC clubs were imitated by church youth groups much more frequently than were Young Life clubs. The reason was the central role that adult leaders played in Young Life clubs verses the leadership functions of students in the YFC club model. Students could participate in the later but were much more like spectators in the former. The participation factor made the program elements of the YFC club much more transferable to the local church youth group than from the Young Life approach.

In order to correct the drift away from evangelism on

the high school campus, Youth for Christ International introduced its Campus Life club strategy in 1968. Through a process of planning by some of the most innovative field personnel in the organization, a strategy was developed which looked very much like the Young Life club strategy except that games had replaced singing in the format. Adult leaders replaced student leadership. "Impact" manuals were prepared in order to maximize the club's evangelistic effectiveness. Adults were trained at Youth for Christ's Summer Institute and Mid-Winter conventions "to participate in the Body of Christ in the responsible evangelism of youth, presenting them with the person, work and teaching of Jesus Christ, discipling them and leading them into the local church."¹⁰

The significance of the move to the Campus Life club strategy is that the organization risked alienating certain long-time club directors, in order to refocus the mission of the organization on the evangelization of high school students. Though some local YFC programs did not go along with the new club approach and eventually left the organization over a combination of changes, all of which took place at the same time, the motivation of Bill Eakin, YFC national club director, and his staff was to make the club program the most effective evangelistic tool possible during the changing times of the late sixties.

It would not be an exaggeration to suggest that without

the emphasis on youth evangelism of the parachurch agencies of the Youth for Christ movement, students associated with church youth ministry during the middle of the twentieth century would have remained content merely to talk about spreading the Christian gospel to all the world. They would have done very little to meet the spiritual needs of their peers. The Youth for Christ movement championed the cause of high school student evangelism.

Affirmation of Social Concern

A second Christian value which was prominent in the Youth for Christ movement was that of concern for significant social issues of the day. Unlike the supposed affirmation of evangelism which conservative protestant youth ministries professed but failed to practice, actions motivated by social concerns were publicly condemned from fundamentalist pulpits but were privately practiced prior to the second World War. The concern was over the so-called "Social Gospel" first advocated by liberal theologian Walter Rauschenbush.

The issue had arisen around the turn of the century. Rauschenbush and other liberal theologians influenced by the Progressive era described the essence of the Christian gospel as proclaiming optimism regarding human capacities and the progress of society while emphasizing the necessity of altering institutional structures in order to include the

poor in the salvation of society.¹¹ This left no room for the historic protestant view salvation. As a result the Social Gospel was rejected by fundamentalists right along with the liberal theology which had spawned it.

A distinction needs to be made at this point. Conservative protestants have a history of activism when it comes to issues of personal morality. Activities which might jeopardize individual moral behavior or the freedom of the young Christian to live according to her convictions were constantly criticized by preacher and press. Moody Monthly, for example, in articles for or about youth published between 1931 and 1944, featured six concerns which merited three or more articles. These included communism (six articles), alcohol abuse (five articles), crime (four articles), dance (three articles), war (three articles) and movie attendance (three articles).¹² Though twenty-four articles in fourteen years may not seem like a vast outpouring of social awareness it must be remembered that the publication dedicated relatively little space to youth oriented articles and as a result the percentage of social concern articles may have been as high as twenty percent of the attention paid to youth.

World War II had a significant impact on the social conscience of the Youth for Christ movement. The induction of fundamentalist youth into the military service during World War II caused a great deal of disruption to the way in

which these young people viewed the world. Experiences of travel and war, exposure to pain and destruction as well as the exhilaration of spiritual and military victories on the world stage, caused young fundamentalists to see the social need of their world differently than their parents had viewed their depression oppressed society.

Youth for Christ Magazine documented the beginning of a change from exclusive concern for personal moral and spiritual issues to include relief work primarily focused on ravaged by the war. Working in conjunction with the National Association of Evangelicals, local YFC programs gathered food, clothing and books to be sent overseas. Bob Foster of Van Orin, Illinois, reported a relief drive which netted three thousand dollars in cash, five tons of clothing and at least a thousand cases of foodstuffs. ¹³ Elkhart, Indiana, YFC collected seventy-five hundred pounds of clothing valued at close to forty thousand dollars and sent it to Europe in ¹⁴ 1948. Portland, Oregon, initiated a "Christ and Clothing for Europe" drive in May 1949 with the objective to adopt an European town and send to it forty thousand pounds of clothing and a thousand CARE food packages as a means of ¹⁵ accomplishing the complete evangelization of that town.

Not only were relief efforts a concern on the local level, the national YFC International office was promoting such efforts. Mrs. Mabel Moore, whose relief work dated back to the first president of YFC, Torrey Johnson, was the woman

who carried the brunt of the load into the mid-fifties. Much of the time the bundles of relief supplies were prepared for shipment in the basement of her home. By November 1950, two hundred and sixty tons of food and clothing had reportedly been sent to Germany, Italy, and Greece as well as Hong Kong, Indonesia, Japan, Philippines, India, Austria, Czech-¹⁶oslovakia, Belgium, France and Finland.

In 1953 Mrs. Moore was named director of YFC's relief ministry, called the Woman's Auxiliary Relief Ministry (WARM). Reports from WARM continued to appear in the Youth for Christ Magazine through the mid-fifties when a speech by Bob Pierce at the annual Winona Lake Convention challenged the constituency to get out of the relief business and focus on the task of student evangelism, Pierce, a former YFC director, was not against social actions as some fundamentalists had been, for after leaving Youth for Christ he had founded World Vision, one of the premier evangelical relief agencies. His plea was for focused ministries on the part of¹⁷ both parachurch agencies.

The closest that the Youth for Christ movement came to responding to the concerns of Rauschenbush's "social gospel" may have been in its response to juvenile delinquents. For years fundamentalist preachers had called for repentance by youthful legal offenders. Articles by John Edgar Hoover, director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, appeared in evangelical publications calling for the Sunday School to

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fight the problem. This movement took a different approach.

Though the call for a personal commitment to the Christian gospel remained a constant in the movement's work with delinquents, its strategy moved the ministry out of the preaching halls into the streets, courts and prisons. Youth for Christ camps especially geared to the needs of pre-delinquent and delinquent youth were sponsored under the name Lifeline. Face-to-face contact rather than group meetings were promoted in YFC's Youth Guidance program. The Young Life slogan, "earning the right to be heard," was "fleshed-out" in the urban centers of the nation.¹⁹

One of the most useful portrayals of urban youth ministry is found in the title of Bill Milliken's book describing Young Life's work in Harlem. It was called Tough Love.²⁰ The book describes the author's efforts to live an "incarnational theology" among the gangs and drug users of Manhattan's upper east side. Though the urban programs of Young Life and Youth for Christ International grew significantly in the 1950s and 1960s, they were never on a par with the suburban club programs. William S. Starr, in the 1965 Annual Report of Young Life, described the inner-city work as a "step-child" to the suburban work.²¹ The same could be said about Youth Guidance's relationship to Youth for Christ International. Yet the fact was that both organizations were doing work with juvenile delinquents and establishing patterns for ministry which urban evangelical churches would

later adopt.

Re-embracing of Muscular Christianity

"Muscular" Christianity is a term which was coined in the mid-nineteenth century to describe the use of athletics and other physical endeavors to convey and preserve the prevailing values of the day--including religious convictions. ²² Amos Alonzo Stagg, for fifty-seven years a football coach primarily at the University of Chicago when the team was the toast of the Big Ten Athletic Conference, and James Naismith, the originator of the game of basketball, were two primary practitioners of muscular Christianity. As religious men, both attempted to use athletic competition as a means for strengthening the moral fiber of the younger generation.

Around the turn of the century some misgivings arose over what appeared to be the secular drift of muscular Christianity. To fundamentalist Christians it appeared that the Young Men's Christian Association, the Boy and Girl Scouts and other such organizations which attempted to blend physical activities with protestant values, were buying into the progressive mind-set which stressed human development and de-emphasized historic biblical values. Billy Sunday, ²³ became the champion of the criticism.

Fundamentalist publications during the 1920s and 1930s were nearly devoid of articles about athletics. Such articles as did appear either used competition as an

illustration of a religious idea or as an activity which could easily be subverted by anti-Christian forces.

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Athletes like Billy Sunday were heralded for leaving the worldliness associated with professional sports as they chose instead to follow Christ.

Then Gil Dodds broke upon the athletic scene during the early days of World War II and rapidly became a national figure as a long distance runner. In 1943 he was named the winner of the Amateur Athletic Union's Sullivan Award given annually to the amateur athlete in the United States who has done the most to further the cause of sportsmanship during the year. The following year Dodds established the world record for the indoor mile, not just once but twice. Then four years later after a brief retirement from the track circuit, the "Flying Parson," as he had been labeled by the press, won the famed Wanamaker Mile event held in New York's Madison Square Garden establishing a new indoor world record time of 4:05.3 minutes.

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Gil Dodds was to fundamentalists what Jesse Owens had been to black people in the 1936 Berlin Olympics. Raised the son of a Brethren pastor in Nebraska, Dodds' first commitment was to serving God and, following his father's advice, he enrolled in the fall of 1937 at Ashland College, a small Brethren school in Ohio where track competition was secondary to his preparation for the Christian ministry. Yet with the help from Lloyd Hahn, his "mail order" coach back at

home (Ashland College had no track program) and the enthusiastic support of Bill McKee, sports editor for the Ashland Times Gazette, Dodds' skills and fame increased. All the while, he maintained his Christian convictions steadfastly refusing to run on Sundays and using every opportunity which his reputation afforded to preach the Christian gospel and share his personal testimony with the youth of the nation.

Jack Wyrzten, Torrey Johnson and Jim Rayburn, all major players in the Youth for Christ movement, were more than enthusiastic to feature the young runner in their rallies and radio programs. Wyrzten had the inside track. His meetings and broadcasts originated in New York and New England where Dodds had enrolled for graduate studies at Boston's Gordon School of Theology and Missions. As Dodds' fame increased so did his influence over young people and a generation of bias against muscular Christianity melted into oblivion. Sports figures and sports motifs became a central theme of the Youth for Christ movement.

Youth for Christ Magazine consistently ran articles on athletes who were not ashamed of their Christian faith. A football player, basketball star, high school coach and a girl athlete who was proficient in three sports were featured during the waning years of the forties. Perhaps the most articulate integration of sports and Christian living was an article about Harvey Chrouser, the football coach at Wheaton College. In speaking about the problem of

young people dropping out of church during early adolescence, Chrouser commented, "Christian education plus supervised recreation is the answer to the high mortality among twelve to sixteen year-olds attending evangelical Sunday schools. " ²⁷ It was not a new idea, merely an newly rediscovered concept of ministry.

Young Life Magazine went a step further. In addition to features on the major team sports, the Colorado based publication featured high schoolers who competed in track's decathlon event, wrestling, girl's archery and even ²⁸ fencing. One article even featured the negative impact the football rule changes made by the National Collegiate ²⁹ Athletic Association were having upon high school teams. Muscular Christianity had certainly been brought out of the closet and given a place of prominence in high school youth ministry. With this new profile, athletes and competition became a vital link between the church and the high school campus.

Interaction With Popular Culture

If "muscular Christianity" had been a problem for for fundamentalists, the popular culture as typified by popular music and the motion picture industry was a virtual plague. Hollywood movies took the brunt of the fundamentalist's wrath until the birth of rock 'n roll music. Then what had been called "race music" (referring to a style of rhythm and

blues music performed by black musicians in New Orleans and Chicago) became extremely popular among white American teenagers. Youth workers had a dual problem with which to contend.

Criticisms of the entertainment industry had several consistent themes. Movies and music were viewed as creating a secularist worldview in which the God of the Bible was at best a bit player. The human spirit had replaced the Holy Spirit as the central force in man's destiny. In addition, the industry was seen as promoting a lifestyle which was irresponsible towards one's own body (promoting the use of alcoholic beverages, the use of tobacco products and the creation of undesirable sexual fantasies) and detrimental to society at large (glamorizing crime, promoting irresponsible sexual relationships, undermining Judeo-Christian values). A third criticism of popular entertainment was the negative impact that indulging in such pastimes might have on the Christian who was looking for an opportunity to share her Christian faith with another person. Theatres and popular music were perceived as detrimental to a Christian's witness in the community.

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H. Richard Niebuhr, in his classic work, Christ and Culture, described five motifs in the relationship between Christ and culture. Fundamentalist youth ministry took what Niebuhr called a "Christ against culture" stance. They harbored no place for the worldly manifestations of the

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theatre and popular music in the Christian lifestyle. By contrast, the large majority of youth work of the period took a "Christ of culture" position which conceived of youth groups as training adolescents within their current social settings for a better life to come. In their thinking the entertainment industry was not hostile to Christ in a de facto manner.

The Youth for Christ movement tended toward a third approach to culture. Though the break from the "Christ against culture" position was not easily or clearly made, the movement edged toward the motif which viewed Christ as the "Transformer of culture." Theatre, drama, music, and technology were merely aspects of human experience which would be used transform the culture into God's desired ends.

Though the Youth for Christ movement was firmly tied to its roots in Protestant fundamentalism, the desire to see individuals transformed into Christian disciples emerged as a higher priority. Conflict over these issues was evident within the movement and yet there was a distinct shift toward using movies and music, as well as other elements of the popular culture, as means of transforming society.

The shift began with the rallies. Young people would not be attracted to hear the Christian gospel if it were presented in a stale, old-fashioned manner. Percy Crawford was one of the first and certainly the most prominent of the early Youth for Christ evangelists to employ theatrics and

radio program precision in the context of the public proclamation of the Christian message. Jack Wyrzten, Torrey Johnson, Billy Graham and hundreds of others soon followed the example.

Lively music was a vital part of the formula. Crawford had a male vocal quartet that traveled with him and provided a Christian version of big band vocalists of the thirties. Wyrzten, a former dance band leader, included not only the Word of Life Quartet in his rallies but many other performers who would attract young people on Saturday nights. The White Sisters best typify the use of the big band sound in the evangelistic rally setting. Their close three-part harmony was nearly an exact replication of the musical style of the popular MacGuire Sisters except with religious lyrics.

The movement was also known for its lively singing. Inexpensive song books which included a blend of traditional gospel songs from the D.L Moody and Billy Sunday eras of evangelism and up-beat gospel choruses, were produced by Crawford, Youth for Christ International and the Young Life Campaign.³² Though not officially stated, one of the priorities for including a song in the books seems to have been the fact that the song was fun to sing. To further the entertainment factor, Young Life developed a tradition of singing, clapping or shouting phrases in response to the printed words. It created an acceptable irreverence which was appealing to high school youth.

By the late fifties and early sixties, musical productions in Youth for Christ International had been elevated to a level of Broadway-style sophistication. Spectacular musical concerts at the annual Winona Lake Youth for Christ Convention followed by Thurlow Spurr's "Splendor of Sacred Song" extravaganzas gave birth to a whole new era in which concerts without the traditional preaching of an evangelistic message was used as a medium for communicating religious truth. Lighting, staging, costuming and choreography converged as the next step in using music to convey a message which would transform the lives of those who were³³ spiritually receptive.

Through this period and continuing into the mid-sixties, the music utilized by the Youth for Christ movement was an extension of the past. Lyrics were primarily reworked gospel songs and choruses. Music demonstrated the influence of the big band era and Broadway music with a hint of progressive jazz. Rock 'n roll music was viewed by the public voices of the movement as being inappropriate to carry the Christian message. But a new generation of leadership was emerging. Some of these may have been closet Elvis Presley fans. As they assumed positions of leadership, they had the right and responsibility to make their musical preferences known.

The transition to Christian rock music came in the late sixties and found its way prepared by two factors: the

popularity of folk and folk-rock music among mainline evangelicals and the Christianizing by pentecostal churches of former rock music performers and their musical style. In both cases the motivation for the musical shift was in line with the heart of the Youth for Christ movement.³⁴

From the folk side came Youth for Christ's New World Singers, the Young and Free and The Random Sample, three groups who were created to be compatible with the new Campus Life club format officially adopted in 1968. Their target audience was the unchurched high school student who had no contact with the traditional style of church music. What Youth for Christ International did on the high school level, Campus Crusade for Christ did on the college level with such groups as the New Christian Minstrels and the New Folk. For the most part the music was accompanied by acoustical instruments of the folk idiom and the words were written as contemporary Christian ballads. Church youth groups rapidly adopted this new musical style.³⁵

The Christian rock sound was a product of the Jesus Movement and was spawned on the west coast. Many of the performers were counter-culture musicians who had found their spiritual roots in Christianity and were permitted by Pentecostal or charismatic pastors like Chuck Smith of Calvary Chapel in Costa Mesa, California, to use their musical style to proclaim their newly found faith. Others merely used the new found freedom of the Jesus Movement to

express their own musical creativity where there were few institutional bounds to dictate musical style. This new Christian rock sound more closely approximated the diversity of the rock music industry at large with everything from Larry Norman's Bob Dylan-style ballads to the hard-rock sound of Rez Band. Yet lyrics retained a thoroughly evangelical view of the Bible and its message of sin and salvation.

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Though the heavier style of Christian rock music was not a product of the Youth for Christ movement, local programs were very quick to adopt the music as an evangelistic tool. In 1970 the Evansville, Indiana, Youth for Christ program sponsored a two-day Christian rock festival called Faith Festival. It was estimated that fourteen thousand people attended the event modeled after such rock festivals as the Woodstock and Altamont except without drugs, free love or violence. The Evansville festival was rapidly followed by similar Christian musical gatherings all over the nation. Yet, despite the innovation by Evansville Youth for Christ, the role of parachurch youth ministry agencies in future festivals was decidedly secondary. Primary leadership was left to Charismatic Christian leaders.

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This revolution in Christian music had forced the evangelical church to re-examine its relationship to culture. Some reverted to the "Christ against culture"

position of an earlier day but more began seeing the possibility that Christ could transform even the culture of twentieth century America.

The unfortunate side effect of the movement to Christian folk-rock and rock music was that the value which had been placed upon congregational singing from the days of the Reformation was lost to the new generation. Young people preferred to watch professionals perform rather than do the singing themselves. Though there remained some audience participation, the vast majority of Christian folk-rock artists were performers and so, with the exception of the Young Life club and camps, the day of congregational singing in settings designed for youth evangelism was a strategy of the past. Participation had lost out to a more passive mood of spectatorism.

The values discussed here (involvement in evangelism, affirmation of social concerns, embracing muscular Christianity and interaction with the popular culture), are but four examples of the manner in which the Youth for Christ movement had an impact upon church youth ministry. It should be noted, however, the way in which a church youth group was influenced by the various parachurch youth ministries was dependent upon the values and theological position of the host church prior to its contact with the movement.

For nearly all churches, liberal or conservative, the

emphasis on evangelism at the high school level was a new value in actual practice. By contrast, the issues of social concern, muscular Christianity and interaction with the popular culture had by far the greater impact on protestant churches from a fundamentalist heritage than upon those of a more liberal point of view. The movement helped wean fundamentalists from their extreme reactions to Rauschenbush's "Social Gospel," their association of sports programs and athletes with secularization and their carte blanche rejection of modern communication devices and art forms. With at least some form of interaction with the popular culture becoming a possibility, a more balanced approach to ministry among high school students began to develop. Yet at the same time churches were not left without a reference point. Responsible evangelism became the basis upon which each of these values was evaluated.

Creation of a Profession

The sudden visibility of the Youth for Christ movement towards the end of World War II captured the imaginations of thousands of service men who would soon re-enter civilian life. Choices were made about education and careers. The war effort had liberated the youth of America from the normal process of career selection by postponing the crucial decisions until after they had been exposed to the world. From the Christian perspective, this included seeing

spiritual commitments made at Youth for Christ rallies around the world which contrasted with the spiritual vacuum they saw in the lives of so many people in the United States and abroad.

The Youth for Christ rallies created a movement toward Christian service. Just as the American military had been the saviors of the western world, now the American evangelicals viewed themselves as the saviors of the spiritual world. It was obvious that not all Christians, not to mention other religious groups, agreed with this assessment, but the men and women influenced by the Youth for Christ movement were not to be deterred by such sentiment.

During the years following the war, thousands of people influenced by the movement either went directly into the ministry or enrolled at Bible institutes and colleges, Christian liberal arts schools, and seminaries. A ferment of spiritual revival on college campuses kept students from sliding into a spirit of apathy induced by the material benefits of the rapidly expanding American economy. ³⁸ Meanwhile, the success of the evangelistic efforts by Billy Graham, who came to national prominence in the Los Angeles Crusade of 1948, and by a host of youthful speakers featured in Saturday night youth rallies across the nation confirmed to the the Youth for Christ enthusiasts that they were part of something that God was doing and solidified their commitment to the movement. ³⁹

By the early fifties, thousands of people were committed to doing professional youth ministry. Exact figures of the number who were being paid to minister to young people in those early days are both difficult to obtain and highly inflated when available. Yet by the seventies when personnel records were being kept with great care, Youth for Christ International and Young Life Campaign each employed over a thousand staff members. Other parachurch agencies ministering to high school students such as Word of Life Fellowship, High School Bornagainers (Hi B.A.) and Student Venture (associated with Campus Crusade for Christ) added to the number of high school youth ministry professionals. Beyond these youth workers were thousands of local church youth pastors, denominational youth workers and a host of support agencies primarily in the form of camping ministries and publishing houses.

The number of people employed to do Christian youth ministry suggests that youth movement had become a profession. But there was a problem. Professional youth ministry in the church or parachurch organization, like its counterpart in public education, had a difficult time establishing itself as a valid profession. Unlike mathematicians or physicists who speak their own language unintelligible to the outside world, have their own body of literature and have an accepted procedure for encouraging and supporting achievements in their field of endeavor, youth ministry has

been slow in accomplishing any of these features.

In its early days, youth ministry was strictly the function of laymen and women. Dr. Francis E. Clark, the father of modern church youth ministry, was adamant that Christian Endeavor be structured in such a way that pastors and lay youth workers in the local churches be the front line of youth ministry. ⁴⁰ Despite Clark's efforts, a type of professionalization began before the turn of the century. Leaders were named to provide guidance for the flurry of denominational programs which had sprung up during the last decade of the nineteenth century. Yet the local church youth program remained firmly in the control of the local pastor and lay youth leaders.

There was very little need for a professional youth ministry prior to World War II. Youth societies were comprised of everyone in the church under the age of twenty-five. Some church youth groups had even older youth group members. It was these older members who were elected to serve as officers of the local youth group and did so with the same uneven results with which professional youth workers in the fifties and sixties later served.

Then came the Second World War. Most of the male young adult leaders from local youth groups joined the military service, leaving a vacuum at home. Though some youth fellowships were able to continue much as before, the natural progression of leadership within the church had been inter-

rupted. Many youth groups were now composed exclusively of students of high school age and younger.

Into this vacuum stepped Jim Rayburn and the Young Life Campaign. Frustrated with what the church was not doing to evangelize unchurched youth, Rayburn recruited students from Dallas Theological Seminary to work as teachers for Miracle Book Club chapters in and around Dallas. In order to allow these men to remain in seminary, they had to be reimbursed for the time they spent building the club programs which were by now known as Young Life Clubs. Jim Rayburn, with the help of Herbert J. Taylor of Chicago's Club Aluminum Corporation, John E. Mitchell, Jr. president of his own Dallas based manufacturing company, C. Davis Weyerhauser of Tacoma's Weyerhauser Lumber Company and other well-to-do backers, began to raise the money to support these youth workers. The 1943 Young Life Campaign Annual Report lists twenty-three full and part-time Young Life staff workers. The process of professionalization had moved out of the ⁴¹ denominational headquarters and into the high schools.

A similar approach to youth ministry was taken by A. Brandt Reed for his New York based Hi B.A. clubs. "Staff Representatives" led each club from the early forties and were the key to Reed's concept of how to best reach the high school campus. ⁴² Later, Kansas City Youth for Christ employed Jack Hamilton to start a high school club program in schools throughout that area and in 1950 Hamilton began

traveling across the nation establishing Youth for Christ (YFC) clubs and turning them over to club directors employed by the local program.⁴³ It was not until the Campus Life Club strategy was introduced in 1968 that the professionalizing of club ministries became complete for Youth for Christ International. At that time the majority of the staff members employed by local Youth for Christ programs were club workers.⁴⁴

Still, the factors which form the perimeters of a profession were not materializing. Though youth workers had developed a type of youth worker jargon ("funspiration"--an all area party; "contact"--meeting a student, usually on campus; "environmental"--a student raised in the church but with little commitment to his faith), most of the terminology was adapted from the adolescent's culture rather than from the work itself. There was little literature being written about youth ministry other than program ideas. Most youth workers were so busy doing their ministries that no one had enough time to record an adequate history of the overall movement. Even the master of arts programs sponsored by Young Life in conjunction with Fuller Theological Seminary and by Youth for Christ International in conjunction with Wheaton College did not generate much more than a low intensity seminary degree.

As far as any activity encouraging and supporting achievement in youth ministry, the primary source of

affirmation was inward satisfaction with a job well done and the positive comments made by fellow youth workers. Occasionally the parents of teenagers whose lives had been influenced by the youth worker would express appreciation but these comments were rare.

The pay was low as well. Even with the dynamics of the movement, the turnover rate was high. Possibilities of upward mobility within the "profession" were minimal. For the most part the expectation was that the youth worker would work as hard as he could (there were very few women youth workers) for as long as he could. Then he would leave youth ministry and do "real work" for the rest of his life.

The Rise of the Youth Pastor

The post-war baby boom caught the local church without a strategy for dealing with the sudden influx of people who the media began to call "teenagers." The idea of having someone employed by the church to work primarily with young people was foreign to the vast majority of churches. Prior to the fifties, only major urban churches such as Calvary Baptist Church in Manhattan and Moody Church in Chicago hired "youth directors." As Youth for Christ Saturday night rallies flourished across the United States, the idea of smaller churches having paid youth workers came into being as well. The majority of the early youth workers were students employed part-time to help with the youth of the

church. Since no real training was available, many merely imitated what they had seen happen at Youth for Christ rallies or clubs. ⁴⁶ The Youth for Christ movement had begun spawning a related group of youth ministries.

During the fifteen years between the middle fifties and the end of the sixties, the position of "youth pastor" became established as an important part of a church staff in evangelical churches. Much like the sudden appearance of the rock 'n roll disc jockey, the youth pastor was a response to the vocal presence of middle class adolescents as factors in the American way of life. So compelling was the teenage generation that, had the Youth for Christ movement not been present, youth pastors would have appeared on the scene anyway but would have been influenced by a set of ministry values coming from another source. The movement was there, however, and as a result it played a formative role in the development of the profession.

Finances and centralized leadership were a distinct factor in the ecclesiasticism of youth ministry. Though Young Life and Youth for Christ clubs (later called Campus Life clubs) continued to function, they never did come close to establishing clubs in the twenty-eight thousand high schools of the land. ⁴⁷ It was simply too expensive and required too much centralized leadership to accomplish that goal. The difficulties created by these factors left the two organizations to plateau at about one thousand clubs

each during the decade of the seventies and the numeric growth curve turned in favor of local churches with their youth pastors.

Local churches did not have to support a whole staff of youth workers. In most cases, one person was enough. Consequently, when potential youth workers, who had been serving as volunteers with Young Life of Youth for Christ, began looking for employment with these organizations and found that they could not be given a paid position, they turned to the church and accepted positions offered there. With this new breed of youth workers, called youth pastors, came a much broader base of financial backing. The provision of program materials, biblical and philosophical ministry statements, and research on the needs and values of the current youth generation became marketable items. A body of youth ministry literature began to develop.

Youth Ministry Literature

Youth program materials were the first contributions the movement made to the professionalization of youth ministry. The first Youth for Christ influenced program materials came from the pen of George Santa who got his exposure to the movement while at Moody Bible Institute. Later, he worked with young people at Midwest Bible Church, where Torrey Johnson, the first president of Youth for Christ International, and Bob Cook, the second president,

were pastor and assistant pastor respectively. In 1953 Santa formed the Christian Worker's Service Bureau and two and a half years later was mailing program materials to 2,750 subscribers serving an estimated sixty thousand young people each week. Included among the subscribers were churches from twenty-five denominations.⁴⁸

By the late sixties, Christian Worker's Service Bureau had been forced to adjust to the phenomenon of the church employed youth worker. The company was sold to former Youth for Christ rally director, Doug Ross, who changed the name to Success With Youth and broadened his target market to include both churches with and without paid youth directors. Training seminars for youth workers became part of the company's marketing plan. All the while more sophisticated materials were being produced for youth groups and thus contributed to the growing body of program literature available to church youth workers.

Publishers of Sunday school material attempted to capitalize on the new youth ministry market. In 1958 Roy B. Zuck did a massive research project for Scripture Press of Wheaton, Illinois, and recommended a line of youth group program materials which followed a Southern Baptist approach to youth programming.⁴⁹ The line came out in 1960 under the title of "Training Hour" and continued to be published until 1969 when the growing number of youth ministers made a change in approach necessary. Resource books for high school

youth group leaders took into account the ever-increasing number of youth pastors and their needs for materials that would help them develop their own youth ministries beyond an superficial program-oriented stage. At the same time the books gave youth workers a forum in which to express their philosophies of youth ministry.⁵⁰

By far the most influential publisher of youth ministry materials, however, was Youth Specialties founded in 1968 by two former Youth for Christ International staff workers, Wayne Rice and Mike Yaconelli. They had been among the Youth for Christ "brain trust" which developed the Campus Life club strategy (Rice drew the first logo and Yaconelli helped create and field test the "Impact" philosophy), but the two broke with the organization and began publishing Ideas books for church youth workers. The "idea" caught on quickly and soon Youth Specialties expanded to publish a rather irreverent magazine for youth workers entitled The Wittenburg Door. This was followed by a national youth workers' convention which first made its appearance in 1970 and went on to become the all but official national convention of the youth ministry fraternity.⁵¹

Two years later Rice and Yaconelli ventured into the traveling seminar business. Starting with day-long training sessions for church youth workers in twelve cities, the annual tour expanded throughout the decade. In some ways the seminars became an informal credentialing requirement for

youth ministers and at the same time facilitated a national network for church youth workers and those who would service them. More than any other organization Youth Specialties established a pattern which brought about the professionalization of youth ministry.

As youth work became more complex, books targeted at the youth pastor and attempting to interface with the academic disciplines of sociology, psychology, theology and history began to appear. Peter P. Person's The Church and Modern Youth in 1963 and Roy G. Irving and Roy B. Zuck's Youth and the Church published in 1968 were the first academic books produced for youth ministers by evangelical publishers. The Irving and Zuck book, while not heavily influenced by the Youth for Christ movement, placed a chapter entitled "The Challenge of Today's Youth" by Ted W. Engstrom, president of Youth for Christ International, 1957-1963, as the lead article in the book.

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Four years later, Lawrence O. Richards' Youth Ministry: Its Renewal in the Local Church became the first evangelical work to break with both the Youth for Christ idea of evangelism as primary purpose for youth work and the more traditional idea of leadership development found in materials produced by denominational and independent Christian education publishers. Richards' idea that strong interpersonal relationships between youth worker and adolescent was at the heart of youth ministry reflected

much of the Young Life philosophy of ministry. The book stated the ideas in such a manner that they were understood and consequently they were woven into the fabric of the church's youth ministry.

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Research into the values, social characteristics and religious practices of young people also became a matter of professional interest. Building on the earlier work of Merton P. Strommen among Lutheran youth, Zuck and Gene A. Getz, in conjunction with the National Sunday School Association, released Christian Youth: an In-Depth Study which looked at evangelical youth in 1968. At this same time, Youth for Christ International in conjunction with the Institutes for Research in Human Learning at Michigan State University studied students attending Campus Life clubs, their non-attending friends and the high school population at large in order to accurately revise their club

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strategy. Six years later, Strommen produced an even more extensive work entitled Five Cries of Youth which examined over seven thousand adolescents between the ages fourteen to

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eighteen. These research projects began to provide an objective basis for examining the current generation of young people who were in contact with the church or the religious parachurch agencies.

Though youth ministry had begun to generate its own literature, its own language and its own sense of fraternity, it had not become a profession on the level with

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mathematicians, physicists or even public school teachers. Nor was it likely to achieve such professional sophistication. Yet youth ministry had become a profession, More like professional football than the academic fields of endeavor, it involved achieving excellence in doing a job for a limited period of time and then, after the "playing days" were over choosing a more settled career. Some, however, who had received special recognition for their ministry skills would be able to continue ministering to young people either through training a new generation of youth leaders or by continued direct ministry to youth.

Innovations in Youth Ministry Methodology

Though the Youth for Christ movement was best known for its Saturday night rallies, youth rallies were not new. Christian Endeavor had generated a similar enthusiasm on the part of Christian young people with area-wide, national and international evangelistic meetings before the turn of the century. Nor were the ideas of youth clubs, Bible quizzing, or camping programs new per se. All had been used before by churches and denominations, as well as Sunday school and youth movements like the Young Men's Christian Association and Christian Endeavor. The contribution of the Youth for Christ movement was not in the fact but in the focus of the methodologies. The reason why learning strategies were employed and how those strategies were combined with other

methods for communicating the Christian gospel was the distinctive contribution of the movement.

Para-church Clubs

The most significant contribution of the Youth for Christ movement to church youth ministry was the high school based and evangelistically oriented club. The rallies of the forties, though useful during the embryonic stages of modern youth ministry, pale in comparison to the lasting impact that parachurch clubs have had in evangelizing unchurched youth and training both church and unchurched youth to live in harmony with biblical concepts of faith and lifestyles.

Parachurch clubs were consistently ahead of the church in methodological innovations throughout their history. But churches were excellent imitators. Confronted with dwindling attendance at Saturday night rallies and the realization that they were no longer in contact with the unchurched student, the YFC club leaders had to make some changes. Faced with the fact that churches were hiring youth pastors who were copying many of their ministry ideas, Youth for Christ International changed to a club strategy which discontinued the rally and put adults in charge of high school clubs in order to put them back in contact with the unchurched high school student. It was called Campus Life and looked much like the approach that Young Life had used

for years.

The change in philosophy necessitated a massive retraining of the field staff and as a result, training and program manuals were designed to help in the process. The church benefitted from these ministry tools as well. Within two years of the initial production of the books, former Youth for Christ staff members were reproducing and expanding the ideas found in the training and program manuals for church consumption.

The parachurch club thus made two contributions to local church youth ministry. It sparked or rekindled a commitment on the part of the church to evangelize high school students. Then the school-based clubs generated creative methodologies which captured the imagination of young people and allowed religious education to relate to the everyday life of the high school student.

Incarnational Theology

Parachurch youth ministries did not have the institutional support enjoyed by church youth groups. If club meetings were dull or uninspiring, there was no pastor to bolster attendance by preaching on church or group loyalty, nor were there many parents who would insist that their teenagers be present at such boring meetings. If personality conflicts arose between adult and student leaders, there was no religious education committee or

church board to step in and mediate. The parachurch youth ministry was on its own. It had to earn a hearing within the adolescent culture. Potentially, every week was its last. There were no institutional crutches upon which to lean. A market orientation resulted and with it came a ministry style which soon produced a theological understanding of what was happening.

The phrase "Incarnational Theology" was merely a theological description coined within the Young Life Campaign to describe the manner in which adults earned the right to be heard by high school students. It was based upon the biblical reference in John 1:14 where the evangelist describes the incarnation, the manner in which God became man in order to redeem the human race, by saying: "The Word became flesh and lived for a while among us. We have seen his glory, the glory of the one and only Son, who came from the Father, full of grace and truth."

It was Young Life's contention that in order for non-churched young people to hear and respond to the Christian gospel, an adult believer needed to "become flesh" among the students he or she was attempting to reach. This meant spending time on campus where and when it was permitted by authorities, attending school activities which were open to the public and building friendly relationships with students wherever and however possible.

The idea was not entirely new. Evelyn McClusky, A.

Brandt Reed, and Dawson Trotman had all earned the right to be heard among high school students on or near public high school campuses. Jack Hamilton later repeated this same approach when he initiated the YFC clubs in 1950. The difference was the point of contact. McClusky, Reed, Trotman and Hamilton's contact started with students who were already committed Christians and reached out to others through them. Jim Rayburn and later the Campus Life strategy of Youth for Christ International, bypassed the Christian kid and went directly to the student body leaders on the contention that if the captain of the football team, the cheer leaders and the president of student council could be attracted to attend a club meeting or go to camp with the Young Life or Campus Life leader, then many other students would be attracted just to be associated with the popular crowd.⁵⁸

High school students, however, were seldom deceived by insincere or manipulative pretenses of friendship, so international theology had to go far beyond a slick formula for increasing club attendance. According to Young Life, it involves building bridges of friendship, identifying with students where they are in their daily struggles, understanding their culture and becoming part of it and finally demonstrating God's love for each of them as individuals.⁵⁹ Campus Life, though similar in form, was not so holistic in scope.⁶⁰ Evangelism took a higher profile in the literature

of Youth for Christ, though in practice the two were very similar.

The relational emphasis in incarnational theology may have been the factor which allowed parachurch youth ministry to survive the turbulence of the sixties. With the youthful revolt of the "Now Generation" against institutions in all forms, an incarnational ministry philosophy served as a new basis for proclaiming the Christian gospel.

The church only picked up on the priority of relationships in youth ministry when the Jesus Movement swept the nation, proving to the church that concepts of community and mutual caring were not only compatible with the Christian message but were essentially part of the good news of the Christian gospel.⁶¹ Soon evangelical publishing houses were distributing materials for church youth group consumption which highlighted relationships within the Christian community. Lyman Coleman, who had been associated with Young Life for a short time while in Dallas created a series called Serendipity Books in conjunction with Word Books of Waco, Texas, which promoted a spirit of honesty and openness in relationships for young people.⁶²

Wally Howard, the former Young Life editor of Young Life Magazine, took the relational message to an adult market as he began publishing Faith at Work Magazine. The message penetrated primarily mainline denominational churches but had a strong following among smaller evangel-

ical denominations as well. The net result was that as churches experimented in new forms of relationships within the faith community, youth groups in these churches were encouraged to do the same.

In 1972 the relational emphasis was solidified within the church youth ministry setting when Lawrence O. Richards built much of his ministry concept around the idea. His book, Youth Ministry: Its Renewal In the Local Church, published that year became the most in widely used textbook in Christian college youth ministry classes and captured the imagination of a generation of church youth workers.
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The National Youth Worker's Conventions, sponsored by Youth Specialties starting in 1970, became a mouth piece for the incarnational theology emphasis. Though not dedicated to any one ministry philosophy, Wayne Rice and Mike Yaconelli, both products of Youth for Christ and shapers of the Campus Life club philosophy, gave high profile to people from the Youth for Christ movement who shared the relational emphasis. Jay Kesler, Lyman Coleman, Ken Overstreet, Larry Richards, Bill Milliken and many others from the incarnational school of youth ministry were featured in the
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early conventions.

Thus the incarnational theology of Young Life which was initially targeted at the unchurched high school student became the normal operating procedure for ministry to

churched and unchurched youth alike. Even traditional
sunday schools for secondary school students recognized the
fact that the teacher had to earn the right to be heard with
the learner and that right was best established in carefully
cultivated relationships.⁶⁵

Speaking Styles

After a youth worker had earned the right to be heard
by students, it became essential for the adult leader
to present his understanding of the Christian message in a
manner which was appropriate to the student audience. Thus
speaking style was the next contribution of the Youth for
Christ movement.

The only way to draw valid conclusions about changes in
speaking styles over the years would be to do an extensive
analysis of tapes or films of youth workers speaking during
the entire length of the period being studied. If neither
are available in adequate numbers, then transcripts of
messages should be studied. Unfortunately, that type of
evaluation is outside the scope of this work. Yet to omit
comment about the changes in speaking styles which took
place within the Youth for Christ movement would be
similarly inappropriate. Consequently the observations made
here should be considered more in the category of carefully
reasoned conjectures than of defensible conclusions.

Whereas several key voices of the early Youth for

Christ were seminary trained, most of them took their communication cues from commercial radio rather than from homiletics textbooks.⁶⁶ Percy B. Crawford was the first to wed youth evangelism with the radio. Whether he was speaking or had a guest on his "Young People's Church of the Air," the rules were always the same: Speak no more than thirty minutes. After that even adults will be bored with you."⁶⁷

The next radio-oriented youth evangelist was Jack Wyrzten. His messages were heavily influenced by the radio delivery style of newsman Floyd Gibbons and came at the audience with the speed and force of a machine gun. Short bursts of words formed sentences easily understood by even the youngest listener. Yet messages were seldom over fifteen minutes long.⁶⁸

These evangelists were in the mold of Billy Sunday, the baseball player turned preacher. The change in speaking style came with the introduction of the parachurch club program. No longer were the speakers standing on a platform behind a pulpit preaching to hundreds or thousands of upturned faces. Clubs were intimate gatherings. On an average there were thirty people present. The Crawford-Wyrzten style was simply not appropriate.

The initial change appears to have been made by Evelyn M. McClusky in her Miracle Book Club talks. Judging by her articles and books and by an extensive interview made with her at age ninety-nine, McClusky made liberal use of stories

to illustrate the truths of the Bible. Story-craft replaced staccato-like preaching. The coffee table substituted for the pulpit. Students squeezed into a normal size room replaced multi-generational audiences in great preaching halls.⁶⁹

It was Jim Rayburn, however, who reshaped the the face of youth ministry speaking styles. Though the young seminarian started out holding traditional evangelistic campaigns and focusing them on young people, his club work quickly changed his style from preaching to a conversational monologue. Writing in the "Young Life Leaders' Manual" apparently prepared in 1941, Rayburn admonishes club leaders: "Talk, don't preach! Be conversational. Normally 25 minutes is long enough. Prepare thoroughly. Know what you want to drive home, get it said and quit."⁷⁰

Rayburn modeled his own advice. He would stand in front of room full of students most of whom were sitting on the floor and tell stories as if he was sitting at a family reunion talking about the good old days. The difference was that the "good old days" were the biblical stories, especially descriptions of the life of Christ. Using his incredible sense of humor, this masterful communicator could have the students howling with laughter at the foibles of high school life one moment and then leaning forward with wrapped attention to hear Rayburn's account of what Jesus would have done in a similar situation. High school life, whether on

the athletic field, in a biology lab, under the pressure of final exams, in the back seat of a parked car or in front of a locker that would not open, always led to a confrontation with what the Bible had to say about the issues involved.⁷¹

The communication style employed by Rayburn was transferable. Soon other Young Life club leaders were using this conversational style to communicate biblical truth. Unlike rally speakers, Young Life workers tended to work from problems encountered on campus or with parents, to a Bible story or a biblical principle. Then the leader would apply the scriptural truth to high school life. The entire communication approach demonstrated the leader's close connection with the high school student's daily life.

Then came the sixties and the need felt by the younger generation to carry on meaningful discussions instead of merely absorbing the opinions presented in a speech (message, lecture, talk). Though Rayburn's approach to communication appears to have weathered the sixties in the Young Life movement, Youth for Christ's new Campus Life format of club meetings adopted a frequent usage of the discussion style approach to the learning process. Rejected was the idea of indoctrination as effective teaching. Affirmed was the concept that Christianity needed to stand the test of rational examination and evaluation if it was to allow the learner to make his own decision about acceptance or rejection of the claims of Christ as found in the

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Bible.

Soon the Campus Life methodology for using discussion as a primary tool of communication was being used in church settings with young people. The Youth Specialties Ideas books provided a list of discussion questions on topics ranging from cheating to sex, from authority to war, from spiritual commitment to priorities.⁷³ Lyman Coleman's materials made extensive use of the interactive approach to learning.⁷⁴ A number of publishers issued books which were exclusively designed to provide the basis for conversations in group settings focused on issues of the day.⁷⁵ Thus, once again, the Youth for Christ movement had influenced the direction of church youth ministry.

Discipleship Activities

Another contribution which the Youth for Christ movement made to local church youth ministry had to do with its approach to the teaching of specific Christian values in group settings. Youth workers for years had utilized adults to model and teach the values of the sponsoring group. The Youth for Christ movement went a step further and used the same process to encourage spiritual formations in adolescent youth. Evangelicals called this practice discipleship. The activities lead to a study of the Bible in an attempt to establish and develop a personal relationship with God.

While discipleship activities were at the heart of

evangelical youth ministry, it is very hard to isolate the beginnings or molding of specific strategies. Nevin C. Harner's significant book, Youth Work in the Church, published in 1942, suggests many of the ideas which found their ways into the Youth for Christ movement were already being used in religious education before the national para-⁷⁶ church club programs were established. They were ideas which were already in practice either in public education or in church youth groups. What the movement produced was not exclusively new methods, though there were some, but new configurations of educational strategies and the use of older pedagogical forms in new contexts. Three such activities, placed within the context of the discipleship process will illustrate the movement's contribution.

Bible quizzing, as mentioned earlier, was not unique to Youth for Christ International. However, the concept of making the recall of Biblical content into a high school team sport was a clear illustration of innovation. Drawing on quiz formats already in existence, Youth for Christ's initial concept of Bible Quizzing was to stimulate newly committed Christians to study the Bible by using a competition ingredient. The idea worked so well that even students who had been raised in solidly evangelical homes were attracted to study the Bible in this manner.

The idea rapidly spread to denominations which placed a strong emphasis upon a knowledge of Bible content. The

Assemblies of God began a Bible quizzing program in 1961 and following the 1962-1963 school year a national competition was held during the General Council meeting held in Memphis.⁷⁷ In the years that followed, Assemblies of God Bible quizzing involved nearly as many students in this one denominational program as did the entire Youth for Christ competition.

The Independent Fundamental Churches of America (IFCA) was another group which drew upon Bible quizzing to strengthen local church youth ministries. Beginning in the mid-1960s, the IFCA took the YFC quizzing system which required participants to jump to a standing position in order to answer questions and modified the rules in order to have a more sophisticated appearance. Contestants who wished to answer a question pressed electronic buttons which indicated the first to respond. Yet the rules used, the style of questions asked, the system of scoring were those of YFC and the Bible quiz team coaches in the early stages were former YFC quizzers.⁷⁸

The Evangelical Free Church of America had their first denominational Bible quiz competition in June of 1967. Quizzing had begun on the district level in the North Central District which was also the home of the denominational headquarters and when the student enthusiasm for this style of Bible study was observed by denominational leaders, the program was initiated at the national level and

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was promoted through their publications. The Free Church approach was essentially a clone of the YFC system and drew heavily on former YFC quizzers to develop the program.

The important difference between YFC sponsored Bible quizzing and denominational programs was that the later was not tied into a system of evangelism such as the Saturday night rallies. Quizzing was promoted by church bodies as a means of motivating young people to study the Bible. It was an acceptable way for an adult to enter a student's world and stimulate spiritual maturation on the part of the student.

A second discipleship activity popularized by the Youth for Christ movement was the use of entertainment as a communication tool in ministry settings. Music, games, skits, humorous monologs, magical illusions, ventriloquism, drama and motion pictures became commonly used methods for communicating Christian truth. Though some of these methodologies were used prior to the movement in camp and conference settings, few youth group meetings or rallies found such tactics appropriate in local church environments.

The initial change took place in the Youth for Christ rallies where the use of athletes and popular musicians who were committed Christians, converted criminals, successful businessmen and even performing animals were described as "ballyhoo and sensationalism." 80 The leaders of the movement made no apologies for using such attention-getting devices

to gain a hearing for the Christian gospel. Consequently, it did not take long for local Bible clubs, which were initially modeled after the rallies, to incorporate the same methodologies into their meetings.

Music had always been means of involving students in the club meeting. But this music had always been religious in nature. The Youth for Christ movement began using music in a different manner. Songs that were fun to sing were selected without concern for conveying a specific Christian message. While YFC clubs tended to stick with songs which used religious words, however trite or superficial, Young Life clubs branched out from a repertoire of gospel choruses and spirituals to employ folk and popular songs in their weekly meetings. The objective was to make the club time fun for the students attending so they would be willing and open to hear the Christian message.

The change from YFC clubs to the Campus Life club format brought about a change in the way in which games were used in club meetings. It had been a common practice to use games at social functions of a youth group, but the youth fellowship meetings were expected to be a bit more like church services or traditional public school classrooms. Campus Life was not a youth fellowship meeting nor did it want to be. It was trying to compete with television, the telephone and the automobile as sources of entertainment for teenagers. Therefore Campus Life had to be fun or else

students would not return the following week.

"Crowdbreakers," as the games were called served four functions within the club meeting. First they would relax students, break down barriers and prepare those present for the discussion of spiritual matters which would come later. Second, crowdbreakers helped break down social barriers within the group and provided students with opportunities to get acquainted with people they otherwise might not know. This was especially true in the case of people of the opposite sex. Third, games provided leaders with the possibility of building rapport with students through their distinctive leadership styles. It was a way to lay the ground work for personal contacts and conversations at a later time. Finally, crowdbreakers were an image builder for Campus Life. The games were not of the traditional sort. They were specifically created by Campus Life's most ingenious minds for use in club meetings.

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Other entertaining methodologies were employed in club meetings because the parachurch youth ministries were constantly earning a hearing with teenagers. They were in competition with other sources of entertainment in the young person's world and as a result had to be consumer oriented. If leaders did not satisfy the felt needs of high school students, there would be no students to whom they would be able to present the Christian message. They had to win the right to be heard on a weekly basis.

A third discipleship activity was the use of resort camping as a means of bringing about spiritual commitments. The YMCA and scouting programs had used camps to teach middle class values but these camps were of the more rustic variety and by the time the Youth for Christ movement emerged the content of the teachings were only mildly evangelical. The Chautauqua conferences and Methodist camp meetings were still attracting families but the activities were primarily focused on adults.

In 1932, Percy Crawford concluded that there was a need for an outstanding summer Bible conference grounds in America. Using his radio program to promote the idea, Crawford founded Pinebrook, Shadowbrook and Mountainbrook Bible camps in Stroudsburg, Pennsylvania. Each was a high quality facility with the type of program with which the Young People's Church of the Air was associated. Recreation at Pinebrook included boating, swimming, fishing, tennis, horseback riding, bicycling and an eighteen hole miniature golf course. These were resorts which appealed to Christian young people who could afford the price.

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Jack Wyrzten would utilize Crawford's Christian resort idea when in 1947 he opened Word of Life Island for "America's fun-loving and impressionable youngsters."

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Located on an island estate in New York's Adirondack Mountains, Wyrzten, like Crawford, used his radio program and rallies to attract youth the camp each summer. With no

denominational funding, the camp had to pay its own way and thus attracted campers from America's flourishing post-war middle class. The venture was successful both from the stand-point of financial integrity and from the perspective of ministry to American youth.

The most significant contribution to discipleship activities through the medium of resort camping came from the vision of Jim Rayburn and the Young Life Campaign. Whereas Crawford and Wyrzten had used rallies and radio programs to channel young people into their resort camps, Rayburn used clubs as the feeder mechanism. Club leaders from all over the nation brought young people to camp, spent the week with them and then returned home to build upon the shared experience enjoyed at the Young Life camp. It was a built-in follow-up system. The camp served as the central focus of the ministry. For some students the experience at one of Young Life's nine camps was the first significant contact with the local club and led to active participation upon return home. For others it was the culmination of a year or more of involvement and served to deepen their commitment both to Young Life and to Christianity.

Young Life took the discipleship aspects of camp one step further. A work crew program was set up for high school students who had a deep and active commitment to Christ, in order to train them to become more effective club leaders upon their return home. The advantage of the idea was the

twenty-four hour a day accountability which work crew students had to spiritual mentors. Work, study and play were all woven into the tapestry of Christian living. In effect the work crew idea produced a camp within a camp.

So important to Young Life was the camp program that thirty-eight pages in the Young Life Leadership Manual (or about one quarter of the manual) were devoted to a detailed description of the the organization's camping ministry. This camping emphasis brought 17,521 campers to the nine Young Life resorts during the summer of 1979. An additional 41,224⁸⁵ attended weekend camps throughout the year.

The emphasis on resort camping was complemented with stress camping events during the seventies. As used by Young Life, stress camping involved wilderness camping during which time campers were taught survival skills and then were required to use them for a limited amount of time. In the process, young people were forced to cope with situations with which they had never before been exposed and the process of survival built new dimensions into their lives, not the least of which was the spiritual aspect.

The resort camping concept and its counterpart in stress camping, when tied together with a year-round youth ministry concept, left its impression on church youth ministry. As churches employed youth ministers, they became less dependent upon denominational camps for summer spiritual experiences. Youth ministers who had been exposed

to the resort or stress concepts of camping had the option to select camp experiences which would best meet the needs of their youth groups and in communities where finances were not a major factor, youth ministers began scheduling camping experiences pioneered by Jim Rayburn and the Young Life Campaign.

Conclusion

What was the contribution of the Youth for Christ movement to church youth ministry? Were most strategies used in youth work in the eighties pioneered in Youth for Christ or Young Life?

There is very little evidence that the contributions of the Youth for Christ movement were new in any absolute sense. Most of the component parts were being used in some way shape or form before the movement came into being during the thirties and forties. Yet Jay Kesler is correct in asserting that the church has been deeply influenced by the philosophical and methodological underpinnings of the movement. Youth for Christ International and the Young Life Campaign reshaped and repackaged the diverse youth ministry elements which existed and refocused them so that the strategies concentrated on the needs of young people from a Christian perspective. In essence, the movement brought a consumer orientation to the church's youth ministry.

There were three specific contributions of the Youth

for Christ movement, however. Christian values in youth ministry were redefined with a new emphasis on the evangelization of young people playing a key role in the process. At the same time a new profession was created with people choosing to spend their lives ministering to young people within the context of the church and parachurch agencies. Finally there were methodological changes. Adult leaders learned to earn the right to be heard among adolescents. They discovered how to build relationships with students and then facilitate spiritual growth on the basis of those friendships. Speaking styles changed in order to express in words the relationships that had been developed in life. Discipleship activities brought the adults and students together in a variety of settings and enabled adult leaders to communicate the the Christian gospel to students in a form easily understood by the younger generation.

CHAPTER VII

End Notes

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8.Interview with Jack Hamilton, February 25, 1988 (hereafter called Hamilton Interview), 11.

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Christian Church Must Grow or Perish," 39 (December 1938). Alcohol abuse--"Youth Should Be Warned," 36 (November 1935); "True As Life," 38 (January 1936); "Modern Enemies of Youth," 39 (September 1938); "Laying Aside Every Weight," 40 (April 1940); "Sinning Children," 44 (March 1944). Crime--"Factors that Foster Crime," 31 (January 1931); "One Thing That is Wrong," 36 (January 1936); "Modern Enemies of Youth," 39 (September 1938); "Sinning Children," 44 (March 1944). Dance--"Non Religious Dancing," 35 (May 1935); "Perilous Places," 39 (March 1939); "Laying Aside Every Weight," 40 (April 1940). War--"Christians and Fighting," 37 (May 1937); "Modern Enemies of Youth," 39 (September 1938); "The Need of Danielites," 42 (February 1942). Movies--"The Social Influence of Motion Pictures," 35 (September 1934); "Better Motion Pictures," 35 (December 1934); "Laying Aside Every Weight," 40 (April 1940).

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14."Elkhart, Ind." YFCM 6 (June 1948): 62.

15."Portland, Oregon," YFCM 6 (July 1948): 60.

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66. Percy B. Crawford was a graduate of Westminster Seminary, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; Torrey M. Johnson was a graduate and later Greek instructor at Northern Baptist Seminary, Chicago, Illinois; Jim Rayburn was a graduate of Dallas Theological Seminary, Dallas Texas.

67. Bob Bahr, Man With A Vision: The Story of Percy Crawford (Chicago: Moody Press, [ca. 1962]), 43.

68. Frank S. Mead, "Apostle to Youth," Christian Herald (September 1945): 15-17, 51; Clarence Woodbury, "Bobby Soxers Sing Hallelujah," The American Magazine 141 (March 1946): 26-27, 121-124; Marvin Goldberg, "Youth Alone and Liked," Christian Life Magazine 7 (April 1946): 19-21, 52-57.

69. Evelyn M. McClusky's story telling style any be observed in the following: Torch and Sword (Oakland, CA.: The Miracle Book Club, 1937); Black and White (Richmond, CA.: The Miracle Book Club, 1937); The Man Among the Myrtle Trees (Atlanta, GA.: Miracle Book Club, 1944); and articles

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70. "Young Life Leaders' Manual," 6. Folder 26, Box 69, Collection 20, HJT.

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73. Ideas Number Three (San Diego: Youth Specialties, [ca. 1968]), 27-31.

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75. See William J. Krutza and Philip P. Di Cicco, Facing The Issues 1 (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1969); Facing Today's Problems (Wheaton: Scripture Press Publications, Inc., 1970).

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77. "Bible Quiz Official Guidelines," (Springfield, Mo.: Gospel Publishing House, 1987), 4.

78. "I.F.C.A. Bible Quiz Ministry and Official Rules," (Grandville, Michigan: I.F.C.A. National Headquarters, 1988).

79. "400 At N.C. Finals," The Evangelical Beacon 40 (9 May 1967): 17; "Quizzers Compete June 24," The Evangelical Beacon 40 (6 June 1967): 15.

80. Phil Kerr, "In Defense of the Sensational," YFCM 4 (July 1946): 18-20, 52-54, 65-66.

81. Campus Life Operations Manual, 111-113.

82. Bahr, 39-40; "He was No Ordinary Man," an eulogy of Dr. Percy B. Crawford by Donald B. Crawford, November 4, 1960; Flavius Leslie Conrad, Jr., "A Study of Four Non-Denominational Youth Movements," (M.S.T. Thesis, Temple University, 1955), 7-8.

83. Forrest Forbes, God Hath Chosen (Grand Rapids:

Zondervan Publishing House, 1948), 116-124.

84. Young Life's camps during the seventies included: Star Ranch (1946), Silver Cliff Ranch (1950), Frontier Ranch (1951) and Trail West (1964) in Colorado; Malibu (1953) in British Columbia; Castaway (1964) in Minnesota; Windy Gap (1970) in North Carolina; Saranac Village (1970) in New York; and Woodleaf (1971) in California.

85. "Report to the Board of Trustees; Young Life," Bob Mitchell, November 1979.

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSION

When all is said and done, what picture of youth ministry emerges from the Youth for Christ movement? How will we evaluate the changes in youth ministry which have taken place between 1931 and 1979? What can be expected to happen in the field of church and parachurch youth ministry during the closing years of the twentieth century?

Evaluation

The picture which developed during the course of the Youth for Christ movement is that a dynamic organism gradually becoming institutionalized through what Max Weber¹ described as "the routinization of charisma." It came into being after another movement concerned with young people, the International Society for Christian Endeavor, had gone through this same sociological cycle. Both started out with highly charismatic leaders and a loose association of followers and proceeded through a process of formalization, self-maintenance and conservatism, infusion of value, and the development of a distinctive social composition and

social base. A closer look at this institutionalizing process will bring the movement into sharper focus.

The Youth for Christ movement sprang from the visions of charismatic, religious entrepreneurs who attracted to themselves enthusiastic young followers sharing their leader's concern for the spiritual apathy apparent among the youth of the 1930s and 1940s. Percy Crawford in Philadelphia, Evelyn McClusky in Portland, Jack Wyrzten in New York, Jim Rayburn in Dallas, Torrey Johnson in Chicago all possessed that same magnetic quality and seemingly boundless energy which infected thousands of fundamentalist Protestants with a dream of reaching a generation of youth for Christ. Each visionary had a unique ability to captivate audiences of young people, to call for and see Christian conversions in these public meetings, and then to provide an on-going structure in which new converts could explore their newly found faith.

Formalization

The growth of each each ministry was rapid. Mistakes were made and successes were enjoyed as these non-formal religious education ministries expanded from local efforts to national programs. With this rapid development, leaders formalize their strategies so that their eager followers would not have to make the same mistakes their ministry role models had made. Evelyn McClusky was the first to begin this

formalization process when she published Torch and Sword in 1939 to inform those associated with her how to form and lead their chapters of the Miracle Book Club.² Jim Rayburn was next to take steps to standardize his approach to youth ministry. In 1941 he produced a nine page mimeographed manual for Young Life club leaders which gave the recent seminary graduate a method³ for exerting control over his newly formed organization. It was not until a second generation of leadership came upon the scene and replaced the founder that an extensive leadership manual was published in the late sixties or early seventies.⁴

The formalization process in Youth for Christ International was most closely related to their national club program begun in 1950. Jack Hamilton was the person who compiled the Youth For Christ High School Bible Club Directors' Manual⁵ and by 1954 edited a companion manual for student leaders. But it was the Bible quiz program and the talent contests sponsored by the organization which brought about the highest degree of standardization. Extensive lists of rules, guidelines and coaching suggestions brought about a national uniformity within the Youth for Christ program. Wherever one went in the nation during the fifties and early sixties, YFC programs looked and felt the same. Then came the chartering process in 1960 and the detailed "Insight" and "Impact" manuals in 1968 which further brought about a centralized control. All of this gave evidence of a

process of formalization within the Youth for Christ movement.

Self-Maintenance and Conservatism

A second aspect of the institutionalizing process is that of self-maintenance and conservatism. This is a quest for permanence by persons involved with a movement. Evidence of this aspect of the process is seen when priority is given to maintaining the organization with the impression of succeeding in its mission, minimizing risks and concentrating on long-term rather than short-term goals. This concern for self-maintenance became evident in the Youth for Christ movement from a very early date.

The early leaders of the movement were risk-takers. Torrey Johnson and his colleagues were willing to take second mortgages on their houses in order to place a deposit toward the rental of Soldier Field for a single massive rally on Memorial Day, 1945.⁶ It was this rally which caught the attention of the national media and catapulted the Youth for Christ movement into the public eye. In 1941, Jack Wyrzten signed a thirteen week contract with New York radio station WHN with the promise of paying \$1,750 prior to the first broadcast without any apparent source of funding.⁷ This step of faith began a radio ministry which continued for the next four decades. Jim Rayburn's vision for camp sites in Colorado in order to strengthen the outreach of

Young Life and the purchase of Star Ranch in 1946 with the money of Chicago industrialist Herbert J. Taylor, is another⁸ example of the boldness of the pioneers of the movement.

As the popularity of these ministries increased there came a desire to maintain the organizations as vital and effective ministries. The public image of the movement was carefully cultivated by a host of writers led by Mel Larson whose glowing descriptions produced a steady stream of books and articles as well as entire magazines. Organizational efficiency in order to keep the movement progressing was a high priority for those who surrounded and eventually succeeded risk-taking founders. Robert Cook and especially Ten Engstrom brought a greater degree of conservatism to Youth for Christ International while Bill Starr did the same for Young Life. It should be noted, however, that these parachurch agencies may not have survived as they did without minimizing the risks being taken by their entrepreneurial leaders. This was best demonstrated when Jim Rayburn's health failed in the early 1960s, leaving Young Life with a rather bleak financial picture. Annual reports indicate a much greater concern for long range planning by this second generation of leaders than was evident in the days of the early visionaries. All of this harmonizes with Weber's concept of routinizing the charisma of the founder.

Infusion With Value

Infusion with value is a third indicator of the institutionalization process. By this Weber means that individuals within the movement become so closely identified with the activities of the movement that they have difficulty separating themselves from the specific methods employed even when such methods cease to be as effective as they had been in earlier days or under different circumstances. In addition there is a degree of personal satisfaction which is derived from becoming proficient within the traditional structures and practices of the organization. This type of value infusion produces a resistance to change.

The decline of the Saturday night rally is perhaps the best example "infusion of value" in the Youth for Christ movement. Even when attendance was steadily declining, audiences were growing steadily older, and public professions of Christian conversion by young people were at an all time low, many local directors were unwilling to scuttle the rally idea. ⁹ To some it was a symbol of a biblical faith without which a drift towards liberalism was sure to follow. While to others it was the only strategy of youth ministry that they knew. If they did not have youth rallies, what would they do? This was complicated by the fact that offerings taken during the public evangelistic meetings were the primary source of funding for a majority of local programs.

There was a certain satisfaction experienced by the leaders of the movement as they traveled and were featured in rallies and camps across the nation. Young Life personnel traveled primarily within the Young Life circles; rally speakers circulated among Saturday night rallies; Bible club specialists were featured in clubs and training sessions for club leaders. The ultimate affirmation of a person's ministry, however, was to be asked to speak, sing or direct a Young Life camp or the annual Youth for Christ convention. Thus the movement reinforced the value infusion experienced by its staff members and the institutionalization process was further advanced.

Distinctive Social Composition

Weber's fourth indicator of the process was that a distinctive social base and composition was developed. There is a certain conformity which develops within movements, even if it is to standards of non-conformity. Brightly colored or uniquely shaped neck-ties, for example, became part of the youth evangelist's "uniform" during the late 1940s. The leaders associated with Youth for Christ International tended to be young people who were from lower or lower middle class backgrounds while Young Life leaders had more of an upper middle class flavor. In both cases, the leaders who remained in the movement for any length of time were people who possessed distinctive skills in public and

inter-personal communication.

Other distinctives which consolidated the social composition of the movement were the commitment to an evangelical view of the Bible and theology and the firm conviction that young people who had not made a personal faith commitment to God through Jesus Christ would spend eternity separated from their creator. This motivation, in turn, made it common for leaders to stay with the movement even though they were hardly earning enough money to put food on their family's table three times a day. Even this type of poverty brought about a further social solidarity among the leaders of the movement.

Max Weber's description of the institutionalization process provides a basis for understanding the declining dynamic of the Youth for Christ movement. Even though major changes were made, especially during the sixties, the individual agencies within the movement were not able to initiate the bold changes necessary to expand beyond a rather limited share of the high school population.

The Future

So what can be expected to happen in youth ministry in the days ahead? Are Youth for Christ, USA and Young Life bound for extinction? Will the local church take over the evangelistic zeal once the hallmark of the parachurch youth ministry agencies? How long will the publishing houses

spawned by the Youth for Christ movement be able to recycle and update program ideas from the movement? Is there a new Youth for Christ type movement on the horizon and if so what will it look like?

Revolution in Youth Ministry

Youth ministry in the United States can best be described by the word revolution. The word has two primary meanings both of which apply to the current state of Protestant youth ministry in America. The first usage has to do with a cycle as when the moon completes a revolution around the earth while the second meaning has to do with a sudden, radical or complete change as illustrated by the introduction of a new political system following the American Revolution.

Under the first definition, the Youth for Christ movement is at the end of a cycle which followed on the heels of three other revolutions in youth ministry. The Sunday school, YMCA and Christian Endeavor movements each started in a period of economic instability, social change and spiritual uncertainty. Each began with an intense commitment on the part of lay leaders to convey a set of Christian values from one generation to the next generation. Though the specific theological and social convictions varied from location to location and from denomination to denomination, the enthusiasm and loyalty of each movement's leadership

drove each movement to national prominence within the first ten years of its inception.

Quickly Weber's process of institutionalization began to effect each of these movements in a manner similar to way in which the Youth for Christ movement became organizationally conservative while its mission focus became increasingly diffused. The end result was that, within fifty years, each movement had carved out a niche in the ecology of the broader American culture but attracted an ever-decreasing percentage of the rising adolescent population. The cycle or revolution was complete when a new non-formal religious education movement came into existence and captured the imagination and loyalty of the rising generation of young people and a new breed adult leaders.

Using the second definition of revolution, the American youth ministry setting appears ripe for a sudden, radical or complete change. Both national club programs representing the Youth for Christ movement have leveled off in numerical growth far below the one hundred percent per decade experienced earlier in the movement. Instable financial patterns have further hampered the effectiveness of the parachurch youth ministry agencies. Churches have imitated most of the methodologies of these groups without maintaining the Christian mission as a high priority. As a result, evangelical students are suffering from a case of pedagogical over exposure while watching their faith develop in the dark room

of spiritual apathy.

In the past, youth ministry revolutions have taken when similar conditions have taken place in a context of spiritual sensitivity, such as revivals of religion or the rise of religious cults, economic uncertainty, such as business recessions or the great Depression and political instability, such as a World War or governmental scandal. Should similar factors converge in the next decade, it seem likely that a revolution in youth ministry would quickly follow.

Current Parachurch Agencies

What, then, is the future of the Youth for Christ movement and more specifically the two major parachurch agencies, Young Life and Youth for Christ USA? ¹¹ If history provides any clues, the two organizations will be around a century from now but in a far different form. The preceding youth ministry movements, Sunday school, YMCA, and Christian Endeavor, each exist today and their modes of survival illustrate three distinct possibilities for the Youth for Christ movement. The Sunday school was incorporated into the organizational structure of the church; the YMCA committed itself to owning buildings, camps and other properties in which to perpetuate their activities; Christian Endeavor, for the most part, gave up on ministry in the United States and shifted the bulk of its emphasis to servicing affiliated societies in other countries.

It is highly unlikely that either Young Life or Youth for Christ USA will exactly follow the pattern of their predecessors. Yet there are some indicators as to what courses these agencies might take. For Young Life a continued growth of professional staff members who lead local high school clubs seems highly unlikely due to the difficulty of financing such an operation. It is possible, however, that the current suburban club structure of Young Life may continue to exist as long as there is a heavy involvement of lay volunteers in the program and that the camp facilities continue to dominate Young Life's philosophy of ministry. The camps will provide the club programs with a focal point for both evangelism and leadership development. Camps will also give lay staff persons who have less than professional skills in public and interpersonal communication, a support system for their efforts to communicate the Christian gospel, so if a student does not understand the message presented in clubs during the school year, lay workers can be confident that the high school students will hear it clearly explained at camp.

A second focal point for the Young Life of the future may be training. Camping facilities will continue to be laboratory for high school students and young adult leadership training, but Young Life's Institute of Youth Ministry may prove to be the key to providing career paths for professional staff, as well as in-service training for lay

leaders and church youth workers. Certified professional youth ministry trainers may contract with churches from mainline denominations to provide training for volunteers in local parishes but even these contracts will be tied to the organization's camping philosophy. Young Life may evolve into a human resource development agency for evangelistic and discipleship ministries and its effectiveness will be directly tied to its ability to draw trainers from the ranks of people who have been successful in implementing the Young Life philosophy in club settings before attempting to teach others to do the same.

The future for Youth for Christ USA (YFC) is more difficult to project. Its success in innovative youth ministry during the period combined with an organizational structure which insisted on local autonomy may have created problems for the future of the organization. In addition, YFC was composed of a collection of entrepreneurs and superstars in the skills of youth ministry, many of whom left the organization to form new ministries or accept leadership positions in churches, missions, publishing houses and other educationally related service agencies. The net result of this movement of personnel and their creative ideas is that Youth for Christ USA finds itself hemmed-in by the ministries it spawned. These agencies may have eliminated a majority of logical future ministry options for the mother organization.

The fierce autonomy of local Youth for Christ programs has left the national headquarters in a weakened position for facing the future. Unlike Young Life, Youth for Christ has very little in the way of real estate assets except on the local level. The instable financial situation, in part caused by an unwillingness of financially strapped local programs to aggravate their cash flow situation by funding a centralized office, has caused the organization to divest itself of its potentially profitable publishing wings, Campus Life Magazine and Campus Life Books. Even its training program which historically has been limited to a two week intensive session in the summer for newer staff members and a few workshops at the mid-winter convention lacks the decisive direction which would carve for itself a niche in the North American youth ministry scene.

It is quite possible that its most significant ministry in the days ahead may be outside the United States. From its earliest days, Youth for Christ International has had a world vision and has situated programs all over the world. Many of these affiliated organizations still rely on Youth for Christ USA to provide staff, training and financial support. If this trend continues, YFC will find itself in an ever increasing setting of performing the functions of a mission board.

The long-term survival of Youth for Christ USA as an agency of non-formal religious education in the United

States will be directly related to the organization's ability to identify and minister to groups of students not currently being touched by church youth programs or other parachurch youth ministry agencies. Several such target groups would include ethnic minorities, drug users, pregnant girls and teenage mothers, adolescents with police records, urban gangs, computer "hackers," junior high school students and those people on the fringes of the high school society commonly known as "nerds." The greatest hindrances to innovations such as these will continue to be the twin issues of funding and local autonomy. Local programs have been very slow to break with past ministry strategies and follow the innovations initiated by the national leadership and there is little reason to expect that such a miracle will happen in the near future. The future direction of Youth for Christ USA appears highly uncertain.

Church Youth Groups

If the future effectiveness of Young Life and Youth for Christ USA appears to be limited, what will be the role that local church youth groups will play in the non-formal religious education of youth? More specifically stated, if the parachurch agencies which provided leadership in student evangelism in the Youth for Christ movement cease to be effective evangelists, will the church youth groups begin performing that function? The answer is not encouraging.

The chief task of church youth groups has been to pass the primary values of the adult congregation from generation to generation. In some churches the values of parish leaders placed an emphasis on the evangelization of unchurched people in the community. In these congregations the youth ministries reflected the emphasis placed on the Christian mission. The vast majority of churches, however, have professed to support local evangelism but in practice have been more content to remain homogenous units either through denominational affiliation or ethnic purity. Youth groups associated with these churches shared the older generation's values and thus did not see the Christian mission as a priority item.

In the past, churches have not experienced prolonged numerical success in their youth groups if they have not stressed evangelization or have not been associated with parachurch agencies which did so in their behalf. With the decline of the Youth for Christ movement, it can be expected that an ever-decreasing number of church youth groups will share the numerical success similar groups enjoyed during the high points of the Youth for Christ movement. Though there will be exceptions, usually related to the special gifts of a particular youth pastor, these exceptions will tend to diminish in frequency as youth groups conform to the dominant value system of the churches in which they exist.

Two hopes for the continual revitalization of church

youth groups, apart from a sudden spiritual awakening, lie with the publishing houses bred by the Youth for Christ movement and the networks of youth ministers which cross denominational and ethnic lines. The contribution of the publishing houses, notably Youth Specialties and Group Magazine, is that of in-service training and program development based on a Christian world-view rather than a mere sociological or educational consensus. Networks of youth workers such as the National Network of Youth ministers and Sonlife Ministries can provide stimulation and encouragement for participants while maintaining an informal type of accountability to values of the movement.

The problem with the publishing house and networking idea is that both take on lives of their own. Publishing houses tend to follow the buying patterns of their customers while a network creates an informal status systems for participants and thus focuses attention on the social dynamics of the people involved rather than on the purpose for which the network exists. Self preservation instincts eventually will outweigh the idealism which accompanied the establishment of the youth ministry publishers or networks. When this happens, the last vestiges of the Youth for Christ as a movement will have been defused into the fabric of the broader culture of youth workers. The mission-oriented movement will have become financially viable business or a type of trade association.

New Youth Movement

If the Youth for Christ movement is in the process of becoming more of an institution than a movement as happened to the Sunday school, YMCA and Christian Endeavor before it, then is there a new Christian youth movement on the horizon? History would suggest an affirmative answer. The question at this point does not seem to be "if" but "when?" If Hans Kohn is correct, the next youth ministry movement will be associated with social unrest and economic disruption in this country.¹² These conditions may not be far removed from the United States at the end of the twentieth century.

If such a Christian youth movement takes place, what might be its appearance? Three distinct options seem feasible. The first option is that of a true student movement which springs from the vision and energy of high school and college-age young people without the leadership of adults. Tired of being entertained by professional teachers of religion and writers of clever program materials, young people may revolt and seek to find in the Bible a normative pattern for faith and life appropriate to the world in which they are living.

A second option for a new Christian youth movement is that of a prayer revival. In a reaction against new programs, innovative speaking styles, high profile personalities and creative methodologies, young people and probably adults

would return to the simplicity of the basic disciplines of Christian godliness. Perhaps similar to the prayer revival which swept the nation in 1857-59 and which was associated with both churches and the YMCA, this awakening may find young people teaching the older generation what it means to worship God in holiness.

A third option would find an entirely new parachurch movement emerging from charismatic or ethnic Christians. As the demographics of America move toward a population in which Anglo-Americans are a minority and the new upwardly mobile members of society are those who speak another language in addition to English, the time may be ripe for people from Latin America, Korea, China, the sub-Saharan countries of Africa or even the Soviet Union to inspire and lead the fourth wave of youth ministry in the United States.¹³ In each of these countries or sections of the world, Christianity is already growing at rates far greater than the annual increase in population. Perhaps it will be these people who will form new youth ministry agencies and do for America's secular youth society, what the current set of parachurch agencies seem unable to accomplish.

Conclusion

The contribution of the Youth for Christ movement to church youth ministry, however, is not finished. The concepts of non-formal religious education developed within

the movement and captured in books and manuals will continue to provide a central core for a youth ministry philosophy and strategy in churches which are dependent upon lay leadership or relatively young and inexperienced professional leadership. The emphasis on student evangelism which was central to movement will be evaluated in years to come to discover the extent to which the Christian mission was adequately understood and fulfilled by those associated with the Youth for Christ movement. In the meantime, youth ministers will use the movement as a standard of excellence in fulfilling the Christian's responsibility in an increasingly secular world.

Agencies spawned by the movement, especially the publishers, will be able to perpetuate themselves as profit-making ventures and thus will continue to influence youth workers well into the twenty-first century. The national club programs which became the most visible representatives of the movement will likewise continue to exist though it will be with a lower profile in the field of youth ministry and with a more carefully differentiated target audience. Church youth groups will continue to benefit from the leadership of the Youth for Christ movement even though they may feel a greater impact from a new youth movement and the revolution in youth ministry which it brings.

CHAPTER VIII

End Notes

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APPENDIX A

APPENDIX A

Youth Group Development Chart

Types of youth groups: D - Denominational; RD - Regional Denominational; ID - Inter-denominational; LC - Local Church; PC - Para-church; NP - National Para-church;

Date:	Location:	Name:	Leader:	Type:	Denomination:
1848	Rochester			LC	Baptist
1848	St. Louis	Juengling- sverein	Johann Buenger	LC	Missouri Synod Lutheran
1852		YMCA		NP	Interdenom.
1858	Marengo IL		DE Holteman	LC	Baptist
1863	Troy NY	Covenant Band	George C. Baldwin	LC	Baptist
1867	Brooklyn	Young People's Association	Theodore L. Cuyler	LC	United Brethren in Christ
1871	Dayton	Young People's Christian Association		D	United Brethren in Christ
1872		Church Lyceum	TB Neely	RD	Methodist
1874		Youth Fellowship		LC	United Presby.
1875	Lewistown PA	Young People's Religious Society	JM Reimensnyder	LC	United Lutheran
1877	Moline IL	Swedish Lutheran Young Men's Federation	Peter Colseth	LC	Augusta Synod Lutheran
1881	Portland ME	Christian Endeavor	Francis Clark	ID	InterDenom.
1882	Dayton OH	Young People's Christian Association	JP Landis	LC	United Brethren in Christ
1883	DesPlaines IL	Young People's Methodist Alliance		D	Methodist
1883	Mt.Pleasant PA	United Brethren C.E. Society	LR Jones	D	United Brethren in Christ

Date:	Location:	Name:	Leader:	Type:	Denomination:
1884	Baltimore	Oxford League	John H Vincent	RD	Methodist
1884	Manheim PA	Young People's Society of C.E.	DD Lowrey	LC	United Brethren in Christ
1884		Young People's Christian Union		D	Assoc. Reformed Presby.
1885	Greensburg PA		JN Munden	LC	United Brethren in Christ
1886	Ottawa KS	Loyalty Movement	Oliver W Van Osdel	RD	Baptist
1887	Greenville OH	C.E. Society		LC	United Brethren in Christ
1887	PA	Y.P.'s Christian Association of Allegheny Conf.		RD	United Brethren in Christ
1887	Boston MA	The Young People's Christian League	JH Twombly	RD	Methodist
1887	Detroit MI	Methodist Young People's Union		D	Methodist
1888	Ashland OH	Young People's Methodist Episcopal Alliance		D	Methodist
1889	Cleveland	Epworth League		D	Methodist
1890	Dayton OH	Y.P.'s Christian Union of the United Brethren Church	JP Landis	D	United Brethren in Christ
1891	Chicago IL	B.Y.P.U.		D	Baptist
1893	Buffalo NY	Walter Liga (Walther League)		D	Missouri Synod Lutheran
1895		Presbyterian Youth Fellowship		D	Presby. U.S.
1896		Baptist Young People's Union		D	Southern Baptist
1923		Nazarene Y.P. Society		D	Nazarene
1929	Canada	Inter-School Christian Fellowship	Norman Grubb	NP	I.V.C.F.

Date:	Location:	Name:	Leader:	Type:	Denomination:
1929	Boston MA	Christian Youth Cmpgn of America	Lloyd Bryant	ID	Interdenom.
1930	Washington DC	Christian Youth Fellowship	Glenn Wagner	PC	Interdenom.
1931	Cleveland TN	Young People's Fellowship Club	Bob Jones	ID	Interdenom.
1933	Portland	Miracle Book Club	Evelyn M McClusky	NP	Interdenom.
1934	Southern	Voice of Christian Youth	Oscar Gillian	PC	Interdenom.
1934		Baptist Training Union		D	Southern Baptist
1937		The Youth Fellowship		D	Evangelical Reformed
1938	New York	Hi-B.A.	Brandt Reed	PC	Interdenom.
1939	Los Angeles	Dunamis Clubs	Dawson Trotman	PC	Interdenom.
1939		Methodist Youth Fellowship		D	Methodist
1941		Baptist Youth		D	Amer. Baptist
1941	Dallas	Young Life Campaign	Jim Rayburn	NP	Interdenom.
1943	Chicago	Hi-C	Christian Teachers Fellowship	PC	Interdenom.
1943		Westminster Fellowship		D	Presby. USA
1946		Reformed Church Youth Fellowship		D	RCA
1947	Kansas City	Youth on the Beam	Jack Hamilton	PC	Interdenom.
1950	Wheaton IL	Youth for Christ Clubs	Jack Hamilton	NP	Interdenom.

Sources: Berry, Calvary Pulpit, Conley, Deever, Gillespie, Gothard, Jenny, Lewis, Larson, McClusky, Peters, Taylor, Thomas, Witt.

APPENDIX B

APPENDIX B

Youth for Christ/Campus Life Statistics

Year:	Pro Staff:	Vol Staff:	Other Staff:	Clubs:	Ave. Club:	Camp Attend:	Ad/Std Ratio:
1951				700			
1952				1200			
1953							
1954							
1955				1956	35		
1956	51		1	832	33.2		531.20
1957							
1958							
1959	243			1863			
1960				2721			
1961				2492			
1962				3073			
1963	272			2966			
1964							
1965							
1966							
1967							
1968							
1969			13				
1970			7	1119	33		5275.29
1971			14				
1972			30				
1973	700	3500	56	820	30	22000	5.78
1974	610	2393	73	963	24	28800	7.51
1975	663	3328	122	1052	29	33131	7.42
1976	706	3366	104	1021	34	39783	8.31
1977	748	3366	164	1139	33	30920	8.79
1978	796	3210	134	1033	32	31304	7.98
1979	857	3600	133	1061	33	33000	7.63

Source: YFCM 8 (Sept.1951):9; YFCM 9 (May 1952):43; YFC Club Dept. News 'n Views no.1, 55/56; Convention Minutes, 1-15 July 1956; Convention Minutes, July 1959; Midwinter Convention Statistical Report, 7-10 Jan. 1964; National Field Office Report, 25 Feb. 1974; Statistical Analysis, '77-'78 (rough draft); YFC/USA Ten Year Comparison 11/5/85.

APPENDIX C

APPENDIX C

Young Life Campaign Statistics

Year:	Pro Staff:	Vol Staff:	Other Staff:	Clubs:	Ave. Club:	Camp Attend:	Ad/Std Ratio:
1943	23						
1944							
1945							
1946	37						
1947							
1948	26					332	
1949						602	
1950	35			10		822	
1951	42			11		1782	
1952	45			15		2298	
1953						4344	
1954	52			29	500	3535	
1955						3647	
1956	77			35		4290	
1957	90			28		4929	
1958	104			40		6159	
1959						6487	
1960	122					5854	
1961	136					6262	
1962						6995	
1963	110			41		7640	
1964	139			57		9811	
1965	165			55		9486	
1966	154	816	154	410	52	9293	18.97
1967	149	898	169	408	57	9518	19.13
1968	159	1152	194	478	51	12094	19.37
1969	196	1513	247	549	66	10671	18.52
1970	286	2350	331	683	68	12437	15.65
1971	308	3294	301	826	73	14210	15.45
1972	327	3627	196	879	70	17632	14.83
1973	378	4404	216	988	70	17098	13.84
1974	421	4484	251	1085	69	17568	13.75
1975	434	6061	147	970	55	14956	8.03
1976	426	5843	223	993	62	14347	9.48
1977	416	6330	220	1019	52	17165	7.61
1978	479	6368	241	1003	53	16729	7.50
1979	475	6010	197	994	51	17521	7.59

Source: Young Life Campaign Annual Reports.

APPROVAL SHEET

The dissertation submitted by Mark Houston Senter III has been read and approved by the following committee:

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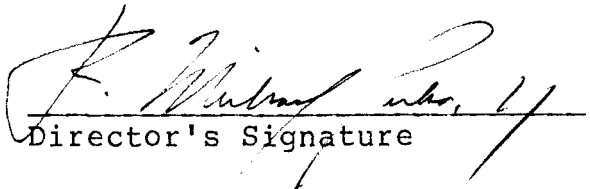
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The final copies have been examined by the director of the dissertation and the signature which appears below verifies the fact that any necessary changes have been incorporated and that the dissertation is now given final approval by the Committee with reference to content and form.

The dissertation is therefore accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

7 April 1989
Date


Director's Signature