

"THE STUDENT CHRISTIAN MOVEMENT
AND
THE INTER-VARSITY FELLOWSHIP:
A SOCIOLOGICAL STUDY OF TWO STUDENT MOVEMENTS"

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Abstract

The thesis considers the career of the Student Christian Movement (SCM) which was founded in 1892 to promote missions and to recruit students for missionary work. As it grew, the SCM extended its operations to the founding and servicing of Christian Unions in colleges and progressively abandoned its evangelical roots and came to play a major part in the development of liberalism and ecumenism. In the nineteen sixties it became more radical than liberal and developed an interest in Marxism and alternative life styles. The career of the conservative evangelical Inter-Varsity Fellowship (IVF), formed as a result of a number of schisms from SCM, is also charted. These two movement organisations are considered in the light of ideas derived from the sociology of social movements.

In the Introduction a brief critical account of various dominant theories of social movement origination is presented and elements of an alternative, voluntaristic, and essentially processual account are advanced. The careers of SCM and IVF are used to suggest correctives to a number of theoretical insights that have been developed on the basis of an exaggeration of the division between stable society and social movement. Particular topics dealt with include the growth and spread of social movements, goal transformation, schism and decline.

It is argued that the rapid rise of SCM can be understood as resulting from (a) the existence of a wealthy milieu which accepted the

movement as legitimate and (b) the SCM's attitude towards its own purpose and ideology which was open and inclusive. This denominationalism allowed the SCM to utilise the resources of the milieu and to recruit rapidly. It also laid the foundation for an erosion of purpose and identity. Many of the problems that promoted the decline of the SCM were caused by the particular nature of its constituency, recruiting as it did among students and experiencing therefore a high membership turnover, but a full understanding of the contrast between the decline of SCM and the stability of IVF requires consideration of the ideologies that informed the two organisations. For this reason the final chapter is concerned with the reasons for the precariousness of liberal protestantism and the strength of conservative evangelicalism.

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List of initials used in text and appendices

AM	Auxiliary Movement - senior arm of SCM
BB	Barclays Bank
BCC	British Council of Churches
BCCU	British Colleges Christian Unions - merged with SVMU to form SCM
BFBS	British and Foreign Bible Society
BMS	Particular Baptist Missionary Society
CA	Christian Association - local ecumenical group affiliated to SCM in 1960s
CEM	Christian Education Movement
CICCU	Cambridge Inter-Collegiate Christian Union
CIM	China Inland Mission
CPMS	Church Parochial Missions Society
CSSM	Childrens Special Service Mission
CU	Christian Union - branches of SCM until the schism, then of IVF
FCE	First Conference Estate Co. Ltd - set up by SCM; owns Swanwick
IFES	International Federation of Evangelical Students
IUCU	Inter-University Christian Union - later BCCU then SCM
IVF (EU)	Inter-Varsity Fellowship of Evangelical Unions - a member of IFES
LMS	London Missionary Society
OICCU	Oxford University Inter-Collegiate Christian Union
SCM	Student Christian Movement

<u>SM</u>	<u>Student Movement</u> - organ of SCM
SPG	Society for the Propagation of the Gospel - High Church Miss. Soc.
STC	Cambridge High Church society
SU	Scripture Union
<u>SV</u>	<u>Student Volunteer</u> - organ of the SVMU and forerunner of <u>SM</u>
SVMU	Student Volunteer Missionary Union - merged with BCCU to form SCM
TSF	Theological Students Fellowship - part of IVF
UCBPPS	Universities Camps for Boys of Public and Private Schools
UPC	United Presbyterian Church
WCC	World Council of Churches
WSCF	World's Student Christian Fellowship
YMCA	Young Men's Christian Association
YWCA	Young Women's Christian Association

Preface

This thesis had its roots in a mistake of identity. I spent some time whilst an undergraduate looking at the problems of a student conservative evangelical group evangelising in a modern secular university. In looking for background material I read Tatlow's history of the Student Christian Movement (SCM) thinking that the group I was studying was part of the SCM. I could not have been more wrong. The Christian Union in question was part of the Inter-Varsity Fellowship (IVF)¹ that had been formed as a rival to the SCM. A cursory study of the growth and development of the two organisations suggested a number of interesting questions for the sociologist of religion and for the sociologist of social movements.

The study was approached from two directions. The extensive literature on social movements was examined in search of material that would extend my understanding of the SCM and IVF and at the same time the histories of SCM and IVF were developed as case studies which might either support or challenge various movement theories. There is always a danger in this sort of work of failing to satisfy either sociologists or historians. I believe that neither abstract theorising nor "pure" ethnography or history has much value for the sociologist. In this thesis I have tried to write sociologically informed and informing history. This has at times necessitated a degree of historical detail that the sociologists may find irritating. For reasons made

1 In 1974 the Inter-Varsity Fellowship (IVF) changed its name to the Universities and Colleges Christian Fellowship (UCCF) in order to reflect its increased presence in non-university colleges. Because most of the material in this thesis refers to events before 1974 the old name will be used.

clear in Chapter One, an important part of the theme of this thesis concerns the relationships between individuals, certain organisations and the transmission of ideas. Assertion of the existence of links is not as satisfactory as the demonstration of their existence.

Sources

Material on the Student Christian Movement and the Inter-Varsity Fellowship was collected in a number of ways.

- (1) I joined the Student Christian Movement and participated in various local and national events. My contacts with IVF were continued from an earlier study (Bruce 1976).
- (2) A large number of present and past activists in SCM and IVF were interviewed and engaged in correspondence. A number of religious papers and periodicals advertised my research and a lot of ordinary members of the SCM and IVF contacted me either to give me their reminiscences or provide me with movement ephemera.
- (3) The published materials of both national organisations and local branches were collected.
- (4) The single most important documentary source was found at the Central Library of the Selly Oak Colleges in Birmingham which houses the office files of the Student Christian Movement. Most of the official correspondence, internal memoranda, committee minute books, accounts and reports are available in this archive. In addition I found a number of documents which related to the various student evangelical activities

prior to the founding of the SVMU and BCCU. When I began my work the archive had not been classified or catalogued in a more than rudimentary fashion and so I am unable to use any standard referencing procedure. Throughout the text I have used the designations given to the documents by the SCM's own filing and organisational structure and this identification should be sufficient to permit material to be traced.

- (5) This sort of detailed archival material was not available for IVF but being the younger organisation it was possible to rely far more on detailed interviews and correspondence with IVF activists.
- (6) A number of histories of the SCM and IVF are available. Tatlow's The Story of the Student Christian Movement (1933) and Douglas Johnson's Contending for the Faith (1979) were invaluable and are frequently cited. This citation does not however mean that they have been used uncritically. These works, and the works of John Pollock, are often cited where I have other less readily available sources for the same information. This has been done to provide a relatively accessible source for the reader who is interested in pursuing some aspect of the history of SCM and IVF. On almost all matters of detail (though not always of interpretation) I have found these sources to be accurate.

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CHAPTER ONE

EXPLAINING SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

Introduction

When I began this research I had a number of reasons for interest in the Student Christian Movement and the Inter-Varsity Fellowship. Both organisations were centrally involved in the controversy among Protestants between liberals and conservatives. Furthermore, the two organisations could clearly be seen as representative of the wider parties to the controversy and so I hoped to be able by comparing the two student organisations, to reflect on the recent histories of liberal and conservative Protestantism. An initial examination suggested that various insights developed in the sociology of social movements might illuminate my case studies and although there are important respects in which SCM and IVF differ from most bodies in the movement literature, I came to conclude that these differences, rather than nullifying the movement analysis, offered a valuable contribution to the literature.

SCM and social movement analysis

Social movements are normally conceptualised as particular examples of goal-oriented collective behaviour. Heberle (1951:6) defines a social movement as: "a collective attempt to reach a visualised goal, especially a change in social institutions". King described the phenomenon as:

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a group venture extending beyond the local community or single event and involving a systematic effort to inaugurate changes in thought, behaviour and social relationships (1956: 27).

Blumer refers to movements as collective efforts to establish a new order of life, while Turner and Killian offer perhaps the most succinct conceptualisation: "a collectivity acting with some continuity to promote or resist a change in the society or group of which it is part" (1957:308).

Social movements involve people acting together (rather than in the main delegating others to act for them), in relatively unusual or un-institutionalised ways to achieve, or to resist, some change. The term "movement" suggests a certain dynamism, an idea of progress, which explains why many people want to use the term to designate their own activity. Missionary societies and Holiness churches were always keen to call any hint of increased popularity a "forward movement". Likewise early Student Volunteer Missionary Union and British Colleges Christian Union activists and patrons referred to both organisations collectively as "the student movement". We must decide the sociological suitability of the designation.

There are a number of features of the SCM that are not common among the movements that form the main part of the literature:

(1) The first distinguishing feature of the SCM was its abbreviated membership career. In its purpose it was limited to work with students. Membership was open only to full-time students in recognised colleges and universities. Most movements, while they may differ in the

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demands they make on the lives of their members, imply a career of membership that terminates only when the purpose for which the movement came together is achieved. In reality many movements have a high turnover of membership but this is normally related to the defector's evaluation of the movement. The term "ex-member" normally suggests a change in the way that person views the movement he has left. In the case of the SCM it mainly signifies a change in social status and not in attitudes. Furthermore, the period for which one occupied the suitable status was short. Most students spent only three years in college.¹ They would not attend an SCM conference until the end of their first year and so may only have been active in the Movement for two years.

(2) The SCM also differed from many movements in having abbreviated staff careers. Student activists would be invited to join the staff for one or two years and then normally left to pursue their own careers outside the Movement. In this way the opportunity for the staff to develop oligarchic control and the incentive for the staff to promote organisational maintenance at the expense of the movement's stated aims were both reduced. This would lead us to expect the SCM to differ from the pattern of routinisation, goal transformation, institutionalisation and oligarchisation, often offered as the typical movement career (Wilson 1972:333).

1 Postgraduate and medical students were an important exception to this rule but while they often provided the local leadership of the movement there were still only a very small part of the membership.

(3) The demographic characteristics of the SCM membership explain the next important feature of the movement. It was never self-supporting. Many movements look outside their membership for financial support but their fund-raising activities differ from those of the SCM in two important respects. Firstly, there may be the expectation that the donor will become a member. Children of God selling "Mo letters" are both fund-raising and to some extent proselytising. Secondly, the fund-raising activities of most movements do not create obligations. Street soliciting does not create lasting relationships between the collector and the donor (unless the latter shows interest in the movement). For most movements the general public is a relatively undifferentiated pool of resources and the anonymity of relationships can be further promoted by hiding the identity of the movement when soliciting by appealing for funds for some very general purpose such as "youth work" (this was a popular COG appeal). Although many of the SCM members were due to come into wealth on graduation, few had money when they were students and the Movement depended on patrons and outside subscribers, many of whom were ex-SCM members. Thus the SCM had, not only a membership but, in addition, a separate body of patrons and subscribers who were vital to the movement and who felt that they had a legitimate interest in the affairs of the SCM. The existence of a large and influential body of people who felt that they had the Movement's "best interests" at heart was an important variable in the history of the SCM and one that is not normally relevant in the careers of other movements.

(4) Related to the previous three points is a more general moral dependence. The rationale for both SCM and IVF was that they were doing, in a limited and previously neglected arena, what was valuable and being done elsewhere by others. They were both particular expressions of broader interests and as such dependent on the continued support and legitimation of other organisations and entities which could claim to speak for the same tradition. At times then it is more appropriate to view them as organisations within social movements rather than movements themselves.

The increased dependence on the environment suggests activities more institutionalised, more conventional, than one would normally expect from a social movement. If one viewed "movement-ness" as a series of characteristics that varied from voluntary association and service agency to full social movement then SCM and IVF would be nearer the institutionalised end of the axis than many of the cases which make up the literature. I do not see this as a weakness but rather as a strength of this thesis. An examination of organisations at the margins of social movements is valuable because (a) it throws light, by contrast, on cases nearer the centre of movement analysis, (b) it opens up a new area of sociologically interesting problems, and (c) it acts, to some degree, as a corrective to those perspectives which exaggerate the deviance of collective behaviour in general and social movements in particular.

In connection with (a) and (b) it is worth anticipating later chapters and introducing the interesting inversion of movement career that

characterises the SCM. With a limited number of exceptions (The British Committee of 100 for example, see Myers 1971) most movements have followed a general course of becoming more institutionalised and routinised as they grow older (Zald and Ash 1966 and Wilson 1973:330-3). The Student Christian Movement began with an ambivalent attitude towards the structures, organisations and values of its parent culture, appearing at times almost to be disguising its movement characteristics, and only much later offered the sort of challenge which one associates with social movements.

The origins of social movements

A detailed and rigorous examination of all the available theories of movement origination could itself be the subject of a doctoral thesis. Here I intend to make some general observations about the methodological and theoretical characteristics of what I consider to be the dominant mode of explanation. I will seek to show that, for all the variation in the detail, diverse works from Hoffer's The True Believer (1951) to Smelser's value added process (1962) share common problems of determinism and reductionism. In many respects, the argument that forms the rest of this chapter is a reflection of the controversy that broke into sociology with Wrong's "The Over-socialised conception of Man" (1961) and Homan's "Bringing Men Back In" (1964). It could be said that the credibility of positivistic structuralist explanations was so well undermined so long ago that this argument is, at best, *passé*. If that is the case, no one has told social movement analysis.

In order to demonstrate the deterministic and reductionistic basis of most explanations of movement origins, I will deal with the work of Smelser and with relative deprivation theories in detail while making reference to other work within what Beckford has recently called "the conventional problematic" (1977:236).

The theory of collective behaviour

Smelser explains not only social movements but all types of collective behaviour, with the use of a "value-added" process of six determinants. With the addition of each determinant the range of options is limited. Each stage sets the parameters within which the next must work and so with each stage it becomes more likely that one thing rather than another will be the outcome. With Smelser's own analogy, iron-ore could become anything from a bomb case to a toaster (1962: 13). As it is processed the options are reduced. By the time it is pressed into a car-like shape, we know that it will be an automobile of some sort.

In an explanation of collective behaviour:

the master proposition is that people under strain mobilize to reconstitute the social order in the name of a generalized belief (Smelser 1962:385).

As Smelser then notes, stated like this, the proposition tells us very little. The strength of the conceptual framework comes from the addition of four other determinants to "strain" and "generalized belief" to give a process based on the following determinants:

- (1) structural conduciveness
- (2) strain
- (3) generalized belief
- (4) precipitating factors
- (5) mobilising agents
- (6) social control.

Thus in the case of panic, Smelser says:

Panic will occur if the appropriate conditions of conduciveness are present, and if the appropriate conditions of strain are present, and if a hysterical belief develops, and if mobilization occurs, and if social controls fail to operate (1962:385).

An interesting feature of the scheme is Smelser's assertion that the generalised belief is associated with a particular "component of social action" in generating a different type of collective behaviour.

Hysteria, which transforms "an ambiguous situation into an absolutely potent, generalised threat" (1962:83) and wish-fulfillment, which "reduces ambiguity by positing absolutely efficacious generalised facilities" (1962:83) are concerned with restructuring situational facilities. Hostility restructures mobilisation and norm- and value-oriented beliefs are concerned with changing norms and values. In this way all collective behaviour is systematised and brought into alignment with a complete sociology through the deployment of Parson's components of social action.

There are a number of criticisms that can be made of Smelser's model.¹

¹ In a general sense all the criticisms of Parsons' work are also relevant. See, for example, Gouidner 1970 and Wilkinson 1971:24-25.

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The theoretical force of the process rests on the claim that each of the determinants are necessary for collective behaviour and that assembled in the order of the value-added process (1962:14), the conditions become sufficient. It is essential for the promotion of this later claim that the determinants, each of which determines the next in the chain, be unambiguously identifiable. This does not appear to be the case. For example, instances of "social control" are divided into two types. Those which in some sense precede the episode of collective behaviour are called structural conduciveness or strain and those which appear to follow the episode or which occur later in its development are called social control (1970:50). Empirical events are sorted into the various determinants on the basis of theoretical expediency. The order of the process is maintained by the selection of labels. This must cast doubt on the status of these categorised events as "determinants" and call into question the model's claim to afford us a sufficient explanation.

Turning to one particular determinant, that of "generalised belief", exposed further problems. As Currie and Skolnick assert, it is this part of the process that is conceptually vital. Without it, the process accounts for everything and nothing. Brinton (1958:52) said "No ideas, no revolution". Undoubtedly true but hardly important unless it can be shown that the ideas that inform revolutions are in some way different from those that inform other social activities. Just what Smelser means by "generalised belief" is by no means clear. In one place (1968:79) he uses terms such as "anxiety", "hostility" and "fantasy" as alternatives. In another (1962:94 and 1970:49) he says that

generalised beliefs may give a realistic and "true account" of the social situation. In The Theory of Collective Behaviour a generalised belief is "a belief in the existence of extraordinary forces - threats, conspiracies etc. - which are at work in the universe" (1962:8). If, as Smelser later says (1962:82), a generalised belief is characterised by short-circuited reasoning; "the jump from extremely high levels of generality to specific concrete situations", then it can only give a "true account" accidentally and coincidentally in the same way as a man who is paranoid may actually be the victim of a conspiracy. A valuable guide to the difficulty of making sense of generalised belief is the usage of John Wilson who accepts the basic Smelserian framework (1973) and who takes generalised belief to be synonymous with "irrational belief" (1971:4). The purpose of the idea is clear. It is supposed to add a further theoretical buttress to the division between normal society and collective behaviour, between institutionalised and uninstitutionalised actions. The conceptual difficulties that this gives rise to can be seen in the case of witchcraft which Smelser regards as a generalised belief and yet which was clearly "conventional" and institutionalised for large societies for long periods of time. Whole societies become collective behaviour.

Other determinants are equally problematic. "Strain" is ubiquitous and structural conduciveness is either trite or tautological. A money market is structurally conducive for financial panics (1962:15). This can be understood as a general observation, in which case it is trite or it can be understood at its most rigorous in which case it is true

by virtue of being tautologous. As we have already seen, conduciveness and social control seem to be interchangeable and the precipitating factor and mobilising agents are catch-all terms. As Bryan Wilson has argued (1973:3), attempts to encapsulate all reality within one theoretical system lead inevitably to tautology. We have two choices with The Theory of Collective Behaviour. We can either interpret it at its most general, in which case it is saying very little and offers us not a theory but a series of descriptions and designations.¹ If we take it as Smelser clearly wants us to, as a rigorously formulated theory which offers causal explanations for collective behaviour and for social movements, then there are sufficient reasons for doubting its value. The Theory of Collective Behaviour with its value-added process cannot support the theoretical claims that Smelser makes for it. In addition to those problems already mentioned I would add one more. Smelser says that "many social movements... achieve their ends without ever developing generalised beliefs" (1962:71). Collective behaviour is defined as action by people under strain mobilised to change the world "in the name of a generalised belief" (1962:385). Social movements are norm and value oriented instances of collective behaviour. There is no consistency in these propositions.

Moving away from the detail of Smelser's work there are two points of a basically methodological nature (although they stem from underlying philosophical positions) which require examination. The approach is deterministic and reductionistic. Smelser is searching for causal

1 The schema is used in this way by Richardson et al (1979: xviii-xxvii).

links (1970:54) between social variables and the behaviour of people. At its barest the argument is that strain (with certain other things) causes social movements. Collective behaviour is symptomatic of social strain. This is reminiscent of the stimulus-response views of behaviourists. The stimulus is strain; the response is collective behaviour. One of the best arguments against this mechanical view of human behaviour is presented by Herbert Blumer in his attack on what he calls "variable analysis" (1969:130-133). Variable analysis is the demonstration of an identifiable relationship between two variables. Usually it goes further and offers a direction to the relationship (one variable is dependent and the other is independent) and perhaps even some degree of quantification of the relationship.

The conventional procedure in variable analysis is to identify something which is presumed to operate on group life and treat it as an independent variable and then to select some form of group as the dependent variable. The independent is put at the beginning part of the process of interpretation and the dependent variable at the terminal part of the process. The intervening process is ignored, or what amounts to the same thing, taken for granted as something that need not be considered (1969:133).

The importation of this method from positivistic natural science is totally inappropriate for an understanding of human behaviour in that it neglects the intentional element. Humans can initiate action; they do not have simply to react. Human action is purposive. The argument is the classic one between Durkheim and Weber. Although Parsons began his intellectual career with translations of Weber's work and a claim to an "action" framework of analysis he gradually moved towards a position of structural determinism and this theme is present throughout the work of his student Smelser. In 1971 Jack Douglas

wrote:

However much some sociologists today may be constrained in their thinking by the tatters and remnants of nineteenth-century positivism there is no doubt that almost all of them agree that social actions are meaningful actions, that is, they must be studied and explained in terms of their situations and their meanings to the actors themselves (1971:4).

This seems too optimistic a view. Nineteenth-century positivism survives in the field of social movements.

Methodological determinism is operationalised with the practice of reductionism. Currie and Skolnick (1970) make this criticism, and in reply Smelser points out that naturalistic and interpretative accounts are only used by Skolnick for groups with whose aims he has sympathy. The beliefs and actions of others with whom he is not in sympathy are treated in a reductionist fashion (1970:51). The argument for consistency is a good one but only when one is correct. There is little virtue in being consistently wrong.

The extent to which reductionism retains its popularity can be seen in its recurrence even in theories which at first sight seem to be concerned with actors' own subjective understandings of their situations. Two theories often used to explain social movements, relative deprivation and status inconsistency, will now be considered.

Relative deprivation and status inconsistency

One can imagine three different sorts of relative deprivation. One's rewards may fall while expectations remain stable. Alternatively expectations might rise while rewards remained stable. A third

circumstance involves comparison with some other group:

discontent and rebellion may arise among people who evaluate their achievements by reference to the standards and accomplishments of some similarly situated persons who differ only in terms of having different or more numerous advantages (Orum and Orum 1968:10).

The relative deprivation thesis became popular as an account of black participation in civil rights demonstrations in the 1960s in America (see Orum 1974 for a review).

It is possible to make a number of criticisms of relative deprivation explanations. In the first place there is no theoretical account of why any one group should choose any other group with which to compare itself. Why do middle class blacks not compare themselves to poor blacks and consider themselves well-placed instead of comparing themselves to college-educated whites and conclude that blacks are persecuted? The identification of a reference group is a major weakness. A second problem concerns ubiquitousness; like "strain" relative deprivation is everywhere. As Wallis (1975:360) notes, the group whose behaviour is being explained is invariably considerably smaller than the universe identified by the supposedly explanatory variables. Even if we for a moment accept the depiction of college-educated urban blacks as "relatively deprived" there is a problem with using that depiction as an explanation for something which only a very small number of college-educated blacks did.

The third criticism concerns the operationalisation of relative deprivation theories. They are supposed to deal with actors' subjective assessments of their social situation. In practise, they do not.

Gurr (1968) offers a case in point when he identifies objective factors such as rapid inflation and the restriction of political activity and assumes that these things cause a sense of relative deprivation which in turn causes the political violence he wishes to explain. Actors' accounts may be part of the rhetoric of relative deprivation but they are completely absent from the practise, which Wallis accurately depicts in calling it "closet structuralism".

A general problem with the conventional explanations of social movement origins is that they contradict the definitions of social movements normally used by the same theorists. Smelser regards movements as "purposive" (1970:49). However, the search for general "causes" of the phenomenon weaken the part that the "purpose" plays. Structuralist analyses, like psychological theories, tend to be explanations of social movements in general, rather than of a social movement. This naturally makes the specific nature of any movement almost irrelevant. Hoffer talks about people who will join movements (1951:25) as if which particular movement they joined was not an essential part of any account of social movements. Smelser is more specific but is still concerned with a general propensity to collective behaviour. Relative deprivation theories, like Gurr's explanation of political violence (1968), are also concerned with what made people do what they did, rather than why they did what they did. This is more an "explanation" of behaviour than of action. Intention is neglected.

It may well be that this problem is not actually endemic in these and other theories. In the case of status inconsistency theories, there are

two ways of developing them. Geschwender (1968:131-132) takes the case of pre-Revolution France with an aristocracy high in political power but low in wealth and a bourgeoisie high in wealth but low in political power and "explains" revolution by the inconsistency of these statuses. In this there is an account with a plausible rational element. The middle class wanted power and had the wherewithal to take it. Status inconsistency is invoked to tell us why the aristocracy could not stop them taking away their high status; it was endangered by the reduced power of the lower status.

A different theme derives from Lenski's notion of status crystallization (1954). The status inconsistent is thought to want to view himself in terms of his higher status while others view him in terms of his lower status (although it is not clear why this should always be so¹) (Lenski 1967:298). This leads to anxiety. The anxiety is then used to explain abnormal behaviour. Notice that there is no longer any necessary rational connection between the cause and the activity. Some status inconsistent are supposed to suffer more greatly from psychological illness than other people², others drink to excess³, some vote liberal⁴ and some vote conservative⁵, and others join moral crusades⁶. Here the intentional element of behaviour explained by status inconsistency has been largely eroded and replaced by compensation. What

1 This point is taken up at length by Box and Ford 1969.

2 In a very weak paper Jackson (1962) tries to show that status inconsistency is related to symptoms of stress.

3 Parker 1979.

4 Lenski 1967.

5 Eitzen 1970.

6 Zurcher and Kirkpatrick 1976.

connection remains between the statuses that are inconsistent and the movement activity is usually tenuous. The anti-pornography campaigners whose behaviour is explained by Zurcher and Kirkpatrick in status inconsistency terms have a vestige of rational connection between cause and behaviour in that they might see the new values that they associate with pornography as potentially threatening to their over-rewarded status. But even so they are still seen as tilting at windmills; threatened by the status system of a new social order they ride not in defence of their status but in defence of a culture that is only tangentially connected to their problems. That is one of the more surprising things about the behaviour of status inconsistent. They are motivated by being over-rewarded in terms of their education. Instead of going to night school and doing postal degrees (which would then raise their educational status into line with their income) they become moral crusaders.

Relative deprivation can also be used in two ways. It can either be connected rationally as the "cause" of action designed to remove the relative deprivation or it can be seen as the cause of some generalised anxiety in people which leads them into all manner of inappropriate compensatory activity. The former seems as plausible as the latter but it is the anxiety variant which has dominated the literature.

Summary

Until recently the social movement literature has been dominated by a variety of theories, some psychological and some structuralist, and others involving some combination of the two. I have argued that these theories share a number of common faults which stem from very basic theoretical and methodological flaws. Explanations of the origins of social movements, in aiming to account for the generality of social movements have tended to devalue the platform and identity of the specific movement as a variable. The behaviour (not action) of movement members is explained, not with reference to the goals, aims or aspirations of the members but in terms of some underlying determining condition for which they are compensating. In the psychological theories the forces to which members are reacting are internal; in the structural theories the cause is located externally in the social structure. This deterministic account is sustained by ignoring or reducing the members' own accounts of what it is they are doing and why they are doing it.

In recent years a number of separate works have been published which hint at an alternative approach to social movement analysis. In the next section of this chapter an attempt will be made to bring together some themes from this new literature to provide the basis for an essentially interpretative and voluntaristic account of social movements which makes no a priori judgements about the rationality of the activity involved.

An alternative approach

In the previous section it was argued that various popular theories of social movement origination not only suffered from particular flaws but also tended to be deterministic and reductionistic. The positivism of these approaches betrayed even those which were supposed to be concerned with the actor's view of his world. As Blumer has argued, at least residual elements of determinism are inevitable in "explanations" that take as their model the variable analysis of natural science (1969:132-139). Even when one of the variables in question is theoretically related to the actor's perception of his position relative to some other group, in practise the actor is bypassed. The recent re-emergence of the Weberian tradition has provided us with an alternative to Durkheimian positivism.

One distinction between the two approaches... concerns their goals. One goal of the natural scientific investigation is to locate the cause or the causes of the phenomena, while the goal of the other perspective is not the causes but rather certain kinds of understanding or interpretation... A basic implication of adopting the subjective approach is the abandonment of the search for the universal cause (Phillipson 1971:29).

In the introduction to their study of Black Power and Pentecostalism, Gerlach and Hine (1968:vi) remark that they began their work with a view of causation of social movements similar to that described above but then abandoned the question "Why did it start?" and turned instead to "How does it spread?". Attempts to find general explanations of the origins of social movements have not been able to overcome the difficulties of heterogeneity among movements and among members of movements. It is still possible, however, to

present general theoretical statements about social movements that do not involve reductionism and which are not deterministic. This can be done by shifting attention from social conditions that "cause" people to start or join social movements (that is, the origins either of the movement or of any individual's involvement in the movement) to features of the social world that can be seen as relevant in the individual's decision to engage in movement activity.

In their excellent statement of various features that affect the growth and spread of social movements, Zald and Ash (1966) list "the ebb and flow of sentiment" in the public towards the movement as an important variable. Taking this as a starting point I want to offer one account of how "the ebb and flow of sentiment" in a public might be located and appreciated by the leaders of an embryonic movement as a resource to be courted. In order to do this a number of concepts must be introduced.

The milieu

Aberle's typology of social movements utilises two dimensions (1966); the amount of change a movement proposes and the location of that change (either in the individual or in the society). Such a conceptualisation suggests that the fortunes of a movement depend in part on the amount of hostility the movement generates and the level of sacrifice that the movement requires from the member. One can talk generally about the "deviance" of the movement in terms of the degree to which its platform and activities distance it from the wider

society. This is what Zald and Ash are signifying with the idea of an "ebb and flow of sentiment" towards the movement. In some cases the relevant environment for the movement is not the "wider society" in general but a particular subsection of the society. For the Marxist the only appropriate subdivision is based on relation to the means of production. For an understanding of social movements in pluralist societies a more suitable subdivision is based on ideas, values and beliefs; in short, on culture.

Campbell introduced the term "milieu" to the sociology of religion in talking of the "cultic milieu" (1972). By this he meant an underground culture of deviant medicine, religion and science, given existence in "the collectivities, institutions, individuals and media of communications associated with these beliefs" (1972:122). Milieux exist when a number of individuals and entities see themselves as sharing beliefs and values, interests and aims. They are not formal organisations, although they may encompass various formal organisations. As there are no formal membership requirements, there are no unambiguous criteria for fixing the limits of a milieu but its core can be identified through the statements and actions of the participants. Milieux are environments which are "intentional", in that they are maintained by the voluntary actions of people continuing to collectively support and pursue similar values and interests.

Some types of beliefs seem to be tailor-made for existence in milieux and evangelicalism is one such case. It offers a relatively rigidly dichotomised view of the world with which it is possible to identify

the "saved" and the "damned" while not requiring membership of any particular institution. Thus while most evangelicals could identify those churches where it would be difficult to be an evangelical, membership of any particular church is not a necessary concomitant of evangelical belief. In the next chapter we will examine Victorian evangelicalism as a milieu.

The nature of the milieu can be clearly seen if it is compared with the "market". Participants within the milieu recognise each other as sharers of the same beliefs or traditions. If this property is regarded as variable then the limiting case of little or no commonality is the limited single commodity market in which a gain for one organisation is normally a loss for another. L. Ron Hubbard instructed his subordinates to find out in which magazines the Rosicrucians advertised and to place Scientology advertisements in the same places. In so doing Hubbard was recognising that the public or the "uninitiated" saw Scientology and the Rosicrucians as being similar. Both organisations were in the same market place with what to the uninformed might seem like similar products. Hubbard was not admitting that the Rosicrucians had "the truth" or in any way relaxing the sectarianism of Scientology. In the market, organisations compete rather than cooperate and individuals are not normally involved in more than one entity at any one time. The difference in career patterns will be made clear in the next section.

Networks

To avoid reification it must be stated that milieux only exist through the activities of people, either as individuals or in larger groups, such as formal organisations. The structure of the milieu is the network and consists of a variety of bonds.

(1) Direct multiple participation.

One of the most common forms of bonding within a milieu is that produced by the individual who participates in a number of activities within the milieu. He may read a number of journals and attend various meetings while being a member of a number of organisations. This multiple participation can be either concurrent or sequential. In the more competitive situation of the market, the latter form is normal. As an individual moves from one position to another he renounces his previous beliefs. This can be seen in the world of extreme left-wing politics where the competition between the various parties (which to the outsider seem very similar) leads the defector to rewrite the significance of what was membership of "the only proletarian party" into participation in a "fascist" or "degenerate" organisation.

(2) Direct multiple leadership

Curtis and Zurcher have noted the importance of the "multi-organizational field" in the support of anti-pornography campaigns. They see this field as approximating to an "ordered coordinated system"

with linkages of joint activities, shared staffs, and as well as overlapping memberships, overlapping directorships (1973:53). While I prefer to emphasise the consonance of beliefs rather than structural integration, the importance of leadership linkage is accepted.

(3) Indirect and interpersonal bonds

In the first two types of bonding, the milieu is given reality through the actions of the single individual participating in and leading various section of the milieu. This third type concerns the social relationships between individuals.

Involved in my ideas about interpersonal bonding are two related but distinguishable premises. The first is that we construct our social lives around the things we value: a change in perspective almost invariably leads to changes in friends. The second premise is that dramatic change of concern, conversion, follows patterns of friendship. The first premise has been well argued by others (for example, Berger and Luckmann 1971). The second is possibly more contentious and evidence will be presented to justify it.

Gerlach and Hine report that 52% of their sample of new Pentecostals were relatives of other Pentecostals (1968:30). In a study of British Jehovah's Witnesses, Beckford found that 51% of his sample made their initial contact with the movement through friends, relatives or workmates (1975:160). Munters reports that 80% of a sample of Dutch Jehovah's Witnesses joined with, or shortly after, relatives. Lofland (1966) made a similar point about recruitment to the

Unification Family. Bainbridge's recent account of the growth of the Process (1978) shows the importance of pre-existing friendship networks for recruitment.

Taking a more general problem, Bibby and Brinkerhoff (1974) argue that the dominant explanation of religious involvement is concerned with deprivation and compensation. They want to add three other sources of involvement - socialisation, accommodation and cognition - and their own study of the membership of Canadian evangelical churches shows that 86% of the recruits to these churches were either born into the faith or came to the faith because their partner had already done so.

There are two reasons for the role of pre-existing kinship and friendship networks in conversion. Information has to be transmitted and it is often done on a personal basis. Even impersonal items such as newspaper advertisements and hoarding posters are often drawn to our attention by friends and relatives. In addition to the obvious role of these relationships in simply transmitting information about new worlds, beliefs and orders, there is a further point. As Berger and Luckmann (1971) have argued, the departure from the taken-for-granted world in which one has been raised is a possibly hazardous undertaking and one that is made easier if the adoption of the new world-view can be accompanied by assimilation into a new community. Like all social events, conversion has to be negotiated. A new identity has to be learnt and a new vocabulary of motives acquired. These things are easier accomplished through imitation than through disembodied

communication. We might further conjecture that the more the new world-view differs from the old, the more important it will be to have personal contact in facilitating the transition. The more far-reaching the Kierkegaardian "leap of faith" the greater the need for legitimation and assurance, both of which are most commonly and efficiently provided by one's fellows.

This is not to promote an isomorphic theory of recruitment and conversion. Lofland sees friendship between the pre-convert and the evangelist as reinforcing the pre-convert's positive view of the evangelist. The bona fides of the converter is established and the "mark" softened. There is all the difference in the world between saying that the pre-convert "likes" the convert and saying that they are "alike". The isomorphic theory sees like being attracted by like and believes that if we examine the character of movement members after they have joined the movement we can identify the most likely joiners by finding similar features in sections of the wider society. This view misses the point that conversion is about change. People are attracted not by perceived similarities but by differences. To adopt Cooley's metaphor, the pre-convert's looking glass shows two selves - the devalued present self and the increasingly valued future self. If Greek prefixes are in order then "allo" is more appropriate than "iso".

In summary, some bond of friendship or kinship existing prior to conversion or recruitment seems important because it (a) facilitates the transmission of the new world view and identity and (b) it

vouchsafes the transition and confers legitimacy on the change.

A final point to note about the nature of both milieu and network is their dynamic character. As Srinivas and Beteille put it:

a network even when viewed from the standpoint of a single individual has a dynamic character. New relations are forged and old ones discarded or modified (1964:166).

Legitimators

The term "legitimator" has been chosen to describe a particular type of leader who is seen by believers as an authentic spokesman for the beliefs they hold. He is looked to for a lead in deciding, for example, reactions to some new organisation. Within any group of like-minded people there will be some individuals whose judgements will be seen as being more authoritative than most. To call someone a legitimator then is not to see that person as the possessor of a characteristic but to describe a relationship that obtains between that person and others. A spokesman is only a spokesman when others listen. A further point to notice about the idea of legitimator is that it is not limited to individuals. A similar purpose may well be served by a magazine or a group of people in concert (as in a conference decision).

The milieu with its network provides resources. The legitimator stands between the emergent movement and the resources of the milieu like a gate-keeper. Potential supporters of a movement which purports to espouse certain values will look to those individuals and organs which they see as spokesmen for those or similar values and

use their reaction to the new movement as a key variable in making up their own mind. The cultural diffusionists' "two-step flow of communication" (Katz 1957) is paralleled by a two-step flow of acceptance.

The legitimator is especially important in the processual account of reformist or moderate movements in pluralist societies. Our society is characterised by the existence of some body for every conceivable aim, aspiration and belief. However innovative a movement may believe itself to be there will always be plenty of individuals and agencies who feel that they have a legitimate right to speak on the matters with which the movement is concerned and to judge the legitimacy of the movement itself.

The importance of legitimators can perhaps be seen most clearly in the career of a "failed" social movement. In 1974 an organisation called Civil Assistance (CA) grew up around General Sir Walter Walker, the retired Allied Commander-in-Chief for Northern Europe. CA aimed to:

alert the British public to the dangers of increasing left-wing and trade union power ; to encourage volunteers to join auxiliary services such as the Special Constabulary, armed forces reserves, the Fire Service, etc.; to band together in a national organisation prepared to resist anarchy; and to offer their services to the recognised authorities (Wallis 1979:17).

Despite the political "sound and fury" of 1974, CA failed to grow into a viable national organisation. It did not develop beyond being a network of local organizers (mainly retired military officers) and by 1976 it had faded out altogether. GB 75, a similar movement

started by Colonel David Stirling (the founder of the SAS) fared little better and he disbanded it in favour of working with the Better Britain Society and Truemit, which were more concerned with reforming Trade Unions from within than with citizens' direct action groups.

In part the failure of these two movements can be laid at the door of the irrelevancy of their platforms but the main cause was their failure to achieve public legitimation. While one would expect trade unionists and left-wing leaders to be less than enthusiastic about these movements, there was also very little support from right-wing spokesmen. Geoffrey Rippon, a Conservative government Cabinet minister thought this sort of activity dangerous. Lord Longford openly voiced his opposition to "anything that remotely resembles a paramilitary force or a private army" (in Wallis 1979:21). Despite the claims of Walker and Stirling to be defending national values and institutions, the "private army" label stuck. They failed to gain a mass membership (which itself grants a certain legitimacy) or to develop alliances with already viable organisations (discussions were being held with the National Associations of Ratepayers Action Groups and the National Association for Freedom was considering an amalgamation with GB 75) because they were denied support from those people and journals, such as the Daily Telegraph and the magistrates' journal, Justice of the Peace, already recognised and respected as spokesmen for the sort of values for which Walker and Stirling were claiming to act.

It is important to avoid any suggestion of finality in the response of

legitimizers to emergent movements. Deriving, as it usually does, from an informal recognition rather than from an official position, the authority of the legitimator is itself always precarious. In either supporting or rejecting an emergent movement, the legitimator is putting his own credibility to the test. The audience may always decide that his judgements are no longer authoritative.

Summary

In searching for the basis for a voluntaristic and processual account of social movements, the question of origination has been set aside in favour of the question of growth and spread. Traditional approaches to origination, as part of the exaggeration of the gulf between stable society and social movement, tended to work with a dichotomy between pre-movement time and post-movement time. Questions of how the movement spread, of how people came to join the movement, have been neglected in the search for universal "causes". It is these questions which will be examined in this thesis and to further that analysis the concepts of milieu, network and legitimator have been introduced.

In the next chapter the milieu, network and legitimizers relevant for understanding the growth of the SCM will be identified.

CHAPTER TWO

THE VICTORIAN EVANGELICAL MILIEU

Any understanding of the rise of the Student Christian Movement must be prefaced with a survey of salient aspects of the environment from which the SCM developed. This chapter is intended to offer a broad review of religion and society in the 19th century and concentrates on presenting an account of the structure of Victorian evangelicalism as it was apprehended by the early Student Movement leaders. In this presentation, structural features are regarded as important in explaining the behaviour of the early Student Volunteers in so far as the Volunteers took such features into their strategic planning. A further feature of this chapter is that it aims to emphasise the continuities between the environment and the social movement rather than exaggerating the dichotomy of stable society and social movement as is the case with some analyses.

Depending on one's perspective, the 19th century was remarkable for either the rise of the bourgeoisie or the resilience of the aristocracy. British political life in the 1700s was dominated by some three hundred families who owed their prominence and wealth to the ownership of land. In the first quarter of the 19th century the enclosure of land increased the size and wealth of the large estates but the 1850s brought agricultural depression (caused mainly by the importation of cheap meat from New Zealand and grain from North America), a drop in the value of land and the breaking up of some of the

estates. The fall in the value of land continued in the 1870s and 80s with agricultural income falling by as much as half (Thomson 1971).

Subordinate to the aristocracy was the "squirearchy" of younger sons of nobility and some wealthy bankers and merchants. Although unable to finance a major national role, the Squires exerted considerable local authority, sitting on the Bench, funding livings and dominating local associations.

Initially these two groups were set against the arriviste "middle classes"; landed money against industrial money. While the landed gentry might harass the new rich, as they did in supporting Ashley (later Lord Shaftesbury) and his Ten Hour Bill, their day had passed. Although there were still a number of "backwoods" peers who came to London to fight a last ditch battle against the extension of the franchise in the 1910 Parliament Bill, the aristocracy in general favoured adaptation, and adapt they did with great skill. For their part the new rich were only too happy to buy country estates and "presently cited 'country pursuits', 'hunting, shooting and fishing' or 'cattle breeding' as their recreations" (Thomson 1971:298). Between 1886 and 1914 there were two hundred new entries to the peerage. Merchants, brewers and professional men joined the Hunt, the Magistracy, the County regiment, and funded new livings. Slightly apart from this conservative and conforming section of the middle class was the liberal element. Benthamite, this group was characterised by moderately democratic sympathies and belief in progress,

free trade and rationality.

The Church

Although we have cause to mention nonconformists (both Old and New Dissent) it is mainly with that part of the middle class which followed the landed gentry rather than the Liberals with whom we are concerned and their Church was the Established Church. At the time of Wesley and Whitefield it was not in good health.

Unbelieving bishops and a slothful clergy had succeeded in driving from the Church the faith and zeal of Methodism... That was the age when jobbery and corruption, long supreme in the State, had triumphed over the virtue of the Church; when the money changers not only entered the temple but drove out the worshippers; when ecclesiastical revenues were monopolised by wealthy pluralists; when the name of curate lost its legal meaning and instead of denoting the incumbent of a benefice came to signify the deputy of an absentee; when church services were discontinued; when university exercises were turned into a farce; when the holders of ancient endowments vied with one another in evading the intentions of their founders... In their preaching nineteen clergymen out of twenty carefully abstained from dwelling upon Christian doctrines. Such topics exposed the preacher to the charge of fanaticism. (Coneybeare 1853: 274).

The practice of multiple holdings, and with it absenteeism, was common. The mass of curates who provided an elementary service in the place of the Vicar (a term which thus became ironic) were so poorly paid that they generally had to supervise more than one charge. For many of the clergy "living", in its secular sense, was an appropriate term. Miss Grant in Austen's Mansfield Park does not object to Edmund taking Holy orders and accepting a living; she only objects to his taking his religion seriously. George Eliot's Mr Gilfil, who

preached short sermons and smoked long pipes, performing his spiritual functions "with an undeviating attention to brevity and dispatch", seems to have been an example of the better sort of cleric (Wolff 1977:227).

The most telling criticism of the Church was its complete failure to provide for the teeming multitudes in the new cities. The parish system had been designed for an agricultural economy and was slow to change. Twenty-six Bishops were expected to act as "father in God" to a population of sixteen million (Bowen 1968:14). Attempts were made to reform the structure of the Church. Blomfield, Bishop of Chester and then London, provoked the Church Commissioners into endowing over 5,000 new parishes. He introduced the office of suffragan Bishop and launched an appeal fund that financed 50 new churches in London. His friend and ally, Samuel Wilberforce (son of the anti-slavery reformer) while Bishop of Oxford not only made a fool of himself by belittling Darwin and arguing with Huxley but also did much to reform his clergy. Although the parson's freehold prevented him from sacking lax clergy, he did build seventy new parsonages to encourage residence.

Parties and tendencies - Evangelicals, Tractarians and the Broad Church

1 The Evangelicals

Many commentators have regarded the evangelicals as the heirs to the revival of Wesley and Whitefield and many of their contemporaries accused them of "methodism". This is a mistaken picture and prevents

us from comprehending the essence of the agitation of the evangelicals: their pragmatism. They realised that they could only achieve their ends if they enlisted the aid of the ruling classes. No evangelical would have given the Duchess of Buckingham offence in the way that a Methodist did. Of his sermon she said "It is monstrous to be told that you have a heart as sinful as the common wretches that crawl upon the earth" (Peck 1933:56). An evangelical may have thought it but he would not have said it. Patronage, influence, but above all, wealth, were used by the evangelicals to promote their "serious" religion. The career of Charles Richard Sumner is illustrative of the benefits of pragmatism. While acting as tutor to the Marquis of Conyngham's eldest son he prevented the young man from contracting an unfortunate marriage by marrying the woman himself. Lady Conyngham repaid this sacrifice by introducing Sumner to George IV (whose mistress she was) and securing for him the lucrative See of Winchester which he occupied for forty-two years (Brown 1961: 62). In that time he did much for evangelicalism.

The Evangelicals were notable for their activity. Their theology, with its emphasis on personal conversion and accountability to God, promoted an almost morbid fear of being found wanting. Many kept detailed diaries to help them calculate their salvational progress and channelled their obsession with their spiritual state into "useful" works (Bradley 1976:23). Much confusion has been caused by a mistaken view of "usefulness". The evangelical reformers were not, in the first instance, social reformers. They were religious reformers

and only those reforms which promoted or aided the promotion of their vital and "serious" form of Protestant observance were "useful".

Hence Wilberforce was not being "hypocritical" in fighting for the emancipation of slaves and urging Peel to suppress trade unions.

A clear example of the limits of evangelical social thinking can be seen in the character of one of the protagonists in a story from

Hannah More's Cheap Repositories:

Mr Trueman fears God, follows his business (that is, does not meddle with things above his station), pays his taxes without disputing, reads his Bible without doubting and sensibly leaves all thought to his betters (Brown 1961:151).

One of the main organisational presences of the social arm of evangelicalism was the "Proclamation" Society, created to reform the manners and public life of the country. England in 1784 was not a pleasant place. Blessed with a central government that did little;

a parliament dominated by the owners of rotten boroughs, and an aristocracy at once, cultured, magnificent and dissolute; and on the other hand, a lower class, sodden with gin, given over to vicious living and brutal pastimes... Public whipping of women was still permitted. And children could be condemned to death for petty theft (Howse 1973:5).

In this context the anti-slavery agitation played a vital role in providing a great cause around which evangelicals could unite. Led by William Wilberforce, the "Saints" created an interest group that was so well organised that it was more influential than its numbers suggested, and they were numerous. The evangelicals created some societies and took over others which might be "useful". The founding of Exeter Hall gave them a permanent platform and a spiritual home.

It is difficult to exaggerate the extent of the reformation in public manners that followed the work of the evangelicals. Public immorality, previously hardly concealed, became an anachronism and the upper classes adopted an aura of piety. The Lord Lieutenant of a Midlands county in 1850 said that when he came of age there were only two houses in the county that had family prayers; now there were only two that did not (Bradley 1976:38).

The evangelicals used their wealth and influence to increase their strength in the Church. Simeon in Cambridge used his personal wealth to buy up livings which were entrusted to the supervision of a board of evangelical trustees. Where a parish had a "high" or "broad" vicar, an evangelical voice could be introduced by the establishment of a proprietary chapel. Failing that, the serious gospel was spread through Sunday schools and many such schools were set up in direct and deliberate opposition to the teaching of the parish priest.

For all that their methods were sometimes a little less than open, the evangelicals introduced life and vitality into a dormant church.

Vocation returned as an element in a "calling" and serious attempts were made to evangelise rather than just supervise. Coneybeare, in his review of the parties in the Church, sees three tendencies in each "school". Along with the "middle road", there goes the two extremes of excess and dull conformity. The excessive evangelical position was represented by the readers of the Record. The following is a fairly typical advertisement from the Record of the 1850s:

A clergyman MA. of evangelical views desires a sole charge in some town sphere of usefulness. Advertiser sets forth zealously and faithfully the whole counsel of God and preaches unwritten sermons. This qualification being of rather a high order a suitable stipend required. Also, as he is a bachelor, the advantage of good society desirable (Coneybeare 1853:293).

The narrow-mindedness that could lead to someone advertising for a "serious" footman was not uncommon and the charge that evangelicals were more willing to support the evangelisation of some far distant, preferably exotic, part of the world at the expense of home needs had some truth to it. In their defence it has to be remembered that they were responsible for the Pastoral Aid and Diocesan Church Building Society as well as the grim Lord's Day Observance Society. By the middle of the century the leadership of the Reform Movement had passed into the hands of the "broad" Church and the reaction to evangelicalism in the shape of the Tractarian Revival was well established. Of the evangelicals, RW Church said:

The circle of themes dwelt upon by this school in the church was a contracted one... It shrank in its fear of mere moralising, in its horror of the idea of merit or good works, from coming into contact with the manifold realities of the spirit of man: it never seemed to go beyond the first beginnings of Christian teaching... it was nervously afraid of departing from the consecrated phrases of its school, and in perpetual reiteration of them it lost hold of the meaning they may once have had... Claiming to be exclusively spiritual, fervent, unworldly, the sole announcer of the free grace of God amid selfrighteousness and sin, it had come to be on very easy terms with the world (1891/1970:13).

Forty years later a similar judgement was made by Elliott-Binns:

Hypocrisy was an easy matter, for the Evangelical theology, since it consisted of but a few cardinal doctrines upon which the rest turned, was, for the superficial, simple of acquirement. The correct phrases, few in number, though

far-reaching in depth, which to an earlier generation had been a means of conveying real experiences had become a convention, almost a shibboleth, and like all shibboleths were capable of being imitated by the indolent and hypocritical (1928:43).

Possibly the most telling judgement on mid-century evangelicalism is the number of children of leading evangelicals who did not follow the faith of the fathers. Wilberforce seems to have had doubts himself in later life. It must be significant that he sent his sons to Oriel College, Oxford rather than to the Cambridge of Simeon and Milner. Newman, Manning, Faber and Robert Wilberforce went over to Rome. Sir James Stephens, grandson of the "Clapham Sect" Stephens declared himself an agnostic and many others who remained in the Church went over to a "broad" Church position.

2 The Tractarians

The "High" Church or Tractarian revival is generally thought to have been initiated on the 14th of July 1833, when Keble preached his sermon on national apostasy.

The legislature has ratified to its full extent this principle - that the Apostolic Church is henceforth only to stand, in the eye of the state, as one seat among many, depending for any preeminence she might appear to retain, merely upon the accident of her having a strong party in the country (cited in Bowen 1968:43).

Like the evangelicals before them, the Tractarians were concerned about the apparent stagnation of the Church. The difference between the two revivals lay in their diagnosis of the Church's ills. For the Tractarians the problem was one, not of personal piety, but of authority. The Erastian view of the relationship between Church and

State as one of mutual legitimation and support could no longer be held in a country where economic and political power were held not only by Anglicans but by Jews, Catholics and various sorts of dissenters. Parliament neglected the Church and on the rare occasions that it did take regard of the Church it was to weaken it (as in the case of the suppression of the Irish Bishoprics).

If the Church was to have authority then it had to be spiritual authority. The Tractarians saw the Restoration Church of Laud and the Caroline Divines as the re-establishment of a direct line that could be traced back to the first Vicar of Rome and the Apostolic Commission. The idea of an "apostolic succession" gave an appealing account of the Church's authority and had the added advantage of grounding its radicalism in a claim to tradition. The ideas of the High Church revivalists were issued in a series of pamphlets, Tracts for the Times and immediately provoked massive "protestant" opposition.

The Tractarians were Tories in the "Age of Reform" because they opposed Utilitarianism and its godless reforms. They did not, however, share with Hannah More and the evangelicals an acceptance of the economic status quo. Pusey described capitalism as:

a reckless fraudulent competition whose every aim is to cheapen every luxury and vanity, in order that those at ease may spend on fresh accumulated luxuries and vanities what they withhold from the poor (cited in Peck 1933:58).

The difference between the two attitudes is central to our understanding of the reactions to social reform and radicalism in the early part of the 20th century but here it is enough to point to the collectivism in the Tractarian conception of the Church and to contrast it with

the individualism of Protestantism.

The Tractarian movement quickly developed its extreme (the ritualists with their incense) and stagnant forms. The ritualists clustered around the Sees of Exeter and of Bath and Wells provoking outraged reactions with their "Romish" practices. The stagnant form is described by Coneybeare as "High and Dry"; "indolent and ignorant deliverers of soporific sermons" (1853:328). If the debased form of evangelicalism was populist, the "High and Dry" was an elitist position. Its exponents generally held perpetual endowments and so had little need, and less liking, for a congregation.

3 The Broad Church

The term "broad church" was first introduced by Coneybeare and he meant it to cover that section of the clergy that followed Coleridge, Arnold, Kingsley and Maurice (Wolff 1977:254-260). For Arnold, High Churchmanship was:

the fanaticism of foolery. A dress, a ritual, a name, a ceremony; a technical phraseology; the superstition of a priesthood without power; the form of episcopal government without its substance; a system imperfect and paralysed, not independent, not sovereign, afraid to cast off the subjection against which it is perpetually murmuring (quoted in Wolff 1977:258).

The Evangelicals were thought to be good Christians but "with a low understanding, a bad education and ignorance of the world" (Wolff 1977:253). The Broad Church men believed in the God of Truth and Goodness rather than the Calvinistic God of Power. They were more concerned with promoting morality and works than with theology or

the Bible. They were generally good parish priests concerned neither to "preach the gospel" nor to "set forth the ordinances of the Church", but to do their best for, and bring out the best in, those under their charge.

Although his "data base" would not stand the scrutiny of modern social statisticians, Coneybeare's attempt to estimate the relative strengths of these tendencies of the Anglican Church is of interest. Drawing on his own knowledge and an examination of petitions for and against various causes, he estimates that there were in 1853 7,000 High Church, 6,500 Low Church and 3,520 Broad Church clergy. Wolff (1977:113) believes that this sets the Low Church too low and exaggerates the size of the High Church. Perhaps more important than the clerical strengths of the tendencies was their respective financial strengths and this Coneybeare estimates with an analysis of the incomes of various societies. The Church Missionary Society (Broad and Low) had an income of some £100,000 while the High Church Society for the Propagation of the Gospel took in £50,000. Likewise the income of the Pastoral Aid Society (Low and some Broad) was twice that of the High Church Curates Aid Society.

These terms of typology - High, Broad and Low - are not the fine tools which we might wish them to be. They have often served as terms of perjoration rather than analysis but they are useful and do tell us something about the theology, practices, social background and social perspective of the person so labelled. Naturally there are always individuals who do not adopt any one of these positions

completely or consistently, who are sometimes claimed and sometimes rejected by more than one school. The lack of "fit" of these sorts of terms also decreases over time as the period in which they were coined gives way to another and before an alternative, more appropriate, set of distinctions can be drawn. However, for all that, the typology does make important distinctions that are of value and although there are shifts in subsequent periods (the development of the Anglo-Catholic tendency out of Tractarianism and Modernism, for example) the terms do refer to regularities in postures adopted.

It is perhaps advisable to make a further point about the term "evangelical" for those not versed in 19th century Protestant church history. In this discussion I have been using the word in its strict sense of designating a party within the Anglican Church. It should be clear, however, that this party was only one embodiment of certain theological "tendencies" which are identifiable in other Churches and denominations. Thus one can find counterparts of evangelicals and "broad churchmen" in Presbyterian denominations. In that evangelical theology was identified with a Puritanism in manners, so one can find a secular counterpart to evangelicalism in 19th century behaviour. There were, for example, Quakers who were not Anglicans but who were "evangelical" in theology and shared the Puritanism of their Anglican fellows. This diversion into terminology has been made both to pre-empt the criticisms of church historians who will object to the loose usage, and to warn the sociologist.

Modernism

The popular image of the typical Victorian cleric's reaction to Darwinism is that it was one of "blind obscurantism" (Bowen 1968: 161) and certainly Samuel Wilberforce's ignorant attack on Huxley at the 1860 Oxford meeting of the British Association reinforces the view. It should be remembered, however, that the secular membership of the British Association was equally conservative. Furthermore there was a section of the clergy which took seriously the challenge of modern science. The Guardian, an Anglican weekly founded in 1848 by RW Church and others, was specifically intended to show the relevance of modern secular thought for the Church; its editor had no difficulty in accepting what he saw as the best in both Darwinism and Socialism.

In the same year that Bishop Wilberforce was defending the faith at Oxford a collection of essays, Essays and Reviews, was published. The authors were concerned that the Church was teaching things which many people, including a fair part of the clergy, no longer found credible. They argued that criticism could not damage the faith because all truth was God-given. One of the most controversial essays was by Mark Pattison who, writing on "Tendencies of Religious Thought in England 1688-1750", introduced the idea that religious opinions and doctrines have their own history and development. One author advocated an element of demythologising in scripture interpretation. Baden Powell dismissed the reality of miracles and supported Darwin, and Benjamin Jowett in the longest

essay in the volume made an open defence of advanced criticism. The book was virulently attacked by both High and Low Church. The controversy was further fired with the publication of Colenso's study of Romans and the Pentateuch. Wilberforce led the Bishops in a declaration of orthodoxy, Pusey started a petition in support of the inspiration of scripture which was signed by 11,000 of the clergy and two of the authors were prosecuted for contradicting the formularies of the Church.

It is indicative of the change in the intellectual and theological climate (a change which we will not attempt to explain here) that the publication of Lux Mundi thirty years later failed to produce the sort of hysterical reaction that greeted Essays and Reviews. Twelve essays by eleven Anglican teachers and edited by Charles Gore (then Principal of Pusey House) represented the views of a new liberal party in the Church. This party, the Anglo-Catholic, drew its churchmanship from the High Church position of Pusey and their theology from the advanced Broad Churchmen such as Westcott, Lightfoot and Maurice. They rejected the Augustinian division of the world into good and evil and instead advocated the Greek view of God working in all creation. Gore's views on Biblical criticism were radical. He denied the historicity of much of the Old Testament. Stories such as the Creation accounts were not intended to be carriers of factual information but to convey a spiritual message.

Similar changes in attitudes to the Bible and in theology were to be

seen in the Scottish Churches. The "reformed" nature of the Presbyterian Churches made them more amenable to continental thought and it was common for candidates for the ministry to spend some time in Germany or Holland travelling and studying. Robertson Smith, whose advanced views on the Mosaic authorship (or lack of it) of Deuteronomy caused him to be sacked from his Hebrew Chair at the Free Church College in Aberdeen, had studied in Germany and heard Wellhausen. David S. Cairns (1950:131-137) describes the broadening effect of a semester under Hermann in Marburg, and Drummond and Bulloch point out that the exchange rate was such that Scots "of quite limited means were able to spend long spells on the continent" (1975:250). While we do not want to become bogged down in the morass of secession and disruption that was Scottish Church life, one distinction must be made. It is an irony of the Disruption that the Free Church which at the time of the split was more Calvinistic than the Church of Scotland became the more liberal of the two. The Free Church Colleges were opened as centres of Calvinist orthodoxy to combat the latitudinarian teaching of the University Faculty of Divinity but became the foci for liberal thought. It was almost as if by rejecting one element of the tradition in breaking the establishment, the Free Churchmen liberated themselves from complete commitment to the stifling theology of the Westminster Confession. Though rarely openly rejected, the Confession was obviously becoming less important as the century progressed. It is no coincidence that the Scottish support for the early Student Movement came from the Free Church. A further consequence

of the difference in the histories of the Presbyterian Reformed Churches and the Episcopalian Churches was the theological poverty of the latter. As late as 1910, Tatlow could reply to a request for the names of some good Anglican theologians by saying that he could think of many Presbyterians and very few Anglicans. As we shall see in the review of the early years of the Student Movement, although liberal ideas of theology, criticism and social justice were current in the Anglo-Catholic party in the Church of England, they had not filtered through to the evangelicals. It could almost be said that the modernist element in the Student Movement was solely the result of the participation of Presbyterians and in particular, students from the Scottish Free Church colleges.

The evangelical milieu in the age of societies

Before William Wilberforce there had been philanthropic activity and there had been societies but it was in the closing years of the 18th and in the 19th century that the society became a ubiquitous organisational form. In 1848, Sir James Stephens wrote:

Ours is the Age of Societies. For the redress of every oppression there is a public meeting. For the cure of every sorrow there are patrons, vice-presidents and secretaries. For the diffusion of every blessing of which mankind can partake in common there is a committee (quoted in Bradley 1976:135).

The Catholics and Jews were active in matters philanthropic but generally only within their own communities. The High Churchmen were concerned about "social questions" but came to favour settlement houses as the remedy. The greatest part of the work of

philanthropy was done by evangelicals. They founded untold numbers of societies and took over many others. Heasman estimates that, in the period from 1850 to 1900, about three-quarters of the philanthropic organisations were run by evangelicals (1962). Some of these sound a little arcane and very curious. The Society for Returning Young Women to their Friends in the Country, and the Society for the Relief of Poor Pious Clergymen of the Established Church residing in the Country are two fine examples. Some idea of the scale and scope of evangelical philanthropy can be gained from the knowledge that Brown's listing of societies covers ten full pages (1961:329-340).

As we are concerned here with the consequences rather than the causes of evangelical philanthropy we can pass over the question of motivation and consider the organisation of the societies. Samuel Gurney had been an active member of numerous societies and knew his subject when he described the executive of a typical organisation:

The Central executive consists usually of unpaid and paid officers, the unpaid being a president, treasurer and committee and perhaps an honorary secretary, the paid being a secretary, collectors and other subordinate officers. Generally the president is a nobleman or gentleman of influence in the philanthropic world, the treasurer being a member of the firm which are bankers to the society. (quoted in Heasman 1962:8).

The day-to-day work of the society (be it returning women to the country or chaperoning emigrants) was performed by women. This was not itself an innovation. The wife and daughters of the Squire had often helped the Vicar in his good works. What distinguished the evangelical philanthropy was the scale on which middle class women, lacking sufficient occupation, were recruited. William

Wilberforce commented:

there is no class of persons whose condition has been more improved in my experience than that of unmarried women. Formerly there seemed to be nothing useful in which they could be naturally busy, but now they may always find an object in attending the poor. (quoted in Bradley 1976:124).

The foundation of a society inevitably involved approaching "notable gentlemen in the philanthropic world" and inviting them to serve as officers or patrons. The names of the Presidents and Vice-Presidents would then be printed on the letter head of the new society and the appeal for funds would begin. Meetings would be held. Advertisements would be placed in appropriate papers. Wealthy potential donors would be approached and "At Homes" and drawing room meetings would publicise the worth of the society. Most societies published their subscription lists and there was a great deal of plain snobbery in evaluating the merits of both societies and individuals. The society was judged not on the merit of its purpose but on the status of its patrons and subscribers. This was not as unworthy a process as it might appear. The publication of patrons provided the potential giver with some guide as to the "orthodoxy" or soundness of a new society. Those who had before found themselves in agreement with, for example, Wilberforce or Shaftesbury, would take their presence as patrons of a new society as a sign of legitimacy and support the enterprise. The element of snobbishness in the organisation of philanthropy made much of it cost-inefficient. In order to win the subscriptions and support of the wealthy, the societies had to put on a suitably luxurious show. The great Charity Balls, the dinners, the pages of print devoted to listing who gave

how much (expensively presented) and the ornate offices (of which the British and Foreign Bible Society Headquarters was an example), all of these absorbed a good part of the income of the societies (Harrison 1966:359).

Where the aims of the society required not only the redirection of wealth but also legislative action, then the petition became a major part of the repertoire. Wilberforce and "the Saints" regularly covered the floor of the House with piles of signed paper. The opponents of the Maynooth grant did likewise. A petition was organised to thank the Archbishops for abstaining from the Privy Council judgement that found in favour of two of the Essays and Reviews authors (and signed by 137,000 laymen). Petitions to demonstrate mass support were alternated with detailed memorials which argued the case for some course of action or another.

The Evangelical Alliance, the YMCA, Keswick and Holiness

Although distinct from the philanthropic societies, the World's Evangelical Alliance, the Young Men's Christian Association, the Keswick Convention and the related Holiness Conventions can clearly be seen as part of the infrastructure of the evangelical world of reform and philanthropy. They shared many organisational features with bodies such as the Proclamation Society and the Lord's Day Observance Society and, more importantly, they were led and supported by the same individuals and families.

The Evangelical Alliance was a direct result of a growth of anti-Catholic feeling and Protestant self-consciousness that far outweighed the actual presence and influence of Catholicism. In the 1830s and 40s leading Congregationalists and Baptists advocated some sort of united witness against "Popery". The educational controversies, the founding of the Anti-State Church Association, the Scottish Disruption, and the controversy over the proposed increase in grant to Maynooth seminary, all contributed to anti-Catholicism. In 1845 a conference of interested Protestants met in Liverpool and prepared for the 1846 meeting in London. There 800 delegates witnessed the founding of the World's Evangelical Alliance. Its early promise of Protestant reunions was soon found to be empty. Shaftesbury, slightly jaundiced no doubt by his traditional class-based dislike for dissenters, said:

The 'Evangelical Alliance' is, like the Anti-Corn Law League, a 'great fact'. It does not appear likely however, to have practical results in the same proportion (Hodder 1887:117).

In Binfield's judgement:

It was unable to attract good leadership, it was years before an adequate international organisation was evolved and its ecumenical enthusiasm dissolved into doctrinal rigidity and an arid anti-Romanism (1973:160).

The Evangelical Alliance did, however, provide a further series of connections between various evangelical individuals and agencies.

The Young Men's Christian Association was the creation of one man, George Williams, a draper's apprentice who rose to be a successful and wealthy draper himself. Herded together in dormitories, many away from home for the first time and removed from spiritual and

moral guidance, the young apprentices were left to their own devices and vices. Williams and some friends at Hitchcock's started a mutual improvement society. The idea spread to other shops and in 1844 became the YMCA with the joint aim of educating and spiritually improving young men. In this, the YMCA was part of a movement to promote self-education that included David Naismith's Mechanics Institutes and Quintin Hogg's Polytechnic. As Binfield reminds us, there is no more eloquent testimony to the breadth of vision and the lack of evangelical narrowness than the Memorial Scroll which was presented to Williams with a marble bust on the occasion of the YMCA's Jubilee in 1894. The list of subscribers to the bust:

is a roll-call of Victorian Nonconformity: Morley, Herschell, Pilkington, Pye-Smith, Spicer, Curwen, Colman. It is also a roll-call of the Quaker-Anglican banking cousinhood: Buxton, Bevan, Tritton, Backhouse, Gurney, Fry, Gurney-Sheppard, Pease. And it is a roll-call of aristocratic Anglican and Presbyterian piety: Aberdeen, Harrowby, Kinnaird, Ashley, Pelham, Waldegrave, Dashwood, Noel (Binfield 1973:255).

The YMCA had its counterpart for women in the Young Women's Christian Association. This organisation grew out of work done by Mary Jane Kinnaird (wife of the tenth Baron) in arranging hostels for nurses returning from the Crimea (later for working women in general), and from a prayer union started by Emma Robarts. The two strands were combined in 1877 with Shaftesbury as President and Kinnaird as Treasurer. Binfield notes that the agent in the amalgamation was Mrs William Pennefather, the wife of the Rector of St. Judes, Mildmay. The YMCA and YWCA were closely connected and the wives, sisters and daughters of YMCA patrons

supported the YWCA.

As many of the leaders of the Holiness movements first came to prominence in the 1859 revival, it seems appropriate to give brief mention of that resurgence of religious activism. One of the pre-conditions of the revival was the Religious Worship Act of 1855 which opened up the use of unconsecrated buildings for worship. Theatres and halls could now be used and, in London, Shaftesbury chaired a united committee of Churchmen and dissenters to organise such meetings. The 1859 revival started in America and came to England via Ulster and then Scotland and Wales. It attracted a variety of responses. In Ulster prostration and other signs of enthusiasm had accompanied conversions; a feature sure to bring censure from upper class evangelicals. H. Grattan Guinness (who emerged in this revival as a leading evangelist) was accused of "acting a sermon" and The Lancet described the whole revival as a moral epidemic and contagious hysteria (Orr 1949:177). The Times believed that it drove people mad. While the Bishops were divided, few were in favour. The Methodists were initially supporters of the revival but later cooled and expelled the Booths who were working as open-air preachers in the West Country. The Baptists, on the other hand, were by and large supporters of the revival. Their membership increased and it was at the peak of this surge of interest that the Metropolitan Tabernacle was built for Charles Spurgeon. Curiously, the Congregationalists, who tended to be the most intellectual of the nonconformists, participated; they sent six ministers to Ulster to help

in the work. The Church of Scotland was not enthusiastic about untrained lay preachers and where there was an increase in activity it was within the formal structures of the Church.

Orr estimates that somewhere in the region of one million converts joined the churches and denominations between 1859 and 1863. How many of these were lasting we cannot tell. More important than the addition of new members was the new vigour and morale given to the clergy and lay preachers who saw their work bearing fruit. Organisations connected with revival, such as the British and Foreign Bible Society (which produced thousands of cheap Bibles for mass distribution) could legitimately point to tangible results.

Many individuals made their reputations in the campaigns of the 1859 revival. Evan Hopkins, central in the launching of the Keswick teaching, was working in Dorset. Hay Macdonald Grant became a successful evangelist in Scotland and his nephew, Hay Aitken¹, started work on his fellows at Wadham College, Oxford. Grattan Guinness and George Grubb appeared. Others made decisions that were to bring them to the fore. Canon Harford-Battersby², another

1 For a biography of Hay Aitken that mentions his organising amongst fellow students at Wadham College, see CE Woods (1928).

2 See Harford-Battersby 1890. This family causes much confusion. Pollock wrongly calls the Keswick founder 'J' instead of 'T.D.' (Thomas D.). Two younger members of the family, probably sons of the Keswick founder, figure in the SCM's history. John Harford-Battersby (sometimes called Battersby-Harford) was CICCUC President 1879-80 and later Principal of Rippon College. C.F. Harford (or Harford-Battersby) was on the CICCUC Executive in 1885, a founder of Our Boys Magazine, SCM Treasurer 1894-99, and later, Secretary of the C.of E. Temperance Society and editor of The Keswick Story (1907)

founder of Keswick, formed an Evangelical Union in the Carlisle diocese. Barnardo decided to volunteer for the China Inland Mission and then got side-tracked into work with East End children. Booth founded the Salvation Army. The London College of Divinity was established to offer strictly evangelical teaching and just as the revival in the United States gave a boost to the YMCA, so the British YMCA attracted new enthusiasm and support.

The Keswick Convention provided a spiritual focus for late 19th century evangelicals. Holiness teaching was derived from Wesley's belief in "entire sanctification" as a deeper state of spiritual satisfaction, subsequent to the experience of conversion, and possible through faith in the Holy Spirit. It had been developed in the USA by Finney and JH Noyes and spread to Europe through WE Boardman's Higher Christian Life (1859). Pearsall Smith had received the experience in 1861. Smith and his wife, Hannah, came to Britain in 1873 and met the evangelicals who gathered around the Rev. William Pennefather at Mildmay. Among those who heard the Smiths was Evan Hopkins. As Pearsall Smith travelled he gained a few adherents but his impact was at first minimal. This was almost certainly due to Smith's concentration on a very small social group. Like Buchmanism fifty years later:

The movement stirred little as yet beyond the upper classes. Besetting sins to be overcome were a tattling tongue, angry looks, viciousness on the croquet lawn (Pollock 1964:15-16).

Smith's support base was narrowly evangelical. Moody, who was in the middle of his enormously successful campaign, sanctioned the

Brighton Conference of the growing holiness movement but refused to come out in open support. As he himself noted:

Smith has a party but he does not carry the church with him and I find it is better to keep free to do the one thing, to preach the simple gospel (quoted in Pollock 1964:19).

Hannah Pearsall Smith, author of Every-day Religion and The Christian's Secret of a Happy Life, cultivated London society matrons and interested the wife of William Cowper-Temple (Shaftesbury's brother-in-law), a great Temperance patron who dabbled in spiritualism. Cowper-Temple offered the use of his Broadlands Estate for a Holiness convention. A second was held at Oxford and a third at Brighton, with interest growing all the time. Harford-Battersby was at the Oxford meetings. The incipient movement was almost wrecked when Pearsall Smith attempted to seduce a young girl with "a foolish if ancient heresy" (Pollock 1964:35). Scandal and rumour were rife.¹ A Council of eight, chaired by Lord Radstock, retired Smith and took over the leadership of the movement. The Conference that Harford-Battersby had arranged to hold at Keswick went on despite fears about Smith's notoriety and Evan Hopkins took over the editorship of The Christian's Pathway to Heaven. The Keswick meeting was sufficiently successful to plan a second one the following year and from that point the Convention became an annual event that grew and grew. The organisers developed more permanent facilities and a more permanent organisation to manage the event. A board of

¹ Evan Hopkins reported (Smellie 1920:73) that Smith fell "seriously ill".

Trustees was appointed, a journal published, a permanent site purchased and around these facilities grew a group of influential evangelical leaders. Henry Francis Bowker (a leading figure in the YMCA), H.H. Webb-Peploe, Charles Fox and Evan Hopkins, continued an association they had first formed through Pennefather at Mildmay.

It was some time before the Keswick Convention was accepted by most evangelicals. Holiness teachings aroused suspicions of perfectionism and antinomianism. The Pearsall Smith scandal (though explained as a nervous breakdown) confirmed these fears, as did the events of 1886. John Smythe Pigott, who had been a curate at Mildmay before trying the Salvation Army, returned to Cambridge to read for Anglican Orders. A visit by various Keswick speakers raised some interest in Holiness teaching. The Cambridge Inter-Collegiate Christian Union (CICCU), a student run body, organised a small Convention on Holiness for June. The influence of Pigott, who took Holiness to mean perfectionism, grew and at meetings students stood and declared themselves free of all internal sin. One leading student, Douglas Hamilton, came to be convinced that he had passed into a new state, from time to eternity, in which he received direct guidance from God. His previous inhibited homosexuality was let loose:

Thus the love of fellow-men which had been the admiration of Hamilton's acquaintance, fettered no longer by earthly values and inflamed by high religious emotion, led straight to sexual perversion (Pollock 1953:103).

In the summer vacation, Hamilton and one or two others joined the Agapemonites, an obscure sect whose beliefs Pollock describes as

"compounded of immorality, blasphemy and genuine spiritual desire" (1953:103). Some years later they were joined by Pigott who declared himself the immortal messiah. In that one year, 1886, a great deal of damage was done to the Holiness cause with the negative stereotypes of the critics receiving ample confirmation. Barton, the evangelical Vicar at Holy Trinity and Handley Moule at Ridley Hall were occupied for the next year in trying to return the CICCU to more orthodox lines.

Despite the opposition of some conservative evangelicals Keswick grew. At the 1886 Convention there were two thousand participants and 1887 saw the presence of F.B. Meyer, the first non-Anglican cleric to be involved. More important for the acceptance of Keswick, however, was the support of Handley Moule. Moule, as Principal of Ridley, had intellectual stature in the hierarchy of the Anglican Church and he was well thought of outside narrowly partisan circles. He had just finished a series of articles for The Record critical of the teaching of Evan Hopkins when he himself experienced his second "conversion" at a small convention held at the home of his cousin, Livingstone Learmonth, at Park Hall, Polmont. The conviction of a critical theologian greatly improved the public image of the holiness movement.

Offshoots of Keswick were popular in the 1880s and 90s when travelling long distances was possible but not altogether comfortable. In 1889 Pennefather started a Conference at Perth and in 1891 Aberdeen became the home of a Convention "on Keswick lines".

The influence of American evangelists

John White (1963) remarks that of the three major American evangelists to work in Britain between 1830 and 1914, Finney, the first, was too early and Torrey too late. Moody came at the right time. Finney began a three month season in Birmingham where he received little support from the Anglican Church. The sensitivity of many Anglicans to the establishment question made them suspicious of American preachers and led them to see nonconformist support of Americans as a subtle ploy in the establishment argument; America being for many nonconformists an example of perfect Church and State relations - total separation. Finney's theology was much too arminian for conservative evangelicals and, in Scotland in particular, Finney received a hostile reception from the Calvinists. Finally, Finney was almost consistently unfortunate in his choice of sponsorship. In Scotland he was sponsored by the breakaway Evangelical Union and was thus fair game for the Church of Scotland.

Finney was not, however, totally without success. His Lectures on Revivals of Religion were even popular in Scotland. With his serious style he did something to break the public association of "evangelist" with "showman" and though it was not appreciated at the time, he did much to undermine the hegemony of Calvinism. On a local level he had some success in promoting interdenominational cooperations among the clergy.

Dwight L. Moody and Ira D. Sankey arrived in Liverpool in 1873

with a reputation in America but almost unknown in this country.¹ With little or no sponsorship they began holding meetings in York, Newcastle and then Sunderland. While Moody preached "the simple gospel", Sankey sang to the accompaniment of his organ. Slowly they drew a following. The Revd John Kelman heard of the evangelists through his brother and after hearing them, invited them to Edinburgh. They started a series of meetings just before Christmas, snubbed by most of the clergy and scorned by conservative Protestants for the use of a musical instrument. As had happened before, however, the tide turned, men were converted and sceptics convinced.

On all sides the fire spread. Hundreds of converts were gathered from the careless and formal members of the Church, as well as from among people who never went to church. In contrast to most congregations, the number of men at the meetings equalled, and sometimes, exceeded that of the women. It was possible to fill one church after another with young men, and to see in each a hundred rise to confess that they had been converted by God's word. And the work became a general subject of discussion, sometimes hostile but always serious, among all classes of society (Smith 1902:56).

White and others have offered a variety of reasons for the success of Moody and these fall into two groups. The first concerns his message and the second the organisational devices used to disseminate that message. Moody had very little theology, in fact, he seems to have been totally unaware of the divisions between various "parties" or the distinctions between different theological positions. His close

1 There are many accounts of the work of Moody. Pollock (1963) and Moody (1937) are the best biographies and White (1963) offers a good socio-historical account. G. Adam Smith's biography of Drummond (1902) and GF Barbour's biography of Alexander Whyte (1924) give a detailed picture of the influence of Moody's Edinburgh mission.

relationship with Henry Drummond demonstrates his lack of concern for the conflicts that were rife even within evangelical circles. The very constraints of his method (assuming that a convert attended all the meetings in his area he would only hear some twenty short talks) forced concentration on central principles, and the pursuit of mass evangelism tends inevitably to encourage arminian thinking since the notion of an elect is difficult to reconcile with mass outreach. White makes the interesting point that the Scottish Churches had, by 1873 been racked by schism and disruption, and many clerics of all Kirks were ready for cooperation. The Free Church College students, with their acquaintance with continental developments in biblical criticism, were prepared for a new tone in their Protestantism. An indication of the change in climate can be seen in the position of Andrew Bonar, a respected Free Church minister. Bonar had effectively damned Finney in 1849 with the publication of his life of Dr Nettleton in which he supported the Calvinistic Nettleton in his quarrel with Finney. Yet in 1873, Andrew Bonar supported and worked for Moody.

Not only was Moody's message more appropriate than Finney's had been; his method was far superior. Moody insisted on ecumenical support for his mission. When the Anglican clergy withdrew their support for his Sheffield mission, he cancelled it and only went ahead when the Anglicans had returned to the organising committee and pledged support. He made a wise choice in avoiding identification with any one church, denomination or doctrine (as witnessed in

his cautious reaction to Pearsall Smith). If sheer weight of numbers converted provided its own legitimation, then Moody made sure that the right people knew about it. The Christian (initially The Revival) was started to report on the 1859 revival. Moody had copies of it, containing reports of his success and notices of endorsement from prominent church leaders, sent to all 30,000 clergy in England before he began his campaigns there.

Moody realised that good follow-up work was essential if the mission was to have lasting results and to ensure this, committees were formed to visit new converts once Moody had moved on. Assistants were needed to man the "enquiry room" and to counsel converts. It was in these enquiry rooms and in organising the missions and the follow-up that practical ecumenical cooperation was first seen on a large scale. The calvinist Andrew Bonar worked with the arminian William Taylor. The suave educated Henry Drummond worked with JH Cole, an evangelist from the slums of Chicago. Canon Hay Aitken shared the platform with the Jubilee Singers (a choir of ex-slaves) and in the London mission, Thomas Barnardo, Wilson Carlile (the founder of the Church Army) and Henry Varley, a Plymouth Brother, worked as a team. In the past evangelism has been a tool of division and proselytisation; in the Moody mission it was the key to a new climate of ecumenical cooperation and it had the lasting result of forging new friendships and networks of cooperation between different persuasions of evangelicals.

Of particular relevance to the pre-history of the Student Christian

Movement was the attitude of the students in Edinburgh, and in particular, at New College, who adopted the Moody mission as if it were their own. They developed an informal committee that dealt with the ever increasing number of applications for similar meetings from other parts of Scotland. Henry Drummond, James Stalker, and John F. Ewing travelled the country addressing meetings and were greeted with success. They followed Moody and Sankey to Ireland and successively took over the meetings in one town as the principal team moved on to another. These three and Frank Gordon, Robert Barbour of Bonskeid, James Brown and D.M. Ross constituted themselves as the "Gaiety Club" and after graduation met annually in a quiet hotel for a week of company and conversation. The lead of the students at New College was followed by their seniors and Professors Blaikie and Rainy were active in support of Moody as was Alexander Whyte (a future Moderator) and Lord Polwarth, a leading layman in the Kirk.

The success of the Edinburgh mission was repeated in many provincial cities and finally in London itself. The welcome was not unanimous and as a preliminary Moody had to call a meeting of interested clergy to answer charges that were made against him. One such charge was that he and Sankey were making large sums from the sale of their remarkably popular songbook. In fact all the money from those sales went to various charities. They were also thought to be agents for the sale of organs! But as had been the case in Edinburgh, many critics were won over and the success of the mission generated its

own legitimacy. And as in Edinburgh, one lasting result was the creation and reinforcement of bonds between various sections of the evangelical world, the undermining of narrow, partisan evangelicalism, and increased support for interdenominational enterprises such as the YMCA.

The missionary societies

In the eighteenth century, Britain took the lead in the slave trade from France, Holland and Portugal. Operating a highly profitable three-way trade - goods to West Africa, slaves to the West Indies and produce to Britain - the slave traders took some two million slaves to British colonies. The anti-slavery cause provided the great single focus for evangelical reform and brought together many activists who continued their collaboration after the legislative part of the battle against slavery had been won. It is no coincidence that the first committee of the Church Missionary Society (CMS) in 1799 was made up almost entirely of anti-slavery agitators. As Kendall (1978) notes, the great era of Christian missions, was the result of the general revival of evangelicalism, the tremendous guilt felt by many over the slavery question, and the opening up of Africa. To make the point that missionary work and British imperialism developed hand in hand is not to explain the former by the latter (a thesis that would be refuted by the hostility of the British East India Company to the presence of Christian Missionaries in India); the two can be connected without reflection on the missionary impulse. The growth of the

Empire increased the feasibility of missions and increased the information available to the home population about strange and heathen lands. Inspired by reading of Cook's voyages in the South Seas, Haweis set in motion what became in 1795 The Missionary Society (later the London Missionary Society or LMS), an "undenominational society". The Baptist Missionary Society had been founded in 1792. In the nineteenth century the Societies flourished, and not only the evangelical societies, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG) and the Universities Mission to Central Africa (UMCA), the first of eighteenth century foundation, the second recent, also prospered.

In the evangelical milieu, the CMS and LMS played an important part. The LMS spawned the Religious Tract Society and the British and Foreign Bible Society while the CMS acted as the main expression of both strictly evangelical and a broader anglicanism. The Societies published papers and periodicals which were read by evangelicals. They were administered and directed by the same evangelical leaders who staffed the philanthropic and reforming societies, and in common with many of those societies, had support groups.

The support groups gave the Society members a sense of direct participation and gave a presence to an amorphous group of donors. This not only made sense from an organisational point of view; it was theologically sound. The people who founded and led these societies believed in the power of prayer, some to the extent (like

Hudson Taylor with the China Inland Mission¹ and Muller with his orphanages²) that they refused to rationalise their income and refrained from openly asking for donations, preferring to leave their support to God. Even for those Societies with a more mundane and business-like economy, the prayers of supporters were a vital resource to be tapped. Throughout the country small groups of like-minded supporters would hold regular prayer meetings, and fund-raising events. They might circulate prayer-letters. In most cases they formed themselves into a national support group for their Society. The CMS was supported by The Gleaners Band. The LMS had The Watchers Band. The local support groups were often led by the parochial counterpart of the national evangelical directorate. With the YWCA, one or two reforming societies and a mission support group, even in small towns, there was ample "useful" employment for evangelical ladies.

The Church Army

The Church Army was founded by Wilson Carlile, an evangelical Anglican cleric, as a response to the apparent success of Booth's Salvation Army³. Carlile was converted through the indirect attentions of his Aunt, a member of the Brethren, after his business crashed. He joined the Brethren and ran Bible classes with them

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- 1 For accounts of Taylor and the China Inland Mission see Pollock 1925 and Mrs Howard Taylor 1892, 94 and 1918.
 2 Muller's autobiography (compiled by Bergin 1906) tells the story of his orphanages and is subtitled "or a million and a half in answer to prayer".
 3 For a biography of Carlile see Reffold 1956.

before deciding to take Orders in the Anglican Church. A major element in his decision to make evangelism a career was his participation in the Moody and Sankey Mission in London in 1875. Carlile began as Sankey's assistant, filling in at the harmonium, and progressed to addressing meetings and leading the Sankey Choir. He worked with the Evangelisation Society and finally offered for the Church. Carlile wanted to organise teams of working men to go out and preach to their fellows. His superiors appreciated his "call" but wanted to see his work arranged as a subdivision of the Church Parochial Mission Society (the product of the evangelism of Canon Hay Aitken). Carlile thought the CPMS a little too "Low" and partisan but agreed, provided the committee of the CPMS be extended to include some Broad and High Churchmen. This concession was made and the Church Army came into existence in 1882. At the same time as Carlile was building up his organisation, Revd Evan Hopkins, Mr FS Webster and Canon Atherton, all friends, were leading similar units of the laity in missions. These "armies" were brought under Carlile's leadership. The existence of Carlile's Army brings us back again to the vital characteristic of late Victorian evangelicalism. There has always been a tension in Protestantism between the elitism and exclusivism of Calvinist doctrines of election and predestination and the populist desire to spread the Gospel. Thus in some periods evangelicalism has been seen as proselytisation, as competition between churches, denominations and sects, as bitter rivalry, while at other times it has fostered a spirit of active cooperation, in which differences of

theology and worship have been held secondary to the all important task of saving souls. The period of Moody and Sankey's Mission was one in which the cooperative face of evangelicalism was to the fore. There was still much narrow partisanship and the divisions were to reappear but from the middle of the century to the First World War many activities and organisations such as the Church Army came into being. The evangelical milieu grew and prospered.

The Children's Special Service Mission

One organisational entity in the evangelical milieu is of particular interest to this thesis. The bodies mentioned to date formed the background, the environment, of the Student Christian Movement; they involved the parents and grandparents of the early student activists, the evangelists and ministers who were the mentors of the students; and they were supported by the same people who patronised the students. The CSSM is of more direct interest because it was the training ground and meeting place for many of the individuals who made up the Student Movement.

Childhood had, like the rest of society, been pervaded by evangelicalism. As I shall argue below, the ethos of the reformed Public School was readily consonant with evangelicalism. A more particularly partisan teaching was given by the many clerics who took in one or two pupils. "Sound" tutors and governesses advertised their services in the appropriate periodicals. There were Sunday Schools attached to most active churches and chapels. But these were all

local efforts. The Children's Special Service Mission was the first national attempt to reach the souls of the young.

The CSSM grew out of work being conducted in a number of places, inspired by the example of the Revd Payson Hammond, an American evangelist who came to Britain in 1867. He was distinctive in recognising the need to make services especially attractive to children; they were short and employed bright hymn tunes. At Pennefather's Church in Mildmay, Henry Harkinson adopted Hammond's technique as did Joseph Spiers in Islington. Tom Bond Bishop had been impressed by Hammond and, through mutual friends, was put in touch with Spiers. They resolved on inaugurating a national organisation to evangelise among children. The style of the work was hit upon by Spiers, who had been holidaying in Llandudno, a place to which came "the children of the upper classes - a few of the aristocracy, landed gentry from the shires, professional men and substantial merchants" (Pollock 1960:13). He saw some children playing on the beach and offered to tell them a story.

The numbers at the meetings grew and the interest increased from day to day and at the end of the fortnight Mr Spiers had made many friends, old and young, and some subscriptions had been given him for the work which he had begun in London (Sitters 1923:49).

Bishop was intent on reaching the rich. While the first meetings on the beach were open to any passing children, the follow-up work of picnics, indoor meetings and excursions was by invitation only.

The beach missions became an annual event. University students were drafted in to help amuse and evangelise the children. Eugene

Stock, the secretary of the CMS and four undergraduates (one of whom was Charles Harford-Battersby, a nephew of the Keswick Convention founder, later to be Treasurer of the Student Volunteer Missionary Movement) started Our Boys Magazine.

The Oxford and Cambridge crests and a Greek text were on the title page, and stories, biographies, talks, competitions open only to boys at public or preparatory schools, and notes on the portions by University men, appeared each month (Pollock 1960:73).

The CSSM committee had felt from the first that the beach missions lacked something in continuity. There was discussion about forming a more permanent prayer union, and in 1879 the Scripture Union was founded to promote and coordinate local Bible study groups for children around the country. The organisation became very popular. Its income rose from £17 in 1868 to £1,000 in 1878. When Pennefather resigned the Presidency, Webb-Peploe succeeded (just as he had inherited Pennefather's primacy among Anglican evangelicals). By 1890 there were 2,000 branches of the Scripture Union and the readership of Our Magazine (the "Boys" was dropped) was around 120,000. The CSSM gave many young evangelical students their first experience of witnessing and Our Magazine and the SU clearly spoke for and to, a large number of evangelicals whose importance to the Student Movement was that they were either the prospective membership of the Movement or they were the parents and teachers whose judgements on the soundness of the Movement would have considerable influence.

The Universities Camps for Boys of Public and Private Schools

Just when the practice began of holding camps for boys is not clear. While the foundation of UCBPPS strictly post-dates that of the Student Volunteer Missionary Union, it will be discussed here as a resource of the Student Movement because, like the CSSM/SU, the Camps provided both membership and leadership training for the Student Movement. The Camps were run on the lines of "muscular" Christianity. In the words of one thirteen year old:

the object of the camps is to have boys down among the students (sic) and show them that religion is a bright and happy thing, that you do not enjoy your games the less because you are a Christian... We used to have great fun when it was wet, singing student songs.

Talking of prayers, the same boy said:

We never used to call it evening and morning prayers but church parade; all the boys were 'gentlemen cadets', and it was all done in sort of military style. At morning church parade we sang hymns on our hymn sheet - for we have a hymn sheet specially for the Universities' Camps... and the Major either read a part of scripture and explained, or asked one of the officers to do so. ¹

In keeping with the upper-class recruiting base, the Camps maintained a military style by having retired Army officers act as Commandants. They were restricted to members of the Church of England (as were most Public schools). The soundness of the tone of the Camps was guaranteed for anxious parents by an over-seeing committee of Handley Moule, Webb-Peploe, F.J. Chavasse and EA Stuart. In keeping with the societies' normal practise of gathering together influential sponsors to hold the office of vice-president and thereby,

¹ From "A Boy's letter from Summer camp" (The Christian Leader Dec. 14th 1893).

when their names were advertised on the stationary of the society, testify to the legitimacy of the activity, the UCBPPS had as vice-presidents the Headmasters of Charterhouse, Haileybury, Repton, Merchiston, Loreto, Harrow, and eighteen assorted Bishops. On a list of replacement vice-Presidents we find Lord Polwarth and Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton, and L.G. Buxton was a committee member.

Although the repetition of names is both tedious and inconclusive of arguments about influence, it is important to demonstrate the interconnectedness of the UCBPPS and the early Student Movement.

Listed amongst those who helped at the Camps are Revd CH Clissold (present at the Borskied Conference, see below,p101), Montagu Beauchamp (one of the Cambridge Seven), HW Fox, EC Sherwood, Livingstone Learmonth, Taylor Smith, WES Holland, George Ingram and Paget Wilkes¹, all of whom were active in the Student Movement.

"The Evangelical Directorate"

The London season of which I speak is that when, during about six blessed weeks in the spring, the chosen vessels resort in countless numbers in London, for the purpose of being present at all the meetings which take place during that time, with as much ardour and holy zeal as the worldly-minded show in arranging their fetes and fooleries (The Vicar of Wrexhill II,70).

1 Livingstone Learmonth, an Edinburgh medical student who was a member of the first IUCU Executive, was a relative of the Learmonth who held his own Holiness Convention at Polmont Hall. For a biography of Paget Wilkes see Pattison (1937) and Stewart (1957).

(1) Primary connections

It is the intention of this chapter to describe the evangelical world of the nineteenth century in terms of the concept of milieu. There seems to be little need to argue the case for the existence of overlapping membership. The lists of subscribers of the missionary and philanthropic societies feature the same people frequently. Taking that as given, I want to concentrate on the question of overlapping leadership - the evangelical directorate.

The practice of all the major societies of holding their annual meetings in May was not only pleasant, in allowing old friends to meet and to socialise while still doing God's work, but also necessary. As I have already said, the most vital part of launching any new enterprise was the enlisting of notable gentlemen to sponsor and so legitimate the new form. This, of course, meant that symbolic leadership, and very often actual direction of many societies, rested in the hands of a small circle who were in constant demand to act as President, to chair a meeting or to act as Treasurer of a committee. Sir James Shaw MP was the President of one society, vice-President of nine, Governor of six, and a committee member of one more. John Wilson of Clapham was President of one society, Governor of six, on the committee of five and a subscriber to another twenty-two. Brown details the hegemony of a small group of families (1961:357-53). The Hoares, the Grants and the Thorntons (a total of thirteen individuals) shared three Presidencies, forty-six vice-Presidencies, seventy-eight Governorships, twenty-five Treasurerships, twenty-five

other committee places and subscribed to a total of four hundred and forty-four societies.

Although the leading members of the Clapham Sect were dead by the middle of the century the structure of the "directoriate" continued after them with the offices being held by others, often their sons. The treasurership of the British and Foreign Bible Society, for example, was held by three generations of Barclays.

(2) Secondary connections; kinship

If the first element in the network of a milieu is the participation of one individual in a number of parts of the milieu, the second element is the connections of friendship and kinship between people active in different parts of the milieu. The evangelical milieu was heavily striated with ties of kinship. As is the case with any group which shares values and patterns of behaviour which differentiate it from the encompassing society, the evangelical milieu was characterised by a pattern of endogamy. In the cases of some families the dominant pattern was almost limited to cousin marriage. The fact that many evangelical families had seven and eight children made cousin marriage possible. The difficulties in travel and the habit of the whole family spending month long holidays with other branches of the family made cousin marriage predictable. University students often had their first experience of friendship with persons of the opposite sex when they spent the holidays with colleagues; hence the many unions between a man and his best friend's sister.

In the case of the Quaker families (many of whom later became Anglicans), intermarriage was essential. Friends who married "out" were expelled from the Society. It is an irony that the success of the evangelical reform of public manners contained the seeds of the decline of the Society of Friends, the very group who had most distinctively embodied the puritanism of the Anglican evangelicals. As the differences of demeanour between Anglicans and Quakers diminished, it became easier for Quakers to consider marrying out. They realised that they would lose their membership of the organisational form of the faith in which they had been raised but they could now move in Anglican evangelical circles without feeling that they had lost their faith or its associated manners.

The evangelical world provides many examples of intermarriage.

Howse tells us that:

In time the Clapham Sect developed subsidiary ties of blood and kinship... Henry Thornton was Wilberforce's cousin; Gisborne married Babington's sister; and Babington married Macauley's sister. In addition Charles Elliott married John Venn's sister; and, all the available sisters having been taken, Macauley married a pupil of Hannah More (1973:19).

In Scotland, Polwarth (9th Baron) was the son of Lady Mary Gordon, Lord Aberdeen's sister. Aberdeen's house at Haddo was one of the focal points of Scots evangelicalism and he was a friend and patron of Drummond and Hay Aitken. Polwarth himself married a Buxton girl. Alexander Whyte married Jane Barbour, sister of Robert and Hugh Barbour of Bonskeid and The Gaiety Club. Another of their sisters married Professor A.R. Simpson, a keen religious worker

among students at Edinburgh University. If one adds the Kinnaird family seat at Rossie Priory, it would be no exaggeration to say that there was very little that went on among evangelicals in nineteenth century Scotland that did not centre on Haddo House (Aberdeen), Bonskeid (The Barbours) or Rossie Priory.

(3) Secondary connections; business

Although the two examples just given demonstrate the role of common interests (in particular, religious interests), and opportunity in forming marriage patterns, there is another relevant dimension and that is business. There is no better example of the interconnection of family, religion and business than the history of Barclay's Bank. Like most other banks, Barclays started life as a goldsmith's shop. The initial partnership involved David Barclay, John Freame and Gould. After three generations, the Freame interest died out leaving various Barclays as principals. Freames returned in 1759. Although other minor interests came and went, the main additions to the banking business were Bevans and Trittons. In 1834 it became Barclay, Bevan, Tritton and Co. a form it retained until the major expansion at the end of the century. The early partners were all Quakers; David Barclay was a son of Robert "the Apologist" and with Isaac Smith and John Fothergill, he was involved in the foundation of Ackworth School (Raistrick 1968:332). The Bevans were great philanthropists. Francis Bevan put up one third of the capital for the YMCA Aldersgate premises and acted as treasurer for Hay Aitken's

Parochial Missions Fund. RCL Bevan presided over the first public meeting of the YMCA. Silvanus and David Bevan were supporters of The Philanthropic Society and others. The Trittons were in the main Anglican with some Baptist members and like all the Bank Directors they were renowned for their philanthropy.

The changes in the members of the Bank partnership before the middle of the century were all individual affairs caused by death, retirement or occasionally by deliberate decisions to provide a career opportunity for some young member of one of the families already involved. All those involved were close personal friends, were connected by marriage, and for the first hundred years, were connected through the local Meeting. From the middle of the century onwards, new structural forces impinged on the history of the Bank. Joint stock banking had been introduced as early as the 1830s but offered no serious competition or rivalry to private partnership forms of banking until the Companies Act of 1862 allowed for limited liability. While banks were private, their security depended on the private wealth of the partners. The family fortune had to be kept intact to provide for the continued security of the firm. This made providing for younger sons and daughters difficult, although not impossible. The profits made by the private banks were considerable. With joint stock the bank's capital could be divided into shares and parcelled out without jeopardising the firm. This possibility may have been attractive but it would mean that the accounts would have to be made public and for private banks which depended for their success

on public confidence that was a disadvantage. As other enterprises grew in size so the size of individual accounts grew and became a potential threat to the banker. A small bank could be pressurised into unwise decisions in favour of large accounts. These then acted as an incentive to amalgamation.

The first merger was with the West End bank of Ransom, Bouverie and Co. of which Lord Kinnaird was the senior partner¹. The Directors of the two banks were friends and cousins and the "sympathies of the parties were identical, particularly in their religious views - indeed the amalgamation when accomplished was spoken of as an 'Evangelical Alliance' " (Matthews and Tuke 1926:50).

The second group of banks to be incorporated were the Norwich banks of the Gurney family². Like the Barclays, the Gurneys were Quaker (and later Anglican) bankers who had a multitude of marriage connections with Barclays, Bevans and other leading Quakers. Of 17 private banks that merged there are seven mentions of the Gurney name, seven mentions of Birkbeck, seven of Barclay, seven of Buxton, one of Bevan, three of Tuke, two of Gibson and a host of minor partners. The third part of the joint stock bank came from the bank of Jonathan Backhouse³ and Co. in Darlington, a family that was intimately connected with Barclays, Buxtons and Gurneys.

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- 1 See genealogy in Appendix 1. For details of the Kinnairds see Kinnaird (1925).
- 2 For a history of the Gurneys see Hare (1897), Whitney (1951), Isichei (1970), Pease (c.1900) and Bidwell (1900).
- 3 The Backhouses are mentioned in Phillip's history of Northern bankers (1894).

In 1896 the joint stock company of Barclay and Co. was formed.

It is indicative of the seriousness of the religion of the Directors of Barclays Bank that the first volume of the official history of the Bank devotes considerably more time to a discussion of the religious and philanthropic pursuits of the Directors than is given to an account of their banking skills.

The pious bankers formed part of the resources of Victorian philanthropy by virtue of their wealth, as did the pious merchants like Grant, and the "beverage". They were in a position to give large sums to good causes and they were able to support a good deal of activity through a division of labour in their own careers. Henry Thornton of the Clapham Sect was a "Russia merchant" who amassed a fortune and then retired, having vowed neither to increase it nor decrease it but to live off the interest. He devoted himself full-time to religious and philanthropic work. Samuel Gurney retired from the Bank once he had secured his own fortune and made provision for his family and became a full-time minister in the Society of Friends. Jonathan Backhouse Hodgkin retired early from his uncle's Bank (Backhouse and Co.) to work as a full-time minister.

More common than the individual's own career being given over to philanthropy was the pattern in which the head of the house would continue in business to support other members of the family who were thus released for voluntary work. Kynaston Studd supported the family of his brother, CT Studd¹, the missionary, who gave his

1 See genealogy in Appendix 1 and Grubb (1933).

inheritance of £25,000 to missionary and philanthropic societies. In more modern times, Murray Buxton, whose ambitions to be a missionary were halted when he was wounded in the First World War, devoted himself to business and helped support the families of his brothers who both engaged in unpaid missionary work. This contribution became a source of pride and many upper-class missionaries such as Joseph Gurney Barclay and Barclay Fowell Buxton were always referred to as "honorary missionaries". Not only did they give their time and effort but they were self-supporting and so allowed the CMS to direct sorely needed funds elsewhere.

The cloistered elite

Given that almost all of the early Student Movement members came from public schools (something that was still true of many of the early IVF leaders), it is appropriate to include in this survey of the context of the movements some consideration of the nature of the British Public Schools.

Like most of our institutions of education, the Schools were initially founded for a religious purpose; the training of sons of the poor for the priesthood. Introduced by masters who offered lodgings as well as tuition, fee-paying places soon dominated the Schools and it was not until the reforms of Arnold that there was again a significant number of scholarship places.

The Public Schools of the early 19th century were, to use Arnold's

term, "barbaric" places. Immorality and viciousness were common; discipline alternately brutal and lax. Wellington, where troops were called in to quell a riot, does not seem to have been unique. While the early days of imperial expansion may have been served well by the hardened and ruthless characters produced by the Schools, the consolidation of overseas territory into a "white man's burden" called for a character less attuned to personal aggrandisement and more to service. The atmosphere of the Schools was unacceptable to the pietistic morality of the growing middle classes but the liberal utilitarian alternative had no more appeal (Worsley 1940:25-30). The outcome was a reformation of the Schools which left the curriculum - with its Latin, Greek, Mathematics and little else - untouched, and focussed solely on the morals and manners of the "barbarians". The reformation of the Army and the Civil Service as the foundation of a new bureaucratic state required a new sort of creature and the creation of two Commissions to investigate the major Schools (Clarendon 1358 and Taunton 1864) indicates the concern at their inability to produce this creature.

My concern here is not to give a detailed history of the development of the Public Schools but rather to try to identify those features of the ethos of the Schools which one might expect to resonate with evangelicalism. I am not concerned with any specific teaching on religion that might have been offered by the masters, many of whom were themselves evangelicals. I am interested in those aspects of the culture of Public Schools which, though secular, could

easily be "translated" into their corresponding elements in evangelicalism and thus explain in part the appeals of evangelicalism to the products of the Schools.

Community and tradition

One of the main elements in the School ethos was the primacy of the community over the individual. The School was the sacred unit and where this was too big then the House was to be the focus of the boy's veneration and concern. Specifically individual talents were not rewarded in the same way as prowess at things, like cricket, which brought reflected glory to the community. Thus at an early age vanity and thought of self were suppressed, as was pride, by the treatment of any boy who accorded himself any status or merit which he did not derive from a position in the hierarchy of the School or from some exceptional merit-gaining (for the School or House) performance. Any boy demonstrating "side" was ruthlessly stamped on.

The historical dimension of "community" was preserved in the traditions of the School. Most Schools had a set of traditions, often orally transmitted and it was not unusual for new boys to be "tested" in their knowledge of these traditions. The sacred nature of the community and of the tradition were preserved by the device of distinctive language. Most Schools had (and still have) a private slang which clearly and effectively separates the cogniscenti from the rest of the world.

The internalisation of control as "form"

One feature of the reformed Public School not often emphasised was its aesthetic style of control. Rules were not seen as laws, which served a useful purpose, open to change when the circumstances changed and mechanically bringing retribution when broken. Rather they were expressions of the "order" of the community, they were standards of moral conduct, and to break the rules was to offend against the community. (Of course not all school rules were regarded in this light. Most schools seem to have another type of rule which is "fair game"; the separation of the two sorts having the consequence of allowing "deviance" which does not effect the main enterprise.) In this view of control, punishment was not seen as retribution but as an attempt to make the sinner see the enormity of his crime and repent.

Nothing to excess

The resistance of the Schools to pressure to reform their curriculum meant that their product had to be advertised by pointing to something other than technical skill. Long after the Classics had ceased to be used for anything other than learned jokes its study was justified with the claim that it trained the mind. Whatever the merits of that argument, the curriculum certainly prevented the schoolboy from learning anything useful. The claim of the gentry to be natural leaders has generally rested on the supposed superiority of the gifted amateur: an entity created created from the puritanism and work

ethic of the middle classes and the traditional gentry's disdain for earning one's living. As we have already mentioned Barclay Fowell Buxton and Joseph Gurney Barclay were not only unpaid missionaries but were also normally referred to as honorary missionaries as if the world should know that they did what they did from a sense of vocation and not from a need or a desire to earn a living. The gifted amateur played a powerful part in the creation of both SCM and IVF.

Peter Panism

One of Worsley's most contentious points (1940:115) is that the Schools promoted "Peter Panism". He argues that the limited physical environment, the routinisation of all activities, the extremely strict supervision and the totally illusory nature of the delegation of authority extended and exaggerated childhood. Removed from contact with adults and learning to define themselves vis a vis an artificial community and its traditional roles made the transition to adulthood very difficult. This failure to grow up was both reflected in, and to some extent disguised by, the superficial manliness of "character". Whether the Schools actually produced any large number of effeminacy-hating, stiff-upper-lipped, hardy boys is not clear. Certainly the image has powerful resonances with the stereotype of what is best in evangelicalism. Tatlow and his contemporaries seemed obsessed with the need to demonstrate that evangelicalism was not only not effeminate but that indeed it was truly manly. The muscular part of "serious" religion was a major part of the platform

of the CSSM, the Schoolboys Camps, and even the "bash" camps run by IVF between the Wars.

The nature of man

Most modern educationalists begin with the assumption that children are essentially good and that particular evils need explaining. The Masters of the Public Schools did not hold that view. A boy was bad and generally needed nothing so much as all the badness beaten out of him. This, of course, accords with the evangelical view of the state of human nature since the Fall.

Summary

On one hand, the public schools' exaltation of Chapel suited the "Philistine respectability" of the devout bourgeois: "character-building" became an obsession that pervaded everything from playing games to the mental rigours of learning Latin. On the other hand, the schools' claim to inculcate gentlemanly manners met the landed class' aesthetic requirements and, at the same time, attracted the ambitious nouveau riche (Wilkinson 1964:10).

Many of the Schools still had Headmasters in Orders during the childhood of the Student Movement founders and some schools were infused with a specifically evangelical form of Protestantism, but even those that were not, shared an ethos many elements of which seem to have sufficient correspondence with aspects of evangelicalism for us to realise the ease with which schoolboys of this period could become evangelicals. Tradition and Community (as fellowship) were part of evangelicalism. The doctrine of "nothing to excess" and the

gifted amateur can be seen in the way in which the young founders of the Movement took to their tasks as though to the manner born. It can also be seen in the dislike of the IVF evangelicals for theologians and their preference for lay speakers and writers. "Peter Panism" has always been an element of British evangelicalism and the tone of the Camps and such bodies as the Officers Christian Union has always been a source of concern for more intellectually-minded evangelicals.

Victorian evangelicalism as a milieu

Having given a brief sketch of Victorian evangelicalism, it remains to revise the features of this cultural phenomenon in terms of our concept of "milieu". The first element of the concept is identity and it is clear that Victorian Evangelicalism constituted a social grouping based on shared values and beliefs that were not equally dispersed throughout the society. The evangelicals not only shared a religious perspective but also shared a degree of commitment to that perspective that made their theology an important part of their personal lives. The nature of their identity differs from that of other milieux that come to mind, not in kind but in degree. Evangelicalism involves a number of distinct emphases within mainstream Protestantism. The importance of individual conversion is one such emphasis as is the penal interpretation of the Atonement. Like other groups with common beliefs, the evangelicals shared a common language. Phrases such as "preaching the full gospel" and "setting

forth the ordinances of the Church" separated the Tractarian from the Evangelical cleric as clearly as their cassocks. Evangelicals could identify other evangelicals with ease from the expressions used in conversation. The language in turn gave commonly developed meaning and significance to experiences and events. What makes evangelicalism particularly well suited for the milieu structure is that it provides definite criteria for recognising fellows (Have you accepted Jesus as your pilot yet?) while not requiring secession from one's own church or denomination. While evangelicals could identify each other and saw in each other brethren in Christ, the individualistic nature of the tendency combined with a lack of a doctrine of the Church effectively blocked the creation of one evangelical Church.

The identity of the contemporary cultic milieu seems to be of a different nature. The Church of Scientology and the Rosicrucians recognise their common interests and attractions but only in a grudging recognition that the uninitiated public, the prospective consumers, see them as similar. They are aware that they share the same market but refuse to grant legitimacy to each other. While Hubbard sees that his organisation and the Rosicrucians are selling to the same market, he does not recognise the value of his competitor's product. In this way, elements of the cultic milieu are (a) seen by outside observers as having something in common and (b) recognise the similarities of their product without sharing any great amount of solidarity. In comparison, elements of the evangelical milieu were not often competitive, and the sense of community and commonality that the

observer has of that milieu was reflected in the perspective of the milieu members to a much greater degree than is the case for the present day cultic milieu or the world of fringe left-wing politics.

The Victorian Evangelical network

In Chapter One we suggested that the social bonding of a milieu can be treated as being of three kinds and the Victorian evangelical milieu displays many examples of all three. There was a great deal of direct multiple participation. Individual evangelicals simultaneously participated in many elements of the milieu. They attended a host of meetings, conventions, camps and conferences. They subscribed to a large number of papers, journals, missionary reports and occasional publications. Those who were not sufficiently active to take part in a number of evangelical enterprises at the same time still added to the bonding of the milieu in participating in a number of elements sequentially. Evangelicals who moved from one area to another would be put in touch with suitable churches and associations. Men who established one line of work often left it once it was operational to pioneer some other "useful" enterprise.

If it is a little difficult to produce evidence for direct multiple participation (for the reason that it was so common and taken for granted that it did not merit recording) there is no shortage of material which clearly demonstrates the extent of direct multiple leadership. As has been shown, the importance of suitable patronage in the launching of any new enterprise was such that the leadership

of the evangelical world was in the hands of some hundred people whose names appear time and again on letterheads and committee lists, the prefaces of books and the advertisements for meetings. It may be asked to what degree this phenomenon is peculiar to Victorian evangelicalism. Evangelicalism does claim to be unchanging. It clings to "old paths in perilous times". It also claims to rest on an objectively available source of authoritative teaching, the Bible, and these claims, supported by the belief that experience and wisdom can improve one's interpretation of the tradition, provide a viable culture for gerontocratic leadership. While this style was well-suited to the beliefs of "the Saints", it is not peculiar to this milieu. More recent evangelical milieux have exhibited a similar reliance on a small number of leaders, John Stott and Martyn Lloyd-Jones, for example. Likewise, there is identifiable multiple leadership in the milieu of modern "middle class" campaigns (King and Nugent 1979).

This brings us to the third type of social bonding suggested in Chapter One; interpersonal bonding. The Victorian evangelicals provide so many examples of this sort of interconnection that their listing becomes repetitious. Marriages were generally arranged within a limited circle of friends and acquaintances, who because of this limitation were almost certainly already kinsmen. Even among the Quakers, who frowned upon it, cousin marriage was common. The difficulty of travel combined with the wealth of the leading evangelicals to make extended holidays with relations a frequent occurrence.

Like other attitudes and activities, evangelicalism was generally transmitted through the family structure. Where the head of the family was pious, it was usual for the rest of the family to follow him. The case of Edward Studd, whose conversion was followed by the conversion of his three sons is a case in point. Similarly, the Kinnaird family brought together under one roof active elements of the CMS, LMS, London City Mission and Moody Mission (Arthur, 10th Baron); British Ladies Emigration Society, Foreign Evangelisation Society, Zenana Bible and Medical Mission and YWCA (Mary Jane, wife of the 10th Baron); YMCA (their son) and the YWCA (supported by the daughters). The example of the interests of the Directors of Barclays Bank shows similar connections between activists of different elements in the milieu.

There are some reasons for supposing the high degree of interpersonal relationships that characterised the Victorian evangelical world to be particular to that milieu. The connections of kinship and friendship are clearly peculiar to the Victorian middle-class and gentry; the large families, estates and assets all contributed. The same can be said of the relationships built around business. The role of partnerships in reinforcing allegiances based on shared religious faith is peculiar to an economy in which the private partnership and the family firm predominate. The rise of the Joint Stock company saw the fall in importance of this sort of connection. But this qualification - the historical specificity of the Victorian family structure and economy - relates in the first instance only to the possibility, the

facilities, for structuring one's religious commitments and personal relationships so as to harmonise the two. We would argue that the reasons why people want to do so remain valid for all belief systems.

We change our beliefs to accord with those around us and we change those around us to accord with our beliefs because, as Berger and Luckmann have argued (1971), reality is socially created and maintained. It is vital for the individual to receive cognitive support for the world-view he holds. A change of world-view involves a change in community. The reason for harmonising world-view and acquaintance are valid for all sorts of world-views. Thus one would expect to find interpersonal bonding in any milieu. The extent to which we find it in Victorian evangelicalism is peculiar to Victorian England (it is more pronounced in that period even than it is in the present day evangelical milieu) but the phenomenon is not unique to either Victorian evangelicalism or to evangelicalism more generally.

Having discussed the shared values of the milieu and its interconnections we now turn to the third section of our analysis of milieux - the role of sponsors. For an emergent social movement, the milieu appears as a pool of resources: members, finance, and organisational expertise. Within any milieu there are agencies, usually individual leaders and authority figures but sometimes collectivities such as committees and newspapers, which are in a position to influence opinion in the milieu. In his "value-added process" Smelser mentions "social control". By their very nature as intentional environments, milieux are short of sanctions. There are few punishments that can be administered. Social control exhibits itself

in the form of moral sanctions. Legitimation may be conferred or denied. The embryonic movement needs assistance. The legitimators within the milieu are central agents of "social control" in that they are in a position either to promote or to denounce the movement to the milieu from which it hopes to draw resources.

Such legitimators can easily be identified in the Victorian evangelical milieu. No meeting, convention, conference or enterprise of any sort was complete without the blessing of Webb-Peploe, Moule, Spurgeon or Maurice, Hopkins or Guinness.

CHAPTER THREE

THE STIRRINGS OF A STUDENT MOVEMENT

Student led organisations of any sort were rare in the British universities of the early nineteenth century; religious organisations run by students were rarer still. The evangelical Isaac Milner justified a decision in 1806 to forbid students to found a branch of the Bible Society by saying:

If undergraduates were permitted to organise for the purpose of diffusing a knowledge of the Bible, it would not be long before they were banding together to spread subversive political ideas (Isaac Milner in Rouse 1967:343).

The provision of facilities for worship and the lead in matters religious was the province of senior fellows and chaplains. It must be remembered that the Universities were Church agencies, the staff were normally in Orders, and student initiatives were felt to be as out of place as lay initiatives. They were taken, as they were often intended, as a reflection on the failure of the University to take its responsibilities for worship seriously.

The work of Charles Simeon (Hopkins 1977), Vicar of Holy Trinity from 1782 until 1836, had created a climate in Cambridge that was more receptive to evangelicalism than the Tractarian Oxford and one organisational result was the Jesus Lane Sunday School in which many undergraduates taught from its inception in 1827. In the late eighteenth fifties, two young schoolboys, affected by the reports of the Revival, started a prayer meeting at their school, Liverpool College. The Headmaster, who had worked in the Jesus Lane Sunday School

encouraged them. On going up to Cambridge they found their colleagues difficult to move and the staff unenthusiastic about a similar prayer meeting. One respected evangelical pastor:

to whose personal care and evangelical ministry anxious parents were wont to commend their sons could say nothing more encouraging than "I am looking on as an interested spectator" (Tinling, SM XII:69).

However, they persevered and instituted the first public prayer meeting in Cambridge¹. The students' Daily Prayer Meeting was ridiculed and its members derided but thirty of them regularly gathered in a small room behind a coffee shop.

If the Jesus Lane Sunday School and the Daily Prayer Meeting were two strands of student evangelicalism in Cambridge, a third was to be found in the Church Missionary Union. This body had been formed as a response to David Livingstone's famous missionary appeal in 1858 (which also prompted the creation of the Universities Mission to Central Africa). The CMU was not particularly active but grew slowly and in 1875 it had some two hundred members.

In 1873 a small group of students decided that more had to be done to reach the University. They hired the Guildhall and asked Sir Arthur Stevenson Blackwood, a famous evangelist and one of the first Trustees of the Mildmay Conference Hall, to lead a mission. Every student in the University was personally invited to the meeting and many came. The following year Blackwood was again asked to lead a mission.

¹ A Private Prayer Union for those training for the ministry had been founded in 1848. The members never prayed together and it was soon taken over by staff.

I have to tell you of a most blessed time. A quiet journey down with young Kinnaird¹; dinner at Coote's² with half a dozen bold young christians. Meeting at nine. Great Hall nearly filled. About six hundred - twenty clergymen of all sorts, some men who had violently opposed. Deep attention for an hour. Several stayed to speak with me, Christians and one seeker... This morning, breakfast at Barclay's brother's³ where I am writing. The seeker came - stayed alone with me, and then after praying himself, was able to thank God for saving him! (Blackwood 1896:354).

As had been the case at Blackwood's first mission, there was some disturbance but this seems only to have strengthened the evangelicals.

The growth in the Christian element developed parallel to the general interest in Holiness in the country. The next particular point of organisational interest came with the mission in 1876 led by Sholto Douglas. Douglas not only delivered his main address but stayed in Cambridge for a week talking to "seekers" and addressing small groups. There was a growing awareness that something had to be added to the DPM and the CMU, and other channels of action were the subject of discussion (Barclay 1977:19). A group of undergraduates met but ran into innumerable problems:

not least the snobbery of the University that made it hard for the more aristocratic to accept spiritual leadership from their social inferiors (Barclay 1977:19).

Eventually, on the 9th March 1877, Coote chaired a meeting of some 250 men with Douglas present and it was agreed to form some sort of general evangelical student union.

1 Arthur Fitzgerald, 11th Baron Kinnaird.
 2 Sir Algernon Coote, Bt.
 3 Probably Hugh Gurney Barclay, who joined Barclays Bank in 1875.

We determined that every College in Cambridge where an out-and-out Christian man could be found should be represented on the Union, one such man from each College to be on the executive committee - and we found such men in sixteen out of the seventeen colleges in Cambridge (Coote in Barclay 1977:20).

This association was called, naturally enough, the Cambridge Inter-Collegiate Christian Union (CICCU).

The Cambridge Seven¹

In 1877, Edward Studd, a retired planter, was taken to hear Moody and Sankey at the Drury Lane Theatre. He was sufficiently interested to return until he was converted. He withdrew from the Turf and sold his stable (one of which had won the Grand National). He had the hall of his house cleared and began holding evangelistic meetings. His three sons were all at Eton and heard the address that Moody was allowed, after much argument in the press, to make to the boys. Under the influence of their father and Moody, the boys were converted. All three had been in the Eton XI and when they went up to Cambridge they all played in the University team. CT Studd played for England. That three well-known sportsmen should also be "vital" in their Christianity provided evangelicalism in Cambridge with a much needed rise in status. The eldest son, JEK Studd, while President of the CICCU, invited Moody to mission to Cambridge. The unsophisticated American was barracked by hecklers reduced to hysterics by his accent, but his directness and enthusiasm

¹ This account is derived from Pollock (1955) and Grubb (1933).

had a sobering effect and some of the hecklers were converted. Although, as was the case in the rest of the country, there were some (and not only High Churchmen) who found Moody objectionable, the Mission raised the status of evangelicalism and encouraged the CICCUM members to persevere.

More than three-quarters of the men who volunteered to the missionary societies were artisans, labourers, shop boys and apprentices (Potter 1975). It was rare for the gentry to abandon their estates to take the gospel to the heathen even in a period when it was common for them to give large sums of money to support others who were doing just that. Hence the surprise when CT Studd announced a "call" to China. Stanley Smith, a close friend was also "called" and then five more friends followed them. It is worth examining the background of the men who made up the Cambridge Seven. All were wealthy. The Polhill-Turner brothers were part of "the fashionable and idle set, occupied with theatres, dancing, racing and cards" (Barclay 1977:37). Dixon Hoste and William Cassels were military men. CT Studd, Stanley Smith and Montagu Beauchamp were all well-known sportsmen. Three had been at Repton, three at Eton and one at Clifton. They were connected through friendship and kinship with the Radstocks, Hepburne-Scott (later Lord Polwarth), the Buxtons and the Barclays. In brief, they were all part of the wealthy part of the evangelical milieu, well connected and well thought of. While it may be that their individual personalities displayed some interesting characteristics (Studd for example was clearly obsessive about his cricket, and having given that up, his religion)

there is nothing evident in their social identities which would allow us to develop explanations of their behaviour in terms of isolation, deprivation, relative deprivation, status inconsistency or status defence. The Cambridge Seven were normal in everything except for their becoming missionaries.

The romance of the decision of the Cambridge Seven was pointed by their choice of Society. Rather than offer to the CMS, they chose the China Inland Mission. The CIM was a small undenominational organisation run by Hudson Taylor, a man hardly known outside the evangelical milieu.

In the history of missions no band of volunteers has caught the imagination of the public as these seven, and their going gave a new impetus to the whole cause. Her Majesty Queen Victoria was pleased to receive a booklet giving their testimonies (Pollock 1955:42).

An indication of the public interest aroused by the Seven can be found in the circulation of China's Millions. Its normal print of 12,000 had to be increased to 50,000. A special edition of A Missionary Band giving reports of the addresses and missions led by the Seven sold 15,000 and was reprinted for many years. George Williams had a copy sent to every YMCA in Britain. Before leaving for China, the Seven, and CT Studd's elder brother, JEK, travelled the country, addressing meetings and promoting the work of foreign missions. Naturally their greatest impact was on students and in Edinburgh their presence was particularly significant.

Annus Mirabilis 1885

Although the Edinburgh Medical Students Association had been founded in 1865 the seventies had not been notable for religious activity. This makes the pious tone of the addresses given at the Tercentenary celebrations of Edinburgh University all the more memorable. A few months later the Principal in an address to mark the start of the academic year argued that the University had always had a religious foundation and called upon students to recognise this and preserve it. General Haig and James Mathieson of Mildmay were visiting Edinburgh as part of a mission-promoting tour of Scotland. Mathieson brought with him Lansdale of the CIM, CT Studd and Stanley Smith. Members of the Medical Students Christian Association and the Arts Students Prayer Meeting cooperated to arrange a students-only meeting. After addresses by Studd and Smith:

Several of the students stood up in token that they also were ready to go wherever God might call them to work for Him; and yet more who had hitherto not thought much of these things gathered round the young evangelists to ask how they might acquaint themselves with God and be at peace. It seemed as if the after-meeting might have been continued long, but the two missionaries had to start for London by the night train, and they were accompanied to the Waverley Station by a crowd of students, who conversed and sang hymns with them on the platform till the train moved off (Simpson undated MSS:3).

Henry Drummond, now well-known from the circulation and favourable reception of his Natural Law in the Spiritual World had returned from Africa and gave an annual pre-Christmas address to the Christian Medical Association. His lecture was well-received and he was invited to start a series of Sunday evening meetings in the Oddfellows'

Hall. Purves Smith, one of the Medical Students Christian Association activists, tried to get JEK Studd to Edinburgh through the agency of Walter Hepburne-Scott¹ who had been with Studd at Trinity College but could not. He did manage to persuade CT Studd and Stanley Smith to return for a few days in January. As they had done in the Moody Mission twelve years earlier, Drummond's talks attracted large numbers of students. Now, as then, the next stage of the campaign was to send out deputations to evangelise in other Universities. Parties of students, generally led by one of the Christian Professors who had been active in the Moody Mission visited the other Scottish Universities and although they did not have the sort of reception that was making Edinburgh a city of revival, a number of students were converted. One offshoot of this work was the organisation of "holiday missions"; for many years after parties of Edinburgh students arranged small missions with the help of the local clergy in their summer holidays.

Although his greatest influence was with the Edinburgh students, Drummond was a Professor at the Glasgow Free Church Theological College. With some of his students he operated the Possil Park settlement house, an enterprise which was supported by the men who became the leaders of the Glasgow Student Volunteer Union.

Drummond was a great friend of Lord and Lady Aberdeen and the

¹ Walter Hepburne-Scott, later 9th Baron Polwarth. His father was President of the Evangelical Alliance for over forty years. Walter married Edith Buxton, sister of T.F.V. Buxton, one of his companions at Trinity College.

Kinnairds. The Gaiety Club had kept together the men who as students had assisted Moody in his mission to Edinburgh and in 1889 Drummond organised a conference for "university men" at the family house of the Barbours. This was attended by dons and students. In 1890, Bonskeid was again the site for such a gathering but on this occasion Drummond himself was absent. At both these gatherings much attention was given to the difficulties and peculiarities of evangelising students.

The Student Foreign Missionary Union

The first serious attempt to start a national student organisation to promote missionary work by students was founded by OO Williams, a graduate of Aberystwyth who was studying medicine in London and Howard Taylor, the son of Hudson Taylor of the CIM who was also a medical student. They had heard of and read reports about similar stirrings in America. "A Missionary Convention for Young Men" was held at the Metropolitan Tabernacle on the 15th September 1889 with Spurgeon as the main speaker. Some fifteen hundred students attended and heard Howard Taylor propose the formation of a Student's Foreign Missionary Union with the following aims:

- 1 To band together students who feel called to foreign missionary work;
- 2 To urge the claims of the heathen upon Christian students everywhere, and to advocate the formation of Missionary Associations in connection with the various universities and colleges where they do not already exist (Tatlow 1933:20).

1 From original SFMU register of members.

Before sailing to China, Taylor spent some time going round the colleges and by the end of six months, the SFMU had between 160 and 200 members, sixty of whom gave their addresses as either Harley College, London, or the Cowgate Dispensary, Edinburgh. The rest were from London colleges. The SFMU made no impact on Oxford or Cambridge and seems to have passed almost unnoticed by many of the evangelical leaders who later sponsored the Student Volunteers. The SFMU had no funds and without a travelling secretary to promote membership actively, the Union declined as its members graduated.

The Student Movement in America

Moody had two centres of operation in the United States. One, the Chicago Bible Institute stood for traditional fundamentalism. The other, a camp at Northfield was associated with a more liberal missionary evangelicalism¹. In spite of opposition from more conservative evangelicals, Moody invited Drummond to Northfield and it was at Northfield that Moody returned the favour of the Cambridge invitation by asking JEK Studd and his wife to tour in the American colleges giving an account of the impact of the Cambridge Seven. Studd was instrumental in the decision of John R Mott to make a career of lay evangelism.

1 White (1963, Ch.3:39) notes that after Moody's death his inheritance divided with Torrey leading the Chicago Bible Institute and John Mott taking on the mantle of the Northfield conferences. After 1899 the two men did not meet and the two tendencies grew apart into fundamentalism and ecumenism.

Robert P. Wilder was the son of an American missionary to India. While at Princeton he had started a Foreign Missionary Society in which members signed the following covenant: "We, the undersigned, declare ourselves willing and desirous, God permitting, to go to the unevangelised portions of the world" (Tatlow 1933:18). When Wilder heard of Moody's conference for students at Northfield, he saw a chance of extending his organisation. The membership was increased at Northfield from twenty-three to one hundred (Braisted 1941). In the next year Wilder and a companion, John Forman, toured the American and Canadian colleges and enrolled over two thousand volunteers. That summer a special conference for "The Student Volunteers for Foreign Missions" was held at Northfield and in 1889 the Movement was established as the missionary department of the student section of the YMCA with an executive of three; Wilder for what was called the Inter-Seminary Missionary Alliance, John R Mott for the YMCA and Nettie Dunn for the YWCA. The work now went ahead with three full-time travelling secretaries to promote it. In these years many British students and interested evangelicals heard of, and saw, the work of the Volunteer Movement at the Northfield Conferences. For some years Wilder had been pressed to come to Britain. In 1891 he arrived with letters of introduction from Moody to leading British evangelicals. He went first to Eugene Stock, the editorial secretary of the Church Missionary Society. Stock took Wilder to the Keswick Convention, then assembling, to introduce him to Webb-Peploe and Meyer. Wilder was boarded with Mr Miles McInnes, whose son was a leading light in the CICCUC.

Wilder was invited to give the closing address of the Convention and his story of the Student Volunteer Movement in America convinced many listeners that there was a need for a similar body in Britain. Among those in the audience was Donald Fraser, a young student at the Free Church Theological College in Glasgow and a resident at the Possil Park Mission:

I and several others had gone up with a very indefinite faith, and God had met with us and we had come into the wonder of forgiveness. On the Saturday you spoke to this prepared atmosphere, and there was an immediate response. What struck us most was the opportunity of influencing our fellow-students during our college course, and doubling our own lives should we be allowed to lead one other into the foreign field. I do not know how the Cambridge men were caught, or what they did, but I remember waiting behind with others to ask you to come to Glasgow (Fraser to Wilder in SM XV:150).

The President of the CICCUC, CT Horan, also heard Wilder and with McInnes pressed him to come to Cambridge. Lord Kinnaird and Henry Drummond's secretary both asked Wilder to come to Edinburgh. However, illness kept him out of action until January of 1892 but then he set off on a rapid tour of university centres. In Edinburgh he addressed the Free Church Assembly and one of Drummond's Oddfellows' Hall meetings. In Glasgow he raised twenty missionary Volunteers from the Free Church students. In Aberdeen twelve Volunteers were enrolled. Meetings sponsored by the CICCUC and the Church Missionary Union in Cambridge produced many Volunteers. He visited the Barbours at Bonskeid. In the intervals between the public meetings, Wilder discussed the formation of a national Union with the CICCUC leaders. They agreed to form a Cambridge Student

Volunteer Missionary Union and to delay producing any constitution until Wilder had consulted students in Edinburgh and London (Tatlow 1933:25).

At Oxford, Wilder was sponsored by the Oxford Missionary Union and the Revd FJ Chavasse. From there he went to London to discuss the health of the SFMU with OO Williams. At first the London students demanded that, in any national society, the SFMU be recognised as the parent organisation to which the others would affiliate. Williams argued that they had tried for two years and failed to establish a national presence. He carried the meeting and at a subsequent meeting of the 75 members of the SFMU in the London area Wilder was given a mandate to try to organise a national union with an executive of four (one each from Scotland, Ireland, England and London), an annually appointed full-time travelling secretary, and an advisory committee of five. With the agreement of the London students secured, Wilder returned to Edinburgh. On March 23rd he wrote to Louis Byrde of the CICCUC who was already acting as de facto secretary of the emergent organisation:

Met Edinburgh men yesterday. They will issue invitation at once to you, Glasgow, London, Aberdeen, Wales and Ireland. As a result of my five meetings January 26-29 I hope Oxford will be represented. A Glasgow deputation has secured two Volunteers at St Andrews. We hope that one of them will be present at Edinburgh... Do nothing to antagonize the London men. They have been most magnanimous (Wilder in Tatlow 1933:29).

The Edinburgh meeting was a success. A constitution was agreed and the name "The Student Volunteer Missionary Union" was adopted.

The declaration "I am willing and desirous, God permitting, to

become a foreign missionary" provided the criterion for membership.

The SVMU was publicly launched with a meeting in London at the Morley Hall on Friday, April 8th, 1892. The chair was taken by Lord Kinnaird and the meeting addressed by Wilder, Revd R. Wardlaw Thompson of the London Missionary Society, Byrde, and two other students. Each area elected its representative and the first executive consisted of Byrde for England and Wales, JH Maclean for Scotland and OO Williams for London. The choice was wise.

Williams had organising experience and was Welsh. Maclean was a theological student and a Scottish Presbyterian. Byrde was an Anglican with a startling capacity for work. At school he had started a Missionary Union and acted as a fund-raiser for the CMS. At Cambridge his room was the SVMU office. He not only looked after the finances, acted as secretary, and conducted an enormous correspondence, he also planned speaking tours for other student activists and did some touring himself. In the summer of 1892 Williams, Byrde and FV Thomas went to the United States for the Northfield Conference to study at first hand the work of the American movement.

The choice of a full-time travelling secretary was a difficult one and after some hesitation over the suitability of someone who had been out of touch with the colleges for several years the Executive appointed Arthur Polhill-Turner, of the Cambridge Seven, recently returned from seven years in China.

Growth 1892-1896

As a missionary Union... it aims at banding together all students whose hearts are stirred by the Holy Spirit to obey our Master's parting command to take the Gospel to every creature. Its aims are higher and grander than those of any past movement, and under God's blessing it promises remarkable success. Feeling the pulse of Christian students where I have visited, I have found that they seem ripe for such a movement, welding into one Union our university, college and hospital students - Episcopalian, Presbyterian, Wesleyan, Baptist and Methodist alike... all one in Christ Jesus (Polhill-Turner SV Jan 1893).

From August 1892, Polhill-Turner toured various university centres addressing meetings, promoting the SVMU and enrolling Volunteers. In terms of numbers, Polhill-Turner's work was not as successful as some of the SVMU leaders thought it might be¹. Maclean thought him a poor speaker. On the other hand, he had the value of being well-known and respected in evangelical circles. His acceptance of the job was a guarantee of patronage by the milieu. In Edinburgh his work was supported by Drummond, Hugh Barbour and Grainger Stewart.

Byrde, Williams and Maclean corresponded on the subject of a summer conference along the lines of Moody's Northfield meetings. As many SVMU members, and students who were prospective members, went to the Keswick Convention it was decided to have an SVMU

¹ The early student leaders hardly met except briefly in their tours and tended to communicate by letters which were commented on and circulated by the receiver. Much of the detail of this section is derived from reading these letters. To make the reader's life more tolerable individual items are not cited. The letters can be found in the correspondence files in the SCM archives, boxed chronologically.

conference at Keswick the week before the Convention. Many of the regular supporters of the Convention rented (or owned) summer houses at Keswick which were the setting for extended house parties and the SVMU had little difficulty persuading speakers to come a few days before the main convention.

Some ninety students camped under canvas for a week; about another forty stayed with friends and attended the meetings. The analysis of the denominational background of those attending shows about forty per cent to have been Anglican; about thirty per cent were Presbyterians and the remainder were Free Church (SVMU Conference Register). This composition remained much the same until the entrance of Catholics in the nineteen sixties. The theological stance of the SVMU was quite clear. Its platform was similar to but slightly wider than that of the Keswick Convention. There were no High Churchmen present and few of the Broad party. Although the verbal inspiration of the scriptures was not a specific part of the SVMU ideology (which had not yet been elaborated beyond a belief in the primacy of every Christian's duty to evangelise the world) it was accepted by most of the people involved in the first summer conference.

The one element of dissension was Maclean's Bible reading in which he reminded the audience that they were to "love God with our mind as well as our heart and soul" (cited in Tatlow 1933:45).

Significant is a letter of that year from OO Williams to Byrde asking him about the progress of the Bible Study scheme and reminding him

that "it was knowledge of scripture not discussion about it" that was required (Aug. 1893). Williams seems to have been concerned that Maclean, who was the editor of the magazine The Student Volunteer, might try and promote his critical ideas. Maclean was a student of Drummond and a Free Church theological student and though as keen in his enthusiasm for missionary enterprise as the English students, represented that new breed of Scottish evangelical who could be committed to evangelism and be perfectly pious while still holding modernist views on Biblical criticism¹.

In the first full year of its life, the SVMU published five missionary pamphlets, a prayer cycle and three issues of The Student Volunteer. Some five hundred students had signed the Declaration; some thousand people took the magazine; over a hundred had attended the first conference, and the finance needed to meet the next year's budget had been raised.

The Inter-University Christian Union

By 1890 there were student run Christian Associations or Unions in most universities and colleges. In the main these were organised by the same students who were active in the SVMU and at the 1893 summer conference of the SVMU it was decided to create some sort of national entity out of these local associations. The management of what was at first called the Inter-University College Union (later

1 Also present at the first Conference as leader of the New College, Edinburgh contingent was GHC McGregor, who was known to hold "advanced" views on OT criticism (Fraser 1934:16).

the British Colleges Christian Union) was put in the hands of an executive of three who were to appoint a general secretary and who were themselves to be elected by a Council made up of the secretaries of all the member Unions. It is clear from the discussion that IUCU was seen as a means of linking already viable societies and not of creating new openings. An indication of the lack of enthusiasm which marked the first years of the IUCU is the record in the first minute book that "the work be only extended as far as funds allow" (BCCU MSS 1894:4).

While the work of the SVMU was proceeding apace in the Universities it was having no impact on the Northern colleges. Firth, Owens and the Yorkshire College had all been established on a deliberately secular basis. These and other new colleges often forbade religious activity within the college and did nothing to encourage an atmosphere in which the Volunteer message could flourish. Trying to gain a foothold in these institutions was a soul-destroying process as the reports of Donald Fraser, the second SVMU travelling secretary testify. Principals refused permission for meetings. Posters could not be displayed.

I have tried to get an entrance to the Art's Faculty at (Bristol) but so far have been unable. I asked several men if they knew a Christian man in college to whom I could go. They answered they did not think there was one (cited in Tatlow 1933:52).

If a meeting could be arranged, the local YMCA secretary or

1 Fraser's biography, compiled by his wife (Fraser 1934) contains letters describing the disappointments and depressions of a travelling secretary's life.

sympathetic ministers would be contacted for names of likely students. Invitations would be sent out. Few students would come to the meeting. A more productive activity was addressing meetings organised by The Gleaners Union, The Watchers Band, Regions Beyond and such missionary support organisations. While no immediate increase in the number of Volunteers followed these meetings, interest was aroused, parents might talk to their children before they went up to University, money was raised.

Fraser became convinced that little could be done with the Volunteer Movement until some permanent Christian presence was established. It was necessary first to develop a Christian Union; an opinion also held by Rutter Williamson who was the SVMU travelling secretary for the year 1895-96 (Williamson MSS:3). After his year as SVMU secretary, Fraser continued travelling but for the BCCU. Having, like most of his fellows of that period, little knowledge of educated women, Fraser was terrified of women's meetings and was relieved when the BCCU secured the assistance of a Miss Hodges. She was recommended by Miss Gollocks of the Church Missionary Society who was convinced that "there is a remarkable movement on foot just now among women students... it is small as yet but of vital importance" (cited in Tatlow 1933:56). The female presence at the 1894 summer conference, held again at Keswick, was significant. The year before there had been nine women; this year there were about forty. There was a large delegation from the London School of Medicine for Women. Women had not been enrolled in the Student Foreign Missionary Union. The Student Volunteer Missionary

Union and the British Colleges Christian Union not only enrolled them but also gave them positions of leadership. In 1895 Emmeline Stuart of Glasgow was elected to the Executive of the BCCU and Agnes de Selincourt of Girton joined the SVMU Executive. Ruth Rouse took over the editorship of The Student Volunteer.

The platform of the 1894 summer conference was interesting for the presence of both Professor Lloyd Snape who thought they had "occasion to thank God for the Higher Criticism" (cited in Tatlow 1933:60) and Canon Taylor Smith, a keen CSSM and Keswick evangelical. Serious attempts were made to widen the range of speakers for the 1895 meeting. Of a variety of speakers of "non-Keswick" background, only George Adam Smith¹ would accept the invitation. As Tatlow observes, those invited were busy men who did not think the Student Movement (as the SVMU and BCCU were being called) important. They were not members of the evangelical milieu and could not be reached through the Movement's contacts and sponsors.

The shift in the theology of the Movement is difficult to detail. In September 1895 we find the committee of the BCCU discussing whether the Union ought to have a doctrinal basis as a criterion for affiliation. Although the minutes say that the discussion was on "the best method of safeguarding the Union and securing the permanence of it being conducted on evangelical lines" (BCCU MSS 1895;

1 Scottish Free Church theologian and biographer of Henry Drummond and close friend of the Barbours.

emphasis in original), Tatlow thinks this was directed against Unitarianism rather than in favour of the Anglican Low Church or Keswick positions (1933:66)¹. For whatever reason a declaration that the BCCU was open to any union "the aims and work of which are in full harmony with a belief in Jesus Christ as God the Son and only Saviour of the World" was accepted; a statement which would have been perfectly satisfactory to Keswick evangelicals. This encounter was not a complete victory for the evangelicals. The executive then argued about the way in which this should be incorporated into the BCCU Constitution and its status vis a vis those Unions already affiliated. Some thought it too evangelical and others too vague. The discussion was postponed and not taken up again; a tactic used on a number of occasions where agreement was clearly not possible.

A national presence - Liverpool 1896

It was clear to all the student leaders that something had to be done to give the Movement a national presence. In the three years since inception the Volunteers had grown and the Christian Unions had been incorporated into the BCCU. The work was well-known and supported by most parts of the evangelical milieu but little known outside those circles. The ambitious solution to the problem was to plan an international missionary conference for students.

1 This interpretation is supported by the fact that the same meeting instructed secretaries to cultivate any High Church colleges that might be open to them.

The organisation of the Liverpool Conference was brilliant for an agency that had a staff of four. The methods of the Moody missions were adopted and extended. Fraser and Williamson contacted all the local churches and held meetings with the clergy to persuade them of the value of the enterprise. Local dignatories, especially those connected with education, were persuaded to join the clergy in an "advisory committee". Stationery was then printed with the names of all the members of the advisory committee on the letterhead. Jamieson, the local YMCA organiser, helped Fraser and Williamson with the cultivation of sponsors. The Railway Companies were persuaded to offer concessionary rates for students attending the Conference. Catering expenses were reduced by having wealthy supporters pay for a lunch for the entire Conference, sponsorship of which was acknowledged on the invitation cards. George Williams, Samuel Smith (President of the YMCA) and Guthrie (Treasurer of the YMCA) each paid for one lunch and three local dignatories paid for a fourth. An offer was made to all the local churches of a student for the pulpit on the Sunday of the Conference. Many accepted and the students were given an opportunity of publicising the Movement and accepting a special collection. Appeals for free accommodation for the thousand students expected to attend were placed in all the local papers. The appeal was so successful that more places were offered than were needed and, ever willing to combine courtesy with fund-raising, the organisers sent letters of thanks to all those whose hospitality was not needed saying that donations would be accepted.

The Conference was very successful. It was opened by Bishop Ryle, Principal Rendall of Liverpool University and Charles Garrett of the Free Churches. With the exception of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel and the Universities Mission to Central Africa¹, all the missionary societies were represented. A cast of renowned missionary speakers told the eight hundred students of the pressing need for missions. While CT Studd spoke of the "terrible instances of cruelty and utter lack of love in the Chinese heart; more terrible still the utter lack of hope" (Tatlow 1933:74), Miss Gollock "told the same heart-breaking story of open doors and none to enter in, of missionaries compelled to come home, broken down in health" (cited in Tatlow 1933:74). Sectional meetings, concerned with the needs of Africa, the Chinese and so on; devotional meetings; and plenary sessions in the evening on some aspect of the spiritual life, filled the day. The Report of the SVMU presented towards the close of the Conference showed that 1038 students had joined the Union (of whom 286 were medical students) and 212 members had already sailed under 42 societies.

The financial session was another source of satisfaction for the students. The conference costs were around £800 and they estimated that £700 would cover the budget of the next year. £600 had already been collected and so a deficit of £900 had to be covered. Butcher, the General Secretary made a financial report. Eugene Stock of the CMS and George Adam Smith commended the work of the SVMU

¹ The SPG and the UMCA were the two main High Church missionary societies.

and Sherwood Eddy, the American evangelist spoke on the spiritual significance of giving. The audience were asked to write on slips of paper what they would give, and give they did. The sums were read out, without the names of the donors, and it was soon obvious that the total was far in excess of that asked for. Dr AT Pierson, who was supposed to speak next, was so moved that he simply closed the meeting with a short prayer.

The public relations aspect of the conference was as successful as the financial. The event was widely reported, not only in the religious press but also in the local and national daily papers. The SVMU was promoted to the congregations of the local churches. Complementary tickets for some of the sessions were given to The Watcher's Band, The Gleaners Union and such organisations and thus obligations were built up with these bodies. The report of the proceedings was published in a "well-printed and handsomely bound volume" which went into two editions and changed hands at more than its face-value (Tatlow 1933:73). Many leading evangelicals either took part or attended and left with the confidence that the Student Movement was a good and serious work. The Volunteers, for their part, demonstrated their commitment with the adoption of the slogan "The Evangelisation of the World in this Generation" as their watchword.

Art students in London¹

Although in terms of chronology, the foundation of the Art Students Christian Union belongs to a slightly later period, it will be brought into the narrative at this point to demonstrate the influence of leading members of the evangelical milieu at a local level. The Art students faced two problems which were not shared by the Christian students at Edinburgh and Cambridge; they were fragmented in small schools and lodgings over a much wider area than were the students of Edinburgh and Cambridge, and they faced sterner opposition from the staff of their colleges.

In 1895 a student at the Bloomsbury Art School tried to start a bible class but was unable to attract enough active support. Two years later three girls approached the Principal for permission to try again. Permission was initially granted but subsequently withdrawn on the advice of the School's supervisory board. The girls went to see the BCCU and thereafter held meetings in the rooms of a friend. At the Crystal Palace School a Miss Collingwood applied to the lady Superintendent for permission to try and arrange a meeting for Bible study. Permission was denied on the grounds that religious meetings were not permitted in the School. Miss Collingwood went to the summer conference at Curbar and on her return tried again but was a second time refused. Interest died when she went to Cairo as a missionary.

¹ This section is based on a manuscript and collection of cuttings simply labelled ASCU in the archives. Who prepared it is not known but it dates from sometime around 1912.

Work at the Slade started in the Lent term of 1895. A Bible study was organised and cards printed. Secretaries were elected and meetings held fortnightly. The group died of inactivity in 1896 and was revived two years later. The earliest and most permanent group was formed at the South Kensington Art School. Two students had been to Keswick in 1889. They returned fired with enthusiasm and tried to start a Bible study. Permission to meet in the College was refused. They tried to hire rooms but could find nothing they could afford. Finally they were referred to Prebendary Webb-Peploe who offered them the use of St. Pauls Church Room and invited all interested students to tea. About fifty expensively printed invitations were sent out; thirteen were taken up. From that date fortnightly meetings were held with an attendance that varied between six and twenty. When the founding secretary left, the students decided to invite an older woman to lead them. Some had met Mrs CE Tritton¹ at an "at home" and she agreed to take the job. It was through Mrs Tritton that the South Kensington group came in contact with the Student Movement. She shared an active interest in the YWCA with Ruth Rouse, the travelling secretary for the SVMU and BCCU. Random contacts suggested to the BCCU committee that there might be enough going on in the Art Schools to justify attempts to organise the art students. G.F. Watts, the most eminent Victorian painter likely to agree, was approached to be the figurehead for a gathering

¹ Wife of Sir Charles Edward Tritton and sister-in-law of Joseph Herbert Tritton of Barclays Bank. Sir Charles was, among other things, Vice-chairman of the London City Mission and Vice-president of the BFBS and the CMS.

of Christian art students in London. On the grounds of old age and retirement, Watts refused. Through the offices of Mrs Tritton, Blanche, Countess of Rosslyn, was enlisted and 120 tastefully printed invitations to a meeting at her house were distributed to likely students. Sixty students representing ten schools attended. The chair was taken by Hugh Evan Hopkins. WHT Gairdner and Lillian Stevenson spoke. Stevenson introduced her talk with reasons for the existence of student-run Christian Unions and then went on to argue the special relevance for art students.

Art students always begin by trying to be original and unconventional. Though some of us may have had the things of Christ made real to us in our homes, the art student as a rule stands somewhat aloof from church organisations he does not willingly put himself in the way of learning of Christ. We must bring Christ to him, and to him as an art student (ASCU 1899)

The addresses were printed in an expensive pamphlet and issued in January 1899. On March 12th representatives of the individual art schools met at the offices of the BCCU and drew up a constitution for the Art Students Christian Union. The membership, budget and range of activities of the ASCU were always small. It served to connect the Student Movement with a small constituency which like the colleges of education and theology colleges always tended to be peripheral to the main body of the Student Movement. For ten years, the ASCU arranged meetings and study groups. One very useful product of this small group was the illustrations of publications for missionary and similar groups who could not afford to hire such expertise. In 1910 the ASCU merged fully into the mainstream of the Student Movement.

Although not of the same importance for the growth of the Student Movement as the launching of the CICCUC or the Edinburgh Students Christian Union, the foundation of the ASCU does illustrate the role that evangelical leaders, in this case Mrs Tritton and Webb-Peploe, played in aiding the embryonic movement.

Analysis

By the end of the Liverpool Conference the Student Movement had established itself as a legitimate part of the evangelical world.¹

Between its launching in 1892, and 1896, the Movement through its two organisational wings - the SVMU and the BCCU - had brought together existing evangelical student groups, and convinced those in the evangelical milieu who were in a position to legitimate the Movement that it "was good". Students had been recruited for foreign missions and with the Memorial the claims of both missions and the Student Movement were laid before the British churches. The Movement had established itself.

A satisfactory account of the rise of a social movement must involve two elements; an examination of the platform of the movement and an examination of the methods by which this platform spread. Ideas and aspirations are transmitted and the method by which they are

¹ In the year 1896-97, 45 Christian Unions were affiliated and by 1898 there were 100 unions in the BCCU. In the year 1898-99 there were 100 new Volunteers giving a total of 573 Volunteers still in college, 400 in some sort of further training, about 100 already sailed and 100 who had withdrawn. 25 were "permanently hindered" and 14 had died before sailing.

transmitted may be as important for their acceptance as the content of the ideas. The medium may not be the message but it may be very important in understanding the acceptance and rejection of the message.

The Student Movement was in many respects a part of the rise of evangelicalism and thus a full account of the rise of the SCM should involve an explanation of the rise of evangelicalism. The Halevy thesis with its argument that the stability of English political institutions in the age of revolutions owes much to Methodism and evangelicalism, suggests that part of the appeal of evangelicalism lay in its perceived ability to erode the revolutionary potential of the poorer classes (Hill 1973:183-190). There is also the point that the individualism of evangelicalism fitted well with the bourgeois ideology of the time. If those two points are regarded as being concerned with relevance, with the resonance of parts of the new message with themes and concerns then dominant in the country, then there is still the question of method of transmission. As has already been suggested in Chapter Two evangelicals differed from Methodists in one very important respect; their pragmatism. The techniques used to spread the faith were skillful and the Saints possessed the wealth which made such techniques possible. It is not, however, within the scope of this thesis to present a full account of the rise of evangelicalism. Rather the presence of evangelicalism is taken for granted and the extent of an account of the rise of the Student Movement is confined to the two questions of why it was that

evangelicalism developed among the students at this time, and why it was that the Student Volunteer Missionary Union "succeeded" where the Student Foreign Missionary Union failed.

The question of evangelicalism among students has two answers. If it is to be argued that there was more evangelicalism in 1890 than there had been forty years before then the answer lies in the generation structure. It was in the period around 1890 that the children of those who had been involved with and influenced by the great Moody Mission and the holiness campaigns came up to the Universities. The second important element of an explanation of student evangelicalism is the decline in the authority of the clergy. As Barclay (1977:16) notes, the removal of the tests in 1871 opened the Universities to dissenters and by 1886 there were sufficient Brethren students in the CICCUM for their presence to be a source of controversy. There was then an ever-increasing number of students who had no special reverence or respect for the college chaplains and priests, and who felt free to experiment with new activities and organisational forms for their religious enthusiasm.

The appeal of the Student Movement lay initially in the single-mindedness of its aims. Missionary recruiting was something which was supported by a variety of Protestant tendencies. Its aim was clear, romantic, and for most Protestants, utterly valid. The same, of course, can be said of the platform of the Student Foreign Missionary Union, the short-lived predecessor to the Student Volunteer Missionary Union. To explain why one should succeed where the

other failed we must consider the mechanisms by which the SVMU was promoted. The Volunteer Union capitalised on support in a way which the Foreign Missionary Union failed to do. In part this was a result of the personality of Robert Wilder who managed to combine single-minded dedication to his cause with a quiet and humble demeanour that allowed him to win friends from groups like the Anglican High Churchmen who would not have spoken to an English evangelical. Being an American was an asset for Wilder; it removed him from stereotyping in terms of British church parties. The feature that stands out most clearly from the stories of Wilder's arrival in this country is his immediate connection with the evangelical network. He met Stock, Hopkins, Moule, Kinnaird, Barbour and others. He spoke at the Keswick Convention. He went to the individuals who could promote the movement and actively sought their assistance. Both at national and local level (as evidenced by the history of the Art Students Christian Union) the resources of the milieu were mobilised on behalf of the new work.

The theories of movement origination that have dominated the literature until recently, the theory of collective behaviour, the relative deprivation thesis, and the status consistency theories, are totally inappropriate for the rise of the Student Christian Movement. The Volunteers reflected the composition of their student colleagues in being predominantly from wealthy professional and upper-class

families. It would be difficult to identify any variety of social strain, relative deprivation, or status inconsistency which affected the Volunteers in a way in which others were not affected. It is possible that one of these theories could throw light on the rise of evangelicalism in general. This can not be ruled out because it is a question which has not been examined. However, the various reasons for doubting the value of these modes of explanation outlined in Chapter One remain valid and do not inspire confidence in the possibilities of such an account.

The history of the SVMU and the short-lived SFMU suggest a general statement about the growth and spread of new social movements.

The rate of growth of a social movement depends on the degree to which there exists a resource-providing milieu, interconnected by a network of relationships, and characterised by the presence of legitimators who sponsor the new social movement. In the case of the SFMU such a milieu existed but it was not utilised by the new movement; little attempt was made to gain legitimation and promotion from the milieu's leadership. A further statement implied in the above is that the new social movement can only make use of the resources of the milieu if it has a view of its own mission and status which is denominational rather than sectarian, inclusive rather than exclusive. Exclusive movements offer a challenge to the legitimacy of others within the milieu thus limiting the amount of assistance and promotion they are liable to receive. They also tend to make greater demands on their membership. Both of these features suggest a slow rather than rapid growth rate. On the other hand, exclusivity has the

advantage of preserving the autonomy and identity of a movement; an inclusive attitude may be beneficial in the short-term but it has its price, as can be seen from the later history of the Student Movement. This problem will be taken up in a later chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE STUDENT CHRISTIAN MOVEMENT

The Memorial

At the Liverpool Conference, the executive of the SVMU had adopted as its "watchword" the slogan "The Evangelisation of the World in this Generation". The executive was aware that the main obstacle to the realisation of that aim was the cautious policy of the Churches with respect to foreign missions¹. At the December 1896 meeting of the executive Douglas Thornton², a young Cambridge evangelical suggested making a special appeal to the Churches in time for the Lambeth Conference of Bishops of the Anglican Communion which was scheduled for the summer of 1897. The argument against the proposal was the fear that the Churches might resent the presumption of students apparently reminding them of their spiritual duties. Wardlaw Thompson of the London Missionary Society warned Rutter Williamson that "the step might arouse prejudice against the SVMU" (SVMU MSS 1896). After deliberation the executive agreed:

that provided suitable and sufficient assistance can be secured for the working out of the details an approach be made to the Christian Churches of this country with a view to their adoption of our Watchword as their policy (SVMU MSS 1896).

The idea of presenting the views of the SVMU in a "memorial" was

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- 1 The SCM leaders feared that they might be producing more Volunteers than the societies could, without an increase in financing, send abroad.
- 2 Gairdner (1908) wrote a biography of Douglas Thornton.

suggested by the Reverend George Robson of the United Presbyterians. O'Neill, Rutter Williamson, Douglas Thornton and GT Manley composed a first draft which was commented on by Handley Moule, Eugene Stock, Miss Gollocks, various Free Church Professors and others. Thornton and Manley were delegated to approach the Archbishop of Canterbury, Frederick Temple, who is reported to have said; "I only hope you'll get the Bishops to take it up. I've been trying to move them for the past ten years but they are hard to move" (Gairdner 1908:39).

The Memorial was a stirring piece of prose. Addressed to "The Church of Christ in Britain" it begins:

Before Christ left the earth, He commanded His followers to preach the Gospel to every creature. The early Church, inspired by the hope of the appearing of her Ascended Lord, carried the message far and wide throughout the then known world. Now, on the threshold of the twentieth century, a new horizon stretches out before us. For the first time in history God has made known to us His earth in every part. One by One, He has unbarred the gates of almost all the nations, that his Word might have free course. Today Providence and Revelation combine to call the Church afresh to go in and take possession of the world for Christ (quoted in Tatlow 1933:96).

The Memorial goes on to give an outline of the SVMU's history and an exposition of the Watchword which, prophetically, answers the criticism that was to be made of advocating hurried preaching of the Word without the necessary pastoral care.

We do not understand evangelization to mean, on the one hand, conversion which is the work of the Holy Spirit or, on the other hand, a mere hurried proclamation of the truth of Christ. We understand it to mean that the Gospel should be preached intelligently to every soul in such a manner that the responsibility for its acceptance shall no longer rest upon the Christian Church, but upon each man for

himself. Hence the Watchword is perfectly in harmony with the leavening influences educational, medical and pastoral, now in operation in the mission-field (quoted in Tatlow 1933:98).

The document was presented in person by the students to several of the missionary societies. The Societies' committees heard the presentations and passed generally approving motions. The CMS resolved:

that this Committee, rejoicing in the Divine blessed vouchsafed to the SVMU in its efforts to influence the students of both sexes in Universities and Colleges all round the world, and thanking its leaders for the Memorial now presented, desire to express their hearty concurrence with the Union in setting before themselves and the whole Christian Church the great aim embodied in the Watchword of the Union "The Evangelization of the World in this Generation" (Tatlow 1933:101).

Similar motions of support were passed by the Committee of the SPG, The Wesleyan Methodist MS, the BMS, LMS, Friends Foreign Mission Association, BFBS, Church of Scotland Foreign Mission Committee and the South American Missionary Society. Deputations were received by the General Assemblies of the Free and United Presbyterian Churches in Scotland. Welsh copies of the Memorial were circulated by the Calvinistic Methodist Church.

The students were disappointed in the reaction. In effect, the Churches had put forward their missionary leaders and said "We like what you are doing and your Watchword expresses what we have been doing all along". As Rutter Williamson observed "for the accomplishment of the Watchword there was needed not an increase of missionary interest... but a complete change of heart" (SVMU MSS 1897: 147). Thornton was particularly hurt by the reaction of the Church

Missionary Society which only recognised the Watchword as its aim, not its sacred duty. The SVMU had gained recognition for its own work and had established itself as an important element of the missionary world but it had failed to persuade the Churches to devote the resources and generate the sense of urgency which the SVMU felt was essential. Manley felt that all the motions of support amounted to no more than a declaration that "we rejoice to see the SVMU has adopted this Watchword and we will do what we can to provide outlets for them" (SVMU MSS 1897-98:26).

Though disappointed, the students should not have been surprised. While the missionary activists and leading evangelicals were well-known in the larger denominations, they were not the most powerful men. The Anglican Church could not unite behind such an enthusiastic commitment to missionary work when the High Church deplored the aggressive Protestantism of some of the missionary societies. The question of whether the lands of the Catholic, Orthodox and Coptic Churches should be regarded as "fair game" for the societies was an awkward one. There was also a general reluctance to commit the resources which would be necessary to turn the Watchword into reality.

In view of Smelser's belief that social movement goals are based on "short-circuited reasoning" (1962:82), it is worth showing how serious and "rational" the Volunteers were about their aims. In a series of four articles, Manley argued the feasibility of the enterprise:

thirty-three thousand Western Christians, if volunteering within the next five years, would be a minimum sufficient to lead the forces of the Native Churches (SV 1897 Summer: 80).

If one in every three hundred Protestant Church members, or one in every hundred regular communicants volunteered, with ten million pounds per annum to support them, then the whole world would hear the message. He did not consider the economic and social dislocation that this might produce in Britain but had he done so, he would have regarded it as necessary sacrifice.

Those who were reluctant to accept the Watchword were given intellectual support by senior men who began to attack what they saw as the hasty "evangelisation as witnessing" rather than as church-building (in the sense of community rather than stone).

Professor Warneck, the editor of Allgemeine Missions Zeitschrift, had feared that the writings of Dr A.T. Pierson¹ (who believed that world-wide evangelisation would hasten the second coming) would lead to an increase in the hurried proclamation style of missions and he coupled the Memorial with Pierson and attacked both of them.

The students were concerned but did not reply in print. George Robson replied on their behalf in the Missionary Record of the UPC;

From our own knowledge, indeed, we feel warranted in saying that many of those who have taken a prominent part in the Union in this country, and are now in the mission

1 Pierson contributed to the series of pamphlets The Fundamentals of the Faith which many regard as the definitional basis of Fundamentalism. The association of Pierson with the Memorial is not spurious. He did address SVMU conferences and is thought by White (1963:Ch.2:74) to have coined the phrase "The Evangelisation of the World in this Generation".

field, as well as those who are now leading the Movement and will go out soon, would unite with Dr Warnæck in disowning that particular theory of the missionary enterprise to which his criticism is directed (October 1897).

The Theological Colleges

The SVMU and BCCU had been founded by university (by and large medical) students and the absence of involvement by theological college students was a source of concern for the SVMU/BCCU leadership. During his term as travelling secretary, Frank Anderson had tried to make an impact on colleges of theology but had only had any success with the Free Church colleges.

I walked about six miles to Cuddesdon Church of England College I saw the Principal but could get no promise of an opportunity to address the students... Next Salisbury, I could not enter the College... Lichfield, on the evening of my arrival I saw two of the students who I think would have arranged a meeting for me in the theological college but the Principal withheld his consent. The case at Lincoln... was very similar and no opening offered... At Leeds I was unable to get an opening in the Clergy School. (Anderson MSS 1895).

These notes from Anderson's diary give us some idea of the warmth of his reception at the Anglican colleges. The Principals were concerned by two fears. They saw the SVMU and BCCU as "undenominational" bodies: Christian groupings which held that distinctive traditions of worship and distinctive beliefs about authority were of little importance. This was a characteristic of the Keswick people who sat very lightly to denominational allegiances and tended to feel associated with a preacher rather than with a church. Naturally, undenominationalism held no appeal for Anglicans who were

were towards the "high" end of the spectrum; certainly none for those professionally engaging in transmitting the distinctive culture of Anglicanism.

The second fear of the Principals was that students would start organising themselves. The theological colleges were in the main very traditional establishments which held a similar view of the student's place to that of Isaac Milner. They tended to resent any student peer-group activity and when that activity seemed to involve the implication that the colleges were not providing a sufficiently deep spiritual life for the students (and in many cases they were not) then the staff were hardly likely to be enthusiastic¹.

The BCCU Executive in 1895 appointed a special committee of four to advise on work in the theological colleges. Thornton suggested a Week of Prayer with "a great deepening of personal religion among theological students", "the promotion of the spirit of unity" and "the evangelisation of the world" as topics for intercession (Tatlow 1933:118). The following year a special secretary for theological colleges was appointed and he (FWS O'Neill) managed to raise the number of associated societies from twelve to twenty-eight. The appointment was not continued and instead, Tissington Tatlow, who had just started as SVMU travelling secretary was invited to visit the theological colleges on his tours.

¹ It was not only the Anglicans who distrusted the Movement. O'Neill when SVMU travelling secretary was booed by a meeting of Baptist theological students because of the Keswick connection (Gairdner to Tatlow 27 November 1897).

Tatlow thought that a special conference for theological students might be useful in clarifying their relationship with the Movement. The BCCU Executive agreed and asked Tatlow, Thornton and Temple Gairdner, a Scots anglican evangelical at Oxford to arrange it. As was later to be the case, Tatlow organised the logistics of the event while Thornton and Gairdner dealt with policy and programme. It was not easy to organise. There was no money (Gairdner managed to persuade Lord Overtoun¹ to give £200); the entire first list of speakers failed and there was no certainty that even with the speakers the students would turn up. However, a strong platform was assembled - Rev. JH Jowett, Eugene Stock, F.B. Meyer, Rev. John Kelman and WE Burroughs all spoke.

The most important part of this Birmingham Conference was the presentation of the Report drafted by Gairdner and Thornton of the relationship between the Movement and the theological students. It emphasised the need to bring the Colleges out of their isolation and into contact with each other. The formation of an homogenous society in the College was promoted for devotional (rather than critical) Bible study and among other things, the establishment of chairs of foreign missions in the colleges was suggested. The Report received a favourable reception in the sectional meetings and with the exception of the Nicene Creed incident (the Anglicans and Methodists were happy to recite it but the Baptists and Congregationalists did not want to be rushed into this premature demonstration of unity and

1 Lord Overtoun (Campbell White) was a rich Glasgow businessman who was a frequent patron of the YMCA and YWCA (Kinnaird 1925:74).

it was dropped) the conference was a limited success. There were 169 students from 41 colleges but of these only eight were Anglicans and some of those were not actually delegates from affiliated colleges.

The reorganisation of the Movement

Although still nominally two organisations the BCCU and SVMU were inseparable. They worked in the same field, with the same membership, shared the same office and the same General Secretary. They shared the same patrons and speakers and a common summer Conference. Even the membership of the executive and the travelling secretaries were often interchangeable. To maintain two separate entities seemed to Tatlow to be confusing and inefficient. In 1898 he started the discussion with a memorandum proposing organic unity with the work subsumed under the BCCU. Gairdner and Thornton agreed with the scheme¹. The only vigorous opposition came from G.T. Manley who felt that this would hamper the work of the SVMU. Rather curiously he argued that union would compromise the SVMU because it would be confined by the doctrinal position of the BCCU. The SVMU did not as such have a doctrinal basis but as Tatlow was quick to point out it was still identified with a particular doctrinal position - Keswick. Manley may actually have meant more than this; the minutes of BCCU and SVMU executives were generally

1 There is an interesting case of Gairdner lightheartedly poking fun at Manley about his opposition to the union. In a letter written initially to Tatlow, then SVMU travelling secretary, Gairdner added "Note for your eye, O Manley, observe how your precious SV Sec. is doing BCCU work!" (Gairdner to Tatlow 27 November 1897).

pretty scant (SVMU MSS Sept. 1897). He may have been worried that any re-examination of the basis might give an opportunity for further liberalism to creep in. In the main, however, his fear that the missionary side of the Movement would now suffer from being a minority interest within the wider context of the BCCU was realised. Tatlow's scheme, accepted with little further argument or alteration, gave the Movement three departments; the General College Department (GCD), the Missionary Department (still called the SVMU) and a Theological College Department (TCD). John R Mott, the leader of the Movement in America, was, like Wilder and another American student evangelist, Robert Speer, very popular and influential with the British Movement. He was certainly in favour of a reorganisation of the British student under one agency as he had found his own work hampered by a division that involved the YMCA, the YWCA and the Missionary Association. It is very likely that Mott's support for the plan was an important part of its easy passage. Manley held to his principles and resigned. The Student Christian Movement as it was now called had three separate departments, each with its own executive and staff, coordinated by the General Committee and the General Secretary.

Until 1898 the Movement had had a different General Secretary every year. This was not a deliberate policy reflecting a fear of oligarchy but the result of a lack of finance. Like the travelling secretaries, the General Secretary had always been a recently graduated student who was filling in a year before going abroad as a missionary. A

central part of Tatlow's reorganisation was the extension of the normal term of the General Secretary's appointment. Tatlow was offered the post for two years. He accepted and stayed in control of the Movement for thirty years.

Blue-stockings and Apologetics

The first members of the SVMU had come from public schools and the ancient Universities. They had been raised in pious homes, been schooled in some form of Christianity and then passed to institutions in which worship was compulsory. The Christian faith, even if not practised to any degree of virtuosity, formed the taken-for-granted background to the world of the students. Most of the "conversion" stories of the students show the internalisation of an already held faith rather than the dramatic acquisition of an alien creed. In the case of Donald Fraser, the second SVMU travelling secretary, we are told by Tatlow that he had had a deep spiritual experience after hearing Wilder at Keswick (1933:24). Fraser himself describes his faith as indefinite. Yet the biography written by his wife makes it clear that he had been steeped in the evangelical piety of a Free Church minister's family, worked with Henry Drummond at the Possil Park Settlement, attended the Conference of University Men at Bonskeid in 1889 and sat under Andrew Bonar. JH Maclean told Tatlow in a letter of 1912 that Fraser had been "living in Christ for a good while" before the Keswick incident.

This story is repeated in the biographies of other student leaders.

Though their pre-conversion faith may not have been "vital" or "serious" it was certainly informed and observed. The Studd family, before the conversion of their sporting father, were strict sabbatharians and Church attenders (Grubb 1942).

The evangelical students were hardly touched by the "crisis of faith" (Symondson 1970) that is supposed to have been provoked by Darwinism. Where they had problems with their faith, they were of an experiential nature. Fears about sin and immorality were the stuff of the difficulties felt by Oxford and Cambridge students (something which from the appeal of Buchman seems to have been true fifty years later). The end of the century saw two major changes in the membership of universities and with it the introduction of new concerns into the SCM market.

From the first, the SVMU (unlike the short-lived SFMU) had not only enrolled women but allowed them to participate in the running of the movement. The second editor of the journal was a woman. The female students who joined the movement shared the same family background as their male counterparts but differed significantly in their education. They did not go to preparatory schools or to Public schools. They did not attend evangelical summer camps. The few who went to College did so because they were interested in their subject of study. No woman went to Girton and Newnham to play sport or because their mother had been there. They worked harder and did better than their male counterparts. In the SCM they were the first to become concerned with intellectual difficulties

in their faith.

The second major change in the composition of the SCM market came through the expansion of the University Colleges (as most of the Northern England institutions had become) and the establishment by the travelling secretaries of a "toe-hold" in these colleges. The staff were very rarely ordained; there were no provisions for worship. Few of the students had been to Public or church schools. In a letter to The Student Movement in 1901, a Liverpool student pointed out that while the SCM committee bemoaned a lack of prayer and Bible study in the Christian Unions of the University Colleges, little was done seriously to consider the intellectual difficulties of men who did not inhale the Christian air of Oxford and Cambridge.

It is of as little use to hurl texts at the heads of such men, or to ask them where they will go should they die within the next few hours. Cannot such men be met on their own ground and shown the inadequacy of their materialist theory of the universe in a sympathetic and competent manner (SM Feb 1901).

The Committees of the Movement were still all staffed by students from the ancient universities.

Many of them were able men who had no reason to be ashamed of their scholarship; but they were trained in a different school of thought which valued the spiritual intensity of the summer conferences very highly, and were afraid that this might be lost if a distinctively intellectual element were introduced (Tatlow 1933:215).

Notwithstanding this, it was clear that the future of the SCM lay in the new University Colleges who were overtaking the ancient foundations in importance as recruiting fields. As a response to this shift, Stephen Band, the Liverpool student whose letter had

posed the need for apologetics, was appointed to the General Committee.

Study work

Study work had always been an important part of the SVMU platform. Thornton and other SVMU leaders had felt that missionary enthusiasm was most useful when combined with knowledge of the mission fields. It was also felt that the rebuff of the Memorial would not have occurred if the church leaders had been better educated about the state of the heathen. Many of the study books produced by the SVMU were of a very high quality. They normally comprised a main text divided into sections suitable for one study session and sets of questions and topics for discussion.

As well as being intrinsically valuable, study represented the limits of what a Christian Union or Missionary band could do. Study work in the Christian Social Union was promoted because it provided some compensation for the lack of any form of action and stopped the membership fragmenting around different solutions to social problems (Binyon 1931); it provided an outlet for concern without any of the tiresome disagreements that might have arisen from some form of action. While the same may be said of study work in the later SCM it was not true of missionary study in the SVMU. It was seen by many as vital preparation for the task ahead. Occasionally a student would feel so immediately "called" that he would abandon his studies (Alfred Buxton, a CICC member who left Cambridge

before graduating to work with CT Studd in Africa, is an example) but most intending missionaries used their period as a student as a time of preparation; and the Study groups were a part of that preparation.

The study work had been declining in popularity for a few years before Tatlow resigned the General Secretaryship to go to Trinity College, Dublin, to prepare for Holy Orders. The General Committee suggested that he take the job of Educational Secretary while there and try to revive some enthusiasm for the movement's study programme (he also took over the Editorship of the Student Movement). Tatlow wrote Outline Studies which explained how to use the text and other material to produce brief papers for study meetings. With his usual thoroughness, he set up a special tent at the summer conference and with some help, interviewed each Christian Union delegation "interesting them in the subject chosen - it was Japan the first year - discussing how to recruit a band, conduct it and secure the use of books for reference" (1933:218). The result was that twenty-eight colleges started study bands that year and the morale of existing bands was raised.

Back in London as General Secretary, Tatlow was invited by some women in the Art Students Christian Union to give talks on Apologetics. They were popular and became a regular event. He was also asked to talk on "Christian Evidences" at the 1905 summer conference. The London Women's Committee convened a meeting of Bible study leaders in November 1906 and discussed the need for "a more

thorough and scholarly presentation of the Bible at the summer conferences to supplement the usual devotional Bible readings" (Tatlow 1933:260). The next sentence in Tatlow's account is surprisingly coy:

The question of the Movement's attitude to Biblical scholarship was faced, and in the end the Movement decided to adopt frankly the modern position on the Bible.

The tendency already evident in the SVMU through the participation of the Free Church Scots had finally emerged as the orthodoxy of the Student Movement. And, as was true of the Free Church Scots, the Student Movement was still pious. In July 1903 we find the General Committee calling for

a deeper sense of the need for and the value of prayer... We all wish that the excellent custom of having special weekly prayer-meetings for members of committee was universally adopted (GCD Minutes July 1903).

In 1904, at the Conishead Priory summer conference Tatlow felt a need "to pray for the Conference, making intercession specially that the desire for spiritual awakening should grip those present" (1933:225). The Chairman of the conference, Henry Hodgkin¹, the first Quaker to be prominent in the movement, had "an identical experience" and they both resolved to collect a group to pray for this experience.

Within twenty-four hours there was a large group praying together. We met daily under a big tree in the grounds, and I have seldom been in a praying group which had more conviction that God was about to speak in no uncertain manner (1933:225).

That evening Tatlow delivered an address asking whether the SCM

¹ For a biography of Henry Hodgkin see HG Wood (1937).

was true to its basis. He pointed out that most SCM members had already been Christian before they joined so they could claim no credit for that. The emotional pitch of the meeting was raised by Tatlow's obvious weakness from illness (he had to be helped to the stage) and by the dreadful seriousness of the imperative which he had presented. In closing he reminded the listeners of the power of the Spirit to achieve the impossible. His speech finished, the audience spontaneously knelt in prayer and prayed for almost an hour before the meeting informally broke up.

This appeal, reminiscent of Moody, was not uncharacteristic of the generation of student leaders who are thought by conservative evangelical critics to have abandoned the movement to liberalism. Nor was it simply a survival from a previous generation. In 1908 we find Randall Davidson, then Archbishop of Canterbury expecting that the SCM would have a sobering influence on the slightly wayward William Temple (Iremonger 1948:120). What was coming to the fore was the pragmatic and ecumenical tendency in evangelicalism. Concerned primarily with evangelism and missionary work, many men like Eugene Stock, Edward Woods, Tatlow, Thornton and Gairdner, Robert Barclay (often called the "CMS type") were prepared to let go of phrases and ideas which they felt to be peripheral and obstacles to spreading the gospel.

Not only was the spirituality of the SCM still alive, its missionary work continued. Local missions were popular with students. In the manner of the Gaiety Club fifty years earlier, students worked with

local clergy in their vacations. Some Unions bought, rented and borrowed caravans and in these toured the countryside holding impromptu meetings in village halls and distributing literature.

Wooing the Anglo-Catholics

The first decade of the twentieth century was a period of transition for the SCM, not only in its thinking on biblical criticism but also in the basis for its platform. The SVMU was "undenominational". Like the Keswick Convention with which it was naturally associated in the public eye, the SVMU was united on the lowest common denominator principle. In disregarding all that was peculiar to various traditions and insisting on unity in the "fundamentals", the SVMU was open to the same tendencies that could cooperate at Keswick and the Mildmay Conference. It was like the previous World Missionary Conferences in being anathema to the Anglo-Catholic section of the Anglican Church. Yet it was through the offices of the SCM leaders, Mott and Tatlow in particular, that the support of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel for the Edinburgh 1910 World Missionary Conference was gained. In the period from their own Liverpool Conference of 1896 to Edinburgh 1910 the policy of the SCM developed from "undenominationalism" into "interdenominationalism".

The first step in the transition from being a Union of evangelical students to being a Union of christian students was the departure from Keswick. The association with the Convention had been a fruitful

one for the Student Movement; without its support the foundation and growth of the Movement would have been a much more difficult task. But it was also a confining association. The shifting of the venue had been debated for two years before the summer conference was held at Curbar in 1897. Some students objected to the theology of Keswick. Others, perhaps preferring to achieve the same result without facing theological differences directly, argued that Keswick had become too expensive. Again the influence of Mott was important. Both Mott and Speer were less happy than Wilder with what they saw as the emotionalism of Keswick. After much argument the executives of both SVMU and BCCU agreed to move the conference but felt obliged to add that in so doing they were not offering a judgement on Keswick teaching. As it happened the chosen alternative softened the blow. The Curbar conference was held in the grounds of Cliff College, the training school run by the renowned evangelical Dr Grattan Guinness.

While at Keswick the students had been in the habit of attending a united Communion service in the local Anglican Church. At Curbar they did likewise and when the venue of the conference was moved to Ripon, the Bishop of Ripon invited all the students to a joint communion. The policy first became problematic when the 1899 conference was being planned. This was to be held in Aberystwyth where the largest local Christian body was the Calvinistic Methodists. A united communion in one of their churches would certainly have alienated a large number of Anglicans. The students were disappointed

by the termination of the united services but it brought home to many the problems of divisions in the Christian witness which they had, with their undenominational outlook, overlooked.

Following the limited success of the Theological students' conference, Temple Gairdner had approached Dr Mandell Creighton, the Bishop of London and a leading Churchman. He outlined the Movement's basis ("A belief in Jesus Christ as God the Son and only Saviour of the World") and asked the Bishop if such a basis would compromise the principles of the Church of England theological colleges. Creighton thought not but pointed out that any work had to be done "by each of us according to the principles of the ecclesiastical organisation to which we belong". Creighton gave Gairdner a letter for the express purpose of publication which ended:

Combination among students might help to remove misunderstandings which are too often engendered by the ignorance which comes from exclusiveness. Your endeavour has my warmest sympathy (quoted in Padwick 1930:62-63).

In conversation Gairdner was warned to stay well clear of anything that might be controversial. The united communions were given up.

Tentative wooing of the Anglo-Catholics began with Thornton addressing the Junior Clergy Missionary Association in 1897. Although little came from this association the Movement made some friends who were later helpful. In 1905 Malcolm Spencer, a travelling secretary, edited a series of essays called Preparation for the Ministry in view of present-day conditions. This was well received by the religious press and raised SCM's prestige with those involved in training candidates for the Ministry. The following year the

SCM General Committee appointed a Church of England subcommittee. The work of this body will be detailed because it shows the pattern with which Tatlow repeatedly and successfully orchestrated shifts of opinion towards the SCM. The first stage was always the identification of a problem and the creation of policy. This was usually done through the establishment of a "think-tank" composed of the most influential people with the appropriate expertise who could be persuaded to cooperate. Policy having been made Tatlow would then draft a letter, circular or declaration which embodied the policy in the weakest form commensurate with making the point. Suitable sponsors would be persuaded to sign the letter and the policy would be circulated to the relevant audience. In this case the letter read as follows:

Dear Mr Tatlow,

We think that members of the Church of England ought to give careful consideration to the work of the Student Christian Movement, and the World's Student Christian Federation, to which it is affiliated. We hear that you propose to make special arrangements at the Summer Conference this year for Church of England students and we think that there could be no better way in which such students could make themselves acquainted with what the Movement is doing than by coming to the Conference. This would not commit them in any way till they have had an opportunity of judging whether it is a Movement with which they ought to identify themselves. We are glad to know that you would welcome and provide for men of strong Church convictions, and would give them the fullest opportunity of talking over any difficulties that they may feel with regards to the aims and methods of the Movement (quoted in Tatlow 1933:152).

It appeared over the signatures of six prominent Anglican intellectuals.¹

1 Charles Bigg, Canon of Christ Church, Oxford
 H. Montagu Butler, Master of Trinity, Cambridge
 Stuart Donaldson, Master of Magdalene, Cambridge
 JOR Murray, Warden of St Augustine's College, Canterbury
 William Sanday, Professor of Divinity, Oxford
 HS Woollacombe, Head of Oxford House.

The skill of the letter lies in its committing the signatories to nothing more than a belief that people ought to give something a hearing before condemning it while seeming at first sight to be an open commendation of the SCM. Copies of the letter were sent out with the advertising literature for the summer conference and were undoubtedly of value in allaying the suspicion of Anglo-Catholic students.

In the same year Tatlow attended the Annual Conference of Schoolmasters and Lecturers in Oxford and Cambridge, as usual promoting the SCM, and met the young William Temple son of Frederick Temple, and at that time a Fellow of Balliol. Tatlow remarked in his report to the General Committee:

He is a man who, when he is entirely won for the Student Movement will I think be of great service to us. A speech he made in the morning was listened to with marked attention, and was referred to many times by other speakers. I judge that he is regarded as a man of (considerable) influence. I found him very friendly and, judging by his point of view on the many topics we discussed, I believe he will feel thoroughly at home in our Movement. I have secured from him a promise to be present at Conishead next summer (Tatlow 1933:154).

It is worth quoting at length here from a letter that Tatlow wrote to Malcolm Spencer about the actions of two enthusiastic Movement members who were organising campaigns with both Anglicans and Nonconformists without realising the delicacy of the relationships between Church and Chapel. The letter gives a clear idea of the difficulty that Tatlow had in wooing the Church.

In the course of our conversation Hoyte produced a letter which he had received from the Bishop of Oxford. When I asked how he got this letter he explained that last year when the two men who went to get openings for the campaign made their preliminary cruise (note they were both nonconformists) they visited a number of the clergy, who at once asked them what to a churchman was a most obvious question, whether they had the Bishop's sanction and blessing. They were much surprised and said no and were accordingly told that these men did not feel they could join in until they knew what the attitude of the Bishop of the Diocese was. This year... Hoyte wrote to the Bishop of Oxford, explained the campaign and asked him to give his approval. The Bishop of Oxford wrote in reply refusing. Now the apple cart is going to be upset entirely for us in a good many quarters if any student who arranges a campaign is going to write to the Bishop...

With what care we approach Bishops and explain to them what we are trying to do. Our usual way... is to get their approval for some distinctly Church piece of work or else get them to a Conference. We should not dream of letting our first attack upon them be a request for them to give their blessing on an interdenominational campaign conducted by men they know nothing whatever about. It was simply madness to write on these lines to the Bishop of Oxford. I don't see how he could have done anything else but refuse his blessing. These men do not seem to realise that a Bishop is a marked man, that everything he says and does is criticised by all the Church papers, and that he has to be infinitely careful what he gives his blessing to. Starr is a Churchman but evidently has not studied the Anglican position because he told me that he had preached in several nonconformist places of worship. Hoyte - May the Saints forgive him! the man who wrote to the Bishop of Oxford, Holy Moses! is a Plymouth Brother... I was very kind to them and tried to explain that the Church of England was as a whole not as enlightened as the Student Movement (May 7th 1906).

In 1907 the Conference of Principals of Anglican Colleges decided to discuss the SCM. Tait, the Principal of Ridley Hall (an appointment which for many "party" men signalled the end of Ridley as an evangelical institution) asked Tatlow if there were anything he could do to promote SCM. Tatlow advised inactivity. He was afraid of

pushing things too far and suffering a setback to his stealthy plan of advance (Tatlow 1933:156). The next stage was the sending of a letter to all Principals telling them about the Movement and offering an interview from a travelling secretary. This letter was signed by Neville Talbot of Balliol and Cuddesdon, (the first High Church men to sit on the executive of the TCD), G.A. Aickin of St. Aidan's College, E.S. Woods, late vice-Principal of Ridley Hall, and WH Frere, Warden of the College of the Resurrection and Superior of the Order founded by Gor. To these were added the names of three students from the Theology Colleges at Kelham, Canterbury and Wells.

The final stage in this slow process of winning the Anglican Colleges came in 1910. In January of that year Tatlow was invited to address the Conference of Principals. He gave an account of the Movement and replied to questions. The Principals were most concerned by the term "affiliation"; they preferred a looser relationship with the Theological College Department of the SCM. They were also unhappy about the amount of time SCM activity would involve. Many of the colleges had intensive one-year courses. Tatlow assured the Principals that colleges could be "associated" on a minimal basis of appointing one student as the SCM representative, organising missionary study circles if nothing of that nature existed, and encouraging students to attend the summer conference. Shortly after this meeting all fourteen Colleges represented at the Conference became associated with the TCD.

Just as many Free Church Scots found the ecumenical cooperation of the Moody mission an exhilarating experience after a generation of stifling exclusivity, so many individual Anglo-Catholics took great pleasure in meeting, often for the first time, members of other traditions. Ruth Rouse relates the following story of Dr V Stukey Coles, the Head of Pusey House, who:

came to a Student Movement conference to find out why and how this movement had been the means of conversion of an Oxford undergraduate whom he had entirely failed to help. The author has a vivid memory of seeing this stalwart Anglo-Catholic seated at the foot of a staircase in earnest talk with Mary Hodgkin, a Quaker, finding spiritual fellowship in unexpected quarters. Friendship with her brother, Henry Hodgkin followed. From that time on he supported the Student Movement (Rouse 1967: 344).

Edinburgh 1910

There had previously been three international missionary conferences but the Edinburgh gathering was a distinct departure from these in that it involved members of the Anglican Church who were not evangelicals; it was not a strictly "Protestant" affair. It was also designed to be "an assembly for careful and scientific thought and not merely for the edification of the faithful and the expression of Christian enthusiasm" (Neill 1960:393). That the Conference occurred at all was due solely to the Student Movement.

At the end of the 1900 "ecumenical" missionary conference in New York a small continuation committee was appointed with the object of planning a further conference in Edinburgh ten years later.

George Robson, a leading Free Church Scot and friend of the Movement, and Joe Oldham, who served as both secretary to the Missionary Council of the United Free Church and study secretary of the SCM, planned a study conference with a detailed examination of the problems of the mission fields. John Mott was enthusiastic about the plan and he convinced Wilder and Speer that this conference should have the widest possible base. The Anglican representation on the planning committee was limited to HE Fox, a partisan evangelical. Robson invited Tatlow to join and "bring the Church of England with you". It is testimony to the skill with which Tatlow had made friends for the SCM that he actually did what was asked of him. Mott had won over Randall Davidson, the Archbishop. Tatlow began with Armitage Robinson, the Dean of Westminster, who had been to a summer conference and was impressed by the Movement. Edward Talbot, the High Church Bishop of Southwark was reached through his son Neville, an SCM activist. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel were cautious, even after a number of concessions (including dropping the word "ecumenical" from the title of the conference) had been made, and as late as March 1910, Bishop Montgomery could not confirm that there would be SPG representatives. Mott and Tatlow pressured Bishops Gore and Talbot into writing to the SPG and eventually Montgomery agreed. Years of cautious wooing had finally brought returns. With the Anglicans involved, the American Episcopalians agreed to take part and these churches met together, not only with the expected Protestant denominations and missionary organisations, but also with representatives

of the Orthodox and Syrian Churches. There is no doubt that this Conference was the starting point for the development of the ecumenical movement. There is also little doubt that Edinburgh 1910 would not have been that had it not been for the SCM.

Mott chaired the Conference and Joe Oldham was its secretary; a pattern to be repeated many times at ecumenical gatherings. Tatlow helped to coax Anglo-Catholics into participation. The history of the event was written by Temple Gairdner. Wilder, Tatlow, Ruth Rouse and Una Saunders were all involved in the arrangements. More prosaically, the SCM provided stewards. But the Movement was not only responsible for most of the planning. It was the "interdenominational position", first developed within the Student Movement and the YMCA, which made possible ecumenical cooperation. A Special Sub-Committee Report adopted by the General Committee of the SCM in 1911 gives the fully articulated and developed version of an attitude that had been present for at least seven years before that date. It says of the Movement:

while it unites persons of different religious denominations in a single organisation for certain definite aims and activities it recognises their allegiance to any of the various Christian bodies into which the Body of Christ is divided. It believes that loyalty to their denomination is the first duty of Christian students, and welcomes them into the fellowship of the Movement as those whose privilege it is to bring into it as their own contribution all that they as members of their own religious body, have discovered or will discover of Christian truth (in Tatlow 1933:400).

The Report goes on to emphasise this position:

when at Summer Conferences... a member of any religious body addresses the Student Movement he should be expected

to give his full message and not so seek to modify it in view of the fact that there may be some in his audience who, because they are members of other Christian bodies... may not agree with him (in Tatlow 1933:400).

In the paragraph on problems of joint communion services, the Report manages in two sentences simultaneously to express a position on unity more advanced than the Churches, and to bow to the will of the Churches while making clear the Movement's subservience to them:

While ardently desiring unity and anxious to promote unity, the Movement recognises that the way to unity must be found by the Churches. It counsels its members to work steadily and loyally to that end in the Churches to which they belong (in Tatlow 1933:400).

The SCM deliberately avoided argument about just which organisations counted as "Christian bodies". Normally everyday definitions were used which would, for example, ban Unitarians before 1914 and make them reasonably acceptable post-war. The avoidance of that issue apart, the "interdenominational position" did provide a reasonably coherent intellectual justification for the existence of denominational boundaries ("All denominations have some special understanding of the truth") and for the move towards church unity ("But all are part of the Body of Christ"). Everyone was wrong and everyone was also right. It represented a serious divergence from the "undenominationalism" characteristic of evangelical circles which required the pretence that there were no denominations.

The Student Movement was vital to the ecumenical movement in two ways; it provided the intellectual justification for the first cautious

steps towards cooperation and unity and it provided the personnel with the managerial skills and an ecumenical background suited for the creation of an ecumenical milieu.¹

The organisation of the SCM

In 1908, the Movement initiated what was to become its standard instrument of periodic self-criticism, the Commission. It had always been a part of the SCM self-image that, although it dominated the field of student-run religious activities, it was a "minor" in the religious life of the churches as a whole. It depended on outside aid for financial support and although it was a vital link in the creation of the ecumenical movement, the SCM looked to its elders for an intellectual lead.

The Commission was the ideal organisational form to give periodic policy changes to the Movement. The first one, that of 1908, was made up of SCM staff, local student leaders and former members of staff, and was appointed to consider the work of the Movement in general. Later Commissions were able to call on senior churchmen as members and advisors. The Commission made a number of recommendations, one of which demonstrates a keen awareness of the problem of oligarchisation:

The senior men in the Movement should regard it as the first of their duties to be in sympathy with all new movements in the colleges, and to esteem the views of the younger men

1 The relationship between SCM and the ecumenical milieu will be returned to in Chapter Seven.

as being as worthy of consideration as their own (in Tatlow 1933:332).

It also committed the SCM to a critical attitude to its faith in recommending:

that the Movement should be kept living and free by a deep prayer-life and earnest seeking to know the will of God, and by constant attempts to advance in thought and life to new views of Christian responsibility (in Tatlow 1933:333).

A new staffing policy was proposed to deal with the increased size and influence of the Movement. Tatlow became the permanent General Secretary. Joe Oldham was invited to become Missionary Study Secretary. Oldham had been the General Secretary from 1895-96 before going to India. Ill-health forced his return and, while reading Theology at New College, he held various SCM offices. He accepted the post while also working for the Missionary Council of the UFC. Robert Wilder was still working for the Movement and Malcolm Spencer extended his service. Various recommendations of the Commission - that numbers at summer conferences be restricted to 600 and that extra conferences be arranged, that a permanent site for conferences be secured, that training be arranged for new staff - all resulted in more work for the administrative staff. Zoe Fairfield, who had been involved in SCM as an art student and committee member for ten years, and worked with the YMCA Guild of Helpers, was appointed as Assistant General Secretary and very quickly became a dominant figure in the Movement.

With three summer conferences instead of the one, it became necessary to create a policy sub-committee to draft programmes and arrange

speakers. Two "standing advisory committees", for Bible and Social study, were created to give an intellectual lead to the Movement's study groups. A result of this expansion was that staff found less and less time to talk to each other and so the custom of having short "retreats" for staff was introduced. Many such retreats were held at the house of Mrs Tritton Gurney, a wealthy benefactor of the Movement. She not only allowed the use of the house; she also arranged a chaperone, "a saintly old lady", for the women staff members.

In this period the general pattern of SCM leadership was laid. There was a central secretariat of more senior men and women who gave permanence to the Movement, a few senior scholars who provided the study material and the intellectual leadership of the SCM, appointed for terms of five or six years, and then the travelling and regional secretaries who were generally on the staff for two years between leaving university and taking up their careers.

This three-tier system, with its permanent central administrative staff, could have led to oligarchy, but two things acted as a brake on such a tendency. The first factor was the attitude of the central staff. They had all been involved in the development of the interdenominational position as a working basis for ecumenism. They were also "modernists" in their attitude to their faith and were well prepared to believe that there were new ideas and new revelations which were more valuable than those they possessed. The second obstacle to oligarchy was the structure of the General Committee and

Department Executives, which were arranged so that student representatives were always in a majority. There is no doubt that Tatlow and Fairfield dominated the SCM. As the chief functionaries they were usually better informed than other committee members and their opinions were thus more influential. Tatlow was almost obsessively distrustful of the organisational ability of his colleagues and tended to monopolise even the most mundane tasks. Yet the structure of the committees and the open-mindedness of Tatlow and Fairfield allowed new fashions and concerns to come up through the Movement.

As noted earlier, the SCM differed from many movements in having no hope of achieving an enrolment economy. It would never be able to depend on its student members for financial support, no matter how large that membership became. The Movement was always supported by ex-members or by wealthy patrons who had to be humoured. One very generous patron had constantly to be reassured by Tatlow that the Movement was not being taken over by Unitarians. The views of these sponsors could have had a conservative influence as could the views of the many ex-staff members who felt that the Movement had never been so well run or true to its principles as when they ran it.

The First Conference Estate Co. Ltd.

If any one act signified the maturity of the Student Movement as an organisation it was the creation of "Swanwick". Tatlow and others who had been to Moody's conference site at Northfield were

impressed by the saving in time and effort that resulted from the use of the same site every year. Since leaving Keswick, the summer conferences had been staged in six different places; none of them entirely satisfactory. Lenwood and Tatlow had tried to sell the idea of a joint venture to the missionary societies. They were not keen and even many SCM members thought it too ambitious. The 1908 Commission, however, approved the concept and Erskine Crossley was asked to draw up plans for the launching of a limited company. Crossley aimed to raise a share capital of £120,000. Tatlow dismissed this as extravagant and prepared his own scheme for £30,000. On the 11th May 1910 the First Conference Estate Company was incorporated with an issue of 30,000 £1 shares. This was the cause of further ill-feeling between Tatlow and Crossley, who wanted to appeal to a wealthier market with £5 shares. Tatlow, with his usual feeling for what was possible, held that few of the shares would be bought as a speculative investment; most would go to ex-SCM members and patrons. In this he was right. Many buyers seem to have regarded the share purchase as a form of donation to SCM. The first property purchased was Crich Farm in Derbyshire but this was resold when the more suitable site was found at Swanwick. The Hayes was a substantial country house built for some £50,000 but with the gradual encroachment of the mining towns its value had dropped and when the owners were told of the purpose for which it would be used they agreed to sell it to FCE for £11,500. The first Directors of the Company were Tatlow, Walter Seton, Robert

Armitage M.P., Sir William Crossley¹, Sir Andrew Fraser², Robert L. Barclay (Honorary Treasurer of SCM and Director of Barclays Bank) and Erskine Crossley, the manager of Hayes.

To the original building, a hostel for 200 people and a large dining room were added. The stables were turned into a quadrangle of rooms, and a conference Hall was erected.

The SCM as vendor, kept 500 £1 management shares and included in the articles a claim to first booking rights and the right to appoint a percentage of the Board. In all other respects, Tatlow maintains "the movement took its place as one of the ordinary customers of the company" (1933:454). In fact, this was far from being the case. Tatlow began pressurising Crossley from the moment of his appointment for regular discounts and took every opportunity to belittle Crossley's work as manager³. When Crossley refused to give in to him, Tatlow tried to persuade the Board to sack him. He failed but during the First World War Crossley volunteered and Tatlow took over as Managing Director. Crossley never returned to Swanwick; he died in 1920 of wounds received in the war.

1 The Crossleys were a well-known family of pious businessmen. FW Crossley (Rendel-Harris 1899) built the Manchester mission, Star Hall, later run by his daughter H.K. "Ella" Crossley who was a BCCU subscriber. Erskine Crossley was Ella's brother and nephew of Sir William Crossley. This family should not be confused with that of Sir Frank Crossley, of carpet fame, another wealthy philanthropist.

2 Sir Andrew Fraser was the son of Rev. Dr AG Fraser, a senior civil servant in India and father-in-law of the SCM's Joe Oldham.

3 It is indicative of the ill-feeling between Tatlow and Crossley and of Tatlow's character that he objected strongly to the posthumous description of Crossley as "founder".

The conversion work on The Hayes proceeded very quickly and the FCE took its first customer in the summer of 1912 when the SCM Conferences were held there.

The interest in social problems

As Sarah Potter has argued in an interesting paper on the changing roles of women in missions, there is "a dilemma of Christian practice which has become increasingly prominent in mission work" (1979:1). On the one hand there is the gospel of salvation which "imposes obligations far more restrictive than any emanating from social life". On the other, there is the gospel of service. In missions, the former involved an "uncompromising invitation to a foreign way of life" and assumed that the benefits of civilisation would naturally attend conversion. The latter offered western skill. Potter believes that as the nineteenth century progressed the service tendency came to the fore, especially in the work of women missionaries who advanced educational and nursing skills at the same time as, and often, in place of, the traditional evangelising.

The early Student movement members were solely concerned with evangelising. Service played little part in their interests; not because they were uninterested in social problems but because they had a very narrow conception of what the movement ought to be doing. It will be remembered that Manley objected to the full amalgamation of the SVMU and BCCU because he felt that the single-mindedness of the SVMU call to evangelising would be diluted in the wider

movement. The same concern was at the heart of the lack of enthusiasm the first generation of Volunteers had for the creation of the BCCU. Study in the first years of the Movement meant missionary and bible study. In the first decade of the twentieth century, a third element, social study, was added to the interests of the SCM. Like the interest in apologetics, social study seems to have first been promoted by the two "new" elements in the Movement; women and students from the new universities and colleges. It should also be borne in mind that the SCM was always responsive to changes in the missionary societies. Ex-members who were at work in foreign fields were frequent visitors and speakers at SCM conferences. They corresponded with their former colleagues who were still on the staff. Although the Volunteers had their spiritual home at Keswick, even the early products were some way from the narrow evangelicalism of some of the Convention's leaders. Thornton and Gairdner went to Egypt to work with the Syrian Church, not as some evangelicals would have preferred, against the ancient Church. The third factor in the growth of social study was the increasing participation in the Movement of Anglo-Catholics. Although the evangelicals of Wilberforce's time had been great reformers, their work was limited to what was "useful". The individualistic basis of an analysis that attributed all social problems to personal moral weakness made it a spent force in a society in which the moral weaklings rejected paternalistic philanthropy and began to organise themselves. The lead in a concern with the state of Britain's working poor and unemployed destitute passed to the Broad Church

and then to the Anglo-Catholics whose orientation to the church as community and to the parish as a whole rather than simply to the saved gave a more suitable base for social analysis. As the membership base, and the support base, of the SCM widened so its range of interests increased.

The conscience of the Anglican Church in these matters was the Christian Social Union. Founded by Henry Scott Holland in 1889 with Westcott as President, the CSU was dedicated to the study of social problems and the applications of Christian principles to them. Through a variety of meetings, publications and study groups, the CSU petitioned the clergy to support various schemes for the raising of the working classes. The policies were mild enough to make the CSU acceptable to the bench of Bishops but its existence entailed a recognition that all was not well with the world and that the traditional analysis in terms of moral failings was not sufficient (Bowen 1968:283).

Given the social background of the students at the ancient universities it is not surprising that they were not politically aware or socially informed. Tatlow later confessed shame at being asked in 1896 what he thought of the Fabians and admitting that he had never heard of them. The first mention of social problems was in 1900 when a group of students at Oxford asked George Hare Leonard to address them. Some female students wanted to hear Miss Richardson, an expert on Temperance (a normal subject for evangelicals). Both spoke at the Matlock summer conference and made some

impression but the next annual report contains only one sentence that mentions social problems (and that in connection with foreign missions). Tatlow produced a social study outline (not because he was well informed but because he was thought to be the best writer of study outlines!) and Henry Hodgkin and Stephen Band prompted the Executives to consider promoting a social interest. At this stage even this cautious feeling of the way was justified in terms of gaining the attention of students already interested in social problems and then weaning them from that to the "main" issues of missionary and bible study.

The 1908 Commission recommended holding a small conference, with no list of speakers or fixed programme, which would "wait on God" to try and discern His Will. About 100 people connected with the SCM gathered in Matlock in 1909;

We were there, not that we might learn from speakers what the aims of the Student Movement were, but that we might learn from God what they ought to be (Tatlow 1933:347).

The conclusion of this meeting was that the fault lay in everyone. The analysis was still individualistic but it had developed from believing that social problems were the result of the evil nature of the sufferers to a wider view that it was the fault of the evil nature in everyone.

The solution lay in love. SCM was becoming critical of society but not yet radical. It was synthesising traditional pietistic religion with a modern understanding of economics. Members were seeing

the inter-relations of production and unemployment, unemployment and alcoholism, and so on, but they still offered an individualistic solution. Rather than converting the poor (although there was nothing wrong with that) the answer lay in causing a change of heart in everyone else.

The appointment of Malcolm Spencer as Social Studies secretary gave some depth to the Movement's work. He produced two books which formed the basis for study and wrote articles for the SM. In addition he helped organise the United Summer Schools for Social Study with the other denominational Social Service Unions. Most of the Christian Unions started social study circles and some even engaged in "active" social work, visiting the elderly and conducting their own research into slum areas.

Indicative of the serious and earnest nature of some students' discovery of "social problems" was the suggestion that a Student Volunteer Social Union be started with a declaration similar to that of the SVMU. The suggestion was not adopted, not because there was a shortage of interest in social problems but because the SVMU was itself coming under criticism.

The Student Voluntary Missionary Union

The SVMU was always more than an organisation of students who intended to become missionaries and who were dedicated to persuading others to do likewise. It was a symbol of the sort of single-minded undenominational activity which evangelicals of the Keswick

mould thought admirable. This complicated for the students the issue of its significance by adding to rational evaluation of the relevance of the Union implied criticism of the theology of the evangelicals.

We have already mentioned the spectacular success of the 1896 Missionary Conference in Liverpool. The number of Volunteers increased in the following year but declined in 1898. The Executive decided to stage another large conference in 1900 and the tradition of "quadrennial" meetings was born. The four year period represented the best compromise between what the market could take (and what the Movement could arrange) and the necessity to make it possible for every student to attend one such conference while at University. Some of the Quadrennials were directed at the Churches and Missionary Societies; others, such as the 1904 Edinburgh Conference, were more introverted affairs, designed to raise the morale and vigour of existing SVMU groups rather than publicise the Movement.

From the first broadside by Warneck, the Watchword had come under mounting criticism. More students were concluding that the Watchword embodied a superficial approach to the question of missions; a hasty delivery of an abbreviated message by an itinerant gossamer rather than the gradual building of a deep faith. There was disagreement about the meaning of the slogan. Mott, like Manley, believed it possible to evangelise the world in one generation. Lenwood argued against the mention of "this generation". Henry

Hodgkin felt that the possibility of realising the slogan should not be debated: "We lowered our ground in discussing the Watchword when we entered into the question of its possibility" (SVMU MSS Sept 1903).

In 1906 the Executive called a special meeting to consider the Watchword. All the former leaders were invited to participate and those who could not attend sent statements of their positions. Joe Oldham's main objection to the Watchword was its confusion of purpose and prophecy. He thought it useful for its definite statement of intent. It was a rallying cry which should not be taken as a statement about what will happen. Frank Lenwood wrote a lengthy critique of the Watchword which Tatlow, although not in full agreement, sanctioned as a legitimate view by publishing it in the magazine.

It does less than justice to the Gospel; for its whole theory is based upon a static gospel, and it leaves out of account that the Gospel is something infinitely greater than our present understanding of it... Suppose that the Church among the Kaffirs were in a position to evangelize the whole world, we should all be filled with the deepest misgivings, for we should feel the wide presentation of a crude form of Christianity to be a calamity of the most far-reaching kind. Yet when we look seriously into the condition of our British religion in the light of our Master's requirements, can we put ourselves on a much higher place? (SM XI:55).

This argument is important to the degree that it shows the influence of modern thinking in biblical criticism. It allows the possibility of the relativity of particular understandings of the gospel. No one formulation was accorded absolute validity. A denominational

attitude to missions is introduced.

The arguments continued but were of ever-decreasing interest and the Watchword was dropped in 1922. There were no objections.

The increase in social awareness and the decline in the number of Volunteers are connected. We have argued that the former was mediated to the SCM through a shift in the membership base. A new type of student meant a change in emphasis in the Movement. Sarah Potter argues that the change in missionary enterprise from salvation to service was in large part due to the increasing part played by women. The same process may have been involved in the decline of the SVMU. The increasing number of students from the new universities was probably not of much import but the entry of the Churchmen certainly was. The theology of the Anglo-Catholics committed them to a different view of missions. Preaching the gospel was of little use unless it was supported by the building of communities to support that gospel. This led to a much broader view of the Christian's role in the mission fields. Neville Talbot, the first avowed Anglo-Catholic to join the Movement, was responsible for the introduction of a discussion of social problems in the agenda for quadrennial missionary conferences. Talbot saw the two themes of social work and missionary as inseparable.

While neither this broader view of missions nor Lenwood's humility in doubting the perfection or obvious superiority of his understanding of the gospel, were in conflict with the approach of the SVMU,

they did serve to diminish the division between the missionary work of the SCM and its other concerns. The devaluation of the SVMU was further reinforced by the Movement's connections with the Missionary societies and with ex-members who were missionaries. The shift from the role exemplified by Henry Martyn to the more "secular" routine of running schools and hospitals as well as churches was known to the Movement and was reflected in a broadening of the idea of vocation. More and more students were going abroad as medical staff, educationalists and administrators. Some were going to mission lands as members of the armed forces or as business men. The SCM leaders wanted to end the implicit status system in which layman, cleric and missionary were ranked in order of ascending piety. If the distinction between the layman who worked in a secular profession and witnessed and the missionary whose first intention was to work in a religious way but who had come to serve in a variety of secular roles, diminished, then the purpose of signing the Student Volunteer declaration, in asserting that it was one's purpose "God willing" to go abroad as a missionary had also diminished.

GT Manley and other evangelicals were convinced that the decline of the SVMU was the direct result of the amalgamation with the BCCU and the consequent diminution of its message. There is some truth in that. Tatlow himself admits that the dissolution of the SVMU Committee in 1919, which was the result of the thinking outlined above - that missionary work was now the responsibility of

the whole Movement rather than a specialised interest - was a mistake. "The loss of an autonomous committee with an income to spend on its own work and composed of people who had definitely made up their minds to be missionaries has been a serious blow to the missionary effectiveness of the Movement" (Tatlow 1933:624).

But the decline of the SVMU can not be put down, as Manley and other evangelicals did, simply to organisational neglect. The single-minded direct appeal of the SVMU, its declaration and its Watchword, did not lose their attraction because the Student Movement neglected them and hid them under the bushel of the parable.

Rather the Movement's neglect was only in part a deliberate policy promoted by the lack of sympathy felt by new members for the SVMU; and even then, only in very small part. Talbot, who was the advocate for the dilution of the missionary appeal of the Quadrennials with social questions, actually signed the declaration and joined the Volunteers (Brabant 1949). While it is true that some of the new members of the Movement were less than enthusiastic about the "Keswick tone" of the SVMU, it is also true that the work of the missionary societies and thus the sort of "product" they wanted from the Movement, had changed.

The social movement career

There are regularities in the ways in which movements change.

The typical career begins with a group or small band... of like minded people... who are extremely optimistic about the likelihood of attaining their goals swiftly and with

facility... The band has a leader who is surrounded by helpers or disciples who are his personal devotees who relate to one another on an informal and personal basis and recognise no differences of status among themselves... However this phase rarely lasts long, for there comes the time when enthusiasm begins to wane as the continued frustrations experienced by the movement take their toll and when the movement grows so much that the original *communitas* is lost... The typical response is to establish procedures which regulates the affairs of the movement and equip it for an indefinite future... and relations become governed by norms pertaining to the routine mundane world rather than the sacred world of ideology (John Wilson 1973:332-3).

This sketch of the movement's development captures the essence of what has been called the "Weber-Michels" model. This combination of ideas from Weber's writing on the routinisation of charisma and Michels' study of the growth of oligarchy in democratic organisations connects changes in form of organisation and changes in the aims and goals of a movement.

Analytically there are three types of changes involved in this process; empirically they are often fused. The three types of change are goal transformation, a shift to organizational maintenance, and oligarchization. (Zald and Ash 1966:327).

A central element of this complex process of social change seems to be size. As the movement grows the original strength of identity in the face-to-face contacts of the community is lost and various individuals begin to relate to one another as functionaries (J. Wilson 1973:334). As the movement grows so does the need for specialised functions. There is a process of "structural differentiation". This in turn leads to the growth of bureaucracy as procedures, offices and hierarchies of authority are needed to coordinate and oversee the work of the various Departments. This in turn promotes

oligarchization as power settles in the hands of the few who have access to the information necessary for decision-making. This career is mirrored by a similar rationalisation of the economy of the movement. In the mobilisation phase, the movement is supported by enthusiastic free-will offerings. In the organisation phase, there is some rationalisation and funds come from set-pieces, such as fees and subscriptions and also from offerings. In the phase of institutionalisation the economy of the movement reflects completely the rational and mundane world which it initially rejected; the funds are raised solely by fees for services.

Although there are many elaborations on the theme (Zald and Ash 1966, Hiller 1975) the notion of an increase in size as cause is complemented by the idea of the increasingly perceived unlikelihood of attaining the goals. The Movement begins with radical far-reaching aims which after some time are perceived to be "unrealistic". Attention and energy shift from attaining the goals to preserving the movement organisation. Membership incentives demonstrate a parallel shift. People stay in the movement for the satisfaction of participation rather than for the purpose of goal-attainment (in Zald and Ash's terms, a shift from purposive to solidary incentives).

The Weber-Michels model does seem to fit with accounts of the careers of known movements; the Disciples of Christ (Winter 1968) and the Baptists (Harrison 1959) offer such examples. Having said that, I am left with the feeling that there are some fundamental problems inherent in this type of explanation. I will first raise some

general difficulties with the internal logic of the model and then go on to see what sort of light the development of the SCM might throw on these problems.

The use of the idea of goal-transformation and the various subsidiary types of goal extension, succession and displacement implies that we can relatively unambiguously identify "the goals" of the movement. For a variety of reasons, a number of scholars have recently challenged this assumption. Stallings investigated an emergent group within the environmental protest movement in the States and concluded that within the group there was considerable heterogeneity of belief about responsibility for environmental problems and possible solutions. He concludes that:

collective action by social movement organisations results from emergent internal processes and structures rather than initial consensus among movement participants (1973:465).

Stallings was concerned to challenge Smelser's notion of "generalised belief". Wallis was concerned with the idea that charismatic authority is generally replaced by rational-legal authority as an accompaniment to goal-displacement. His study of the NFOL:

suggests that the notion of movement goals is a rhetorical device, providing a sense of unity and continuity to the differing aims of groups and persons who seek their realization through the agency of a social movement. The rhetoric deployed in statements of movement goals provides a resource which can be mobilised by participants in the pursuit of their own purposes, and is interpreted differentially by participants (Wallis 1976a:92).

Ruth Levitas also challenges the positivistic view of movements as possessing unambiguously stated goals and evenly committed members. In an account of the Christian Socialist Movement she argues that

the movement is the collective identification of problems and the collective construction of solutions. She criticises the use of "aim-centred models" of social movements, and Banks' separation of "realistic" and "unrealistic" movements, in particular (1977).

These and other studies challenge the value of talk about "goals". The challenge is well-taken but does not preclude talk about goals, rather it warns us to be more careful about our use of the term. It argues against reification in discussing "goals" as if they had an independent existence, but it does not make talk of goal displacement totally futile. Clearly a movement stands for something. While as Wallis says, members join to pursue "their own purposes", the very fact that they join movement A rather than movement B shows that there is a public perception that the movements in question stand for something or other. Would-be fascists do not flock to the Anti-Apartheid protest movements and a congregationally minded pre-millennialist is unlikely to try to pursue his purposes in the company of Jesuits. While it may be difficult to specify with certainty all of the goals or even to say which of the aims offered by members of a movement are the primary ones, it is not normally difficult to distinguish a "cluster" of goals which are important for "most" of the members of a movement. We can identify an "ethos" or a package of values.

Thus it is accepted that there are empirical problems of identifying the goals of a movement at any one time. There are also analytical problems. The contrast between directing one's attention to goal-

attainment and preserving the organisation may well be a spurious one. It may be that the attainment of the goals of the movement requires the existence of a bureaucratic, oligarchic, routinised organisation. Clearly this point cannot be pushed too far. There is an essential difference between a social movement, and an agency that provides some routine service to clients on a regular basis. The move from one social form to the other is important (see Messinger 1955 on the development of the YMCA). Goal attainment and organisational survival may not be coterminous but nor are they always clearly separated or analytically separable.

A second source of difficulty with the Weber-Michels model is the implicit attribution of self-seeking to the movement's leadership. There is a tendency to attribute moral weakness to the bureaucrat who wishes to preserve his own job, his prestige, his social standing and his own material comfort at the expense of the goals of the movement. In offering the distinction between "bureaucrat" and "enthusiast", as Roche and Sachs (1955) do, the sociologist is in danger of picturing goal transformation as a "sell-out".

The SCM and goal transformation

The Student Movement came into being as a concerted attempt to coordinate activity in pursuit of certain goals. These were, in the first place, the securing of student missionary volunteers and the promotion of a climate of opinion in the Churches, the Universities, and the country at large which would appreciate the urgent need of

the mission fields and make the necessary financial sacrifices to secure the fulfilment of Christ's injunction to evangelise the world. It was to this end that the Watchword was adopted and The Memorial pressed on the Churches in an attempt to have them also adopt the Watchword. The Movement was not totally successful in this. The Churches acknowledged the SCM's good work but stopped short of taking as radical a position on the primacy of missions as the Movement wanted. Thereafter the Movement became "becalmed"; not altogether successful and a little disappointed but not resigned to failure. At this point what was initially a secondary activity - the formation and servicing of Christian Unions - came to the fore because it was believed to be functional in promoting missionary activity. Travelling secretaries found that SVMU goals were best attained in colleges which had Christian Unions. If the former activity is regarded as pursuit of the initial radical goals of the Movement and the increased interest in the latter, a sign of the replacement of goal-attainment by routine, bureaucratically organised, service activities then we have a career which looks like the typical Weber-Michels model.

The "fit" of the model improves if we then look at the growth of the SCM up to 1914. Clearly evident is massive structural differentiation. The Movement expanded. New and larger premises were obtained. Publishing work was expanded. Contacts with other organisations were cultivated. Specialist departments were founded. Study work, theological colleges, education colleges, technical

colleges, and conference planning were all supervised by specialists in those fields. Specialist enterprises were coordinated by the General Council in matters of policy and by the General Secretariat in matters of day to day functioning. Wilson argues that the decline of the original *communitas* can often be seen in the increased attention the movement gives to developing formal socialisation programmes (1973:351). This too can be seen in SCM's increasing use of conferences, branch study groups, and special cadre conferences.

The general picture of this movement seems to conform to the typical pattern. A more detailed analysis, however, shows important differences between the actual career of the SCM and the Weber-Michels model.

(1) Bureaucratisation, oligarchisation and structural differentiation were not traits which characterised the SCM after a period of total commitment to goal-attainment. The Movement leaders were always keen to develop a bureaucratic machine which could service the colleges and promote the aims of the Movement. That the SCM did not appear at its creation in 1892 in the form it had in 1927 had nothing to do with ideological commitments but with a lack of finance. There was little or nothing of the conflict one would expect between bureaucrat and enthusiast. The argument between Tatlow and Manley over the formalisation of the BCCU-SCMU links might be seen in that light but a more appropriate understanding would show it to be an ideological argument. Manley had no objection to bureaucratic organisation per se; he later worked for

the Church Missionary Society and helped IVF.

A point which is often missed in movement studies concerns the relationship between the movement and its parent culture. Movements sometimes take on characteristics of the culture that spawns them. An important part of explaining the SCM's structure is the simple fact that the SCM imitated the structure and activities of previous organisations in the same milieu. Wilder, Manley, Thornton, Tatlow, Gairdner and the others knew how to go about promoting their movement because they had seen and participated in a variety of other evangelical agencies. Their parents, relatives and older friends were active in missionary societies, missionary support groups and undenominational pietistic societies. The bureaucratically organised, structurally differentiated organisational form was part of their "stock of knowledge". This should make us cautious of reading too much significance into the growth of the organisation of the SCM.

(2) A further thought follows from the above. As was demonstrated in the discussion of the evangelical societies, there was a standard pattern of structure and activity for these enterprises. Particularly with regard to financial matters the evangelicals had high regard for efficient management. Had the SCM not developed a centralised oligarchic bureaucracy and instead tried to create a segmentalised enthusiastic democracy, the Movement may have had a great deal of difficulty convincing its patrons, its legitimators, that it was a responsible vehicle for the Lord's work.

This point can be generalised if we introduce a counter example. The Catholic Apostolics were a religious movement, founded some twenty years before the SCM and therefore even nearer than the SCM to the great period of the Societies. Yet that movement did not become another society. This can be explained by pointing to the difference in the distance between the ideology of the Catholic Apostolics and Victorian evangelicalism, and the ideology of the Student Movement and the evangelicals. The Apostolics were deviant. Having rejected large parts of the ideologies of the evangelicals, they also rejected the organisational forms. The Student Movement, on the other hand, was much more "orthodox". It was also a dependent movement which could not hope for financial or intellectual independence and so was more in need of public legitimation. Thus to imitate the typical organisational patterns of its parent culture was a most attractive option. SCM's structure tells us more about its relationship with its parent culture than it does about goal attainment.

This discussion can be summarised in the following propositions.

- (a) Movements may adopt the organisational forms they do because those forms are normal in the movement's parent culture.
- (b) We may expect that a movement's willingness so to do will depend on the relationship between its values and those of the parent culture.

This, of course, does not undermine the value of the Weber-Michels model for understanding the routinisation of initially enthusiastic

movements. The point that is being made is that not all movements become routinised and institutionalised; some start life like that because there are no very strong ideological incentives to reject "accepted" methods of doing whatever it is the movement wants to do.

(3) Having said that about the organisational aspects of the typical career of a movement I can turn to that part of the model concerned with changes in the movement's goals. I have noted some difficulties of talking about "goals". With those in mind it can still be said that the SCM changed its concerns after the Memorial period. It moderated its challenges to the churches and concentrated on building Christian Unions in colleges. This would appear to represent a move from pursuits which might arouse resentment towards the movement to safer aims. But that picture does not do justice to the motives of Tatlow and the others such as Thornton and Fraser. They saw building strong Christian Unions as an essential precursor to promoting missionary activity. A more suitable case from the SCM's history would be the changes that took place between 1900 and 1914 when the promotion of ecumenical activity and social study came to displace missions in the policy of the Movement and as a source of motivation for the membership. This does seem to fit the sociological notion of goal displacement. Where the SCM history is illuminating is in showing us an alternative source of motive power for such a move. Michels (1959) and Roche and Sachs (1955) locate the dynamic in the desire of the leadership to compromise the

movement and accommodate to the wider society. This was never an important element in the changes in SCM (although evangelical critics attribute the SCM's acceptance of higher criticism and ecumenicalism to Tatlow's craving for worldly praise and contact with church dignatories). The SCM was a student movement. Not only did its membership change every three years but half of its staff changed with that sort of frequency. There was little by way of incentives to staff to preserve the movement except feelings of loyalty. Certainly it did not provide them with a living and those for whom the Movement was a stepping stone in their careers do not seem to have been hampered by being more radical than their churches. In fact, many of the junior staff rose to high office in their churches. Only a small group within the staff had the sort of long-term commitment to the movement organisation which could be the motive for wishing to preserve the SCM at any cost. But here the continual rotation of membership acted as a democratic safeguard, forcing the SCM General Secretariat constantly to ask itself "Where are the students of this generation?". It was this element, the constant need to evaluate the policies of the Movement in the market-place of the universities, that was the motive power behind the goal displacement visible in the Movement's history. The major source of goal displacement came, not from an entrenched leadership desirous of protecting its own social standing, but from the pressures of having almost to recreate and launch again the Movement every three years.

As a footnote to the discussion of goal displacement it is worthwhile adding one point. The cynic may well think that the post-Memorial policy of building Christian Unions and promoting study work marked a significant displacement of goals and that the Thornton-Fraser rationale, that this was essential for the fulfilment of the aims embodied in the Memorial, was simply a legitimating "story". The response that needs to be made to that is that the study work did produce Volunteers; that it later produced fewer Volunteers was not so much the result of internal changes within the Movement but the consequence of change in the nature of the missionary enterprise. The Societies wanted skill rather than enthusiasm.

In this respect the changes in the Student Movement are similar to those which occurred in, for example, the Townsend Movement (Messinger 1955). Changes in the movement's environment made part of its platform redundant. In the case of the Townsend Movement a partial acceptance by legislatures of the need for some form of old age pension blunted the radical edge of the movement's platform and other activities, such as purveying consumer products, replaced campaigning. In an interesting analysis of the Southern Civil Rights Movement, Nelson eschews talk of goal "displacement" and instead sees movement careers as involving an almost constant replacement of one short-term goal by another (1974). At particular junctures in the history of the movement, the relationship between the movement and its environment has to be renegotiated. At these points factors from the movement's "pre-history" may become vital again:

A potentially significant source of movement transformation rests in the structure of the environment which existed prior to the movement's development, specifically in the interaction patterns between the clients-to-be of the movement and the agents-to-be of what eventually becomes its external environment (Nelson 1974:140).

In its first period the Student Movement framed its activities within a particular cultural tradition. From the work of the Saints was borrowed the rallies and the Memorials. When these had been pursued to the point where they seemed unlikely to produce further gain, alternative models were drawn from the same tradition and efforts were made to establish a national bureaucratic organisation with local branches. The shift in emphasis must be seen as the result of the interaction between the movement (with its knowledge of the cultural traditions in which the leaders had been raised) and changes in the external environment of the movement.

The conclusion of this attempt to view the early history of the SCM in terms of variants of a compound Weber-Michels model of a typical movement career is that while it is at certain points appropriate, there is one major difficulty. The assumption which underlies the model is that social movements have good reasons to reject the organisational models of their prevailing cultures. In this way goal-attainment and organisational maintenance are seen as, if not exactly conflicting enterprises, things that do not go well together in movements. This implied friction is clear in the following statement from John Wilson: "the shift in priorities away from goal-attainment and towards self-preservation prompts a heightened concern for efficiency and stability of organisation" (1973:356). The SCM had very few

ideological objections to operating an efficient bureaucratic organisation and might well have created such an organisation in 1892 had it been able to afford it. This represented conformity to a dominant cultural model of how such enterprises should be run. Likewise IVF founded as a rival to the SCM had few misgivings about imitating the SCM (except during a brief period when the structure of SCM was held by some to be responsible for its creeping apostasy).

As has been noted a number of times, movement analysis has, probably correctly, been built on case studies of relatively deviant movements. In cases where the movement is thought in some way to embody the social relationships that will obtain in "the new life" the structure of the movement is closely related to the platform of the movement. For less "uninstitutionalised" movements (the very sort that tend to proliferate in highly pluralistic societies) it is misleading to place too much importance on the structure of the movement. Where the life of the movement is not seen by its members as an embodiment of some new order there is no necessary tension between the ideology of the movement and a bureaucratic form of organisation.

CHAPTER FIVE

EVANGELICAL DISTASTE: FACTIONALISM AND SCHISM

Given the exclusivist tendency of extreme Protestantism, it was inevitable that the broadening of the Student Movement described in the last chapter would lead to disruption. The first sign that there was any ill feeling between the Movement and the evangelical milieu came with a strong protest from Lord Kinnaird to the SVMU's invitation to Dr Mandell Creighton to address the 1900 Missionary Conference. Kinnaird, who had been an active promoter of the SVMU in its early years deplored any invitation to "a ritualist like the Bishop of London". It is a mark of the lack of agreement among evangelicals that Thornton thought Kinnaird wrong and supported Tatlow's invitation. In this controversy, Tatlow could offer the defense that he was simply conforming to the pattern of courtesy to local dignatories which had been set with the invitation to the Bishop of Liverpool to the 1896 Conference held in his diocese. In the same year, Tatlow wrote to the Record (which Coneybeare called the home of the "Low and Slow") in reply to criticism of the Movement's increasing interest in matters intellectual.

The average type of gone-down evangelical has very little developed his powers of criticism or of real and consecutive hard thought. In many cases I know of this leads to a kind of negativism and a fear of facing great questions (Record 12th April 1899).

Four years later a group of Cambridge students criticised the Matlock Conference for the lack of a strong spiritual tone. Three of them

were invited to a meeting of the General Committee to make their views known. They found no support for their views. The women members of the committee were particularly opposed to any return to a "Keswick" platform. The Matlock Conference was also a source of disquiet to Manley and three other ex-SVMU missionaries home on furlough who asked for a restoration of the evangelical emphasis in the conferences. In 1904 ES Woods and other senior supporters of the Movement wrote in similar vein.

The evangelicals were themselves divided. Eugene Stock of the CMS was a little concerned at the direction of the Movement but was prepared to give the Movement his tentative support in its experiments. Prebendary Webb-Peploe was not. Having heard that "higher critics" were to speak at an SCM conference to which he had also been invited, he threatened to withdraw.

I have been twice informed to my astonishment and distress that at your Conishead Conference I shall not only find present brethren of the Protestant Evangelical and Keswick school of thought but higher critics from many parts (England and Scotland) who will be allowed to stand up and teach their opinions... I can face no conference where the House is divided against itself (Tatlow 1933:274).

On this occasion Tatlow persuaded him not to withdraw, but it was the last time a noted conservative evangelical leader addressed an SCM conference.

Although it is possible that Manley had something to do with the dissatisfaction of the Cambridge students with the SCM (he was the last SCM leader to have the ear of the CICCUC), the fractures in the SCM and in evangelical relationships had so far been isolated

and unconnected. This was in large part due to the lack of publicity given to the increasing discontent. The first significant publicising of disagreement came through the medium of The English Churchman and St. James Chronicle in late 1908 and 1909. The first blow was an editorial which commented on the attempts to get the High Church to the Edinburgh 1910 Missionary Conference and the SCM's connections with such machinations. This was followed by a letter from "Puzzled" voicing concern about High Churchmen in the SCM:

Has this anything to do with the similar tendency by which the Student Movement has of late been giving prominence to High Churchmen rather than to evangelicals? I observed that at Mr Mott's recent meeting at the Albert Hall the chief speakers were High-Church Bishops and well-known nonconformists. So far as I can gather from the report, no prominent Evangelical Churchman took a leading part in the gathering...

And yet I shrewdly suspect that when the leaders of the Student Movement need the "sinews of war" they are apt to fall back privately for financial support on old-fashioned evangelicals, both Churchmen and nonconformists... (February 1st 1909).

Tatlow replied at length to "Puzzled". He argued that "head-counting" was not a valid method of evaluating the Movement's theological preferences. For the particular conference mentioned by "Puzzled" special invitations had been sent to Kinnaird, Prebendary Fox and Bishop Taylor-Smith. None of these had been able to attend. Tatlow then surveys the list of speakers for the last few conferences and notes that there are no High Churchmen, two or three of the Broad Church and the rest all evangelicals. In conclusion he defends the inclusive nature of the SCM: "The Student Movement is prepared to accept into its ranks all who have this

personal saving faith in Christ as their Saviour, Lord and God, whether they be High Churchmen, Low Churchmen or Nonconformists".

"Puzzled" offers a rejoinder in which he perversely argues that the very fact that Tatlow had replied at length means that there must be "something in it" (23rd February 1909) and then goes on to tabulate the evangelical and non-evangelical speakers in Tatlow's list with different results. What is sociologically interesting in this controversy is the importance "Puzzled" places on the presence of certain individuals whom he accepts as "sound". He makes no comments on what the speakers said. He clearly has in his mind a list of legitimate evangelical leaders and the absence of them from any meeting is enough to suggest that the organisers are going "off the rails".

Another feature of this controversy is the readiness of the evangelicals to believe rumours which painted in dramatic black-and-white what they sensed in grey. Their uncertain disquiet at what they heard in SCM was amplified and given body in certain rumours that were current and popular. Thus in December of 1907 we find Tatlow writing to a Revd Griffith Thomas¹ denying that the Movement had any plans to sack Wilder (in fact they were at that point negotiating a longer contract with him). The Movement's attempts to restore the balance by offering the High Churchmen similar

1 Revd W. Griffith Thomas was an evangelical of some significance and a vice-president of the Bible League.

recognition to that of the Low - having liturgical prayer as well as extempore power - was built up into a rumour that:

Our executive has decided to have a special marquee set aside next year at our summer conference for High Churchmen where they could have an altar...I need hardly say that there was not a word of truth in it (Tatlow to Thomas 9th December 1907).

Secretly disturbed but not yet ready to condemn, one old senior friend¹ of the Movement had formed a private prayer circle to pray for the SCM's return to soundness. By 1909, Tatlow was sufficiently disturbed by rumours that Mott was worried about the spiritual health of the Movement to write to him asking for a letter expressing confidence which Tatlow could circulate to those who looked to Mott for guidance.

Cambridge 1910²

The focus for the schismatic movement was the Cambridge Inter-Collegiate Christian Union. As had been the case twenty years earlier, Cambridge was the most conservative of the Universities. With Simeon's church at Holy Trinity and the Henry Martyn Hall which the CICCUC used for their meetings, there was a much stronger

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- 1 George Ingram; a friend of Paget Wilkes, a CSSM worker, missionary in India with the CMS and an early member of the student movement.
- 2 There are many accounts of the Cambridge split. Pollock 1953 gives a disinterested view and is based on the correspondence in the SCM archives and interviews with those involved. The SCM version was published in SM XIII:210-211 and in Tatlow (1933). The CICCUC version (CICCUC, 1913 and 1936) and various biographies (e.g. Loane, 1960) give the evangelicals' story.

and more tangible tradition of evangelicalism to be found there than in other University centres. A second important factor was the strength of the college tradition. Many of the Victorian evangelicals were educated at Trinity College; Buxtons, Barclays, Polwarths, Kinnairds, Studds and others sent generation after generation, often to the very same rooms. Thus for the young undergraduate there were strong obstacles to experimenting with the faith. Added to the entropic force of tradition was the organisation of the CICCUC. The members of the Executive committee which arranged missions and invited speakers were not elected but appointed by the outgoing members. Each college representative appointed his own successor thus guaranteeing the perpetuation of the orthodoxy of the previous generation.

The CICCUC had remained unmoved by the interdenominational policy and the interest in apologetics and modernism of the Student Movement as a whole. In the academic year 1902-1903 one CICCUC member asked George Ingram to start a rival student conference at Keswick. Ingram refused but his letter to Tatlow in 1909 implied that with hindsight he wished he had done as asked. In 1904 Father Ball of Mirfield was invited to conduct a mission at the Cambridge University Church, Great St. Mary's. CICCUC were invited to support the mission and having been assured that Ball would preach conversion, agreed. However, Manley intervened and in the course of a bible study on justification by faith made it clear that supporting the mission would endanger the purist

position of the CICCUC. This was enough for the CICCUC committee, many of whom were not happy about the mission; they withdrew their support.

The three years following 1907 were curious ones in the CICCUC's history. Each year the executive elected a President who was more in sympathy with the SCM than the bulk of the CICCUC membership. Pelly, Rogers and Bellerby were not chosen for their theological orthodoxy. The first two seem to have owed their office to personal affability; Bellerby believed that he had been chosen for his athletic reputation. By this time there were three other religious groups in Cambridge. The Church Society, founded by Anglicans in 1906, had quickly grown to a membership of some 600. For the High Church students there was the STC, and there was the Nonconformist Union. The Nonconformist Union and the Church Society were both nearer to the SCM platform than the CICCUC which was still the SCM in Cambridge. Many young dons and undergraduates wanted to redraw the boundaries of religious organisation and in the three "reforming" Presidents they found allies. Pelly thought that a new joint society made up from the Church Society and the Nonconformists Union, under an elected CICCUC executive might provide a representative "SCM-like" body:

By this scheme the CICCUC would remain the only affiliated society and representative of SCM but these other sorts who dislike CICCUC aggressive evangelicalism yet like the Student Movement will not be entirely out of the picture (Pelly to Tatlow 3rd March 1908).

The lines of the conflict were reinforced in 1908 with what was

almost a dress rehearsal for the schism. The Student Movement was experimenting with a new structure for secretaries. In addition to the travelling secretaries who organised a region or a special interest, there would now be local secretaries based in university centres and supported by the local branches and sympathisers independently of the central budget. The local secretary would provide pastoral aid and organisational continuity as well as shifting some of the fund-raising burden from the centre. The intention was to have a local secretary in Cambridge. The scheme was opposed by the CICCUC.

There are really two parties in the CICCUC at present, the younger men led by Pelly who would gladly see Cambridge brought closely into touch with the Student Movement... and an older party of men of whom the most influential seems to be JRS Taylor ... men who do not understand the Movement... I believe I am right in saying that JRS Taylor has never been at a Conference although he is a fifth year man and has been repeatedly pressed by myself, Wilder and others to attend... The proposal to have a secretary at Cambridge... has been rejected. The voting was thirteen in favour and 8 against but the motion was lost as there has to be by constitution, a three-quarters majority. I was told without hesitation and most emphatically that the reason why some men did not want a secretary was that it would result in bringing the CICCUC in closer touch with the whole Movement (Tatlow to Woodhouse 3rd March 1908).

So the sides were drawn two years before the final decision to disaffiliate. One last attempt to foster cooperation was engineered by Mott. He went to Cambridge for his fourth and final mission there. Outwardly it was a success. He filled the Guildhall

1 If Tatlow was right then Taylor must have moderated his views somewhat in later life for we find him in 1935 a member of SCM's Church of England Committee; a position he probably accepted because he was Principal of Wycliffe College, Oxford.

each night for a week.

Mott's appeal had perhaps shifted a little from his earlier "to accept Christ as their personal Saviour" to a new emphasis on "to follow Jesus Christ". But there was no repudiation of his evangelical emphases. One hundred and fifty gave in their names in token of decision (Barclay 1977:67).

Despite well organised follow-up many were disappointed with the long-term results. Few of the converts stood firm and attendance at the DPM began to fall off. It could of course be argued that the mission was a "failure" because the CICCUC expected it to be and only cooperated in a half-hearted fashion. Party feeling not only affected CICCUC's commitment to the mission. When it became known the evangelicals would after all support Mott's mission, the Churchmen threatened to withdraw.

It is evidently going to be impossible to get any help from the Church Society for Mott. So strong is the feeling that I think one of the Chairman asked and accepted will refuse (Pelly to Tatlow 22nd November 1908).

Bellerby's reaction to the CICCUC disappointment over the apparent results of the mission was to suggest further modification to the activities of the Union. He wanted to drop open air testimonial meetings and to invite non-evangelical speakers such as Charles Gore.

Barclay (1977:68) believes that Tatlow did not take the rift with the CICCUC seriously and indeed, that is the impression given by the very brief treatment of the schism in Tatlow's history of the Movement but it does not do justice to the amount of concern demonstrated in the rapid exchange of letters between Tatlow and

his informants in Cambridge¹. Through 1909 notes went back and forth at the rate of two or three a day. Bellerby wanted to affiliate a new society in Cambridge but Tatlow told him that the Movement policy was to have only one branch in each university. William Paton was not convinced that there was enough support for a new SCM unit. Tatlow thought that the problem could be resolved with the democratisation of the CICCUC. Other observers thought not:

No constitutional reform, we are compelled to conclude, would induce members of the Church Society or of STC to join the CICCUC except in rare and isolated cases. (Angus to Tatlow December 1909).

Exactly how representative the CICCUC Executive was of its membership is not clear but they themselves were certainly wary about letting the SCM representatives come in contact with their membership. When Tatlow arranged to confer with the CICCUC he was hoping to be able to address the whole membership. The executive refused.

Tatlow advised the CICCUC to disaffiliate if they would not come more into line with the policies of the SCM. On the 10th March Pelly sent a postcard to Tatlow saying "I hear the CICCUC has decided to drop affiliation by 17 to 5". Two days later Bellerby confirmed the voting and reported that, ironically, the CICCUC had also decided by seventeen votes to five to move to a more democratic form of organisation.

¹ If Tatlow's heart was not in it, it may well have been because of the illness of his baby daughter who died that year.

And so the evangelicals left the SCM. "Party" feeling was now at such a pitch that for some time it seemed likely that it would be impossible to form an SCM branch. While the conflict had been beneficial for the CICCUC in leaving it a smaller but more homogeneous unit, it had made the SCM's task more difficult with every tendency suspicious of every other. On the 30th March we find Claude Pelly¹ writing to Tatlow to tell him that the feeling of a meeting of interested parties was that another religious organisation was unwelcome. Tatlow replied:

I think we must bear in mind the importance of ultimately getting a definite membership for the Student Movement in Cambridge if we can, because I am afraid if we do not, things will always be done in a slipshod way.

Ironically it was now the High Church STC which opposed the appointment of R.L. Pelly as local SCM secretary. Like the CICCUC two years before they thought he might do too much. However, after much drafting of plans and passing of proposals between Cambridge and the SCM in London, a new body was created and the SCM branch grew rapidly to dwarf the CICCUC. The general feeling of the time was well expressed by Pelly in what both he and Tatlow may be excused for seeing as the epitaph of the CICCUC:

I'm afraid poor old CICCUC is bound to go down in such competition - in these days a society that clings (as I suppose it now will cling) to verbal inspiration is doomed (Pelly to Tatlow April 1910).

1 See Appendix for selective genealogy of the Pellys.

There still remained a link between individual members of the CICCUC and the SCM through their membership of the Volunteer Union and this was maintained until 1911 when they formed the Cambridge Volunteer Missionary Union.

There is a large element of persecutionism in the evangelical's own accounts of the schism. Much is made of the smallness of their group and the popularity of their detractors. The status of select minority is by no means anathema to evangelicals and there is a tendency to exaggerate their weakness and lack of support. A choice example can be found in the opening of Chapter Three of Old Paths in Perilous Times, the schismatics' manifesto:

It seemed indeed presumption for 250 men to differ - and to differ so emphatically from 152,000 students in the World's Universities; it seemed, indeed the height of misguided enthusiasm for this handful of young men to isolate themselves from so colossal and inspiring a federation of students. No wonder that on all sides were raised voices of warm entreaty, indignant remonstrance and even violent protest (1913:13).

In truth the schismatics had many friends in the narrow evangelical milieu of Keswick, the CSSM/Scripture Union, the various Low Church associations and evangelical missionary bands. Sholto Douglas, who had been instrumental in the founding of CICCUC, sent his blessing on a printed card which could be circulated. Wilder was still sympathetic and actually recommended a Cambridge student who was far nearer the CICCUC position than the SCM members for membership of the SCM Executive Committee (Tatlow checked on him and was advised not to invite him). As was argued in an earlier chapter, Vice-Presidents were more often

useful for the legitimacy they conferred than for practical advice and C!CCU persuaded Præbendary Webb-Peploe, J. Stuart Holden, Harrington Lees and TWH Inskip to accept the office. This is hardly surprising when one looks at the students who were in the C!CCU at the time of the schism. Lionel Studd was the son of Kynaston Studd (ex-C!CCU and brother of the Cambridge Seven Studd). Algernon Smith was the son of Stanley Smith (ex-C!CCU, Cambridge Seven and Director of the CIM). Alfred Buxton was the eldest son of Barclay Fowell Buxton. Most of the other schismatics had connections with the evangelical milieu.

As if enacting a symbolic return to purity, the C!CCU made its first "reformed" event a return to Keswick. At the invitation of Stuart Holden, "a camp for Cambridge men was held at Keswick in the month of July" (Loane 1969:45). This move confirmed the ecumenical position of the SCM by cutting it off from Keswick. Although there were some Keswick evangelicals who still talked to SCM men (Stuart Holden was on good enough terms with Tatlow to confide disquiet about some of the senior men who advised the C!CCU) they were few and the return of the C!CCU simply reinforced a division that had grown over the previous ten years.

The sociology of factionalism and schism

There are a number of scattered observations on schism available. Most of these, like Niebuhr's assertion that the divisions in the Christian Church were frequently the result of social and economic

divisions (1957), deal with social differentiation as a source of motivation for schism. Nationalism, urban/rural tensions and conflicts between leadership within a movement have all been mentioned as sources of schism. While these, and other factors provide good accounts for particular schisms, they hardly seem likely to provide the basis for any generalisation other than that divisions over one matter may well be reflected in other matters.

There are, in the literature, only two general sociological models offering an explanation of schism rather than of particular schisms, and it is these two models which will now be examined. The first of these can be identified as the Nyomarkay-Wallis model in that it is the result of Wallis' (1979:Ch.10) attempt to improve Joseph Nyomarkay's (1967) thinking on factionalism and schism. Nyomarkay is concerned to explain why factional conflicts in the Nazi Party had little serious impact on the movement, while similar dissensions in Marxist parties has often led to splits. His solution concerns the different sources of authority available in the movements. Charismatic movements have only one source of legitimate authority - the person of the leader. Hitler resolved factional conflict by aligning himself with one faction and so effectively isolating the leaders of other factions. In movements where legitimate authority derives from the existence of an ideology, then that ideology can be appealed to by a number of different faction leaders. Each leader can claim to have the "correct" interpretation of the ideology and splits result. Nyomarkay thus changes the direction of

analysis from reasons for particular schism to an examination of structural conditions (the nature of legitimate authority in a movement) which increase the propensity for factionalism to develop into schism. Wallis generalises Nyomarkay's distinction between charismatic and ideological leadership into a general principle concerned with the means of legitimation. To this he adds the question of the availability of the means of legitimation (1979: 184). Wallis' typology then looks like this:

		Means of legitimation	
		Singular	Plural
		<hr/>	
	One	1	4
Availability	few (i.e. an elite)	2	5
	Many	3	6

The Nazi Party fits into Cell 1; it has only one source of legitimation and the availability of that legitimation is restricted to Hitler himself. Marxist movements, which Nyomarkay would have seen as similar to the Nazi Party in having only one source of legitimation - the ideology - fit into Cell 2 rather than 1 because access to the ideology is not restricted to one person. It is open to all those who are competent to understand and interpret the tradition. An example of a Cell 3 movement would be those groups of the spiritualist tradition where contact with transcendent beings is open to all who have mediumistic abilities (Wallis 1979: 135). Wallis offers the CPSU under Stalin as an example of a movement with more than one means of legitimation and with access

limited to one person. Stalin claimed to be the interpreter of the ideology and had an alternative source of legitimation as head of the party and state apparatus. Arguing on similar lines, Theosophy with its multiple sources of authority and greater accessibility of these sources is placed in Cell 5 and Pentecostalism is conceptualised as an almost anarchic movement with many sources of legitimation open to many people.

The point of the table is that "propensity to schism" increases with Cell number; that is, with the accessibility of legitimate authority. The advantage over Nyomarkay's first suggestions in this direction lies in the perception that it extends the initial distinction made between charismatic and ideological leadership into a general proposition. The typology has the advantage of not only fitting with available information about the propensity to schism of different movements; it also tells us about the points in a movement's career when schism is most likely. It is a well-supported observation that the most precarious periods of a movement's career are the early days and the period immediately after the death of a charismatic leader. Both those periods are ones in which the authority structure of a movement is at its weakest; in the first case it is unstable because the leader is unsure of his authority and the new recruits still share a variety of views about appropriate authority brought with them from their past experiences; in the second, it has become unstable.

An important qualification is added by Wallis after his exposition

of the model. He wants to make clear that his use of the term "structural" for the factors in his explanation does not imply that these are conditions that constrain actors independent of their motivation. His argument is the more subtle (and more acceptable) one that these conditions influence the propensity to schism because they are taken into account by the actors involved. The faction leader will consider the possibility of taking some of the membership with him. His estimation of the likelihood of this will involve consideration of how, and with what likelihood, he can legitimate his course of action. In this consideration the number and availability of sources of legitimate authority will figure prominently. Thus the nature of authority is a structural condition which manifests itself through the assessments rather than independently of the assessments of the actors involved.

The Nyomarkay-Wallis model is a useful one. It systematically brings together a variety of observations about the different propensity to schism of different sorts of movements and it accounts for the recurrence of the problem at particular points in the career of a typical movement. Like all such typologies, it is somewhat limited in applicability by the nature of what it takes for granted.

As Nyomarkay says:

Factions are by definition part of a larger group - that is, they partake of that "minimum of voluntary submission" which makes the group legitimate and enables it to survive. Thus, factions accept the sources of authority and the prevailing type of legitimacy (1967:36).

While it seems sensible to assume that there must be some agreement

in a social movement, it does not always seem to be the case that the agreement has to lie at the level of authority and legitimacy. It may be more accurate to see some movements, the SCM for example, as sublimating differences about just exactly that question - what are the sources of legitimate authority? - in order to collaborate on some specific aim or enterprise. As was argued in the analysis of the question of goal transformation, the Student Movement embodied from the start factions divided on the question of authority. The conservative evangelicals refused to accept that the Scripture should be supplemented by other sources; either the traditions of the church or the instrument of human reason. This could lead us to add another Cell to the typology; movements in which there are a number of different views on the number and availability of sources of legitimate authority.

Another difficulty for the theory would be provided by bodies such as the Church of England which have managed to subsume groups with very different conceptions about where they would fit into the Nyomarkay-Wallis typology. We find fundamentalists who accept only the scriptures, High Churchmen who accept scripture and the traditions of the Church and modernists who see man's reason as the legitimate source of authority to which scripture and tradition must be subjected. While there are periodic defections to more thoroughly Protestant organisations, to Rome or to humanism, the Anglican Church has survived without major schism since the time of Wesley. It could be with this sort of case in mind that Wallis limits the theory to what Zald and Ash characterise as

"exclusive" rather than inclusive organisations (1979:182). This is a distinction to which I shall return.

The Smelser-Wilson Model

The only other important theoretical contribution to the study of schism is an article by John Wilson in which he attempts to utilise the "value-added process" which Smelser developed for understanding the genesis of collective behaviour. As Smelser's theories have been dealt with at length in other works and here in Chapter One, there is no need to revise the value-added process. What concerns me here are the additional points and modifications made by Wilson. His most significant change is the dropping of one of the determinants: "generalised belief".

Schismatic groups do not withdraw on the basis of a generalised belief but do so on quite "rational grounds... This is not to say that there is no mobilising belief, only that the belief does not exhibit qualities different from the kinds of thinking current in the parent group, except of course for the substantive differences involved in the dispute (1971:5).

This seems to be a sensible modification. In schisms issues are often far clearer than they are in the formation of a social movement; one quite clearly identifiable group is usually arguing with another about particular issues. As an aside, I would add that the same can be said of the origins of many social movements and that the general Smelserian account of the rise of social movements would benefit from the same pruning.

Wilson is most specific that the type of "strain" involved in the

"value-added process" for schism is usually of the norm-value type. That is, the arguments at the root of a schism are generally about whether some new rules or activities are in conflict with some more abstract value held by the movement. Challenges are not presented directly to the values of the movement but are made initially at a more mundane level. There are a number of objections that can be made to this. The norm and value distinction is one which is fraught with conceptual difficulty. Wilson mentions various forms of ministry and worship as "norms" (1971:6). It could be argued as well (and is often held to be so by the actors involved in such disputes) that such arguments are about basic values. It could well be that Wilson is taking at its face value part of the rhetoric of schismatics which often identifies as the first failings of the apostate group, the introduction of new rules which go against the values that the movement was supposed to stand for. Given that changes in norms are usually expressions of changes in values, it makes sense to see the typical schismatic quarrel as being a "value-value" one. It makes even more sense to remain agnostic on the question. The question of strain is not the essential one in the Smelser-Wilson model. It is accepted that most social movements are characterised by a degree of "strain" at all times. The important questions concern the conditions under which those strains develop into splits and here we have the introduction of the other elements of the "value-added process".

Among elements of "structural conduciveness", Wilson lists the

opportunity for clique formation and a pragmatic view of the movement as an organisation. The first point seems to involve a return to the social differentiation idea of Niebuhr and others. Kinship ties are suggested as a common sort of conduciveness in that they separate one group from another and reinforce the links that bind individuals to each other rather than to the movement.

I argued in Chapter One that movements are not the result of a large number of isolated individuals reacting spontaneously to similar social stimuli. Movements spread along pre-existing social networks. Such networks are the stuff of movements. That they are also the stuff of factions is hardly surprising if we view the relationship between faction and parent movement as being analogous to that of movement and wider environment.

The other parts of the "value-added process" add little or nothing in that they amount to a declaration that something provoked the split, some one led it, and it happened because no-one stopped it.

The CICCUC split

If we revise the history of the withdrawal of the evangelicals from the Student Movement, we note various factors.

- (1) From the first there were "factions" within the movement but these were subdued by the active commitment of all parties to a shared goal.
- (2) The Cambridge students were less open to change than the

rest of the movement, because of the strength of their family, college, university and Christian Union traditions. This was bolstered by the oligarchic structure of the CICCUC.

- (3) As the Student Movement broadened more and more evangelical students became concerned about possible apostasy, as did more and more senior friends and influential evangelical leaders.
- (4) Students and influential evangelicals shared their fears and suspicions.
- (5) Each side's suspicions of the other increased and the evangelicals gradually withdrew from the activities of the Student Movement.
- (6) Everyone involved decided that separation was the best course.

This story suggests a number of points of sociological interest which are not dealt with by either the Nyomarkay-Wallis or the Smelser-Wilson models. Both those approaches concentrate on the internal workings of the schismatic process. The CICCUC split clearly involved the participation of a number of people outside the Student Movement who were influential in shaping opinion. Tatlow listened to the advice of senior friends in what was becoming the ecumenical milieu. The evangelicals took advice from their friends in the old evangelical milieu of Keswick and related enterprises. This sets the Student Movement off from those discussed by Wallis in that it was an "inclusive" movement, in Zald and Ash's term. As I made clear in Chapter Four, the Student Movement was heavily connected with the evangelical milieu. As it changed and broadened so it

created a new milieu, both in terms of generating a new ethos (the interdenominational position) and creating an array of organisational connections and entities to embody that ethos. Neither the main stream of the SCM nor the evangelical rump in the CICCU was independent; both were connected with, respectively, the ecumenical and the evangelical milieu. Thus to account for the CICCU split, it is not enough to look at the internal development of tension and hostility; we must also look at the way in which external relationships (the embodiment of Zald and Ash's "ebb and flow of sentiment") shaped the conflict.

A useful concept to introduce here is the idea of deviancy amplification. Developed by Wilkins and later used by sociologists such as Young (1971) and Ditton (1979), the notion is remarkably simple. A tentative act of deviance is recognised and reacted to by the public. This reaction distances the proto-deviant from "normal" society and thus further frees him from the norms of the society. This leaves him free to commit further acts of deviance which are recognised, reacted to and the process is set in motion. This could be called the model of "real" deviancy amplification in which it is supposed that there is a genuine increase in the amount of deviance. Ditton (1979:11) expands the model to include other variants in which there may be no "real" increase in deviance. Rather the initial "discovery" causes people (a) to reinterpret previous legitimate or ambiguous acts as "actually deviant"; (b) more actively to search for deviance of this type; and (c) more actively to report or collate

information about the acts of deviance. In these cases there is little or no change in the behaviour of the deviant; what changes is the attitude of those involved in the ascription of the label.

Both the "real" and the "constructed" models of deviancy amplification are relevant for the explanation of the CICCUC schism (and for the other splits from the SCM that followed). The early hostile reaction by some evangelicals promoted a heightened interest in the purity of the SCM which caused the evangelicals to hunt for "signs" and to be more ready to believe discrediting rumours. Being committed to looking for such signs, the evangelicals had little trouble in finding them. Wilder's contract negotiations, for example, provided such material. Tatlow and others in the SCM were always committed to keeping Wilder and went to great lengths to accommodate his increasingly frequent demands for leave (his health had never been good and as he got older he became increasingly frail). Yet the rumour that he was going to be "dropped" by Tatlow was a popular one. There was also a "real" increase in deviance on the part of the SCM. A growing awareness of the fact that the evangelicals were coming to view them as apostate caused some in the SCM to cease to try and placate the evangelicals. The increasing criticism rather than leading to a return to the paths of righteousness seems to have encouraged some liberals to want to abandon the evangelicals to their own devices.

A similar view to the deviancy amplification model was advanced in Lemert's discussion of Cameron's work on paranoia. Lemert made the

important point that paranoia had to be understood in a "context of exclusion" where communication between the paranoid and his source of fear is obstructed. It is clear that such an obstruction did develop in the relationships between SCM and CICCUC. There was physical avoidance. CICCUC students began to go to Keswick rather than to SCM summer conferences. Many students in Cambridge who would in any other university have been in the SCM branch did not join the CICCUC. But there was also a practise of ideological "closure". Once the seeds of doubt had been sown each side ceased to hear and understand the statements of the other side as if they were "normal" utterances about the world but instead took them to be indicative of the underlying ideology of the opponents¹. Indicative of this "closure" or "nihilation" as Berger and Luckmann call it (1971:132-133) is the "Puzzled" correspondence quoted above. Communication had degenerated to the point where "Puzzled" could take the fact that Tatlow answered his criticisms at length as proof that "there was something in it".

1 A "dialogue" between SCM and IVF leaders in 1950 provides an excellent example of "exclusion". The meeting was arranged at the insistence of SCM. A stenographer was employed to record the conversation and it is clear from that transcript that there was no understanding or reconciliation. The IVF General Committee decided to end the contacts and in reporting that decision to the SCM General Secretary, Douglas Johnson said: I do not think we ever got to explaining anything... Our people were too much on the defensive and negative, and yours (not realising that ours believed that yours believed almost nothing) were confirming that view by your difficulty that you did not want to tie yourselves to any one formula. The result was that both sides were being confirmed in their ideas of the wickedness of the others (8th March 1950).

It is here that we want to make explicit the first element of the relationship between the internal dynamics of the schism and the external environment. A vital part of the process of deviancy amplification is the development of derogatory stereotypes about one's opponents. Given that the SCM-CICCU controversy was simply one enactment of the great High Church-Low Church, Liberal-Conservative, Traditionalist-Modernist, debate, it is not surprising that some of the features of the derogatory stereotypes in this argument were culled from a history of controversy. As their fathers before them, the CICCU students could see themselves as the beleaguered "elect" and the SCM as the modern form of the tendency to court worldly fame and acceptance before spiritual purity. The SCM men could see themselves as the great reformers, stripping away the dross of a magical view of the scripture and returning the Church to its first undivided form.

The first main dimension for invidious comparison was built around a misuse of "intellectual" and "spiritual". The SCM was most frequently attacked for arid intellectualism; for neglecting the spiritual life in favour of study. Their bible studies were regarded by the evangelicals as being studies "about" the Bible rather than "of" it. The SCM members in turn saw the conservative evangelicals as untutored reciters of ill-understood shibboleths; sincere but blinkered. There was some truth in these characterisations. CICCU was certainly more "spiritual" than SCM and less concerned with an intellectual approach to their faith. But there was still spirituality in the SCM

as the account of the Baslow Conference in 1905 and Neville Talbot's account of a retreat with Tatlow, Oldham and others testify (Brabant 1949:40-41).

Nor was it the case that the evangelicals were totally devoid of learning. By artificially restricting the meaning of "intellectual" and "spiritual" both sides in the controversy made the label they gave themselves a compliment and the label attached to their antagonists, an insult.

The problem was compounded by a number of well-wishers who accepted these stereotypes and tried to promote a union of the two characteristics. Dons like Charles Raven who had sympathies with both sides advocated cooperation with the argument that each of these tendencies was, on its own, weak and that the union of intellectualism and devotion would be of benefit to both SCM and CICCU. And in so doing Raven simply confirmed and added to the credibility of the stereotypes and widened the gap between the two groups he was trying to reconcile.

The second element that was used in building derogatory stereotypes involved manipulation. The train of thought seems to be a general one that is not restricted to arguments between theologies. The premise is that the protagonist is self-evidently correct. This being the case it is clear that all others will agree with him. If they do not then it must be because some person or some force is manipulating them. This conceptualisation had particular appeal to the SCM

and CICCUC protagonists because it was in part correct. Those involved in the conflict were young students; they looked to the older and the wiser for counsel. Given that the counsellors were chosen because they exemplified one or other position, they were often more rigid in their views than the students were. The CICCUC preferred Manley to ES Woods. Although the latter held the living of Holy Trinity, he had objected to some of the recent trends in the SCM and would have been accounted by many to be "evangelical". Manley was more "positive".

The failure to appreciate the extent of genuine evangelicalism among the CICCUC was clearly displayed by Tatlow in the early exchanges of correspondence with Pelly and Rodgers. He believed that it was only the undemocratic system of appointing the Executive that kept CICCUC in the narrow Keswick mould. He assumed that the releasing of the traditionalist minority's hold would allow the CICCUC to develop along SCM lines. Pelly wrote in February of 1910 to Tatlow telling him that democratisation would have no effect in the short-term because most of the CICCUC members were as conservative as the Executive. Of course, this is not accidental. The executive were the leaders of influence; they invited speakers, organised Bible readings, and often conducted their college Bible studies. Thus their views were transmitted to the rest of the membership. Tatlow does not seem to have appreciated the extent to which the leaders' views had been diffused and accepted within the group. His notion of influence was a very mechanistic one (1933:383). In

commenting on the same controversy in Oxford in 1914 he said,

I believe that if about two dozen Evangelicals could be transported out of Oxford it would be greatly to the profit of that type of genuine Evangelicalism which you and I believe (Tatlow to Bardsley 14th October 1914).

The idea that the other side was being manipulated was shared by the evangelicals who thought the SCM to be "priest-ridden"; dominated by the Anglo-Catholic theologians that Tatlow was so assiduously cultivating. In his history, which presents a more balanced view of the controversy than contemporary publications, Barclay says:

At the same time a growing group of young University teachers became critical of the CICCUs narrowness and tried to persuade the leaders to broaden out. After a while, they began to discuss the possibility of creating a new SCM branch in Cambridge (1977:64).

This lays the initiative for the schism with the senior supporters of the Movement and implies that there was no strong student feeling in favour of broadening the CICCUs. Yet the Church Society had 600 members (at least half of whom were students) and the Non-conformist Union was of similar size. Edward Woods had a healthy congregation of non-CICCUs students. Even allowing for some students being in both the Church Society and CICCUs (which was unlikely), there must have been at least two or three hundred students of an "SCM type" who were not in the CICCUs. These students might well have joined the SCM branch in Cambridge had that branch not been the CICCUs. It is also clear from the correspondence of that period that the three "reforming" Presidents of the CICCUs were also keen on either broadening, or finding some

alternative to, the CICCUC. To make a number of senior friends of the Student Movement the dynamic force behind the schism is to neglect the very real dissatisfaction among students with the narrow evangelicalism of the CICCUC.

The manipulation theme reappears at other points in the history of the Student Movement. In the Edinburgh schism (see below) the conservatives were convinced that the liberal students were being manipulated by the sinister figure of Tom Torrance, a Barthian who had been important in the Union while a student and who had recently returned to Edinburgh as a member of the New College staff. Similarly, many SCM supporters remain convinced that senior members of the Brethren exerted untoward pressure on the policies of the evangelical Christian Unions.

The "critical mass" of factions

The seminal point of the Nyomarkay-Wallis theory is the view of legitimate authority as a resource for factions. Clearly vital in the calculations of faction leaders about the chances of success are estimations of the degree of legitimation that can be acquired. In an earlier paper (1979:22) Wallis mentions in passing the legitimation of success. Simply becoming large, establishing a visible and viable entity, confers legitimation on a movement. Why this should be the case is obvious from the vast body of research on the social construction and maintenance of reality. One evangelical student who finds that he does not appreciate the introduction of apologetics,

critical Bible study, and the discussion of social problems in the summer conference may be uncertain and lacking in confidence about his disquiet. Meeting two or three others who feel the same way will confirm and bolster his own views. We could expect that there is something analagous to the physical "critical mass" in terms of the percentage of people in a movement who oppose the dominant trends needed for factionalism to become schism. Naturally, it would be impossible to quantify that mass but that does not undermine the validity of the observation. Discerning the will of God is always a difficult enterprise, and finding that others have been guided in the same way gives one confidence in one's own conclusions. The analogy of "critical mass" seems appropriate because the relative strengths of the factions do not vary arithmetically but logarithmically. In the equations of social action, individual defections do not just have a value of plus or minus one. Ten individuals who find that they all agree on a certain course have a morale value considerably higher than ten times one because the very knowledge that there are a fair number of others who hear the same guidance from God gives an enormous boost to the energy of, and commitment to, the group.

Legitimators and the promotion of deviancy amplification

It is clear that no account of the CICCUC schism can be complete if it leaves out the role of senior friends and sponsors in promoting derogatory stereotypes and confirming the spiral of deviancy

amplification. This is not to accept the manipulationist views that both sides promoted. As I have said, the students chose their sponsors and their senior advisors because they exemplified those traditions that the students valued. Like most chicken and egg problems, the question of which came first - the views of the students or the views of the sponsors - is of little importance. If one has to assign causation, then it must be mutual causation. The CICCU members listened to Manley because he represented the tradition with which they identified; they identified with that tradition because they listened to Manley.

Summary

Zald and Ash talk of the "ebb and flow of sentiment" in society as being a vital factor in the career of social movements (1966). In Chapter One I argued that this "ebb and flow" is often mediated through sponsors or legitimators; people, or agencies, who are identified with, and who speak for, certain traditions. In considering the two main schema for understanding schism presently available I concluded that while the Nyomarkay-Wallis model was of use for the "exclusivist" movement, it was of less value for understanding schism in "inclusivist" movements for the simple reason that it assumed agreement within the movement on the location of legitimate authority; the very thing which seems to be in question in the CICCU controversy and which is variable in most "inclusivist" movements. The Smelser-Wilson model of the development of schism was rejected

for the same reasons that the Smelser theory of the origination of movements was rejected; taken at its most specific the "value-added process" is invalid and taken at its most general it tells us little or nothing.

The Cambridge schism can be usefully characterised in terms of a deviancy amplification spiral and Lemert's "dynamics of exclusion". Focus on the way in which the spiral grows brings the question of external influence into the analysis. Objective grounds for disquiet became the straw for schismatic bricks through the actions of external legitimators who convinced the protagonists that they were in the right. The support of influential sponsors was an important element in the growing conviction of both sides that their attitude was the right one. Also important for the minority CICCUC was the critical mass. The certainty that seventeen of the executive and a similar proportion of the membership would follow the injunction to "Be ye not yoked with unbelievers" was a vital factor in the move to disaffiliation.

The extent of generalisability of this account is open to argument. The emphasis on external support suggests that it is most appropriate for denominational or inclusivist rather than sectarian or exclusivist movements. In common with the remarks in Chapter One on origination, this account is not offered as a complete and exhaustive account of schism. It is presented in order to account for the actual process of recognition of schismatic intent. It does not deny the validity of accounts such as the Nyomarkay-Wallis theory which focus on

structural conditions. What it does is to introduce an interactionist focus which emphasises the connections between an "ebb and flow of sentiment" within the movement (the factions) and those who exemplify similar sentiments outside the movement. It thereby restores a balance neglected by those who look only at the movement in isolation.

CHAPTER SIX

SCM's RIVAL: THE FOUNDING OF THE INTER-VARSITY FELLOWSHIP

SCM's argument with the conservative evangelicals continued after the CICCUC withdrawal. In 1910 the Bible League asked the SVMU to join them in opposing the spread of Higher Criticism among missionaries¹. Tatlow and the executive tactfully refused on the grounds that it was really none of their business; they left it to the missionary societies to assess the soundness of their candidates. As if replying to the criticism of unsoundness, Tatlow pointed out that to his knowledge no Volunteer had ever been rejected by any society for having unorthodox beliefs.

The following year the secretary of the London Medical Students Committee told Tatlow:

What we want is more of the Robert Wilder theology... I don't know whether there has been an overdose of Oxford in the Movement, possibly that may be the trouble... Anyhow, the Committee want more of "the old stuff" and they want more younger speakers... A good many keen people of the evangelical way have said to me lately that they've taken younger friends up to Baslow to get them conversion hot; but the friends haven't had it, so "Next year, I'm going to Keswick" (Mosse to Tatlow 25th January 1912).

The discontent was spreading. The evangelical papers printed letters and articles questioning the soundness of the Movement. The CICCUC.

¹ The object of The Bible League was to "resist the attacks made upon the Scripture's inspiration, infallibility, and sole sufficiency as the Word of God" (from the letterhead). Listed amongst the vice-presidents we find Kinnaird, Webb-Peploe, Fox, WR Mowll (father of one of the CICCUC schismatics), Spurgeon, Griffith Thomas and Joseph Herbert Tritton; the very people who had assisted in the early years of the Movement.

invited Dr Torrey, an American evangelist who represented the conservative part of Moody's legacy, to Cambridge for a Mission that resulted in some hundred conversions (Barclay 1977:79) and further increased the division between the CICCUC and the rest of the Christians in the University. As the rest of the University, and the religious institutions of the country came to be dominated by liberalism and the "liberal evangelicalism" of men like Tatlow and Oldham so the CICCUC became more dogmatically conservative in reaction.

The CICCUC reacted to their minority position by publishing their manifesto: Old Paths in Perilous Times (CICCUC 1913). The introduction describes the disaffiliation as "an amicable agreement to differ and not a quarrelsome parting" but hints darkly at the sourness of relations in saying,

We have endeavoured as far as possible only to state those facts, the evidence of which is undeniable; this has therefore necessitated the elimination of many things which we firmly believed to be true but the accuracy of which could not be conclusively proved (1913:6).

The pamphlet set forth the story of the growing differences between the CICCUC and the SCM which included the perceptive observation that the changes in SCM "cannot be attributed to any particular individual, but rather to the collective influence of the whole society" (14). The fourth chapter was given to a brief account of the doctrines held by the CICCUC which included: the penal view of the atonement; the inerrancy of scripture; "unflinching" opposition to Sacerdotalism; the emptiness of much science and its inability to

"augment spiritual truth by one jot" (25); the existence of a personal devil; the uselessness of any form of social reform; the deity of Jesus Christ; and the value of mighty minorities.

The War and the return

The 1914 War broke on the universities while the students were on vacation. Like the rest of the country, the Student Movement leaders were totally unprepared; on the day that war was declared activities were being planned for the autumn term. By the time the term started many SCM groups had been reduced to two or three people. As public school boys, most of the SCM had been in the Officers Training Corp and were immediately offered commissions. Tatlow thinks that the volunteering rate of SCM members was about 10% higher than the norm (1933:513). This effectively put local SCM activities in abeyance for four years. Income collapsed and staff appointments were cancelled. Wilder took a year's leave of absence and the rest of the staff offered to accept a cut in salary. Tatlow arranged a guarantee fund backed by some of the Movement's wealthier patrons and John Mott produced some funds from the United States to help the SCM through the war.

The uncritical support that some church leaders gave the government and the war effort disturbed many SCM members. Although there were not many pacifists in the movement the students felt that the Churches ought to have something distinctive to say about the carnage. While willing to fight for their country they could not support the

jingoism and "Hun-hating" that reduced people whom the SCM had known and worked with in the World Student Christian Fellowship to an embodiment of savagery and evil. In addition to connections with Germans through the WSCF, many Presbyterian SCM members had studied in Germany before the War.

The small pacifist element in the movement was grouped around the Fellowship of Reconciliation that had been founded by Henry Hodgkin and others. The conscientious objectors were treated courteously by other students (this was true of the CICCU schismatics as well as the SCM) during the War and then with increasing respect in the post-war years when many others (including Tatlow) moved into increasing sympathy with pacifism.

When the students returned to the colleges it was with a faith either destroyed or reinforced. Some could no longer believe. Others, like Studdert-Kennedy and Ambrose Reeves¹ found it impossible not to believe. Those who had survived were now four years older and often had had four years of commanding men. Some travelling secretaries returned as Majors and Colonels. The general result was to produce a cadre of workers whose experience, age, dedication and self-confidence helped to rebuild in a few years an organisation as large and as healthy as it had been before the War.

The SCM leaders felt that there ought to be some message for the country. They had been concerned with the lack of leadership from

1 Biography of Reeves: J.S. Peart-Binns (1973).

the Churches during the War and with many others they felt that the National Mission of Repentance and Hope (although they had supported it) in 1916 fell short of its objectives. Tatlow called a pre-sessional meeting of staff and Committee members at Swanwick in the autumn and a Call to Battle was produced.

The world is at a crisis when we believe Christians must attack or fail.

Society has to be re-ordered.

Through Christ men have the power to do it.

The foundations of society are wrong, because the relations between men and man are wrong. We have failed to be Christians. Jesus told us to love one another, but as a plain matter of fact, we do not love one another. If we did, war would be at once condemned, and certain social conditions would not be tolerated (SCM 1919).

After this stirring beginning, The Call to Battle goes on to advocate unity among churches, dramatic change of a social system "which robs so many of their birthright of joy and freedom" and calls on readers to "search out the truth and in obedience to it take your side in the battle". Ten thousand copies of this declaration were sent out to students, clergy and other interested parties and it received a good deal of favourable attention in the religious press. Tatlow's skilful handling of finance had left the SCM with £3,000 as a starting fund. Lord McIay, who had given the Movement in Glasgow a hostel for girls, was persuaded by Tatlow and his daughter (who was on the General Committee) that secretaries were more important than further hostels. He gave £5,000. The staff was increased from seventeen to twenty-eight and, of the eleven new staff members, only one had come directly from college. This gave

SCM the numbers and the experience to make its presence felt again immediately.

It was not only the SCM that came back from the War fortified by older and more experienced leaders and members. The conservative evangelicals also returned to the colleges older and more convinced than ever that liberalism and modernism were departures from the only faith that could save. While their experience had convinced many SCM members that the social problems issue was a vital one, the conservatives' war experience had reinforced their view of the worthlessness of man's own efforts. As SCM planned to take up business where it had left off, the controversy with the evangelicals once again became an issue.

Cambridge 1919

One of the leading evangelicals at Cambridge after the War was Norman Grubb. He had Quaker grandparents and a father who was an Irish Anglican priest. His uncle was George Grubb, the well-known evangelist and his mother, though not wealthy, moved in the high society circles that centred round the Portman Square house of Lord Radstock. Grubb won a scholarship to Marlborough which he described as "bracing and healthy" but "definitely cold" (1969:21). The school provided morning and evening services of which Grubb remembers nothing. He was "challenged to Christ" by a neighbour.¹

¹ Major Gartside-Tippinge, brother-in-law of D.E. Hostie of the Cambridge Seven and the CIM.

His uncle was a great influence on his spiritual development. When Grubb had fallen in love with a girl who, though church-going, was not "serious", his uncle told him that he had to decide for the girl or for Christ.

Grubb had just won a scholarship to Sidney Sussex when war broke out. He enlisted, was commissioned, severely wounded in the knee, decorated with an MC. While recuperating in a Midlands hospital he met Gilbert Barclay, the brother of the SCM Treasurer, and through him Dorothy Barclay, a daughter of C.T. Studd¹. Dorothy began to match-make on her younger sister, Pauline's, behalf. Grubb wanted to know more of Studd and read the Heart of Africa; a missionary purpose began to form. As all the Barclays and Studds had been educated at Trinity, Grubb transferred to that college when he went to Cambridge to do his two-year degree in 1918².

At Trinity Grubb met Barclay Godfrey Buxton³, one of the great clan of Quaker-Anglican evangelicals. Buxton had been up for one year before the War in which he lost ten out of fifteen friends and a leg. He too was awarded the MC. Buxton's elder brother, Alfred, had gone to Africa with CT Studd and married one of his four daughters⁴. Neither Buxton nor Grubb were fit men. This was before the days of anti-biotics. Buxton, in particular was in severe

1 See Barclay and Buxton genealogies.

2 To ease the strain on universities, returning servicemen were offered a BA degree after only two rather than three years.

3 Barclay Godfrey Buxton was still alive at the time of writing and was consulted about this period in Cambridge.

4 Grubb (1942) wrote a biography of Alfred Buxton.

pain but this seemed only to strengthen his commitment to evangelicism. These two, with Clifford Martin, Murray Webb-Peploe¹ and Charles Bradshaw, Clarence Foster (the only conscientious objector) and R.P. Dick, rebuilt the CICCUC.

Charles Raven, who was the Cambridge spokesman for the liberal evangelical conscience, had always admired the enthusiasm of the CICCUC and he tried to reopen negotiations between them and the SCM with a view to cooperation between the two. A meeting was arranged between Dick and Grubb for the CICCUC and an SCM delegation led by the Secretary, Arthur "Rollo" Pelly². Dick and Grubb abandoned the discussions because the SCM delegation would not commit themselves to the centrality of "the atoning blood of Christ". They said it was an important part of their teaching but not a central one.

The schismatic influence of the CICCUC spread to Oxford through the agency of Noel Palmer. Palmer was a returned soldier who met the CICCUC men while recuperating in a field hospital on the Cambridge "backs". The Keswick Convention had restarted but there had not been enough time to organise a Cambridge students' camp. Mrs CT Studd, who for reasons of health stayed in Britain when her husband

1 His paternal grandfather was Prebendary Webb-Peploe and his mother's father was Hugh Price Hughes, another well-known Victorian evangelist.

2 The Pellys participated in the banking and evangelical world of the Barclays and Trittons, although they were not so numerous or wealthy. To sort one from another see the genealogy.

returned to Africa, had taken a house at Keswick for the Convention and some of the CICCUC and Noel Palmer were invited to make up a house party. The atmosphere was apparently depressed until a long prayer meeting one evening. "After an exhausting battle in prayer the meeting ended with a sense of triumph and an assurance of prayer answered" (Barclay 1977:84). Although it is not clear from the accounts exactly what the "status" of the experience was - Barclay says it was not a definable new "second-blessing" experience but the finding of a new confidence - Grubb certainly believed this to be the turning point for both the CICCUC and Noel Palmer. On his return to Wadham College, Palmer resigned the SCM secretaryship which he had held the previous term and began to arrange alternative prayer and bible study meetings. This group, styled the Oxford University Bible Union because the SCM group was still using the "OICCUC" name, grew slowly but steadily.

The CICCUC had been planning a mission when the SCM announced that it intended to sponsor a united mission in Cambridge in 1920. The CICCUC were invited to participate and refused. They later agreed on the condition that no joint declaration of faith be made or implied. A. Herbert Gray was the Nonconformist Missioner, Bishop Gore spoke for the Anglo-Catholics and Bishop Theodore Woods represented the liberal evangelicals. The CICCUC missioner was Barclay Fowell Buxton¹. It is indicative of the way in which the liberal and conservative evangelicals had grown apart that Theodore

¹ Barclay Godfrey Buxton wrote a biography of his father (1952).

Woods had himself been a member of C!CCU in his student days¹. He was at school with Douglas Thornton. He joined the SVMU after hearing George Grubb preach. An active worker in the Jesus Lane Sunday School and in Open Air missions while at Cambridge, Woods, like his brother Edward, Gairdner, Holland and others of his generation, had retained his personal piety but to it, added a dimension of social concern and an acceptance of an element of modernism. Twenty-five years after being an active member of C!CCU, Woods was no longer acceptable to the C!CCU.

The Mission was, as a whole, a great success. Attendances were high, there were many enquiries and a great deal of personal visitation. The C!CCU, however, did not come out of it well. Barclay Fowell Buxton, though well thought of, had been out of the country for a long time and he did not come off well in comparison with the other missionaries. There was the problem of competition; students who became interested by Buxton could then go and listen to the others and possibly find more reassuring teaching. The main benefit for the evangelicals came through the work of Dorothea Reader Harris in the women's colleges. She was a "definite" evangelical. Her father founded the Pentecostal Mission in Battersea in 1887, published the magazine Tongues of Fire and later founded the League of Prayer, an interdenominational union whose members were daily asked to pray for "the fullness of the Holy Spirit for all believers", "the revival of the churches" and "the spread of scriptural holiness throughout

1 E.S. Woods and F. Macnutt (1933).

the world" (undated pamphlet). Dorothea Reader Harris was a friend and later wife, of Barclay Godfrey Buxton, the second post-war president of CICCUC. She was successful in converting the President and Secretary of the Atheist's Society and in launching the Cambridge Women's Inter-Collegiate Christian Union (CWICCU) but her inflexible fundamentalism seems generally to have reinforced the negative view that the "SCM-ish" women had of conservative evangelicals¹.

The Oxford experiment

There were those in Oxford who, like Raven in Cambridge, thought that the enthusiasm of the evangelicals should be combined with the study work of the SCM. The Oxford Bible Union had grown steadily and in 1925 it agreed to join SCM as an autonomous "Devotional Union" within the Movement. This reconciliation was greeted by a rash of letters of outrage in the evangelical press. Elwin, the Oxford President, wrote to The Life of Faith justifying the decision and calling on other Unions (by which he meant CICCUC and the London Unions) to follow suit. Norman Grubb wrote a rejoinder in which he gave an account of the similar offer made in 1919 to the CICCUC and listed the CICCUC's reasons for refusing. No outright condemnation of the Oxford evangelicals was offered but the readers of The Life of Faith would have drawn the appropriate inference².

1 Information derived from letters written by Dorothy Steven, a student at Newnham, to her father. She later became Mrs Robert Mackie.

2 Life of Faith March and April 1925.

The alliance lasted just two years. The decision to go back into the SCM had not been unanimous and the increasing number of defections from other SCM groups and the growth of the Inter-Varsity Fellowship strengthened the position of the secessionists. In the Michaelmas Term of 1927 the Committee of the Oxford Devotional Union (as the OUBU/OICCU hybrid was known) decided to disaffiliate from SCM. A rearguard action by some members sympathetic to the Student Movement delayed the split but in 1928 seventeen leading members (including all the Committee) withdrew.

Adopting the old name of OICCU, which the SCM courteously allowed them to revive and assume, the society has grown steadily, and today is very much alive and extremely active. Its daily prayer meeting is attended by fifty or sixty men (OICCU circa 1930:14).

While the Oxford evangelicals were experimenting with the Devotional Union, the C!CCU was participating in one last Joint Mission. The missionaries on this occasion were Cyril Norwood for the Nonconformists and William Temple for the Anglicans; the C!CCU invited Stuart Holden. Holden was not the unanimous choice of the C!CCU. Although he was a Vice-President of the C!CCU and an established leader of the Keswick Convention, many thought him too worldly. Atkinson, influential with the C!CCU, was praying that Holden would not come. His prayers were answered. Holden fell ill. It was suggested that Willie Nicholson, a fiery Irish evangelist, who had been invited to spend a few days in Cambridge "warming" the C!CCU up for the Mission, should lead the Mission for the evangelicals. Barclay describes him as "extremely hard-hitting, blunt about sin and

hell, with a racy and not very cultured sense of humour" (1977:94).

At the introductory meeting of the Mission, Nicholson embarrassed Arthur Ramsey who, as President of the Union Society, was in the Chair, and most of the audience, by introducing himself with the date of his conversion and then working his way through the Apostles Creed saying explicitly what he believed in such a way as to suggest that the other missionaries might not. His style and utter fundamentalism polarised Cambridge. There were conversions to, and defections from, the CICCUC. It had the effect of putting an end to the attempts of men like Raven to bring the SCM and CICCUC together; after the Nicholson Mission, the SCM realised the pointlessness of further negotiation.

The Inter-Varsity conference

The birth and growth of the Inter-Varsity organisation is interesting for two noticeable features. The first is the way in which it replicated the early SCM and the other is the neatness (no other word is appropriate) with which it formalised and institutionalised its existence, moving, once the policy decision had been made, steadily from diffuse movement expressed in local groups to formal national organisation in a steady and almost studied manner.

In the 1870s and 80s Oxford and Cambridge students had held an annual conference which they had continued after they joined the SCM. This had been the scene for the reported suggestion of

opening membership to Unitarians in 1905 (Barclay 1977:64). In 1919 Norman Grubb decided to revive these meetings and invite conservative evangelicals from other universities to attend. The first conference was held in December at the headquarters of the Egypt General Mission in Drayton Park. This meeting was the location for the first public declaration from the Evangelical students. The Christian had in November (20th Nov 1919) published an article highly critical of the SCM on the front page. Called "Towards what?" it was an editorial comment on a recent SCM publication God and the Struggle for Existence which expounded Christ's teachings within a perspective drawn from the German "sitz im leben" school of criticism. The article also drew attention to the various changes in the SCM's basis, especially to that of 1913¹. The main offences in the revised version were the omission of any specific mention of the deity of Christ and the absence of words favoured by evangelicals such as "sin", "regeneration", "forgiveness" and "salvation". The tone of the book and the basis changes were enough for the writer to say that "it is very clearly evident that the Movement does not even stand where its earliest members stood".

This was followed by a series of letters (14th December 1919). The first from a Scottish Minister asked for patience with the SCM. The next from Colin Kerr, the Vicar of Norwood² called for more "definiteness" and vital Christianity. This drew a lengthy reply

1 See Ch. 7 pp 272-282.

2 Kerr's church was attended by many leading evangelicals including members of the Studd family.

from Edward Woods, who was then Chairman of SCM's General Committee, in which he argued the case for the value of translating the Christian concerns into a new language which students would understand. He defended one chapter in the book that had been particularly harshly dealt with:

Whatever the views of your paper about Evolution and Higher Criticism, these are, as a matter of fact, accepted as true by a vast majority of students and a large number of genuine Christians... It is not written to propagate Evolution of Higher Criticism, but to show students that even if they accept these views, Christianity is still true. The book is addressed, not to convinced believers, but to doubters (4th December 1919).

This correspondence was published while the evangelical students were meeting at Drayton Park and they there composed a reply to Woods' letter which duly appeared on the 18th December. They claimed that a number of students were going back to fundamentalist views. The letter, as well as advertising the existence of the conference, was essentially a manifesto of the students:

We are witnessing term by term in the Universities, through the preaching of Christ crucified and risen, such radical changes in the lives of men of various temperaments, abilities and types of thought as are evidence that this Gospel is still "the power of God unto Salvation" and that the blood of the Lord Jesus Christ is still the only remedy for the sin and evil in the human heart... We write this in our confident expectation of our Lord's Return for His people and desiring thereby "to give a reason of the hope that is in us with meekness and fear" fully realising our own short experience in His service (The Christian 13th December 1919).

The letter was signed by Barclay Godfrey Buxton and Murray Webb-Peploe, both of CICCUC, Noel Palmer and FAC Millard of Oxford, and KS Maurice Smith and IHC Balfour of the LIHCU (London

Inter-Hospital Christian Union).

The Conference and the "statement" in The Christian strengthened the resolve of the participants, the London students especially, and the local groups of evangelicals grew. The Conference was repeated in 1920 and 1921 and at the fourth meeting it was decided to make the gathering an annual event. An executive was appointed and a draft constitution planned on the basis of a document used by the London students. The Constitution, accepted in 1923, set out firstly the doctrinal basis, and then the structure of the Conference. The fundamentals of the faith were:

- (a) The divine inspiration and infallibility of Scripture as originally given, and its supreme authority in all matters of faith and conduct...
- (b) The Unity of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit in the Godhead...
- (c) The universal sinfulness and guilt of human nature since the Fall, rendering man subject to God's wrath and condemnation...
- (d) Redemption from guilt, penalty and power of sin only through the sacrificial death (as our representative and substitute) of Jesus Christ, the Incarnate Son of God...
- (e) The Resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead...
- (f) The necessity of the work of the Holy Spirit to make the Death of Christ effective to the individual sinner...
- (g) The indwelling and work of the Holy Spirit in the believer...
- (h) The expectation of the personal return of the Lord Jesus Christ.... (IVC MSS Constitution 1923/24).

IVC was to have an Advisory Committee of four, which lacked the power of veto and which replaced its own membership when a vacancy occurred. The first committee consisted of J. Stuart Holden, J. Russell Howden, A. Rendle Short, a leading Plymouth Brother from Bristol, and B. Colgrove. Policy-making was in the hands of a

General Committee which was to consist of two representatives from every University where there was a Society "that upheld the truths for which the Conference stood". The General Committee elected an Executive Committee at each Conference whose job was to plan the next one. All officials connected with the Conference had to sign the full basis; only those speakers "whose views are known to be in accordance with the truths stated in the constitution" were to be invited to speak; and the Conference was to refrain from organising any joint activity with any organisation not "substantially" in agreement with the IVC. Thus the Constitution reflected the experience of the schismatic evangelicals who saw the history of the SCM as involving a progressive drift away from the original basis of the movement. They deliberately sought to prevent this by stating specifically their beliefs and insisting that officials publicly accede to these values. As a last safeguard, the Constitution could only be changed with the agreement of three-quarters of the attending members at a Conference General Committee Meeting that had been announced at least two weeks before.

It is indicative both of the minority position of the evangelicals in the University world and of their insecurity in the face of SCM that the figure used, three-quarters, to prevent any real possibility of change, is higher than the one set by the CICCUC in the last century which was only two-thirds. The position of the evangelicals was still weak in relation to the SCM; the London students were divided about how to react to the SCM which many felt was constantly at

the ready to devour the schismatic Unions. A private discussion document of the London Inter-faculty Christian Unions shows the vacillation and disagreement. Some members condemned the LIFCU for inviting an SCM secretary to their inaugural meeting, a decision supported by Stuart Holden who thought it a valuable gesture of friendship. In December 1921, the LIFCU Executive passed a resolution condemning the IVC decision to invite an SCM representative to sit on the General Committee, but only by seven votes to four. The Vice-President refused to stand for re-election unless a specific policy on SCM was promoted. The Committee recommended total non-cooperation with the SCM. The President, though in agreement with the statement, did not feel it wise to adopt it officially.

G.T. Manley wrote a memorandum in which he argued that the direction of the SCM made an independent evangelical course necessary, and his opinion was influential. The "exclusive" policy was adopted and gradually became the standard for evangelical Christian Unions.

Buchman

Another source of perceived hostility for the evangelicals came from the work of Frank Buchman. Buchman was a young Lutheran minister who had had success with his first charge, a run-down inter-city mission, but after trouble with his board he had switched his energies to evangelism. He worked with Mott and Sherwood Eddy in their Chinese Campaign and with the YMCA as local secretary in Pennsylvania State University and Princeton which he left in obscure

circumstances, with some critics thinking he had been barred from the Campus after protests from students about his activities and supporters claiming that he had resigned. The most recent and detailed analysis (Belden 1976) concludes that the latter is nearer the truth. Buchman specialised in work with the rich and powerful, a tactic which Mott and Eddy had used in China. They thought that they could have a much greater effect if they concentrated on the country's leaders and hoped that their conversion would stimulate more interest than if they simply stumped around the country.

Buchman had worked on missions at Bryn Mawr, Yale, Harvard and Princeton and, on coming to England, aimed at Cambridge. He was initially welcomed by the CICCU. He claimed to have received a blessing at Keswick and constantly stated his faith in the whole Bible, the death of Christ and the Second Coming. He led a CICCU house-party and a weekend meeting (Barclay 1977:98) and made many friends but dissatisfaction with his teaching spread as it became clear that he was not basing his doctrine on the Bible so much as justifying it by experience. This of course is a tendency that is also found in evangelical Protestantism but it was in conflict with the CICCU insistence on the inspiration and authority of Scripture that had been developed in the controversy with the SCM. Buchman advocated using the "quiet times" for communing with one's inner self rather than for Bible reading and prayer and clearly thought the Four Absolutes to be a more potent message for non-believers than the Gospel.

Added to theological objections to Buchman were aesthetic misgivings. Critics felt that Buchman's dwelling on sexual deviations was unhealthy and they were even less enthusiastic about such matters being the subject of testimonials and group discussion. The evangelicals shared a similarly narrow view of sin to Buchman. Many biographies coyly allude to some sexual problem, usually masturbation, as an early source of fear that brought them to God. But where Buchman promoted group discussions the evangelicals preferred not to mention such things directly except in brusque "no-nonsense" talks such as generally formed one session at the annual camps for boys.

Some of the evangelicals saw a threat in the work of Buchman and opposed it, others accepted it. Among those who were impressed by Buchman were Geoffrey Webb-Peploe¹, of Cambridge and Ivor Beauchamp² at Oxford. A number of senior friends in Cambridge took an active dislike to Buchman and managed to reduce his influence with the C!CCU. He removed to Oxford where his work progressed thus giving his following the title of "The Oxford Groups" or "The Oxford Movement".

Our concern with Buchman here is with the effect his followers had on the growth of IVC. At this time he had not yet attracted the amount of public attention and scrutiny that he was later to find. It was only in evangelical circles that his teachings and methods were

1 Brother of Murray Webb-Peploe.

2 Son of Montagu Beauchamp of the Cambridge Seven.

well-known. IVC had been growing steadily and many thought the time had come when there should be a full-time travelling secretary to promote the movement in colleges which had not yet developed an evangelical union. A Brief History of the Inter-Varsity Fellowship of Evangelical Unions (IVFECU 1928/29) says;

Among other indications of healthy growth is the fact that the appointment of a General Conference Secretary was discussed, though for various reasons this suggestion was not found to be practicable (7).

The size of the Unions and the number now affiliated made the hiring of a full-time staff member an obvious move and the students had no reason to suppose that the finance could not be raised to support such a move. Douglas Johnson, then Secretary of the London contingent, led the opposition which was not to the post being created but to the man most likely to fill it. The obvious candidate for the job was the Conference secretary who had become a keen follower of Buchman; Johnson was a strong critic of Buchman and he and others refused to allow the Conference a full-time secretary while there was a chance that such a course would strengthen Buchman's influence. The Conference decided to postpone the question of a full-time secretary and elected Johnson to the unchanged post. Although Buchmanism retained the sympathies of some evangelical students and sympathisers, it had no serious or long-term influence on the development of the movement.

Douglas Johnson and the London University Arts Faculty evangelicals

This is an appropriate place to break the chronological flow in order to give an account of Douglas Johnson, the coordinator of the IVF. As is also true of Tatlow, it is a mistake to see Johnson as an ideological or inspirational leader of the movement. Both men were managers and exerted their influence through the management of their movements. Johnson came from a rural background. His father was an agricultural insurance broker. Johnson was set to follow Uppingham Grammar School with Emmanuel College but the year was 1919 and the colleges were choked with the soldiers returning to take up their careers and scholarships. Eton and the larger public schools were able to use their influence to keep their entry quotas but the smaller schools could do nothing except suggest that their pupils stayed at school for an extra year or two. Johnson went instead to London University. He was already a confirmed Christian and attended the first "freshers' squash" of the SCM group, expecting to hear a stirring address from the President and instead was asked to join a study group. The place of the next meeting was announced and the "squash" became a dance. Coming from a rural evangelical background, Johnson was a little surprised at this mixing of religious and social life. He and only one other signed up for Bible Study. About thirty signed up for International Study. The other would-be Bible student was a girl. A third evangelical was spotted saying grace at meals and a fourth was identified by his Crusaders' badge. This small group met for Bible study at the house of a sympathetic

local vicar. At the start of the second term the group, now numbering six, asked for the use of a room in the University for meetings. The Secretary and the Provost, both ex-SCM men, turned down the request.

Johnson heard of the existence of the London Inter-Faculty Christian Union and made contact. The London University Arts Faculty was then affiliated with Johnson as secretary. The status of this small group was raised with an ambitious bluff and help from one of the surviving Keswick speakers who had helped the SVMU thirty years before, Bishop Taylor Smith. Taylor Smith was asked by Johnson to address a meeting before he had a hall to hold it in. Having secured Taylor Smith Johnson approached the Provost who felt that the retired Chaplain-General of the Forces was sufficiently eminent to merit the Committee Room and the Provost as Chairman. The meeting was well attended and although they knew that the Provost was not in favour of another student religious society, Johnson and his friends still advertised the new Union at the end of the meeting and collected some forty members. Soon after becoming the Secretary of the Arts Faculty Union, Johnson was given the job of London Inter-Faculty Christian Union secretary. In 1922 the LIFCU had forty-two constituent Unions varying in strength from memberships of two to two hundred students.

Holding non-residential conferences in London, with all its distractions and problems of movement, was always difficult and Johnson was glad

to be able to have the 1926 IVC at High Leigh in Hertfordshire. This had been the property of Robert Barclay (Bank IV)¹. When he inherited it, Robert Leatham Barclay "sold" it to the First Conference Estate Co. for a sum far below its market value, most of which he received in shares in the First Conference Estate Co. The 1926 Inter-Varsity Conference attracted eighty-two evangelical students and the following year there were one hundred and ten. Many of the small Unions were having difficulty in gaining recognition from their Universities and were thus finding it hard to book rooms or advertise meetings even when held outside the grounds. This is very similar to the reaction that greeted the early SVMU and BCCU organisers and the girls who tried to start the Art Students' Christian Union. What had changed was the reason for the refusals. In the 1890s and early part of the twentieth century, the student leaders were rejected because either the College already provided for their religious needs and it was not the "place" of the students to organise themselves, or because the College did not want any sort of religious activity within its walls. The rebuff given to the IVC Unions was that there already was a student-run, popular, interdenominational association which was sufficient for the spiritual needs of the students.

1 This title is used to separate the various Robert Barclays. See genealogy in Appendix 1. Even the otherwise so reliable Ford K. Brown (1966) confuses Robert Barclay (Bank II) with his namesake, Robert Barclay of Bury Hill, who was an Anglican and more closely associated with Wilberforce than the Bank family.

A lack of cooperation from the staff and from influential religious leaders did not seriously hamper the spread of the schismatic evangelicalism, although it did slow it down. The growth of local Unions followed a fairly standard pattern. One or two students would become dissatisfied with their SCM group. They would discuss their fears and begin their own private Bible-readings and prayer meetings. The occasional sympathiser on the college staff or in a local ministry would offer support.

A kindly Professor promised us the use of his room, and the Registrar of the College gave the "Prayer Band" permission to meet there.

Thus far, we had imagined our position isolated. Our surprise and joy, then, were unbounded when, through the efforts of our leader, we discovered that our experience was only similar to that of students in many other universities. It was a tremendous encouragement and assurance to find others, called out in the same way... (IVFEU 1928/29:16).

CICCU students did some travelling in the colleges, spreading the word about the new movement, and the knowledge that they were not isolated gave conviction and confidence to the local groups of evangelicals. Hugh Gough, President of the Inter-Varsity Conference in 1928 and an ex-President of CICCU, did some touring and was greatly encouraged by what he saw of the progress of the schism. In some cases the work was spread by students moving from one college to another. Many of the London hospital Unions were started by ex-CICCU members. Support and encouragement was given by the supporters of the Keswick Convention. Discussion of the possibility of publishing up-to-date evangelical literature and

the foundation of a Conference Magazine (Inter-Varsity) were both indicative of the strength of the evangelical movement and further aids to its spread and consolidation. In April 1928, the Conference, which had progressed from being an ad hoc event into a regular gathering, changed itself into a permanent Fellowship of Evangelical Unions. From a base in one schismatic movement in Cambridge, the dissatisfaction with the SCM had grown into a fully-fledged national rival organisation.

A comparison of the growth of SCM and IVF

An obvious commonality in the history of these two organisations involves sponsors. The pre-history of both the SCM and the IVF has Robert Wilder, GT Manley, J. Stuart Holden, Taylor Smith and members of the Grubb, Studd, Buxton and Webb-Peploe families taking active parts. An obvious difference is in the time taken to establish the movement. The IVF growth, allowing for the interruption of the War, took some fourteen years while the SVMU established itself in four or five years. Both these observations can be explained with reference to the notions of milieu and network.

There are many reasons why the old Victorian evangelical milieu had decayed by 1910. The rise of modernism in theology, ecumenicalism in church relations, "collectivism" in public attitudes to social problems are all involved. The change in the nature and social composition of the Universities and Colleges is another factor. As religious affiliation became less important in personal relations, the

cohesiveness of family religious traditions was dissolved. Greater physical mobility and faster technological and social change added to the dissolution of the evangelical networks. The nature of philanthropy has changed and the professionalisation of business contributed to the disappearance of the amateur businessman with his extensive support of religious and philanthropic societies. Reading habits had changed. The number of religious papers and journals had decreased, as had their readership. "Secular" holidays had become popular and the appeal of the many conventions and conferences as legitimate combinations of relaxation and piety had been undermined. These and other factors meant that the milieu and network which had helped the SVMU rise so rapidly had been diminished and eroded. But it had not been destroyed. The Keswick Convention was still popular and evangelicalism was still the tendency of many Christians. The support base was still there and it was utilised by the evangelical students.

A second consideration involves the attitude of the evangelicals. They were essentially sectarian in their view of their faith. Concerned with purity and convinced that the "problem" with the SCM had been its inclusive nature and its refusal to maintain a strict basis, the schismatics were unwilling to engage in cooperative enterprises with other bodies who did not share the same basis. Although open condemnation of the SCM and other religious bodies was rare, the activities of the schismatic groups constantly challenged the faith and orthodoxy of other Christian bodies. The refusal to accept the

legitimacy of the SCM or other bodies effectively isolated the IVF from a number of potential sources of material and moral support.

In summary, the schismatic evangelical movement was slower to grow and spread than the first student movement had been because:

- (1) there was no longer the same amount of "generalised" evangelicalism in the environment,
- (2) a number of structural conditions that had strengthened the Victorian evangelical milieu and its network had changed, weakening the milieu and so reducing the resources available to the IVF, and,
- (3) the IVF had a narrower platform and a more sectarian attitude which further reduced the possibility of alliances and sponsorship and thus availability of resources.

As I shall argue below, although these conditions may seem "negative" for the progress of the movement in that they delayed the rise of the IVF, they had important consequences for the durability of the IVF. It had taken longer to arrive, but once established, it proved itself far more permanent.

CHAPTER SEVEN

GROWTH AND DECAY: THE COST OF "OPENNESS"

This chapter compresses a large part of the history of the SCM and seeks to lay the foundation for an explanation of the decline of the Student Christian Movement. A brief outline of the growth of the ecumenical movement is given which serves as the background for the understanding of the gradual erosion of identity of the SCM. It is the grand irony of this period that the inclusive nature of the SCM which allowed it to grow as rapidly as it did and which made possible the ecumenical movement also carried with it the seeds of destruction. The Movement grew out of one milieu and in transcending it laid the foundation for the formation of another, the ecumenical milieu. In the following sections long periods of the movement's history are compressed and material is selected in order to make clear both the external and internal roots of the movement's loss of purpose and identity.

The growth of the ecumenical milieu

One of the main consequences of the growth of a social movement may be the formation of a new milieu, a new set of alliances and interests. This is the case with the Student Movement. It was one of the most influential of those movements which had their base in the evangelical milieu and yet which transcended that culture. In so doing the SCM created a new ethos, expounded in the inter-denominational position which provided the basis for the various

attempts at ecumenical cooperation that characterised the 20th century. The interdenominational position was, of course, not the invention of the leaders of the SCM but they were instrumental in promoting an atmosphere in which such a policy could be developed and in then pursuing it once it had been formulated. While the YMCA and YWCA also played a major part in laying the foundations of the ecumenical milieu, the SCM, because of its base in the universities, was nearer to the channels of power and influence in the churches.

One of the main protagonists of ecumenicalism was John Randolph Mott. Mott, who had been converted by Kynaston Studd (Matthews 1934:43), was one of the full-time staff of the Colleges Department of the American YMCA, the equivalent of the SCM. He was responsible for the organisation of the Student Volunteer Missionary Union which by 1888 was showing signs of faltering in its growth. He first went abroad in 1891 to the conference of the World's YMCA in Amsterdam and began a series of tours of foreign countries that took him round the world and led to his founding YMCAs and student Christian Associations in places as diverse as Australia, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia. Mott was in favour of forming an international organisation for the Student Christian Associations along the lines of the World's YMCA and this was done at a meeting in Vadstena Castle on the 17th August 1895 with representatives from the SCM in Great Britain, Germany, the United States and Canada, Scandinavia and a Union of Christian Associations in Mission Lands.

Dr Karl Fries of Sweden was the chairman and Mott the General Secretary. The World's Student Christian Fellowship gave many future church leaders their first experience of contact with people from different churches.

It is instructive to digress briefly to mention the methods used by Mott, the success of whose work was built on painstaking preparation and attention to detail. If he was planning a mission to a new university or country he would first ask for copies of the Calendar and other documents giving the history of the institution, a list of its teachers and the courses offered. He would collect handbooks of student societies and ask for an analysis of the students "giving the number in different years or classes... religion... nationality... faculty" (Mott in Matthews 1934:198). Information was also collected from outside sources.

Ask two or three of the most discerning and experienced leaders or workers in each city which I am to visit to write me a somewhat extended memorandum covering such points as the temptations of the students; the attitude of different classes of students towards Jesus Christ, the Church and religion in general; the prevailing forms of doubt; influences adverse to the development and maintenance of genuine Christian life... The more frank and detailed these statements are, the better (Mott in Matthews 1934: 198).

This attention to detail and respect for the uniqueness of every mission and of every group to be approached was in sharp contrast to the popular stereotype of the brash Protestant evangelist. While talking to a Buddhist Mott challenged the man for failing to be an evangelical Buddhist. Mott believed that Buddhism had a "message for man" and that the Buddhists should be stirred into missionary work. He

thought that the Christian message was the only complete one but his principle was to try to first promote the indigenous good in the hope that the hearers would then realise that the Christian Faith was the complete answer. It was this approach that allowed him to be equally at home with the YMCA in Cornell and with an association of Russian Orthodox students in Moscow.

The interdenominational movements of the late 19th century were by and large lay movements. The work of men like Mott, Wilder (who rather surprisingly had the confidence of many High Church men) and the British student leaders brought church leaders into contact with each other through these movements. The first stage of the ecumenical movement was the bringing together of the missionary societies. There had been a succession of gatherings of missionary societies - New York and London in 1854, Liverpool 1860, London 1888 and 1878 and New York in 1900 - but these were essentially Protestant gatherings. As was shown above (Ch. 4) the World Missionary Conference meeting in Edinburgh in 1910 was a departure from these in that a deliberate effort was made to engage the High Church Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.

The executive committee organising the Conference asked Tatlow to join them in the hope that he would bring the Church men. Tatlow and Joe Oldham (still officially on the SCM staff as Missionary Secretary but acting as Secretary to the organising Committee) enlisted the help of Bishop Edward Talbot and Bishop Charles Gore who not only accepted places on the Commissions around which the

Conference work would be based but also signed a statement to the SPG commending the Conference and supporting the interdenominational position as a viable basis for working with Protestants.

The SPG participated although not without drawing the wrath of some of their supporters and from that point onwards the whole of the Anglican Communion was represented at ecumenical gatherings.

In method the Edinburgh Conference departed from the pattern of previous gatherings. It was a meeting for the study of problems rather than for proclamation (which would have been difficult given the divergent positions held by the participants on most matters).

The Conference appointed a continuation committee with Oldham as Secretary and Mott as Chairman. This committee perpetuated itself and became the International Missionary Council with the International Review of Missions as its publication.

The SCM not only brought the Anglo-Catholics into the ecumenical world but through the World Student Christian Fellowship and the travelling of Mott involved student leaders of the Greek, Armenian, Syriac and Coptic Churches, (many of whom became men of influence in their Churches) in the WSCF Conference in Constantinople in 1911.

The second major strand of the developing ecumenical milieu was the Faith and Order Conferences promoted by Bishop Brent of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States. Members of the Episcopalian Church Commission visited counterparts in the United Kingdom and after the interruption of the First World War, a similar

deputation visited Church and University leaders in Greece. Greek Orthodox leaders accepted an invitation to a conference as did the Church at Constantinople. While other Orthodox Churches were sympathetic the Roman Church was not. The Pope, while being personally very cordial repeated the classic Roman position which was that the Roman Catholic Church was quite willing to see the other churches in schism return to "the visible head of the Church". Such a return formed the only possible basis for cooperation.

In 1920 leaders from "about forty nations representing seventy autonomous Churches including all the great families or groups of Trinitarian Churches, except the Church of Rome" (F and O Pamphlet 33) met in Geneva. In the normal pattern of things, a continuation committee was appointed to arrange a full conference on Faith and Order. After many difficulties with the Orthodox, who felt that some Protestants were proselytising their members, a World Conference on Faith and Order met in Lausanne in 1927. Following the Edinburgh 1910 model commissions produced discussion documents on the differences in the Churches on such topics as "the nature of the Church" and "the Sacraments". Some radical participants felt that a plan for unity should be drawn up but most saw the main value of the meeting in the frank discussion of differences. After this Conference a large continuation committee led by Brent was appointed. In 1929 Brent died and was replaced by William Temple, by now Archbishop of York.

The third strand of the ecumenical milieu was the Life and Work conferences. Like the Faith and Order meetings, these were both international and ecumenical, gradually growing as the eastern churches were brought in. They differed from the Faith and Order gatherings in being concerned more with principles of practical application of Christian teaching than with points of Church organisation. The first Universal Christian Conference on Life and Work showed a clear division between pietists and activists. Theodore Woods talked about setting up "the Kingdom of God on earth" while the German Bishop Ihmels said "Nothing could be more mistaken... than to suppose that we mortal men have to build up God's kingdom in this world" (in Ehrenstrom 1967:546). The meeting was variously regarded as a great success, a great failure and the work of the devil but it added another strand to the network of inter-Church relationships.

This first Conference in Stockholm was regarded by many as a pioneering event but there had in fact already been a similar national conference in Britain the year before; the Conference on Christian Politics, Economics and Citizenship (COPEC). It had produced no continuing organisation (a rare thing!) but it "occupied the time and thought of many leaders in the Churches" (Ehrenstrom 1967:551) and was a minor triumph in having Roman Catholics on many of its Commissions. It is not surprising that COPEC was dominated by people with SCM connections. Temple was Chairman, Garvie, the Vice-Chairman, and Charles Raven was one of the secretaries. The

other secretary, Lucy Gardner, though not a university graduate, had a history of contact with Tatlow and the SCM. Hugh Martin, Mess and Spencer, all SCM staff, were involved and Tatlow adds: "I found the names of about five hundred people I had known in the Movement on the list of delegates" (1933:670).

The World Council of Churches was the result of uniting the various organisations that had come out of the Faith and Order, Life and Work and International Missionary Conferences. The proposal for its creation was accepted by church leaders in 1937 but once more war interrupted the organisational development and the official inauguration of the Council did not come until 1948. Temple was the first Chairman and Visser T'Hooft, a young Barthian who had been the General Secretary of the World Student Christian Fellowship became the first Secretary of the World Council of Churches. In addition to the World Council, there were a number of national councils. These formed the organisational focus of national ecumenical activity. Naturally, the ecumenical movement had its local existence through small-scale acts of cooperation between ministers and lay church activists in their own areas.

So far, the role of the Student Christian Movement in developing the facilities and opportunities for the growth of the ecumenical milieu has been outlined. The process was not unidirectional. Although Tatlow was committed to the promotion of unity among the Churches he was also keen to advance the Student Movement, as his careful wooing of the Anglo-Catholics demonstrated. The ecumenical milieu,

as it developed came to be the environment of the SCM in the same way in which the Victorian evangelical milieu had been the supporting culture of the early Movement. Ecumenism informed the ethos of the Movement and provided the Movement's resources through the forties and fifties. The speeches made at Conferences and the texts published by the SCM Press were produced by men such as Temple and Glover. The position of SCM staff members in the agencies of the ecumenical milieu demonstrates not only the degree to which SCM helped to create that milieu but also, reflexively, shows the way in which that milieu offered "career patterns" for the sort of religious bureaucrat and manager that SCM produced.

William Paton, expected by many to succeed Tatlow went instead to the Indian YMCA, from there to the newly formed Indian National Council of Churches and finally to the International Missionary Council. Robert Mackie, who did succeed Tatlow as General Secretary (1929-38) went on to be General Secretary of the World's Student Christian Federation (WSCF) and later Assistant General Secretary of the World Council of Churches (WCC). Alan Booth, General Secretary of SCM from 1944 to 1957 was later Director of Christian Aid. Lee-Woolf was General Secretary of the SCM, the Christian Education Movement and the Executive Secretary of Christian Aid. Many other members of the SCM staff followed similar career patterns.

Diversification

An arresting feature of the development of the Student Christian Movement was its gradual loss of control over various enterprises it had originated. In this chapter the process of expansion and then fragmentation will be examined in some detail.

SCM Press

The SCM Press began life as the publishing department of the Movement. It was given its formal independence by Tatlow in preparation for his own departure. Hugh Martin had run the publishing side of the Movement very successfully since 1914. Tatlow feared that Martin would resign when a younger generation took over the Movement. His solution was to launch the SCM Press as a limited liability company along similar lines to the First Conference Estate Co.. Friends and patrons of the Movement were asked to provide the capital in the form of Preference shares with a dividend limited to 5% while SCM kept all the Ordinary shares. The existing stock was given to the new company for three thousand Ordinary £1 shares and a board of twelve directors was appointed. Martin stayed as Managing Director and Tatlow became Chairman of the Board. In this way the publishing work was safeguarded against possibly erratic changes of future policy. The Press was successful, combining short easily accessible works for a general Christian readership with lengthy works of serious theology. Barth, Bultmann, Niebuhr and Tillich were all published by SCM Press, which made

money for the Movement and kept the name in the public eye. The cost of this was the possibility of a lack of responsiveness to the needs of the Movement. Commercial and market considerations were of first importance and the apparent harmony between what the Press published and what the Movement thought in the forties and fifties was in very large part coincidental. The Movement and its supportive ecumenical milieu represented a powerful and popular section of the Christian book-buying public and so its interests were served indirectly as the Press followed commercial considerations. Had the Movement wished to follow a different set of policies then it would have had to get its material published elsewhere¹. This indeed became the case in the sixties when any natural harmony of thought between the students in the Movement and those who ran the Press had gone. Material for the Movement was published by the Movement and the officers of the Press had no more regard for the Movement than stock companies normally have for their shareholders.

The story of the Press presents the moral of the dilemma of movement organisation. Tatlow was committed to making the Movement responsive to the student members and he was probably better at that than many other full-time directors of "democracies". He was also committed to efficiency. His position was more precarious than most

1 Indicative of this separation is the suggestion of the Managing Editor in 1951 that the name of the Press be changed to remove the association with the Movement (Minutes of SCM Press Directors policy meeting 1951).

movement leaders in that, while other movements may at times in their careers show a rapid turnover of membership, the SCM had a guaranteed three-year rotation of membership and an ideology which, in believing that the truths of the Christian Faith had to be presented in terms of the interests of modern man, also sought out change. With an ever-changing membership and concerns, the Movement's financially important undertakings had to be safeguarded. This was done by giving them a measure of autonomy. Removed from the centre of the Movement the quasi-independent undertakings became responsive to considerations other than the service of the Movement. During Tatlow's career with SCM, problems rarely arose because he himself retained control of the various limbs of the Movement¹. Although later General Secretaries did to some degree coordinate the undertakings the problems of fragmentation increased.

The First Conference Estate Co. Ltd.

The First Conference Estate Co. Ltd. had a similar history to that of the Press. It had been launched by Tatlow to provide the Movement with a centre for its annual conferences. The shares in the company were bought, more out of loyalty than hope of profit, in small lots by ex-SCM members and patrons of the Movement.

1 This is not to suggest that Tatlow confined the Movement. In terms of policy he was always very flexible and was often called on by students or the youngest generation in SCM to radicalise the generation between the students and himself. For example, we find him offering to help Booth and Grier in persuading Martin, the Editor of SCM Press, to accept radical suggestions for his successor and for new directions in publishing (Tatlow to Booth 1942).

SCM, by virtue of its management shares had the right to nominate two fifths of the Directors. The only large block of shares was held by the Crossley family. Sir William Crossley was a patron of SCM and Erskine Crossley was first Secretary and then Managing Director of the Swanwick Centre. From the first there was conflict between Tatlow and Crossley with Tatlow trying to have Crossley sacked, in part because Tatlow thought him a poor manager but also because Crossley was not giving the Movement the preferential treatment that as founder, Tatlow believed it deserved. The problem was resolved when Crossley volunteered in 1914 (he was wounded and never returned). Tatlow first formally and later while no longer actually manager, informally, ran Swanwick until his departure from the Movement.

FCE expanded in 1922 with the addition of High Leigh at Hoddesdon. This was one of the family houses of the Barclays and was given to the company in return for a large number of shares in the company. There had long been a need for a centre smaller than Swanwick and nearer to London. FCE served the Movement until the late fifties when for reasons discussed below, the SCM could no longer attract sufficient numbers to its annual conferences to make it a major user. Other religious bodies, missionary societies, and in particular the Inter-Varsity Fellowship displaced SCM as the main clients of the FCE. During the secretaryship of Alan Booth (1944-51), it was feared that speculators were trying to gain control of the company by buying up the small lots of stock. Both SCM and IVF acquired

as much of the available share capital as they could to prevent such an occurrence. In recognition of the declining SCM involvement, Booth tried to get other societies involved in the management and ownership of the company, a move that included inviting Oliver Barclay, as an IVF staff member and as a Barclay, onto the Board. In 1968, the share capital was reorganised with all shares being put on a par and the special management shares of SCM being changed into Ordinary shares.

While SCM's use of the FCE facilities was declining, IVF's use increased. There does not seem to have been any attempt by the FCE to develop some alternative smaller facilities which would have been of value to the SCM; rather SCM was simply moved out of control. SCM did not object to the reorganisation of shares for two reasons. It accepted that it no longer had any superior claim on the company it had founded and it accepted the argument of Darke, the Secretary of FCE, that it could still exert influence, if it wished, through its large number of ordinary shares. Thus a company that had been founded by the Movement to provide facilities for the Movement gradually developed as an independent entity ironically providing conference facilities for the Inter-Varsity Fellowship.

SCM work in schools

Like the publishing department of the Movement and the First Conference Estate Company Ltd., the SCM work in schools

demonstrates a similar career in relation to the main body of the Movement. Started to cultivate a proto-membership for the Movement among school children, the work for a period achieved that end but then developed in an alternative direction and eventually separated from the SCM altogether.

I have already outlined the way in which the Childrens Special Service Mission (CSSM) and the Universities Camps for Boys of Public and Private Schools (UCBPPS) promoted the Student Movement. The Student leaders were well aware of the value of their involvement in work with schoolchildren and as early as 1898 we find Douglas Thornton suggesting in a BCCU Executive meeting that BCCU should enter the field before it became overrun. Thornton believed the SPG to be planning the introduction of some sort of schools' society. In this instance he was wrong and the Executive decided not to launch any new work but to continue to cultivate the CSSM and UCBPPS.

After the War both the CSSM and the UCBPPS declined. In 1918 there was only one camp. The CSSM suffered some damage to its popularity when Bishop (one of the founders) published Evolution Criticised. He claimed to demonstrate that there "is no verifiable evidence to undermine the story of creation as given in Genesis" (Sitters 1923:103). The book was not well received in a climate where even some evangelicals tended to accept Darwin. In 1919 the SCM formed a committee to consider the question of work in

schools. An informal conference of the SCM, UCBPPS, the Free Church Camps (an organisation started by Frank Lenwood in imitation of the Anglican UCBPPS), Canon David of Rugby and W.W. Vaughan of Wellington met. Among the resolutions passed was one calling for cooperation along such lines "as might prepare (schoolchildren) for ultimate participation in the life and activities of such a movement as the Student Christian Movement" (UCBPPS MSS c.1919).

A Joint Committee was formed (The Schools Camps and Conferences Committee) and camps were restarted in 1921. The work was not given the attention it required, did not prosper and in the following April, the General Committee of the SCM decided that it had to take sole control and responsibility for school work. The Schools Camps and Conferences Committee turned itself into the Schools Department of the SCM. UCBPPS, by now dormant, handed over its assets of £150 and some camping equipment to the Student Movement.

Initially the activities of the Schools Department were limited to arranging "muscular" camps and conferences for the holidays but from time to time Headmasters had requested the SCM to start a regular society for their pupils. The SCM was concerned about the effects of secularisation on the changing membership of Universities. Not only were most of the new Universities and Colleges established on a secular basis but many of their entrants were coming from modern secondary schools which made no serious provision for religious preparation or activity. The Movement used this account

to remind the Headmasters of the public schools with chapels of their fortunate position and, from them, raised the funds to start the Schoolboys Christian Association.

The Association was not a remarkable success. The diary of ECW Rudge, Schools Secretary from 1937 to 1942, gives a very detailed picture of the disappointments of his touring. He did visit some grammar schools but in the main worked on the public schools. Like other SCM travelling secretaries his main aim was to persuade boys to come to the summer conferences where the value and ethos of the Movement could be experienced. The reception he received from Headmasters varied. One Head was an ex-SCM staff man who not only agreed to promote the summer camps but also gave the young Rudge advice. Some Heads refused to let him address the boys, feeling that "camps were overdone" (Rudge MSS). One man wanted to know if "Willis' house parties were at all Buchmanite; reassured him on this point". Rudge's diary shows that of 58 schools visited, three were hostile, nineteen were polite, fifteen were keen, and the remaining twenty-one were neutral.

What made schools' work both more urgent and more difficult was the increasing competition from the evangelicals. By the late thirties, the UCBPPS had been restarted on evangelical lines and the Crusaders and Scripture Unions were more popular than ever. On a number of occasions, Rudge found that he had difficulty getting a meeting with the boys because there were staff at the school who ran Crusader and SU groups or because the staff had

been approached by these groups and felt themselves harassed.

Even with competition from the evangelicals, the SCM Schools Department expanded although at nothing like the rate at which their market, the secondary schools, did. In 1951-52 some 100 conferences were arranged and attended by about 16,000 fifth and sixth form pupils. There was, however, an important shift in the nature of the work:

In January of this year (1952) a commission of head teachers and others met to examine the methods used... Whatever comes of this enquiry the work of SCM in Schools meets with the growing support of local education authorities (Annual Report 1951-52:16).

With its staff of six, the SCM in Schools was in no position to make dramatic inroads into the schools. They gradually developed a new role; that of providing facilities for teachers of religious education sympathetic to the thinking of the SCM. Study programmes, ideas for discussions and the occasional conference for teachers replaced the original goal of promoting fellowship among the school children. This change of direction promoted education authority interest; the SCM in Schools was providing them with the resources to fulfil their statutory obligation to provide religious education. The interest of education authorities, and their financial support, then confirmed the new direction. Rather than promoting an organisation and a particular spirit, to be experienced at summer camps, the SCM in Schools now communicated, indirectly through the teachers, a particular ethos.

Comparison with the relationship between the evangelical IVF and the Scripture Union points us to the actual root of the problem. The SU is independent of IVF and does not publicly commit itself to promoting IVF but many SU group leaders are ex-IVF members and there is a complex, informal, but efficient system of contacts that brings SU members going up to university into the IVF (Bruce 1976). Many religious studies teachers who used the SCM in Schools material were ex-SCM members and yet the SCM in Schools work did not perform the recruitment function for SCM anywhere near as well as the SU did for IVF. The difference between the two cases lies in the relationship between the teaching of the organisation and its organisational entity. IVF was, and is, the only student organisation which stands for traditional evangelicalism. Thus membership of it follows almost automatically from an acceptance of evangelical beliefs. Evangelicalism is a comparatively unchanged system of belief (although contrary to the view of some evangelicals it does change). There is thus less room for inter-generational conflict between evangelicals than there is with Christians who are committed to a belief that expressions and understandings of the faith can and should change. Not only is there more room for inter-generational conflict in SCM circles; with its more inclusive policy there was always less homogeneity within any generation of SCM members. When one adds to that a similar broadness in the sort of material that was prepared by the SCM in Schools one can see the reasons why the SCM school work did not create a ready market for SCM membership. The SU work was designed to narrow horizons and

IVF was the organisational expression for students of the belief so produced. The SCM in Schools work was designed to broaden horizons and, while the Student Movement in the universities was rooted in a similar commitment to openness, the "fit" between the two was far too loose for the former to act as a promoter of the latter. There were too many options open to schoolchildren who were "products" of SCM in School activity. Thus the apparent paradox that the SU, an independent entity, did more for the IVF than SCM in Schools did for its own parent organisation, can be explained.

By the early sixties, the SCM in Schools had ceased to have any strong connections with the SCM. The name was shared and ex-SCM staff were to be found working for SCM in Schools (but no more often than with the case of the British Council of Churches, Christian Aid, or any of the other ecumenical organisations).

Other agencies, the YMCA, the British and Foreign Missionary Society, the Congregationalist Missionary Society, all had school secretaries. As a first step towards a streamlining, the SCM in Schools merged with the Institute of Christian Education¹. The new entity was formally inaugurated at Westminster Abbey in January of 1965 and called the Christian Education Movement. As if to symbolise the generation gap, the first General Secretary of the CEM was Phillip Lee-Woolf who had been General Secretary of

1 The Institute of Christian Education was itself a product of the SCM.

SCM from 1951 to 1958. Thus another arm of the SCM, originally launched to provide a particular service for the movement, followed a pattern of goal transformation.

Ex-members of the Movement

From the date of the graduation of the first Volunteers we find groups of students forming organisations to keep in touch and to preserve both the reality and the memory of the close fellowship that had marked their student days. These sort of unions were common in evangelical history because of the shared belief in the value of prayer and the value of praying for each other's activities. Some groups circulated "prayer letters" giving some history of members' pursuits and asking for prayer support. Other groups held regular meetings. One such body for ex-members of the Student Movement was the Manchester University Past Students Christian Union. For some ten years before 1911 the General Committee of the SCM had turned down requests to form a national Union for ex-members. They were reluctant to support such a move because they felt that it would be seen by the Churches as a threat, drawing away people who would otherwise be active in their church fellowships (Tatlow 1933:727-9).

Two things persuaded the General Committee to change its attitude. The Movement had never been self-supporting (nor was IVF) and had to look outside its own membership for resources. It was felt that those who had benefited from the SCM should take a part in

supporting it once they were in a position to do so. A Union of ex-members could channel the loyalty of "gone-down" students. Another consideration was the awareness that a lot of ex-SCM members were not becoming actively involved in their churches, possibly because they found them narrow after the Movement. A sub-committee was appointed to draw up a constitution and in April 1912 the General Committee created "The Auxiliary of the Student Movement of Great Britain and Ireland" with the declared aims of uniting "in a fellowship of intercession and giving former members of the Student Christian Movement" and assisting members "to pass into active service in the Christian Church" (Tatlow 1933:728). Membership was confined to those who had been students and taken part in SCM activities or had been in sympathy with its aims, and who were members of a branch of the Christian Church. Members undertook to fulfil their obligation to the branch of the Church of which they were members, to pray for the Movement using the Terminal Intercession Paper, and to read the Student Movement and the Annual Report.

The Auxiliary grew slowly to 527 members by 1914. At first its only activity was an annual meeting in London but soon small local groups began to arrange regional conferences. 1918 saw the Auxiliary's first major event: a conference on "Students and the Church". Theodore Woods, DS Cairns, Frank Lenwood, Maltby and Father Frere addressed the meeting on the problems of keeping young people interested in the work of the Churches. In the spirit

of SCM's policy, they all agreed that the need was for more united action rather than the formation of separate denominational groups. In response the Anglican Fellowship (a body of ex-SCM Anglicans formed by Tatlow and Talbot essentially to win over leading Anglicans to the support of SCM) and the Free Church Fellowship (which operated in a similar way in the Free Churches) promoted local interdenominational events.

In common with the general growth in inclusiveness in the SCM, the General Committee and the Auxiliary Committee agreed to widen the membership of the Auxiliary to bring in those who had not been SCM members at University. To promote the Auxiliary, a full-time secretary was appointed. By 1919 membership had grown to almost fifteen hundred. The second Auxiliary Conference, at Swanwick in 1921, demonstrated a further widening of the organisation. The theme of the conference - Revolutionary Christianity - followed the increasing interest in the social dimension of the faith, and was jointly planned with two other bodies: the Order of the Kingdom (composed of some Labour leaders and ex-SCM staff) and the Norwood Group (made up of members of the YMCA, the Brotherhood Movement and the Adult School Movement). This conference resolved that the Auxiliary membership should be open to all those who shared its aims (and not as previously, just those who shared the SCM's aims). It also, however, affirmed its loyalty to the Student Movement and demonstrated it by collecting £122 for the SCM.

In 1922 the Auxiliary was further expanded with the absorption of the Teachers Christian Union. In the new constitution the following self-description occurs:

The Auxiliary Movement believes in the coming in this world of the Kingdom proclaimed by Jesus, in the absolute worth of the individual as set forth by Him, and in the coming of the Kingdom by way of fellowship. It therefore seeks to bring people together in fellowship groups, without limitation or exclusiveness, to seek his kingdom (Tatlow 1933:741).

The proposed relationship with the SCM was set forth in the following way:

The Auxiliary Movement shall maintain a close association with the Student Christian Movement, whose ideals it shares, and shall undertake the responsibility of securing for it a due measure of support, financial and otherwise (Tatlow 1933:741).

The SCM continued to look after the Auxiliary accounts and a small joint committee met occasionally to discuss matters of interest to the Auxiliary and the SCM.

Both the changes in the Auxiliary and the changes in the interests of the students led to increasing conflict between the two. The Auxiliary was unhappy about the small percentage of ex-SCM members actually joining it. The SCM was unhappy about having responsibility for the Auxiliary without having control of it.

The result of an investigation by another sub-committee was a proposal for greater autonomy for the AM. It was to assume full control of its finances and activities. The terms of the agreed protocol were that four pages of The Student Movement were to be edited by the Auxiliary, that every AM member should receive a

free copy and that SCM be free to approach AM members for money during Finance Week. SCM agreed to write to every SCM member leaving college drawing the AM to their notice and to have their travelling secretaries bring AM to the notice of the same people.

The General Committee was divided on the proposed changes. Some of the younger secretaries wanted the Auxiliary to promote a way of life along the rule-ordered lines of the Community of the Resurrection. Other members of the Committee were still concerned about giving greater autonomy to the Auxiliary and thus creating something which might be seen as competition for the Churches. In the end, the General Committee did not have the heart to argue with the Auxiliary. The new constitution was ratified and Zoe Fairfield left the SCM to become the first full-time General Secretary of the Auxiliary.

Exactly what became of the Auxiliary between 1933, when it had a membership of three thousand, and 1951, is not clear. By 1951 the membership had fallen to less than two thousand. Alan Booth, then SCM General Secretary, was involved in negotiations for the British Council of Churches to take over the Auxiliary as an ecumenical support fellowship. Lee-Woolf, who succeeded Booth after the deal was arranged, expected the BCC to finance staff to service and promote the fellowship but such promotion was not forthcoming and the Fellowship ceased to be active.

A brief review of the story of the Auxiliary shows the now familiar

pattern of something created to support and promote the SCM gradually becoming autonomous and distanced from the Movement. Linked with the Auxiliary is the category of "senior friends". There is no need to reiterate the importance of the patrons of the Movement who provided finance, guidance and encouragement for the SCM. Without them the Movement could never have come into being or remained in being as long as it did. In the text the term has been used to designate those who helped the Movement without actually being either student members or members of staff. As the Movement aged this group came to include many ex-staff members. While the senior friends were a constant source of support, they had the potential to damage the Movement fundamentally by withdrawing their support en masse. There is a possessiveness about human action that convinces us all that what we did was clearly far better than what was done by others. Many SCM staff members gave years of almost unpaid work to the Movement and they were jealous of their creation. A theme that occurred in many of my conversations with old SCM staff members was the conviction that the Movement was at its peak when the speaker was running things and had gone down hill since. That the SCM managed to change as much as it did through the decades up to the sixties with so little disruption and open conflict with senior friends is testimony both to the open and fair-mindedness fostered by the Movement and to the widespread failure to recognise the enormity of changes that were occurring within the Movement. The possibility of conflict was, however, always there needing only the right condition to produce it.

The "Aims and Basis" changes

From the standpoint of sociological analysis, it would be very convenient and neat if the changes in the theological basis and rigours of membership in the SCM could be viewed as a direct shift from exclusive to inclusive organisation; from the sect-type to the denomination-type¹. In part the changes in the SCM can be seen in those terms but such a view glosses over important distinctions. The first qualification involves remembering that the Movement, unlike most agencies analysed in terms of sects and denominations, was never more than a partial expression of the member's faith. It was always expected that the member would also participate in the activities of other religious organisations. Thus even when the Movement was largely evangelical, it could never be sectarian in the sense of utilising an exclusive membership principle. The Movement was one part of a milieu which was characterised by a sectarian attitude towards the beliefs that gave it its purpose. It was somewhat sectarian in the sense Wallis uses the term - to describe an attitude to the status of one's beliefs vis-a-vis those of others. But it was never exclusive in terms of requiring its members to limit their connections with alternative organisations.

The second qualification required is an awareness of the problem of assuming a high degree of homogeneity in most social and religious

1 This is the almost classical view of the accommodation of sects to the world as the second generation of members grow into the sect without the enthusiasm of the first generation, derived from Niebuhr and Troeltsch.

movements. This problem has already been detailed. As will become clear in the following passages there was never unanimity in the Student Movement about either its theological position or about restricting membership with theological tests. In the period that the outsider might classify as exclusive there were already those who argued an inclusive case and well into the twenties, when SCM was thought by the schismatic evangelicals to be beyond redemption, there were still those arguing for a narrow doctrinal statement to be used as a device for excluding "error".

What can be seen is the relative popularity of the two positions changing over the period from the formation of the Movement to the 1920s.

The First Position - 1895¹

The first written basis of the Movement was a declaration of "A belief in Jesus Christ, God the Son and only Saviour of the World". Tatlow tells us (1933:66) that the wording "God the Son" was deliberately chosen in preference to "Son of God" because of its clear statement of the divinity of Christ and its implicit trinitarianism. Thus we have a regular evangelical doctrinal statement ("only Saviour of the World") which at the same time reasserts Christ's divinity and the doctrine of the Trinity. Unions that were already

1 The information in this section is based on examination of reports and memoranda, filed usually under "Aim and Basis" or "Constitution" in chronological order in the Archives.

affiliated before this basis was agreed upon were not required but advised to accept. Those subsequently affiliated had to print it in their rules.

From the first there was confusion about the status of this statement. Nottingham Christian Union asked the General Committee whether this was a personal test. The Committee replied that the Christian Union as a whole had to assent to it to join the BCCU but that individual members of the Nottingham Christian Union did not have to accept it as a personal creed. This answer was clearly logically unsatisfying. Other Christian Unions challenged this particular statement as a basis. The intention of wooing the Anglican Theological Colleges forced the BCCU to reconsider its theological basis and the proposed amalgamation of the SVMU and BCCU gave the Movement the opportunity to do so.

A General Committee meeting in April 1899 was opened by Temple Gairdner in the chair giving his view of the original purpose of the basis. He believed that it had been intended when introduced to be an exclusive test. He offered the Committee two alternatives. Either the whole affiliated Union had to accept the basis, individually, or the basis applied only to the Union generally with the expectation that the leaders would personally accept it. The former position was that argued by those who were worried that the failure to have a test would lead to a loss of identity, purpose and doctrinal soundness. On the other side were those who saw the Movement's task as bringing students "young in the faith" to the

position where they could accept the personal basis. They did not want to exclude these "seekers". The meeting was lengthy and it was clear that there was no common ground between these two positions. A solution was proposed by Tatlow. His diplomatic method for supporting the inclusive position without seeming to damage the doctrinal soundness of the Movement was founded on a separation of theological statement and membership test. He suggested that the basis be printed in the rules of the Union and that new members be shown the rules and then, if they can accept them, be allowed to join. Thus the theological position was not changed but the onus of responsibility for determining fitness for membership was transferred to the seeker and from the Union.

Tatlow's alternative might have stopped the argument had Mott not arrived from America to re-open the question. As Chairman of the Federation, Mott was concerned about the example that might be set by the British Movement. Mott believed that a personal basis, used as a membership test, was vital to the soundness of the student movements in countries that lacked the strength of Christian tradition that Britain had. His arguments won over enough of the proponents of the inclusive position on the General Committee to have the previous inclusivist decisions reversed. The Constitution could not be changed by the General Committee alone. It had to be brought to a full Business Meeting of representatives from the affiliated Unions. At the Business Meeting of 1900, the General Committee put forward its proposals for a personal basis. There was a great deal of argument. Even those who agreed on the need for a

personal test had difficulty agreeing on any form of words. There was a feeling that the statement should not be a statement of a theological position but an expression of a personal commitment. The 1900 meeting could not reach a decision and rather than proceed with a form accepted only by a majority, the meeting was adjourned for a year. Eventually in 1901, almost unanimous agreement (two hundred and twenty-six in favour and fourteen against) was given to the inclusion of "I declare my faith in Jesus Christ as my Saviour, Lord and God" as a basis. Dissent came from the Scottish Unions which, with their greater emphasis on the Church as an inclusive national body did not accept the idea of personal tests.

The arguments continued and came before the General Committee again in the years between 1910 and 1913. The Scots were still against the personal basis. John Kelman and Hugh Barbour¹, both influential with Edinburgh students opposed it. The Manchester Union had initiated a category of associate member for those who could not accept the test (and some of the more active members were in the associate category) and Tatlow tells us (1933:471) that at Cardiff a "heresy hunt" was in progress. The changes in the nature of the Universities, the background of the students and

1 The position of the Scots shows the difficulty of associating too closely exclusivity and evangelicalism. The existence of a national church that was both reformed and based on the parish system made it possible for men like Kelman and Barbour to be both evangelical (both were active in the Moody Mission) and have an inclusive view of the role of the Church.

consequently in the sort of people joining the SCM made the whole question problematic again. A series of sub-committees met and drafted alternatives. Groups and individuals submitted proposals. An interesting suggestion came from Neville Talbot who thought that the problem could be passed on by accepting as a member anyone who was a member of a Christian church. This was not taken up because it only re-phrased the problem. The SCM would then have to determine which bodies were "Christian churches" and what counted as membership of those bodies. A further consideration was one of expediency. These discussions were taking place in the wake of the Cambridge schism. The SCM was already being pilloried in the evangelical press and any change in the basis was bound to be seen as the formal recognition of a fall from grace.

A commission of influential and respected church leaders¹ was invited by the SCM to give its views and it proposed a division between a statement of the theological position of the Movement and a membership test. They felt that the Movement's difficulties in finding an acceptable form of words came from trying to put too much into one statement. Working on this principle the General Committee produced two clauses for the new Constitution. The first ran as follows:

Aim and Basis - The aim of this Movement is to lead students in British universities and colleges into full acceptance of the Christian Faith in God - Father, Son and Holy Spirit; to promote among them regular habits

1 FJ Chavasse (Bp. of Liverpool), ES Talbot (Bp. of Winchester), Prof. JH Moulton, Principal Adeney, Prof. HR Macintosh and Rev AB Macauley; a well balanced combination of High Church and Evangelical, Anglican and Presbyterian.

of prayer and Bible study; to keep before them the importance and urgency of the evangelisation of the world, the Christian solution of social problems, and the permeation of public life with Christian ideals; and to lead them into the fellowship and service of the Christian Church. Any Christian Union becoming affiliated shall incorporate in its constitution the following clause: "The corporate activities of this Christian Union shall be in harmony with the Aim of the Student Christian Movement, which is to lead etc., as above (Tatlow 1933:483-4).

The second clause was the declaration of membership, incorporating "I declare my faith in Jesus Christ, to whom, as Saviour and Lord, I desire to surrender my life". With a slight change ("whom as Saviour and Lord I desire to serve") removing the word "surrender", the Aim and Basis and Declaration of Membership were accepted with three hundred and sixty-four in favour and twenty-eight against.

The arguments over the Aim and Basis never really stopped. They continued to be sources of antagonism at local level, periodically being formally recognised with attention from the Movement's General Committee. Public criticism of the Movement from those who thought it theologically suspect caused the General Committee to append the WSCF basis to the SCM's Aim and Basis: "To lead students to accept the Christian Faith in God - Father, Son and Holy Spirit according to the scriptures, and to live as true disciples of Jesus" (Tatlow 1933:811).

This did not remove the confusion about the relationship between the individual and the Basis. Some Unions regarded it as a test; others saw it as a general statement of intent.

Although Tatlow devoted much time to convincing patrons that the Movement had not fundamentally changed, the reality was that the Movement had little in common with the creation of the early Volunteers other than the conviction that it was still doing God's work. The degree to which the SCM had changed is clear from the basis suggested by a 1926 Committee chaired by FA Cockin:

The Student Christian Movement is a fellowship of students who desire to understand the Christian Faith and to live the Christian life. This desire is the only condition of membership.

A new statement of Aims was formulated and circulated around senior friends and constituent Unions. The following form was accepted by the Business Meeting and remained as the Aim of the Movement until 1950.

Aim As a Christian Movement we affirm our faith in God, our father, whose nature is creative love and power. God is made known to us in Jesus Christ, in whom we see the true expression of His being and the true nature of man. Through his life and triumphant death, and through the living energy of the Spirit, we share in the redeeming love which overcomes evil, and find forgiveness, freedom and eternal life. Faced with the need and perplexity of the world, we desire to give ourselves to Christ and to follow Him wherever he may call us. We seek the Kingdom of God, the recreation of all mankind in one family, without distinction of race or nation, class or capacity. We desire to enter into that fellowship of worship, thought and service which is the heritage of the Christian Church.
(Clause III of 1929 SCM Constitution).

As Tatlow suggests, this aim and basis may have lasted longer than the others because students lost interest in the basis arguments. A further element of explanation may be that the growth of the

evangelical Unions meant that there were fewer evangelicals joining SCM groups. The controversy and competition gave the SCM a greater degree of homogeneity than it had in the period of incipient controversy with the evangelicals.

While there are interesting theological nuances in the various shifts in Aim and Basis, the sociological import of the changes is straightforward. In the days of its foundation the Movement was led and supported by students who were convinced evangelicals. The environment in which they operated was sufficiently christianised for a membership basis to be unproblematic. When a basis was introduced it was in theory exclusivist but not divisive in that there was a relatively narrow gap between the position expressed in the basis and the beliefs of the population within which the Movement wanted to work. The creation of new universities, the growth in student numbers and in the variety of their social backgrounds, the increasing secularisation of the country as a whole and the widening interests of the Movement all combined to make the question of confining membership to those who could accept an evangelical statement of personal faith difficult. Both as a matter of ideological commitment and as a matter of expediency, the SCM constantly tried to adapt itself to the interests and concerns of its members and its potential members. The result was a series of gradual shifts to an openly inclusivist position. Where the traditional evangelical believed that the best thing one could do for the heathen was to emphasise his damnation, to draw firmly the lines between saved and damned in the hope of convincing the sinner of his predicament,

the Student Movement saw its task as being one of making the faith relevant to the concerns of the seeker and the secular world. Where the Inter-Varsity Fellowship had a definite basis, a definite identity, and a definite market, the Student Christian Movement had a definite market but no particular product.

The product that the SCM had to offer was a generalised liberal attitude to the application of the Christian Faith to the world and a pioneering part in the ecumenical movement. While inter-church cooperation was still exciting and romantic, the interdenominational position of the SCM was itself a source of identity, but it was an attitude without substantive content. While the SCM offered a liberating experience for many young christians, its product was not narrow or specific enough to produce an identity concrete enough to promote any great loyalty.

It is worth reminding ourselves at this point of the general principle of movement development offered above (Ch. 3). It was argued that an important determinant of the speed of growth and of the stability of a movement was its inclusivity or exclusivity. It was suggested that those movements which had a denominational view of their own mission would be able to grow faster than sectarian movements because they would be in a position to form alliances with other groups, to use widespread patronage to acquire resources and so to prosper. Standing apart from their milieu, sectarian groups offer an implicit challenge to the orthodoxy of other movements and agencies, thus reducing the possibility of mobilising the

resources of these other groups. A further feature of sectarian movements is that they make greater demands of their membership, if only in the sense of requiring that links with other enterprises be reduced. While the denominational approach of the SCM secured it valuable promotion both in the period when it was associated with Keswick and in its later ecumenical days, it also paved the way for the undermining of the SCM.

The SCM creates its own competition

A major part of the SCM's promotional story was the role it had in making up for the failure of the Churches to work among students. This need was central in persuading many churchmen to support the Movement and in drawing funds from various denominational bodies. At the start of this century the universities and colleges did not seem to be an important area for denominational interest; the Anglicans were fighting a losing battle over their involvement in education and the Free Churches, having campaigned so long against the State Church in education could hardly commit themselves to work in colleges. The SCM had the field to itself¹. The growth of evangelical Unions ended the SCM monopoly but, having few friends in the churches and following a theology that was by no means popular, the IVF did not at first seriously disrupt the relationship between the SCM and the churches. What did change

1 The Missionary Societies made occasional forays into the Colleges to recruit but these were sporadic and of little significance.

that relationship was SCM's pursuit of a policy that can only be described as altruistic suicide - the readiness to sink itself into any truly ecumenical group - and the increased denominational activity in the universities.

The strength of the supportive relationship between the SCM and the ecumenical milieu was such that in 1940 Tatlow could persuade the British Council of Churches to pass a resolution supporting the Movement and drawing its poor financial state to the attention of the member churches. Sincere interest on the part of those churchmen involved in the ecumenical milieu could not always be translated into action by the denominations, however, and the church support often seemed to verge on tokenism. One area in which concrete aid was forthcoming was in staffing. In financially pressed times the SCM managed to keep its secretaries by finding other agencies who would offer the person in question a part-time job. In Manchester in 1958 the regional secretary worked part-time for ToCH. From 1952 until 1958 the Anglican Chaplain in Bristol was also the SCM secretary. In 1958, the British Council of Churches sponsored the SCM Theological Study Secretary. Sheffield and Liverpool had joint SCM/Anglican Chaplain appointments and in Oxford and Cambridge the secretaries were also curates. The problem with these joint appointments, mostly with the Anglican church in England and the Church of Scotland,¹ was that many lasted no

1 In the case of the post paid for by the Church of Scotland Home Board in 1939 (for work among foreign students) the holder of the post reported to the Board that there was not enough work to justify the expense!

more than a few years. They were sometimes rescinded when the first term of the post had expired. With Church of England paid posts it was often the case that no individual could be found who was wanted by the SCM as its secretary and by the local Bishop as his chaplain. But the main stumbling block was the ecumenical nature of the SCM. The case of St. Francis Hall in Birmingham, an ecumenical centre that was a gift of the Cadbury family, where the Bishop was prepared to recognise a Free Church chaplain as both SCM Secretary and his representative, was unique. The general SCM policy on staffing was to alternate Anglicans and Non-conformists. Clearly that created problems when the post was partly accountable to either the local Bishop or a local Free Church.

In order to keep its staff levels up, the SCM had approached the churches and had some success in persuading them to finance either fully, or partially a combination of Chaplaincy and SCM secretaryship. The result of this was to persuade the Churches that they ought to have their own full-time man in the colleges. The SCM did such a good job of selling the need for work among students that they raised their own competition. Full-time chaplains were appointed to universities. These men, and the local ministers who were given responsibility for universities where a full-time post was not viable (this was the arrangement common for the smaller Free Churches), started denominational societies for the students. The SCM had managed to keep its staff level "inflated" through the fifties but when the joint appointments were terminated there was

no money to return them to full-time SCM posts and they folded. By the early sixties, the staff was only two thirds of what it had been before 1939 - and the market to be serviced had doubled.

Church and denominational societies had always been regarded ambivalently by the SCM. They were a threat to the ecumenical spirit and the organisational structure of the Movement and yet they were a reality that had to be lived with. Tatlow and other SCM leaders had been prepared to use Church and denominational loyalties to the benefit of the Movement, as evidenced by the formation of a Church of England Committee and a Free Church Committee to persuade leaders of these churches that the SCM was a legitimate and worthwhile enterprise. Church-based student societies took on greater significance with the growth of chaplaincies. In the thirties and forties there were a number of "no-clash" committees which simply provided formal channels for the leaders of the various student religious societies to ensure that their meetings and other events did not directly compete for support. In the late fifties there was a more significant development with a number of actual mergers.

Shortly after an ecumenical mission to Edinburgh by DT Niles the students Anglican Society merged with the SCM and this body was then joined by the Christian Union, which since the withdrawal of the evangelicals, was largely a Church of Scotland society. The product, the Student Christian Association, affiliated to the national SCM. Impressive as these mergers sound, the SCM report added: "it must be said, however, that the conservative EU is larger than

the newly formed SCM" (Annual Report 1962:31).

The problem of rivalry was solved at Hull by uniting the three main denominational societies within the SCM. The three Presidents sat, ex-officio on the SCM Committee. Nottingham had had an Anglican Chaplain who was also the SCM secretary since 1956. There was a Committee of Combined Religious Societies. The SCM branch believed that the activities of the societies could be further integrated if it ceased to exist. The SCM branch dissolved itself, a new Christian Association came into being and it affiliated to the national SCM in 1959.

Superficially, it appears that the SCM was successful in defeating the threat of denominational rivalry and in promoting ecumenism with its policy of sacrificing its own branch if the various other societies could then combine. Usually the new association affiliated to the SCM. The reality was very different. The theme which runs through the whole history of SCM in the post-Tatlow era is one of gradual erosion of identity. At important junctures the Movement was prepared to promote alliances and activities which diminished its own *raison d'etre*. I have already shown how the Movement was prepared to see its own ancillary services move into independence. In the history of the relationships with the chaplains and the ecumenical Christian Associations we again see a willingness to pursue aims of the Movement - the promotion of unity - which were to be achieved at the expense of the Movement.

An element important in the understanding of the erosion of the Movement is the awareness of the importance of the church orientation of the ecumenical movement. Douglas Johnson makes the point:

A second factor, which seemed to have an enervating effect on the local branches, was the outworking of the policy, derived from the ecumenical movement, which tended to regard most corporate Christian activity as being the function of the church. This view interpreted church in the narrower sense of the Christian ministry and allowed little place, for example, for a lay movement organized for the purposes of evangelism. The result for the SCM was that in the immediate post-war years the SCM branches in many cases became "the chaplain's groups" or parts of the denominational societies (1979:215).

The SCM's interdenominational position, which set the tone for the ethos of the ecumenical movement, re-affirmed the importance of the churches. There was an affinity between the inclusive view the SCM had of the faith and its promotion and the reinforcement of commitment to one's own church. Ecumenical cooperation was bedevilled by the paradox that it was only possible if everyone refrained from evangelising among members of other churches. Increased cooperation between churches could lead to the entrenchment of separate church identities rather than the gradual erosion of the things that separated them.

Thus the re-affiliation of an ecumenical association was not worth the same in terms of the identity of SCM, and its continued existence, as the previous affiliation of a traditional SCM group. The Movement became more of a coordinating service - rather like the early "no-clash committees" - than a movement with an identity created out of a common set of concerns and a shared commitment to specific goals.

CHAPTER EIGHT

THE COLLAPSE OF THE SCM

As was suggested in the last chapter, the SCM in the fourth period of its history, from the late fifties to the present day, reaped the harvest of seed sown in the forties and fifties. The theme that underlies this whole period is a lack of identity. The Movement lacked a sufficiently coherent ideology to attract consumers and sponsors. It is important to make this point at the start of this discussion in order to counter the belief, common among those church historians who had some connection with SCM before it began its visible decline, that the collapse of SCM was the result of inadequate leadership and wilful neglect of the organisation by later generations. While these things hastened the decline, the problems of SCM predated the General Secretaryship of Reeves and the advent of "alternative life-styles".

The ethos of the SCM was one of liberation, of expanding the horizons of students. In constantly seeking to determine God's message for the world at that time, it could not hold fast to any one statement of doctrine. The core of SCM's appeal had been its ecumenical nature and its concern about social problems. Many ex-SCM members remember these two features as the Movement's source of attraction. For young people brought up in slightly old-fashioned churches with conservative theologies, such features offered a powerful sense of liberation. To a lesser degree, the international

connections of the Movement offered a similar novelty in allowing students to meet, often for the first time, Christians from exotic places. But this was clearly only attractive to people who already were Christians. A somewhat radical re-appraisal of one's faith is only of interest to those who already believe. The ecumenical movement gave many church leaders and members emotionally potent experiences, but it did nothing for the secular world.

The problems to which this gives rise can be very clearly seen in a discussion that took place in 1955 on the subject of missions. Some people at the meeting held a traditional view of the purpose of missions: missions promoted individual conversions. Phillip Lee-Woolf saw mission in a very different light. It should make the University aware of itself as a community. This was the majority view and the rest of the discussion concerned how one could make ecumenicalism decisive.

the SCM should be positively ecumenical without of course trying to establish a super church; the challenge should be presented to join a particular church, and there should be some clear teaching about the nature of the Church as a whole (Mission Consultation Mins. 1955:3).

No one could suggest just how one could be "positively" ecumenical. While the SCM's interdenominational position provided an excellent rationale for cooperation between already committed church members, it could not resolve the difficulty of finding some method of promoting one church without, if only by implication, drawing an invidious distinction between that church and the others. Ecumenism was a poor weapon in proselytisation. The best evidence

for that comes from the biographies of SCM leaders and members. Most of them came to SCM from more conservative christian positions.

The problem of poor "product profile" was made worse by the difficulty of being positive about modernist theology. The raising of doubts and uncertainties may have been necessary, and as Robinson's Honest to God (1963) later made clear, once one has those doubts they cannot be ignored, they can only be pursued until one finds some way of resolving them or living with them. But they do not provide a basis for proselytisation, which requires a presentation of certainty and assurance.

These difficulties provide the background for the decline of the SCM. By the end of the fifties SCM had lost its dominance of student Protestantism. In 1960 there were 31 University branches of the Movement¹. There were also 29 IVF affiliated Christian Unions², 23 Anglican Societies, 25 Methodist Societies, 21 Baptist groups and 18 Congregational and Presbyterian societies in the Universities. Figures of individual membership are of doubtful accuracy but in general terms, the following table shows the balance of support.

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- 1 In 1955 there were at least 34 active SCM branches in Universities judging from the response to a questionnaire on prayer activities in the branches. Thus by 1960 there was already an absolute decline in the number of branches as well as a decline relative to the growth of the field.
- 2 This refers only to Universities, where the SCM was strongest. IVF by now had clear dominance in the training colleges.

SCM	3,700 members
IVF	3,000
Anglican Socs.	4,000
Methodist Socs.	2,000
Baptist Socs.	650
Cong./Pres. Socs.	350

(Mackie 1961).

Thus in a period of increasing secularisation with the contraction of the already christian proportion of the total student population, there was also increased competition for the allegiance of that contracting market. The various strategies employed by the SCM to adapt to that situation will now be examined.

Bristol 1963 - Openness to Service

The Congress in Bristol in 1963 represented both the end of an era and the coining of a new policy. It was planned to be a climax for the Churches' Life and Mission programme and as such showed the still strong awareness in SCM to link itself to the activities and ideas of the Churches. 13,000 students gathered to hear a very traditional platform of speakers; Oliver Tomkins, Leslie Newbiggin and Daniel Jenkins. Bible study featured heavily in the programme. But this traditional element was countered with the theme of service to the whole community. This was not in itself a new extension of the purpose of the SCM; such a view was embodied in the various

discussion papers and publications of the "Moberley" years¹ when SCM devoted a lot of time to considering its relationship to "the University". What was significant was the explicit statement that the widening of the role of SCM should be accompanied by the extension of the community which could participate in this purpose:

Certainly the SCM needs, as always, convinced Christians in its membership... but General Council believes that the Movement must make much more serious efforts to welcome as members any students who share the concerns of the Movement (Annual Report 1962-63:7).

The theme of service may have been a stirring one in the setting of a large conference but it did little to help fire the branches. Cambridge SCM had been in decline for a number of years. With college chapels and chaplains, and a divinity faculty that ran "open" lectures for interested Christians, the competition was damaging. Since 1960 the branch had made no financial contribution to the national SCM and in February 1963 it was £55 in debt. Sixty-three Cambridge students attended the Bristol Congress but many of those were not keenly involved in SCM before that event and any -

1 Shortage of space has caused us to pass lightly over the history of the SCM from the departure of Tatlow (1927) to the arrival of Reeves in 1963. One of the most interesting features of the relatively stable middle part of SCM's life was the Moberley discussions. SCM had always been concerned with the university as well as the Church and before and after the Second War there was a lot of thought given to the nature of the University. David Paton wrote Blind Guides (1939) which was a critique in Niebuhrian tones of cynicism, superficiality and bad faith of the modern university. In 1944 eminent men and women were brought into discussions. One of these meetings was chaired by Sir Walter Moberley who then wrote The Crisis in the University; hence my calling this interest the "Moberley discussions". For a detailed account of this period see McCaughey (1958:141).

enthusiasm they may have drawn from the Congress was not directed into the SCM branch. Federation Week, during which the branches promote the work of WSCF and raise funds for that work, was a dismal failure; only seven people attended the main meeting. In considering this, the Cambridge committee divided. Some wanted to give up all devotional exercises and resurrect the SCM by secularising it. Others, including the President, were more impressed by the evangelicals' success and the words of the speaker who said:

Young people have a tremendous amount of innate initiative and determination if only they are given something to bite on. And that means it is worse than useless to present the gospel in a wishy-washy way, defined in woolly terms as something to be talked about or mulled over. It must be something that will take over their whole lives, something that is completely uncompromising in its demands (Cambridge Report 1963 MSS).

While the Report is optimistic about ecumenical developments in the University, such as the formation of a Christian Societies Coordinating Committee, there is clear pessimism and despondency about the difficulty of translating the ideal of "service" into activity which could catch the imagination of the students.

John Martin, the General Secretary from 1958, had continued the patterns of work established by his predecessors. He was planning to retire in 1964 and the General Council and patrons of the Movement sought to use the opportunity to find a leader to inspire the SCM.

Ambrose Reeves

Reeves was born in 1899 and raised by a widowed mother and four spinster aunts. While fighting in the First World War he discovered a vocation for the priesthood. He studied at Knutsford Test School and then at Cambridge where he came under the influence of the Industrial Christian Fellowship and the spiritual leadership of Gore, William Temple and Studdert-Kennedy. This association confirmed his liberal-socialist convictions. Training at the Community of the Resurrection at Mirfield made him a firm Anglo-Catholic and when he joined the SCM as theological college secretary he represented, with Eleanora Iredale and John Ramsbotham, the Catholic voice on the SCM staff. He helped Mackie and Fenn found the Fellowship of St. Alban and St. Sergius and acted as editor of the Fellowship's journal. He there learnt about Marxism and became more certain of his position as a political radical and a theological conservative. After working with WSCF in Europe, Reeves settled into a parish in Liverpool where his tendency to dogmatism and authoritarian style of leadership was already in evidence. To one curate he said: "When you think you are right about a matter, make sure you are right and then give in to nobody" (Peart-Binns 1973:42). Against all expectations, his own included, he was offered the See of Johannesburg. He did not make many close friends. "As a parish priest he was autocratic; as a Bishop was even more so to the point of being prelatical at times " (Peart-Binns 1973:77).

It was inevitable that Reeves should come into conflict with the South African government and the first main blow was over the Bantu Education Act. This brought all education under government control and effectively meant that the Church of England schools had the choice of accepting government syllabi for Blacks or closing down. Reeves refused to condone the South Africa "separate development" policy and closed the schools.

In December 1956 when almost all the prominent Black leaders were arrested and charged with treason, Reeves organised and chaired a fighting fund and chaired a coordinating committee of black groups called The Fourteen Organisations. He was vocal over the Sharpesville Massacre and took statements about police action which he filed. A few days after the massacre Reeves was tipped off that he was going to be arrested and after seeking advice from his senior clergy, who gave conflicting opinions, Reeves left South Africa and returned to Britain via Mozambique. He was due a long home leave and he used the opportunity to give himself some time in which to think.

In Johannesburg the clergy and the diocese were divided. The Blacks unanimously supported Reeves but the lay whites disliked his politics and the clergy disliked his administration. In Britain some of the Bishops made no bones of their dislike for Reeves and his action; some said that he should have stayed in South Africa and not "run away". He returned to Johannesburg on the 10th September 1960 after his holiday and was deported on the 12th.

After much debate Reeves agreed with his diocesan clergy that he had best resign so that they could appoint another Bishop.

Unemployed, Reeves saw Ramsay, the Archbishop of Canterbury and was assured that his radicalism was not an impediment to his being translated to some British See. He had many supporters on the Bench of Bishops; one Bishop put Reeves down as his choice as a successor but Ramsay refused to support the nomination. In the two years that followed Reeves was repeatedly passed over yet Ramsay would not tell him that he was "blackballed". Reeves therefore turned down a number of smaller livings. In 1962 a petition was signed by a number of influential Anglicans deploring the slowness of the Church in finding a role for Reeves. By that point Ramsay had heard of the SCM's search for a new General Secretary and so ignored the petition.

In 1962 the General Council had established an Appointments committee¹ made up of some staff, a handful of students and a number of senior friends, to find a new General Secretary. It had already been decided that the appointment should go to a senior man. One senior Anglican had been approached and had refused the offer. Ambrose Reeves was offered the job and he accepted. There were some on the Committee (Lee-Woolf, for example) who did not support Reeves and there were those who pushed his candidacy because they were ashamed at the Church's treatment of the man. But, by and

¹ Including RW Stopford (Bp of London), Tomkins (Bp of Bristol), RD Say (Bp of Rochester), Dr Kathleen Bliss (Sec. of Church of England Board of Education), Frank Glendenning (Warden of Student Movement House) and ES Abbott (Dean of Westminster).

large, Reeves fitted the role that many felt was needed for the General Secretaryship. He was a senior figure with experience of the SCM. He had solid radical credentials which would make him popular with students becoming increasingly vocal over issues like South Africa.. Certainly, his appointment was not the work of a small and determined caucus. General Council voted by "an overwhelming majority" to invite Reeves (GC Minutes 9519).

Consequences of "openness"

The consequences of the policy of openness and service were making themselves felt. The following is an extract from a report by Salters Sterling on one branch.

I have this morning received a one-man deputation from Queen's, Belfast. A split is about to occur. Because of what we may at the moment call my frontier policy a large and powerful element has been introduced into Queen's SCM. This took place at their pre-term weekend when a very large secular group arrived and swallowed hook, line and sinker a reasonable presentation of the Gospel. These people have immersed themselves in SCM activities and so the branch grew. Seven members of the Committee welcomed this departure from traditional activities but the other four, including the President, have virtually succumbed to paralysis. This has had the effect on the seven of producing two attitudes - one of despair and hopelessness and one of brash steamrolling. The brash section has asked me to present the challenge to the President to ask him to either pull his socks up or get out (Sterling to Reeves 1963).

A more subtle conflict developed at Keele. An interdenominational mission had been arranged by the Chaplains. The Keele SCM objected to a number of assumptions inherent in the mission planning and prepared a critical memorandum. They objected to the idea

that the goal of mission was conversion:

The object of the Mission must be to provide a platform on which people with different religious views can meet one another... The Mission must be considered in terms of dialogue not a monologue (Keele MSS 1964:1).

They also objected to the idea of the Mission being to the University.

That polarity suggested a division being the Christians and non-Christians. Sadly, such a division was real but it should be overcome.

The breakdown of the barrier between Christian and non-Christian is far better than the successful conversion of a few... so that a situation is created whereby genuine religious discussion is continued once the Mission is over (Keele MSS 1964:1).

The SCM felt that real "mission" should be embedded in the life of the University. They also felt that the word "Christian" could be a stumbling block. One should find out what those being missioned to felt and thought and "start from there". What the Memo fails to do is tell us why any of the heathen should be at all interested in the SCM's trying to find out "where they were". It also passes over the diversity of interests, concerns, thoughts and actions of those referred to as "non-Christian". The lack of aim or purpose is apparent throughout the document and the nearest thing to a statement of intent is the following:

We must start with the individual. We must think what we are trying to do before we do it. Is this mission going to do anything towards bringing so-and-so and so-and-so to a deeper, richer and more worthwhile life? This must be the criterion (Keele MSS 1964:3).

The document was opposed by, among others, the President who resigned from the SCM because she could not accept its openness

and its lack of a definite belief. This debate shows the difficulties of the local branches in finding a response to the new policies of the SCM. Keele was not unique; similar controversies existed in other university branches. Some even suggested dropping the word "Christian" from SCM's name. General Council replied to this initiative by reaffirming its Christian basis but this reaffirmation did nothing to solve the real problem of giving some substance to the Keele author's desire to "bring so-and so... to a deeper and richer and more worthwhile life".

Decline of organisation

The relationship between ideology and organisation was a reciprocal one. The changes in ideology were necessary because the old SCM was not attracting members. To say that, of course, is not to see the movement's ideology as simply a variable dependent on the organisation. If the decline of the organisation gave reason for a reevaluation, it does not explain the substance of the new ideology. Changes in ideology in turn affected the organisation.

Some of SCM's organisational problems were not directly connected with the changes in ideology of the Movement. Its financial problems, for instance, were largely the result of inflation. Shortage of funds meant a reduction in staff which in turn further jeopardised the existence of the movement in that the travelling secretaries played a vital part in advertising the existence of the movement and in promoting the local branches. Where ideology and

organisation did connect was in the raising of future monies. Reeves' first action as General Secretary was to pursue the idea of a joint appeal for funds with Student Movement House. The SCM was hoping to raise £150,000. A firm of professional fund raisers were asked to plan the appeal and they conducted a feasibility study, contacting a sample of likely donors. The firm's conclusion was that such an appeal would not be worth pursuing. They felt that there was not enough potential support for SCM.

Like most voluntary organisations and many social movements, SCM had always been short of finance. There had been previous crises and there had been other appeals (the Iredale appeal in Tatlow's secretaryship and the Hetley Price appeal in the time of Lee-Woolf, for instance), but although previous appeals generally fell short of their target, there had been no other occasion where a planned appeal was abandoned because it would cost more than it would raise.

One consequence of the SCM's willingness to sacrifice its own branches in order to make way for some genuinely ecumenical activity was a weakening of membership loyalty to the organisation of SCM. This was particularly clear in the increased difficulty the Movement had in persuading "gone-down" members to support the SCM. Reeves suggested the creation of a category of Associate membership of the SCM. Previously one belonged to the Movement by virtue of being a member of a branch; the Movement existed only through its branches. Now the General Council supported the

affiliation of individuals, paying subscriptions directly to the national offices at Annandale. It was hoped that this would increase the commitment of SCM members to the national organisation and so increase the revenue but it made hardly any difference to the financial position of the Movement and had the detrimental effect of further devaluing the branch structure.

Critics of Ambrose Reeves have suggested that the gradual collapse of the SCM's structure was the result of Reeves' maladministration. This was not the case. The rot came from below and not from above. The SCM organisation was always a precarious one by virtue of the three-year turn-over of membership. That cycle gave just enough time to reproduce the branch organisation. The student joined the SCM in his first year, was on the committee in his second and possibly, President or Secretary in his third year. From the first the problem of reproduction was recognised and it was accepted that it was the duty of each committee member to find and groom a successor. The same was true for full-time staff members. Travelling secretaries were expected continually to suggest names of bright students who might be potential Council, regional committee or staff members. As commitment to the branches declined and as total membership declined so the ability of the organisation to reproduce its organisational structure at branch level was jeopardised. More than anything, the breakdown of communication between branch and Annandale was symptomatic of this. From the correspondence files it is clear that central staff were not being informed of

changes of branch officers and their addresses. Mailings were being wastefully sent to the wrong people. Mailings were also regularly being sent to branches that had been moribund for more than three years. In 1965, only Durham and Edinburgh Universities sent in a list of their officers and their addresses.

An excursus into rates of decline

In the discussion of schism the idea of a "critical mass" was mentioned. The point was made that at strategic intervals in the development of movements accretion of members varies in its significance for the movement as a whole. In the very early days the addition of one or two members can have tremendous impact in encouraging the founders. The subsequent addition of another one or two members may well not have such a significance. Likewise in the relationship with the environment, the addition of one or two new members may raise the organisation into a higher category of perceived relative size. What was once a small "crackpot" group now becomes legitimate by virtue of its size. If this observation is valid for the growth of movements then one would expect that decline would likewise not follow a regular arithmetic pattern but would be more like an exponential pattern with failure to reproduce leading to increased failure to reproduce.

For the purpose of analysis, we can divide recruits to SCM (and the later IVF) into two groups: those who were firmly committed to the views of the Movement and its position vis-a-vis other

Christian groups, and those who joined the Movement because "it was there"¹. Many young students were attracted to the SCM by incidental features; perhaps the President was a leading sportsman in the University. One major incidental feature seems to have been size. The very fact that the SCM was the largest student society in most colleges (a position now held by IVF) conferred legitimacy on it and made it more attractive than competing options. Once it had gone past the size where it was the home of a deviant minority, the local branch continued to exist simply because it existed. With regular servicing by travelling secretaries, senior friends and injections of morale by attendance at Swanwick, the branch could thrive by using its very existence and popularity as its appeal.

The suggestion that a good part of the local branch membership was not heavily committed to the SCM, or that such a commitment did not play an important part in their joining the branch in the first instance, would lead us to expect that the decline in membership would be dramatic, especially where there was competition from other large alternatives. The slightest fall in branch membership could change the position of the SCM from being the taken-for-granted expression of Christian Faith to being one of a number of alternative expressions and a further fall in numbers could make it

1 The "accidental" nature of part of the explanation of recruitment to SCM and IVF was rather grudgingly recognised by a Cambridge SCM Secretary who said: "I cannot think how the exponents of pure doctrine in the IVF can allow innocent people to join them, not for theological reasons but for such considerations as which tea they attended first" (Secretary's Report, Cambridge 1946).

the smallest of the alternatives - a position that could easily give it an image of crankiness. A further difficulty for the SCM was that its ideology was such that it could not easily derive any satisfaction from minority status whereas the IVF could (as it did in its years as the minority interest) see the relative poverty of its position and its low social esteem as confirmation of the doctrinal correctness of its policies. It is a serious blow for a group which claims to speak to the concerns of the present generation to find itself in the role of relatively unpopular competitor in a crowded market.

The decline of Swanwick

Talk of difficulties in the branches in reproducing their membership and organisation brings us to the question of the national identity of the SCM. Although publications such as the journal Movement and the regularly issued study guides, and visits from staff and "SCM-type" speakers, were important in giving an identity to the national as opposed to local SCM, it was through the large annual conferences that SCM existed as a living Movement. The decline of the SCM was also the decline of Swanwick; an explanation of that decline must therefore involve an account of the diminishing appeals of the annual gatherings.

The great Victorian conventions were more than just exercises in spiritual enlightenment. They were also opportunities for morally sound leisure activities. North American Holiness conventions had

the same dual appeal and one coastal convention site became fully "secularised"; the facilities developed for religious convention attenders are now used by holiday makers (Jones 1974). The SCM conferences were in their early years popular for the opportunity they offered young people to spend a fortnight away from home and in the company of friends. Photographs of early Swanwicks show groups of earnest young men in blazers, shorts, smoking pipes, and young ladies in full dresses and large hats. Afternoons were given over to tennis, and cycling or walking in the surrounding countryside. The men had greasy pole fights between prayer and missionary meetings. It is worth quoting at length from one training college student's impressions of her first Swanwick.

Swanwick is simply lovely - the house, the grounds and the whole countryside. I am writing this sitting on a rustic seat made round the bole of a spreading beech... The men are under canvas while we girls occupy the fine old mansion known as "The Hayes". Adjoining the house is a large dining room... All the women have meals there and they are lively - I mean the meals... Swanwick combines informality and perfect courtesy. Our social intercourse is governed by Paul's principle of doing just what we like, only acting invariably from the highest motive. The conventional assumption of being strangers until introduced is taboo. We are all friends and Christians. This was pleasingly brought out even before we reached Swanwick. In the carriage with six excited Yorkshire girls was a stranger with beautiful eyes, which lighted up at our conversation, although the face remained quite placid. But she had on the Swanwick badge like ourselves and the very thin ice was soon broken. She was an Irish girl... That night when the 10.30 bell rang, I gave her a College kiss and she called me Edna. I love Maura and shall never forget our few days at Swanwick. Of fun there is no end. It comes sandwiched in between the most serious and heartsearching of meetings. And really, when I come to think of it, it is quite as necessary as the intense emotion and spiritual uplift of the conferences. Yesterday the men held sports for the amusement of the women.

After an account of the pillow fights and the community singing, the writer concludes:

Social fellowship has bloomed into spiritual comradeship. For myself each day has seemed almost like a year of life. (July 30th 1912 or 13 Christian World).

The following is an account of a slightly earlier conference, Baslow 1909:

It was not till Derby station that this conference atmosphere came over me. Everybody is a little excited; Mr. Wilder appears smiling on the platform, and is greeted all along the line; and then, as the train proceeds and draws up at each station, so and so from somewhere is spotted, and hauled into an already overcrowded carriage. Camaraderie compensates for crowd on these occasions, and the daily newspapers which we brought to keep us occupied remains in its neat original folds... Then comes Bakewell with a mass of luggage piled on the platform, women students struggling for their belongings, and men hoping for the best. Four miles drive follows on an overcrowded charabanc... Soon the brake swings round over Baslow bridge and at the corner near the Church Miss Stevenson, Miss Brown and Miss Mackenzie direct the women students to their appointed "digs" with an efficiency only resulting from many long hours at Chancery Lane...

An old friend approaches and we shake hands, meanwhile a tremendous thump in the back announces another, and a shout of "Hullo, you silly old rotter" in the distance, recalls a voice last heard in an Oxford Quad. or a Glasgow street...

The next scene takes us to the big marquee. That great stream of humanity has settled, and the excitement of reunion and the noise of twelve hundred voices has gradually died down. The Chairman announces Hymn No. 477 and the great hymn prayer "O God our help in ages past, our hope for years to come" welds us together in one great unity...

The meeting over, cocoa and buns sought out and eaten, friends unexpected or long looked-for met, still a few couples walk up and down outside the white outline of Camp City, some talking theology, some talking rot and meanwhile, inside the tent, is the pathetic sight of people who have never been to camp before trying to get some

sleep... and on the tent the heartless persistence of pouring rain...

On the whole there were less meetings than last year, the time between one o'clock and the evening meeting being absolutely free except for the unfortunate people who had to attend committees... in the hour after tea there was usually an international football match. The Company officers had the responsibility for the social side of the conference, and of attending to the interests of their own little group. Company prayers each evening in the separate tents were a tremendous inspiration, the smaller groupings providing an element which tends to be lost as conferences grow... (SM 1909:100).

Other accounts talk of stopping at country inns for "cream teas" while rambling.

The combination of piety and pleasure, of easy good manners and informality made the Annual conferences the great attraction they were. The liberating potential for young christians of spending two weeks discussing religious matters with people from other churches was an important part of the "sales pitch" used by travelling secretaries to boost the meetings and the same theme is mentioned in reminiscences. Swanwick was partly undermined by changes in the social composition of students. Those who were well enough off to be able to afford to spend two weeks of the summer at Swanwick were less likely in 1963 to be Christian than in 1913. SCM's branch membership was drawn from a broader social spectrum in 1963 and many of its members would have worked during the summer holidays. Swanwick was also made less attractive by changes in social mores that allowed much greater freedom to young people to pursue their own leisure activities; the tennis and rambles of Swanwick must have seemed a little passe to the post-Suez

generation of students.

Although the same solidarity and camaraderie was occasionally recaptured by the later SCM conferences, (the "Seeds of Liberation" Conference at Huddersfield in January of 1973 made a lasting impression on some participants) it was exceptional and affected far fewer people than were charmed by the SCM Swanwicks at their height.

The interregnum

The hope in appointing Reeves was that he would inspire the SCM and help it to find some distinct purpose and identity. His main contribution was to emphasise the political concerns of the Movement. General Council established a Political Commission, at first to consider the problems of Southern Africa in the light of various radical resolutions passed by the WSCF. For reasons which will be pursued in the analysis at the end of this chapter, radical political postures did not give the new unity and mission that the SCM wanted. Reeves was accused by many students of neglecting the organisation and failing in his role as chief administrator. His authoritarian style of management was resented by many and as it became clear that his appointment was not going to stop the decline of the Movement, so opposition grew. In the spring of 1965 a powerful section of the General Council proposed a vote of no-confidence. Once he was sure that such a vote would go against him, Reeves resigned. For the second time in his life, Ambrose Reeves left

the SCM.

By now the General Council was even more open to the influence of senior friends than it had been in 1963 and a successor to Reeves was found in David L. Edwards, a career SCM staff member. Spotted in the '50s by David Paton, Edwards had been an Associate Secretary from 1955 to 1958 and then Managing Director of the Press from 1959 until 1965. He agreed to act as General Secretary for as long as it took to find a permanent replacement. The six months of his leadership was a period of marking time. His chosen successor was David Head, a Methodist minister who had worked with the South African SCM and then led the Birmingham Inner City Mission. He had acted as Chaplain and Bible study leader at a number of SCM conferences and authored books on spirituality and prayer.

In his speech to the General Council in September 1965, Edwards gave a lengthy exposition of what he saw as the place of the SCM. He believed it had a role in the secular world but only if it freed itself and its faith from Hebrew, Tudor or Victorian thought and language. He returned to the theme of service:

the christian presence in the contemporary world must be modest and earthy, expressed almost entirely in silent service, in friendship and compassion, and in anonymous participation in the humanitarian causes which so urgently deserve our support (AR 1964-65:17).

He suggested closer work with chaplains and local congregations and more emphasis on the educational function of SCM through the

production of study material and good books¹. Few liberal Protestants would have disagreed with him but his policy statement did little to overcome the problem of disagreement between different people and different generations as to just what counted as "humanitarian causes which so urgently deserve our support".

Marxism, Catholics and the alternative structures

The Secretaryship of Head saw the SCM continue to respond to its environment by becoming more radical in both politics and theology. The major conference of 1966 was on "The Unmasking of Man; Marx and Freud" and among the speakers were Herbert McCabe, a leading Catholic Marxist and sometime editor of New Blackfriars, and Terry Eagleton, a Marxist literary scholar. In the same year, the SCM acquired its first Roman Catholic staff member, Laurence Bright, who was a monk. He cost the Movement his travelling expenses and an honorarium of £100 a year and with the Movement's finances in such a parlous condition, he was an attractive addition. The attribution of causal connection between the arrival of Catholics into the SCM and the radicalisation of the SCM's politics is difficult. Bright was himself a Marxist and his views were influential with the General Council. There was also a strong circle of Catholic Marxist intellectuals connected with New Blackfriars and Slant and they offered a new milieu of people and resources that

1 A course which would have taken the SCM out of the category of "social movement" and into the form of "service agency". Zald (1970) reviews the history of the YMCA in terms of such a shift.

had not previously been involved with the Movement. In influencing policy, the Catholic Marxists had the advantage of a coherent ideology which combined their religious faith with a reason for, and a programme of, political action in a systematic way obviously missing among liberal Protestants. More and more students were reading of and admiring the work of the Latin American radical Catholics and that influence came not only through the British Catholics but also from the WSCF where Third World interests were a major concern. Among Protestant churchmen the stand of the Anglican and Free Church clergy in South Africa was widely admired. Finally, the "openness" policy made the Movement more responsive to each generation of students and the middle and late sixties were times of almost generalised radicalism among British students.

This increased radicalism alienated many SCM patrons and senior friends. There was next to no new investment in the Movement. Inflation reduced the value of SCM's capital and the decline of the branches further devalued the contribution the membership made to the support of the national Movement. In 1967 the General Council established the Incomes Committee to examine the predicament of the SCM and to formulate new policy in the light of its financial troubles and its changing values¹. The Report of the

1 The thinking of the Incomes Committee and others in SCM at this time was clearly influenced by a report made by Bruce Douglass of the WSCF staff who spent some time touring the branches in 1966. His detailed observations include the important note that for all the radicalism of SCM's rhetoric and ideology its structure and activities were very traditional. This confirmed the belief of many in SCM that alternative structures were required.

Incomes Committee represented the first suggestion of a thorough revision of the Movement's structure, and was further notable for being compiled without the help of eminent senior patrons; a break with traditional SCM practice.

The "Colleges"

The most important element in the proposals was the idea of a network of "colleges" established in houses around the country.

It was suggested:

that a number of houses should be established, in each of which a member of staff, if possible five, should be employed to work on specific issues currently occupying the attention of mankind and particularly related to the area of higher education. This work should be supervised and promoted by Consultative Committees drawn from the senior and junior personnel in Institutions of Higher Education (Incomes Committee 1967:3).

This work would be done "on the basis of Christian and humanitarian evaluation directed to social change". It was hoped to involve "undergraduate students, post-graduate students, teachers, administrators and graduates of up to five years standing" in the work of the "college" and Annandale was to be a central service agency for the "colleges". Two alternative structures were proposed, based on different levels of staffing. Both depended on the Movement's income increasing.

There were two distinguishable threads in the pre-history of this proposal. Since the entry of the Anglo-Catholics there had been a current of interest in the Movement for communities and for some form of "order". Some people wanted to find a functional

equivalent of the rigour of the evangelicals' regular early morning "watch". At various points in the SCM's history some staff and some students proposed following "rules of life". The Iona Community was for the Scottish Protestants what Mirfield and Kelham were for the Anglo-Catholics; a symbol of a dedication and a commitment which, although not rigorous, was greater than that called for by routine participation in church activities. Thus the "order" had a secure place in the interests of the SCM. The second thread that blended with "order" to produce the "colleges" was "praxis". The idea that Christians should practise what they preach is a perennial one but it was reinforced for the SCM by the urgent need to do something different and by the political radicalism of many of the staff and students.

In many respects, the proposed colleges were the sort of institution which would have met the demands of the Moberley critique of the University. An integration of faith and study was proposed with each college pursuing a particular study project. The following points were made about the projects;

(1) they should be significant to the world of today, (2) the brief should involve evaluation and value judgements, (3) they should be directed towards social change, and (4) the results of the projects should be publishable. The discussion of suitable projects suggested that one should investigate "A Contemporary Understanding of Man":

as articulated by current movements and emphases in the field of the arts, philosophy, science, technology, theology and sociology. Its aim should be to attempt to draw together and evaluate those articulations in such diverse areas (Incomes Committee 1967:13).

Other proposed projects had similarly impressive titles and briefs¹.

The constitutional structure for the new SCM would be based on a plenary assembly of the College once a year. In this way the control of the Movement would rest in the hands of those committed to its work.

As well as the Colleges there would also be lists of associated groups who would be in touch with the SCM but with no more organic relationship than that of being on mailing lists. This would allow for much greater flexibility of membership and it would allow groups to go out of being once their useful life was finished;

Local groups would thus be seen as any group set up by people (probably members of the College) within a particular locality or institution of higher education who see its purpose in relation to one or more of its concerns of the Movement. The Committee feels that this arrangement would (a) free the energies and talents of a good many students from the mere organisational work in a branch, to work of a more directly creative and functional nature: (b) encourage the participation of many people who, while having much respect for the present work of the Movement and its concerns refuse to join a branch in favour of devoting their energies to the work of an organisation or society which is entirely problem-orientated (e.g. political, charitable etc.); (c) allow all members of the academic community in a particular place to feel and to see that the concerns manifest in a group are in the first instance native to that community and manifest on behalf of it, never imposed in any sense from outside (Incomes Committee 1967:18).

¹ For example, it was suggested that the work of the Irish College should be "a project on the nature of reconciliation, with special reference to those tensions particularly felt in Ireland, e.g. in the spheres of religion, politics and social structure" (Incomes Committee Report 1967:14).

It was intended to carry on the associate scheme as it currently existed in order to maintain some sort of contact with ex-members.

General Council reaction to the Income Committee proposals was mixed. Bright thought it not sufficiently radical. Peter Grant noted the elitist language of "colleges" and "fellows" and proposed that the scheme be coupled with the dissolution of General Council and Annandale. Dave Driscoll thought that the SCM was too university-centred: "Our crisis is that we are being edged out of the universities and we have nowhere to go" (Driscoll 1967 Memo). General Council appointed a Planning Committee to consider the Incomes Committee Report and the subsequent debate.

The scheme was never fully implemented. Finances alone would have seen to that, even had there not been opposition to the scheme. Both sides of the colleges - the community house and the project - reappeared in the SCM but as two distinct enterprises.

Manchester 1969

In keeping with much of the SCM under David Head's leadership, the Manchester 1969 conference combined elements of traditional practice with features of alternatives. The main speaker was Dom Helder Camara, the Roman Catholic Bishop of Recife, who was seen as a leading defender of the use of armed struggle in Latin America. To draw attention to the problems of Blacks in South Africa, some students from the conference entered and obstructed

the South Africa Airways office. Strong resolutions on poverty and the need to be prepared to use violence to promote social change were passed. There was also a growing rejection of traditional organisational forms and procedures. The editorial of Crosstalk - aroneo-produced broadsheet issued daily at the conference - asks "Why are plenary sessions so sacrosanct - no interruptions, no objections and no spontaneity - and always faced with that bloody great platform. In any event, try the absurd".

As a counter-balance to the political radicalism and the growing rejection of traditional organisational forms, there was the farewell sermon preached by the ageing Visser T'Hooft in the Cathedral whose Bishop was William Greer. As if to try and hold back the radicalism of the SCM, the editor of that year's annual report included a long account by Robert Mackie of the Manchester 1925 Conference; an obvious attempt to demonstrate some continuity in the SCM's changes.

Fragmentation

The period from 1966 onwards was characterised by increasing fragmentation of the Movement. Those members of the SCM who were dissatisfied with the national movement (and that included radicals who thought the Movement too liberal as well as liberals who thought it too radical) simply ignored it. As has been noted, even when the Movement was strong and growing, the commitment of the branches to the national movement was always a precarious

one, in need of constant "service" by travelling secretaries and others. The decline in the branch membership allowed the "centre" of the Movement - the staff and the nationally active students - to become ever less responsive to the branch membership. The branches, for their part, followed their own lights.

This fragmentation was exacerbated by the failure of those Christian Associations (in favour of which local SCM branches dissolved) which had affiliated to develop any strong commitment to the Movement. In 1966 the leaders of some CAs (as the ecumenical groups were generally known) met in Nottingham to discuss common problems. The following year they met at High Leigh at the invitation of the Universities Christian Consultative Group (another SCM creation).

Any attempt to impose or develop a rigid national structure was at that time felt to be unnecessary, unacceptable, and in many cases, disastrous for rapidly developing local situations. Such was the view of the meeting, but it was considered important to maintain the informal links between the CAs and a small working party was elected (Welton Memo for CA leaders meeting 1968).

As that account makes clear the second CA leaders meeting not only did not demonstrate any commitment to the national SCM; it went further and contemplated an alternative national organisation only to reject that on ideological and pragmatic grounds. This movement did not become more cohesive. The CA leaders lost touch with each other over the following years and could only be brought together again for the BCC consultation (which will be taken up again below).

The branches that had always been affiliated to the national SCM pursued their own interests and organised events without the assistance of the Annandale staff. The Presidents of some branches developed their disquiet with the national movement into a commitment to one another, as branch leaders, rather than the expected commitment of the branches to the centre. The most complete statement of the position of some of the branches came in a presentation to the SCM General Assembly in 1970. The document¹, signed by representatives of 15 branches (at least a third and perhaps a half of SCM's active branches) talked of the differences in theology and politics between the centre and the branches. It criticised the Movement for not doing enough to cater for new SCM members who did not have the sophisticated combination of ecumenicalism and socialism that characterised the centre. The document recommended that branch Presidents meet to discuss mutual problems and that some sort of publication be produced by the branches for the branches. Although these recommendations were directed at the Standing Committee of the SCM and were framed in terms of healing the rift between the branches and Annandale, they were not only symptomatic of that rift but also liable to further promote it by creating an identity among the branches in contrast to the national Movement.

The most dramatic indicator of the failure of the identity of the SCM, the erosion of its sense of purpose, and the strength of both

1 Presidents' Statement GA 1970 Appendix 2.

the competition without and the fragmentation within, was the BCC consultations. In 1968 the SCM approached the British Council of Churches and asked them to convene and chair an exploratory meeting of all parties involved in work with students to consider the formation of some new national organisation. As it was, nothing came of these talks. Part of the lack of commitment from the CAs and some branches to the SCM was a rejection of national structures. The denominational societies, such as the Anglican Students Fellowship, had no such objection, having themselves developed slowly from separate local groups into a reasonably cohesive national organisation. While they had no objection to the form of organisation, they could not be committed to the purpose of it, given that they had established themselves in order to give denominational teaching and guidance to students. While they could participate in ecumenical affairs, they could not merge as denominational societies until their churches had united. Thus the SCM was left in the position of being the provider of a service, an entity for an ecumenical fellowship, which could not readily be replaced and yet which was not perceived as filling such a vital need that it could attract active support in order to rebuild itself. It was not so obviously useless that there could be agreement to dissolve it or replace it but neither was it so clearly useful that it could reproduce itself regularly.

The Free University for Black Studies

One of the activities of this period that shows most clearly the political tone of the SCM, the lack of support it had from its own membership and the rapid erosion of the support of senior friends, was the launching of the Free University for Black Studies (FUBS). The SCM's analysis of race relations had taken them to a "Black Power" position which saw the only solution in black people learning their own history. Such self-education could only take place outside the normal structures of white education which were authoritarian and part of the "white system". Courses were to be given free. This idea was SCM's response to the World Council of Churches' decision to give one quarter of its own resources to support self-help projects for oppressed people.

The FUBS started work with evening classes in a house in Notting Hill. Laurence Bright, on behalf of the Political Commission, composed an appeal brochure. The appeal was intended to raise £10,000 with SCM giving 10s. for every pound raised.

The FUBS brochure provoked much heated argument between the SCM and senior friends. In Bristol a group of senior friends severed relations with the SCM. Oliver Tomkins, the Bishop of Bristol wrote:

I am disgusted that a student body can sponsor a document containing the uncritical conventional outburst of contemporary slogans printed there. As in most slogans, they contain half-truths but become untruths through gross oversimplification. This is nasty enough in commerce, politics and textbooks of a chauvinistic character. It is even

nastier in a publication of the SCM.

The stuff... about Free Universities is a gross slander on the efforts that are being made in many universities... to help in the achievement of racial understanding.

I read it with dismay because the document seems to me to produce an atmosphere of hatred far removed from the spirit of that prayer of St. Francis "Where there is hatred, let me sow love" etc. which I would like to believe characterises SCM publications.

As you can imagine I do not enclose a subscription and begin to regret that my support for the movement is covenanted.

Yours both in sorrow and in anger (Tomkins to Head
12th March 1970).

Professor Kenneth Grayston, the Head of the Theology Department at Bristol University, and his wife, withdrew their covenants and asked for their names to be removed from any official connection with the Bristol SCM branch. Another member of the Theology Faculty, a member of the SCM Education Department Executive in 1943, wrote a very detailed critique of the proposal which made the pragmatic point that even if one believed that racism is caused by capitalism it does no good to say so to the capitalist when one asks for donations.

In retrospect the document does seem remarkably inept. Including as it does such phrases as "We must be part of the solution - otherwise we are part of the problem", it seems almost to have been written for the express purpose of alienating the generation of Grayston and Tomkins, the very generation on whom SCM depended. There is no doubt that there was a great deal of commitment among the SCM activists and staff to the FUBS. The General Assembly which supported the move collected £260 from those present. The degree of support from the wider membership and senior friends can

be gauged from the fact that the SCM only raised £800 in 18 months towards a £10,000 appeal. The project folded.

The growing fears of senior friends about the state of the movement were reinforced by the resignation of David Head. Although Head was a committed supporter of the FUBS and other radical activities, he was still seen by some seniors as a source of stability in an organisation that seemed to be changing ever more rapidly. Head was keen on adult and community education and he developed a plan for a community education project to be launched by the SCM. This plan was accepted by Standing Committee. When it came up for ratification at the General Assembly, it was rejected in favour of an alternative education project proposed by Bob and Maggi Whyte. It was clear to those at the GA that the vote was a vote of confidence and Head was further offended by the failure of any member of the Standing Committee which had accepted his plan to speak in its support. He resigned.

In a climate increasingly fraught with suspicion, rumours abounded. Some students were concerned about sums of money given to Agitprop. The 1970-71 accounts mention a loan of £1,470 and a gift of £300. Those accounts were subject to audit. The sums were not mentioned in the accounts that were sent to the Charity Commissioners. It was claimed that the loan had been repaid in the interval between the two parts of the accounting process but one critic was prepared to say that he was sure the accounts were simply "squared". A further sign of the total lack of harmony in the

Movement was the increasing complaints about the constitutional validity of decisions made at meetings that may or may not have been inquorate. Which of these stories are true and which are false is now extremely difficult to ascertain. As has been argued, one of the features of the SCM in this period was organisational decay and adequate records for this period are not available. The discussion presented here, however, faithfully reflects the accounts reported to me by those involved in the conflicts, checked wherever possible with documentary sources and the accounts of others.

Organisational reform

A sign of the decreasing status and importance of the SCM was the increasing difficulty in getting staff. Previously General Secretaries had been almost self-recruiting. An able and competent student would be watched and given various tasks, such as chairing a summer conference. His name would be circulated and if there was wide agreement he would be offered some "understudy" position until the General Secretary retired. There had been no problem in finding very able men for the post. As we have already seen many SCM staff members became very successful in their subsequent careers. When Tatlow was Secretary, the staff also contained William Paton, thought by many to be Tatlow's obvious successor but instead a future WCC leader¹. As the Movement declined in importance and

¹ Many of the Anglicans who went into the Church became dignatories; Grier, Pat Rogers, RD Say, RW Stopford, Hetley Price, Leslie Newbiggin and many others became Bishops. DL Edwards, David Paton, Stephen Burnett and others became Canons.

wealth it could no longer attract and hold senior men and women. In its days of rising fortune it combined youth and experience in the two-tier staff system - young travelling and local secretaries and older experienced headquarters staff. By the time of John Martin there were far fewer older staff members and the appointment committee had to look outside the SCM for a leader of "stature". As it happened, the Reeves experiment was a failure. The SCM was fortunate in finding in Head a combination of clerical experience and radicalism but after his departure the problem of staffing became critical.

Basil Moore, a young South African Methodist minister took the job, which had now been renamed "Co-ordinating secretary", with the clear implication that he was no more than one among many in terms of authority. Following the departure of Head, the SCM began a number of ideologically inspired reforms of its organisation. In 1970 the General Council had been replaced as the main decision-making body by the General Assembly, to be made up of delegates from all the associated branches. The SCM had shrunk sufficiently for this body to be not much larger than the selective Council. Day to day running was left in the hands of a Standing Committee. The Student President, elected by the GA (but having to have been a member of Standing Committee) took on more importance. At an Extraordinary General Assembly in 1972 the concept of the Movement's leadership as a team of equals was elaborated and accepted as policy. All staff were now paid the same basic wage with

subsequent allowances to meet "needs". An important addition to the staff in 1972 was Viv Broughton, a Methodist rock musician who had been involved in various types of "community work" and The Catonsville Roadrunner. Richard Zipfel joined the staff in 1973.

An American Jesuit who had become involved in organising the defence of anti-Vietnam War demonstrators, among other things, before coming to Britain and working for Pax Christi, Zipfel needed a job to remain in the country. In his application he detailed his involvement in community politics and said: "In short I have participated in almost every aspect of radical politics, Christian involvement, communal living, alternatives and new thought over the past five years" (Zipfel C.V. 1973).

Zipfel, Broughton and others were committed to translating the ideology of SCM into reality, at least in the way they organised their own lives. They argued for decentralisation of the Movement.

There are two basic models for an organisation. One is centralised and hierarchical. You have a powerful centre with attendant things going on out and back. This model we know lends itself to bureaucracy, authoritarianism, class divisions, elite decision making, the teacher and the taught, the rulers and the ruled.

The other model is decentralised and egalitarian. The model is a network of autonomous but inter-dependent groups, interests, activities and individuals etc. held together by a concern for mutual support and a good communications system.

They appreciated that their favoured model (the second one!) might bring problems:

The move has disadvantages and risks. However we feel that these disadvantages and dangers are not substantive (sic) reasons for turning away from the move (Broughton and Zipfel Memo circa 1974).

Similar ideological commitment led to the removal of a division of labour in the operation of the SCM's bureaucracy. The idea that one person should do the "creative" work while the other did the menial jobs such as typing and filing was abhorred. The job briefs for the Co-ordinating secretaries stated that they would have to "type, duplicate, file own correspondence etc.", "assist in maintaining the HQ grounds", and help clean and repair the conference centre. A further radical departure was the hiring of a husband and wife as one person. This was promoted by Broughton who argued that it was bad faith for the SCM to be committed to the importance of women's rights while doing nothing to set its own house in order. The upshot was that Jan and Viv Broughton shared the job and the salary. In the terms employed by Roche and Sacks (1957) the "enthusiasts" were certainly taking over from the "bureaucrats".

Some idea of the degree of commitment to this HQ revolution can be gained from an incident in 1972. The "team" concept was just being elaborated at the same time as the SCM was searching for competent senior staff. Seven SCM people and Andrew Lockley of the British Council of Churches met with Salters Sterling in order to sound him out about his willingness to consider being "the fourth member of a team". He made it clear that he would not want the job on those terms. The interviewing committee then divided in their response between those who supported the team concept outlined in the job brief and those who thought that having Salters

Sterling back in the Movement was more important than the team concept. The decision was passed back to the Standing Committee who reaffirmed the primacy of the new method of organisation. Sterling did not rejoin the SCM staff.

The "Projects"

Having looked at the ways in which the ideology of the SCM affected organisational change, the activities of the SCM will now be examined. The idea of "projects" was first mentioned in the grandiose "college" scheme. In a sense, they were the new praxis-informed variants on the old SCM theme of study groups. Now instead of the Movement realising its identity, in part by having its members studying, for example, the needs of China, and meeting at conferences on that theme, the new projects would combine study and action. They would give purpose and direction to the Movement. They would be the keys to its identity. To make this role more obvious, they were renamed "Touchstones". In the main, the particular topics suggested were the "main concerns" of the "college" scheme, with some additions:

- (1) 3rd World Theology and culture
- (2) Bible Study
- (3) Theology of Liberation and Celtic Oppression
- (4) Spirituality
- (5) Worship/Liturgy/Celebration
- (6) Work, Jobs, Careers

- (7) Sex and Sexism
- (8) Group dynamics - personal growth
- (9) Communes/Collectives
- (10) Education and being a student
- (11) Arts and Media Workshop
- (12) Ecology and Socialism
- (13) Christians for Socialism.

(from A Beginner's Guide to SCM 1973).

Touchstone was supposed to operate as follows. The organiser, sometimes a student, sometimes a senior friend, would be contacted by interested individuals. He would prepare a "mailing" or "study pack" and send this to all those who expressed an interest. If enough people were keen, then a small conference would be arranged. The mailing could be used to advertise related events being organised by non-SCM groups. Conrad Taylor, a student, prepared one such mailing on Disarmament and Militarism (a project not on the above list) which included notices of conferences, discussion questions and reviews of various relevant books. It was sent to four people. The Touchstones were an appalling failure. Most of them did not even attract an organiser, let alone participants and their only "survival" was a series of pamphlets on similar topics which were included in issues of Movement.

Distinct from these activities, which could be thought of as "study projects" were what I will call "service projects". These were altogether more ambitious affairs which involved the Movement in

sponsoring some entity which did something or offered some service to people both within and without the Movement. One such project was Street Research. This was a coordination service for a variety of community and "alternative" groups:

During the ten months of its existence, Street Research has answered a steady stream of requests for help and information on aspects of housing and community action, companies research and many other subjects. I have attempted to help groups with their projects by visiting them and talking over their problems and situations with them... But despite the value of what has been accomplished through the project, I personally conclude that Street Research as a composite, England-wide, one person staffed project, relating to both student community action and radical research and action, is not really viable... To relate to the whole of England, particularly with regard to student community action... means relating to everyone but in the end to almost nobody more than superficially (Jackson in SCM Annual Report 1971/72).

As Jackson appreciates, there was really very little one person could do to change the structure of British society and Street Research progressively restricted its activity until all it did was publish the Street Research Bulletin. In the milieu of "alternative structures", the Bulletin did rather well, selling 1,500 copies of its first issue. However, after two years, the SCM support was ended.

The Community and Education Centre - the project that the GA supported in preference to David Head's community education scheme - was grounded in the ideas of Illich and Friere about the relationship between education and community. Set up in a house in Lewisham, Bob and Maggie Whyte ran short courses for students from Colleges of Education to:

help people to look at any community with greater awareness and to recognise the clues which may help them to interpret it. It is hoped that this will also lead to a greater understanding of the way in which people relate to each other in different situations, and that this in turn will help participants to think about their own reactions, values and assumptions (CEC brochure circa 1973).

SCM funded the work for two years in which it was quite well used by Colleges of Education but the fundamental difficulty of the relationship between the staff running the CEC and the SCM was never resolved. While its services were being used and being paid for by the consumers, it was not self-financing and the SCM was supporting CEC with no obvious return in terms of loyalty to the Movement. In a letter in early 1974, Bob Whyte admitted that he had trouble getting members of the CEC management committee to take an active part in SCM affairs; they were committed to CEC and not the SCM. In 1975 SCM agreed to finance the project for another two years on the understanding that CEC should be self-financing by then and SCM aid would cease at that point. The project folded in 1977.

Another project that began with great hope and then failed to realise its ambitions was the Europe/Third World Research Centre. The idea of a centre that would provide resources for the study of the relationship between countries of Europe and Africa and co-ordinate the work of various Third groups was promoted by WSCF, and the British SCM undertook the financing of such a project as its contribution to WSCF. Chen Chimutengwende was appointed as Director of the ETWRC. Housed in the basement of what was once

Student Movement House in London, the Centre began to act as a mail-drop, address of convenience, meeting place and office for a wide variety of groups including The Kwame Nkrumah Institute of Writers and Journalists, the Ghana Students Union, the Pan African Congress, the Palestinian Action Group, ZANU and UNITA. ETWRC was opened in 1969. By 1974 many SCM members were disillusioned with the lack of obvious return from the investment. From the first it had been understood that the Director of ETWRC would try to find long-term sources of finance outside SCM. Chimutengwende did succeed in raising £10,000 from WCC but this went to the Kwame Nkrumah Institute (under the alternative name of Zambesi Press International) for the publication of a journal. In October 1974, Zipfel sent a circular to all groups using the Centre asking for a tightening up of procedures so that more "serious" research might be pursued and the the Centre might be more than a casual meeting place. This produced a hostile response from Chimutengwende:

Some of the groups based at the Centre have been there since the early days and some of their members have participated in SCM activities since then. To ask them in writing, without discussing with them, that they should hand over the mythical keys and pay 50p for their meetings, write an application to the SCM Standing Committee, etc. is unjustifiable and deplorably humiliating. The whole thing constitutes the consolidation of the current right-wing deviation in the SCM which has been developing over the past three years. With or without the SCM, our anti-imperialist propaganda work will continue unabated.

He adds "Frankly, the people I know regard the basement as property owned by a rich white liberal organisation and are pleased to take advantage of its offers of space" (Chimutengwende to Zipfel October 1974).

Even when Chen Chimutengwende had been replaced as Director, the ETWRC did little to fulfil the second part of its brief relating to the SCM. It was providing a service for various foreign student groups but it was not servicing SCM with publications or information about the Third World and was doing little to convince a financially ailing SCM to continue to support it. Support was taken over by the WSCF Frontier International Programme and SCM ceased to be involved.

Among other short-lived projects undertaken in this period was GOAT. Initially called PROD (for Personal Relationship and Organisational Development), this project was intended to offer short courses on personal relations and group organisation for chaplains and others involved in work with groups. The organisers of this project were Joan and O'in O'Leary who had trained in Gestalt at Esalen, and Hank O'Mahony, a Capuchin priest who had studied at Saul Alinsky's Industrial Areas Foundation. These three people offered Gestalt Orientation and Alinsky Training (hence GOAT). The work was sponsored by SCM for a year with the hope that it would become self-financing. It did not succeed in this, although at least half of the thirty or so who attended the courses thought them worthwhile, and it folded.

The Community Houses

Although the "college" scheme was never accepted, the projects, as we have seen, survived. Likewise, the idea of community houses

became a reality, although not in the planned fashion envisaged in the "college" scheme. Many of the SCM staff and students were affected by the commune movement of the late sixties and the notion of taking capital out of shares and banks and into "people" through the purchase of property was an ideologically attractive one¹. Strategically located houses could also provide accommodation for SCM staff and so contribute to a policy of regionalisation. In 1973 2 houses were purchased in Birmingham. Having bought the houses, SCM found that they could not interest any local SCM members in living in them and so the space was offered to an assortment of people; none of whom was Christian or committed to SCM. The houses did provide office space for Third World Publications and a community printing group used the garden shed to house its printing press². The various attempts made by the two resident SCM secretaries to promote some sort of sense of community among the residents does not seem to have been successful and at the end of their first year in the house both left, one to work at Wick Court and the other to join a more authentic commune in Lincolnshire. The Oxford House was far more successful as an "SCM house". It was owned by a local clergyman and other residents included a college chaplain and three members of the local SCM. The Movement bought the house from the owner and so took on something

1 It should be pointed out that the investment rationale for the community houses only became prominent in the Trust dispute period; at this point the dominant rationale for the houses was ideological. Community was a good thing.

2 The Birmingham house was the subject of a chapter of Lockley's Christian Communes (1976).

that was already existing. The SCM House in Bristol was occupied by the Assistant Anglican Chaplain and members of the local SCM. The largest community house was Wick Court. For some years SCM had been considering selling Annandale and moving out of London (something which IVF has itself recently done). As is usually the case, a number of different rationales and legitimations combined to create the climate of opinion that led the General Assembly to buy Wick Court. There were pragmatic reasons; London was expensive and Golders Green was so far out of the way that the staff were isolated from the students in the Movement (the very reason that recommended the site to Tatlow). There was also a great boom in land and property values and the sale of Annandale would improve the financial position. There were ideological grounds; the belief in the need for communal living and the hope that the example of a community which was not characterised by sexist roles and exploitative division of labour might give some greater cohesion, identity and purpose to the SCM. Investigations were made of various cities with Birmingham and Nottingham heading the list of possibilities. Finally, as a result of a casual enquiry Wick Court near Bristol was found and, with the hurried consent of Standing Committee and General Assembly, purchased.

Wick Court is a large and decrepit Elizabethan manor house in a small village some fifteen miles from Bristol. Geographically it is near both Bath and Bristol but nonetheless is virtually inaccessible without private transport. Financially the move could not have

been made at a worse time. The bottom dropped out of the property market and Annandale did not make the inflated sums that had been suggested by valuers. Although the wretched state of Wick was appreciated at the time of the purchase and realistic estimates had been made of the sums needed to develop it (totalling about £50,000) these sums were gradually reduced in the budgets of following years. It was intended that the residents of Wick Court - all HQ staff and families and other SCM people - would do much of the restoration themselves and they did achieve a great deal. The Court was, however, in such a poor state that, especially in winter, it was far from being comfortable and the very inadequacy of the material conditions of the community soon produced emotional and social tensions.

The Community came nearest to achieving some closeness of spirit in the first months. Rev. Colin Hodgetts and Kate Skinner built the chapel in the basement and tried to produce an openly religious community with "order" book. They left in dissatisfaction and joined the Aothona Community (Bardwell-on-Sea, Essex). The breakdown of a marriage, though possibly incidental to the evaluation of Wick, added a further element of strain.

Although the early accounts of life at Wick talked glowingly about having local residents in for tea and talk, the reality was that relations with local people were never good. From the first there was a great deal of distrust of the commune and this seems to have been the explanation for the delays in obtaining planning permission

for the conversion of the outhouses into a small self-catering conference centre.

If relationships between individuals in the community were not what had been hoped for, the relationship between the residents of Wick Court and the Movement were even less satisfactory. There were at first no regulations governing the selection of members because there was no perception of the possibility of Wick Court and the SCM not being coterminous. Later the Standing Committee reserved the right to refuse people the right to stay at Wick. The question of what the Wick residents should give to the SCM in return for accommodation, i.e. rent (and if so how much), or labour, caused much ill-feeling. When SCM members went to Wick for conferences, the community residents were expected to help the arrangements by, for example, doing the cooking. Some residents saw themselves as exploited by the SCM. For their part, many SCM members saw the Movement being exploited by "free loaders" whose alternative life style was being paid for with SCM capital.

The Wick experiment failed to become an asset to the Movement and within a year of the move Colin Hodgett and Kate Skinner had left, the staff of Movement had moved to Dublin and John Careswell, one of the coordinating secretaries, had resigned from the SCM and left Wick. Significant of the failure of the community was the fact that Zipfel, by then the most senior administrator, lived in London and commuted to Wick to deal with SCM affairs. The Tatlow Centre, as the self-catering conference facilities were called, took a long

time to become operational because of the reliance on amateur labour, and failed to make a profit.

Summary

By the sixties, the SCM was in decline. Its ideology and activities were no longer attractive to large numbers of students and it was having increased difficulty in raising financial support. The Movement faced competition from Chaplaincies, denominational societies and ecumenical Chaplaincy-support groups. The rise of the IVF offered a more serious challenge in that it also was an interdenominational student-run organisation. That IVF was no longer an obviously minority-based organisation undermined that part of the SCM's legitimation that derived simply from existing and being large. The appeal of the SCM had been one of liberating young people from narrow orthodox denominational backgrounds, of introducing them to Christians from other traditions and to a more radical and intellectual Christianity than they had been brought up with. In a number of ways, that relationship between product and market had been altered. IVF and the Scripture Union, hand in hand with the increasing number of young evangelical clerics, were doing a better job of retaining young evangelicals in the fold. Ecumenicalism itself was not the novelty that it had been before the War; the establishment of the World Council of Churches and the British Council of Churches had changed a radical position into an orthodoxy. Secularisation had diminished the market, of which IVF

was getting an ever increasing share. To continue to thrive SCM needed to expand outside the sphere of the church, and convert the heathen.

In this enterprise it was dogged by an ideology that was nearly impossible to use as a device of proselytising. The SCM theology, (if one could actually be identified) was too complex and diffuse. It could not easily be translated into the two or three simple slogans and propositions which, at the same time, identify personal problems for the listener, diagnose those problems, offer a solution which is immediate and arresting, which requires serious commitment but which, in return, offers almost unlimited rewards, in this world and the next. As has been noted (Marsden 1977:226) that the fundamentalists' dichotomised world-view - the sinners and the saved, the world of God and of the devil, the sacred and the secular - made it difficult for them to come to terms with trends in secular thought. This may be so, but the same sort of dichotomised world-view is far superior in proselytising than the liberal gospel which rather than challenging the sinner with his sinfulness, seeks to approach the concerns of the sinner and reduce the cognitive distance between the sinner and the Christian.

The SCM branch structure was always precarious and in need of constant servicing. With the decline of the appeal of the SCM, shown in particular in the fall-off of Swanwick attendance, the Movement was unable to reproduce its structure. Organisational decay exacerbated the problems of maintaining and marketing the

Movement. The recall of Ambrose Reeves was a brave gesture but one which failed to reverse the logic of the openness policy.

This policy was the logical development of the inclusive nature of the SCM. It was also pragmatically legitimated by pointing to the opportunities for enticing non-Christians into the Movement by first interesting them in the secular end of an enterprise which showed "Christian's approach to..." various topics. What the active supporters of "openness" seemed to ignore was the possibility that such a policy was only viable within a milieu which was relatively homogenous in that its members already shared common concerns, perceptions and knowledge. The lack of some enforceable criterion for testing membership had offered enough possibilities for paralysis within the Movement when it only allowed Christians to join. When non-Christians were invited into the branches what little cohesion the SCM had left was destroyed.

There were two distinguishable reasons for the failure of "openness". Non-Christians felt frustrated and cheated by the persistence of a sufficiently strong Christian element which excluded them. At the Manchester Conference in 1969, a resolution was passed urging a joint study programme on Race, Poverty and Alienation with the British Council of Churches. One speaker said "I came as a non-Christian. I go away as a non-Christian. There are some non-Christians here who want to do something" (Methodist Recorder 24th April 1969).

A second reason for the failure of the totally inclusive policy to

increase the size of SCM was that it was competing on unequal terms with other bodies. The idea was that the development of clear interests, "Christians interested in Race" or "Christians interested in alternative life-styles", would build bridges from the SCM to the secular student world and would bring people interested in the issues of "Race" or "alternative life-styles" into the SCM. This did not happen. If anything, the movement went in the opposite direction. SCM members became interested in the secular end of these bridges and went off to pursue them in a whole-hearted rather than piecemeal fashion. David Head did not return to the ministry but went to work in adult education. Eva Strauss left SCM to join a "real" commune. Members of the SCM group in Edinburgh joined the International Socialists in order to pursue what had become their first priority. In dabbling with various interests the SCM came up against other organisations which possessed greater legitimacy in the pursuit of those interests. Having been forced into a corner in the field of student religion, it was failing to make any impact on secular student interests. Many people involved in radical christianity would accept that this was the right and proper course for Christians; that rather than preserve their own organisations and their own worlds they should take their faith into the worlds of other people. While that is a valid view, it was not one held by the SCM members and staff who pushed the policy of service and openness. It was clearly held to be worthwhile to perpetuate the organisation of the SCM, and the radicalism was justified on ideological and pragmatic grounds.

As it happened the two sets of criteria were incompatible.

A significant turning point was represented by the arrival of a number of Roman Catholics into the SCM staff. They pursued ideologically-generated goals with a disregard for the consequences of their actions that was almost deliberate; Laurence Bright's two documents The Political Stance of the SCM and The Free University for Black Studies could not have alienated more patrons of the Movement if they had been designed for the purpose. One might speculate that the Catholics' commitment to ideological pursuits derived from their dissatisfaction with their own very conservative church and an awareness of the unlikelihood of doing anything radical within it.

The Trust Association Dispute

The SCM of the late sixties and seventies... rejected the divisions between students and others as being a capitulation to the norms of capitalist society; it regarded both the clerically dominated church and the universities as dying institutions which would not be produced in the same form in the new society; it fantasized itself as a revolutionary apocalyptic movement whose priority was to "live the truth" rather than make it survive as a growing institution. But this image of the SCM as a "remnant" again encountered the fundamental contradiction, that its radicalism was being financed from capital accumulated in the past and was therefore accountable not only to God but to some very earthly institutions (Condren 1979:4).

Two of those "earthly institutions" feature in the troubles that faced the Movement in the last five years. The Trust Association was a legal entity created by the SCM under Tatlow's management

to own property on behalf of the Movement (something which the Movement as a charity could not itself do). The Executive Committee of the Trust Association met rarely and usually only to ratify financial decisions involving capital made by the SCM. It was never designed to be, or regarded as, a decision or policy making body. Its membership was at first made up of members of the General Council and some co-opted officers such as the Honorary Treasurer. A lag gradually developed between individuals ceasing to be active in the SCM and resigning from the Trust. The Trust also held property for the CEM which meant that two members of the Executive were not active in SCM and the Editor of SCM Press normally sat on the Trust. Thus there was the possibility of conflict between the SCM of any generation and their predecessors. However, until 1975 such a conflict had not arisen and most SCM members would not have been aware of the Trust's existence.

The structural conduciveness (to borrow Smelser's term) of the situation was promoted by Basil Moore who, when General Secretary, sought to win over senior friends by inviting them onto the Trust. This move was unconstitutional.

Some seniors were concerned about the policies of the SCM but the main disquiet concerned budgetary management. The Trust's discussions began in July of 1975 with a letter from Bob Whyte, who had recently left the SCM staff, in which a number of complaints about financial maladministration were made. A small sub-committee of the Trust met to consider these and other reports

and presented its findings to the September meeting. Martin Palmer who was just coming to the end of his year as Student President of the SCM was at that meeting and he did much to confirm the fears of the Trust. A meeting between members of the Trust and the SCM GA was suggested and Palmer carried that proposal with the Trust's comments to the October General Assembly. The GA did not reply to the Trust.

At the next meeting of the Trust various resolutions were passed which tried to freeze the SCM's assets and require staff to sign new contracts of employment with the Trust and not the SCM. The Trust not only tried to enforce its will on the SCM; the relationship between the SCM and Wick Court was referred to the Charity Commissioners for investigation.

The important points of this process need emphasising. The argument was not simply between the men of the fifties and the students, or the radicals and the conservatives. The Trust Executive would not have acted as it did had it not been for the actions of Whyte, Palmer and Gillian Birkby (who had recently been defeated in the election for Student President). Their concern about fulfilling their duties as trustees was translated into action by the thought that there was a large body of dissatisfaction within the students of the SCM. In that they were wrong. The Trust action had almost the opposite effect. The appearance of outside intervention made the students close ranks and provoked a series of unanimous and nem.con. votes in GAs and Standing

Committees that ran for two years. It would also be difficult to regard Whyte, Palmer and Birkby as being significantly more conservative than the students of the SCM. For the Trust the argument was about financial control. For the students the argument was about democracy and control.

The Trust instructed a lawyer to visit Wick Court and report to them. M.V. Carey presented a low-key report, which in contrast to the sort of accusation being made by members of the Trust, was almost sympathetic to the SCM. He accepted that there was some financial irregularity which he attributed to the absence of a good financial secretary on the staff and he suggested that something be done to formalise the relationship between the SCM and Wick Court and the other community houses. The Trust Executive responded by appointing another legal advisor, a move which was defended by Gillian Birkby with the argument that Carey should not be expected to act for both the SCM and the Trust. This move was interpreted by the SCM as proof that the Trust Executive were committed to trying to oust them and that they would fabricate the evidence if they could not find any.

The Trust's ability to enforce its will was undermined by two things. Moore's "padding" of the Trust meant that some of the people who were heavy-handedly legalistic with the SCM were themselves in an unconstitutional position. When put to the scrutiny of lawyers the Association's articles became sufficiently ambiguous to make legalism difficult. A major claim of the Trust was that the last

three GAs of the SCM (which included the meeting which approved the purchase of Wick) had been inquorate. They had less than sixty people at them. In this the Trust was wrong. Standing Orders had been altered, constitutionally, in 1970 to reduce the quorum from the, by then unrealistically high, sixty to thirty-five. In the face of a surprisingly united SCM the Trust did not pursue its complaints. The investigations of the Charity Commissioners could not, however, be stopped, and over the next twelve months a large body of correspondence grew. One by one the Commissioners were satisfied. The community houses were accepted with the rationale that they were in fact normal investments producing a reasonable return on capital. Diversification of interests was a problem. The SCM in Oxford had organised a seminar on "Giving Birth", for example, which was regarded as being beyond the acceptable limits of what SCM could do with its charitable status as a religious organisation. The Commissioners asked for a guarantee that in future the Movement would confine its activities to "mainstream Christianity". Some members of Standing Committee wanted to reply with a detailed justification for rejecting that sort of compartmentalisation, but more pragmatic counsels prevailed and the assurance was given.

In 1977, the Executive of the Trust issued a statement saying that the dispute was now "in the past"; a reaction to the Charity Commissioners' conclusion that there was "no evidence of mal-administration which would justify the setting up of a formal inquiry".

The irony of the Trust dispute was that it may well have delayed the reforms the Trust members wanted. By 1975 there was already a new current of pragmatism among some student members. With their action, the Trust forced some members of the GA and the Standing Committee to give principled support to things with which they themselves disagreed. The constitutional question of control may have prevented from emerging three years earlier than they did, the very reforms which were sought.

The dispute was disastrous for the Movement. Support for the SCM, like support for anything involved both loyalty and lethargy. People continued their subscriptions because they had always subscribed. The lethargy of many supporters was undermined by a series of disturbing reports. Loans to Agitprop (mentioned in the House of Commons and the Daily Telegraph) and accusations of Marxism and anti-semitism in the Church Times caused many people to review their support for the SCM. Attacks by evangelicals were nothing new and would not have caused comment but the Trust dispute, with public condemnation by leading "SCM types" such as Paton and Lee-Woolf, was a serious blow to the legitimacy of the Movement. The financial cost cannot be quantified but it was certainly great. Since the sixties, the SCM has depended on investment income. Inflation has gradually eroded the value of that and the loss of public confidence has made it almost impossible for the SCM to raise any new financial backing. Many ex-members cancelled their subscriptions and revoked covenants. As

its membership had declined already to almost nothing there was little hope of replacing this source of support.

The present position of the SCM

Just as the radicalism of the SCM in the sixties was in part a reflection of the radicalism of the student world, the period from 1975 onwards shows a growing sense of "realism" within the Movement. The central character in the last four years in the SCM has been Dave Snowden. Snowden was the second person to hold the position of Student President as a sabbatical post. By 1975 the central bureaucracy had been reduced to just two offices, financial/administrative secretary and student President. Snowden had been sabbatical President of the Lancaster Students' Union and was active in the Broad Left coalition in NUS politics. Under his leadership the SCM's budgetting policies were tightened (that, combined with a windfall of an increased dividend from SCM Press after their publication of The Myth of God Incarnate, allowed the SCM to keep its expenditure within its income for the first time in many years). The remaining projects were abandoned and efforts concentrated again on developing the branch structure and working with chaplains. A large conference was organised in cooperation with the National Standing Conference of Chaplains, and by the same cooperation a period of stability was brought to SCM by creating a post of "resource coordinator/conference planner" for two years. This job was offered to Snowden when he had finished

his year as Student President and so gave him three years as a de facto leader in the Movement.

What was left of the Wick Court community was dissolved and the house put on the market. In 1979 the SCM moved into rented offices in Birmingham (ironically the city which was the first choice in 1973 when the Movement first discussed moving from London). Movement, which since 1973 had been published in Dublin, was brought back to the main offices. Richard Zipfel and Mary Condren, the last remaining Wick Court-era staff, resigned.

After years of patient negotiation, new articles for the Trust Association and a new constitution for the Movement were prepared and submitted to an Annual General Meeting. The proposals offered a delicate balance between the interests of the students (to make the SCM as democratic as possible), with all decision-making in the hands of the GA, and the interests of the senior friends who wanted to build "safeguards" into the constitution which would stop any one generation of the Movement jeopardising the future of the Movement with rash financial policies¹. After much debate, in which a section of the meeting tried to remove those elements which had obviously been put there to please senior friends, the proposals were accepted. The significance of the

1 Stephen Burnett has reminded me that the "oligarchic" safeguards were written into the proposed constitution by the students of the drafting group and not the senior friends. This does not negate my point which is that whoever actually proposed them, the safeguards were there for senior friends and were seen by all as a vital element in renewing public confidence in the Movement.

event was made clear by John Sutcliffe, one of the original Trust Executive members who had started the dispute, when in speaking to the proposals, he said "It is not so much what I have to say that is important, as the fact that I am here at all". With the withdrawal of those identified by each side as the main protagonists, the dispute was resolved. The Trust Executive was replaced by a Finance Committee which had powers to make recommendations and to oversee the budgets of the Movement, and if it thinks fit, to appoint staff to maintain proper accounts, but which was still subordinate to the General Assembly. This arrangement, and the people appointed to the Finance Committee, seem to have gone a long way to satisfying senior friends and there are signs of some eminent senior friends being willing publicly to support the Movement once again.

CHAPTER NINE

THE RISE OF THE EVANGELICALS

The organisational development of IVF

For a long time the IVF organisation was just Douglas Johnson and the office was wherever he lived. Jean Strain (later Mrs Donald Coggan¹) had some private income and assisted on an honorary basis with typing and correspondence. In his final year of medical training Johnson went to Bristol to work with Rendle Short and after that he ran a medical mission in one of London's slums. By 1931 IVF was publishing a magazine and some pamphlets and, feeling that his slum address was not sufficiently prestigious, Johnson used the office of a sympathetic friend in the city as an address of convenience.

Johnson wanted an office but the Committee was reluctant to agree. It was felt that the acquisition of an office would lead to the acquisition of full-time staff to fill it. This was the same argument used by the SVMU/BCCU committees to dampen Tatlow's plans of expansion. Johnson and Coggan took unilateral action and with the help of a former student colleague in an estate agency, acquired a single-room office. The Committee gracefully accepted the fait accompli.

1 Donald Coggan, later Archbishop of Canterbury, was a keen evangelical scholar and had been strongly influenced by GT Manley when he was an undergraduate.

From 1934 until 1936, Howard Guinness¹ travelled round the British colleges on money provided by friends and supporters of his father and grandfather before going to Oxford to study theology and then joining the Oxford Pastorate. Jean Strain did some travelling in women's colleges. CICCUs evangelicals, in particular, were not keen on building a formal organisation. They operated with a contrast of tradition and organisation. The CICCUs had remained on its old paths in perilous times because of the great Cambridge tradition, not because it had an organisational structure. The role of the early travelling secretaries was to help foster such traditions in other places. The parlous state of the SCM was attributed by some evangelicals to its having a centralised national structure.

However, it soon became clear that a tradition could not easily be created in a modern university in a few years and gradually a full-time staff was created to "service" the new Unions. The first member was Miss Nixon who had worked for the Zenana Bible Mission and the South African SCM (which was still "sound" in the view of the evangelicals of the 1930s). Hugh Evan Hopkins, whose grandfather was an early Keswick activist, was probably the first fully-paid IVF travelling secretary². During the war, Johnson was lucky enough to secure the services of A.F. Horton, who had been

1 Howard Guinness was the grandson of H. Grattan Guinness and son of Howard F Guinness, Director of the Regions Beyond Missionary Union (Guinness 1978).

2 IVF, like the early SCM, had a number of honorary workers and it is difficult to be certain of the size of the paid staff at any one time.

in the LIFCU in 1921. Horton was appointed Bishop of Burma but he was prevented by the fighting from taking up his post. He agreed to fill in his time travelling for IVF.

Until the end of the War IVF muddled along with some honorary help and a rather amateurish attitude to expansion. Three elements were vital in the post-war professionalism. The first was the good relations that developed between the IVF and Vereker of the Crusaders. As an important figure in child and youth evangelism, Vereker could offer fruitful legitimation and promotion. Two members of the Crusaders General Purpose Committee were F.D. Bacon and John W. Laing of the construction company. Laing was a Victorian survival; a hard-working and uncompromising businessman, a Brethren leader, and a man who gave all his wealth to religious and philanthropic activity. Bacon was already a member of IVF's Business Advisory Committee when Vereker gave Laing a copy of Coggan's history of the IVF, Christ and the Colleges. Laing decided that this was a "good work" and joined the Business Advisory Committee. From 1942 until 1960, he acted as a de facto managing director of IVF; avoiding direct interference in decision-making, but giving sound business advice and donating large sums of money through a one-for-one matching system. The third factor in the post-war boom was the return of ex-IVF activists, now demobilised and at a loose end, providing a pool of experienced workers.

The publishing work was developed and a qualified accountant was needed to cope with it. A Graduates Fellowship needed management.

With the confidence given by the presence of Laing, all those involved in the IVF came to the conclusion that their policy should be deliberate and planned expansion. Over the years that followed a structure almost identical to that of the SCM was constructed. Regional committees, a student General Committee electing a student executive committee, specialist committees for specialised activities such as publishing or work with theological students or graduates, and a Trust to hold property for the movement. With conferences at Swanwick, High Leigh and Bonskeid, one could be forgiven for mistaking the IVF of the 1950s with the old SCM (as, in fact, I did before I began this research).

The important extensions of IVF helped to restore the nerve to English evangelicalism. Vereker wanted London to have some sort of evangelical college along the lines of Moody's Chicago Bible Institute. He interested Laing, Montagu Goodman, Douglas Johnson, WH Aldiss of the China Inland Mission, and J Russell Howden. Hugh Evan Hopkins, and Douglas Johnson were both active in promoting the notion and keeping it alive through the war years. The London Bible College began work in earnest in 1944 (Rowdan 1968) and in the years that followed produced many theologically and biblically literate evangelicals.

Johnson was also involved in the establishment of the Tyndale House research centre. With assistance from Laing, the house of Ethel Barclay (aunt of Oliver R. Barclay) in Oxford was purchased. This became the headquarters of the Biblical Research Committee

and housed a large library for biblical scholarship. Tyndale House and Tyndale Press began to produce well-researched works defending the conservative evangelical view. This material bolstered the work of the Inter-Varsity Press in producing material which would allow CU members to argue intelligently for their position.

The London Bible College and Tyndale House were both the result of IVF's success in "rehabilitating" evangelicalism, and were themselves promoters of IVF. The 1950s were a time of great expansion for evangelicals. Whether there were actually more evangelicals than there had previously been is not clear, but there was a new mood of optimism, confidence and success among evangelicals. Their enterprises were flourishing. They did not yet have the national presence of SCM nor had they overcome the dislike in which they were held by most of the leaders and officials of the churches, but they had established themselves, successfully diversified, and most importantly, they were continually increasing in strength and numbers. The traditional evangelical source of satisfaction, being part of a saved elect, was being supplemented with the knowledge that they were catching up on their rivals.

Evangelicals and medicine

There was a very clear connection between evangelicalism and medicine in the career of IVF. Some of the strongest protests to Tatlow about the SCM's direction came from medical students

calling for more of the "simple gospel"¹. Many of the most active students in the early days of schism were in medicine. The first generation of patrons of IVF were almost to a man doctors, surgeons and teachers of medicine. Of sixteen patrons mentioned by Johnson (1979:235) eight were medical men, one was in business, three were theologians and four were university lecturers in a variety of disciplines. Most of the local schisms mentioned in Christ and the Colleges (Coggan 1934) were precipitated by medical students and supported by medical teaching staff. Of the first eight pamphlets published by IVF, three were written by Sir Ambrose Fleming FRS and three by Professor Albert Carless FRCS.

Going back to the start of the Student Movement, almost all the members of the Student Foreign Missionary Union in Scotland came, not from the Arts Faculty or Theological faculties in the Universities but from the Cowgate Dispensary, the headquarters of the Edinburgh Christian medical students.

There are a number of possible explanations for the relationship between medicine and evangelicalism. The most obvious connection is mission. Young evangelicals who wanted to be missionaries would find medical training useful. We have examples of Howard Taylor and Rutter Williamson from the early days of the student movement. This account seems more appropriate for the early part of the century than for the present day in that we would expect

1 For example, FH Mosse for the London Medical Students Committee wrote to Tatlow (25th January 1912) complaining about SCM conferences not getting students "conversion hot".

the number of medical students who are also evangelicals to be considerably higher than the number who become missionaries. It would be difficult to maintain the missionary impulse as the hub of an explanation if only a small part of the universe of evangelical medical students were becoming missionaries.

A more general version of the missionary argument would be that being an evangelical and being a doctor both involve a desire to help and "save" others. The theme of service permeates both. Again this account seems plausible and can be found in the biography of many evangelicals (Douglas Johnson, for example). There is one logical difficulty with that account, however. It would lead us only to expect an overlap between Christianity and medicine. It does not suggest why medical students were more evangelical rather than modernist or ecumenical or High Church. Clearly the account as offered assumes and implies that the call of service and selflessness is heard louder and clearer by evangelicals than by other types of Protestants. When stated as bluntly as that, we can see just how difficult it would be to provide the logically necessary steps to improve the argument.

If these two accounts are concerned with vocation the next option is about status. Medicine offers a sound career in a high status profession. Evangelicalism was a pietistic version of Protestantism and very much the faith of the bourgeoisie. Thus one could argue that the call of medicine lay in its suitability to the class background of the young evangelicals rather than in its intrinsic merits.

There is clearly something in the two variants of the "vocation" thesis and the status argument. Elements of these can be found in the biographies of evangelicals although they are usually intertwined.

The general problem with these accounts is that they do not restrict the relationship to medicine and evangelicalism but rather suggest only a connection between medicine and Protestantism. This raises the intriguing question of whether it is possible to find some essential difference between evangelicalism and other variants of Protestantism that could be sensibly related to the nature, practice and theory of medicine.

Epistemology and personality

A number of fragments suggest another area of explanation:

(1) In talking about the drafting of the Basis of Faith for the London IVF Unions, Johnson notes that:

some of the leading clergy and ministers of London, were repeatedly put on the spot by deputations of LIFCU students who were suspicious of any ambiguity when reference was being made to the authority of the Bible of the central facts of the gospel. They wanted no stone left unturned in order to find what was essential (1979:112).

(2) The strongest reaction against the broadening of the SCM and for the preaching of the "simple gospel" came from medical students. The strongest support for the development of apologetics, critical bible study and social study came from women, arts, and

humanities students.

(3) In a recent study of a Christian Union (Bruce 1976) I found a bias in subject selection. Those university students studying sociology, philosophy and religious studies tended to be members of the liberal and ecumenical chaplaincy support group. Christian Union members were conspicuous avoiders of these subjects. They were not medical or science students because the University in question did not have a medical faculty or a large science faculty. They tended to read English, other language and history¹.

Although not compelling evidence for anything, fragmentary evidence of this kind does suggest the possibility that it might not be the content of the belief system that is important so much as its style. If we pursue (2) we could argue that evangelicals avoid subjects like social studies and philosophy because they want to avoid confrontation with ideas of "facts" that might threaten their beliefs. Doubt is cast on that proposition when we think of the way in which much science could be threatening to the beliefs of a creationist. There is nothing about the subject matter that makes one discipline much more attractive than another. An alternative proposition would argue that it is not the content that is important; rather it is the cognitive style and the assumptions about epistemology implied in the beliefs, that are the key.

1 I am at present exploring the possibilities of pursuing these ideas in research on a large Christian Union that has a very large proportion of its members in the medical faculty.

Science and religion have normally been regarded as offering conflicting views of the world; supernaturalism versus rationalism. This relationship is based on the controversies that surrounded the work of Copernicus, Gallileo and in the last century, Charles Darwin. The model is the famous Scopes trial of 1925. This emphasis on conflict has obscured another possible relationship. I want to argue that there are profound similarities between the thought and practise of conservative evangelicalism and a certain "routine" scientific method.

Evangelicals approach the Bible with a belief that perception is essentially passive and naive. This could be described as "positivistic" in the sense to which Benton refers: "the mind was thought of as the initially empty and passive receptor of impressions or 'ideas' through the organs of sense" (1977:22). Barr says of the evangelicals' use of scripture: "the semantic effect of these words as directly formed in the mind of an English reader formed a direct and not a mediated transcript of God's intentions" (1977:210).

There is no appreciation of the role of the observer's interpretations in the act of perception. In fact one finds instances of the passivity of the perceiver being complemented by actual activity on the part of the sense-data. In a recent sermon Billy Graham challenged anyone "with an open mind" to just sit down and read the Book of John through about "five times" and then say "Lord, save me", "and thats all it takes" (Oxford Town Hall 1st February 1980). Here the Word is imbued with genuine activity. Leaving

aside this extreme case of the sense-data possessing mystical power, one can assert that this particular epistemology based on an idea of naive and "interpretationless" perception is similar to that which informs "routine" and unreflexive scientific activity. It is similar in cognitive style to the positivism of the nineteenth century.

I am not suggesting that evangelicals do in practise operate without interpretations in their discovery of God's plan. I think there is much in Barr's observation (1972:272-279) that conservative evangelicalism owes more to eighteenth century empirical rationalism than to a preconceptionless reading of the Gospels. Nor am I asserting that natural scientists in general and medical students in particular are engaged in passively apprehending the manifest truth. I think Kuhn's account (1962) of the role of paradigms in science is a valid one. My point is that neither the conservative evangelicals nor the medical students (apprentice scientists that they are) are aware that they operate within certain paradigms. For this reason discussions of epistemology, of paradigms, of interpretation, are alien to them and thus they can study as if perception was not itself an important factor in their generation of knowledge. As far as they are concerned they are discovering the truth.

So far I have been concerned with epistemology. Within psychology there have been attempts to explain relationships similar to that between evangelicalism and medicine in terms of character or personality traits. Two such theories will now be briefly considered.

The Authoritarian Personality thesis (Frenkel-Brunswick 1949, Adorno et al 1950) argued that certain people shared certain traits of personality; they were intolerant of ambiguity and domineering to those below and submissive to those above. This work has been substantially criticised (by, for example, Christie and Jahoda 1954); in particular it has been argued that the F-Scale was too specifically tied to anti-Semitism to be generalisable to other forms of intolerance. Rokeach's work (1956, 1960) claims to offer an improvement on the F-Scale in measuring dogmatism and opinionation, independently of the specific content of the dogma or opinion. In the Open and Closed Mind, Rokeach offers descriptions of belief systems that he regards as ideal-typically "open" and "closed". With regard especially to the question of intolerance of ambiguity, these types correspond closely with liberal and conservative Protestantism.

Two queries arise, however, about Rokeach's work. The first concerns the generality of an intolerance of ambiguity. It may well be that rather than classifying the population into less or more open or close-minded (most of the time), closed mindedness should be seen as something that we may all display about some things. I may well be open minded about most things but intolerant of ambiguity about the affections of my mistress. We may all be selectively open or closed minded. The second general problem concerns the origins of this generalised attitude. Rokeach and the Authoritarian Personality theorists favour some form of psycho-

analytical explanation (see Frenkel-Brunswick 1949). However, measureable similarities could equally well result from learning at some stage later than childhood. The discovery of apparent similarities of cognitive style among Scientologists could as well result from what they have learnt since first becoming Scientologists as from some common child-rearing patterns.

To return to my first point about the consonance in epistemology, this consonance is mediated by similar practise in exposition. Much medical teaching involves the authoritative transmission of a well-defined stock of knowledge that has to be mastered before the student can proceed to "heroic" medicine. In the same way, evangelicalism, with its assertion of the existence of a body of unchanging factual knowledge about the nature of man, God and the world, is authoritatively transmitted. There is nothing in either that promotes or fosters a critical and reflexive attitude of mind. Neither advocates or even suggests relativism in the way in which much arts and social science teaching does.

Clearly this argument is at present only speculative but it does seem to offer a solution to the apparent paradox of medical students being over-represented among evangelicals. My own view is that there are many reasons why evangelicals favour medicine and these include an idea of vocation and an element of status seeking. The teaching of medicine causes fewer problems for evangelicals than other disciplines because there is a degree of harmony at the level of practise (an authoritative delivery of an established body of

truth), and at the level of epistemology (the absence of an interpretative element in our methods for divining the truth). This is supported by the development of a tradition of evangelical medical men which makes medicine attractive because the young evangelical can hope to find some support for his faith from some of his teachers (or at least has little reason to suppose that he will be constantly challenged by radicals and atheists, as may well be the case in arts or social sciences).

Maintaining the organisation - the Edinburgh 1952 split

The conflict in the Edinburgh Christian Union at the start of the 1950s clearly illustrates the difficulties of using simple dichotomies in describing people's beliefs¹. From the schism in Cambridge to that point it had been useful to see IVF and SCM as polar extremes on a variety of axes - liberal/conservative, ecumenical/exclusive - but for a short period in Scotland the boundaries became confused.

The period from 1948 to the middle of the fifties was the high point of ecumenism. It was still fresh and novel but accepted and respectable. Ironically one of the results of that success was to remind people of the doctrine and importance of the Church and, in turn, produce a tension between a renewed denominational concentration and the ecumenical view.

1 Information about this schism was gathered in the main from interviewing those involved. I am particularly grateful to Ian Balfour for his assistance.

The second important change in Protestantism was the breakdown of the alignment between being conservative in theological and ecclesiastical matters and being quietist and conservative in political and social matters. The work of Barth and Niebuhr had made it possible for people to regard themselves as orthodox and conservative in their religion while still being radical in social matters. This was the spirit of the SCM in the forties and fifties when David Paton was influential. It was also the spirit of many young members of the Church of Scotland, even those who thought of themselves as evangelical.

The religious life of Edinburgh University was dominated by the Torrance family. There were three brothers; Tom, James and David. As students they had all been officers of the IVF-affiliated Christian Union. Their hegemony was extended by the disruption caused by the war to student careers. When the last Torrance left as a student, Tom returned to teach at New College. Tom Torrance had studied at Edinburgh, Balliol and Basle and was rated as one of the foremost of Barth's English-speaking pupils. While abroad he had met Visser T'Hooft and William Paton and became very impressed with the ecumenical movement.

The religious complexion of the University in 1952 was mottled. There was an SCM branch made up almost exclusively of Arts Faculty students. The Christian Union was far bigger than the SCM but had a number of internal divisions. The medical students of Surgeon's Hall generally held their own CU meetings because of

their distance from the centre of the campus. They were conservative. Even in CU terms, they were conservative. The teacher training girls from Moray House were another clearly identifiable block which also tended to be rather conservative. The third clearly defined group were the New College students. They were almost all candidates for the Church of Scotland ministry. They were generally less conservative in theology, more articulate and more committed to the importance of the Church than the other two groups. They also had more contact with the SCM in that some New College students were SCM members.

Although these groupings had a long history, they had previously been united in their view of themselves as one entity opposed to the SCM.

An important preliminary point concerns the character of the IVF Scottish secretary. There were doubts among the London staff of IVF about his ability to perform the job. He played no part in the development of the schism and that itself may have been important in the career of the dispute.

The President of the CU for 1951-52 was David Philpott, a New College student regarded by some as a "Torrance man". The method of electing the committee was as follows. Informal soundings were taken and the departing committee proposed a "slate" of nominees. These were usually accepted by the membership without contest. The "slate" proposed for 1952-53 contained a number of

rather conservative nominations, which suggests that Torrance's hold was not total (some evangelicals believe that the "Torrance men" acting in ignorance nominated the wrong people). In July of 1952 the twelve nominations were accepted by the full membership of the Union. Ian Balfour, a young Plymouth Brother and one of the new members, reports that the first sign of problems came at the pre-seasonal retreat. It was a custom of many Union committees to spend three days away together before they took office to plan for the following year and get to know each other. At Long Niddrie members began to identify themselves and others in terms of theological disagreements. There was the start of the growth of mutual suspicion.

On the 4th October, Philpott and others pressed for the resumption of a joint prayer meeting with the SCM branch. They were not suggesting innovation but rather the continuation of what had previously been an experiment. The Committee decided to do nothing until the SCM mentioned it. On the 17th the Prayer secretary reported that she had been approached by the SCM Prayer secretary for a resumption. At the 1st November committee meeting the matter was argued. Some took the exclusivist position; there could be no joint activities with any society which did not agree with IVF. Philpott replied that SCM was now more evangelical than it had been and that ecumenism was not altogether a bad thing. When the vote was taken three were for the joint meeting, six were against it, two abstained and one person was

not there. Philpott asked for a written statement of the reasons for the refusal.

This statement, produced two days later, argued the point that organisational cooperation could only follow spiritual unity and not precede it, and then listed the points of disagreement with SCM's theology. Philpott then added another element to the controversy when he asked whether this posture was binding on all the members of the CU. Seven thought it was, three thought it was not and there were two abstentions.

Philpott thought the committee to be unrepresentative of the membership and with others arranged to call a special business meeting of the whole membership. It was clear to all that the matter was now a question of confidence in the committee and of the exclusiveness of IVF. Both sides enrolled new members to pad their vote. The meeting was held on the 21st November and Philpott's motion in favour of the joint prayer meeting was passed by 92 votes to 54. The committee resigned and a steering committee with Philpott as chairman was elected.

It was only at this point that the national IVF became formally involved. Most of the 54 dissidents signed a letter to Johnson at Bedford Square dissociating themselves from the meeting. Johnson came to Edinburgh for talks with concerned parties and stayed with Tom Torrance for a night while they discussed the state of the Union.

The steering committee nominated a new slate and organised an election. The rejected evangelicals stood again, offering to resign again once they had organised a mission led by Leith Samuels, arranged for January. They were rejected and the steering committee's slate, with Philpott as Chairman, was elected.

It was only at this point that IVF took an active part. Oliver Barclay was in Edinburgh to help plan the Samuels Mission. He suggested to Balchin, the rejected President, and the new Secretary, a peace formula which was based on public acceptance of the IVF posture while allowing the prayer meeting to continue. The committee would affirm the basis, promise to invite only orthodox speakers and have no joint "witness" with any body which could not affirm the basis. This opened two possibilities; the Edinburgh SCM might be able to affirm the IVF basis (unlikely) or, the prayer meetings could continue as a private matter which did not count as "joint witness". With some protest the evangelicals accepted this but Philpott and others wanted parts of the statement re-written.

This provoked another round of arguments and another special business meeting was called. The evangelicals tried to introduce detailed rules to preserve the evangelical character of the Union; these were thrown out. On the 12th of February, the evangelicals wrote to the student Executive Committee of IVF. IVF responded by calling a meeting of the Scottish Advisory Committee, which was made up of staff, students and senior patrons. Representation

from both sides were heard and it was recommended that the CU be disaffiliated.

Philpott and another member of the Committee went to London to argue their case in front of the Executive Committee. On the advice of senior friends the Union was temporarily disbarred from sending delegates to IVF committees and IVF undertook not to affiliate any alternative union in the meantime.

Through March, April and right into August correspondence went back and forth from IVF to Philpott. As far as he was concerned he still upheld the doctrinal basis, that the clause concerning non-cooperation with societies which did not accept the IVF position did not exclude SCM and even if it did, the Church situation in Scotland made this a case for exception. IVF did not agree and on the 15th September 1953 the Edinburgh University Christian Union was disaffiliated. On the 14th October a new Union, the Evangelical Union was formed. Thus in 1953, Edinburgh University had three Protestant societies - the SCM, the IVF-affiliated Evangelical Union and the unaligned Christian Union.

The conflict in which they had been involved had an interesting effect on the evangelicals. Their battle produced a cohesion and a sense of unity and fellowship that made them a more effective force than their numbers would have suggested. For almost ten years after graduating, they kept in touch through a newsletter. Four became ministers. Eight went abroad in some form of

missionary work - medical or administrative. Seven went into various secular occupations. The students who had been training to be teachers were an important asset for evangelicalism. They all reported either working with a Scripture Union group in their school or founding one. Most of those in secular occupations mentioned various religious activities, such as the West Pilton Mission, with which they were involved.

In reflecting on this controversy one needs to consider the motivation of the parties involved. In the earlier analysis of the CICCUS schism I noted the importance of (a) legitimation for one's position from "significant others" not directly involved, and (b) the part played by invidious stereotypes in a process of deviancy amplification. The problem is to separate these two features.

Part of the invidious stereotypes built by the evangelicals concerns the way in which the liberals (for want of a better term) were manipulated by seniors. As was seen in the CICCUS case, both sides of the schism believed that the other side was being manipulated by sinister forces. The same was true in this case. The evangelicals believed that Torrance wanted to take over the Scottish Christian Unions and make them an extension of the Church of Scotland. The liberals believed that the evangelicals were being led by the Brethren and London. In this way both sides could deny the validity of their opponents positions.

While it is enough for the understanding of the evangelicals'

behaviour to know that they thought Torrance to be behind it, it is important for an explanation of the liberals' actions to know whether this was the case. The evangelicals' view seems to be borne out by a memo written by Alan Booth after a trip to Scotland in March 1951, before the argument began. Booth wanted the Church of Scotland to revive an arrangement for paying an SCM staff member in Scotland. The Home Board was unwilling to favour SCM at the cost of IVF. Torrance initially opposed the grant as an ex-IVF man, but later suggested giving grants to both SCM and IVF. Booth said "it is quite clear that TT believes that the Scottish IVF should and will break away from Bedford Square within the next year or two" (Booth Memorandum 1951). Booth was suspicious of Torrance and thought that his proposal for providing grants to both sides was designed to allow both SCM and IVF in Scotland to become independent of their respective national organisations.

This certainly suggests that Torrance would not have been unhappy to have seen the Christian Unions in Scotland leave IVF. Whether he was actively promoting such a move or whether he was simply identifying trends is a difficult question. What is sociologically important is that Torrance's views, even if he was not deliberately plotting the schism, were clearly vital in confirming the course taken by Philpott and others. As a man of consequence in the Church of Scotland his opinions were authoritative for the liberal section of the CU and so reinforced the views of those members.

The same is true of the views of Douglas Johnson, Oliver Barclay and the members of the Scottish Advisory Committee who were vital in confirming the course of the evangelicals.

Historical detail which is not at present available would be needed to demonstrate more conclusively the value of the deviancy amplification model introduced in the discussion of the CICCU split. There does, however, seem to be enough to show the way in which the two sides gradually grew apart, with the arguments "confirming" the invidious stereotypes both sides held about the others. The development from the first doubts at the Long Niddrie weekend about the soundness of others through the early debates in committee to the final schism shows the gradual growth of the internal cohesion and identity of the factions.

While there were rumblings of similar disputes in other Scottish Christian Unions, in none of them did factionalism develop into schism. In 1961 the Edinburgh Christian Union and the SCM amalgamated thus restoring the situation to a dichotomy between liberals and evangelicals.

Be ye not yoked with unbelievers

The course of the Edinburgh Christian Union dispute raises interesting questions about the exclusivity of IVF. The nature of evangelicalism is such that it is possible to specify the core of the faith (which itself is an important part of the appeal of evangelicalism).

These creedal statements can be used as membership tests. Warned by the example of the SCM, IVF leaders were from the first committed to the use of unambiguous limits to the membership. These allowed, as we saw in the Edinburgh split, for factionalism to be stifled, or when that failed, dealt with by the eviction of the offenders. The purity of the organisation was thus maintained.

The logical pursuit of this policy - the withdrawal of the believers from the contaminated world - was not an option for the evangelicals, who were conversionist. The rigid exclusion of anyone who did not share every part of the platform would prevent the gradual induction of prospective members. The solution was a dual basis of membership. Ordinary members had only to agree to a rather general statement that was Protestant and evangelical (but not too evangelical)¹. Committee members and officials, however, signed the full basis of faith, which is a clear and specific evangelical statement². A similar dual membership is used by the Belfast YMCA. Ordinary members simply acknowledge general agreements with the aims of the YMCA. Full members, who elect the management committee and so are in a position to influence the policy of the YMCA, make a specific declaration of faith in "Jesus Christ as their God and Saviour according to the Holy Scriptures". In this way, a necessary amount of diversity can be tolerated by the

1 This is usually of the form "I accept Jesus Christ as Lord and Saviour" or something similar.

2 The doctrinal basis is listed, amplified and justified in Evangelical Belief (IVF 1935).

organisation without having its essential nature and direction altered.

The membership rules are not the only guards that the IVF have available. Christian Unions, in order to be affiliated to the national organisation, are required to accept as part of their constitution that only speakers who support IVF policy may be invited to address the Christian Union and that the Union may not officially engage in joint activities with any group that is not in total agreement with the IVF basis.

These rules are not in themselves safeguards against diversification. They did not prevent the Edinburgh CU developing in such a way that it had to be expelled. They did however give the national organisation the means to remove the offending body and to replace it with something more suitable. The point that needs to be made is essentially the same as that implied by Wallis' shifting of the definition of "sectarianism" from membership principles to the beliefs that make certain views of membership more plausible (1975: 35-50). One cannot bolster an ideology which is not epistemologically authoritarian with a series of exclusive membership restrictions. IVF was able to maintain its homogeneity by invoking rules which were supported by, and supportive of, a more coherent homogenous and authoritarian belief system. The different fortunes of SCM and IVF then are not attributable to organisation per se but to the different beliefs that were embodied in the organisational structures. It is to the differences in the nature of the belief systems that the concluding chapter will be addressed.

CHAPTER TEN

IDEOLOGICAL STRENGTH AND THE DIFFUSE BELIEF SYSTEM

The first part of this thesis was concerned with the rise of the SCM. Later chapters were concerned with the rise of the IVF, the decline of SCM and the continued success of IVF¹. In this final chapter the central themes of explanation for the different careers of these two organisations will be brought together. In addition these themes will be extended in a consideration of the relative popularity of liberal and conservative Protestantism.

The rise of SCM

The rapid rise of the Student Movement was made possible by the existence of a supportive milieu. There existed a pool of resources which the student leaders could, and did utilise. The ability to make use of such resources is not, however, universal. It depends on a particular attitude towards the status of one's beliefs and one's mission. Emergent movements which are more sectarian than denominational, that is, which see themselves as possessing some unique access to the saving truth, offer a challenge to the legitimacy of other organisations, agencies and individuals in the milieu and thus preclude the forging of advantageous alliances with such bodies. Sectarianism, or epistemological authoritarianism as Wallis has

1 For a presentation and discussion of statistical evidence for these trends, see Appendix II.

termed it (1975), is also normally associated with exclusivity.

Sectarian movements demand more of their members; in particular, they require the reduction of ties that members have with other groups. Both of these points make it rather difficult for a sectarian movement to mobilise the resources of a milieu.

The rise of the SCM can thus be seen as the result of two factors; (1) the existence of a wealthy milieu, and (2) the development of a denominational attitude which allowed the movement to utilise these resources. The denominational attitude was particularly important in what can be regarded as the second part of the SCM's rise, the move from Keswick. The movement accommodated to (and also actively promoted) changes in the churches. With the rise of liberalism and modernism, the SCM moved into the centre of a new milieu and developed new alliances and relationships which would have been impossible had it remained fixed to the world of Keswick.

The decline of the SCM

The demise of the SCM resulted from the same attitude that aided its rise; denominationalism. I want to first consider in some detail the problems of liberal Protestantism as a diffuse belief system and then look at those circumstances of the SCM that exacerbated these problems.

The precariousness of liberal protestantism

While the sociologist cannot hope to do justice to the complexities and divergencies within 20th century liberal protestantism in such limited scope as this chapter allows, there are a number of fundamental characterisations of the belief system which can be identified and there are a number of organisational consequences which can be seen as resulting from these features of the ideology.

Liberal protestantism is not dogmatic. It is less a confession than an ethos. It cannot be reduced to a number of propositions. This results from the central tenet of liberalism which is essentially epistemological; some form of "de-mythologising" is essential to extrapolate from the Gospels the timeless core of Christianity which can then be translated into terms suitable to modern man. The introduction of an interpretative element into ideas about how one discerns God's design turns theocracy into democracy. In the terms used by Wallis in his model of tendencies to schism (see above, p.198) the availability of the means of legitimation is widely dispersed. It is difficult to assert that any one interpretation of the truth is any better than any other. There are no readily available criteria for establishing a core of doctrine.

The diffuseness of liberalism promotes a high degree of heterogeneity of belief within any generation. The notion of "de-mythologising" does more than that to promote fissiparousness however.

A key concept is that of relevance. Liberals are committed to

making their faith relevant. The concerns of the time are the criteria against which the faith must be measured. What is relevant naturally changes, and thus one has the possibility of divergences between the interests of different generations of liberals.

In comparison conservative evangelicalism is dogmatic. It does have a confession and it can be reduced to a small number of simple propositions which can be forcefully presented. The conservative belief (discussed in the previous chapter) that the Bible is an external and objective source of authoritative teaching enables evangelicals to avoid the problems of democracy. Although there have been changes in the interests of the conservatives (IVP, for example, has recently moved into new areas of publishing such as works on social problems) these changes have been small and the very fact of constant assertion of the unchanging nature of the faith - old paths in perilous times - serves to give conservatism a stability that is denied to liberalism.

In brief, liberalism suffers from a lack of identity and cohesion. This is not to assert that there is no ideology which is "liberal". There are many liberals with very sophisticated ideologies but these formulations are so abstruse as to be almost unintelligible to the public. They remain the preserve of academics and some clerics. It is neither accidental nor symptomatic of malicious intent on the part of the public that the intrusions of liberal theology into the wider world are seen as essentially destructive and negative. Robinson's Honest to God (1963) may have been exactly that (I make

no judgement on that issue) but its frank airing of doubts could hardly be expected to bolster the faithful or convert the heathen. It is often said that Bultmann (the major exponent in recent times of "de-mythologising") preaches a remarkably traditional gospel. This is not surprising. The intricacies and convolutions necessary to abandon most of the taken-for-granted beliefs of Christianity and still claim the centre ground, are not easily turned into the meat and drink of an average congregation.

In very large part liberal protestantism is defined by what it is not rather than what it is. It appeals to those who are actively rejecting conservative forms of their faith. It is clear from the biographies of those involved in the SCM that they were attracted by the liberating aspects of its thought and practise. In this sense it is parasitic on conservative protestantism; something that is grudgingly recognised by both sides - liberals regard conservatism as something "you grow out of" and conservatives point out that they were responsible for the original conversions of most of the leading liberals. Humanism shares with liberalism many of the features mentioned above (Budd 1967, 1977; Wallis 1980). The similarity is striking in this case; both are built on a move away from something rather than on a desire to move towards some end.

The nature of the ideology of liberal protestantism gives rise to certain organisational problems. The first is an inability to proselytise. The heterogeneity of belief within liberalism and the complexity of the sophisticated forms of the ideology make it

difficult to know what is necessary for salvation. Without that knowledge the world cannot be dichotomised into saved and damned. Without that boundary the identification of those who evangelise and those who are evangelised is problematic and the confidence in the efficacy of the evangelism that is necessary to promote the message is missing.

A second problem is the inability to generate action. Where there is little fundamental agreement on what is believed, there can be little consensus on what needs or ought to be done about it. In talking of a free-thought movement, Demerath and Thiessen (1966: 685) say: "With such vague goals, passion dissipates. There are no concrete actions, no guages by which to measure progress". In a discussion of the demise of the Irish Humanist Association, Wallis (1980) reports one member saying: "In the end the areas of agreement were not extensive enough or sufficiently important... to facilitate the welding together of a cohesive forceful organisation".

The inability to generate action is a major cause of a third problem: the inability to maintain commitment. Where the member is committed to fairly definite goals he will always be open to recruitment by other organisations that seem more likely to attain some concrete ends. Another element in commitment might be thought of as cost of involvement or investment. The more that people have invested in an enterprise the less liable they are to defect; the more it costs to join the more it costs to leave. Kanter (1968) in a study of various communities argues that those which demanded most of

their members in terms of change were those which lasted longest. Dean Kelley (1972) makes a similar point in Why the Conservative Churches are Growing. He lists a series of what he regards as characteristics of a "strong" religion, all of which can be encompassed in the idea of "differing from the secular". Those churches which have sought to minimise the differences between what they demand and offer, and the secular world, which have reduced the costs of membership (and the benefits of participation), have lost adherents. Those which have exaggerated their distance from the material world, increased the demands of membership and offered a dichotomised world of saved and damned, have prospered.

This involves two principles which are analytically separable although frequently fused in reality. On the question of attraction, the principle is one of allomorphism. As Faris said (in Zygmunt 1972) people who undergo conversions are attracted, not by the similarity between their present self-image and what the movement offers (isomorphism) but by the difference, by the contrast between their present and their possible future. On the question of maintaining commitment, the principle is one of maximising both the costs and benefits of involvement and reducing contact with the member's previous life-worlds.

In summary, it has been argued that the nature of the ideology of liberal protestantism gives rise to an inability to proselytise, to generate action, or to maintain commitment. In the language of marketing, liberal protestantism has suffered a lack of product

identity. This may be illustrated by focusing on two areas.

Work with children

One of the greatest strengths of conservative evangelicalism lies in its simplicity. It can be readily communicated in an authoritative fashion to young people. The key to evangelical success does not lie in the extension of the boundaries of christendom, in the conversion of the heathen, so much as in the preservation of the next generation within the paths of righteousness. Bibby and Brinkerhoff (1973) demonstrate that more than half of those joining conservative churches in Canada were raised and socialised into the faith. My own research bears this out. A major part in the process of reproduction is played by the supportive cycle that channels schoolchildren from the Scripture Unions into the Christian Unions when they go on to college. Those Christian Union members who go into teaching then either start or help to run Scripture Unions. The Crusaders and the CSSM with their seaside missions also play a part in maintaining the cycle. Also vital to this process, of course, is the question of heterogeneity of belief. Such a supportive cycle is only possible when there is some high degree of agreement among different generations as to the core of the faith.

Competition and opportunism

The problem of poor product identity can also be seen when one considers competition between organisations. Inclusivity or "openness" can only be the basis for growth when the "centre" has, to borrow a physical analogy, greater magnetic strength than the alternatives in the culture from which the organisation wishes to draw resources. As was seen in Chapters Seven and Eight the SCM's inclusivity led, not to recruitment but to defection.

One can identify at least two reasons why one organisation may lose to another in such a competition. One has already been mentioned and that is the likelihood of achieving some concrete set of ends. Wallis, in his discussion of the Irish Humanists (drawing on Budd 1967, 1977) pointed to:

the existence of other movements and organisations established to pursue specific and limited goals relating to morality, education, civil rights etc. which, being able to mobilise a more consensually based membership, often seem more likely to achieve success than the Humanist movement in that particular field. Such competing allegiances are always likely to draw away members who feel the need to "do something" rather than constantly to discuss what should be done (1980).

The pursuit of "relevance" takes liberal protestants into new areas of social and political concern where there are already other organisations which, having more limited interests, can develop a more homogenous membership.

A second reason for defection in such cases concerns opportunism. To Marxists, the sudden late 1960s interest from Christian Marxists

seemed like opportunism and this view was accepted by some Christian Marxists who moved from being Christians interested in Marxism to being Marxists who were still residually Christians. SCM's interest in radical politics did not recruit radicals to Christianity but led to the defection of Christians to radical political parties. The Northern Ireland Peace People, whose ideology is so nebulous as to be hardly characterisable even as a "diffuse" belief system, has always had a problem with generating campaigns and action in that their campaigns impinge on the activities of other better established organisations. The housing initiative in late 1979 brought the Peace People into conflict with a number of community housing associations which had been in that business for many years and resented what appeared to them to be incursions by a movement in search of a purpose.

Although this account of liberal protestantism and its precariousness necessarily involves many generalisations, I believe that it does make a number of valid points about the problems of a diffuse belief system. One theoretical point that does need to be reinforced is the primacy of the ideology in this account. There is a tendency in Kanter's discussion of "commitment mechanisms" (1968, 1972) to regard organisational practises as "causal" and ideology as epiphenomenal. As I argued at the close of the previous chapter, such a sequence is misleading. Exclusive membership rules cannot be harnessed to a diffuse belief system. High membership "costs" cannot be developed for an organisation which rests on a

denominational attitude. The nature of the ideology limits the form of organisation that can be created to propagate it. This is not some species of what Marxists call "ideological determinism". The relationship between the form of the ideology and the organisational practise is mediated by the actions and meanings of individuals who accept and develop or reject ideas and practises.

The precariousness of the SCM

Having discussed the problems of liberal protestantism, one can now consider the particular difficulties of the SCM and its constituency. It operated in an environment which changed in a three-year cycle. Some students who continued in postgraduate work (in the early years of SCM, medical students in the main) might remain in the Movement for longer periods but such students were a small minority of the membership. This had two important consequences. It meant that the organisational structure of the SCM was always precarious. Likely members of the cadre had to be identified in their first year and trained in their second university year in order to assume a position of leadership in their final year. Even when the Movement was large, the identification and grooming of possible leaders was a vital part of the travelling secretary's job. At the very time when trained and skilled leadership was most needed, when the movement was shrinking, the task of organisational reproduction became most difficult. In the later years of the SCM the branches had dwindled to the point where

leadership positions were open to anyone willing to do the work; where the appointment of travelling secretaries hardly involved selection; and where the public image of the Movement had been so eroded that when no contenders for senior staff positions emerged from the membership more than twenty invitations could be sent out to suitable candidates and find no acceptors.

In addition to the cycle of the student career there are other features of student life which, while seemingly trivial, did have serious repercussions. The frequency with which students move, from year to year, and from term to vacation, created problems with postal contact which could only be overcome by frequent and efficient reporting of the names and addresses of local officers. This was difficult to maintain in the era of Tatlow's bureaucracy, but it became even more problematic once the ideology of the SCM became first more liberal and then radical. The dislike for bureaucracy and organisation that went with those changes undermined the procedures; the regular servicing was no longer provided with the efficiency which was needed to combat the incipient chaos.

The nature of the constituency affected not only the structure of the SCM; it also exaggerated the propensity to change that was already a part of liberal Protestantism. The exercise of translating the faith for modern man is itself a difficult one. Although conservative evangelicals are wrong in their claim to stand for the traditional and unchanging faith (it does change, and their

identification of the tradition which they are supposed to represent is a highly selective one), they have the advantage of greater continuity in their beliefs. It is certainly possible for them to see strong continuity in the last one hundred years of their faith. Their beliefs partake of a "taken-for-grantedness" that confers its own legitimacy through an appearance of near-inevitability. Liberals live with, indeed, are committed to, change. The peculiar exaggeration of this alternation which affected the SCM came from its having to work within a market which was at the forefront of change and from having to re-sell itself continually. Buckner describes the difficulties of an "open door cult" in tailoring its activities to its market:

The process of organizational survival could almost be described as a stochastic process, whereby speakers are chosen more or less at random, and the effect of the speakers observed, and taken into account in the selection of further speakers (1968:230).

Significantly, he goes on to say:

Then drifting with the interests of the audience the organizations manage to survive. They are not prospering however; it takes more than drift to build (1968:230).

The cults in question had the advantage of being able to hope that, with the correct divination of the interests of the audience, that audience could be maintained. Hopefully, the same people would keep coming back for the same show. The SCM was forced to sell itself to a market which changed almost one third of its members every year. The nineteen sixties and seventies experienced such rapid change in the nature of the student population that criteria of "relevance" - the key to liberal and radical thought -

could never attain the status of more than passing whims.

Difficulties in presenting the market with suitable product were exacerbated by the increasing heterogeneity of the student population that came with the expansion of higher education. Until the massive expansion of teacher training colleges that followed the Second World War, the main division was between the old Universities and the new Universities and University colleges. The growth of further education with the expansion of technical colleges and the establishment of polytechnics meant that it was increasingly more difficult to talk about the interests of "students" as a whole. Here again the nature of the ideology of SCM caused particular problems. IVF was in the position of offering one standardised product to all sectors of its market and concentrated its divisional work on modifications to the core enterprises that were concerned with scheduling activities rather than with the content of its message. Special features of various student groups such as the lack of free time of trainee teachers were accounted for. In theory the SCM's interest in relevance should have led it into presenting different products to different groups of students. For a period in the nineteen forties and fifties this was done, but when the Movement moved into its more radical period the idea of relevance while still part of the rhetoric ceased to inform the practise of the Movement and what little presence it had became concentrated in the Universities with the other sectors of higher education being least influenced by the Movement.

Finally, the lack of an enrolment economy compounded the SCM's problems. The Movement was almost totally reliant on non-members for its support. IVF is in an identical position but because of the relative homogeneity among evangelicals of different generations, and the greater degree of consensus within any generation, there is less problem in being accountable to various groups at the same time. With each shift in its beliefs and activities the SCM was forced to justify itself to its sponsors. Tatlow spent a great deal of time trying to convince patrons that the Movement was not sliding into apostasy. Through most of its history the SCM managed to be both representative of its student members and appreciative of its ex-members and other patrons and problems of inter-generational conflict were avoided. In part conflict was avoided because the inclusivity of liberal Protestantism does not readily lend itself to condemnation of the activities of others as deviant. This tolerance could not, however, contain the conflict once the SCM moved into outright radicalism. For a while it might have appeared that the investment income from the Trust funds might give the Movement genuine independence, but inflation made it necessary to continue to solicit funds, and the SCM is now back in the position of having to appeal both to students to join and to others to support it.

To draw these arguments together; I have suggested that the openness, the inclusive denominational attitude, that allowed the SCM to grow as it did, was also at the root of its decline. Its ideology, liberal protestantism, was a diffuse belief system, with all the problems of precariousness which that entails. Further the SCM's

constituency made these problems even more pressing. Finally, as a movement organisation, the SCM was of the "open door" type. To utilise the language of marketing again, liberal protestantism did not generate and sustain a great deal of brand loyalty, and within liberal protestantism in general, the SCM generated and sustained less "brand loyalty" still. In contrast, IVF which shares the same constituency as SCM has managed to successfully reproduce itself. Given that SCM and IVF share the position of being junior arms of wider interests, the difference in their respective careers must lie with the differences between liberal and conservative protestantism. It is for that reason that this final chapter has been devoted to a consideration of the ideologies of the two divergent tendencies in reformed protestantism rather than simply presenting a recapitulation of general principles of the development of SCM and IVF.

Appendix I: Genealogies

The following genealogies have been designed to illustrate the existence and strength of the Victorian evangelical milieu with its networks based on religious, kinship and business ties. They are selective in that only the major branches of the families are followed and many individuals, women especially, are not shown. Those selected are representative and the picture could have been further reinforced with detailed genealogies of the Gurneys, Bevans and Trittons. The main sources were the invaluable Burke's Peerage and Burke's Landed Gentry. These were supplemented with biographies, family histories and the recollections of members of the families still alive.

Notes:

- (a) The abbreviation "BB" signifies an active interest in either Barclays Bank or one of the banks that formed Barclays.
- (b) The abbreviation "THB" signifies an interest in the brewhouse of Truman Hanbury Buxton.
- (c) The convention of designating the various senior Barclays as "Bank I" and "Bank II" etc. has been borrowed from Barclay and Fox (1934).

THOMAS FOWELL BUXTON (1786-1845) 1st Bt. created for philanthropic work, Treas. of B.F.B.S. and London City Mission. Interested in THB and BB. = HANNAH, dau. of JOHN GURNEY, sister of ELIZABETH FRY

CATHERINE GURNEY, dau. of SAMUEL GURNEY. = EDWARD NORTH BUXTON 2nd Bt.

THOMAS FOWELL BUXTON (1821-1908) = RACHEL JANE GURNEY, 5th dau. of SAMUEL GURNEY (2nd son of John Gurney above)

THOMAS FOWELL BUXTON 3rd Bt. = LADY VICTORIA NOEL, dau. of EARL OF GAINSBOROUGH (same family as BAPTIST NOEL)

SAMUEL GURNEY BUXTON = LOUISA CAROLINE HOARE [The HOARES were another great Quaker banking family]

T. F. VICTOR BUXTON 4th Bt. (1865-1919) Pres. of Anti-Slavery Society, Treas. of the C.M.S. and YMCA.

NOEL EDWARD BUXTON

CHARLES ROSEN BUXTON

EMMA MARIE PELLY = JOHN HONEY

GEORGEY FOWELL

BARCLAY FOWELL = MARGARET RAILTON

ELIZABETH ELLEN = ROBERT BARCLAY BANK V. (g.v.)

3 OTHER SISTERS of whom MARGARET JANE m. RICHARD REYNOLDS PELLY (g.v.) and ETHEL was a C.C.U. patron and an SCM supporter

ARTHUR FOWELL law.

ALFRED FOWELL Banker, Anglican Church of England Pensions Board

Converted at Keswick 1885. Curate to WEBB & PEACE, Missionary to Japan. C.C.U. Missionary 1920

EDWARD S. WOODS = CLEMENCE RACHEL C.C.U. SCM. later Vicar of Holy Trinity, Cambridge

HENRY FOWELL (1876-) Director of THB C.C.U. Pres. 1896 BCCU/SCM Subscriber

LEONARD Rev. C.C.U. BCCU/SCM Sub.

ANDREW RICHARD B.B. d. WWI. left £300 to SUMU

ARTHUR law. C.C.U.

F. THEODORE WOODS C.C.U. Pres. 1894. later Bishop and COPEC leader Edward and Theodore were grandsons of Elizabeth Fry

ROBIN WOODS SCM Staff 1938-42 Bishop of Worcester 1971

JOHN (1902-) Sold Casney to All Nations Christian College

ALFRED BARCLAY (1891-1940) C.C.U. SUMU. Pioneer Missionary in Africa

MURRAY BARCLAY (1889-1940) C.C.U. Cambridge Missionary Band

GEORGE BARCLAY C.C.U. Missionary in Kenya

BARCLAY GODFREY (1895-) C.C.U. Pres. 1919. Trained missionaries, frequent C.C.U. V.P. / Officers. Christian Union Speaker

RACHEL JANE

SELECTIVE GENEALOGY OF THE BUXTON FAMILY

RICHARD WILSON PELLY = KATHARINE JANE, dau. of JOHN GURNEY FRY
(1814-1890) 5th son of Sir John Henry Pelly, Bt

RICHARD ARNOLD = MARGARET JANE BUXTON
(1856-1952) Rev. CICC. SCH. Sub.

ALFRED = EVELYN, dau. of CANON EDWARD JOHN HARFORD

EMMA MARIE = JOHN HENRY BUXTON (q.v.)

JOHN GURNEY RICHARD = JANE GURNEY, dau. of CHARLES ALBERT LEATHAM

CANON JOHN HARFORD-BATTERSBY = EDITH RACHEL, Principal of Ripon College, Secy of funds of KESWICK CONVENTION

DAVID GEOFFREY, Director of Hall, Bevan col Bevan (late B.B.) SCH. Sub.

FRANCIS BRIAN, Semi Sub.

ARNOLD CLAUDE, Rev. CICC. visited BARCLAY FOWELL BUXTON in JAPAN. SCH. Sub.

RICHARD LAWRENCE, Rev. CICC. 1885-1907, SCH. Sect 1911-1915, Missionary in India, SCH. Sub.

ARTHUR "ROLLO" ROLAND, CICC. like his brother Richard, involved in 1910 Schism.

SELECTIVE GENEALOGY OF THE PELLY FAMILY

CHARLES KINNAIRD 5th BARON

GEORGE WILLIAM FOX
9th Baron, no male heirs

2nd son died
in youth

ARTHUR FITZGERALD
(also called Arthur Wellesley)
10th Baron, liberal P.P. Active
in OHS, London City Mission
Dr. Barnardo's Homes, London
Secretary for Moody's mission
Head of Ransom and Bowdler
(later part of Barclays Bank)

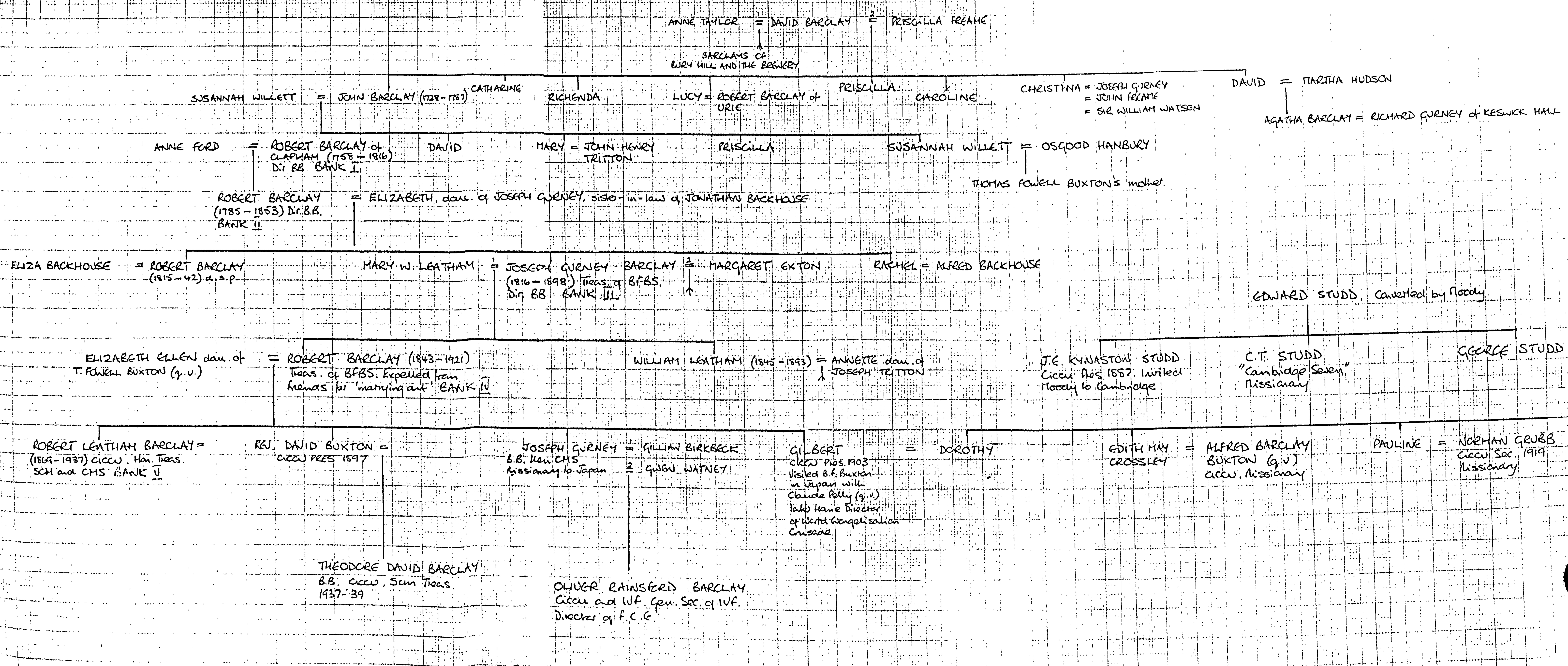
= MARY JANE HOARE,
raised by maternal uncle BAPTIST NOEL,
founder of YWCA, Zenana and Medical Mission,
and British Ladies Female Emigration Society.

ARTHUR FITZGERALD
11th Baron, Lord High
Commissioner of Church
of Scotland 1907. Followed
Williams as Pres. of YMCA

AGNETA OLIVIA = ROLAND, son of
R. C. L. BULAN, Director
of Barclays Bank and leading
philanthropist.

EMILY, President of World's
YWCA CBE 1920. Held camps
in the estate of Dr. GEATIAN GUINNESS
with TATLOW as Chaplain.

SELECTIVE GENEALOGY OF THE KINNAIRD FAMILY



SELECTIVE GENEALOGY OF THE BARCLAY AND STUDD FAMILIES

Appendix II:

The Growth and Decline of SCM and IVF: statistical material

In the text of the thesis I have frequently talked of the growth and decline of SCM and IVF with confidence in my knowledge of these trends but without presenting detailed statistical evidence. I have followed this practise in part from reluctance to break the flow of narrative and argument. In the main, however, this choice results from an unwillingness to give the appearance of possessing "hard" data which is superior as evidence to my own impressions derived from a close reading of the reports of travelling secretaries and other staff, and the impressions of those to whom I have spoken. When I began the thesis I was sufficiently enamoured of positivistic methods of data collection and analysis to collate a large number of statistics about membership and income and expenditure, and to attempt various forms of computer analysis¹. Only when I acquired a closer acquaintance with my material did I begin to have doubts about the value of such an exercise. In this appendix I will present some of the material gathered and consider its value.

Membership of the SCM

Under Tatlow's direction, the SCM developed a system of data collection using a standard annual report sheet. This was sent out to the secretaries of all affiliated branches and it asked such

1 I wish to acknowledge the assistance of Richard Bland of Stirling University in the technical processing of this material and in the presentation of figures 2-6.

questions as "How many students are there in your college?", "How many members do you have in your branch?", "How many attend prayer meetings?" and so on. These annual returns were collated centrally and formed the basis for the brief summary of membership figures published in each annual report. A very general break-down of this material is presented in Figure 1.

There are a number of reasons for not making too much of these numbers.

- (1) One has no guarantee that the figures originally given by the branch secretaries were reliable.
- (2) The category of "member" was itself difficult to operationalise. Many branches had different policies regarding the enrolment of individuals.
- (3) In many cases branches did not send in returns. This could have meant that the branch was defunct or it could simply have signified a breakdown in communication. The policy of the collator becomes vital here; in some instances the figures from the previous year were carried over and in other cases the branch was recorded as moribund.
- (4) This gives a further problem. Where the figures for one college branch over two or three years are identical (or very similar) one does not know whether this is a reflection of the reality of a stable branch or a case of there being no current information.
- (5) One can allow for the disruptive effect of the two wars by

passing over the periods from 1914 to 1918 and 1940 to 1945 but the beginnings and ends of the wars were not clearly defined in their impact on the population of colleges and it may well be that the rise in membership of SCM from 1919 to the middle twenties represents a "false" increase caused by the gradual return and demobilisation of soldiers.

- (6) Even if the totals for membership of SCM branches were accurate there would still be the problem of the definition of the universe of which this would be a subset. At various times different sorts of colleges were included or not included.

Membership of IVF

To my knowledge, IVF never counted heads in the way in which SCM did. Hence there is no possibility of statistical comparisons.

These problems forced me to abandon the pursuit of good statistical material on membership and caused me to rely heavily on the written and verbal accounts of those individuals who were close to the reality of the situation. Naturally there are many sources of "unreliability" in these accounts. The reports of travelling secretaries and of various other staff members who periodically toured the branches exhibit alternately frustration, despondency, optimism and pessimism, and such reactions clearly colour their reports. However, I am confident that my general impressions of relative size and strength are for the most part accurate and this confidence is

bolstered by the fact that throughout the course of this research I have fed my own impressions and interpretations back to my informants without significant contradiction.

The finances of SCM and IVF

The accounts of SCM and IVF, checked as they are by qualified accountants are probably more reliable than membership statistics. There are still however problems in interpreting these. Although different types of income and expenditure are presented in discrete categories, consideration of the process of categorisation suggests that there is considerable ambiguity. Under the management of different staff members, different policies of differentiation were adopted. The accounts of the SCM of the late nineteen sixties and seventies were the subject of some controversy and (never substantiated) accusations of manipulating the accounts to cover financial irregularities. Having said that a brief analysis of the accounts of the two organisations does illustrate the general trends of increasing and decreasing popularity.

Figure 2 shows a plot of the gross incomes¹ of SCM and IVF and demonstrates clearly that, leaving aside the fluctuations caused by the second war, the SCM was never again as wealthy as it was in the nineteen thirties. IVF's income has been steadily increasing and recent reports suggest that it is managing to compensate for

1 These sums have been constructed to compensate for inflation.

the problems of inflation which affect the incomes of all such organisations.

Figure 3 shows the proportion of the organisations' annual income that came from subscriptions. There are a number of ways in which these trends could be interpreted but I believe that they signify the greater reliance of the SCM on invested funds (further demonstrated by Figure 4 which plots the percentage of income derived from dividends, rents and interest). Read in the light of impressions about the difficulties SCM had in persuading people to subscribe, I take this trend to suggest that SCM was less popular than IVF.

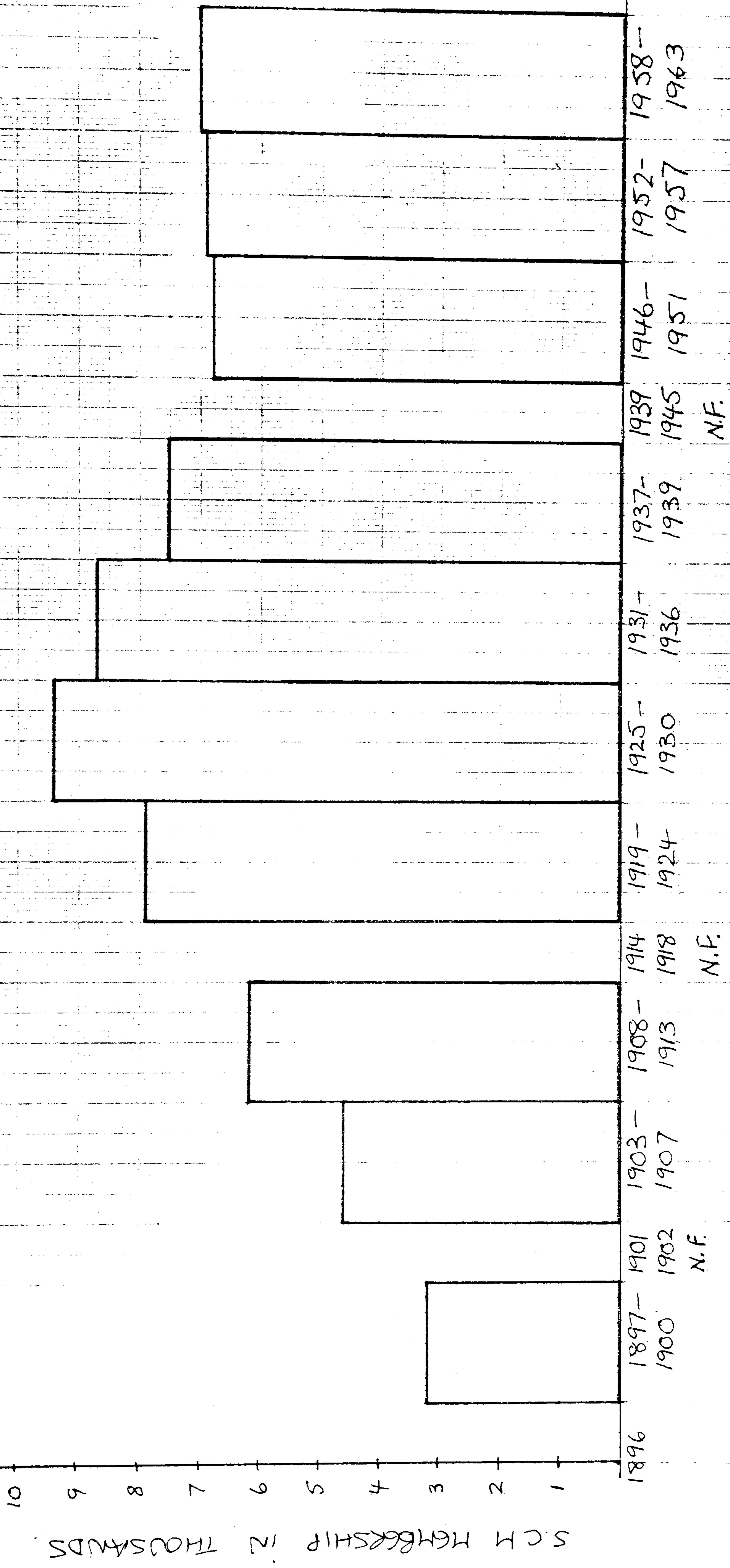
It is hard to be more specific about the fall in popularity but Figure 5 plots that part of the SCM's income that came directly from the college branches and seems to show that while it was always difficult to raise funds from the members, it became increasingly so until the present time when the collapse of the branch structure means that next to nothing is coming from this source.

The most important part of the financial evidence is presented in Figure 6 which shows the net expenditure of the two organisations. This is a good guide to the extent of the organisations' operations and it shows much the same picture as the plot of income. SCM peaked in the nineteen thirties and has declined since, with the exception of the short post-war boom. IVF on the other hand has shown a regular increase in the scale of its operations.

The analysis of the accounts of SCM and IVF then show the trends

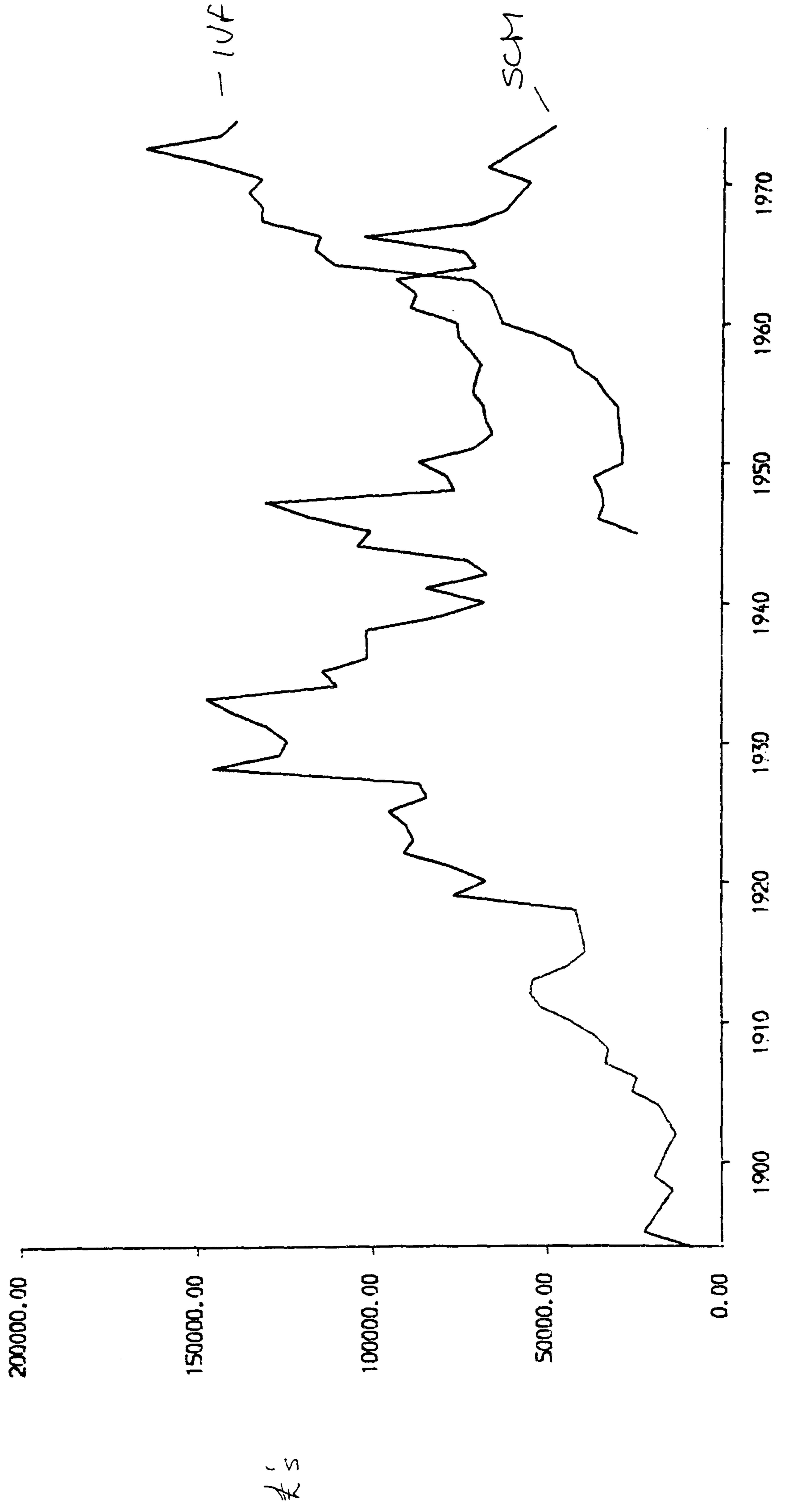
that one would expect from the more impressionistic evidence. From its inception IVF has gradually grown to what is probably its largest possible size with a Christian Union in every major institution of higher education and many Unions in the smaller colleges. In most universities the Christian Union is the largest student-run society. SCM on the other hand has lost the prominence it had in the nineteen thirties and has declined steadily relative to both the market and its major rival, the IVF. There are very few SCM groups still in existence. It continues to exist by virtue of investments (of which the SCM Press forms a very large part). It has been unable to generate new subscription income. Provided the SCM can keep its expenditure within the limits of its investment income (and the deprecations of inflation) it can sustain a small staff and continue to offer some small scale service but its continued existence cannot be seen as signifying a continued interest by students or public in its activities.

FIGURE 1 - S.C.M. TIMBERSHIP



KEY: N.F. - No comparable figures available

FIGURE 2 - INCOME OF SCM and IVF



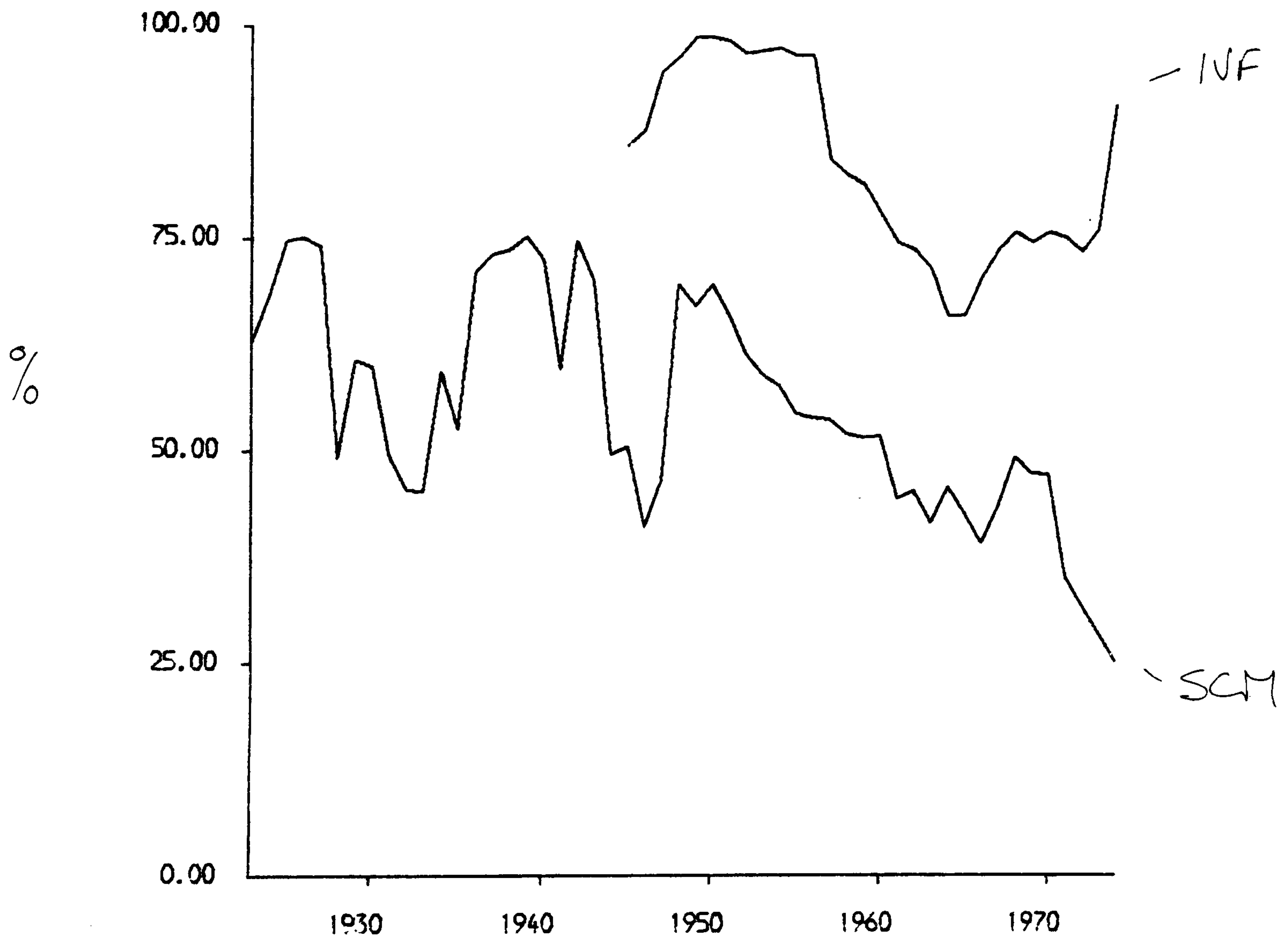


FIGURE 3 - PERCENTAGE OF INCOME DERIVED DIRECTLY FROM SUBSCRIPTIONS

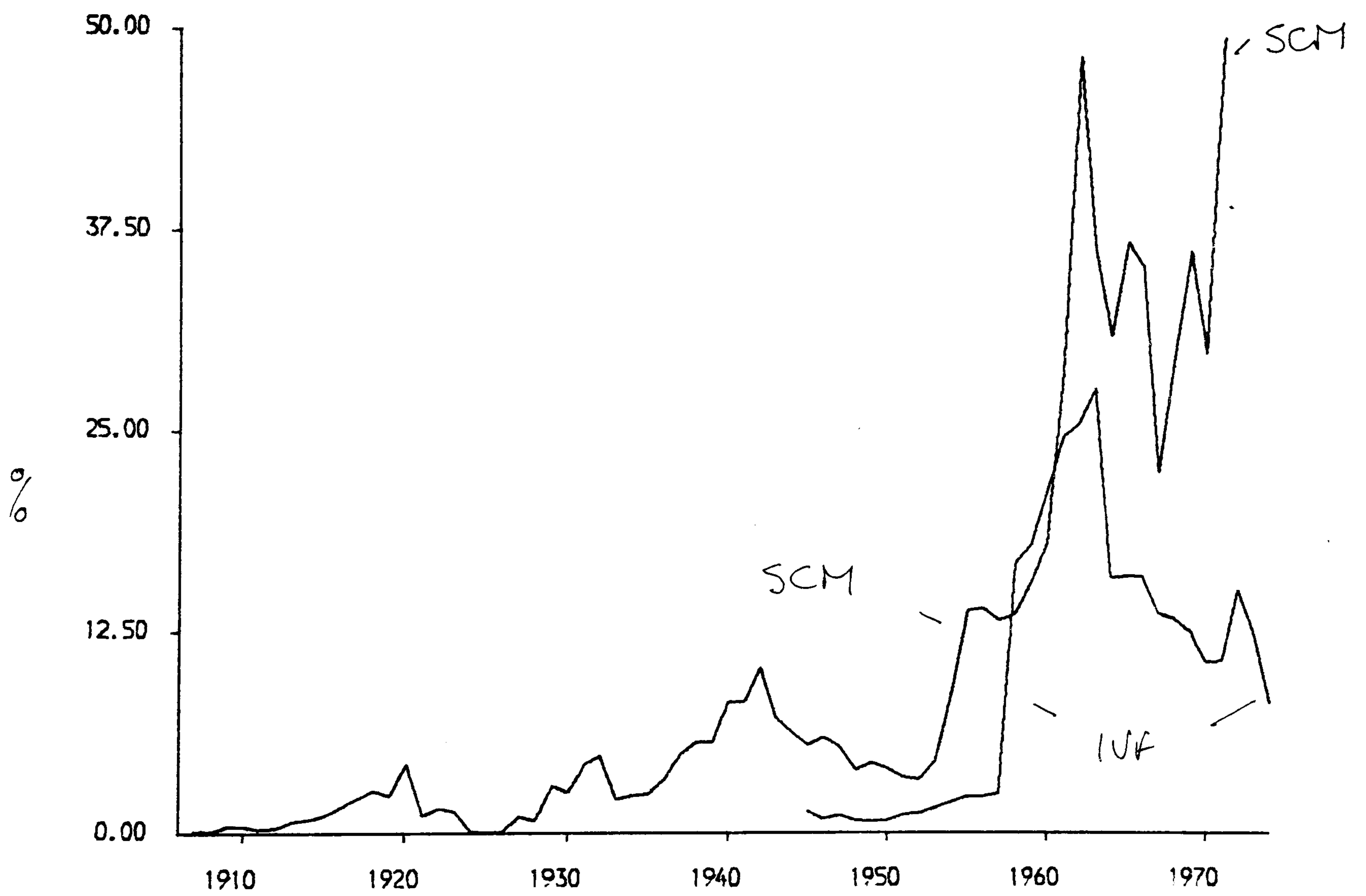
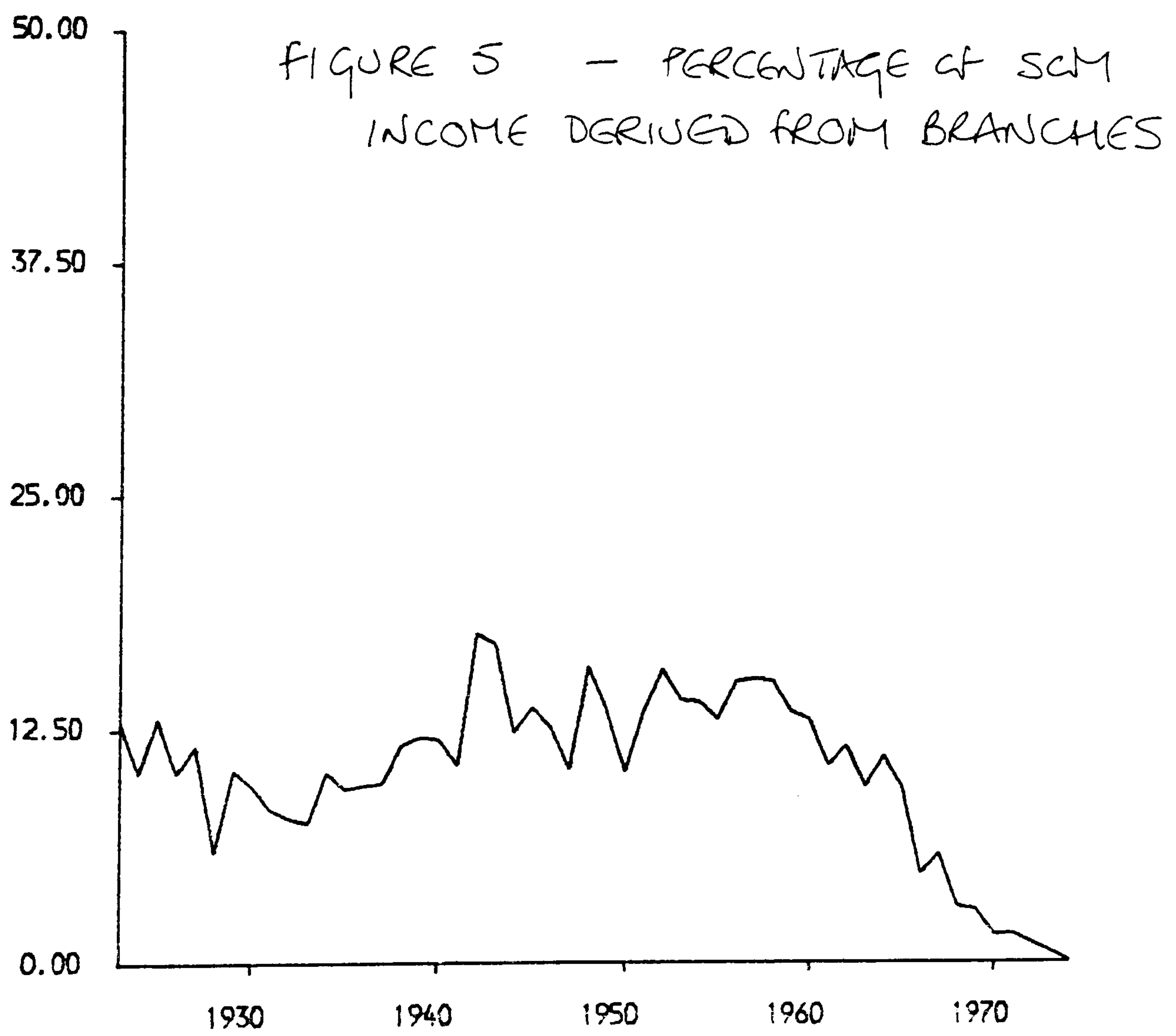


FIGURE 4 — PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL INCOME DERIVED FROM INVESTMENT



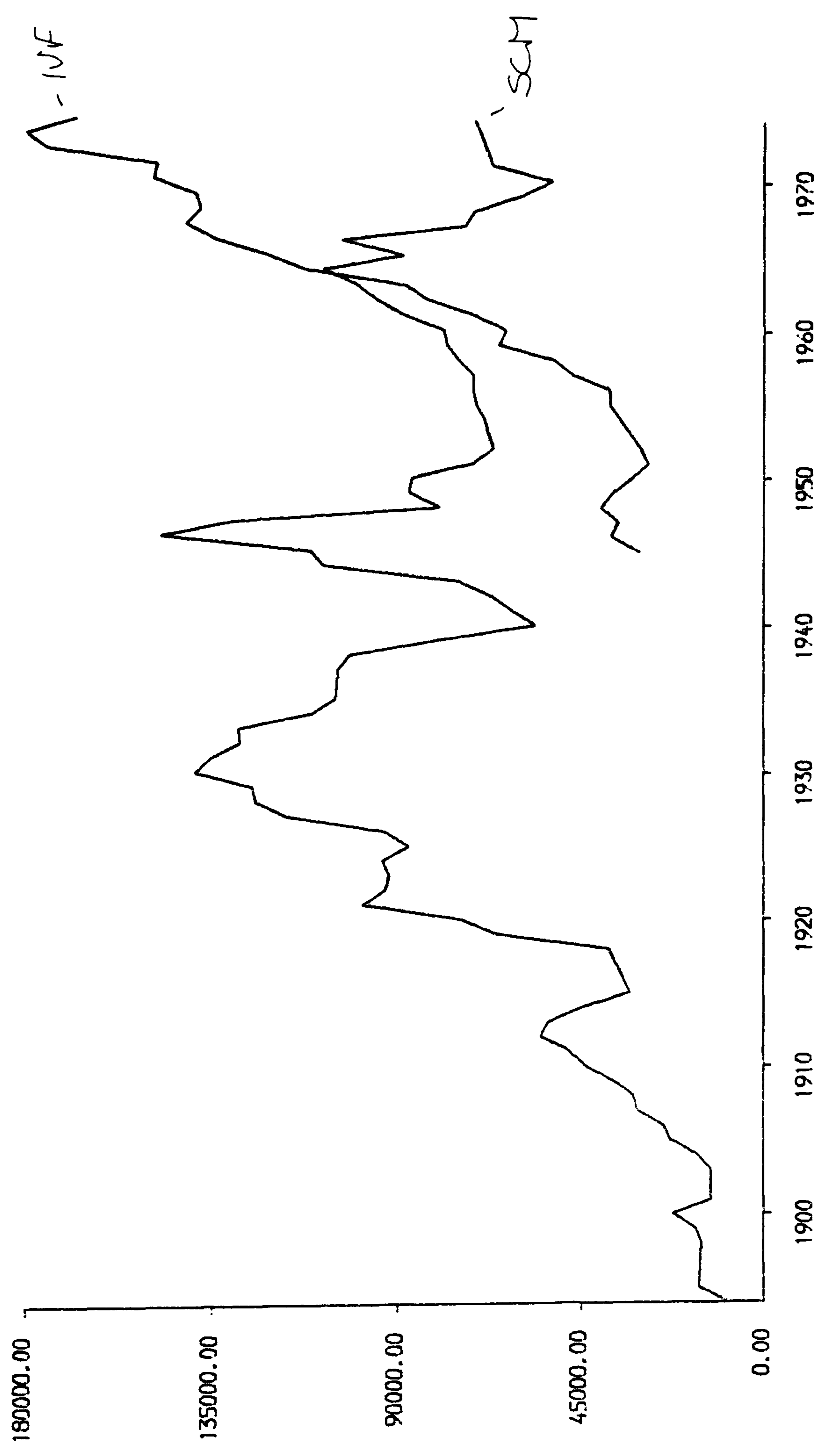


FIGURE 6 - EXPENDITURE OF SCH and UF

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Bibliography of SCM Archive material

- (1) Annual Reports of SVMU, IUCU, BCCU, and SCM
- (2) Minutes of the executives of the SVMU, IUCU, BCCU, SCM General Committee and the SCM General College Department, Theological Department and Missionary Department
- (3) Records of Conferences, AGMs and EGMs
- (4) Records of the Art Students Christian Union and the UCBPPS
- (5) SFMU and SVMU Registers of members
- (6) 1908 Commission report
1911 Interdenominational Basis Committee Report
1919 Call to Battle
1946 The University Pamphlets
1967 Incomes Committee Report
- (7) Diaries of Frank Anderson Travelling Secretary IUCU, SVMU and BCCU 1893-96
J. Rutter Williamson Travelling Secretary SVMU 1895-96
ECW Rudge Schools Department Secretary 1937-1942
- (8) Correspondence files
- (9) Newspaper cutting files (the SCM subscribed to a cutting service)
- (10) Reports of staff members.

As I mentioned in the preface, the archives have not been arranged under one uniform system of classification. Most of the material is in the order which the SCM's own activities imposed on it. With the exception of some early material which has been re-arranged into a biographical framework, the documents can be located by year and organisational concern.