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RETELLING THE OLD, OLD STORY:
A STUDY OF SIX MASS EVANGELISTIC MISSIONS
IN TWENTIETH-CENTURY NEW ZEALAND

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ABSTRACT

Modern revivalistic evangelism developed from the British Evangelical Revivals and the American Great Awakening of the eighteenth century. The theological and practical foundations were laid for the development of new approaches and techniques to persuade hearers of their sinfulness and need to become converted to the Christian faith. Although they have been employed to some extent in Britain, the refinement and full exploitation of these techniques has been a particularly American phenomenon, exercising substantial theological, social and political influence beyond conservative Christian society.

There have been six major revivalistic missions to New Zealand with American style and leadership, those of R.A. Torrey (1902), J.W. Chapman (1912-1913), Billy Graham (1959 and 1969), and Leighton Ford and Luis Palau (1987). Each of these has sought to exert over New Zealand society the same spiritual and moral influence enjoyed in America, and to be a means of raising the membership and public profile of the Protestant churches.

This thesis surveys these six missions to determine common themes which run through them, and differences and changes between them. Firstly, the backgrounds of the evangelists reveal the influences these have on the styles and messages of the missions. Then the mechanics of conducting the missions are considered, the different methodologies adopted by the evangelists and how they altered over time. A summary of the theological and social messages promulgated in New Zealand then gives insight into the kind of Christianity the evangelists have presented to their audiences.

Fourthly, the variations in the reception given the missions by New Zealanders are noted and conclusions drawn from the thesis illustrating the changing nature of New Zealand Protestant Christianity during the twentieth century. Finally, an assessment is made of the overall impact such missions have had on individuals, churches and the wider society in New Zealand.

The case is argued and the conclusion reached that none of these missions seems to have made much long-term impression upon either their supporters, the Protestant churchgoers, or upon the wider society. Such impact as they had tended to be greater in the anticipation than the event and seldom received more than passing attention from those outside existing Christian church life. Even the proportion of Protestants supporting evangelistic missions' very utilisation fell and the revivalists themselves came to be viewed by many as divisive and morally regressive, rather than as agents of a unifying and morally authoritative Christian faith. Their theology, too, was often critiqued as simplistic, as was the use of psychological pressure inherent in their methods. The major resulting benefits for the churches concerned have not been in large increases in membership, but in the opportunities to unite churches internally and with each other over some common ground, in the provision of a group of laypeople within the churches who have their interest and experience in evangelism heightened, and in the recommitment and dedication of many existing members' lives to their faith and its practical expression.

New Zealand society has been less susceptible to offers of spiritual 'peace with God' than that of the United States. There has remained, though, a substantial and strongly committed element of fundamentalists and conservative evangelicals prepared still to

promote the use of revivalistic methods of mass evangelism to seek the conversion of non-Christians, to unify existing churches around a great, transdenominational opportunity to do God's work, and to provide a vast public relations exercise to prove to the public and to themselves that Christianity is still a living and active spiritual and social force.

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Typically in such a piece of work as this, any writer accumulates far more debts than they can acknowledge. This study has been no exception in this regard and I am sure that over the course of carrying out the project I have benefitted from people additional to those whose names are mentioned here. To these anonymous benefactors, I offer grateful thanks and hope that I was sufficiently well-mannered to offer them in person at the time.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

This study investigates one aspect of New Zealand Christianity, the phenomenon of revivalism, and specifically its manifestation in mass evangelism. The intention is to illuminate in part the nature of Christianity as it is, and has been, expressed and practised in New Zealand and to develop understanding of some of the influences which have shaped it. The field is too great and contains too much unexplored territory for the scope of a work such as this; a wide-ranging general survey must wait for a future writer - hence the present concentration on the mass missions and their constituencies.

There have been many dozens of evangelists, indigenous and imported, operating throughout New Zealand's history using largely the same methods and sharing many of the same theological presuppositions. To trace all would be an impossibility. Instead, attention has been focussed on the six mass evangelistic missions which have occurred throughout the twentieth century: those conducted by Reuben Archer Torrey in 1902 and J. Wilbur Chapman in 1912-1913, by Billy Graham in 1959 and again in 1969, and by Leighton Ford and Luis Palau in 1987.

There is a place for such a study, because while many other fields of New Zealand historical study have been advancing rapidly over the last several decades, there has not been a corresponding attention paid to the country's religious history, especially at an academic level. Particularly of recent years, many writers, usually interested participants, have laboured to produce parish and denominational histories as the colonial churches have celebrated

their survival of a century's struggle in often inhospitable surroundings.

Unfortunately, many of these histories have done little more than honour the existence and labours of a few notable individuals and document the progression of the people of God from one brick, stone or weatherboard tabernacle to another.[1] Many historians have concentrated on the missionary period, ending in the mid-nineteenth century, but relatively little of that interest has been carried on into later periods. There has been a dearth, only recently beginning to break, of scholarly analysis of how these stalwart adherents of the Christian faith have understood and interacted with each other, with the society around them, or even with their God. What did they believe and how were those beliefs expressed in daily life apart from building or extending churches, forming and serving on committees, and appointing a succession of vicars, priests or ministers?[2] This study provides some insights into some of the types of Christianity adopted by New Zealanders, what they believed and how they put those beliefs into practice.

STRUCTURE AND PROCEDURE OF STUDY

Since the mass evangelistic missions in New Zealand were not devised *ex nihilo*, it is important to understand the historical and

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1. With the notable exception of a handful of works such the study of Christchurch Anglo-Catholicism, Marie Peters, *Christchurch, St Michaels: A Study in Anglicanism in New Zealand, 1851-1972* (Christchurch, 1986).
2. The work of Massey University historian Peter J. Lineham has been prominent in such study as has investigated aspects of conservative Christianity. See the bibliography of this thesis

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theological background from which the missions derived, both overseas and in New Zealand,. This thesis, therefore, begins in Chapter One with an introductory consideration of some issues related to the nature of revivalism and its study. These include the consideration of appropriate methodology and sources, especially in the New Zealand context. There follows an extended discussion of much of the theological background germane to an understanding of revivalism, particularly explicating the key features of evangelicalism and fundamentalism as the theological viewpoints most closely associated with the mass evangelists' own positions. Also contained in the first chapter is a historical survey of the development of revivalistic evangelism's theology and practice, especially in the United States under the leadership of Charles G. Finney and, later, Dwight L. Moody. The transferral of the techniques and suppositions to Great Britain occurred in the mid-nineteenth century and, shortly afterwards, to the young colony of New Zealand.

Chapter Two is comprised of a survey of developments within New Zealand generally, and in the Christian churches particularly, relevant to the mass evangelistic missions to be studied. It commences with the introduction of revivalistic practices to the country. They were brought and popularised by itinerant Americans and those from British denominations, especially Methodist, Baptist, Brethren and Salvation Army, which had accepted such methods already in the 'Mother Country'. The scene is thus set for the first of the mass missions, that of R.A. Torrey in 1902. The changes which took place in the mid-twentieth century are then surveyed, making plain the historical context of the Billy Graham crusades of 1959 and 1969. The last section of this chapter summarises several major

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changes to come over the New Zealand churches, and their societal context, in the interval between 1969 and the arrival in 1987 of the two evangelists, Leighton Ford and Luis Palau, whose work constitutes the subject for the final chapters of this study.

This survey provides the background for the study of the six major interdenominational mass evangelists who have visited New Zealand during the twentieth century. Their assumptions and theology have been much the same as those evinced by the myriad of smaller-scale evangelistic campaigns which have also been conducted during the same period. But the extent of their operations, their international reputations and their insistence on widespread interdenominational backing set them apart from those who operate on a less formal, less widely-known and often denominationally-circumscribed manner.

Since there were six discrete episodes spread over eight and a half decades, from Chapter Three this study continues chronologically, dealing with each mission in turn, but seeking to identify both those elements they had in common and those in which each was unique. These missions occurred effectively in pairs related by many similarities and by chronological chance. The Torrey and Chapman missions both were led by men of similar background, shared their music leader, and took place in a New Zealand which had not yet really moved into the twentieth century. The middle pair of missions centring around one man, Billy Graham, were both organised by largely the same group of people and were held some half a century after the Torrey and Chapman's. The last pair were conducted by Leighton Ford and Luis Palau, both greatly influenced by Graham and both contending with a very different social and church context from their predecessors.

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The study, therefore, follows the introductory and contextual chapters with a chapter discussing each of the six missions. The penultimate chapter draws together for comparison and contrast the music used as an integral aspect of each mission. It will note the effects it was hoped to achieve in the meetings' songs, discuss the messages, mostly theological, contained in the songs, and outline the changes which took place in the music over time. A general conclusion to the thesis follows these particular discussions.

Given that neither New Zealand nor world history has remained static throughout the century, this chronological approach has the virtue of permitting the placement of each mission in its historical context and the discussion of the distinctive cultural, social and theological influences acting upon it. Insofar as it is possible, this structure also allows the analysis of the effects of each mission, as a product of its particular historical epoch, on the New Zealand Christian churches and their enveloping society. It was decided that whereas a more thematic approach may have assisted in comparing the missions with each other over a limited range of topics, it may have also partially obscured these relationships to the wider context. Therefore, it seemed preferable to deal with each mission as a discrete entity, although because of chronology and shared characteristics they remain roughly paired in three groups.

Chapter Three considers the first of these six major missions, that of Reuben Archer Torrey and Charles M. Alexander to central and southern New Zealand in 1902. Torrey's links with the developing fundamentalist movement prove to be a key feature of this most doctrinally-oriented of the missions. J. Wilbur Chapman's 1912-1913 mission over the length of the country is then studied in Chapter

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Four, the sentimental storyteller appearing to affect the hearts rather than the minds of New Zealand Christians. The music of Charles Alexander, common and very important to both of these missions, receives separate detailed analysis in Chapter Nine.

Chapters Five and Six discuss the Billy Graham Crusades of 1959 and 1969 and seek to discern whether more than merely technical matters, affected by twentieth-century technology, had changed over five decades; had the conduct and ethos of mass evangelism altered? The welcome this evangelist received and the acceptance of the crusades in the churches and the community at large deteriorated markedly in a reflection of the massive attitude shifts affecting contemporary society. The music, too, compiled by Graham associate Cliff Barrows and studied in Chapter Nine, revealed significant changes in the approach and message of these crusades, compared with the earlier missions.

Chapters Seven and Eight encompass two 1987 missions which were conceived and run separately, but which were almost simultaneous in timing, shared several common organisational features and also, in some measure, a joint image in the public mind. Leighton Ford worked in Christchurch, Palmerston North and Wellington, while Luis Palau visited Whangarei, Napier/Hastings, Hamilton and Auckland. Comparisons and contrasts are made between each of these missions, and between the pair of them and the Graham crusades. This will show divergences and shifts in method or message, theological and social, in modern mass evangelism and in its New Zealand constituency. The music used in the late 1980s, again analysed in Chapter Nine, suggests further significant differences from those preceding campaigns.

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Methodology of This Study

There are a number of major issues which have been addressed throughout this thesis with regard to these mass evangelistic missions and which therefore provide points of comparison and contrast throughout. The background of each evangelist has been surveyed and an assessment made of how this affected his individual approach to his evangelistic ministry. An analysis is made of how each evangelist has interacted with the changing historical context within New Zealand - has he spoken directly to the situation as he found it or has he attempted to convey an apparently timeless gospel irrespective of his social or theological context? The messages conveyed by the evangelists are studied in two major divisions: what their theological understandings were, and how they portrayed certain social or ethical positions as desirable or necessary for Christians and for the wider community. In this discussion, such questions as their attitudes towards the Bible, towards the individual's relationship with God, the Christian Church as a whole, the family as the foundational social unit, and towards participation in certain activities are considered. In addition to whatever the evangelists may have said or written on these subjects, the music used in each mission contributes to the communication of ideas and attitudes and so has also been analysed so that its enhancement of what was conveyed may be discerned.

Then there are other questions to be answered which relate to the reception of the mass evangelists and their version of Christian action and teaching. To what extent have such messages from, or even the very presence of, these evangelists been welcomed by New Zealand churches and society, and has that welcome altered over

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time? Have an evangelist's opinions, when known, affected his reception? As these events happened within the ongoing life of the New Zealand Christian churches, the attempt is made, to the extent that it is possible, to assess the overall impact these missions had on their life and influence. Were there benefits, or problems, for the churches apart from the gaining of new members? Did the mass evangelistic missions, in any really successful way, actually evangelise the masses?

In the attempt to assess these matters both literary and statistical materials were employed and supplemented with oral interviews for the more recent missions. The reader will observe that the sources used to produce this study do not permit an even coverage of all aspects of each mission's events and results. First, there is the question of the extent to which such quantitative data as exist are in any way informative about what the missioners did or achieved. Then there is the problem of whether it is possible really to compensate for the statistics' inadequacies.

Two studies of the 1976 Billy Graham crusade in the Seattle/Tacoma, Washington, area highlight the difficulties common to assessments of mass evangelism's effects. The first, conducted by church-growth specialists, was concerned particularly with

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for some of his publications. H.R. Jackson, *Churches and People in Australia and New Zealand 1860-1930* (Wellington, 1987) is another important recent study. Their work is gradually being supplemented by a slowly growing number of graduate theses. Lawrence Harold Barber, 'The Social Crusader: James Gibb at the Australasian Pastoral Frontier, 1882-1935' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Massey University, 1975), and John Stenhouse, 'The "Battle" between Science and Religion over Evolution in New Zealand in the Nineteenth Century' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Massey University, 1985) are among the few studies at doctoral level. They are supported by a clutch of Masters' theses in History and in other disciplines. For a relatively complete bibliography of works on New Zealand Religious History, see Peter J. Lineham and Anthony R. Grigg, *Religious History of New Zealand*, second edition (Palmerston North, 1987).

numerical additions to church membership.[3] On this basis, it concluded that mass evangelism was largely ineffective, only 15.3% of converts becoming new church members. The second study assumed a broader definition of effectiveness, including such criteria as promotion of Christian unity, training of the laity in counselling and evangelistic techniques, higher public visibility for Christianity, and rededication of existing members, which the earlier study had dismissed as 'peripheral'.[4] Overall, 64% of ministers and 88% of lay leaders who responded considered the crusade's effect to have been positive.

Even these studies, conducted by professionals using modern statistical analyses, revealed the impossibility of gaining more than a subjective 'feel' about a crusade. The more negative membership-based assessment estimated new members gained at 1,285; the other suggests approximately 2,900, but at least 1,750. Changes in attendance or commitment levels were difficult to measure, except by impression. Also, these studies showed that even the positions held in churches by the respondents seemed substantially to alter their perceptions. Firebaugh's results showed lay leaders consistently (sometimes by more than 30%) more optimistic than were their ministers about the crusade's value.

Other survey methods give varying results. Another church-growth study of existing church members which enquired how they came to be in the Church showed only 0.01% resulting from crusades, with other influences such as Sunday school or an attractive pastor

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3. Win Arn, 'Mass Evangelism: The Bottom Line', *Church Growth: America*, 4, 1 (1978). Cited in Glenn Firebaugh, 'How Effective Are City-Wide Crusades? A Scientific Study Evaluates the Effects of the 1976 Billy Graham Crusade in Seattle', *Christianity Today*, 25 (27 March 1981), 24-29.
4. Firebaugh, 'City-Wide Crusades', 24-29.

drawing up to 6% each. But the influence of friends and relatives was listed by 75% to 90% of lay people as their reason for becoming Christians and church members.[5]

The difficulties which may be encountered in producing even such 'hard' data as these, of gaining anything beyond an impression of effects, in a study of this type are spelled out in detail by William G. McLoughlin, a leading American historian of revivalism.

> I question whether the phenomenon we call revivalism... is subject to quantitative analysis. How do we know which towns experienced a revival when itinerants frequently passed through a whole string of them? How do we know how many went to hear these revivalists? How many who heard a revivalist and were deeply affected may not have joined any church or may have moved away shortly thereafter? Is church membership the single most important measure of a revival?... How can we possibly measure the effect of a great urban mass revival such as those of D.L. Moody, Billy Sunday or Billy Graham? Did everyone who attended such meetings and claimed conversion join a church? If they didn't join a church does that mean the revival had no impact on them?... And if we had their names, could we adequately identify the people by age, class, education, profession?... I simply do not believe that the meaning of an Awakening lies in the sum of its statistical parts.[6]

Certainly, many of the same difficulties obtain when attempting analysis of the effects of mass evangelism in New Zealand. There are available in sources more-or-less detailed records of the numbers attending individual meetings - but no way of knowing how many are churchgoers or 'outsiders', nor how many are attending for the first or fourth time. There are annual records published of changes in denominational membership, even that of specific churches - but no way of establishing a direct causal relationship with the activities of evangelists. There are lists of numbers of

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5. Cited in Win Arn, '"Church Growth" Leader Win Arn Responds to Firebaugh's Conclusions', *Christianity Today*, 25 (27 March 1981), 26.
6. 'Timepieces and Butterflies: A Note on the Great-Awakening-Construct and Its Critics', *Sociological Analysis*, 44 (1983), 106.

denominational members - but no indication as to whether those who were already in the churches were suddenly galvanised into greater spirituality or religious endeavour after recommitting themselves at an evangelistic rally. In any case, mere numbers do not of themselves describe changes in spirituality, theology, attitude or social effects.

Hence, the erratic statistical data are not heavily relied upon for this study. Rather, documentary materials, both religious and secular, were searched for indications of how contemporaries, both within and outside the churches, viewed the events. Denominational yearbooks seldom provided more than passing references, although their newspapers usually did comment more extensively. Archival sources were few. As the missions were interdenominational, no single group was responsible for their organisation or for holding their records. No New Zealand denominational archives hold material specifically relating to the missions and the mission offices were transitory, disappearing together with their records. Some materials were held as incidental segments of individual ministers' papers, especially at New Zealand Baptist Theological College and at Knox College.

A major source for discovering the content in New Zealand of Torrey and Chapman's message is the Presbyterian journal, the *Outlook*. Not only did it provide coverage of the prior Australian campaigns, but it gave information about New Zealand preparations and exhaustive detail regarding the mission meetings held by these evangelists in New Zealand. Many of their sermons were reported verbatim.

When studying the music of the missions, it is possible to discover many of the songs Alexander employed during the New Zealand

campaigns from the denominational and secular newspapers' reports of the meetings. Those songs used were drawn from a collection which Alexander had already had published. It was popularly known as the 'Glory Book', after its best-known entry, or the 'Red Book', from its colour.[7] Songs were often referred to by their number in this book as well as their title, or even by the entry number alone, indicating the extent of familiarity with it. This acceptance was enhanced by the frequent exhortations in the religious literature and crusade meetings for all attenders and mission supporters to acquire personal copies. Later, the Billy Graham crusades had their own songbooks, compiled by the music director, Cliff Barrows, for the Australasian events, while the Ford and Palau missions had small songsheets produced locally. The earlier music, therefore, reflected directly more of the missioners and their perspectives and the later songs more those of the New Zealand context.

The secular newspapers were major sources for all the missions, recording, with enthusiasm in the earlier periods and with relative indifference later, these noteworthy community events. Oral interviews and personal communications were possible for the four later missions and were valuable in supplementing printed material with impressions or information which would not otherwise have been committed formally to paper.

A trap to beware of in academic studies is that of dismissive treatment of conservative forms of Christianity, evangelicalism and fundamentalism. R. Stephen Warner, writing for sociologists, advised them as members of middle-class, liberal professionalism to take into account their own biasses when discussing (or ignoring)

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7. *Outlook*, 9, 33 (13 September 1902), 7; 9, 34 (20 September 1902), 35.

such socio-religious phenomena.[8] These biasses, he claimed, took three forms: (a) a social class bias, regarding evangelicalism as the 'religion of the disinherited', preventing perception of non-disadvantaged middle-class participation; (b) a liberal bias, identifying with mainstream, theological and political liberals, and overlooking the personal ethical challenge made by evangelicalism; and (c) an evolutionary bias, assuming 'enlightened' modernism to be the next, proper and irresistible development of human progress and relegating supernaturalist theological conservatism to the intellectual backwaters of pre-modern superstition. Such a view may often be reinforced by a disdainful attitude towards the assumed credulity of past ages, what may be designated 'chronological snobbery'. Adoption, conscious or otherwise, of these attitudes has typically coloured the assessments of scholars studying such movements, to the point that the attitudes themselves have become regarded as unquestioned givens, impeding more nuanced interpretation.

This study has attempted to avoid these traps. The very undertaking of such a project has assumed the subject of revivalism, its participants and their theological and social teachings, are matters to be taken seriously and treated with respect as ongoing phenomena in New Zealand Christian experience. In its continuing attraction of new exponents and supporters in their thousands and tens of thousands, it is, clearly, not merely an anachronistic relic of a pre-modern era, but an activity which continues to provide meaning and personal support in many late-twentieth century lives. Further, it has not been assumed that practitioners of, and those

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8. 'Theoretical Barriers to the Understanding of Evangelical Christianity', *Sociological Analysis*, 40 (1979), 1-9.

involved in, revivalistic mass evangelism are necessarily those otherwise on the fringes of New Zealand society. Although it is argued that some such overtones of 'disinheritance' from, or disaffection with, contemporary society may be detected in the missions studied, an *a priori* blanket ascription to all participants of these motives blinkers the observer against perception of other aspects of their activities and beliefs.

Also, theological teachings and social comments have been described and critiqued with the view to discovering their effects and suggesting their limitations, without overlooking or denigrating such validity as they may possess. In any case, as many of the greatest minds of the last two millenia have shown, the ultimate truths of the Christian faith and its implications consistently elude definitive explication. To lay bare inadequacies in one theological system is not to claim full acquaintance with the Infinite on behalf of any other.

DEFINITION AND DISCUSSION OF THEOLOGICAL TERMS AND POSITIONS

'Protestantism', as examined in this study, includes those denominations which are commonly regarded as comprising orthodox Protestantism at the beginning of this century, specifically, the Church of England and the groups originating in British Non-Conformity, the Presbyterians, Methodists, Baptists and Open Brethren. Other small denominations such as the Churches of Christ, Congregationalists, Lutherans, Salvation Army and Seventh-day Adventists have not been studied individually but would fall within

the grouping. Pentecostalism played little part in New Zealand Christianity until the 1970s and so really features only in the last two crusades studied. The Protestant fringe sects such as Mormons and Jehovah's Witnesses and Maori churches such as Ratana and Ringatu are therefore excluded from consideration in this work.

Beyond the discussion of revivalism given below, some cognisance must be taken and definition provided of the theological positions with which it has been associated or to which its proponents have been opposed. Three which require attention are 'liberalism', 'evangelicalism' and 'fundamentalism'. The second and third of these require more extensive discussion as they represent the theological background from which the mass evangelists have sprung. In the process of this discussion, several key platforms of these two positions will be analysed, particularly their views of the nature and authority of the Bible, the atoning work of Christ, and on eschatology. This survey will provide insights into the nature of the Christianity into which the evangelists were attempting to convert their audiences, and also elucidate the theological views held by the groups who supported their activities in the country.

Theological liberalism is an approach to Christianity which stresses human freedom and responsibility in thought and deed.[9] Following particularly from Enlightenment rationalism, it emphasises continual critique by human reason and thus ongoing change and development in beliefs and institutions. This contrasts, and may conflict, with other approaches which emphasise conformity and continuity in theology or praxis to some predetermined system or authority, whether dogmatic or ecclesiastical.

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9. See also 'Liberalism', in *The Westminster Dictionary of Church History*, edited by Jerald C. Brauer (Philadelphia, 1971), 496-498; David Parker, 'Fundamentalism and Conservative

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Liberalism's classic expression was in the development in nineteenth-century Germany of critical tools and modes of thought which challenged assumptions of Christianity having been and always remaining an unalterable given. An emphasis on ethics over doctrine led to its concern with human action in the present, rather than more abstract theologising concerned with the purely transcendent. Under the impact of modern philosophies, nineteenth-century liberalism has undergone many metamorphoses, a process of which its proponents would probably have heartily approved. The term 'liberalism' in current Protestant usage has largely been generalised to apply to any theological system espousing an avowedly humanistic philosophical approach over a transcendentalist one. It may be any view which stresses ethical, 'social gospel' concerns over dogmatic orthodoxy or soteriological individualism, and which replaces a literally-interpreted Bible as the sole or major source of Christian authority with the 'essence of Christianity' discerned instead largely by reason and experience.

Standing against such relativistic liberalism, evangelicalism has been taken in this study as the tradition of conservative Christianity which has insisted on adherence to certain basic tenets of the faith, largely inherited from the Protestant Reformers, and which has stressed evangelistic outreach to non-Christians.[10] Although elements of this spirit may be seen throughout Church history, as a visible interdenominational movement it has flourished

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Protestantism in Australia, 1920-1980' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Queensland, 1982), 28; R.V. Pierard, 'Theological Liberalism', in *Evangelical Dictionary of Theology*, edited by Walter A. Elwell (Grand Rapids, 1984), 631-635.

10. Parker, 'Fundamentalism', 26, 28-29; R.V. Pierard, 'Evangelicalism', in Elwell, ed., *Dictionary of Theology*, 379-382.

since the Wesleyan and Pietistic renewals of the eighteenth century, reaching a peak of social influence in nineteenth-century Britain and America. Its position declined sharply with the late nineteenth-century onset of secularisation, but has experienced a resurgence of popularity in America since World War Two.

Theologically, evangelicals have regarded the Bible as the divinely inspired, authoritative revelation of God, providing ultimate guidance in matters of belief and practice which affect one's eternal salvation. They have retained, formally at least, a belief in the total depravity of humankind and the concomitant need for God's action to save. This divine action is seen as having been effected in Christ's substitutionary or vicarious atonement satisfying the demands of God's justice. Salvation is thus received only through faith in Christ. A major facet of evangelical religion is the proclamation of Christ's work as Saviour and the winning of converts to Christianity. Adherents of alternative perspectives have objected that this form of the evangel is limited to only part of Christian tradition and theology and says little about aspects beyond an individual's relationship with God.

A key distinctive of evangelicalism, which is also crucial to revivalism's demand for sinners to decide to come to Christ, is the particular view held of how the work of Christ is efficacious for human beings. The penal substitution theory of Christ's atonement has been popular with many theologians since participants in the Protestant Reformation sought theological bolstering for their antipathy towards perceived attempts within medieval Catholicism for humans to gain salvation by virtue of their own efforts.[11] The

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11. L. Morris, 'Atonement, Theories of'; Pierard, 'Evangelicalism'; C.T. McIntire, 'Fundamentalism', in Elwell, ed., *Dictionary of Theology*, 100-102, 379-382, 433-435.

theory focusses on biblical verses such as Galatians 3.13, 'Christ redeemed us from the curse of the law by becoming a curse for us....' This emphasises Christ acting as a substitute for sinners, enduring himself the punishment of death which they deserved and could not otherwise avoid, and thus propitiating the wrath of God. In practice, this has led to much use of imagery of the blood of Jesus and a favouring of his title as the Lamb of God who was slain on sinners' behalf.

Criticism of this theory has centred on the way it lends itself to appearing to stress the love of Christ at the expense of that of God the Father, who seems rather to be angry, violent and requiring appeasement. Further, its proponents have tended to exclude other theories of the atonement which prefer to place the stress of Christ's action elsewhere, on its being a moral example or on God's victory over evil, for example. These alternatives enjoy greater popularity when the all-inclusiveness of God's love is emphasised, while the substitutionary theory tends to limit this love to the Father's sending of the Son. The theory is also open to questions about the justice and ethics of transference of guilt and punishment to an innocent party.

The substitutionary theory has been embraced especially by evangelicals over the two and a half centuries since the Wesleyan revivals in Britain and the First Great Awakening in America. It was adopted as effectively the *only* theory in *The Fundamentals*, tracts published in Chicago from 1910 to 1915 purportedly expounding the basic tenets of Christianity. It has thus become a distinctive feature of conservative theology, other views seldom even receiving mention.

Fundamentalism is properly seen as a twentieth-century movement which has developed from the American revivalistic elements of evangelicalism. It takes its name from a group identifying themselves with the positions adopted in *The Fundamentals*.[12] Sharing many theological emphases with evangelicalism, this movement is distinguished from it by several features.

Firstly, it goes beyond evangelicalism in insisting that the Bible is not only infallible in 'spiritual' matters of faith and lifestyle but, more, is factually inerrant where it touches on 'worldly' matters such as history or science. Secondly, fundamentalism has emerged in history as a negative movement, largely in opposition to every sort of 'modernism', a term virtually synonymous with liberalism. This label has been applied indiscriminately to encompass all manner of evolutionary and humanistic social and scientific epistemologies and worldviews, contrasting with fundamentalists' stress on supernatural and biblically-oriented positions. Thirdly, fundamentalists differ from evangelicals in their militancy in both attacking and separating from opponents; evangelicals being more ready to remain within ecclesiastical and social structures, debating and seeking to change from within. Fourthly, fundamentalism's geographical spread is different. While certainly not limited in membership to the United States, the fundamentalist movement has consistently retained an American orientation, while evangelicalism attracts a broader international constituency.[13]

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12. 'Fundamentalism', in Brauer, ed., *Westminster Dictionary*, 348-349; McIntire, 'Fundamentalism', in Elwell, ed., *Dictionary of Theology*, 433-435; Bruce L. Shelley, 'Fundamentalism', 'The Fundamentals', in *The New International Dictionary of Theology*, edited by J.D. Douglas, revised edition (Grand Rapids, 1978), 396-397.
13. George Marsden, 'Fundamentalism as an American Phenomenon: A Comparison with English Evangelicalism', *Church History*, 46 (1977), 215-232; McIntire, 'Fundamentalism', 433-435.

Fundamentalism as an American Phenomenon

The above fourth distinction has been explored further by George M. Marsden, who has discerned clear differences between conservative Christians in the United States and those in Britain.[14] He observes that there has been a readily distinguishable American militant 'fundamentalist' movement, but not so across the Atlantic. The British have had strong conservative, evangelical groups, but these have shown little readiness to indulge in the intense, even bitter, anti-liberal crusades which have characterised their American equivalents. Marsden has sought reasons why this should be so and suggested a variety of social, religious and intellectual factors. Such study is valuable in considering the background to mass evangelism in New Zealand as the settlers brought with them a British heritage, while the mass evangelists came from an American milieu. The extent that the two groups did or did not affect each other may thus have been determined by these variations in origin.

Before the mid-twentieth century, America was divided along social, ethnic, geographical and religious lines, making difficult dialogue between, or even awareness of, varying points of view. The British, on the other hand, had centuries-old links between university and pulpit, city and village, which assisted rapid dissemination of and response to new ideas. Thus, the British had taken time to grapple with the new 'higher criticism' and evolutionary thought patterns from the time of *Essays and Reviews* (1860), Bishop Colenso's *The Pentateuch and Book of Joshua Critically Examined* (1862-1879) and Darwin's *Origin of the Species*

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14. *Fundamentalism and American Culture: The Shaping of Twentieth-Century Evangelicalism 1870-1925* (New York and Oxford, 1980), esp. ch. 25.; idem., 'Fundamentalism as an American Phenomenon'.

(1859), and the heat had largely gone out of the debate by the 1870s.[15] By then, Americans were only just beginning to become aware of the challenges, although many would not until the twentieth century.[16] An analogy can be drawn with regard to their respective political constitutions: Britain had gradually worked out an amorphous and fluid collection of customary principles over centuries; the United States' newness and sudden birth during the Age of Reason demanded finite, hard, clear and rational definitions.

The two key religious factors Marsden identifies behind American fundamentalism were revivalism and Calvinism. 'The dynamics of unopposed revivalism'[17] led to the wholesale adoption of anti-intellectual, biblically-oriented attitudes, concern to recreate the primitive models of the Early Church and the tendency towards a simple, dichotomous worldview. From this perspective, all people were either saved or lost, ideas were either right or wrong and a Manichean opposition of natural to supernatural was taken for granted. Britain, though, had the weight of centuries of tradition

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15. Owen Chadwick's study of the Church in Victorian Britain provides detail on this process by which evolutionary thought and biblical criticism gained acceptance. He stresses the change from 'the word of God is the Bible' to 'the word of God is in the Bible', and the way in which moderate academics mediated the radical German scholarship, making it more palatable to clergy and laity alike. Yet the Bible itself became more opaque, biblical commentaries replacing systematic theologies as greater demands were placed on expositors and even general readers of the Bible. Not that the critical ideas met immediately with universal acceptance - Chadwick describes a number of controversies in several denominations - but the high point of argument was around 1889. This was the publication date of *Lux Mundi*, a collection of essays seeking to combine modern scholarship with a retention of the Bible as the revelation of God. After the succeeding several years of storm, much of the controversy receded, giving at least two decades of assimilation and accommodation, if not actual agreement, there before the battle was fully joined in the United States. *The Victorian Church*, 2 vols (London, 1970), II, esp. parts I and II.
16. Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture*, 17-21.
17. Marsden, 'Fundamentalism as an American Phenomenon', 225.

to modify or oppose the extremes of revivalism. These traditions were not only in the established Church of England and in the universities, but in the Nonconformist heritage which considerably antedated revivalism.

The strength of Puritan Calvinism, too, had endowed American religious thought with an ingrained tendency to seek precise, intellectual, 'correct' answers in religious matters, by definition excluding whatever was 'wrong'. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, this heritage was exemplified in the zeal of the theologians of Princeton Seminary 'who for generations had been firing heavy theological artillery at every idea that moved and who were almost indecently astute at distinguishing Biblical and Reformed truth from all error'.[18] Britain, of course, also had strong Calvinists and in Scotland they had displayed considerable intramural bellicosity, but the general ethos had been much more ecclesiastically than doctrinally oriented. Evangelicals, especially since Wesley, had also been more concerned with heart-warming pietism than dogmatic argumentation. These attitudes were further entrenched by the rise of the Keswick movement from 1875 which emphasised personal piety, Bible study and evangelism, but which, though thoroughly conservative, consciously adopted a conciliatory doctrinal stance.[19] Thus, even when doctrinally-based dissension occurred, it seldom resulted in a prolonged dispute.

In addition, the intellectual makeup of the two communities varied. The British had a long-standing preconditioning towards acceptance of concepts of historical development, whereas Americans, by and large, had remained within eighteenth-century views which saw

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18. Ibid., 228.
19. See below, 79.

truths as fixed aspects of reality derived from empirical observation and the application of 'common sense' and which could lead to the formulation of definite laws. This meant that fundamentalism did not emerge in America as a consciously anti-intellectual resistance to science. 'It was an objection rather to a *type* of science - a developmental type - which they almost always branded as "unscientific". Seldom did they denounce science in principle.'[20] And this was reflected in their attitude to the Bible as comprised of classifiable, error-free data on a whole variety of topics. Their attitude towards history was typically displayed in the categories of dispensational premillenialism, which divides history into seven ages, in each of which God deals differently with humanity. Although developed in Britain, this schema was never as popular there as it became in America.[21]

Thus Marsden displays a range of preconditions which fed into American religious thought to produce a militant separatist fundamentalism which did not eventuate in Britain. His work clearly identifies the fundamentalist spirit as American, while the English counterpart is better labelled as conservative evangelicalism, putting its emphasis more on the importance of personal piety.

David Bebbington's survey of the development and impact of premillenialism in Britain supports Marsden's view.[22] He concludes that British evangelicals were ecclesiastically and socially more marginalised in the late nineteenth century than were those in the United States, therefore changing social values did not affect their

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20. Ibid., 229-230.
21. cf. Ernest R. Sandeen, *The Roots of American Fundamentalism: British and American Premillenialism 1800-1930* (Chicago, 1970). See below, 25.
22. David Bebbington, 'The Advent Hope in British Evangelicalism since 1800', *Scottish Journal of Religious Studies*, 9 (1988), 103-114.

position as drastically, compared with their American counterparts' rapid fall from social grace. The importance of decorum in British social conventions, too, predisposed the British against the clamour and rancour of the American fundamentalists. Also of great theological importance was the reluctance of many British evangelicals to accept dispensationalism with its obsession with the imminent future. Rather, until the mid-twentieth century, many still preferred a premillenialism which spread prophetic fulfilments throughout history and centred on antipapalism. While there was no evangelical consensus on issues so central to their self definition, there was little scope for public pugnacity on other matters. These factors combined with those already discerned by Marsden to create a distinctly different 'tone' in British evangelicalism from that in America.

Thus, although many beliefs held were the same as the Americans', the British churches with which the New Zealand churches were associated and from which they developed, were not identical in attitudes and practice to the American milieu from which the mass evangelists came. One aspect of this study is an assessment of the extent to which these American mass evangelists who have visited New Zealand can be classified as fundamentalists of the type delineated by Marsden, or whether they are better seen as 'conservative evangelicals'. Also, the type of mass evangelist invited to New Zealand, the message they brought and the reception they were accorded by the New Zealand churches, sheds some light on the nature of local Protestantism, especially in its conservative aspects. This study of mass evangelism, therefore, attempts to clarify further some of the issues relating to the nature of the New Zealand

churches and the theological and ecclesiological views held by New Zealand Christians.

Conservative Christian Eschatology

The eschatological views mentioned above are some associated almost inextricably with modern evangelicalism, and especially with fundamentalism. Of recent times, there have been three major Christian positions regarding the end of the world and the return of Christ, all taking their titles from their views about the 'Millenium', a period of 1,000 years mentioned in Revelation 20.1-6, during which Christ will rule on the earth. Premillenialism sees a deterioration of world order leading to the triumphant return and reign of Christ on earth for a literal millenium before the final judgment. Postmillenialism, the most popular view in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries when Europe was 'civilising' the world, sees the reference to the millenium (there is only one in the whole Bible) as symbolic of the age of the Church Triumphant advancing the Christian gospel and thus preparing the world for the return of Christ at the *end* of this non-literal millenium. Amillenialism takes the biblical reference as totally symbolic, with the reign of Christ being heavenly, rather than earthly. Some form of premillenialism has become the orthodox fundamentalist position, reinforcing their withdrawal from this doomed world, while postmillenialism has been undermined by modern humanity's failure to display real evidence of spiritual and moral advancement. Both tend to dismiss amillenialism, a view more commonly held amongst British and Reformed evangelicals, as veering too close to liberal positions

which would reject literal acceptance of any biblical prophetic foretelling of the future.[23]

Dispensationalism is a further subdivision of premillenialism and is the almost exclusive province of fundamentalists. Developed by J.N. Darby, a founder of the Brethren in the mid-nineteenth century, it divides biblical and cosmic history up into seven different dispensations, in each of which God has dealt differently with humanity. This results in a novel hermeneutical approach to the Bible and, particularly, looks for a completely unpredictable secret first return of Christ to 'rapture' true Christians from the earth so they are spared the worst excesses of the collapse of the present age.[24]

The Place of the Bible in Evangelical and Fundamentalist Thought

Beyond the historical and theological characteristics of evangelicalism and fundamentalism already discussed, further attention must be paid to their key common distinctive, viz. their reverence for the Bible as the source of all knowledge of God and his will and the authoritative guide for Christian beliefs and practices.

Richard J. Mouw has discerned four dominant 'minds' or patterns of thought at work in twentieth-century American Protestantism:

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23. Millard J. Erickson, *Christian Theology* (Grand Rapids, 1983-1985); R.G. Clouse, 'Millenium, Views of the', in Elwell, ed., *Dictionary of Theology*, 714-718; Timothy P. Weber, *Living in the Shadow of the Second Coming: American Premillenialism, 1875-1925* (New York and Oxford, 1979); Sandeen, *Roots*; Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture*.
24. The seven dispensations are: (i) the Adamic pre-Fall period; (ii) the post-Fall period until Noah; (iii) the period after the Noahic flood until the call of Abraham; (iv) from the call of Abraham until the Sinai covenant; (v) the period under the Mosaic Law; (vi) the present age from the time of Christ's

Footnote 24 continued on next page

doctrinalism, pietism, moralism and culturalism.[25] Doctrinalism stresses the importance of believing the right doctrines and uses the Bible primarily as the source for these doctrines or religious teachings. Pietism, against what it views as this 'dead orthodoxy' or 'head knowledge', places its emphasis on pious behaviour and experience or 'heart knowledge', in which the Bible has a devotional function, stimulating one's personal relationship with God. Moralism centres Christianity on right actions, morally or ethically defined, with the Bible providing a guide to moral understanding and decision making. Culturalism links Christianity to culture, either positively or as critical position, and the Bible becomes a handbook to direct the transformation or critique of culture.

This 'taxonomy' is helpful in indicating broad attitudes which may be adopted by Christians towards the Bible's authority and application, towards each other, and towards the rest of society. Examples of doctrinalism are separatist fundamentalists, eager to define true Christianity in terms of adherence to the doctrine of biblical inerrancy. Pietists include those in the Holiness tradition, such as Keswick conventions, or those in the Pentecostal/Charismatic movement. Moralists would be those who seek to develop 'good character' from biblical models or precepts, or who look for proper standards of conduct to curb immorality and evil. Many have used the Bible to transform or critique culture, whether

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Footnote 24 continued from previous page
earthly ministry until the Second Coming; and (vii) the millenial reign of Christ. See the previous note. Also C.C. Ryrie, 'Dispensation, Dispensationalism', in Elwell, ed., *Dictionary of Theology*, 321-323; Erickson, *Christian Theology*, 1162-1164.

25. 'The Bible in Twentieth-Century Protestantism: A Preliminary Taxonomy', in *The Bible in America: Essays in Cultural History*, edited by Nathan O. Hatch and Mark A. Noll (New York and Oxford, 1982), 139-162.

in American civil religion, Liberation or Feminist theologies, or social groups such as Mennonites or Amish.

Part of this present study is the identification of the type(s) of use to which the mass evangelists have put the Bible, using this taxonomy as a basis for classification. This identification may then assist in assessing the theological and practical orientations of both the evangelists and their New Zealand audiences, providing a window into both the theory and practice of conservative Christian groups in New Zealand.

In a study which develops the perception of fundamentalism as a genuinely religious, theological and intellectual movement, Timothy J. Weber shows how a particular method of Bible usage has become the standard model for fundamentalists.[26] Refusing to surrender to the nineteenth-century paradigm shift which came to see the world in evolutionary terms, fundamentalists held to the old Baconian insistence on empirical evidence.[27]

Fundamentaists criticised the new 'higher criticism' as being unscientific, basing its activities on evolutionary hypotheses rather than on the plain evidence of the biblical text currently available. Instead, they held that all of the biblical text was equally inspired as God's Word and therefore of equal spiritual value and factual veracity. Thus, the most appropriate method of Bible study was 'prooftexting', which gave identical weight to all Bible portions and permitted the collection of numbers of texts from all over the Bible to 'prove' a point, regardless of their original contexts. This was vaunted as a truly inductive method of Bible

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26. 'The Two-Edged Sword: The Fundamentalist Use of the Bible', in Hatch and Noll, eds, *The Bible in America*, 101-120.
27. See also Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture*, *passim*, for more detailed analysis of this topic.

study, much to be preferred to the speculative eisegesis indulged in by the higher critics. Further, it made the Bible accessible to all who could read or memorise texts. God's mind on any given topic could be discerned simply by running through concordance entries.

This could be very appealing to ordinary churchgoers, frightened or confused by scholars' musings. Many folk felt (and feel) with A.T. Pierson that 'like Romanism, [higher criticism] practically removes the Word of God from the common people by assuming that only scholars can interpret it; while Rome puts a priest between a man and the Word, criticism puts an educated expositor between the believer and his Bible.'[28] Rather, the dominant view of the qualifications necessary for interpreting Scripture came to be similar to that of William Evans of Moody Bible Institute: 'an English Bible; a devout and earnest spirit; a reverential and teachable mind; a willingness to do the will of God as it is revealed in the increasing knowledge of the Scriptures; the pursuance of a right, though simple method of reading and study - these are the essentials for profit and pleasure in Bible study.'[29]

This confidence in the human mind, coupled with the guidance of the Holy Spirit, indicated the uncritical self-confidence of the late nineteenth-century evangelicals. It carried over into twentieth-century conservative Christianity despite the growing doubts of biblical scholars, historians and sociologists of knowledge as to whether any 'objective' and completely authoritative epistemology could ever be reached. Moody Bible Institute's president declared, 'The facts must come first and interpretation

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28. 'Antagonism to the Bible', *Our Hope*, 15 (1909), 475. Quoted in Weber, 'Two-Edged Sword', 111.
29. *Outline Study of the Bible* (Chicago, 1913), 15-16. Quoted in Weber, 'Two-Edged Sword', 111.

afterwards. To a great extent, if we get the facts, the interpretation will take care of itself.'[30] Such an approach also fits into Mouw's category of 'Pietism', focussing one's Christianity solely on a believer's individual relationship with God and supposedly subject to no outside control or influence.

In practice, though, as Weber points out, fundamentalists and many other conservative Christians have remained unaware of just how much they have been controlled or influenced by outside agents. Seldom has there been any sophisticated appreciation by them of the effects of cultural processes, for example. Nor have such people often seemed to notice the degree to which their supposedly inductive biblical understanding has been predetermined by variations on one very limited theme, usually that of premillenialism, and usually premillenialism of a complex dispensational flavour. Dispensationalism involves discerning patterns in widely disparate portions of the Bible which are far from obvious to the casual or even diligent reader who lacks appropriate hermeneutical keys. Weber points out the irony of this situation:

> Most fundamentalists did not - and still do not - see the inconsistency between their ideology and their practice. Early fundamentalist leaders fought hard to keep the Bible accessible to ordinary believers but in the end made them nearly totally dependent on themselves. In order to save the old paradigm, they had to hedge it. Though they still talked a lot about Common Sense, fundamentalists no longer could trust people to come to their own conclusions.[31]

Despite this reality, the perspicuity of Scripture has remained a foundational theoretical tenet of conservative Christianity. Weber blames this doctrine for contributing to fundamentalists'

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30. James M. Gray, *Synthetic Bible Studies*, rev. ed. (New York, 1923), 11. Quoted in Weber, 'Two-Edged Sword', 113.
31. Weber, 'Two-Edged Sword', 117.

intolerance and lack of comprehension of rival viewpoints - many have been unable to see how true Christians, guided by the Holy Spirit, could reach an opinion differing from their own. Although this may be regarded as merely a manifestation of blind arrogance, yet it remains a theologically defensible cornerstone in the conservative religious perspective. It also preserves the basis for evangelists to call nonbelievers to examine the Bible and its claims for themselves in the conviction that in doing so any reasonable and openminded hearer will be convinced of the truth and rightness of Christian faith. Further, once new believers have made their commitment, they may be encouraged to read the Bible and use it as a means of discerning for themselves the will of God and thus growing in the faith. This doctrine, then has application and effects in both of Mouw's doctrinal and pietistic categories.

James Barr's general description of religious fundamentalism applies to any belief system, `wherever there is some book, document, principle for [sic] institution to which absolute authority is ascribed and on behalf of which unlimited partisan militancy is encouraged....'[32] He develops his theological description by observing that central to Christian fundamentalism is `the insistence that the control of doctrine and practice by scripture is dependent on something like a general perfection of scripture, and therefore on its historical inerrancy; and this in turn involves the repudiation of the results of modern critical modes of reading the Bible'.[33] On this showing, Christian fundamentalism is merely reactive rather than creative. It is the

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32. `Religious Fundamentalism', *St Mark's Review*, 133 (March 1988) 4.
33. `The Problem of Fundamentalism Today', in *Explorations in Theology 7. The Scope and Authority of the Bible* (London, 1980), 66.

development from the early twentieth century of a movement dedicated to the defence and promotion of a distinctive form of conservative Christianity over against more liberal, less doctrinally stable forms.

One of two central distinguishing marks of fundamentalism Barr discusses is again to do with use of the Bible, its insistence on full, factual biblical inerrancy. Other conservative Christians may be prepared to assert only the infallibility of the Bible as a guide in faith and practice and leave further questions open.[34] But the fundamentalist position is not negotiable.[35] Barr is concerned particularly to point out that fundamentalism is not merely an emotional refuge for timorous believers, but is rather a complex rationalist structure, in fact 'the one solidly rationalist position prominent in modern Christianity'.[36] This echoes Dunn's point that inerrancy as a doctrine is an intellectual assumption read back into the Bible, and Barr observes that this assumption leads to a domino

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34. For example, leading British evangelical biblical scholar James D.G. Dunn argues that the insistence on factual inerrancy is a premise assumed *a priori* by fundamentalists as a logical and necessary derivative of the doctrine that the Bible is the Word of God. He challenges this reasoning as ignoring the 'humanity' of the biblical writings, pointing out that inerrantists then read that assumption into the biblical texts, thus biassing the entire interpretative process. See James D.G. Dunn, 'The Authority of Scripture According to Scripture', *Churchman*, 96 (1982), 104-122, 201-225.
35. An example of Barr and Dunn's point is provided by a recent article setting out 'to survey and analyze some current evangelical thought on the age of the earth'. The article immediately asserts that 'all the positions... must deal definitively and carefully with the inerrant Word of God'. Before any assessment begins, its conclusions are predetermined, since 'Scripture is the Word of God; thus its propositions are truthful, not errant, in all realms'. Frederic R. Howe, 'The Age of the Earth: An Appraisal of Some Current Evangelical Positions', *Bibliotheca Sacra*, n.s. 142 (1985), 23, 26.
36. 'Problem', 71.

theory requiring unqualified belief in an abstract supposition about scripture rather than in Jesus Christ as a person.

In addition to the inerrancy issue, Barr discusses 'culture fundamentalism' in which he makes clear its second distinctive characteristic, its separatist nature. 'Fundamentalism as a movement has no insight into ways in which it might live along with Christians who think quite differently, or live alongside people who are not Christians at all.'[37] He notes a basically imperialistic attitude according to which the only solution to religious division is that all others must become fundamentalists as this is the only valid way to God. This position is doctrinally based, requiring at least informal subscription to a given set of beliefs, little changed from *The Fundamentals*, and stressing biblical inerrancy. This inerrancy doctrine then forces fundamentalists not to take the Bible literally, as they claim to do, but in fact to imprison it within only one of the many interpretative traditions. Of course, as has been noted above, Marsden and others have shown this to be more the case in America than in Britain.

This discussion of aspects of evangelicalism and fundamentalism has been necessarily extensive as they provide the chief theological background with which the mass evangelists have been associated, and by which they have been affected. An appreciation of this background is crucial to the understanding of their own ideas about theology and the kind of Christianity they offered to their hearers. In this presentation, an authoritative Bible and a given theological system, including the substitutionary view of Christ's atonement and a premillenial understanding of eschatology, will prove to be of central importance.

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37. Ibid., 76.

THE NATURE OF REVIVALISTIC MASS EVANGELISM

From its inception, Christianity has been a missionary religion. It has sought actively to reach other people and to change their basic belief patterns, especially those regarding God - in other words, to convert them. This process of converting people to belief in the tenets of Christianity is known as evangelism, from the Greek word *euangelion* used in the New Testament for the 'Good News' which the Christians were bringing to the world around them. One who specialised in this activity was a *euangelistes*, an evangelist, one specifically gifted by God to spread the Good News and so win converts. The activities of such people have resulted in the spread of Christianity into a major world religion.

Revivalism is self-evidently an evangelistic activity, an attempt to 'revive' the Christian Church numerically by drawing in new members. It may or may not engender a 'revival', in which many people do actually become Christians and the Church and its community are substantially affected by an upsurge in general spiritual awakening. Revivalism's central feature is that of meetings established specifically to allow an evangelist to address, and attempt to persuade, a group of hearers. Mass evangelism is a derivative of revivalistic methodology, distinguished largely by the size of the operation and of the group being dealt with.

Revivalism as an evangelistic technique places its weight upon a crisis conversion experience wherein the hearer is convinced to make a choice of the will to become a Christian. Prior to this decision, the individual is seen as being in no way a Christian, i.e. as not being one who has fully surrendered their life to Christ. After the

decision 'for Christ' they have entered the ranks of the truly faithful.

As a corollary to this crisis orientation, it is seen that there are many who attend church, who may even be officially baptised members and officebearers, who have not consciously made this decision and who, therefore, under these criteria are not really Christians. Their actions would be regarded as at best trying to earn salvation by 'works', by simply observing seemingly proper forms and performing morally good actions. Such an attitude is contrasted sharply with the revivalists' strict emphasis on the Pauline category of justification *sola fide*, by faith alone. Consequently, the revivalists will also make clear that even if one has a respected social or administrative position among Christians it is still necessary to undergo that crisis conversion. Responses to this form of appeal may not expand church rolls, but will increase the members of the true Church of Christ, defined as those who subscribe to this evangelical soteriology and ecclesiology.

Another way in which revivalists may attempt to revive the Church is spiritually. There will be frequent appeals to Christians to rededicate or recommit their whole lives to Christ's lordship. Most cards filled in by enquirers will have 'rededication' as a standard option in designating the type of decision made. Such people, inspired by the revivalist, will be a new force in their churches, zealous to improve the quality of their relationship with God and to take a full part in parish life.

Such activity, raising spiritual fervour rather than generating new converts, is more properly regarded as exhortation than evangelism and with it we move to other, less obvious, functions revivalists may perform. Some researchers have seen the

evangelist's meeting as having a social role, providing an initiatory rite for entrance into the invisible, non-institutional community of true believers.[38] Other viewpoints stress its ecumenical value as it draws together co-workers from a variety of denominations to labour in non-sectarian harmony for the extension of God's kingdom.[39] There are, too, its side-effects in providing skills in counselling, administration, pastoring and other areas of church life.

The revival, and the mass evangelistic rally as a key aspect of it, are shown by Sandra S. Sizer to have been specifically designed to include a social effect, to create a 'community of feeling'.[40] From Finney's time, the language of emotion was used to stress the 'bond of union' and 'sympathy' which 'cements the hearts of Christians' together.[41] The distinctive hymnody which developed has further reinforced this.

Sizer demonstrates how this community, self-professedly apolitical, was used as a means of coping with disturbing political situations. Firstly, revivals were used as mechanisms for small-scale purification of individuals and local churches. Secondly, this community feeling helped to provide definition and feelings of unity with the group set over against a perceived outside threat, such as supporters of slavery in 1857-58, or political corruption and the growth of Catholic power in the mid-1870s.[42]

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38. e.g. Frederick L. Whitam, 'Revivalism as Institutionalized Behaviour: An Analysis of the Social Base of a Billy Graham Crusade', *Southwestern Social Science Quarterly*, 49 (1968), 115-127.
39. See below in discussions of effects of individual missions.
40. 'Politics and Apolitical Religion: The Great Urban Revivals of the Late Nineteenth Century', *Church History*, 48 (1979), 81-98.
41. Ibid., 85.
42. Ibid., 87-96.

This insight suggests ways in which the language and activities of revivalism may have dimensions beyond the directly religious and theological. They may also have social functions and implications in the production of unity amongst likeminded Christians, and this unity may be perceived as in direct distinction from some other group(s) or social trend.

An example of this distinction is provided in Douglas Frank's study of late nineteenth and early twentieth-century Evangelicalism. He interprets evangelicals' frenetic revivalistic activities as part of their attempts at self-vindication and reassertion in society of 'power', expressed visibly in soulwinning and spiritually in living a 'victorious life'.[43] He points out that '"power" and "soul-winning" were virtually synonymous',[44] and that Finney, Moody, Torrey and Chapman were all held up as soulwinning, therefore power-full, models, along with the great leaders of the nineteenth-century missionary movement. Chapman wrote at least three books on how to obtain and use spiritual power; Torrey produced four. As for their desire for victory, Frank notes that evangelicals typically talked of discouragement, guilt, fear (perhaps of testifying for Christ or of becoming a missionary) and of impure and unloving feelings. 'By their own descriptions, these folks [sic] were anxious, troubled people, plagued by worry. They wanted Jesus to give them victory over incessant worry.'[45]

Frank sees the most blatant amalgamation of revivalism with the quest for social relevance and influence, power and 'victory' in the

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43. Douglas W. Frank, *Less Than Conquerors: How Evangelicals Entered the Twentieth Century* (Grand Rapids, 1986), esp. 254-256.
44. Ibid., 254.
45. Ibid., 124.

early twentieth-century evangelist, Billy Sunday.[46] He had begun as an assistant to Chapman, but in 1895 commenced taking revival meetings in his own right. Statistically, he soon became the most successful revivalist there had ever been, eclipsing his older contemporaries, Torrey and Chapman.

But Sunday's evangelism equated Christianity with patriotic Americanism and evangelical moralism, giving a great boost to the temperance movement. Christian faith made 'manly' men and 'womanly' women. 'Many think a Christian has to be a sort of dish-rag proposition, a wishy-washy, sissified sort of a galoot that lets everybody make a doormat out of him. Let me tell you the manliest man is the man who will acknowledge Jesus Christ.... You never become a man until you become a Christian.'[47] Sunday saw Christians as moral heroes resisting the forces of darkness, personified in the brewer and gambler, or, later, the trade unionists and, in World War I, the Germans. In this, he seemed to equate 'preaching Jesus and Him crucified and arisen from the dead for our sins' with 'making it easier for people to do right and harder for them to do wrong'.[48] He claimed to 'have no motive in preaching except the interest I have in the moral welfare of the people'.[49] Thus, as Frank puts it, 'if enough people were good, America would be saved. Its destiny would once again be in the moral hands of the people of God.'[50]

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46. Details about Sunday may be found especially in Frank, *Conquerors*, esp. ch.5; William T. Ellis, *The Billy Sunday Book: Life, Evangelism, Message* (London, 1914); William G. McLoughlin, *Billy Sunday Was His Real Name* (Chicago, 1955).
47. Ellis, *Billy Sunday*, 204-205.
48. Quoted in McLoughlin, *Billy Sunday*, 293.
49. Ellis, *Billy Sunday*, 227.
50. *Conquerors*, 195.

Given that a clear case is made by Frank for nineteenth-century evangelical revivalism coming to be a device for seeking social influence, the messages of the range of twentieth-century mass evangelists may also yield clues to their attitudes towards culture and society. Insofar as the evangelists' views reflect those of their constituencies, this sheds light on the prevailing opinions amongst at least one section of the Church. These opinions reveal whether they are comfortable with their lot and feel in control or, rather, are dissatisfied and alienated from society, and whether they seek full participation in and influence over decision-making processes or prefer to withdraw and maintain their spiritual purity in distinction from 'the world'.

Although many academic studies of revivalism have concentrated on its social aspects, few deal seriously with it as a major religious phenomenon. For example, frequently lacking are assessments of revivalism's relationships with and effects on the theology of its constituency. Do revivalists' sermons carry more theological freight than a simple 'gospel message'? Some scholars note the obvious effect on revivalism of fundamentalism, but does revivalism have a reciprocal effect, conserving and fostering a fundamentalist ideology? Does revivalism interact with theological systems other than fundamentalism? In a brief study, Jerald C. Brauer points out the depth of some effects the revivalistic system does have.

> The absolute necessity of a personal, highly self-conscious, individual conversion experience is the bedrock on which revivalism is built.... The whole of the Christian faith is determined by that experience. It gives both form and substance to the cult and ritual of Christianity - the nature, the content, and the style of the sermon, the hymns that are sung, the form and delivery of prayers, and the structure of the worship service itself.... The way Scripture is understood, employed, and handled is determined by the centrality of conversion. The very form of the

> associational life of the Christian community is posited on the assumption of conversion.[51]

He goes on to spell out the implications of this for the participants' worldview.

> Though Scripture alone is the source of authority for revivalism, only the truly converted are in a position to interpret Scripture properly; therefore, in a very profound sense, authority itself is grounded in the conversion experience. It also provides the dynamic for Christian behavior. Revivalism is marked by an oversimplification of ethical problems. Everything is black or white, right or wrong, godly or godless, and converted people know exactly which is which. The attitude itself is grounded in the conversion experience which clearly divides the saved from the damned.[52]

Brauer has also noted the complementary, even symbiotic, relationship revivalism has forged with millenarianism, that they work to comprise a distinctive worldview: 'Millenarianism is but the individual's conversion writ large.'[53] Their parallel systems both begin with the judgment of God on the old form of sinful life. The well-deserved inevitability of such judgment it is the revivalist's task to make plain. A battle for control rages between the forces of good and evil. The death of the old order is followed by the new birth, a new creation comes to be, either in terms of an individual personality or the new heaven and new earth. This results in a third phase, the convert's new life in Christ or, cosmically, the millenium. In both systems, too, there is a period of some ambiguity anticipating the final consummation of the new creation. The new heavens and new earth follow the uncompleted victory of Christ at the Second Advent and his temporary millenial

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51. 'Revivalism and Millenarianism in America', in *In the Great Tradition: Essays on Pluralism, Voluntarism, and Revivalism in Honor of Winthrop S. Hudson*, edited by Joseph D. Ban and Paul R. Dekar (Valley Forge, 1982), 147-148.
52. Ibid., 148.
53. Ibid., 'Millenarianism', 152. See above, 25. In most modern contexts, 'millenarianism' is largely synonymous with 'premillenialism'.

reign, while the new Christian must endure hopefully the present age until either death or rapture releases them to their ultimate reward.

These systems' similarities go behind details to principles. Both processes are divinely controlled, non-rational and cataclysmic. They depend on reductionist hermeneutical approaches to Scripture: revivalism subjugates all to a conversionist form of soteriology, millenarianism interprets the Bible as prologue to and predictor of the millenium; both effectively dismiss other biblical hermeneutics and traditions of spirituality. Both also set great store by a factually inerrant Bible as an authoritative guide full of literally true prophecies. And both operate within a thoroughly dualistic framework. In revivalism, on a personal level, one is either sinner or saint, for or against God, ultimately saved or damned. In millenarianism, the task of the saved is 'the high and holy calling to decipher the prophecies, to proclaim the coming of the Lord Jesus Christ, and to save as many human souls as is possible in these last days'.[54] Hence the overlap of millenial theology with revivalistic practice in modern Protestant Christianity.

These insights of Brauer's, then, suggest further approaches to the study of revivalistic mass evangelism in New Zealand. What were the cultic forms employed by the revivalists and did they differ from, or alter those of the New Zealand churches? How was Scripture handled by the mass evangelists who have come to New Zealand and, again, has that had any effect on New Zealand attitudes? Have New Zealand Christian institutional forms been affected by the revivalistic ethos and has authority, religious or organisational,

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54. Ibid., 157.

been seen to reside in those institutions, in Scripture, or elsewhere - even in the revivalistic conversion experience? What eschatological viewpoint did the evangelists espouse, and to what extent did it motivate them and impinge upon their methods and message?

THE DEVELOPMENT AND HISTORY OF REVIVALISM

Having surveyed some key features of the theological systems upon which revivalism is predicated, it is now necessary to survey the historical development of the methodological system of which the mass evangelism practiced in New Zealand was a derivative. This will demonstrate some of the ways in which that abstract theology was put into practice. Again, it must be stressed that the large missions studied in this work did not materialise in a vacuum. The mass evangelists who visited New Zealand came from a long tradition, being created in the United States from the mid-eighteenth century and developing over two centuries throughout the English-speaking world.

In eighteenth-century America there were religious stirrings which challenged the passive Calvinist orthodoxy, by now in deep trouble with the collapse of the Puritans' Half-way Covenant.[55] The Great Awakening swept the colonies in the 1730s and 1740s, affecting many areas. Its most influential leader was a scholarly Calvinist minister, Jonathan Edwards. While stressing personalised

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55. Calvinism, after Protestant Reformer Jean Calvin, as a theological system put great weight on the sovereignty of God and the sinfulness of humanity. Thus, a person, being tainted

Footnote 55 continued on next page

religious conversion, his lengthy read discourses on the wrath of God and the need for holiness of life did not seek to emulate emotive Methodist appeals for conversions.[56] Still, he and his co-workers such as Theodore Frelinghuysen, Gilbert Tennent and George Whitefield achieved much the same results. Their stress on the operation of God is evident in appeals such as Whitefield's.

> O that you repent and be converted. You old gray headed people, Lord make you repent and be converted... O God bless his work of you, that you will blossom and bring forth fruits unto God. Amen and Amen.[57]

Despite their theological emphasis, this awakening did much to undermine the strictness of the Calvinistic order of things, providing the basis for public invitations, producing lay exhorters and scantily-trained pastors in many congregations, and later giving a precedent within living memory for revivalistic developments at the end of the century.

Footnote 55 continued from previous page
by evil in every aspect of their character, was held to be unable to choose for themselves to enter a relationship with the infinitely holy God. Active evangelism consequently suffered as people fatalistically awaited divine action initiated by the Holy Spirit. The 'Half-way Covenant' was a theological/legal device invented so that second and third generation inhabitants of the American colonies, who lacked the dramatic experiences and conversions of their forebears, would not be excluded from the civil privileges which were accorded in many places to church members only.

56. Methodism, founded in England at this time by John Wesley, followed Wesley's acceptance of Arminianism, the anti-Calvinistic theological system of sixteenth-century Dutch theologian, Jacobus Arminius. The chief point of distinction was the responsibility and native ability of humans to choose the good, especially to deliberately enter into relationship with God. The evangelistic corollary was that if such decisions could be made, it was the evangelist's duty to persuade people to make them.

57. *George Whitefield's Sermons* (New York, 1809), 98. Quoted in William Oscar Thompson, 'The Public Invitation as a Method of Evangelism: Its Origin and Development' (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1979), 48.

The major shift in popular American theology from Calvinism to full Arminianism came with the emergence of camp meetings in areas of the American frontier.[58] The first camp meetings were in 1800, held under the leadership of a controversial Presbyterian minister, James McGready, at Red River, then at Gasper River, in Logan County, southwestern Kentucky. The largest and most notorious was held the next year at Cane Ridge, also in Kentucky. These meetings developed rapidly from McGready's technique of holding continuous outdoor services to a full camping event extending over a number of days. A site would be chosen suitable for camping, where open air preaching would be possible and up to several thousand might come. A series of speakers would address the crowds, often several conducting simultaneous meetings, enabling a relay effect for them and the continuous fanning of the flames of enthusiasm, promoting the recommitment of lukewarm believers to a truly Christian lifestyle and the conversion of non-believers overwhelmed by the 'spiritual' atmosphere.

A variation of emphasis may have taken place in the course of the meeting: 'The good people go to camp meetings Friday, backsliders Saturday, rowdies Saturday night, and gentlemen and lady sinners Sunday.'[59] Certainly, the individual days were well organised. From the start, no valuable time was to be wasted. 'It is *salvation* we want. We must spend no time in vain conversation. No time to visit, to talk of politics or commerce. We are here to worship God.... Get into the work at once. There is no sense in waiting three days to get

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58. The fullest account of this phenomenon is Charles A. Johnson, *The Frontier Camp Meeting: Religion's Harvest Time* (Dallas, 1955). See also especially John B. Boles, *The Great Revival, 1787-1805: The Origins of the Southern Evangelical Mind* (Lexington, 1972).
59. Proverb quoted in Theodore L. Agnew, 'Methodism on the Frontier', in *The History of American Methodism*, edited by Emory S. Bucke *et al.*, 3 vols (Nashville, 1964), I, 522.

warmed up. It will be harder every day you wait.'[60] So proceedings were regulated by trumpet calls and no time was lost moving from reveille to family prayers to the series of services at eight, ten (or eleven) and three o'clock with the evening gatherings beginning at dusk and prayer meetings in between to assist in 'getting warmed up'. The early service was regarded as only a preliminary and the afternoon was the most informal. The late morning was the time for the star speaker. The evening was the altar service with the use of special seats, the 'mourner's bench' or 'anxious seat' at the front, beneath the pulpit, for 'one who, becoming alarmed about the state of his soul, began to pray and seek deliverance from the bondage and domination of sin'.[61] 'Mourners' tents' were also used, as were 'praying tents' or 'praying circles', to encourage sinners in their spiritual wrestling.

These camp meetings drew virulent criticism and equally strong support. Leading Methodist Bishop Asbury wrote in 1806, 'Oh, my brother, when all our quarterly meetings become campmeetings, and 1000 souls be converted, our American millenium will begin', and, 'Campmeetings, campmeetings. Oh Glory, Glory!'[62]

On the other hand, the psychological and social excesses made many turn away in disgust. Johnson describes eight types of physical activity which 'exercised' many attenders.[63] Falling, or collapse into semi-consciousness, was the most common - perhaps what modern Pentecostals would label being 'slain in the Spirit'. Others fell prey to 'jerking' in all or part of their bodies.

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60. A.P. Mead, *Manna in the Wilderness* (Philadelphia, 1859), 59. Quoted in Johnson, *Camp Meeting*, 122.
61. R. Weiser, *The Mourner's Bench, or An Humble Attempt to Vindicate New Measures* (Bedford, [c. 1844]), 1-4. Quoted in Johnson, *Camp Meeting*, 133.
62. Quoted in Agnew, 'Frontier', 518, 520.
63. Johnson, *Camp Meeting*, 57-68.

> Sometimes the subject of the jerks would be affected in some one member of the body, and sometimes in the whole system. When the head alone was affected, it would be jerked backward and forward, or from side to side, so quickly that the features of the face could not be distinguished. When the whole system was affected, I have seen the person stand in one place, and jerk backward and forward in quick succession, their heads nearly touching the floor behind and after....[64]

Two variants on this were the 'rolling exercise', when the subject rolled uncontrollably on the ground, and the 'dancing exercise', when the jerking affected only the feet and legs, inducing a dance-like shuffling. The 'running exercise' was simply the person trying to run away and thus avoid either the conviction from the preaching or any of the more extreme resultant side-effects. 'Laughing' or 'singing' exercises referred to hysterical verbal responses. Finally, the 'barking exercise' may have been people yelping or barking like dogs or was perhaps grunts and cries produced by the violence of the jerks.

All of these exercises combined to give many camp meetings somewhat of a bad name amongst churchgoers more concerned with respectability, but they were well suited to the frontier situation in which they developed. The impassioned extemporary orations of unlettered circuit riders were appropriate to the many often illiterate folk who came seeking companionship, excitement and emotional release from the harshness of their primitive existence. Both exhorters and exhorted accepted the agitations produced as only to be expected when the Holy Spirit moved on people to convict them of their sinfulness. The meetings certainly did attract undesirable elements, whether larrikins intent on disruption, bootleggers selling their wares to thirsty campers, or frontiersmen intent on a good time in an atmosphere unencumbered by usual social and sexual mores.

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64. Barton W. Stone, *The Biography of Eld. Barton Warren Stone, Written by Himself* (Cincinnati, 1847), 39. Quoted in Johnson, *Camp Meeting*, 60.

Still, many felt that those drawbacks were more than outweighed by the souls saved and the revivals of spirituality they brought about. To those who lack experience of modern evangelical evangelistic meetings, though, camp meeting-like rampant emotionalism often remains assumed to be a continuing feature of revivalism.

The key figure in bringing the theology and practice of these camp meetings out of the backwoods and into the mainstream of American church life was Charles Grandison Finney. His brief training and experience as a lawyer, halted abruptly by a dramatic personal conversion, influenced his approach to what he came to regard as his life's mission, winning souls to Christ. From the mid-1820s in the 'Burned-Over District' of upstate New York, Finney did whatever he considered necessary to influence his audience to come to a verdict and to act upon it. His basic premise was that a just and reasonable God would not require of humans what they were unable to do by themselves, that when the divine demand came to become a Christian people must be capable of doing just that. Calvinists, of course, insisted that God also must graciously give the sinner the ability in advance, but Finney felt that the human heart was simply led astray by ignorance and selfishness and was able without aid to make the effort to overcome these hindrances. In order to induce this effort, the evangelist simply made 'philosophical [i.e. scientific] use of the constituted means',[65] these means being based on bringing psychological pressure to bear. Brown University historian, William McLoughlin, observes, 'The significant fact for the history of modern revivalism was not that Finney's psychological theories were crude but that he and his followers believed it to be the legitimate function of

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65. Quoted in William G. McLoughlin, *Modern Revivalism: Charles Grandison Finney to Billy Graham* (New York, 1959), 84.

a revivalist to utilize the laws of the mind in order to engineer individuals and crowds into making a choice which was ostensibly based on free will.'[66]

This engineering took place as Finney co-opted many camp meeting techniques and adapted them to city revivalism.[67] The three or four days of a camp meeting became a series of 'protracted meetings', deepening the impact night after night for days, even weeks. The 'anxious seat', was retained as a means of focussing communal attention and pressure on individuals. 'Anxious meetings' replaced the usual pastoral follow-up for those remaining undecided, and all meetings were taken by the visiting specialist rather than entrusting the crucial opportunities to local clergy.

The lawyer's attitude was prominent as Finney sought to cajole, frighten and convince in 'pleading the case of Jesus Christ before a jury of sinners'.[68] He even compared ministers directly with barristers in that '...if advocates at the bar should pursue the same course in pleading the cause of their clients, that ministers do in pleading the cause of Christ with sinners, they would not gain a single case'.[69] 'Winning the case' became the only acceptable way of assessing the validity of a method. In all the propaganda for the 'new measures', as Finney's techniques came to be called, 'truth was measured not in faithful exposition of doctrinal heirlooms, but in terms of numerical success in saving souls. The test of the veracity

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66. McLoughlin, *Modern Revivalism*, 86.
67. The process is described in detail in McLoughlin, *Modern Revivalism*, 3-165; Keith J. Hardman, *Charles Grandison Finney 1792-1875, Revivalist and Reformer* (New York, 1987); Whitney R. Cross, *The Burned-Over District: The Social and Intellectual History of Enthusiastic Religion in Western New York, 1800-1850* (Ithaca, 1950, reprinted, New York, 1981).
68. D.L. Weddle, 'Law and the Revival: A New Divinity for the Settlements', *Church History*, 47 (1978), 210.
69. Finney, *Memoirs*. Quoted in Weddle, 'Law', 210.

and validity of a measure was its performance. If it worked, God was behind it, for God was a sanctifier of success'.[70] He went so far as to claim that, 'when the blessing evidently follows the introduction of the measure itself, the proof is unanswerable that the measure is wise'.[71]

Revivalism came to rely upon appearances and headcounting, submitting to a tyranny of the visible and empirical. Finney replied to critics, saying, 'The results justify my methods. Show me the fruits of your ministry, and if they so far exceed mine as to give me evidence that you have found a more excellent way, I will adopt your views'.[72] As one historian notes, 'There is no record that either Finney or his admiring listeners put Jesus' ministry to this test'.[73]

There was, of course, criticism of Finney, some perhaps out of jealousy. But theological opposition was led by the Calvinistic theologians at Princeton who claimed his experiments meant 'the house of God becomes transformed into a kind of laboratory'.[74] Specifically, the 'anxious seat' technique came under fire.

> It involves the capital error that no sinner who is truly awakened can refrain from obeying the call to the anxious seat. It assumes that to go to the anxious seat is "to do something for Christ" and that it is impossible for him who refuses to go to be a Christian.[75]

To Calvinists, it was impossible for one 'to do something for Christ'. They saw that going to the anxious seat had become in itself a

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70. Leonard I. Sweet, 'The View of Man Inherent in New Measures Revivalism', *Church History*, 45 (1976), 212.
71. Finney, *Memoirs*, 83. Quoted in McLoughlin, *Modern Revivalism*, 100.
72. Quoted in William G. McLoughlin, *Revivals, Awakenings and Reform: An Essay on Religion and Social Change in America, 1607-1977* (Chicago and London, 1978), 129.
73. Frank, *Conquerors*, 23.
74. A.B. Dod. Quoted in McLoughlin, *Modern Revivalism*, 84.
75. *Bible Repertory and Theological Review*, 57 (1835), 642. Quoted in Thompson, 'Invitation', 116.

salvific act, reinforced by Finney's tendency to equate it with baptism.

Further, in the new situation no longer was the Holy Spirit wrestling with the individual, but social pressure took over. 'The divine truth which was but now occupying his mind is forced away, while he resolves the questions, shall I go or not? Who else will go? What will they say of me?'[76] The 'new measures' men would simply reply that if social concerns did the Holy Spirit's work anyway, so much the better. They were concerned only to 'save souls' and so brushed aside pedants who believed the decisions made were too hasty, liable to deflate as the emotional pressure dropped and to leave behind pastoral problems after the evangelist had left town.

The stress had come fully upon human action to become a Christian. Finney himself did retain some part of the doctrine of depravity in order to retain human culpability for sin, but the will replaced the nature as the depraved element and humanity was enslaved by selfishness and voluntary disobedience rather than sheer inability to obey God.[77] His Calvinistic opponents would not concede that because people had the obligation to repent they must therefore have an innate ability to do so, but Finney's emphasis on human agency extended beyond claiming this ability into all areas of Christian life. This emphasis could even be so strong that it threatened his view of an otherwise benevolent and reasonable God waiting to pour out his blessings. Finney charged one group, 'Your prayers are so very cold they do not rise more than six feet high; you must strive hard and struggle - you must groan, you must agonize, why you must pray till your nose bleeds, or it will not avail'.[78] Still, as a product of

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76. Ibid.
77. Sweet, 'View of Man', 207-209.
78. Unreferenced quote in McLoughlin, *Modern Revivalism*, 27.

his time, steeped in frontier individualism and Jacksonian optimism regarding humans' potential, Finney was convinced of their ability to overcome this slavery to sin and decide to come to God. So, too, by the 1830s, were the American churches and within a decade the 'new measures' supporters were widespread throughout most denominations, even the formerly Calvinistic Baptists and Presbyterians.

Transferral to Britain

In September 1857, a community-wide religious awakening broke out in Hamilton, Ontario, amongst Methodists influenced by the evangelistic methods of their American neighbours. News spread rapidly over the border and was later recognised as having created an air of expectancy amongst many.[79] Within a few weeks, a midday prayer meeting in New York was attracting rapidly increasing numbers. In the second week of October, a severe financial collapse struck northern America, swelling the trickle of alarmed souls awakened to a flood. Richard Carwardine observes, 'There is little doubt that the mass conversions of the winter of 1857-8 owed much to the sudden jolt out of prosperity; indeed, contemporaries themselves were convinced of "the connection between the prostration of business and the revival of religion".'[80] He also notes several other factors promoting this revival. The very businessmen who supported it so strongly often saw the economic recession as God's punishment for avarice and greed. Propitiatory religious ardour offered hope of restoration. Further, churches needed healing from divisive issues, especially as tension

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79. J. Edwin Orr, *The Second Evangelical Awakening* (London, 1949), 13.
80. Richard Carwardine, *Transatlantic Revivalism: Popular Evangelicalism in Britain and America, 1790-1865* (Westport, 1978), 162, quoting *New York Observer*, 25 March, 1858. Much of

Footnote 80 continued on next page

grew between North and South, pro- and anti-abolitionists, while they felt the Republic itself needed purging from contaminants such as Roman Catholicism and socialism.

The absence of major individual revivalists distinguished this revival from most others. Often called the 'Prayer Revival' because of the great number of ad hoc prayer meetings which were its chief feature, it was led and supported by the laity in general and by businessmen in particular. Prayer meetings were fitted into business lunch hours and the modern technology of telegraph, newspapers and advertising served to spread its influence. Socially, the movement reinforced individualistic middle class cultural mores, appealing to the rural Protestant youth drifting into the big city, but excluding the lower class, often Catholic, immigrant. 'The message was loud and clear: work hard, abstain from drink, go to church, be honest and pious, and you can achieve great success.'[81] Theologically, it was an important time for the popularising of Holiness and Perfectionist theology with many of the leaders teaching doctrines encouraging extra commitment and offering the possibility of entire sanctification to those who fully consecrated themselves to God. As such, it paved the way for the later growth of the Holiness and Keswick movements, and ultimately Pentecostalism.

The awakening had substantial short-term effects throughout the northern states. American Presbyterians added over 30,000 members by examination, the Baptists almost 100,000, and the two major branches of Methodism 180,000 - a 16% increase.[82] In detail, though, and over

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Footnote 80 continued from previous page
the detail concerning the 1857-60 revival on both sides of the Atlantic is taken from Carwardine's work.

81. Marion L. Bell, *Crusade in the City: Revivalism in Nineteenth-Century Philadelphia* (Lewisburg, 1977), 195.
82. Carwardine, *Transatlantic Revivalism*, 162.

a longer period, its effect may have been less dramatic. A study of Philadelphia shows that from 1857 to 1859 the number of churches increased only from 220 to 237, while the Presbyterians' 1857-1860 rise in church membership was from 13,200 to just 13,600, a 1,000 member rise in 1859, which fell off again equally rapidly. Even this meagre growth came about in the context of urban drift and the opening of new churches due to geographical expansion.[83]

The excitement of a major awakening taking place in America soon affected Britain. In the 1850s, revivalistic activity had been increasing in Ulster and when the American news arrived denominational observers were sent to report. As the American fires burned low, some evangelists crossed the Atlantic and began to work first in Ulster, then throughout Britain. In March 1859, at Ahoghill, County Antrim, revival broke out in a form very similar to the early frontier camp meetings, but soon transcending the original emotional excesses, resulting in many conversions and having widespread social effects. Scotland followed the Irish example and many of the same symptoms rapidly manifested themselves throughout the west and eastern Highlands in 1859 and 1860.

Revival moved on into Wales and England. By early 1859 Cardiganshire had been affected and by Spring 1860 the four major evangelical denominations, representing 80% of the churchgoing Welsh, estimated their gains at 80,000 new members from a total population of about one million.

In England there had been a considerable amount of revivalistic activity prior to 1858 amongst Methodists, evangelical Anglicans, and even the more Calvinistic of the Congregationalists and Baptists. C.H. Spurgeon already attracted large crowds in London. 'Rarely, if

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83. Bell, *Crusade*, 192ff.

ever, in a single society, have more people spent more time, money and thought on religious activities.'[84] The interest in the American and Ulster phenomena was great, but reserve was felt regarding their extravagances. The grounding of the movement in prayer meetings and lay involvement commended it to those who objected to Finneyite use of 'means' and middle class lay leadership gave it some respectability.

A number of female preachers flourished during this period, albeit somewhat controversially. They tended to operate more in public buildings such as theatres and town halls or in private mission halls than in churches, since there was substantial resistance by both sexes to women preaching in church. One of the most famous of these women, Phoebe Palmer, tried to forestall such criticism by having her husband, Walter, preach from the pulpit, then she would 'exhort' from the altar rail. Many of the arguments for permitting them to exercise a public preaching ministry were similar to those to be re-employed a century later, including the Authorised Version of the Bible's mistranslation of some terms and the culturally limited applicability of the Pauline injunctions against female preaching. Other reasons were derived from differing theological positions: some premillenialists held that the end of the world was approaching and therefore the Old Testament prophecy in Joel 2. 28-29 predicting that females would prophesy (i.e. with prophecy defined as preaching, rather than foretelling) could now be fulfilled. Postmillenialists considered this prediction fulfilled at Pentecost and could thus argue that female preaching should have been allowed throughout the Church Age. But whatever the theological justification, many merely applied the simple test of revivalistic pragmatism: does it work? For the

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84. John Kent, *Holding the Fort: Studies in Victorian Revivalism* (London, 1978), 123.

Palmers and others like Catherine Booth, soon to be central in the foundation of the Salvation Army, it certainly did, although seldom would females operate outside Methodist/Holiness groups, in which revivalism was most at home.

Several special characteristics of the 1858-59 revival assisted female preachers' emergence. They were part of the widespread laicism typical of this revival. Also, women were assisted by the general deliberate use of Finneyite means to gain attention through the sensational or unusual. An appeal to 'come and hear a woman preach' would often be intended to stimulate curiosity or to create sectional interest on the same principle as having meetings open exclusively to thieves, tramps or bird-fanciers. The newly popularised Holiness teachings, open to pious emotionalism and zealousness, seemed to appeal to women, the ideals of perfection, love and purity fitting well with the current female stereotypes, enabling women preachers' recognition by both sexes as authorities in these areas. 'Such ideals, in combination with a sentimental conception of evangelism, made a lady-like woman with a "tender love for souls" an almost irresistible mouthpiece for an appeal to the hearts of audiences composed of "respectable working men" or "the better orders".'[85]

By the 1870s, though, women were no longer so prominent. Several leaders had died prematurely, the general attitude remained that a woman could not preach without at least her husband's consent, and many women's energies were diverted into leading Bible classes (usually female). The only real continuation was in the Salvation Army where, under Catherine Booth's ongoing influence, the Hallelujah

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85. Olive Anderson, 'Women Preachers in Mid-Victorian Britain: Some Reflections on Feminism, Popular Religion and Social Change', *Historical Journal*, 12 (1969), 472.

Lasses flourished. The Army's public profile, though, hardly endeared this or any other of their distinctive practices to other churches.

The actual impact of the 1858-59 revival is hard to gauge. J. Edwin Orr asserts that 'Christian communities in every part of Canada, the United States, England, Scotland, Wales, and Ulster' were affected, and that it added 'approximately 2,000,000 converts to the various churches', so that 'every evangelical church fellowship gained from the 1858-9 Revival'.[86] Other historians are more cautious. While admitting even unusual growth during these years, Rupert E. Davies observes that 'the undoubted increase in the size of the various English denominations at the time is open to more than one interpretation'.[87] For example, many added to British Methodism were those fleeing the effects in Anglicanism of J.H. Newman and the Anglo-Catholic Oxford Movement. R.B. Walker criticises Orr's dating the revival to 1866 since there was minimal growth and even decline after 1861, while Orr takes little account of normal growth patterns. Walker instead emphasises the professional expertise of the itinerant, often American, revivalists in generating short-term fervour.[88] The two leading historians of the revival, John Kent and Richard Carwardine, also have their doubts about its real effectiveness, in Britain at least. Kent notes many of the 'conversions' owed more to teetotalism, Sabbatarianism and anti-Catholicism, again reinforcing middle class mores, than to purer religious conviction.[89] Carwardine comments,

> From a twentieth-century perspective... this movement appears much less than an 'awakening'. It marked no fundamental upheaval in the broad patterns of religious and secular life. Rather its importance lay first in demonstrating the ability

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86. Orr, *Second Evangelical Awakening*, 138.
87. *Methodism* (London, 1963), 116-17.
88. 'The Growth of Wesleyan Methodism in Victorian England and Wales', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 24 (1973), 267-84.
89. Kent, *Holding the Fort*, 88ff.

> of revival churches on both sides of the Atlantic to capture popular attention on a national scale and secondly in providing the most striking example yet of the interrelated character of transatlantic revivalism.[90]

The influence of this revival was, though, perpetuated both in the United States and Great Britain by a convert turned evangelist, Dwight Lyman Moody.[91] He had been a salesman but moved ever more into evangelistic work, accepting in 1872 an invitation to come to Britain after a great fire in Chicago had destroyed his base. He stayed for three years, achieving major success in Scotland where he managed to bridge, temporarily, a bitter intramural ecclesiastical conflict. Having earned a reputation for irenicism, he travelled via Dublin to England, then to London. These years saw substantial accomplishments with huge numbers flocking to his meetings, although Anglo-Catholics and some Calvinists remained less biddable. He even gained support from those who feared the rise of the populace following the 1867 Reform Act and 1872 Ballot Act and who wished to head off political radicalism by ensuring Christian sobriety and rectitude.[92]

Moody made several other trips to Britain over the next two decades, also with some success, but his real significance lies not in the number of converts he won, but in the modifications he made to the Finneyite evangelistic system. A major innovation was to invite Ira D. Sankey, a singer, to come with him on that first British mission. Sankey's use not only of traditional hymns but particularly of 'gospel

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90. *Transatlantic Revivalism*, 159. He also observes that up to 50% of the converts were less than twenty years old and that no impact was made on social groups below the 'respectable' working class tradesmen. 'Such data, together with other contemporary evidence, point to a revival fed largely from within the evangelical churches and disproportionately from the young and the Sunday schools.' Ibid., 193.
91. The major study of Moody's life, theology and methodology work is James F. Findlay, *Dwight L. Moody: American Evangelist 1837-1899* (Chicago and London, 1969).
92. John Wesley White, 'The Influence of North American Evangelism in Great Britain between 1830 and 1914 on the Origin and Development

Footnote 92 continued on next page

songs', often of his own composition, enabled him to 'sing the gospel' and utilise Victorian sentimentalism to create an atmosphere in which the audience would be more receptive to Moody's sermon. He led congregational singing, played his organ and sang solos to such effect that some saw it as tantamount to conversion by music: 'It "went over the great human field, like a ploughshare, laying bare and open every sensibility to the next impression... Then came Mr. Moody with seed for the open furrows".'[93]

The culmination of the service would be the evangelist's appeal for inquirers to make their decision to become Christians and come forward while Sankey either sang or led the invitation hymn. In this hymn, another innovation, the tone of the music would be quiet and reflective, encouraging contemplation of spiritual issues, while the words would assist the would-be converts to make up their minds. One of the most popular, still widely used today, was 'Just As I Am'. It typifies the acceptance of the substitutionary view of the atonement, the intrinsic unworthiness of the sinner, and the insistent emotional pull on the enquirer to 'come'.

Just as I am, without one plea
But that Thy blood was shed for me,
And that Thou bidd'st me come to Thee,
O Lamb of God, I come, I come.

Just as I am, and waiting not
To rid my soul of one dark blot,
To Thee whose blood can cleanse each spot,
O Lamb of God, I come, I come.

Just as I am, though tossed about
With many a conflict, many a doubt,
Fighting and fears, within, without,
O Lamb of God, I come, I come.[94]

Footnote 92 continued from previous page
of the Ecumenical Movement' (Unpublished D.Phil. thesis, Oxford University, 1963), ch. 2.

93. *The Congregationalist*, January 1874. Quoted in ibid., ch. 2, 26.

94. Charles M. Alexander, ed. , *Alexander's Hymns No. 3* (London and Edinburgh, n.d.), no. 265.

The use of music to facilitate conversions was not Moody's only 'new measure'. He changed evangelists' whole approach to their task. 'He was the first of the interdenominational evangelists of the urban masses. Finney was the prophet of means; Moody employed them. Finney was the architect; Moody the engineer.'[95] As Finney's legal past had led him to treat his congregation as a jury panel requiring convincing, so Moody's business and sales background inspired his detailed preparation and organisation of each mission. Like a commercial sales campaign, the whole event was well publicised. For example, when Moody found clergy who read a revival weekly, *The Christian*, were more supportive of him, he arranged a free three-month subscription for all non-Catholic British clergy, at a cost of £2,000. Again, after his successful 1874 Dublin mission, he prepared for the return to England by distributing 30,000 copies per week.[96]

To ensure adequate facilities and a suitably non-church atmosphere for his meetings, until 1878 Moody insisted on huge, purpose-built, wooden 'tabernacles'. The money for these and other advance arrangements would be provided largely by wealthy lay businessmen, and the balance of expenses by offerings during the meetings. He later regarded these buildings as too expensive and moved back into churches and halls, but many other evangelists since have used their own buildings, whether of wood or canvas. Another facility Moody required was the 'inquiry room', a separate building or room to which those who answered the appeal could be taken for individual counselling. Previously, such work had usually been left to the local ministers, but as Moody fostered the concept of a specially gifted evangelist, he also did much of the counselling personally. With particularly large

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95. White, 'Ecumenical Movement', ch. 2, 1.
96. Ibid., ch. 2, 28-29.

groups, associate evangelists could be used and in time a training programme was instituted for 'personal workers', people who would counsel the inquirer through to making the decision. Prayer meetings for the success of the mission and special meetings to address specific groups were promoted. Anything which could be devised to make the procedure more efficient was welcomed. '"The Hippodrome work," said an observer of Moody's revival in New York in 1876, "is a vast business enterprise, organized and conducted by businessmen, who put their money into it on business principles, for the purpose of saving souls".'[97]

A further factor in Moody's success which determined the direction for many successors was his unwillingness to be divisive over theological or ecclesiastical issues. Many denominational leaders supported him after it became apparent he was single-minded in his determination to save souls and not to attack existing institutions. He insisted, 'God had vouchsafed a blessed unity and woe be to the person who should break it. The Cry is "Come out! come out from a sect". But where? Into another sect? The spirit that is always proselytizing is from Satan. I say, "Stay in".'[98]

CONCLUSION

There is, as demonstrated above, a rich theological and historical heritage which stands behind the mass evangelistic events which took

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97. William Hoyt Coleman, quoted in William R. Moody, *The Life of Dwight L. Moody*, 'The Official Authorized Edition' (New York, 1900), 281. Quoted in McLoughlin, *Modern Revivalism*, 166.
98. *The Downpatrick Recorder*, 28 November 1874. Quoted in White, 'Ecumenical Movement', ch. 2, 19.

place in New Zealand. The key features of the evangelical and fundamentalist theological systems are central also to a study of the evangelists. These features include the authority of the Bible, a premillenial view of eschatology, a penal substitutionary perception of the work of Christ and an approach to theological anthropology which appreciates human beings as possessing an essentially untainted will, and therefore being capable of making rational choices to become involved in a close relationship with a personal deity.

The study of the evangelist's messages, then, will consider the extent to which these theological emphases feature in those messages. It will also take account of other comments they make on various other themes, particularly on aspects of social behaviour they expected of Christians or of those outside the churches. In making these analyses it can be determined what kind(s) of Christianity the evangelists were fostering in New Zealand, not only in terms of a religious belief system, but also in that system's practical outworking.

The study of theological and social emphases promulgated by the mass evangelists needs also to be tied to the historical contexts in which they were preached. As has been seen in the survey above, the methods and messages of the revivalistic evangelists have varied depending time and situation, and this study ties the evangelistic missions to their specific contexts within New Zealand social and church life. The following chapter outlines the chief features of the historical contexts in which the missions occurred.

CHAPTER TWO

CHRISTIANS AND COMMUNITY:

THE HISTORICAL CONTEXTS FOR MASS EVANGELISM IN NEW ZEALAND

The mass evangelistic missions conducted sporadically in New Zealand over a period of eight-and-a-half decades took place in a variety of historical contexts. Each of the contexts affected the conduct and results of the missions. This chapter provides an orienting survey of the introduction of revivalistic evangelism to New Zealand. It discusses the changes in the country's society and churches, from the late-nineteenth until the late-twentieth century, which have had most influence on the missions' supportive constituency.

A discussion of the activities of New Zealand's first American revivalistic evangelist, 'California' Taylor, precedes a summary of nineteenth-century contributions made by better-documented groups such as the Salvation Army, Brethren and Keswick movements. These provide the background for the Torrey and Chapman missions of 1902 and 1912-1913. New Zealand response to separatist fundamentalism during the mid-twentieth century and the ongoing influence of the Keswick movement are then described, being two formative factors in the context of the 1959 Billy Graham crusade. This is followed by mention of the turmoil and questioning, both social and theological, which characterised the 1960s and affected the 1969 Billy Graham crusade. Finally, the major alterations to New Zealand conservative Christianity in the 1970s and 1980s, the rise of the Pentecostal and Charismatic movements, and the newfound outspokenness of many conservative voices on social and theological issues, are discussed

as the backdrop to the missions in 1987 of Leighton Ford and Luis Palau.

EARLY TWENTIETH-CENTURY HISTORICAL CONTEXT

The arrival in New Zealand of revivalistic methods was not nearly so well organised nor on such a grand scale as the campaigns of a Finney or a Moody. The 'frontier' areas of New Zealand failed to replicate spontaneously the American camp meetings with their unbridled emotionalism and ecstatic 'spiritual exercises'. Where clergy and other church leaders had experience of revivalism it was in the generally more sedate British tradition and limited largely to those of Arminian Nonconformist background, especially Methodists.

The early missionaries had usually worked within an ethos of conversion allied with British culture, rather than with a concentration on the soul's salvation to the exclusion of all else. Evangelistic work was made more difficult by the more or less deliberate leaving behind by many of the new colonists of aspects of their former lives in the Motherland, including participation in local church life. Further, in a new country where there was no established Church and few desired one, churchgoing was an optional extra rather than a social necessity and the churches had actively to attract adherents. To do this they had to be seen as pleasant, genteel, socially desirable places, untainted by any suggestion of 'enthusiasm'. As in Britain, so in New Zealand, '... for Dissent this was the age of mahogany religion: of polite gothic suburban

chapels, decorous preaching and the development of an alternative political structure, a "nonconformist conscience"'.[1]

Even amongst the Methodists there had been no real revivalistic tradition as their leaders, such as James Buller and Thomas Buddle, had been nurtured within the faith and felt little need for anything but the most mild use of revivalistic methods. Lineham observes that clergy and congregations tended to channel their energy and resources into denominational structures which could supply men and money. Their attitude was that, in addition to a minister, a church building and a manse, `a really respectable church also needed a Sunday school, a Bible class, a Band of Hope, a Benefit Society, a Missionary association and a branch of Christian Endeavour'.[2]

For all that such a sedentary ethos became ever stronger and more pervasive as the century wore on, in mid-century there was still an openness to the more enthusiastic and direct methods of evangelism. Most Wesleyans would have agreed with their Australian Primitive Methodist kin who insisted that all ministers should be evangelists as well as pastors and went so far as to say that `those who cannot bring souls to Christ will be reckoned uncredentialled of God and will be treated accordingly'.[3]

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1. Peter J. Lineham, *New Zealanders and the Methodist Evangel: an Interpretation of the Policies and Performance of the Methodist Church of New Zealand* (Auckland, 1983), 10.
2. Peter J. Lineham, `A Bible in the Baggage', *Comment*, n.s. 13 (1981), 25.
3. *Primitive Methodist Magazine*, (1848), 106. Quoted in Arnold D. Hunt, `Methodism and the Quest for Revival', *Colloquium*, 18 (1986), 23.

'California' Taylor and the Arrival of Revivalism

The earliest identifiable harbinger of American-style New Measures revivalism in New Zealand, the Rev. William 'California' Taylor, arrived unannounced in Auckland from Sydney just before Christmas, 1864. Because of the pioneering nature of his visit, and its relatively poor documentation to date, his work will be discussed at some length, providing insight into an example of the cross-pollination of American revivalistic practices into a different cultural milieu.

A minister of the American Methodist Episcopal Church and itinerant evangelist, Taylor made, as was his custom, straight for the local Wesleyan leadership, in Auckland the Rev. Thomas Buddle, and promptly gained an engagement to preach two days later on Christmas morning in Buddle's own pulpit at High Street Chapel, centre of Auckland Methodism. Not only did he preach the premier sermon of the Church year, but also held an afternoon service for the young and preached in the evening service as well. Clearly, to have appropriated the pulpit of a denominational leader so thoroughly and at that time of the year, Taylor must have made a very swift and substantial impression.

A Virginian, aged forty-five when he arrived in New Zealand, he had been raised and converted in the camp meeting tradition.[4] With another, he was appointed a missionary of his church to California, arriving with the 'forty-niners'. His experiences over the next seven years enabled the development of a distinctive preaching style, a seemingly inexhaustible supply of anecdotes, and a highly

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4. Biographical details are taken from O.M. Buck, 'William Taylor', in *Dictionary of American Biography*, edited by Dumas Malone, 11 vols (New York, 1935-1936), IX, 345-346; 'William Taylor', in

Footnote 4 continued on next page

marketable nickname. To draw crowds he sang in the main thoroughfares and plazas of San Francisco, to gain maximum impact he would set up his pork barrel platform outside saloons, and to reach all groups he would visit brothels and bars, even establishing a 'bethel', a hostel for seamen.

1856 brought disaster for his mission. An economic collapse, then a major fire, wrecked it financially, then physically. Although absolved from blame by his denomination, Taylor refused to let the matter rest and set off around the world with two aims, not only to raise money to repay the debt, but 'that in every case I would do my best by preaching and altar service for seekers of salvation *before* I would mention books or my need of funds; and I stuck to those principles to the end of the chapter'.[5] He began his work on behalf of 'seekers of salvation' worldwide by spending the next five years touring the United States and by beginning to write books to support himself.[6] In February 1862, he received what he took to be a divine call to Australia.[7] The route to Australia, though, was circuitous, involving seven months in England and Ireland, participating in the declining phases of the great transatlantic revival begun several years earlier. The journey also took him through Asia Minor and the Middle East, especially

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Footnote 4 continued from previous page
Australian Dictionary of Biography, edited by Bede Nairn, 10 vols (Carlton, 1976), VI, 250-251; W. Taylor, *William Taylor of California. Bishop of Africa. An Autobiography*, revised edition (London, 1897).

5. Taylor, *Autobiography*, 134-135.
6. The first of these capitalised on his Californian experiences (*California Life, Illustrated* (1858) and *Seven Years Street Preaching in San Francisco* (1859)), then *The Model Preacher* (1859) added a theoretical dimension to the practical authority he could claim on evangelistic preaching.
7. Taylor, *Autobiography*, 159.

Palestine, and finished in Melbourne where he arrived unannounced in June 1863.

Over the next eighteen months, Taylor covered much of eastern and southern Australia and then, in December 1864, moved on to New Zealand. The Auckland sojourn lasted until 18 January 1865, when he boarded the S.S. *Queen* for Nelson via Taranaki, arriving six days later. His time there was short as he left on 2 February for Wellington where he stayed little longer, boarding the *Airedale* for Dunedin on 13 February. The southern centre claimed nearly a month of his time, following which he travelled back to Australia after a fortnight in Christchurch.[8]

Taylor's pattern of activities was predictable and followed closely wherever he went. He went first to the chief local Wesleyan church as that having the closest affinity with his own. In Auckland his base was the Wesleyan chapel in High Street, in Nelson that in Hardy Street, in Wellington the one in Manners Street, for Dunedin, Downing Street, and in Christchurch, the new 'cathedral' of New Zealand Methodism in Durham Street. Having gained access to the pulpit, he ran through a sequence of evangelistic meetings, often, though, interspersed with calls to believers to 'renew their oaths

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8. In 1866, Taylor attempted some important missionary work in South Africa, which has been described and analysed in Wallace G. Mills, 'The Taylor Revival of 1866 and the Roots of African Nationalism in the Cape Colony', *Journal of Religion in Africa*, 8 (1976), 105-122. Later in his career, he became well-known for establishing some (unsuccessful) missions in India, Africa and South America, based on what he called the 'Pauline System', in which missionaries were supported by their converts and, failing that, were to work, like St Paul, in their own 'tentmaking' occupations. In 1884, after he had retired from his own itinerant ministry, his denomination elected him missionary bishop for Africa.

of allegiance to God' and the promulgation of the Wesleyan doctrine of 'entire sanctification'.[9]

Supporting himself and his travels largely from a ministerial stipend and his book sales, Taylor had a third string to his bow which had the additional benefits of producing both revenue and publicity; he gave public lectures on his exploits in California, his recent visit to Palestine, and on the life of St Paul. The audience were often reported as 'very numerous and influential' and 'profoundly attentive', even when he frequently spoke for two to three hours.[10]

It was, though, his evangelistic preaching which earned him greatest renown, the *Otago Daily Times* claiming he was 'widely known as the "Revival Minister"'.[11] It was immediately observed that his style and manner of delivery were far from the usual formality to which congregations were accustomed and were charitably described as 'eminently practical and original, at times rising to an impressive eloquence'.[12] As has happened in other times and places, some

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9. Taylor, *Autobiography*, 176. This doctrine, based on such biblical texts as 'Be ye perfect, even as your heavenly Father is perfect', claimed a Christian was able to receive after conversion a second blessing from the Holy Spirit enabling the recipient to live a morally blameless life thereafter. It was reinforced by Finneyite revivalism's belief that God would not demand anything humans could not perform. Perfection was commanded, therefore it must be attainable. Taylor claimed to have received the blessing in 1845 with subsequent perfect trust in and consecration to God. However, 'most Wesleyans were content to believe in the doctrine and not to enjoy it and claim it for themselves', especially since many professors of perfect love displayed highly visible shortcomings. R.B. Walker, 'The Growth and Typology of the Wesleyan Methodist Church in New South Wales, 1812-1901', *Journal of Religious History*, 6 (1971), 343.
10. *New Zealand Herald*, 12 January 1865, 5. He did meet with less success with 'limited' audiences in Dunedin. *Otago Daily Times*, 4 March 1865, 4.
11. *Otago Daily Times*, 18 February 1865, 5.
12. *Canterbury Standard*, 21 March 1865, 5. Or 'startling eloquence' by *Evening Post*, 13 February 1865, 2 and 'too demonstrative' by *New Zealand Herald*, 13 January 1865, 3.

critics were prepared to countenance stylistic and theological roughness on the grounds of 'getting results'.

> It would be puerile to insist upon the merits of elegance or correctness of style in these books or in this lecture. We believe they are not ambitious of any such compliment. They have merits equally, and we think for their purpose, far more valuable. Mr. Taylor is thoroughly what he seems, a man of indomitable strength, perseverance, earnest and enthusiastic who [sic] would ask the clearer of the forest to be a professor of calisthenics?.... This missionary 'does well his part,' with him be the honour of the results he has achieved without cavilling at the sharpness or polish of the instrument.[13]

But Taylor would have wished for no such assistance. He made no apology for, and indeed positively cultivated, an unorthodox, emotional style of which Finney would have been proud. He instructed a younger preacher that,

> It is your business to arrest them, knock their thoughts and reveries into pi [sic], and sweeping them away, insert your theme in their minds and hearts. To do this, you must wake them up, stir the sympathies of their souls, and thrill them, by all sorts of unanticipated means, with the joyful tidings of sovereign mercy, or the thundering peals of coming retribution.[14]

His justification was the necessity of generating sufficient emotional pressure to impel hearers Godward.

> The intellect is the engine, the emotions the steam; both are alike necessary to locomotion. What we most need in this enlightened age is momentum, to stimulate people to action, proportionate to their knowledge. Wake up the emotions, therefore, my brother, whether they manifest themselves at first in smiles or tears - wake them up by the grace of Jesus, and, so direct them as to propel the soul toward the cross.[15]

The plain, direct and practical nature of his preaching, often remarked upon in New Zealand, was also his settled policy.

> Do not think, my brother, of trying to interest an audience with any thing that you could not tell with interest to one man.... Any dry arrangement that would be a bore to one man,

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13. *New Zealand Herald*, 13 January 1865, 3.
14. William Taylor, *The Model Preacher: Comprised in a Series of Letters Illustrating the Best Mode of Preaching the Gospel* (Cincinnati, 1859), 15-16.
15. Ibid., 186.

> will be no better when preached to a thousand, and a style that would not please and entertain one man, will be but little better suited to the mass.[16]

Taylor's preaching style and his deliberate attempts to rouse his hearers' emotions were clearly shown in his graphic imaginings in a published sermon on Romans 7. 21-25 of the apostle Paul's Roman captivity.

> As you accompany the apostle across the threshold, where hope bids adieu to many a criminal, the grating of the massive doors on their hinges causes you to shudder. Dark and damp, filled with poisonous vapors stifling you with stench, you feel that you have entered the vestibule of hell. Passing down the aisle, quaking with horror at every step, your ears are saluted from the cells on each side with the clanking of chains and hideous groans. Poor prisoners! they used to walk in the light of the sun; had kind mothers and sisters to caress them. Some of them have wives and children whom they have not seen for years, and may never see again. But when you reach the dungeon -- O, such hideous sounds never fell on your ears before! What upon earth is the matter? Poor fellow, he must be strangling! Take a light and peep through the iron grating. O, horrible! What a sight! Why, there's a man bound to a dead body -- a decomposing human carcass, face to face, and limb to limb, securely lashed. See how he struggles! Each effort to free himself only brings him into more intimate contact with the putrefying mass. Hear the broken sobs of his choked emotions and his agonizing cries: 'O wretched man that I am! who shall deliver me from this dead body?' There, sir, is the sinner's moral condition, as drawn by the pen of inspiration.[17]

In his actual method of inducing conversions Taylor was not backward in applying Finneyite procedures either, both in stressing the legal aspects of the guilty sinner before the righteous Judge and in demanding a decision of the will.

> In storming a sinner's heart, my brother, heave away with the battering-ram of legal thunder till you force a breach. Do n't [sic] stop then to talk of the number and comparative turpitude of his sins, nor to introduce questions of orthodoxy or rules of holy living, but rush for the citadel - the conscience and the will - and having taken that, the poor sinner will feel that the smallest sin he ever committed involves the death penalty, and what he called his good works are but 'filthy rags'. Then - to change the application of the figure - run with him, and show him how to flee the

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16. Ibid., 157.
17. Ibid., 237-238.

> wrath to come, to escape the pursuing avenger, to rush into the kingdom of heaven....[18]

Further, in his actual making the altar call, Finney's methods were retained, although by now the communion rail or equivalent had substituted for the anxious bench.[19] Taylor believed that although answering an appeal to come forward was not essential to actually becoming a Christian it seemed just and proper to make some such public statement.

> We urged them to surrender to God in their pews, or by the wayside, or at their own homes, and if they had not succeeded in finding salvation in secret places, or in a way unobserved by others, we advised them, as they had been public rebels against God, it was but fair to Him and His cause, like Zacchaeus and another publican we read about, that they should make an open confession and a public renunciation of their evil deeds.[20]

He put a particular stress on the need for the immediacy of the decision. In fact, he claimed while in Australia to have seen the fallacy of the contemporary Methodist practice of keeping penitents in a constant state of anxious seeking for the inner witness of the Holy Spirit to their salvation. Stressing the words 'accept' and 'receive', he now preached the slogan, 'Believe that He saves you *now*.'

> So I at once... amended the [old] formula, and the rapidity with which thousands received Christ and testified to the facts of their conscious pardon and regeneration through the Spirit, and the exemplification of it in their lives, and the permanency of the work, led me to shout 'Eureka!' and a part of my mission ever since has been to spread through all English-speaking countries of any note in the world, and far into heathenism, this simple, sound, practical definition of saving faith.[21]

His approach to dealing with the problem of evil and the need for spiritual and moral renewal was the classic evangelical insistence on

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18. Ibid., 245. Taylor even called this 'the *law* of direct appeal to the heart'.
19. Taylor, *Autobiography*, 175.
20. Ibid.
21. Ibid., 205.

individual conversions as the panacea for all ills. Any institutional or social failure could be remedied if only enough individuals would answer the altar call.

> What is this rum-selling, and drunken debauchery, and gambling, and theft, and bloodshed, and corruption in office, and ballot-box stuffing, but the development of *sin* in the *hearts*, and its corresponding manifestation in the *lives* of those various characters?.... The health of a people consists of the health of the *individual* members composing society. If, therefore, we sincerely desire to see a reformation in this city, and to see society elevated and established on a permanent moral basis, we must earnestly apply ourselves to the work of *personal* reformation.[22]

In a number of ways, therefore, 'California' Taylor foreshadowed the main themes which subsequent evangelists would pursue. He saw the problems of evil and sin as primarily individual in scope and that the issue of paramount importance was that individual relationship with God. He therefore concluded that the crucial matter was whether or not any particular person had passed through an appropriate conversion experience in which they believed that they were now saved. From his Arminian Methodist theological viewpoint, he saw no problem in using appropriate preaching, directing and counselling techniques to induce his hearers to decide by their own will to believe and to publicly indicate that belief by coming forward at an altar call. He did, though, add to his message the Wesleyan doctrine of entire sanctification which has seldom been promoted by other mainline evangelists.

Taylor also used methods of self-advertisement, the principles of which have been refined by his successors. His books were advertised and sold. Music was important to his gospel presentation and, in addition to that normally provided in a church service, he sang solos

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22. From a sermon given 13 July 1856 in San Francisco. Quoted in William Taylor, *Seven Years' Street Preaching in San Francisco, California* (New York and London, 1856), 293-294. Taylor elaborated the same view in *Model Preacher*, 392:

Footnote 22 continued on next page

himself.[23] He seems to have made an outdoor street preaching attempt only once in New Zealand, at 4 p.m. on Sunday 1 January 1865, outside the Union Bank in Queen Street, Auckland. His attraction was sufficient to draw 'about four hundred persons' even at that hour.[24]

It is difficult to know exactly what he preached as his lectures were far better reported than his sermons, often being recorded almost verbatim.[25] Two sermons were reported *in extenso*, one on tithing[26] and another on the principles of 'systematic beneficence',[27] both fairly straightforward statements of support for their respective principles. Twice a sermon text was reported: Luke 14. 18, 'They all began with one consent to make excuses',[28] and Luke 13. 3 and 5, 'Except ye repent ye shall all likewise perish',[29] presumably evangelistic messages, but beyond describing them as 'fervid and convincing' and 'thrilling', the reports say little. Usually, his addresses are described as 'appropriate', 'eloquent', 'feeling' or 'telling', but with no comment on their content or results.

Such reporting makes assessment of Taylor's effectiveness as an evangelist difficult. One historian has named him as 'the most successful evangelist ever in the Australian colonies'.[30] Decades

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Footnote 22 continued from previous page

> 'The purity and moral strength of a nation, or any organization, depends solely on the purity of the individuals composing that organization; and... great national sins, and organized forms of iniquity and oppression, could only be effectively undermined, cured, and removed by the individual piety of the people....'

23. e.g. *New Zealand Herald*, 4 January 1865, 3; *Lyttelton Times*, 30 March 1865, 5.
24. *Daily Southern Cross*, 2 January 1865, 4.
25. e.g. *New Zealand Herald*, 13 January 1865, 3-4.
26. *New Zealand Herald*, 29 December 1864, 5.
27. *Otago Daily Times*, 3 March 1865, 5-6. This was a programme of systematic, as opposed to haphazard, giving to one's church, and presumably to other worthy causes.
28. *Daily Southern Cross*, 10 January 1865, 4.
29. *Evening Post*, 8 February 1865, 2.
30. Walker, 'Growth and Typology', 335.

later, Taylor himself claimed to have increased Australasian Wesleyan membership by over 11,000 in his three-year tour, but gave no separate estimate for New Zealand.[31] When he recalled the time spent in New Zealand, he made no comment on Nelson, described Wellington as 'an excellent series of meetings, at which several distinguished citizens were converted to God', and characterised his reception in Dunedin as one of 'appreciative cordiality'. In Christchurch he claimed to have met with 'blessed success among a most lovely and loving people' during a week's preaching, although he was active there from at least 15 to 29 March.[32] Auckland, where he worked longest and received the best newspaper coverage, he failed to mention at all.[33]

At the time, reports indicated that he usually drew large crowds, the most numerous perhaps being in Christchurch where over 1,000 crammed into Durham Street Chapel one night.[34] One over-eager newspaper labelled him 'this modern Gamaliel'.[35] Taylor himself, though, may not have felt his efforts were all that fruitful. At his farewell soiree in Auckland, he observed that,

> The manifest success of their series of meetings had fallen very far short of the ordinary standard throughout the Australian colonies. He had not been discouraged on that account. He knew that he had preached in Auckland the same gospel that he had preached elsewhere, and had had the consciousness of the present influences of the Holy Spirit.[36]

Even those writers who have been most positive in their assessments seem to have felt his holiness teachings were of as great consequence as his purely evangelistic work.

> A few months after [Durham Street's] dedication, William Taylor, of California,... held a series of revival services

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31. Taylor, *Autobiography*, 175. He claimed these assessments were derived from official figures.
32. W.T. Blight, *A House not Made with Hands* (Christchurch, 1964), 21, says he was there for three weeks.
33. Taylor, *Autobiography*, 197-198.
34. *Canterbury Standard*, 21 March 1865, 5.
35. *New Zealand Herald*, 26 December 1864, 5.
36. *Weekly News*, 21 January 1865, 6.

> therein, preaching first to the Church, and urging the members to seek holiness of heart. He then addressed the unconverted, and several scores of persons found 'the Pearl of Great Price'.[37]

> At first there was little response: but when the preacher began to call the people to full consecration, his message began to make a profound impact. There was not room at the Communion rail for all those who sought to know their sins forgiven.[38]

Such evangelistic success as he did have is also partly attributable to the expectant atmosphere pre-existing within some of the churches in which he worked. Of Auckland's High Street Chapel, Morley records an ongoing evangelistic ferment in this period.

> The writer well remembers in 1864-65 the earnest spirit of Christian fellowship, the crowded congregations and the lively prayer-meetings, and how the adjoining schoolroom was filled for special services, and scores were led to decision for God.[39]

After Taylor's visit there were two more 'revivals' in the following year and during 1868 and 1869 under the leadership of local ministers.[40] Opinion appears divided amongst contemporaries over just how much value Taylor's activities were. While his own evaluations were not fully verified by the figures he claimed to have used, nevertheless he did have a number of influential supporters who were of the opinion both that most of his converts remained in the faith and that even some later denominational leaders were fruit of his labour.[41]

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37. William Morley, *History of Methodism in New Zealand* (Wellington, 1900), 413. Morley also observes that, 'Probably his visit was quite as successful through his teaching of systematic beneficence, which many were led to adopt'. Ibid., 470.
38. Blight, *House*, 21.
39. Morley, *History*, 204.
40. Ibid., 221.
41. See 'William Taylor', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, 250-251; H.R. Jackson, *Churches and People in Australia and New Zealand, 1860-1930* (Wellington, 1987), 51-53; Morley, *History*, 213, 470.

Later Nineteenth Century Revivalism

Apart from Methodism, other New Zealand denominations and groups, too, produced their own revivals and revivalists, flourishing ever more towards the end of the century. Mostly such activity was on a small scale with few individual stars of the magnitude of Taylor. Groups such as the Seventh Day Adventists had itinerant preachers operating from tents, although they were more interested in enlightening the ignorant about their peculiar theological understanding than in altar calls to conversions.[42] Opposition to Christianity was thriving at the time as Darwinism became more acceptable and as Freethinkers assumed a high profile, led by no less a figure than Sir Robert Stout (at various times a provincial councillor, Member of the House of Representatives, Chief Justice, Attorney-General and Premier). These 'freethinking' groups also had their itinerant 'evangelists', seemingly little different, at least in their methodology, from the Christian groups. 'Although Secularism was in opposition to Christianity it at times seemed just another religious group, a little more extreme than the latest Bible-based sect, but nevertheless bearing strong resemblances to it.'[43]

Sometimes denominations might set apart a particular person for evangelistic work, as the Baptists did from 1890 to 1893 with Rev. Thomas Spurgeon, son of C.H. Spurgeon and inaugural pastor of the

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42. Peter J. Lineham, 'Adventism and the Sawdust Trail in Late Nineteenth Century New Zealand', in *In and Out of the World: Seventh-day Adventists in New Zealand*, edited by Peter H. Ballis (Palmerston North, 1985), 32-51.
43. P.J. Lineham, 'Freethinkers in Nineteenth-Century New Zealand', *New Zealand Journal of History*, 19 (1985), 78.

Auckland Baptist Tabernacle. Such people would remain largely, as he did, within that denomination's churches.[44]

Other groups had a strong revivalistic emphasis in their very ethos and had relatively large numbers of their members directly involved in evangelistic outreach activities. The Brethren were the chief example of these, staffing a well-trodden 'sawdust trail' throughout much of rural New Zealand and utilising from 1895 the horsedrawn 'Bible/Gospel carriage' as a compromise between building fixed bases and supplying evangelistic outreach where needed in the backblocks.[45] The best known of their workers were W. Corrie Johnson and, particularly, Gordon Forlong, an 1876 immigrant to the Bulls area where he was instrumental in a revival. Intending originally to lead a quiet farming life, he soon found himself in demand as an evangelistic and prophetic speaker throughout the country and indeed 'became the symbol of revivalism in all the provinces from Taranaki to Otago'.[46] He acted as the nucleus for a group of like-minded men who also worked throughout most of central and southern New Zealand.[47]

The most controversial of revival-minded groups were the Salvation Army. The first Salvationists, who arrived at Port Chalmers in 1883, wasted no time in putting into practice all they had learned in Britain and within little over a month optimistically cabled General Booth, 'Dunedin, Auckland, blazing. Christchurch shortly. Reinforce Sharp [sic]'.[48] Their deliberate attempts to attract public

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44. See Craig Skinner, *Lamplighter and Son* (Nashville, 1984), 95; J. Ayson Clifford, *A Handful of Grain, vol. 2 1882-1914* (Wellington, 1982), 8-9. Spurgeon gained the Baptists 800 converts in those years.
45. Peter J. Lineham, *There We Found Brethren: A History of Assemblies of Brethren in New Zealand* (Palmerston North, 1977), especially ch. 3.
46. Ibid., 60.
47. See also Houlton G. Forlong, ed., *Gordon Forlong* ([Palmerston North], 1977).
48. 'Off to New Zealand', *Social Gazette* (1899). Quoted in Cyril R. Bradwell, *Fight the Good Fight: The Story of the Salvation Army in New Zealand, 1883-1983* (Wellington, 1982), 11.

attention led to much adverse comment and some rough treatment from both breakers and enforcers of the law,[49] but within a short time they could boast nearly 2% of the population as adherents.[50]

A highlight of the Army's early years was the personal attention paid them by their founder and commander, General William Booth. The world-famous Salvationist visited New Zealand four times between 1891 and 1905.[51] Each visit was something of a royal progress as he travelled by train through the country, meeting the Governor, the Premier and various other dignitaries. On his first trip, for example, he addressed thirty-two public meetings as well as many railside whistle-stop assemblages and meetings for select groups. He became relatively friendly with both Richard Seddon and Sir Robert Stout, neither remotely evangelical Christians. He felt close enough to them even to attempt their conversion, writing to Seddon after his last trip, 'May I be allowed to urge on you, as I am doing all the time upon the masses of the people, what you already I am sure must feel, the importance of a personal realisation of the friendship of God'.[52] At the same time, he attempted to win Stout also.

> Then, dear friend, there is one other subject, on which I must have a parting word, and that is, I must say notwithstanding all your difficulties I cannot bring myself to believe that you are very far from 'The Kingdom of God'. What other resting places in view of the future are there for your thoughtful and wondering mind? None. There are difficulties plenty, I admit, in the Kingdom of Grace, but not so many as there are on any known theory, or possible suppositions outside of it. *Come Home*....[53]

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49. e.g. attacks by 'skeleton armies' and conflict with the Milton Borough Council. Ibid., 10, 43-48.
50. Peter J. Lineham, 'When the Roll Is Called Up Yonder Who'll Be There?: An Analysis of Nineteenth-Century Trans-Atlantic Revivalism in New Zealand and Canada', in *'Rescue the Perishing': Comparative Perspectives on Evangelism and Revivalism*, edited by Douglas Pratt (Auckland, 1989), 1-22.
51. Bradwell, *Fight*, ch. 7.
52. William Booth to Hon. R.J. Seddon, 9 May 1905. Quoted in Bradwell, *Fight*, 65.
53. William Booth to Sir Robert Stout, 9 May 1905. Quoted in Bradwell, *Fight*, 66.

There was, in addition to all of these types of people associated with specific Christian sectional interests, a group of evangelists recruiting for no particular denomination. Some of these, though, had their own barrows to push, whether related to the increasingly popular premillenial prophetic movement[54] or to the holiness movement, especially the Keswick variety, related to the perfectionism California Taylor had advocated.

The Keswick movement, which has been of key importance in New Zealand conservative Christianity, is centred on the holding of a number of conventions.[55] Begun in 1875, at Keswick in England's Lake District, these annual conventions provided a focus for British conservatives seeking to build on the successes of Moody and Sankey's evangelistic crusades and to develop spiritually along the lines popularised by American holiness preachers Robert Pearsall Smith and his wife Hannah Whitall Smith. The conventions assumed their speakers held a conservative theological position, but explicitly avoided controversy, seeking rather to hold 'Union Meetings for the Promotion of Practical Holiness'.

The movement's very existence was predicated upon an introspective piety, seeking to improve one's relationship with God, and particularly in living a life victorious over the power of temptation and sin. This was to be achieved by one's full surrender to God's will, permitting the unbridled direction and empowering by the Holy Spirit of the individual's life, giving feelings of peace and joy and a moral purity in living - 'practical holiness'.

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54. See above, 25.
55. Supportive studies of the movement's background and development include Steven Barabas, *So Great Salvation: The History and Message of the Keswick Convention* (London, 1952), and J.C. Pollock, *The Keswick Story* (London, 1964). With its American counterpart, the Victorious Life movement, it receives a vigorous

Footnote 55 continued on next page

Implementing such ideals de-emphasised contentious issues and promoted irenic attitudes. Keswick's motto has remained 'All One in Christ Jesus', inviting all who would to come. In 1907, one writer claimed, 'During Keswick Week High Churchmen, Low Churchmen, Churchmen and Nonconformists find, if spiritual men, that things on which they honestly differ are as nothing compared to that living Unity in Christ which there asserts its pre-eminence'.[56]

The movement spread rapidly, first in British imitations, then in American, then throughout the world. The conventions proved a major recruiting ground for missionary societies and their members transported the ethos to the most far-flung outposts of Empire.[57] Anglican George Grubb was one who did preach widely on Keswick theology in the 1890s, but with little success.[58] New Zealand Keswick conventions began in 1901 at Queenstown and found regular homes at Pounawea, South Otago, in 1908, and at Ngaruawahia, Waikato, in the early 1920s. Later, other sites, including one at Rotorua, were also developed.

Footnote 55 continued from previous page

evangelical critique in Douglas W. Frank, *Less Than Conquerors: How Evangelicals Entered the Twentieth Century* (Grand Rapids, 1986), esp. ch. 4. Frank's thesis is that such movements sought to regain, at least spiritually, power and social control such as evangelicalism had enjoyed in the early nineteenth century. 'It gave new life to the lost triumphalism of a former day by shifting it to the subjective realm and cloaking it in the language of Christian devotion.' Ibid., 160.

56. Unacknowledged quote in Pollock, *Keswick*, 130.
57. See, for example, Andrew Porter, 'Cambridge, Keswick, and Late Nineteenth-Century Attitudes to Africa', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 5 (1976), 5-34; Brian Stanley, 'The East African Revival: African Initiative Within a European Tradition', *Churchman*, 92 (1978), 6-22.
58. Edward C. Millard, *What God Hath Wrought* (London, 1891), and idem, *The Same Lord* (London, 1893).

Early Twentieth-Century New Zealand Theological Climate

The evangelicals in late Victorian New Zealand churches who supported revivalism and who would soon welcome Torrey, Chapman and Alexander may well be seen as very similar to those portrayed in David Bebbington's survey of the chief characteristics of nineteenth-century British evangelicals, which discerns four important qualities: conversionism, activism, biblicism and crucicentrism.[59] In the content of the gospel itself they found the call to conversion and took for granted 'that conversion was far above, and of greater importance than, any denominational differences of whatever kind'.[60] Though they might debate *ad nauseaum* the timing of such an event, or the relative place of the Holy Spirit's work in it, yet it was held essential to vital Christianity and the ability to claim such an experience transcended other theological considerations. This theoretical conversionism was matched by their activism in pastoral work and in the diligent seeking of souls to convert. Throughout the century, people of all denominations toiled continually, the Primitive Methodists even needing to establish a 'Worn-Out Ministers' Fund'. Again, academic training in theological subtleties was regarded as distinctly secondary to, or even harmful to one's performance in, such urgent work.

Thirdly, though academic intellectualism confessedly relying on human reasoning was scorned, the evangelicals were earnest in biblical study, seeking guidance in all matters from the Scriptures. At no time were they thoroughly obscurantist or unthinkingly literalistic.

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59. David W. Bebbington, 'The Gospel in the Nineteenth Century', *Vox Evangelica*, 13 (1983), 19-28.
60. G.W. McRee, *George Wilson McRee* (London, 1893), 20. Quoted in Ibid., 20.

although for many the insistence on full verbal biblical inspiration became hardened as the nineteenth century wore on, antedating, but increasingly reacting to, the rise of critical biblical study.[61] Finally, their theology remained resolutely crucicentric, built around the death of Jesus on the cross. The substitutionary atonement of Christ formed the basis of all their theologising and biblical hermeneutics, and in the face of other emphases, such as the Anglo-Catholic interest in the doctrine of the incarnation, permitted their distinctive views on evangelism and the conversions thus produced.

New Zealand evangelicals who followed this British pattern would have been supportive, at least in principle, of Torrey's aim to evangelise, his methods of doing so, his attitudes towards biblical studies, and his theological views centred around the substitutionary view of Christ's atonement.

But not all New Zealand Christians in the early twentieth century formed a particularly fertile seedbed into which Torrey could sow his proto-fundamentalism. There were many who perceived little problem for their faith in the changes that were abroad in scientific and theological understanding. John Stenhouse's extensive study of the effects of Darwinism in the late nineteenth-century New Zealand churches concludes that there was, in fact, little open conflict between scientists and churchmen, scientists remaining committed

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61. This theory of biblical inspiration was text-centred, holding that 'all the words and all the verbal relationships are inspired by God'. While this does not necessarily imply a divine mechanical dictation overriding the human author's personality, it does undergird the twentieth-century fundamentalist position of full biblical inerrancy in all matters. I.S. Rennie, 'Verbal Inspiration', in *Evangelical Dictionary of Theology*, edited by Walter A. Elwell (Grand Rapids, 1984), 1138-1140.

Christians and churchmen having little difficulty with an acceptance of an evolutionary understanding of human origins.[62]

One still heard in the New Zealand situation, though, echoes of the changes taking place contemporaneously in America, as George Marsden analyses them. There were liberals whose ideas moved too rapidly for popular assimilation and who were, therefore, sometimes subject to attempts at discipline. Such trials were few in number and indulged in only by the doctrinally-alert Presbyterians.[63] Yet the liberals had not rejected the Bible as a spiritual and moral authority. They sought rather to protect it by resisting the making of unreasonable (as they saw them) demands on it. 'In the minds of these liberal orthodox churchmen the fundamentalist [sic] insistence on the plenary inspiration of Scripture was not only theologically mistaken, but an obstacle to evangelism (especially of educated people) and must inevitably undermine the credibility of Christianity.'[64] These were in the tradition of the English churches, used to seeing evolution around them, from a culture which was accustomed to change, gradual progression and accommodation of differing traditions. In a society which still retained very fresh memories of British cultural activities, these churchmen continued to play leading roles in the antipodean equivalents of the Motherland's learned societies, assuming there was commonality between worship of

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62. John Stenhouse, 'The "Battle" between Science and Religion over Evolution in New Zealand in the Nineteenth Century' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Massey University, 1985); idem, '"The Wretched Gorilla Damnification of Humanity": The "Battle" between Science and Religion over Evolution in Nineteenth-Century New Zealand', *New Zealand Journal of History*, 18 (1984), 143-162.
63. Lawrence Harold Barber, 'The Social Crusader: James Gibb at the Australasian Pastoral Frontier, 1882-1935' (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Massey University, 1975); idem., 'James Gibb's Heresy Trial', *New Zealand Journal of History*, 12 (1978), 146-157.
64. Stenhouse, '"Battle"', 267.

the Creator and study of the created order. They may even have been so efficient in this work of reconciliation as to forestall Freethought from having any major influence in New Zealand.

There were, though, others who took strong exception to an evolutionary view of science and the Bible, who maintained an anti-intellectual, static understanding of Christianity based on empirical observation and common sense reasoning. One attacked higher critics as `this little knot of bookworms, who at present can hardly agree on one single thing....'[65] Another claimed that leading New Zealand Presbyterian, William Salmond, if dealing with the creation of Eve from Adam's rib, `would probably explain away the statement as an allegory, or a poetic fallacy. Such dreamers may be biblical critics, or commentators, but they cannot be regarded as sound divines'.[66] Stenhouse observes how such proto-fundamentalists ended by effectively seeing the Bible as containing only scientific and historical facts, thus making its authority dependent on a specific scientific, even biological, system. While most churchmen were accommodating themselves to modern science and many leading scientists found they could reconcile their knowledge with Christian faith, the ultraconservatives who refused to budge succeeded only in marginalising themselves. `The tragedy of fundamentalism was that it exacerbated the very process it intended to prevent. Intent on maintaining a dominant position, by the beginning of the twentieth century its intractable obscurantism thrust it slowly but inexorably to the periphery of the nation's intellectual, cultural and scientific life.'[67]

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65. W.S. Allen, *A Reply to a Lecture Delivered by Rev. C.H. Garland on `The Bearing of Higher Criticism on Leading Evangelical Doctrines'* (Auckland, 1893), 9. Quoted in ibid., 269.
66. Rev. James Copland, *Outlook*, 8, 35 (1901), 35. Quoted in ibid., 271.
67. Ibid., 278-279.

Thus, at least amongst the church leaders, Darwinism and higher criticism had led few away from piety or even many traditional doctrinal positions of earlier days. Mostly, there was an openness both to new ideas and to older forms, provided that such were not obstinantly obscurantist or superstitious. Torrey, and later Chapman, would fit acceptably with many, being able to boast academic credentials. They were assisted by the extent to which they, particularly Chapman, stressed pure evangelism and respectably avoided controversial doctrinalism, whatever their private beliefs. Many church leaders actively supported their coming and worked to help make their efforts successful. Those more cautious, or more liberal, at least generally held their peace rather than expressing outright opposition. The conservatives were delighted at the perceived strengthening of the orthodox faith and thus of their 'party'.

Conclusion

We see, then, the state of revivalistic evangelism in New Zealand at the close of the nineteenth century. It remained a subculture activity. While denominational evangelists were abroad in the land and clergy were often used as speakers, it was primarily a lay activity, sometimes as with the Brethren, Salvation Army and Seventh Day Adventists, with the direct effect of luring the devout away from their existing church. 'One of the most important roles which revivalism played was in developing patterns of religion among the laity. The Rev. James Buller once commented that godliness was promoted less by ministerial endeavours than it was by revivals.'[68]

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68. Peter J. Lineham, 'How Institutionalized was Protestant Piety in Nineteenth-Century New Zealand?', *Journal of Religious History*, 13 (1985), 377.

Also, clergy were not only becoming better educated, but increasingly aware of the profusion of new scientific and theological theories multiplying throughout the century. That Darwin, Wellhausen, von Harnack and others were having an effect is apparent from the heresy trials of Salmond and Gibb in which the Presbyterians indulged, showing a growing gulf in theological understanding between pulpit and pew for many mainline churches.[69] This, too, would make the conservative, lay simplicity of the revivalist message attractive. This was the side of revivalism which was already seen as 'holding the fort' of orthodox Christianity against the besieging scientists, critics, liberals and, by the end of the century, social gospellers.[70]

Conservatism may also have been a factor in the rural emphasis of the sawdust trail. The main urban areas were not so affected, though of course many churches there held evangelistic missions. The most dramatic results were seen rather in outlying parts of Rangitikei/Manawatu, Taranaki, Nelson and Hawkes Bay (especially the Scandinavians in Seventy-Mile Bush). When General Booth and other evangelists travelled by train near these more remote areas it was necessary for them to stop briefly for the country folk who flocked to Studholme Junction, Herbert and Waikouaiti or the thirteen railway stations between New Plymouth and Wellington.[71]

Yet there was an apparent effect on New Zealand society at large. Lineham has 'a clear impression that by 1900 New Zealand had become more outwardly religious and moral than it had been in 1850', and goes on to claim that 'the most significant factor was the appearance of revivalism in the country'.[72] This observation is supported in the

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69. Barber, 'Social Crusader', *passim*.
70. See the title and theme of J. Kent's study of nineteenth century British revivalism, *Holding the Fort*.
71. Bradwell, *Fight*, 58-63.
72. Lineham, 'Piety', 376.

'sharp rise in the overall level of churchgoing' through the last quarter of the century recorded by Jackson.[73] It must, though, be difficult to apportion revivalism's credit for this when other social factors were also at work, such as the increasing Victorian ethos of 'respectability', which would include churchgoing; the change in social class of immigrants from the pioneering whalers, goldminers, soldiers and such of previous decades to farmers, merchants and other more 'bourgeois' groups; the greater proportion of the population who were women; and the simple availability of churches in rural areas where in earlier years there had been none. For all that, revivalistic evangelism and its sister occupation of temperance rallies provided a powerful minority voice in late nineteenth century New Zealand.

MID-TWENTIETH CENTURY HISTORICAL CONTEXT

1959 Billy Graham Crusade

Forty-six years elapsed from the time of the Chapman-Alexander Mission to New Zealand until the next major mass evangelistic event throughout the country, the 1959 Billy Graham Crusade. This middle period of the century saw developments within both the liberal and conservative sections of the New Zealand Christian churches which would influence the reception of both the 1959 crusade and that which followed it ten years later.

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73. The figures are for usual attenders as a proportion of the population aged fifteen or more.

	1874	1878	1881	1886	1891	1896
%	39.4	42.0	41.8	48.3	47.1	46.8

Hugh Jackson, 'Churchgoing in Nineteenth-Century New Zealand', *New Zealand Journal of History*, 17 (1983), 51.

During these decades, a substantial amount of revivalistic evangelism was undertaken by all manner of individuals, organisations and denominations.[74] In addition to that proceeding under usual evangelical auspices, simply offering salvation to converts, the fledgling Pentecostal movement added a small-scale but dramatic leavening of advocates of additional spiritual gifts.[75]

Overseas, these times saw not only world wars, but also theological conflicts between liberal and conservative Christians. The fights raged most fiercely in the United States, where denominational control was often at stake. Some of their events and results affected the formative years and ministry of Billy Graham.[76] However, New Zealand provided few major fundamentalist-modernist controversies to rival such events as the Scopes trial, nor did the major denominations within New Zealand fragment as did their American counterparts in the bitter conservative-liberal battles for denominational control.

Echoes of the foreign buglers' calls to ecclesiastical battle did resound in the South Pacific, though, and there were several attempts to raise the fundamentalist flag in the country. Within Presbyterianism, Revs P.B. Fraser and A.A. Murray fought numerous such actions, but they and their supporters were largely sidelined by the denominational hierarchy and achieved little.[77] Murray was the only notable example of a fully separatist fundamentalist, but his creation, the United Evangelical Church, never attracted more than a

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74. See e.g. Douglas E. Ireton, 'O Lord How Long? A Revival Movement in New Zealand 1920-1933' (unpublished M.A. thesis, Massey University, 1985); J. Edwin Orr, *All Your Need: 10,000 Miles of Miracle through Australia and New Zealand* (London, 1936).
75. See below, 107.
76. See below, 241.
77. See Allan K. Davidson, 'A Protesting Presbyterian: The Reverend P.B. Fraser and New Zealand Presbyterianism, 1892-1940', *Journal of Religious History*, 14 (1986), 193-217; Ireton, 'O Lord How Long?'

few hundred members and wielded little influence, partly because his major campaign was based on the secondary issue of infant baptism.

The most influential New Zealand fundamentalist was a Baptist, Rev. Joseph W. Kemp.[78] Arriving in 1920 as pastor of the prestigious Auckland Tabernacle, he brought first-hand experience of American fundamentalism and promptly proceeded both to attempt to fight its battles in New Zealand and to establish an institutional focus for the movement. Beginning within a year, he sponsored a 'Conference on Christian Fundamentals' and founded the New Zealand Bible Training Institute as an instructional centre for teaching fundamentalist tenets. 1923 saw the first publication of the *Reaper*, a journal to provide nationwide dissemination of his views, and a year later he promoted the establishment of the first of the Ngaruawahia Easter conventions, directly modelled on the British Keswick meetings.

Although the N.Z.B.T.I., *Reaper* and Ngaruawahia conventions have endured and have undoubtedly had a substantial impact on New Zealand church life, Kemp's fundamentalist proselytising lacked the large-scale, dramatic and divisive impact of his American mentors. The New Zealand movement relied on a handful of prominent individuals, nearly all in Auckland, of whom Kemp was the focus. When he died in 1933, several of the others had previously departed and impetus was already being lost.[79]

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78. Geoffrey R. Pound, 'Rev. Joseph William Kemp and the Auckland Baptist Tabernacle, 1920-1933', (unpublished M.A. research essay, University of Auckland, 1978); Jane Mary Ramsay Simpson, 'Joseph W. Kemp and the Impact of American Fundamentalism in New Zealand', (unpublished B.A.(Hons) directed study, University of Waikato, 1987); idem, 'Joseph W. Kemp: Prime Interpreter of American Fundamentalism in New Zealand in the 1920s', in Pratt, ed., '*Rescue the Perishing*', 23-42.
79. Ireton, 'O Lord How Long?', ch. 2. The figure from this group best known internationally was the Rev. Lionel Fletcher, who for some years occupied the pulpit of Beresford Street Congregational Church in Auckland. He moved from there into a wide-ranging evangelistic ministry and became known as the 'Empire

Footnote 79 continued on next page

The movement itself was generally irenic in tone, Kemp, Murray and Fraser being among the few dedicated controversialists. But Kemp and Fraser were both strong denominationalists, Kemp even becoming President of the New Zealand Baptist Union in 1929, and no real separatist group emerged. Fraser 'became a self-appointed watchdog of theological error within the Church',[80] and this very commitment to protecting the denomination prevented his separating from it. The N.Z.B.T.I., although dominated by Baptists and Brethren, was always interdenominational in its recruitment of both staff and students. Although its constituency might have been potentially doctrinally pugnacious, the institution by its very nature thus required and obliged a degree of mutual tolerance. The Ngaruawahia conventions, too, adopted the Keswick attitude and its motto, 'All one in Christ Jesus', the emphasis being squarely on individual piety rather than on disputation over theological niceties.

Even within New Zealand's more conservative denominations there seemed little inclination to militant fundamentalism. The nineteenth century had seen scant opposition to Darwinism, most leading scientists remaining orthodox Christians and most leading churchmen happy to reconcile science and religious belief.[81] This attitude remained through the twentieth century. Jane Simpson notes that far from identifying with their American co-religionists, at the time of the Scopes trial most New Zealand conservative Christians simply could not comprehend it. She quotes Baptist leader, Dr J.J. North, as seeing the fundamentalist drive for religious censorship as 'leading

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Footnote 79 continued from previous page
Evangelist'. Charles W. Malcolm, *Twelve Hours in the Day: The Life and Work of the Rev. Lionel Fletcher, D.D.* (London, 1956); Lionel B. Fletcher, *The Effective Evangelist* (London, n.d.).

80. Davidson, 'Protesting Presbyterian', 203.

81. John Stenhouse, '"The Wretched Gorilla Damnification of Humanity": The "Battle" between Science and Religion over

Footnote 81 continued on next page

dangerously towards a medieval tyranny', and he 'wondered how the Americans could have gone through [the trial] with a straight face'.[82] Further, even within the Baptist denomination, Kemp's proscriptions regarding religious beliefs and moral practices were seen as 'Brethrenistic', in Baptist circles a pejorative term meaning 'any narrow view of the gospel, or a lot of taboos and things that they felt were extreme.... And while some ministers agreed with some of those things it wasn't general among the Baptists to agree with all the Brethren taboos'.[83] Any, therefore, who did hew to a separatist fundamentalist line were in a very small minority and lacking influential leadership.[84]

These institutions and attitudes put in place by the conservative evangelical group in the 1920s and 1930s continued to dominate the middle ground in New Zealand churches and to represent the large majority of ordinary churchgoers in most denominations through the middle of the century. The N.Z.B.T.I. and *Reaper* continued to provide the institutional focus for the movement, and Keswick conventions, especially at Ngaruawahia and Pounawea, but also at Motukarara, Amberley and Rotorua, continued to foster individual piety.

The Keswick spirit was perpetuated in mid-century in the evangelism carried out increasingly by the newly-formed parachurch agencies such as Open Air Campaigners or the youth and university movements associated with Scripture Union and the Bible Class movement. These groups were not responsible to any denominational or

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Footnote 81 continued from previous page
Evolution in Nineteenth-Century New Zealand', *New Zealand Journal of History*, 18 (1984), 143-162.

82. J.J. North in *New Zealand Baptist*, 41, 450 (August 1925), 199. Quoted in Simpson, 'Kemp', 68 and 90, n. 155.
83. Rev. J. Ayson Clifford, interview, 15 May 1986. Quoted in Simpson, 'Kemp', 80, n. 44.
84. See below, Chapters Five and Six.

ecclesiastical authority and operated independently of the churches. They were also interdenominational and placed their emphasis on the traditional evangelical and revivalist requirements for individuals to accept Christ as their 'personal Saviour'.[85] Although a state of virtual 'cold war' sometimes existed, seldom was there any direct antagonism or polemic against more liberal organisations, such as the Student Christian Movement. The concentration was on an individual's relationship with God, nurtured rather by communion with like-minded believers than by critical theological reflection. Indeed, one historian has suggested that through this period, 'to be an evangelical was less a matter of theology than of participation in the various interdenominational organisations'.[86]

The impression created of this period is of insularity, perhaps complacency, within the evangelical groupings in New Zealand. One sees an increasing number of extra-denominational organisations, usually evangelistic in intent, but all appealing largely to the same constituency. Few writings appeared to grapple with theological complexities or to react to the major overseas changes in 'liberalism', where particularly Karl Barth's neo-orthodox theology and Rudolf Bultmann's application of existentialist philosophy to biblical study had replaced self-confident, history-based nineteenth century liberalism.[87] The literature which appeared in publications like the *Reaper* and on the shelves of most Christian bookshops remained and remains theologically lightweight, popular in tone and

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85. Peter J. Lineham, 'Finding a Space for Evangelicalism: Evangelical Youth Movements in New Zealand', in *Voluntary Religion, Studies in Church History, Vol.23*, edited by W.J. Shiels and Diana Wood (Oxford, 1986), 477-494; idem, *No Ordinary Union* (Wellington, 1980).
86. Lineham, 'Space', 487.
87. See, for example, Justo L. Gonzalez, *A History of Christian Thought, vol. 3, From the Protestant Reformation to the Twentieth Century* (Nashville, 1975); William C. Placher, *A History of*

Footnote 87 continued on next page

irenic in approach, concentrating on personal testimony and devotional material, again fully in keeping with British and Keswick backgrounds.

It may be asked whether, by mid-century, the New Zealand population at large were actually concerned at all with the weightier matters of religion. Grant Wacker has observed that in the United States 'the 1920s and 1930s were a watershed. The average person did not disavow the Bible so much as simply abandon it'.[88] He also quotes Richard H. Pell's assertion that, during this time, for Americans religion changed 'from a set of beliefs to a social occasion'.[89]

For New Zealand, there may have been a similar change. Michael E. Papesch has documented the acute contemporary awareness of falling church attendances, especially in rural areas.[90] Here, some of the change is more temporary and apparent than real, for the depression had an adverse effect which was reversed somewhat in the more prosperous later 1930s. Also, communicant/membership roles remained reasonably stable, suggesting it was more the nominal attenders who ceased to support institutional Christianity, while the truly faithful remained committed.

After the Second World War, however, the downward trend seemed to have been reversed. Numerically, the churches in New Zealand were buoyant in the 1950s, virtually all growing quite rapidly.[91] The

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Footnote 87 continued from previous page
Christian Theology: An Introduction (Philadelphia, 1983), chs 17 and 18.

88. Grant Wacker, 'The Demise of Biblical Civilization', in *The Bible in America*, edited by Nathan Hatch and Mark Noll, (New York and Oxford, 1982), 122.
89. Ibid.
90. Michael E. Papesch, 'Church Attendance in New Zealand 1919-1939' (unpublished B.A.(Hons) research exercise, Massey University, 1983).
91. David Hilliard described a similar flourishing in Australian churches, Protestant and Catholic, which led in the late 1950s to a 'religious optimism' culminating in the 1959 Billy Graham

Footnote 91 continued on next page

Presbyterians, for example, increased their attendance at public worship by nearly 16% and their communicant membership by 19% between 1955 and 1959.[92] In the *Outlook*, columnist 'JEH' reviewed trends apparent from the 1951 and 1956 censuses and found it a cause for satisfaction that all major denominations were increasing, and especially that the Presbyterians' growth rate was second only to the Roman Catholics'.[93] He or she considered that philosophical objections to Christianity were actually lessening as the proportion of atheists, rationalists and freethinkers dropped, but believed that there was more apathy towards matters religious generally as 10% of the population claimed to have no religion.[94]

It is hard, though, to say exactly why those remaining loyal or newly joining actually did so. Social rather than religious considerations may have weighed heavily. Sociologist Hans Mol claimed that certainly by the 1960s, 'the actual religion of New Zealanders... has increasingly less to do with the professed religion of the churches.... [and that] Many churchgoers continue their churchgoing habits because they feel under an obligation or because religion in some way decorates life for them.'[95] Although his studies indicate that the large majority of New Zealanders continued to attend church at least annually for some reason, ever fewer did frequently. For most, during the mid-twentieth century, religion seems to have taken on the role of a life-decorating, social occasion. W.H. Oliver's intuitions about public attitudes in the mid-1960s bear this out: 'It

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Footnote 91 continued from previous page
crusade. 'Popular Religion in Australia in the 1950s: A Study of Adelaide and Brisbane', *Journal of Religious History*, 15 (1988), 219-235.

92. See Appendix.
93. *Outlook*, 65, 27 (31 December 1958), 15.
94. Ibid.
95. Hans Mol, 'Religion in New Zealand', *Archives de Sociologie des Religions*, 24 (1967), 131.

is still, I think, a shade adventurous *not* to have one's children christened; it is certainly a shade slummy *not* to be married in a church; and a shade sinister *not* to be buried with the assistance of a minister.'[96]

The situation in which the Billy Graham crusade was mounted in 1959 was, therefore, generally perceived as a very positive one and auspicious of success. However, that confidence and self-satisfaction was largely based on the quantitative appearance of ecclesiastical wellbeing, an illusion which the events of the following decade would dispel rapidly.

The 1969 Billy Graham Crusade

A leading American historian of religion categorised the period from 1960 to 1975 as 'the Traumatic Years'.[97] He noted the great upheavals which took place in the United States with the assassinations of the Kennedys and Martin Luther King, the burgeoning civil rights and feminist movements, and the confusion and disillusionment resulting from Watergate and the Vietnam War. Religiously, the period saw the Catholic Second Vatican Council,[98] 'death of God' theology,[99] 'Jesus freaks'[100] and Pentecostalism.[101] Simultaneously, many attacks were made on traditional Christianity from outside, from the protest movement, the new sects and cults, many

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96. W.H. Oliver, 'Christianity among the New Zealanders', *Landfall*, 20 (1966), 5.
97. Sidney E. Ahlstrom, 'The Traumatic Years: American Religion and Culture in the '60s and '70s', *Theology Today*, 36 (1980), 504-522.
98. A major reforming council of the Roman Catholic Church, Vatican II ran from 1962 to 1965 and provided the first official support to many sweeping changes to theology and practices enshrined in Catholicism since the sixteenth-century Council of Trent.
99. See below, 97.
100. This was a Christian youth movement growing out of, and

Footnote 100 continued on next page

Eastern-influenced and black 'Islamic' groups and from an increasingly secularised, anti-authoritarian population at large.

New Zealand did not experience quite the trauma the Americans suffered during this period, but there were significant echoes of these upheavals. In the 1950s, New Zealand life had often seemed economically prosperous, but socially inert.[102] The 'Holyoake Years', beginning in 1960, seemed to promise more of the same. Yet Vietnam involvement divided New Zealand society, too, and hippies were to be seen not only in San Francisco, but also in Wellington. The increasing displacement of Britain by the United States as a major cultural influence was assisted by the introduction in the early 1960s of television. The world and its problems demanded attention right in living rooms formerly insulated from such disturbances by the long leagues of the Pacific.

There were religious parallels to these changes. The snowballing effects of the postwar alteration of New Zealand's theological

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Footnote 100 continued from previous page
combining many of the characteristics of, the Hippie and anti-war protest movements of the 1960s and early 1970s. Often dressing and behaving little differently from their secular equivalents, they, however, claimed to gain their good experiences from their personal relationships with Jesus, rather than from other stimulants such as drugs. Frequently, they brought 'anti-Establishment' inclinations into the movement with them. Their attempts to exclude all authority but Jesus and the Bible lead often to conflict with and withdrawal from traditional church structures and the formation of their own communal groups. The phenomenon seldom outlived its secular counterparts and faded rapidly, its members either joining the established churches, strengthening the newly-blossoming Pentecostal movement, or leaving Christianity entirely in boredom or disillusionment. See C.E. Jones, 'Jesus People', in *Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements*, edited by Stanley M. Burgess, Gary B. McGee and Patrick H. Alexander (Grand Rapids, 1988), 491-493.

101. See below, 107.

102. See Laurie Barber, *New Zealand: A Short History* (Auckland, 1989), 161-243; *The Oxford History of New Zealand*, edited by W.H. Oliver with B.R. Williams (Oxford and Wellington, 1981), Part IV; Keith Sinclair, *A History of New Zealand*, fourth edition (Harmondsworth, 1988), and other social histories e.g.

Footnote 102 continued on next page

balance, within evangelical groups at least, from a British Keswick to an American evangelical/fundamentalist orientation and the associated inroads made by Pentecostalism, were underscored by a Baptist pastor ministering throughout the period.

> I think traditionally... the evangelical group in New Zealand have been affected mainly by British evangelicals, which includes Keswick. I think, for good or bad, it's swapped. Now, we're mainly influenced by middle-of-the-road American, which is about equal to evangelical British.... I think the great emphasis that affected New Zealand in the early ones [years] was the Keswick message, but then the Keswick got swallowed up by liberalism or ecumenical [sic], and we lost the warmth of the Keswick. And it was in the vacuum of the Keswick going out that the charismatic came in.[103]

But in the 1960s the many disruptive and 'Establishment'-questioning trends of overseas found their echoes in New Zealand also. The Christian churches were not immune to this and suffered declines in both morale and attendance/membership throughout this period.

Among the challenges to authority were those to traditional religious beliefs and practices. In most denominations, adherence levels plateaued, then began to fall.[104] Some of the problems were theological disputes internal to the churches, for example, the widespread popularisation of the 'Death of God' theology. The best-known of such works was *Honest to God*, by John A.T. Robinson, Anglican bishop of Woolwich.[105] He brought to public attention the ideas gaining ground amongst academic theologians, especially those of Paul Tillich, Dietrich Bonhoeffer and Rudolf Bultmann. In introducing to many such terminology as 'religionless Christianity' and 'demythologisation' of the Bible, and describing God as 'ground

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Footnote 102 continued from previous page
Sally Kathryn Parker, 'Waikato Farm Women in the 1950s: A Social History Perspective', (unpublished M.Phil. thesis, University of Waikato, 1988).

103. Rev. H. Nees, interview, 20 March 1986.

104. See Appendix.

105. (London, 1963). So-called death of God theology became wellknown as a catchphrase during the 1960s and represented a

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of our being' (not a person 'out there'), Robinson was advocating the abandonment in large part of traditional Christian forms and thought patterns. Though for him it was a 'reluctant revolution', yet it remained a revolutionary, even heretical, approach for most Christians and many throughout the world felt either led or driven by it out of existing churches and visible Christianity. Others, perhaps already moving, may have found in it a convenient justification for their falling away as yet one more pillar of the 'Establishment' seemed to be thrown down. A New Zealand Baptist leader observed, 'The fifties were a period of growth and optimism, the sixties... tended to be a period of confusion and doubt'.[106]

The focus of theological crisis within New Zealand was the 1967 trial for heresy by the Presbyterian Church of Rev. Professor Lloyd Geering.[107] He was an Old Testament scholar and Principal of Knox College, the denomination's ministerial training centre, and was thus vulnerable not only to criticism of his personal beliefs, but also to suspicion of subverting the future leadership of the church. Much of the debate centred on the nature of Christ's resurrection - did it take place corporeally or was it rather a first-century symbol of the greater Christian hope? It moved on to the question of the immortality of the human soul and the nature of 'eternal life', topics which attracted great interest in the news media and

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shift away from the concept of God as in any meaningful way a personal being. How God should then be regarded was debated, whether he/it remained some form of transcendent being or force or whether he is totally immanent and exists purely as a positive human attitude to the material world. Colin Brown, 'Death of God School', in *The New International Dictionary of the Christian Church*, edited by J.D. Douglas, revised edition (Grand Rapids, 1978), 287-288.

106. Rev. J.A. Clifford, interview, 18 May 1988.

107. James Veitch, *A Church in Mid-Life Crisis: The Debate of 1966-70* (Dunedin, 1984); idem., 'A Controversy Revisited: 1966-1970 and All That!', *Forum*, 37, 3 (April 1984), 3-8;

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throughout society at large. The two sides clearly used the same religious terminology in different ways, the accusers giving key terms the theological freight of evangelical orthodoxy, while the defendant operated within a twentieth-century existentialist frame of reference. Both sides' central concern was to relate the Christian gospel to the needs of modern secular society, especially in light of the perceptible decline in church attendance and membership. Geering believed this could only be achieved through radical redefinition of many key concepts and the jettisoning of those which had been created and were bound by first-century worldviews. His opponents felt that the traditional message was the heart of truly biblical Christianity and only by a more dynamic presentation of that message would people be won to a genuinely Christian faith. These critics, too, suspected that the general malaise afflicting the Church could be traced, in part at least, to a clergy weakened in its outreach by having been exposed to the likes of Geering's views during their formative training years.

Finally, the 1967 Presbyterian General Assembly acquitted Geering of the heresy charges, leading many conservatives to question and even to withdraw from continued support for the denomination. The situation remained ultimately unresolved, even after Geering moved to the Victoria University of Wellington as Professor of Religious Studies. The attempt at compromise clearly failed to achieve more than an artificial appearance of consensus. Over the next two years, the Presbyterian Assembly moved to dissociate itself from Geering's views. Thus a *de facto* decision

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Footnote 107 continued from previous page
idem., 'Heresy and Freedom', in *Religion in New Zealand*, edited by Christopher Nicol and James Veitch, second edition (Wellington, 1983), 187-227; idem., 'Lloyd Geering and the Great Debate: A Watershed in New Zealand Religious History', in *Religions and Change* (Wellington, 1983), 568-593.

was made to maintain that apparent unity, but at the cost of stifling further theological exploration.[108]

As noted above, Geering's ideas were not new and in an international context were hardly on the leading edge of radical theology. Yet they appeared to be dramatically so within insular New Zealand churches. 'What is radical for us in a small country and in a small church is not necessarily radical in another country and in another church.'[109] Another scholar castigated the Presbyterian clergy, of all Protestant denominations the most highly educated, for not keeping abreast of modern theology themselves and then failing to mediate advances to their congregations.[110]

Other denominations, lacking so strong an academic clerical tradition, were not forced to confront so directly the challenges of modern theology. But similar divisions did exist in them, as did problems of attenders opting out of formal Christian religious observance.

> I think the Anglican Church was probably relieved not to be in the spotlight for once.... With our service... when you're saying the creed, 'I believe in the resurrection', it

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108. Veitch's study of these events suggested to him that there was more than simply theological issues at stake; jockeying for ecclesiastical power was also taking place between liberals, conservatives and perhaps others:
'What I think happened in 1966-1967, [sic] was a major realignment of the relative strength of theological strands within the Presbyterian Church. The real issue became *not* 'can (and how can) we interpret the Christian message to the non churchgoer in the language and thought-forms of our secular technological world' - Lloyd Geering's original question - *but* 'how can we redistribute power and leadership within a church where the theological strands are now more equal.' In 1970, the Assembly declared that Lloyd had gone too far. Such a decision was possible because redistribution of power and influence within leadership had already taken place.' Veitch, 'Controversy', 6.
109. Veitch, *Mid-Life Crisis*, 9.
110. 'Too many ministers had not kept up their reading, they showed serious gaps in their understanding of the Bible which never identified unity with an absence of boat-rocking.... Nor had there been regular communication of the trends of scholarship from either a critical or appreciative viewpoint. The pews

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> kind of tends to keep people within a mainline of belief. But certainly there were plenty of folk who would want to follow a Geering-type line.... The nominals who were going out in any case were just now not coming.... I think that they gradually learned to say, 'The scientific emphasis is right', and therefore there was a steady decline in the number of nominals coming to services.[111]

Anglicanism, too, had dissensions peculiar to itself which the Geering debate complicated. This was a crucial period in the ecumenical negotiations over church union and the prospect of being united with a denomination which tolerated Geering did not please many Anglicans. This issue gave those who opposed the union a great deal of ammunition and was, in part at least, responsible for the failure of the negotiations.[112]

James Veitch delineated the Geering debate as 'the watershed in New Zealand religious history'.[113] No longer could the New Zealand churches fudge issues of secularisation and pluralism and continue unthinkingly in traditional modes of thought and expression. Though they might not really have come to grips with the issues and consequently became increasingly marginalised within society, yet they now had to choose deliberately so to do. The debate and trial

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lived in a theological vacuum.... If people had been more used to testing prophets, they might have coped better....' Ian Breward, *Grace and Truth* (Dunedin, 1975), 100. Quoted in Veitch, 'Heresy', 221. Veitch himself concurred with that assessment and viewed the problem as remaining unresolved throughout the succeeding decade and a half. 'Theologically we are near to bankruptcy - and that is strange for a church so used to working things through theologically.' Veitch, 'Controversy', 7.

111. Rt Rev. M. Goodall, interview, 19 February 1989.

112. Colin Brown, 'The End of Anglican Innocence? The "Geering Controversy" and Anglicanism', unpublished typescript. Brown noted a second major effect as the ending of Anglican isolation from the developments in modern theology, the implications of which were still being worked out in the denomination.

113. 'Lloyd Geering', 592.

had forced upon them at least the necessity to take such issues into account.

Conclusion

These debates meant that tension had been raised between liberals and conservatives within the New Zealand churches during the 1960s. No longer would there be silent acquiescence on the part of those who challenged the mass evangelist's theology. Neither would conservatives, feeling betrayed by the Presbyterian leadership's seeming inability or unwillingness to confront firmly what they perceived as a heresy, be prepared to let pass unchallenged any further compromise. The churches thus felt, and were seen to be, disunited in the face of the quandaries posed them by the rapidly altering social conditions. The optimism and self-confidence of the 1950s had evaporated and the churches faltered. They were no longer willing to be involved together in a mission which could strengthen one theological faction against another. Therefore, the Billy Graham mission, when it finally took place, had to face the new challenges of society, but lacked the unified backing of the churches to dc it.

1987 HISTORICAL CONTEXT

The New Zealand situation into which Leighton Ford and Luis Palau came in 1987 was in many ways substantially different, in both the Christian churches and in society at large, from that in which

Billy Graham had operated two decades previously. Where Graham had largely been welcomed, and certainly tolerated, in the 1950s, that welcome had worn thinner by his second visit. The two 1987 evangelists faced a country which had moved from even that diminished level of acceptance. Instead, it displayed substantial indifference to matters religious and often open hostility to anyone who espoused religious and moral opinions which would have been paid at least unquestioning lip service a generation earlier.

New Zealand in 1987 reflected many of the trends which had affected Western societies around the world, adding its own local complications. Three such trends are discussed here as examples of these processes which impinged on the mass evangelistic missions. Firstly, the contribution of the country's Christian churches was sometimes sought, or sometimes offered gratuitously, in many of the social debates taking place. Racial, gender, moral and economic discussions all included those claiming to speak with a, sometimes *the*, Christian voice. Many who would never previously have participated openly in political controversy engaged in extensive and often acrimonious exposition of, and action supporting, their views. Secondly, within the churches during the 1970s and 1980s there had often been a similar level of acrimony evident as the household of God indulged in novel internecine feuds. These were over the ongoing questions of ecumenism and the claims to an exceptional depth and power of spirituality made by the Pentecostal churches and their recently awakened sympathisers in the Charismatic Renewal Movement. Thirdly, also based within the churches but again seeking to influence secular thinking, was a revival of the creation-evolution debate in education.

In the 1970s and early 1980s, much of the visible polarisation between the inhabitants of New Zealand related to social problems. Racial issues assumed prominence with a Maori cultural renaissance and increasingly vocal demands for land and cultural rights, focussing on those claimed under the Treaty of Waitangi. Women's concerns were brought to male attention by the feminist movement. Specific topics, such as the individual's rights to play sport against South Africa or for women to undergo an abortion, caused widespread division within the community. Such tensions were exacerbated by the effects of both a general decline in national prosperity during the 1980s and of a huge dislocation and disorientation of many from 1984 as the fourth Labour Government introduced sweeping 'restructuring' of the state sector and a new ethos of free-market capitalism, resulting in almost unprecedented levels of unemployment.[114]

As part of the social polarisation, new groups and associations formed to articulate conservative views on many of these issues. As many of these claimed a basis in Christianity and had links with organisations founded for similar purposes in the United States, they came to be regarded as the 'moral right' by analogy with the American organisation, the Moral Majority.[115]

There were many of these groups, each usually devoting its energies to dealing with a specific topic. For example, the Society for the Protection of the Unborn Child concerned itself with abortion, the Concerned Parents' Association with education, the Society for the Promotion of Community Standards largely with pornography and censorship, and the New Zealand Organisation of

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114. Barber, *New Zealand*, 175-243.
115. Convenient summaries of their growth and activity may be found in Bruce Jesson, Allanah Ryan and Paul Spoonley, *Revival of*

Footnote 115 continued on next page

Moral Education (formerly the Council of Moral Education) with sex education.[116] But, although each had a particular focus, from the late 1970s these groups began to coalesce into a recognisable movement, often sharing both activists and rhetoric. To a large extent, their flourishing paralleled and mutually benefitted the also newly visible form of Christian fundamentalism of the Pentecostal and Charismatic movements, which brought the social debates into the churches and provided many of them with spokespeople who were not reticent about claiming Christian principles and biblical authority for their public pronouncements.[117]

The 'moral right' movement became more unified in the 1980s, moving from fragmented groups dealing exclusively with single issues to larger organisations and broader concerns. A major policy statement was created when, in 1980, a conference produced a document entitled 'The Family Charter' setting out the principles they believed central for 'sound family life' and called on the

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Footnote 115 continued from previous page
the Right: New Zealand Politics in the 1980s (Auckland, 1988), esp. ch. 4, Allanah Ryan, 'Remoralising Politics'; and in Allanah Ryan, '"For God, Country, and Family": Populist Moralism and the New Zealand Moral Right', *New Zealand Sociology*, 1 (1986), 104-112.

116. Ryan defined the 'moral right' as a subdivision of the 'new right' which has promoted conservative interests in political, economic and educational areas as well as in moral and sexual matters. Again, this paralleled American developments where 'The new right is not a monolithic organisation, but a loose grouping of political single-issue, and religious organisations with somewhat divergent interests. In recent years... these groups were able to forge a fairly high level of unity, which focussed in part on reproductive, sexual and "family" issues.' M. Power, 'Falling through the "Safety Net": Women, Economic Crisis and Reagonomics [sic]', *Feminist Studies*, 10, 1 (1984), 84. Quoted in Ryan, 'For God, Country, and Family', 105.

117. For example, in the Coalition of Concerned Citizens, Barry Reed, the press officer, pastored an independent church, and others of its leaders had high profiles as Christians: Bill Subritzky was an Anglican charismatic lay evangelist, Owen

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Government to support these against the claims of the Working Women's Charter, a document to improve the lot of women and sponsored by the United Nations Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women.[118] The Family Charter based its principles on two fundamental principles: 'The family, defined as the legally married husband and wife, and children (if any) is the fundamental unit of society', and 'Marriage is instituted primarily by God, not by the State or society. It must therefore comply with His laws.'[119] From these bases, it derived statements on other issues from sexuality and divorce to housing and finance.

The second major issue over which the bulk of these groups united was opposition, in 1985, to the Homosexual Law Reform Bill then before Parliament. A new umbrella group was formed, the Coalition of Concerned Citizens, which supervised the collection of an 800,000-signature petition and much political lobbying attempting, unsuccessfully, to halt the bill.[120] Again, the leadership, although claiming to speak for the large silent majority of New Zealanders (who did not necessarily have direct church connections), gave their 'concern' a specifically Christian cast, often citing the Bible and God as providing social insight and moral authority for the campaign. Although the furore was past its peak

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Footnote 117 continued from previous page
Wagener pastored the Living Word Church and the Rev. Richard Flinn an Auckland Reformed Church, Sir Keith Hay was a Presbyterian layman, and their main publicity, the magazines *Coalition Courier* and *Issacharian Report* were published and distributed by the conservative Christian paper, *Challenge*. One writer opined that such a group claimed the title 'Christian' as 'its personal property'. Bruce Ansley, 'The Growing Might of the Moral Right', *Listener*, 111, 2384 (26 October 1985), 16-18.

118. Both charters are reproduced in Ryan, 'Remoralising Politics', 60-63.

119. Ibid., 60-61.

120. Much magazine and newspaper copy was generated by these and other campaigns. In addition to those mentioned above, see,

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by the arrival of the evangelists in 1987, it was unclear at that time whether this lull signalled the movement was spent or whether breath was being drawn for a renewed offensive on this or another issue, which the evangelistic missions would spearhead.

During the 1970s and 1980s, polarisation over various internal issues had also afflicted many of the country's Christian churches. Especially, differing theological positions, often between liberals and conservatives, seemed more clearly drawn in 1987 than they had been at the time of Graham's crusades. A key reason for this was the burgeoning within the country of an active, highly-visible, Pentecostal movement, and its (sometimes) more moderate counterpart, the Charismatic Renewal movement.

Pentecostalism, developing from humble beginnings in the United States in the early twentieth century, sought to return to everyday Christian theology and experience the miraculous spiritual manifestations apparently present in the New Testament Church. The spiritual gifts of speaking in tongues (Greek: *glossolalia*) and faith healing were assumed to be normal and normative for Christians who were not merely 'born again' in classical evangelical terms, but also 'baptised in the Spirit', a subsequent spiritual event at which

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for example, in the secular press: Fran Pardon, 'The Moral Minority: Auckland's Right-Wing Christians are on the March', *Auckland Metro*, 11 (May 1982), 90-100. On the petition: Selwyn Dawson, 'God's Bullies', *Auckland Metro*, 5, 51 (September 1985), 170-176; Richard Gordon, 'Fear and Loathing and the Moral Majority: God's Carpenters, American Moral Tourists, Prayer, Politics and the Petition', *Auckland Metro*, 5, 54 (December 1985), 121-141. On subsequent political activism by these groups: David McLoughlin, '"Moral Right" Eyes Other Battlefronts', *New Zealand Herald*, 23 September 1985, 20; idem., 'God's Own Vote-Gatherers', *Sunday Star*, 4 May 1986, A12; idem., 'Onward, Christian Activists', *Auckland Star*, 6 May 1986, B1; Brian Rudman, 'For God and National', *Listener*, 115, 2457 (28 March 1987), 28-29; Stephen Stratford, 'Christians Awake! Join the National Party, Save New Zealand', *Auckland Metro*, 6, 65 (November 1986), 124-137.

the Holy Spirit conferred these dramatic gifts.[121] The Pentecostal emphasis proved highly divisive, from liberals who opposed its supernaturalism and from evangelicals who rejected its preference for experience over biblical revelation. Consequently, Pentecostals soon formed their own churches and denominations, remaining for the first two-thirds of the twentieth century on the fringes of Western religious life. The Charismatic movement is the adoption of these spiritual gifts (Greek: *charismata*) by people remaining within and attempting to supplement their traditional denominations.[122] Although typically more irenic and less dogmatic than classical Pentecostalism, the movement forced attention to be paid to Pentecostal theology, biblical hermeneutics and worship styles. Many individual churches and denominations were torn asunder in the subsequent furore.

Early Pentecostal development in New Zealand centred on the tour through the country of British healer-evangelist Smith Wigglesworth in 1922 to 1924.[123] The Assemblies of God and Apostolic denominations grew from his visit, to be followed later by others such as the Elim churches. Controversy surrounded the extravagant

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121. The name Pentecostalism is derived from the Day of Pentecost, the Jewish festival on which these gifts were first manifested in the early Church (Acts 2). W. Hollenweger, *The Pentecostals* (London, 1972), provides the classic international study of the movement. Donald W. Dayton, *Theological Roots of Pentecostalism* (Grand Rapids, 1987), details formative connections with the nineteenth-century Holiness, Keswick and Dispensationalist movements. Other studies abound, frequently springing from the extended polemic between Pentecostals and their opponents.
122. The book which brought this to popular attention was *Nine O'Clock in the Morning* (Plainfields, 1970) by Dennis J. Bennett, an American Episcopalian priest who became an early leader of the movement. Academia was alerted in 1959 by Henry van Dusen, a distinguished American theologian, claiming Pentecostalism was a 'Third Force' in Christianity with Catholicism and Protestantism.
123. Douglas E. Ireton, 'A Time to Heal: The Appeal of Smith Wigglesworth in New Zealand 1922-24', (unpublished B.A.(Hons)

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healing ministry in Auckland of A.H. Dallimore, drawing condemnation from the local clergy and medical profession.[124] These Pentecostal denominations insisted on the 'baptism in/of the Holy Spirit' as a second blessing available to every believer, and on the practice of glossolalia as the necessary and only sufficient evidence of when such a 'baptism' has taken place.[125]

The Charismatic movement took hold in New Zealand in the mid-1960s, was assisted by the visits of American faith healer Oral Roberts (1965) and Dennis Bennett, and within a decade had a major impact on all denominations.[126] Most fierce was the reaction from conservative evangelicals, with whom the Pentecostals and Charismatics actually shared many emphases of doctrine and praxis. Evangelicals would not accept the replacement of the Bible as the key Christian authority by a certain type of experience which assumed a *de facto* primacy as doctrine was adapted and scripture reinterpreted to explain and bolster it. Neither would they tolerate the apparent arrogance of those who held that converted Christians were somehow second-rate if they lacked the redefined 'baptism in the Spirit' and the ability to exercise a narrowly

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Footnote 123 continued from previous page
research essay, Massey University, 1984). The standard, though erratic, survey history of Pentecostalism in New Zealand is James E. Worsfold, *A History of the Charismatic Movements in New Zealand* (Bradford, 1974).

124. Worsfold, *History*, 224-236.

125. See doctrinal statements quoted in ibid., 193 (Elim), 201 (Assemblies of God), 241 (Apostolic). Most other Christians have taken biblical verses like I Corinthians 12.13, 'For we were all baptized by one Spirit into one body....', as equating such an event with conversion, not a distinct subsequent experience. They have also pointed out that even Pentecostalism's *locus classicus*, I Corinthians 12, was written to make the express point that no spiritual gift, including glossolalia, is made available by the Holy Spirit to everyone.

126. Colin Brown, 'How Significant is the Charismatic Movement?', in *Religion in New Zealand Society*, edited by Brian Colless and Peter Donovan, second edition (Palmerston North, 1985), 99-118.

circumscribed set of spiritual gifts.[127] Ultimately, an uneasy truce prevailed in many churches, but some of the charismatic emphases in worship at least percolated slowly through into more traditional churches. In particular, their casual, guitar-accompanied short songs and choruses appealed to many wishing to move away from the formality and difficulty of hymns composed largely in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Apart from the theological disputes, what the new groups did provide socially and intellectually in New Zealand Christianity was a vocal expression of 'clear-cut conservatism on theological and moral issues' and an unequivocal authority and certainty in changing and uncertain times.[128]

Apart from Pentecostalism, but associated with it and also indicative of the higher public profile, and perhaps growth, of a fundamentalistic spirit in New Zealand from the 1960s, was the revival of the creation-evolution issue. This had subsided by the late nineteenth century and, apart from a brief flare-up in the late 1940s, remained largely invisible until the rise to international prominence in the 1970s of American fundamentalism.[129] A side-effect of this rise was the spawning of a movement dedicated to 'scientific creationism'. This movement purports to use truly scientific methods to demonstrate the fallacy of evolutionary theory, the validity of a 'young earth' and the inerrancy of

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127. See especially Peter J. Lineham, 'Tongues Must Cease: The Brethren and the Charismatic Movement in New Zealand', *Christian Brethren Research Journal*, 34 (November 1983), 7-52. Seldom have Pentecostals or Charismatics paid attention to the range of spiritual gifts mentioned throughout the New Testament, but have focussed instead almost exclusively on the nine mentioned in I Corinthians 12.
128. Brown, 'Charismatic Movement', 110, 112.
129. Margaret Carol Scott, 'The Resurgence of Creationism and Its Implications for New Zealand' (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Auckland, 1987), ch.6. For early debate, see

Footnote 129 continued on next page

literalistic interpretation of Genesis 1.[130] A number of creationist leaders visited New Zealand from 1973. These visits led to active promotion of such views, their acceptance by perhaps 5% of the population and their being taught in the growing number of fundamentalist Christian schools.[131] That the New Zealand movement could still be classed with the classic American Fundamentalism George Marsden delineated was shown in the Baconian-style, thoroughly empiricist understanding of 'true' science still espoused even by those amongst them with scientific expertise.[132] Such beliefs, of course, conflicted with popular and professional scientific understanding amongst most other Christians and in the education system and society at large. They could be dismissed in principle as obscurantist, but became of concern to many in the wider community as they began to feature in children's schooling.

There were, then, the divisive effects of these controversies operating within the churches and between many Christians and the

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John Stenhouse, '"The Wretched Gorilla Damnification of Humanity": The "Battle" between Science and Religion over Evolution in Nineteenth-Century New Zealand', *New Zealand Journal of History*, 18 (1984), 143-162; idem., 'The "Battle" between Science and Religion over Evolution in New Zealand in the Nineteenth Century' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Massey University, 1985).

130. Particularly in America it has many academically-credentialled supporters and leaders who publish and travel worldwide to lecture and debate. For a summary and refutation of the movement, see Willard Young, *Fallacies of Creationism* (Calgary, 1985). There are many other American studies, e.g. George M. Marsden, 'Creation versus Evolution: No Middle Way', *Nature*, 305 (13 October 1983), 571-574; Ronald L. Numbers, 'The Creationists', *Zygon*, 22 (1987), 133-164.

131. Scott, 'Creationism', 110-120, esp. 115. Unfortunately for our present purposes, Scott's thesis seeks to establish not the extent of such opinions in New Zealand society or churches, but gives only data regarding the teaching of creationism in Auckland state secondary schools.

132. 'We just look at the scientific facts. We teach our students that the only real facts in science are the actual observations. We can't actually observe the past, so it is debatable whether science really is a tool which can observe

Footnote 132 continued on next page

society around them. The Mission to Christchurch chairman, the Rt Rev. Maurice Goodall, subsequently identified three further trends in church-society relations which had affected the mainline churches' ability to generate the cooperative enthusiasm essential to major mass evangelistic effort: lack of common moral standards, the alienation from the churches of their young adults, and a general reactionary opposition to the many novel situations experiences in those churches during this period.

> At that time [1959], there were accepted moral standards and right across the community you could know they were accepted, even though they may not be kept. But I think that by '69 that was beginning to break down and the process has gone on and gathered momentum.... During the '70s, the mainline churches lost the group from 15-16 through to 30, even 40. And I think this is one of the differences. And there was also a resistance to change. This is one of the factors which has particularly affected the Anglican church, because we've had a lot of changes: we've ordained women, we've started, under some conditions, to remarry divorced people, we have gone from traditional prayerbook services with seventeenth-century language to modern services.... The Anglican Church was deeply affected by the Springbok tour.... I think that the tendency was for people who took a conservative line on politics also to have been influenced by some fairly conservative charismatic leaders, Bill Subritzky and people of that kind.... You get that constellation of conservative political opinions which were angry with the leadership of the Anglican Church for their statements on Maori rights, on South Africa, the Springbok tour.[133]

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> the past.... We see science as a limited tool of investigation - limited to those things you can observe with your senses. We have just as much [sic] scientific grounds for creation as for evolution, so students have no trouble coping.' Interview with the science teacher at Hebron Christian College. Quoted in Scott thesis, 119. Hebron was an ACE (Accelerated Christian Education) school sponsored by the Auckland Christian Fellowship, an independent Pentecostal church pastored by Rob Wheeler, and was part of Wheeler's programme to reinforce biblical principles against the 'satanic forces' at work in New Zealand society. For Wheeler, see Rudman, 'For God and National', 28-29; Stratford, 'Christians Awake!', *Auckland Metro*, 6, 65 (November, 1986), 124-137. See also above, 23.

133. Rt Rev. M. Goodall, interview, 19 February 1989. Subritzky was an Anglican layman, a lawyer-businessman and leader in the New Zealand charismatic movement. Known especially for his healing ministry, he ran evangelistic/faith healing crusades throughout the country and overseas and published widely on related issues.

Conclusion

The climate into which Leighton Ford and Luis Palau arrived was, therefore, fraught with tension and suspicion. Within the churches, liberals and conservatives, ecumenists and charismatics, eyed each other suspiciously, each feeling embattled and that the central features of true Christianity were under threat from the other side. There were also tensions between many Christians and the surrounding society. Often, those Christians believed again that their faith and key absolute values were being undermined, while social reformers saw challenges to their programmes as dangerous and obscurantist reaction. To achieve the wide support necessary to the mass evangelist's ministry, Ford and Palau would have to attempt to chart a course through this minefield, avoiding alienating any major group.

CHAPTER THREE

THE GOSPEL BY WAY OF SINAI:

THE 1902 MISSION OF REUBEN ARCHER TORREY

When a mud-splashed gentleman in his mid-forties clambered off a bicycle one August morning in 1902 outside the Mayor of Wellington's office and went inside, few would have guessed this person to be a world-famous religious celebrity. He apologised to a waiting group of local clerics and city dignitaries. `"Very sorry to keep you waiting, brethren," he said, "but they sent me to the wrong place. I went to the Skating Rink." He had apparently cycled back.'[1]

This was the inauspicious beginning to the fifth leg of a round-the-world evangelistic tour being undertaken by Reuben Archer Torrey, and his soloist and songleader, Charles M. Alexander, together with a small entourage. They had left San Francisco eight months to the day before their arrival in Wellington aboard the S.S. *Monowai* and had spent time in Honolulu, Japan and China en route to Australia where Alexander joined the party.[2] They spent a month in Melbourne, then toured south-eastern Australia for five months, during which time they claimed 20,000 converts. Then they sailed for New Zealand.

The New Zealand situation to which Torrey came is described in the previous chapter. Attention is now given to investigating Torrey's personal history, establishing the ideas and methods he was importing and the soil into which he was attempting to plant them. The recounting of the mission's events clarifies the evangelist's *modus operandi*. The manner whereby theological and moral issues were raised

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1. *Evening Post*, 28 August 1902, 6.
2. Many background details for Torrey in this chapter are taken from Kermit L. Staggers, `Reuben A. Torrey: American Fundamentalist,

Footnote 2 continued on next page

and dealt with is then identified. The search both for those messages conveyed overtly in the preaching, studied in this chapter, and for those contained less openly in the mission's hymnody, discussed below in Chapter Nine, permits the exploration of a variety of topics to disclose what the evangelists at least aimed to convey. The actual results of the mission, both numerical and less tangible, are then considered, to assess the effects of the mission on New Zealand church life.

THE EVANGELIST: REUBEN ARCHER TORREY

Reuben Archer Torrey, the American evangelist who arrived in New Zealand in 1902, was a New Yorker, the son of a businessman turned landowner and of a pious mother who had dedicated baby Reuben to 'the Lord's service'. A capable student, he gained first an arts degree, then a seminary training, at Yale. Kermit Staggers describes Yale's emphasis at that time as being on breadth rather than depth of study, and intricate intellectual struggle with complex issues was crowded out by a requirement for students to be exposed to a broad spectrum of diverse subjects, an approach which shaped Torrey's subsequent methodology in biblical and theological study. While at Yale, Torrey came under the influence of James Dana, a vocal opponent of evolutionary thought whether in reference to Darwinian science or to Wellhausian biblical criticism.

The system of thought Dana employed, and which Torrey adopted, was one much in vogue in early nineteenth-century America and which was to

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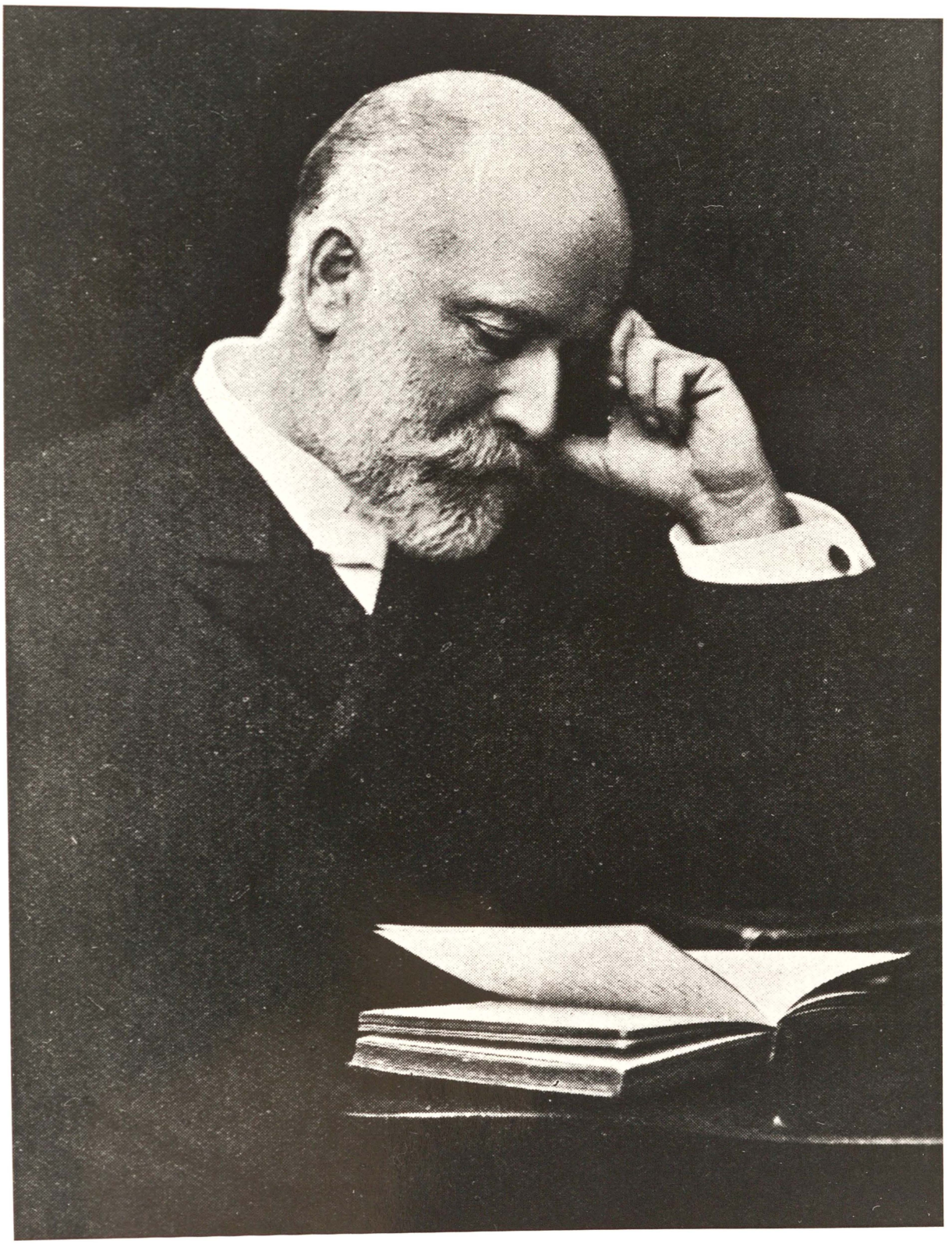
Reuben Archer Torrey. Review of Reviews, 20 May 1902, 457. (Courtesy of the Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington).



become the foundation of twentieth-century fundamentalism.[3] It was based on Scottish Common Sense philosophy, propounded in the late eighteenth century by Thomas Reid[4] as a counter to the scepticism of David Hume,[5] and giving pre-eminence to the value of that which could be perceived by the senses. This had a natural affinity with Baconian empiricism, the dominant philosophy of science for the previous three centuries, which stressed observation of objective facts using inductive rather than deductive thought processes.[6] The two philosophies meshed neatly to create a world of certainty, based on the possibility of objective, immutable truth holding good for all ages and cultures and allowing the production of 'evidences' for the Christian faith. There was, though, from the mid-nineteenth century, a change in intellectual fashion to follow a Kantian, then Darwinian, model which saw perception itself, and of course its results, as an interpretive process requiring relativism rather than certainty and

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Footnote 2 continued from previous page
1856-1928' (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Claremont Graduate School, 1986), *passim*.

3. See also above, 19.
4. Reid's (1710-1796) central purpose was 'to defend common sense against philosophical paradox and skepticism'. His main method was to focus on the all-pervasive influence of common sense, perceived virtually as what is self-evident to general understanding, throughout human life. To deny what is obviously true is to descend to absurdity. In addition, Reid presupposed the existence of God in the creation of humans as beings competent to exercise common sense. S.A. Grave, 'Common Sense', *The Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, edited by Paul Edwards, 8 vols (New York, 1967), II, 155-60. Also S.A. Grave, 'Thomas Reid', *Encyclopedia*, ed. Edwards, VII, 118-21.
5. (1711-1726), Scottish philosopher and historian, who, beginning with *A Treatise on Human Nature* (1739), extended Newtonian analytical and experimental techniques to insist that humans can never realise more than what *seems* to be the conclusion and that 'God' is at most a designing mind. D.G.C. MacNabb, 'David Hume', *Encyclopedia*, ed. Edwards, IV, 74-90.
6. After Francis Bacon, Viscount St Albans (1561-1626), a key systematiser of scientific study, especially on the basis of observable phenomena, both positive and negative instances of a subject and correlations between variations. Maurice Cranston, 'Francis Bacon', *Encyclopedia*, ed. Edwards, I, 235-41.

evolutionary development rather than transcendental absolutes. In the confrontation between these two irreconcilable worldviews was the basis of the impending fundamentalist-modernist collision.[7]

Torrey's immersion in the Baconian/Common Sense approach would channel his thinking for the rest of his life. Although he spent a year of post-graduate study at Leipzig and Erlangen where such biblical scholars as Franz Delitzsch presented him with a position mediating between sceptical criticism and his own opinions, he never deviated from his acceptance of full biblical inerrancy nor from his Yale-developed approach to biblical and theological study. His major exercise in biblical scholarship was a substantial tome, *What the Bible Teaches: A Thorough and Comprehensive Study of What the Bible Has to Say Concerning the Great Doctrines of Which It Treats*, which set out to live up to its subtitle by merely having thousands of propositions, each supported by what Torrey considered proof texts.[8] He consciously sought to put into practice Baconian principles, describing his work as '... simply an attempt at a careful unbiased, systematic, thorough-going, *inductive* study and statement of Bible truth.... The methods of modern science are applied to Bible study - thorough analysis followed by careful synthesis.'[9] This careful style of argumentation, even if not following *modern* science, was to be a feature of his preaching style too.

Torrey was, in fact, a prolific author of works relating to the study of the Bible, the theory and practice of revivalistic evangelism

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7. These positions and their implications are analysed in George M. Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture: The Shaping of Twentieth Century Evangelicalism, 1870-1925* (Oxford and New York, 1980), especially ch. 24, 'Fundamentalism as an Intellectual Phenomenon'.
8. (Reprinted London and Edinburgh, 1957).
9. Ibid., 1, Torrey's emphasis. 'Prooftexting' came to be the standard hermeneutical method used by theological conservatives resistant to considering anything other than the plain text of the

Footnote 9 continued on next page

and the promotion of a 'second-blessing' theology, largely in the style of the Keswick conventions. This view advocated for the Christian the seeking and acceptance of a special experience of and empowering by the Holy Spirit subsequent to conversion.[10]

Before embarking on his first world tour at the end of 1901, Torrey had spent a number of years as a pastor, first in a small Ohio farming community and later in two large urban churches in Minneapolis. In all three places he brought an enthusiastic emphasis on active evangelism, continually attempting to stir up revival and gain converts. During this period he added what would be another typically fundamentalist theological stance to his own convictions, that of premillenialism. This was fuelled by his observation that mankind was evil and therefore incapable of creating the kingdom of God on earth which postmillenialists and social gospellers sought.[11]

His theology and his reputation as a dedicated and successful evangelist brought, in 1889, his appointment, at age 33, to the inaugural superintendency of the new Bible Institute of Chicago, being founded at that time by the famous D.L. Moody. This institution, later renamed after its founder, was intended to produce Christian workers who would be replicas of, or support personnel for, the model of evangelist Moody had established. Initially the sole textbook used was the Bible in English translation (at that time the Authorised/King

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Footnote 9 continued from previous page
Bible. On a given topic, individual scriptural texts were gathered without regard to their original literary-historical contexts and employed as 'proofs' of a position taken.

10. e.g. 'There are many seeking this testimony of the Holy Spirit in the wrong place; namely, as a condition of their surrendering wholly to God, and confessing the crucified and risen Lord as their Savior and Lord. The testimony of the Holy Spirit to our sonship comes after all this is done.' R. A. Torrey, *How to Obtain Fulness of Power in Christian Life and Service* (reprint, London, 1955), 54.
11. See above, 25.

James Version), although Torrey later supplemented it with his lecture notes published eventually as *What the Bible Teaches*. Torrey ensured that the Institute's emphasis remained tied firmly to a simplistic, 'literal' method of biblical interpretation.[12] Further, he suspected any critical assessment or academic study of the Bible of denigrating God and the divine word.[13]

Torrey was invited to Australia in 1901 by two men seeking an evangelist to conduct a crusade in their home city of Melbourne and who had been unsuccessful in their search for one throughout North America and Britain. He accepted, prompted by the unsettling death by diphtheria in 1898 of a much loved daughter:

> It [Elizabeth's death] was one of the things that led to my leaving Chicago a few years later to enter upon a world-wide ministry. If God had not in His infinite wisdom and love taken our greatly beloved and gifted child from us, I think I would never have seen China, Japan, Australia, New Zealand, India, and the marvelous [sic] work of God in these countries....[14]

THE EVENTS OF THE MISSION

After the Australian campaign, the visit to Wellington was at the personal invitation of the mayor, Mr J.G.W. Aitken, a leading

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12. 'Friends, you and I have no business to reason out the probability or improbability of a Bible doctrine; if the Bible teaches it, it is our business to believe it.' R.A. Torrey in *The Institute Tie*, 29 March 1892, 84. Quoted in Staggers, 'Torrey', 89.
13. 'Although we have all respect for learning yet when it degenerates into intellectual pride and presumption we are bound by loyalty to God and His word and our own salvation to refuse to follow men whose conclusions so belittle God and exalt men.' *The Institute Tie*, 16 January 1893, 35. Quoted in Staggers, 'Torrey', 86.
14. Quoted in Staggers, 'Torrey', 24.

Protestant layman, who openly gave his support to the evangelists' work, even leading and publicly praying in some of the meetings. The main meetings were conducted in the Ingestre Street Skating Rink which held about 3,000 people. They were consistently described by the newspapers as well-attended, even 'absolutely packed', and there was often the need to turn many away until overflow meetings were begun in the local Baptist church led by Rev. Charles Dallaston.[15]

Torrey's mission gained widespread advance support from across the denominational spectrum. For example, the Presbyterian magazine, *Outlook*, noted that 'nearly all the ministers of the city' [Wellington] attended what was to have been a welcome meeting for the evangelists.[16] The same issue reported that in Christchurch already there were twelve nightly prayer meetings for the mission, some of which recorded average attendances of over 100.[17] In all three major centres visited there were many preparatory choir rehearsals, training sessions for 'personal workers' and united services for mobilising supportive groups and churches.[18] These were led by a variety of prominent local clerics and endorsed by the local Council of Churches. In Christchurch, eight Methodist and five Presbyterian churches joined with Anglican, Baptist, Church of Christ, Congregationalist, Primitive Methodist and Salvation Army groups in the mission's promotion.[19] In

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15. e.g. *Evening Post*, 29 August 1902, 2; *New Zealand Times*, 6 September 1902, 4.
16. *Outlook*, 9, 32 (6 September 1902), 7.
17. Ibid. These culminated in a combined meeting at Durham Street Wesleyan Methodist Church attended by 400. *Outlook*, 9, 33 (13 September 1902), 37. Dunedin held at least five united prayer meetings. *Outlook*, 9, 34 (20 September 1902), 37.
18. See, for example, those accounts of Christchurch and Dunedin in ibid., 7-8; *Outlook*, 9, 33 (13 September 1902), 37-38; 9, 34 (20 September 1902), 37.
19. *Outlook*, 9, 33 (13 September 1902), 1. The participating churches were listed in ibid., 37.

Dunedin, at least ten Presbyterian, six Methodist, four Congregationalist and two Baptist ministers were involved.[20]

In addition to the main evening events, a range of other meetings were also conducted. In Wellington, on the Sunday afternoon, a 'Men Only' gathering, attended by over 3,000, received the homily customary for such an audience on 'many of the evils that beset a young man's path in the present day'.[21] Christian faith was then promoted as giving the means to live a morally acceptable life, while 'the great antidote for sin was the atonement of Christ, which he urged all to accept'.[22] His urgings and the singing of the 250-voice choir resulted in eighteen 'penitents' coming forward to become Christians, perhaps assisted by the respectability and the dignity lent the situation by the presence on the platform of the mayor and eight leading clerics.[23]

The following day, the evangelists ventured out to the Petone railway workshops in the company of forty choristers, trolley-mounted piano and organ, and several of the local clergy.[24] Some 400 workmen emerged, apparently more interested in food than in oratory. But Alexander's choir soon attracted their attention, enabling Torrey to advise them on how to obtain 'Peace of Conscience'. Alexander's sentimental solo prepared the workers for Torrey to relate three emotive stories regarding conscience, including one of a woman who, having killed her husband, suffered fourteen years of misery until she became a Christian. This led to Torrey urging them 'to be men and come out on the Lord's side'.[25] Such a form of appeal contained

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20. They were listed in ibid., 37.
21. *Evening Post*, 1 September 1902, 5.
22. Ibid.
23. *New Zealand Times*, 1 September 1902, 5.
24. *New Zealand Times*, 2 September 1902, 5.
25. *Outlook*, 9, 33 (13 September 1902), 7.

several implied messages: (a) real men are religious, (b) a social aspect was available, perhaps like the esprit de corps of a team or army, and (c) some element of competitiveness or conflict inherent in religious life.

After several hymns had been sung, there being no time for counselling any prospective converts, the party adjourned to the local Oddfellows Hall, where the sermon topic was 'God is Love', then back to town for a 3 p.m. Bible reading service at St John's church in Dixon Street on the subject of personal work.[26] The Exchange Hall was the site for several lunchtime meetings for businessmen, kept strictly within their alloted hour.[27] Torrey held a special morning session for clergymen and theological students, and, on the final Friday, Alexander and Rev. James Lyall held another factory visit, this time to about 100 employees in the dining room of Bell's match factory.[28]

Similar activities characterised their thirteen days in Christchurch. The major meetings were held in the Canterbury Hall which was consistently full, requiring overflow meetings to be arranged in the Alexandra Hall. On the Sunday night, even after these were both occupied to capacity, there were still over 1,000 hopefuls left outside and the Thursday meeting was filled to overflowing even

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26. 'Bible reading' was a term borrowed from the Niagara Bible Conferences and usually given to talks which were not so much sermons as lectures expounding Bible passages, providing information about Christian life and work rather than actively seeking an immediate congregational response. The Bible reading was popularised by nineteenth-century conservatives as 'a plain exposition of the text' in contrast to the florid rhetoric of their liberal opponents and as a practical exemplar of their 'common sense', individualistic views on biblical interpretation. Marsden, *Fundamentalism*, 60-61; Ernest R. Sandeen, *The Roots of Fundamentalism: British and American Millenarianism 1800-1930* (Chicago, 1970), 136-139.
27. *New Zealand Times*, 3 September 1902, 4; *Evening Post*, 4 September 1902, 7.
28. *New Zealand Times*, 6 September 1902, 4.

though in competition with an organ recital by Dr J.C. Bradshaw in the cathedral which also attracted a capacity audience.[29] People from the surrounding rural areas travelled in to hear them, Ashburton residents, for example, arranging a special train.[30] The attempts to reach some social group beyond existing churchgoers were maintained with a lunchtime trip to the Addington Railway workshops at which Alexander distributed free about 100 copies of his hymnbook and Torrey again delivered his talk on conscience.[31] Single-sex meetings were held on the Sunday afternoon in the two halls, both attracting maximum attendances, and again on the Tuesday night with the women's meeting being held first, followed by one for men. There were, though, two different features of the Christchurch mission: Torrey answered criticisms both for the newspaper and publicly in meetings,[32] and large open-air supporting meetings were run by local clerics on the Saturday and Sunday nights in Cathedral Square and the Canterbury Hall grounds.[33]

On the journey south from Christchurch, the team wasted no opportunity to make their presence felt. At their departure, Torrey addressed a 'huge crowd' on the platform of the railway station.[34] Another large crowd had gathered in Ashburton to see them and although they did not leave the carriage there was opportunity to sing a portion of Alexander's popular 'Glory Song'.[35] Other brief open-air meetings were held as they passed through Timaru, Oamaru and Palmerston. Torrey enthused, 'We've had a meeting all the way from

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29. *Lyttelton Times*, 15 September 1902, 5; *Press*, 12 September 1902, 5.
30. *Press*, 9 September 1902, 4.
31. *Lyttelton Times*, 10 September 1902, 7, and 15 September 1902, 5; *Press*, 10 September 1902, 5.
32. See below, 138.
33. *Lyttelton Times*, 15 September 1902, 5.
34. *Lyttelton Times*, 19 September 1902, 6.
35. Ibid.; *Outlook*, 9, 35 (27 September 1902), 26.

Christchurch here, and a glorious time. Last thing that happened, just between Port Chalmers and here, we had a man and a woman converted on the train.'[36]

Despite having thus already done a good day's work while making a substantial journey, the evangelists were whisked straight from the Dunedin railway station to the Garrison Hall for the first of their mission meetings. These had been well advertised and prepared for with prayer meetings, choir practices and meetings for intending 'personal workers' beginning weeks in advance, many being held at the Y.M.C.A. rooms at midday and at First Church in the evenings.

There had, then, been a substantial amount of advance work done in expectation that divine blessing would, therefore, ensue. But Dunedin's response to the evangelists was poor. The halls were full, but seemingly with practising Christians who felt no need of Torrey's offers. The first Saturday night saw an attendance so large 200 were obliged to move to a separate meeting to take the overflow - but only two girls responded to the evangelist's appeal. The following afternoon's men's service had 300 who could not be squeezed into the hall and kicked at the doors in frustration, yet there was no response at all. At this, Torrey declared that never before had he encountered absolutely no response, and by using his technique of asking all Christians to stand he managed to coax a handful to the front.[37] This problem of poor quantifiable results continued throughout the week, with at best one or two of the largest services producing up to fifty respondents. Torrey again resorted to the tactics employed earlier, and after preaching on judgment he instructed those standing

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36. *Evening Star*, 19 September 1902, 1.
37. *Otago Daily Times*, 22 September 1902, 5. See below, 131. He also tried to shame them by comparing them with their dauntless ancestors. 'Scotchmen were not afraid to get up in the days of the Covenanters, and I do not see why Scotchmen should be ashamed of their convictions.' *Evening Star*, 22 September 1902, 1.

to counsel those left seated. About forty then came to the front - perhaps to escape neighbourly harassment![38]

But on the Friday night Torrey called for a half-night prayer meeting in the Y.M.C.A. hall to be led by his pianist, Robert Harkness. 500 attended.

> Just as we were kneeling, a man arose and asked permission to say something. Permission was granted, and he said, 'I believe the hindrance to the working of the Spirit of God in this campaign is right here in this room. Some one has not made a full surrender to Christ.' He sat down. People wondered what would happen. Very soon scores arose in various parts of the audience, acknowledged their sin, sought forgiveness, and made full surrender. The next service revealed the presence and power of God in a wonderful way. A few hundred people responded to the appeal.[39]

On this showing, the power of God had been obstructed by the uncooperativeness of even such a well-prepared audience and was now free to move on in its mysterious way. The Monday *Otago Daily Times*, though, recorded no such sudden new outpouring of divine favour. It mentioned no more than that the Saturday attendance could have easily filled the Garrison Hall twice over - no 'few hundred' respondents which, given the returns thus far, would have been particularly noteworthy. Further, the Sunday afternoon men's service saw only eight or nine responses, and the evening provided a mere two dozen more of each sex. Torrey observed that 'the result was the smallest at any similar meeting he had held in New Zealand or Australia'[40] - this despite continuing large attendances and the holding of supporting meetings. Harkness's 'breakthrough' seems not to have resulted in any great influx of new converts at all. Any improvement

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38. *Evening Star*, 23 September 1902, 4.
39. Robert Harkness, *Reuben Archer Torrey: The Man, His Message* (Chicago, 1929), 32.
40. *Otago Daily Times*, 29 September 1902, 3. The *Evening Star's* editor made the recondite observation that, 'Those who know Dunedin will hardly share Dr Torrey's surprise.' *Evening Star*, 29 September 1902, 4.

which did ensue must have been limited to newly recommitted Christians.

Explaining the apparently poor results in Dunedin is difficult. It may have been due partly to the Calvinistic background of Presbyterian Dunedin, or to a greater theological sophistication and discernment in the area due to the influence of the Presbyterian Theological Hall. The newspapers did report the existence of criticisms echoing complaints originating in Christchurch about Torrey's theology.[41] But set against this were the large attendances, even at the preparatory meetings, with many taking advantage of the Railways' specially-extended excursion fares even from places as distant as Oamaru.[42]

The meetings followed the pattern of the other cities, with businessmen's lunchtime meetings, the single-sex meetings[43] and the Monday noon visit to the Hillside Railway Workshops. Alexander led a meeting by himself at the Wright Stephenson saleyards.[44] 'Mrs Dr Torrey' also lent a helping hand by addressing a gathering of seamen at the Dunedin Sailors' Rest, resulting in several converts.[45] All meetings were well attended, so much so that from Thursday 25 September the evangelists held two similar evening services each night, the first for women, the second for men, with a half-hour break between. Even with this arrangement, the newspapers reported hundreds were still turned away or went to overflow meetings. There was no official opposition from the Theological Hall and one unnamed

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41. *Otago Daily Times*, 18 September 1902, 5. See below, 136.
42. For example, on Wednesday, 24 September, one-sixth of the audience were country visitors. *Otago Daily Times*, 25 September 1902, 7.
43. The women's meetings were conducted by local women and a Salvation Army 'sister' conducted a Bible Reading (n.b. not a preached sermon).
44. *Outlook*, 9, 36 (4 October 1902), 16.
45. *Outlook*, 9, 35 (27 September 1902), 5.

professor even presided over a special gathering for clerics, which, Alexander's biographers claimed, 'was the means of spreading the influence and spiritual activity of the mission throughout southern New Zealand.'[46]

The Dunedin send-off was much the same as those from the other centres, the railway station and environs being choked with nearly 1,000 hymn-singing, handkerchief-waving wellwishers.[47] Along the journey south, crowds had assembled at many stations, often just to catch a glimpse of the evangelists. Stops were too brief to permit services. During the five-hour journey, they did alight and conduct brief meetings at the country towns of Milton, Balclutha, Clinton, Gore, Mataura and Edendale, for crowds from 'some hundreds' (Milton) to 1,000 (Gore).[48] At these, the locals provided lorry-mounted pianos (Gore added the Salvation Army band), Alexander led one or two songs, and Torrey gave a brief address (only two minutes in Balclutha).

The extremely high workrate maintained throughout this crusade was often commented upon by observers and Torrey himself was certainly conscious of the inherent dangers of excessive activity. 'It was no idle statement made by Dr Torrey, when, on being approached as to the possibility of continuing another week, he said, "I have never yet

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46. Helen C. Alexander and J. Kennedy Maclean, *Charles M. Alexander; A Romance of Song and Soul-winning* (London, n.d.), 59. Some sixty ministers and theological students attended this gathering. *Evening Star*, 23 September 1902, 4.
47. *Outlook*, 9, 36 (4 October 1902), 30. Alexander had taken the previous Saturday's meetings (still requiring a double sitting although he was alone, perhaps suggesting which of the missioners was the more popular) and, in accepting the travelling case and silver and greenstone inkstand presented, expressed the hope that he would be able to return the next year 'with one of America's best evangelists'. Presumably this was not meant as a slight on Torrey, but he gave no further explanation of who was intended. *Evening Star*, 29 September 1902, 1.
48. *Outlook*, 9, 37 (11 October 1902), 8.

broken down, but I know how near I am to it. I would not continue another week for a million dollars".'[49] Another week may not have been added, but this pressure was maintained to the very end of the mission. Upon arriving at Invercargill in mid-afternoon, they were allowed no respite, but were taken straight to meet a small group. There was a standard evening meeting that night, and before they left the next afternoon there was a morning visit to the local hospital and a two-hour midday service. Again farewelled from the railway station, they were obliged to speak to another gathering outside the Sailors' Rest at Bluff before embarking on the S.S. *Mokoia* for Melbourne.[50]

EXPECTATIONS OF THE MISSION

Christians throughout the country hopefully anticipated that this mission would generate the national spiritual awakening which would reform New Zealand morally and spiritually. The sixty conversions at the first Sunday's meetings in Wellington roused the *Outlook* to expectation of much greater things, if only believers would labour prayerfully for God's blessing. `Let Christians everywhere realise that *the* 1902 *revival* is no mere outburst of emotion, evanescent and temporary, which will pass with the departure of Dr Torrey and Mr Alexander, but the breaking up of the deeps by the mighty spirit of Jehovah. To this end, every man to his work and every woman to her post.'[51]

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49. Ibid., 16.
50. Ibid., 8, 11.
51. *Outlook*, 9, 32 (6 September 1902), 4, my emphasis. It says much for their expectations that after only the first meeting or two the mission was already referred to as `the revival'. The

Footnote 51 continued on next page

Torrey himself envisioned the Australasian mission as the commencement of a revival not only in that area but worldwide.[52] He was steadfastly confident that such spiritual revival was available to all. 'There is not a church or chapel or mission on earth where you cannot have a revival, provided there is a little nucleus of faithful people who will hold on to God until it comes'.[53] As with most matters, he had its production systematised and reduced to a number of steps: 'first of all, by a goodly number of Christians getting right with God; second, by their giving themselves up to God to cry for a revival until it comes; third, by their going out to be used personally in bringing others to Christ'.[54] He did, too, note that it could be hampered by human failing, though not prevented altogether.

Before, during and after the mission, Christians were urged, therefore, to pray earnestly for its success in order to prevent the channels of divine blessing from becoming blocked. The *Outlook* noted approvingly 'the prayers which are going up in thousands of homes' and foresaw dramatic results from them in 'mighty miracles in the healing of the slaves of sin, and the restoring of sight to those blinded by unbelief'.[55] Yet this was not a foregone conclusion; ever more

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Footnote 51 continued from previous page
biblical allusion was presumably to the opening verses of Genesis, when the spirit of Yahweh is moving across the chaotic primeval waters. No gender role differentiation in the mission was necessarily implied here; the only 'work' envisaged was prayer, in which neither sex would have been regarded as possessing an advantage.

52. See the introductory address given in Melbourne, quoted at length in ibid., 22.
53. Quoted in George T.B. Davis, *Torrey and Alexander: The Story of a World-Wide Revival* (New York, 1905), 233.
54. Ibid., 232. This was a typically pragmatic and unemotional view, not, for example, seeking to emulate the turbulent abandonment of the frontier camp meetings or of Finney's preaching. Torrey also claimed his own ongoing pastoral experience was of such revival, due largely to his systematic training of lay counsellors and their dedication. *Outlook*, 9, 35 (27 September 1902), 23.
55. *Outlook*, 9, 32 (6 September 1902), 1.

pleading and coaxing was necessary to obtain divine favour. 'Once more we urge upon all Christians the need of importunate prayer, that the windows of heaven may be opened, and the floods of blessing be poured upon the people of New Zealand.'[56] Torrey attributed his success in the worldwide tour thus far to the prayers of his supporters in America. 'I know of some 5000 people outside of Australia - men and women who know God - who are praying for the success of the Mission. And God, who has heard and answered their prayers before, will answer them again.'[57] The *Outlook* printed prayers requesting divine aid.[58] Prayer meetings were held in advance and during each individual mission a day of prayer and fasting was observed.[59] Several of Torrey's Bible readings centred on prayer with such topics as 'How to Pray', 'Hindrances to Prayer', 'The Power of Prayer'. In the impromptu prayer groups there were more conversions, while after some of the larger meetings small knots of praying Christians formed spontaneously.[60] Many were later to comment that they felt the preparatory prayer meetings or those held during the mission were, in fact, the times of chief blessing, at least to the participants.[61] 'Prayer went before, and the blessing followed after.'[62]

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56. Ibid.
57. Ibid., 22.
58. e.g. Ibid.; 9, 33 (13 September 1902), 22; 9, 34 (20 September 1902), 22.
59. *Outlook*, 9, 33 (13 September 1902), 11; 9, 34 (20 September 1902), 35; 9, 36 (4 October 1902), 8. In Dunedin, Torrey called, too, for businessmen to take the day off work and while no definition of the fasting expected was given he asked everyone to spend the day waiting on God. *Evening Star*, 20 September 1902, 4. 116 people agreed publicly to prayer meetings on that day in either their homes or places of work. *Evening Star*, 23 September 1902, 3.
60. *Outlook*, 9, 36 (4 October 1902), 8.
61. E.g. *Outlook*, 9, 35 (27 September 1902), 16, 37.
62. Rev. W. Scorgie, *Outlook*, 9, 37 (11 October 1902), 13.

METHODOLOGY OF THE MISSION

Typical of his approach to all of his activities, Torrey systematised the process of inducing his hearers to make the desired public decisions. Before his world tour, he had edited and contributed to a book entitled, *How to Promote and Conduct a Successful Revival, with Suggestive Outlines*,[63] and one of his chapters, 'Drawing the Net', gave advice on the matter. He recommended several different ways of making an appeal, progressively increasing the psychological pressure on waverers. The first was to ask 'all those who wish to be saved' to come forward while the audience engaged in silent prayer. The second was a request for 'all who are anxious for the salvation of some friends in this audience' to rise, followed by an invitation for all those who wished to be saved.[64] Another was to ask all to remain while a hymn was sung and to call for decisions after each verse - for 'all who will accept Christ (don't say, "if any *one* will)....'[65] Alternatively, everyone ('every man [sic] who is interested in his soul's salvation and all Christians') should be encouraged to stay to an after-meeting - 'You can't afford to go away'.[66] Or he recommended specifically identifying non-Christians by physically isolating them. This might be achieved by degrees by asking those converted after age fifty to rise or come forward, and then lowering the age. 'This will gradually thin out those who are seated, and the unconverted will find themselves being left behind, and it will set some of them to

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63. (London, 1901).
64. Ibid., 158.
65. Ibid.
66. Ibid.

thinking. Especially will this be true if a man sees his wife leaving him, or a son sees a mother.'[67] However, when Torrey applied this technique to an unresponsive Dunedin audience, he dispensed with the slow turning of the screws, asking for all Christians to stand, but still gained only a handful of converts.[68]

Torrey felt no compunction about thus manipulating people. As he did to bolster all his views, he managed to contrive biblical warrant for such practices. He also again resorted to the earlier defence Finney and his followers had made of 'means': 'They work'.

> Some one may think that there is too much method and maneuvering [sic] in all this, but it wins souls, and that is worth maneuvering for. Jesus Himself told us to be 'wise as serpents,' and also said that 'the sons of this world are for their own generations wiser than the sons of light.' Evidently Jesus would have us exercise all honest ingenuity in accomplishing His work, especially the work of soul winning. It is lawful, as Paul's example shows, to catch them 'with guile' (2 Cor. 12:16)....[69]

Another technique Torrey employed was to attempt to answer in advance any possible reason hearers may have had for hesitating. One entire sermon, based on the Acts 22.16 text, 'Why tarriest thou?', was devoted to such rebuttal.[70] He repeatedly offered to convince the 'honest sceptic' by logical argumentation (such as in the lectures on the Bible as God's Word) and if that failed he advocated their taking a pledge to study the Bible and simultaneously pray genuinely for enlightenment - 'It never fails'.[71] One who rejected this offer was labelled dishonest and 'a humbug'. Procrastinators were informed that it would never be so easy as at the present to give up the world. Those who felt unworthy were reminded that Christ died to save sinners, not the

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67. Ibid., 160.
68. *Outlook*, 9, 35 (27 September 1902), 28. See above, 124.
69. Torrey, *Revival*, 160.
70. *Outlook*, 9, 34 (20 September 1902), 26-27.
71. Ibid., 25.

righteous. Other problems dealt with were lack of strength to hold fast to a profession once made, lack of feelings of conviction and the intention to make a deathbed repentance.

Finally, Torrey arrived at the reminder that that night might be the hearers' last chance. His illustration was of a man aboard ship (representing life), acting carelessly with the diamond in which his wealth (his soul) was contained.

> And again you throw it up, and again it falls safely in your hand. Again and again and again you do it, and once more - perhaps tonight - you hurl it up. You watch to see it fall. Ah! it is too far out now! There is a splash - that soul of yours sinks, not into the bottomless ocean, but into the bottomless pit, and you cry: 'Lost, lost, lost - my soul is lost!' Ah! friends, put your soul, that precious jewel, where it will be safe - put it in the keeping of Jesus to-night![72]

When dealing with children, Torrey did not always give as clearcut an invitation as he did for adults. In one meeting, ambiguity entered as he instructed them on the need to 'receive (or 'take') Jesus', and on how to do so. 'To receive Jesus is simply to take Him for anything that He offers Himself to you for.'[73] In this case, Jesus' offer was as Sinbearer and Master. These terms were explained and the audience were asked to follow the preacher in a prayer. Torrey continued, 'that is what it means to receive Jesus as your Saviour'. As this was reported, it would seem the children, *en bloc*, could thenceforth regard themselves as Christian converts, although, presumably, Torrey would not have done so.

The converts thus won were then counselled by 'personal workers' organised throughout the hall. Although this had some immediate benefits, it seems not to have allowed sufficient pastoral

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72. Ibid., 27. 'At the close a larger number than on any preceding night came to the front, and the workers were busy till after 10 o'clock leading souls to the Saviour.'
73. *Outlook*, 9, 35 (27 September 1902), 35.

counselling and meaningful deliberation and may have missed altogether those who did not make the required visible response. The Rev. Dr J. Elmslie, a Christchurch Presbyterian minister, believed that, 'To some of us this [restriction to the hall] seemed impracticable, and hence, I fear, many cases of genuine awakening have escaped notice. But considerable numbers have given in their names, and these, I trust, we may be able to keep hold of.'[74] In Dunedin, Rev. D. Borrie, minister of North East Valley Presbyterian church, also felt the system inadequate, especially compared with the thorough planning of all that went before. 'I feel sure that those souls needed more personal dealing, more enlightenment, and more prayer so that they might be clear and wholehearted in their decision.'[75]

Torrey felt that his emphasis on these carefully planned and standardised techniques was, though, actually the strong point of his ministry, even if some locals wanted to approach matters differently. As already noted, he continually reduced whatever he spoke or wrote on to a small number of easily remembered (and practised) aspects and aimed at containing ideas and information within a finite system - a corollary of the Baconian-Common Sense approach. He even attributed his reputation for success as an evangelist rather to his systematisation of lay evangelistic training within his churches than to his own evangelistic abilities. At his church in Chicago, for example, he had developed a system in which many of the laity were trained as personal workers and in services were assigned under superintendents to sections of the congregation. They were then ideally placed to pursue anyone who

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74. Ibid., 36.
75. *Outlook*, 9, 37 (11 October 1902), 12.

left the meeting under conviction from the preaching, or to deal individually with those who remained behind afterwards. It was easy to preach in such a church. Torrey's self-assessment was that he was better as an organiser, a pastorally-concerned administrator, within a church than as an itinerant evangelist. 'Ever since my first pastorate I have been in a revival - as a pastorate [sic], mind you. I am not an evangelist, I am a pastor, and it is very largely due to the fact that I have trained my membership into the work of the ministry that so large a measure of fruitfulness has attended my pastorates.'[76]

CRITICISM OF THE MISSION

Such criticism of the mission as was forthcoming was relatively muted, apart from some letters to newspaper editors, and centred around only a few issues, particularly the mission's finances and a limited number of aspects of Torrey's theology. Some questions must have been raised about the evangelists' use of the large sums of money being raised by the offerings taken during the tour. In Christchurch, the organisers felt it necessary to make clear that the money was solely for the mission's local expenses such as advertising (which cost £250), printing and hall hire, while Torrey explained that his expenses were being met by his own American Bible class and that Alexander would receive only one quarter of what had been offered him in America.[77] In a later meeting, Torrey revealed

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76. *Outlook*, 9, 35 (27 September 1902), 23.
77. *Press*, 12 September 1902, 5; *Outlook*, 9, 34 (20 September 1902), 37.

he had received just £2 in each of Japan and China as thankofferings. Some of his income resulted from sales of his books, but he expected to be some $2,500 out of pocket after the tour.[78] In fact, the pattern seemed clearly to be that the collections taken did go to covering expenses and only the surplus was given in token of gratitude to Torrey towards the work of Moody Bible Institute, with some to Alexander personally as an honorarium.[79] Another critic, still not satisfied, claimed that the hymnbooks were obviously a profitmaking venture and that they should be being sold for the 2d he estimated their production cost.[80]

There were, too, other occasions for opposition. For example, when the Dunedin trams were halted for a day, 'Rational' felt this was setting a dangerous precedent for when any travelling showman came to town and that 'when our councillors, in a fit of hysteria, interfere with the citizens' property and debar them from using their own conveyances, thus pandering to the rampant ravings of foreigners, it is time all sensible men objected'.[81]

Other criticism, too, appeared strongest, and certainly most public, in Christchurch. The Rev. I. Sarginson, a Linwood Congregational minister, on the basis of Australian reports and without attending any of the meetings, decided to preach against what he considered the missioners' simplistic and outmoded theology,

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78. *Outlook*, 9, 35 (27 September 1902), 12. He repeated this explanation in Dunedin, adding that, 'If anybody said he was making money out of the mission, he did not care, for he was hardened to that sort of thing'. Ibid., 28.
79. e.g. for Christchurch, ibid., 15; for Invercargill, ibid., 28.
80. *Press*, 15 September 1902, 6. A mission supporter's reply was to point out the many given away and to quote Alexander that if the writer could indeed produce them for 2d each he would place an order for 10,000. *Press*, 16 September 1902, 5.
81. *Evening Star*, 25 Sunday 1902, 5.

especially concerning the nature of God and the ultimate fate of sinners.

Sarginson attributed to Torrey a high character and pure motives and was thankful he was doing his best to help people.[82] But he did object to Torrey's intellectual arrogance and his contempt for all men who did not believe as he did'. Sarginson felt Christchurch was reputedly 'the most heretical city in the colony', but thanked God for this, 'for wherever there was downright earnestness there was heresy'. Torrey was to be regarded as out of step with modern thought which 'utterly repudiated the theory of atonement'. Sarginson appealed to the loving nature of God against the distorted view Torrey espoused,[83] and denied that the Bible could be used to back up Torrey's position, 'as if every word came by electric telegraph from heaven duly attested by Almighty God'. In fact, 'God's truth was in the Bible, but it had to be searched for'. The publication of this sermon proved a catalyst for a lengthy and stormy editorial correspondence in the *Press*.

Sarginson's chief ally was 'R.W. Black', who began, 'I indignantly protest against Dr.Torrey's teaching on this subject [of eternal punishment in hell] as barbarous and inhuman, only rivalled by the horrors of Dante's Inferno, and utterly unwarranted by the

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82. Sarginson's sermon was summarised at length in the *Press*, 15 September 1902, 5.
83. The increasing emphasis on the love of God had, during the nineteenth century, become widespread throughout Western Christianity, amongst both liberals and conservatives, Torrey and Chapman's mentor D.L. Moody having been a key exponent of this theology. As Richard Lovelace notes, the capitulation to rationalist critiques of divine wrath was to do away with acceptance of the idea of hell and to produce a concept of 'an increasingly kindly, fatherly and thoroughly comprehensible God'. This produced 'the projection of grandmotherly kindness mixed with the gentleness and winsomeness of a Jesus who hardly needed to die for sins'. Richard F. Lovelace, *Dynamics of Spiritual Life: An Evangelical Theology of Renewal* (Downers Grove, 1979), 83-84.

teachings of Christ....'[84] He continued with an exposition of the the various biblical terms translatable as 'hell' and concluded that there was none which justified an expectation of never-ending physical torture, so that 'Dr. Torrey's exaggerations only revolt the mind as savage, cruel, and unjust'.[85] Such was the volume of correspondence resulting that the *Press* editor printed only some letters, summarised others and rejected those which did not deal directly with the issue at hand, but strayed on to the inspiration of the Bible generally. When the evangelists left the city, he terminated it entirely.

The reported initial reaction of the evangelists to this criticism was dismissive. Alexander was more interested in the publicity value of controversy, while Torrey scorned it as merely personal spite. '"It's the best advertisement we could have," said Mr Alexander. "Anything's better than a dull time." While Dr Torrey urged the people to get the papers and send them to their friends; anyone with common sense would see the animus directing the opposition.'[86] Torrey also discounted criticism by those who did not sign their letters: 'I'll tell you why you don't. It's because you're a pack of cowards'.[87]

Torrey, though, did take the criticism seriously enough to devote one of his businessmen's meetings to answering written questions.[88] Most of these proved to be derived directly or indirectly from Sarginson's and Black's assertions. To these, he largely replied using biblical citations and disputing word

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84. *Press*, 13 September 1902, 9.
85. Ibid. Black personally did believe in some future punishment for evil, presumably annihilation of the offender.
86. *Outlook*, 9, 35 (27 September 1902), 8.
87. *Press*, 18 September 1902, 5.
88. *Outlook*, 9, 35 (27 September 1902), 11-12.

meanings. Nothing other than the plain meanings of prooftexts was ever considered. But he was unable to resist *ad hominem* ripostes. He declared that 'there were more people going to hell through conceit in Christchurch than through vice'.[89] Part of his defence of the doctrine of eternal punishment was to wonder how Black's work compared with his own lifelong efforts at leading people away from such a fate to repentance.[90] Again, responding to Sarginson's desire to broaden the scope of Christian dogma, he pointed out that his own church had 1,800 members and 8,000 people in Melbourne had been converted to 'the current creed'; 'How many had his friend [sic] Mr Sarginson converted while that gentleman had been in Christchurch'.[91] As had earlier been the case with Finney and Moody, Torrey felt that the ultimate justification of his beliefs and methods was that they worked. The 'Old Time Religion' and this particular method of propagating it were judged true and proper on the basis of simple popularity. In this dispute, God was assumed to be on the side of the bigger battalions.

Torrey usually dealt with opposition dismissively. When challenged that Frederic Farrar, Dean of Canterbury (England) and a widely-known scholar, had written of 'the ghastly doctrine of eternal torment', not only was his statement declared to be mere rhetoric, but the Dean himself was discounted as 'a turgid and tiresome rhetorician'.[92] When, in a public meeting, a man objected to some of Torrey's attacks on sin, 'Dr Torrey quickly disposed of him. "All those in the audience who wish to hear me speak, please rise," and the audience rose en masse. "All those who wish to hear

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89. *Press*, 15 September 1902, 5.
90. *Outlook*, 9, 35 (27 September 1902), 11.
91. Ibid., 12.
92. Ibid., 15.

this gentleman speak, rise," and not a soul stirred. "You are voted out unanimously," said the doctor, and the interrupter subsided.'[93]

Neither were the mission's supporters very interested in or concerned by the criticisms raised. Of the Christchurch controversy, one of the Dunedin leaders, Mr Sinclair, asserted that 90% of Sarginson's article should be discounted and that whatever else could be said, Torrey's mission represented divine activity and was therefore to be welcomed. `It must also be remembered that they need not believe all that Dr Torrey said, but the doctor smote sin with ringing blows, and they must just believe that the work was of God, and judge it by the blessed results which followed.'[94] On the other hand, one of the Christchurch ministers felt that `those persons who have been ill-advised enough to air their grievances and opinions in the public prints have, I humbly think, done much more harm than good - may have contributed somewhat toward hindering the mission, nothing to help it.'[95]

THE MESSAGES OF THE MISSION

The messages the mass evangelists conveyed to their audiences may be discerned from several sources, from both their public utterances in sermons, lectures and informal comments, and in the words and presentation of the mission music. Torrey's spoken

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93. *Outlook*, 9, 36 (4 October 1902), 28.
94. *Evening Star*, 18 September 1902, 8. This was before the Dunedin mission even began. Note the implied identification of the criticism with the sin Torrey opposed.
95. *Outlook*, 9, 35 (27 September 1902), 36.

message is studied in this chapter and the accompanying music in Chapter Nine below.

Theological Messages

Torrey was portrayed as having a 'zeal for the truth'. His view of truth included both theological and moralistic elements. Apart from the moralistic directives and social stereotypes the mission communicated, discussed below, the theological 'truth' which Torrey was apparently famous as being zealous for seemed often to centre on one or two controverted issues - eschatology and the nature of the Bible - with two other emphases noticeable in his New Zealand addresses, the substitutionary atonement of Christ and the promulgation of a Holiness understanding of a post-conversion blessing available to Christians.

The cosmic eschataology Torrey espoused was a strong dispensational premillenialism and he combined that with a personal eschatology that included a very literal hell.

> Again in the face of criticism from ministers of the Gospel and of ridicule from the press, he did not hesitate throughout the entire tour of the world to preach future punishment for the unrepentent [sic]. Indeed, the title of one of his sermons was 'Hell, the certainty of it; what sort of place it is and who is going there.' While still another was 'God's blockade of the Road to Hell.'[96]

This theme was certainly preached upon in New Zealand and did draw substantial criticism upon Torrey, as discussed above. His views on the theme seemed to have grown out of his moralism, rather than directly from biblical or theological evidence, as he derived

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96. Timothy Weber, *Living in the Shadow of the Second Coming: American Premillenialism, 1875-1925* (New York and Oxford, 1979), 62.

the basis of the doctrine from the need he perceived for some form of ultimate justice and fair play.

> A man deceives a girl... and in, say, from two to five years they lay her in a potter's field to rot, whilst the betrayer marries an innocent girl and becomes a leading citizen, respected and looked up to. Do you tell me there is to be no time when that man will go to God and receive his punishment? Of course there's a hell, and if there is not there ought to be.[97]

Timothy Weber's research provides examples of how dispensational premillenialism was foundational for Torrey's understanding of hell and of other doctrines. The warnings to unbelievers who would miss the Church's 'rapture', and thus suffer tribulation, were explicit.

> Ah, but for you who are out of Christ, unbelievers - When the Lord comes, it means you are to be left behind, left behind when God takes away the restraining power that holds back the manifestation of the Antichrist. Do you want to live in this world when the salt of the earth is gone?... I don't. And then darker and darker and darker and darker until it is the midnight of eternal despair. The common argument today for immediate repentance and acceptance of Jesus Christ is that you may die at any moment. That is not the Bible argument. The Bible argument is, 'Be ye ready, for in such an hour as you think not the Son of Man cometh.' Are you ready?[98]

On the other hand, he was smugly confident of the [true] Christian's preservation from the sufferings of this world, 'raptured' out of the impending great tribulation, while in the interim nothing meaningful could be done about the problems of human society.

> The writer is an optimist.... He is fully aware that there is a storm coming. He does not question that we are facing the wildest, fiercest, most appalling storm this old world ever passed through, but the storm will be brief and beyond the storm there is a golden day, such as philosophers and poets never dreamed of. The writer is an optimist because he has deeply pondered and believes with his whole heart what the Bible teaches concerning the Second Coming of Christ.... In the return of our Lord is the perfect solution, and the only solution, of the political and social and commercial problems that now vex us.[99]

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97. *Outlook*, 9, 35 (27 September 1902), 27.
98. 'That Blessed Hope', *Christ and Glory*, 33-34. Quoted in Weber, *Shadow*, 55.
99. *The Return of the Lord Jesus* (Los Angeles, 1913), 7-8. Quoted in Weber, *Shadow*, 101-102.

For Torrey, and many conservatives whom he symbolised, dispensational theories of the Second Coming provided more than simply a future hope; Torrey claimed the Parousia as the ultimate guarantee of correct biblical hermeneutics, and thus of true Christian faith, in the face of modernist corruption and heretical diversions.

> In the truth concerning our Lord's return is the safeguard against all current heresies, errors and falsehoods.... One who knows the truth concerning the Second Coming of Christ has proof against them all. For example, no one who knows the truth concerning the Second Coming of Christ could possibly be misled by Christian Science, Millenial Dawnism [Jehovah's Witnesses], Occultism, Theosophy, or Bahaism [sic]. It is remarkable how all forms of error touch the doctrine of Christ's Second Coming, and are shattered by the truth revealed about it in the Scriptures.[100]

The doctrine of Christ's unexpected return even provided Torrey with another basis for making his ethical pronouncements. The moral yardstick was straightforward: 'Do not do anything that you would not be glad to have your Lord find you doing if He should come.... Never go anywhere that you would not like to have the Lord find you if He should come.... It is simply wonderful how that clears things up.[101]

In his recorded New Zealand sermons, there were occasional references to the Second Coming of Christ, but they were few and came incidentally in the context of discussions of other matters, rather than being themselves cause for debate. Even from these, though, it is clear that he assumed a dispensationalist eschatology. A reference was made in a sermon on the Last Judgment to the pretribulation rapture of Christians when he exempted believers from judgment because 'those who belong to Christ, who have accepted Him

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100. *The Return of the Lord Jesus Christ* (Los Angeles, 1913), 8. Quoted in Weber, *Shadow*, 29.
101. 'The Second Coming A Motive For Personal Holiness', *The Coming and Kingdom of Christ*, 229-231. Quoted in Weber, *Shadow*, 59.

as their Saviour... confessed Him before the world, will have been caught up to meet Him in glory'.[102] Another came casually in his talk to ministers. Part of the reward he envisaged for the minister who effectively discharged his vocation was visible aeronautical evidence of his fruitful ministry in the raptured crowds. 'What a day it is going to be for the faithful minister, as he sees the great company caught up by God with him to meet the Lord in the air!'[103] He therefore seemed to have proceeded on the assumption that his audience shared with him a certain understanding an felt it did not require labouring.

In general terms, Torrey believed he could condense the beliefs he preached under three headings: the Bible, a substitutionary view of Christ's atonement, and the power of prayer to move God.

> I believe in the Word of God. I believe in the Bible as God's absolutely reliable revelation of Himself to me, and I believe in the power of the Bible.... I know the old book is just what this old perishing world needs to-day as much as it ever needed it, and when men stick to their own opinions and everybody else's opinions, and just approach God's truth as He has revealed it in His Word, it meets the need of the hour.
> I believe in the power of the Blood of Jesus Christ. I believe that there is a power in that blood to atone for the sins of the vilest sinner, and that in a moment, as soon as he accepts Christ, that shed Blood will blot out every sin and make his record as white in God's sight as that of the purest saint in glory.
> I believe in prayer. I know God answers prayer; it is no theory with me.... I know God does definitely in answer to prayer the very thing that you ask Him to do. I know it; it is no guesswork. I am not able to explain the philosophy of it. What I am concerned with is not philosophy, but facts.[104]

Notable in this passage is the interest in power available to the believer through Bible, blood and prayer which was typical of the holiness/victorious life-oriented evangelicals from the late-

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102. *Outlook*, 9, 33 (13 September 1902), 23.
103. *Outlook*, 9, 35 (27 September 1902), 22.
104. Quoted in Davis, *Torrey and Alexander*, 229.

nineteenth century.[105] Also, there is the basis for the fundamentalist stance for which Torrey was to become increasingly well-known in his emphasis on the Bible as 'God's absolutely reliable revelation'. Further, the anti-intellectualism which was to characterise fundamentalism is clear in his distrust of human (presumably critical and scholarly) opinions in favour of an imagined ability to approach the Bible disinterestedly and with no preconceptions. Even prayer, which might be thought subject to some empirical verification, is removed from academic 'philosophy' to the realm of experientially true 'facts'.

This passage makes clear that Torrey had decided what were non-negotiable elements of Christian faith and practice and that he had no real interest even in debating others' doubts about what he took as given. This is the attitude which was to form the basis of the rise of fundamentalism in the succeeding decade, when, increasingly, critical scholars came to question and relativise the most central pillars of the conservatives' position. But the conservative response was not to debate and work through perhaps necessary alterations to their beliefs, but rather to assert them all the more loudly and forcefully. This resulted in an increasing polarisation of views, so that seldom did the two sides do more than talk to themselves and their own existing constituencies. More and more did the camps develop into 'fundamentalist' *versus* 'liberal'.

One of the major themes of Torrey's preaching, reflecting his interests as a leading figure in what would soon become fundamentalism, was the defence of the Bible. His lunch-time talks to Wellington and Christchurch businessmen were devoted to the topic

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105. See also the fuller discussion in Douglas W. Frank, *Less Than Conquerors: How Evangelicals Entered the Twentieth Century* (Grand Rapids, 1986), esp. ch. 4.

'Why I Believe the Bible to Be the Word of God'.[106] His reasons for so doing proved to be thoroughly subjective: 1) the testimony of Jesus, 2) fulfilled prophecies, 3) the unity of the Bible, 4) the immeasurable superiority of its teachings over all other books, 5) the omnipotence of the Bible (its endurance despite attack), 6) the respective personal characters of those who support it and those who reject it, 7) its power to influence lives for good, 8) its unfathomable spiritual depth, 9) its power to develop wisdom and holiness in people, and 10) the testimony of the Holy Spirit internal to the believer. The first of these arguments, though, is circular - the words of Jesus are not known outside the Bible and so one's acceptance of them depends on a prior conviction of the Bible's authority. The other reasons beg many questions regarding the causes and effects of unquantifiable phenomena and also assume the sympathetic assessment of the already convinced mind of faith. Torrey's 'reasons' may well have reinforced the beliefs of those already within his section of the Christian fold, but they would have appeared less convincing to those 'higher' critics who were uncovering ever more diverse biblical sources and theological strands, or those whose experience of professing Christians had exposed more hypocrisy than sanctity.

Torrey was in no doubt either about the origins of the Bible, an issue he saw as quite clearcut. His belief was 'emphatically in the affirmative' that all parts of the Bible were equally inspired by God. Further, he held to the most conservative view, verbal inspiration, of how the process was effected. Citing I Corinthians

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106. The talks were reported verbatim in *Outlook*, 9, 34 (20 September 1902), 22-26.

2.15, he asked, 'How could there be any inspiration unless it was verbal? There was no other way of communication.'[107]

Regarding the compilation of the biblical canon, Torrey quoted Luke 24.27 and 44 as proofs of divine guidance and therefore the limitation of inspiration to the canon. Higher criticism was dismissed as 'the most terrible jungle of confused voices' which agreed on nothing.[108] The total trustworthiness of the biblical testimony in all matters was assumed; the Acts of the Apostles, for example, was 'the only absolutely true Church history ever written'.[109] Further, he maintained his claimed position of complete neutrality and objectivity in interpreting the Bible. All he professed to do was to follow what the Bible said about itself - the only valid hermeneutical approach. When preaching on I John 4.8, 'the speaker was not going to give any theories of his own about these words. They were in the Bible, and if they wanted any interpretation they must go to the Bible for it.'[110] The method of

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107. *Outlook*, 9, 35 (27 September 1902), 12. This verse reads, 'The spiritual man makes judgments about all things, but he himself is not subject to any man's judgment.' It appears to have no direct relevance to the issue. Its use seems either to be a faulty reference by Torrey or the reporter (but no obvious alternative fits well either) or to be intended as a deliberate slight upon the spirituality of one who could question this theory of inspiration - a technique not beneath Torrey.
108. Ibid. These inspiration 'proofs' were from Jesus' post-resurrection appearances to his disciples at which he explained how Old Testament prophecies were fulfilled in himself. They say nothing about the process of inspiration in the production or canonisation of the New Testament writings over the succeeding several centuries.
109. *Outlook*, 9, 33 (13 September 1902), 22. This book was referred to for proof that 'the church of Jesus Christ marched forward with never a check' during the apostolic age, providing further proof of his assertion of the efficacy of prayer such as the early Christians indulged in. No notice seemed to be taken of the timespan covered by the book (some thirty years) nor of the setbacks which the early Church did, in fact, suffer.
110. *Evening Star*, 19 September 1902, 1.

determining this biblical self-interpretation was to seek for further prooftexts on a given topic. The sum of these references would then reveal the Bible's (and thus God's) mind. Torrey was not to be dissuaded from the validity of such a technique as he considered any aspect of the biblical message could be derived from any biblical text. When the evangelist was criticised directly for use of decontextualised prooftexts, the critic was immediately put at fault, as one attempting to avoid discrediting by a biblical truth. 'One could put it down to the fact that he had run against some text which knocked his theory out. Any text which was taken in its proper context was in the Bible, and there was nothing in the spirit of the Bible which could not be put into the text.'[111]

Nor did Torrey restrict the Bible to having purely theological worth. He weighed in with support for the Bible in Schools campaign on the basis of the Bible's surpassing literary merit and its consequent educational value for young minds. 'All the great sentences were in the Bible. When you shut the Bible out of your schools you shut out the literary masterpiece of the ages. - (Applause.) You are robbing your children of the greatest intellectual legacy of the ages.'[112]

Occasionally, Torrey addressed the question of evolution, but, predictably, dismissed it as unproved and unprovable speculation.

> "All that science has done," said Dr Torrey, "is to prove that higher forms of life have succeeded lower forms, but that does not prove that the higher grew out of the lower. Evolution is a hypothesis that has not one single proven fact to prove it. Even supposing the doctrine of Evolution was true, it would only be a more wonderful proof of the existence of a Creator.[sic][113]

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111. *Press*, 18 September 1902, 5.
112. *Evening Star*, 19 September 1902, 1.
113. *Outlook*, 9, 35 (27 September 1902), 28. The final sentence seems an unwitting concession to modernism, which argued for accepting a divine Creator without requiring the straitjacket of a literalistic reading of Genesis 1.

This conservative biblicism as the foundational emphasis in Torrey's thought and preaching was recognised and appreciated by his New Zealand hearers. In one meeting, a man went so far as to stand and say, 'I say, doctor, the reason of [sic] the blessing that has followed this work of yours is that you have brought back to us the Bible'. The audience showed its agreement by 'considerable applause'.[114]

The doctrine of Christ's substitutionary atonement was not strongly emphasised; rather, it was taken for granted. Occasionally it was made explicit, as in a talk to children when Torrey explained the necessity of some sinbearer to remove human sin and how God had provided Jesus for this purpose. The evangelist then had his youthful audience repeat this prayer:

> O God, I believe what Thou dost say about Jesus. I believe that Thou didst lay all my sin on Jesus Christ; and I ask Thee to forgive my sins because Jesus died in my place. Help me to believe Thou hast done it. Amen.[115]

When he did preach directly on the topic, Torrey stressed the cardinal nature of Christ's sacrifice in traditional evangelical fashion.

> We are only accepted when we accept the sin-bearer that God has provided. If the wickedest man in Dunedin were to come into this hall to-night and to accept Christ as his Saviour, the moment he did it God would blot out all his sin, and he will [sic] be as white in God's sight as the purest angel in heaven.[116]

The style in which Torrey delivered his message was more that of a teacher than of a preacher, formal, seemingly intellectual, and systematised with sermons typically organised around a small number of clearly defined key points. Thus, in one day, to a gathering of Wellington clergy, he outlined the three-fold nature of Christian

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114. Ibid., 15.
115. Ibid., 35.
116. *Outlook*, 9, 36 (4 October 1902), 23.

ministry, which required two specific preparatory tasks,[117] he produced for businessmen ten clearcut reasons for believing the Bible was the Word of God,[118] and he gave in an afternoon Bible reading three characteristics of successful prayer.[119]

The formality of Torrey's delivery was accentuated by his unequivocal exposition of what the clearly saw as the message of God to his hearers. Clerical observers repeatedly likened him to an Old Testament prophet and although they eventually concurred in praising his forthrightness, it was not without a touch of pastoral concern for the sensibilities of his hearers. The Rev. J.J. North, a leading Baptist, noted, 'For the doctor preaches the Gospel every time, though he generally reaches it by way of Sinai'.[120] The Rev. J.R. Murray, too, saw in Torrey the prophetic likeness.

> Surely this is one of the Hebrew prophets, strong in his vocation, searching sleepy consciences, and fulminating against the sins of the people. With intensest conviction that 'thus saith the LORD,' and by scathing invective, remorseless logic, and dauntless courage, this 'voice' crying with burning energy, tears down the refuge of lies, exposes every flimsy cheat, and hunts the guilty soùl out of its last ditch.[121]

The Rev. William Baumber, though, seemed to revel less in the thought of such stern denunciation. 'Dr Torrey's sincerity and moral earnestness were evident to all, but a little more tenderness and winsomeness would, I believe, have made his message more

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117. These purposes and supporting proof-texts were: (a) to save the lost (Luke 19.10), (b) to feed the flock (Acts 20.28), and (c) to train the Church (Ephesians 4.11-12). The preparatory tasks were commitments to prayer and to 'the ministry of the Word', i.e. preaching. Additional social, political and philanthropic work was specifically excluded. *Outlook*, 9, 33 (13 September 1902), 11. The full text was reproduced in *Outlook*, 9, 35 (27 September 1902), 22-25.
118. Ibid. Detailed in *Outlook*, 9, 34 (20 September 1902), 22-26.
119. *Outlook*, 9, 33 (13 September 1902), 11. No full report of the evening sermon was given in either the *Outlook* or the Wellington newspapers.
120. *Outlook*, 9, 35 (27 September 1902), 37.
121. Ibid.

effective.'[122] The Rev. Dr Erwin, another Presbyterian, heard, perhaps not entirely happily, a familiar message predating the contemporary modernist controversy.

> You can never get away from the conviction that he speaks with the deepest assurance that this is God's truth He [sic] is speaking to you, and for you to reject it is to bring condemnation on yourself. His teaching on all the points on which he has dwelt upon [sic] in his addresses here is the old evangelical doctrine of 50 years ago.... The substance of the teaching was the same, and there was the same deep, earnest, or, some people would say, dogmatic conviction that he had the mind of God in what he taught.[123]

Several of the commentators remarked with surprise on the fact that such uncompromising sternness should still attract the huge crowds it had, noting that people obviously appreciated such authoritative proclamation.[124]

His severity of presentation was indicated by an incident one night when he was given a prayer request on behalf of the girls in the dressmaking room of the D.I.C. in Dunedin. Some of the girls in the gallery laughed at this, 'which the doctor sternly repressed, and then urged the people "to pray for the silly girls who laughed"'.[125]

For all Torrey's apparent hardness in the conduct of his own preaching, he had no respect for the merely orthodox, the holding of correct opinions without a concomitant experiential empowering by the Holy Spirit. Wherever he went, he taught the necessity of a further spiritual step beyond conversion. For this step he used

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122. Ibid., 36. Another biblical comparison made was with Torrey as the bold, fearless Paul and Alexander meeting Baumber's concern as the encouraging, exhorting, sympathetic Barnabas. But the Rev. W.A. Sinclair also endorsed this concern as 'one could not help wishing that the wooing note had been more pronounced right through'. *Outlook*, 9, 37 (11 October 1902), 15.
123. *Outlook*, 9, 35 (27 September 1902), 16.
124. e.g. T.G. Brooke, *Outlook*, 9, 37 (11 October 1902), 16.
125. *Outlook*, 9, 36 (4 October 1902), 11.

several terms, the baptism, filling or empowering of the Holy Spirit. This experience would make 'the difference between a religion of mere letter and form and a religion of life and power'.[126]

Repeatedly, Torrey urged his hearers to seek to be endued with this special power from the Holy Spirit. To ministerial gatherings, he insisted on the existence and availability of such power to people to live fully Christian lives and to add an extra dimension to their ministry.

> I do not care how you phrase it. You may call it 'the filling with the Spirit,' the baptism with the Spirit, the enduement of power, or what you please. I would rather have the right thing with the wrong name than the wrong thing with the right name any day. But I say it is abundantly proven in the Word of God and by the experience of thousands of people that there is a definite enduement of power that makes a man a different being in the ministry after he has got it from what he was before he had it.[127]

He saw this power being attained through claiming it in prayer: 'The men of power have been men of prayer'.[128] One also needed to surrender oneself totally to God in order to be qualified to make this claim. He told of a dedicated minister who yet achieved little in his ministry and soon died 'broken-hearted'. 'The one step he would not take - absolute surrender to God, and claiming for himself the enduement of power.'[129]

This term, 'absolute surrender', was used as a technical one. The fact that the minister mentioned above was 'most fearless', a 'valiant hero for the truth', was inadequate. He still required some further act of dedication to achieve 'the fullness of the Holy Spirit'. 'When you and I come to God, holding absolutely nothing

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126. Ibid., 22.
127. *Outlook*, 9, 35 (27 September 1902), 25.
128. Ibid., 23.
129. Ibid., 25.

back, and we lay all we have on the altar, the fire of the Holy Spirit descends and accepts the gift.'[130] Nor would partial surrender be acceptable. 'You spend hours tripping on the light fantastic toe [sic] which you ought to spend on your knees in prayer to God, and yet you say, "My all is on the altar".'[131] This was to lie to the person of the Holy Spirit.

The personal nature of the Holy Spirit, the third person of the Trinity, was important to Torrey's view. He would not permit the Holy Spirit to be regarded as 'it', an impersonal power. Rather, the Spirit was a person who wanted to use the Christian. The difference had a practical effect.

> If you think of the Holy Spirit as an influence or a power, you will be all the time thinking of how to get more of the Holy Spirit; but if you think of Him as a Person, you will be thinking all the time of His getting more of you.... the conception of the Infinite God taking hold of little you and little me, and using us.[132]

God's using of Christians was a constant theme of Torrey's preaching and may account in part for the new vigour with which churchgoers in the centres visited pursued subsequent evangelistic activities. One sermon, entitled 'Heroes and Cowards', was devoted to rousing his hearers to 'confessing Christ' wherever and whenever possible.[133] Again Torrey could reduce his argument to three texts and five points, but his central point was that as Christ had done so much for his hearers, they should be ready to act in return. What exact form 'confessing Christ' should actually take was never exactly spelled out, perhaps because an audience of Christians should have known already, but it could range from talking in a

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130. *Outlook*, 9, 33 (13 September 1902), 15. This was a talk giving seven steps on 'How to Obtain the Baptism of the Holy Spirit'.
131. *Outlook*, 9, 36 (4 October 1902), 23.
132. Ibid.
133. Ibid., 28-30.

meeting of the blessings one had received from God to resisting attempts at seduction. Whatever the specifics, the overall effect was to motivate the audience to be obviously and audibly Christian with the object of affecting those around them.

The method of obtaining the power was prayer and in keeping with the general emphasis on this aspect of the mission, Torrey gave several talks on the subject. They were, predictably, usually pragmatic, segmented deliberations intended to assist hearers in putting the activity into practice. He managed to find a number of widely dispersed Bible verses which gave him the six hindrances to prayer, from selfishness to marital disharmony.[134]

Social Messages

Regarding Torrey's moral views and their expression, one admiring biographer compared him favourably with both an Old Testament prophet and John Knox in his denunciation of 'worldliness and all forms of sin'. These evils seemed to conform to a very narrow, small-town American morality which was becoming standard for evangelicals. 'In no uncertain terms he denounced dancing, card-playing, theatre-going, drinking, and smoking, for he himself had once engaged in these worldly pleasures and he knew thoroughly their pernicious effect upon the spiritual life of the Christian.'[135] In New Zealand, all the troubles of the world were laid at the door of sin, and, typically, three particularly pestilential forms of it at that. 'All the pain in the world came from sin, directly or indirectly. If whisky-drinking, tobacco-smoking, and fornicating

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134. *Outlook*, 9, 33 (13 September 1902), 11-13.
135. Davis, *Torrey and Alexander*, 248. This claim was repeatedly made, as in his appeal to the Hillside workshop workmen. 'He

Footnote 135 continued on next page

could be taken out of the community, all the doctors would be out of work.'[136]

These topics acted as ongoing social sub-themes beneath the ostensibly theological-evangelistic agenda of Torrey's preaching. He illustrated one sermon with an anecdote of a New York socialite faced with a polar choice between 'the silly dance' and 'Jesus Christ and Eternal Life'. Puritanical religiosity lost! 'The young lady was a beautiful dancer and very fond of it, and said, "Well... if it's a question between [sic] giving up my dancing and taking Jesus Christ, I shall keep to my dancing and let Jesus Christ go".'[137] The evangelist believed that the very act of dancing derived from and led to immorality and made clear to Dunedin women why. His explanation also provided a clear example of his approach to ethical decisionmaking - erecting fences removed as far as possible from the core sin.

> A man is allowed to take a position as regards a woman in the most respectable dances in private homes that no decent man takes toward any decent woman but his wife. Now, I can't see why hugging to music is any better than hugging without music. - (Laughter.) If we were not blinded by custom, modern dances would not be tolerated anywhere but where they came from - and that is the brothel.[138]

At this same meeting, Torrey dealt with two other evils which were presumably of particular relevance to women. He charged them

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Footnote 135 continued from previous page
(the speaker) knew all about the pleasures of the racecourse and the card table, and other worldly excitements, but speaking from a twenty-seven years' experience of Christ he could affirm there was no happiness to equal it.' *Evening Star*, 22 September 1902, 6.

136. *Outlook*, 9, 35 (27 September 1902), 28.

137. Ibid., 7. In an unwontedly generous moment several years later, Torrey did concede that dancing was permissible - provided men and women did not do it together! Weber, *Shadow*, 61-62.

138. *Evening Star*, 27 September 1902, 4. He declared as an example that the waltz had originated with 'abandoned women' in France.

with special responsibility to safeguard the home from the pernicious influence of the social game of cards played for family entertainment. 'The family card party of the respectable home is the kindergarten for the gambling hell. If there is any country on earth that needs to repudiate anything that comes within 400 miles of gambling, it is New Zealand, which is cursed from top to bottom by this cursed practice.'[139] He admitted to his own childhood experience of learning to play cards within the home, but while it might be innocently permissible in that context it was impossible to contain there. Card playing should therefore be proscribed totally. The other feminine vice at which Torrey felt obliged to fire a broadside was involvement in theatre as such activities rendered one subject to immoral influences which threatened the persona of saintly purity the evangelists ascribed to womanhood. 'It has morally corrupting effects on actresses. I am not saying that every woman on the stage is immoral - God forbid that I should do so - but I do know that the stage takes away that fine womanly modesty from women.'[140] He concluded this homily by asserting that those who indulged in the specified transgressions could never expect to receive full spiritual blessing. Such was available only to those who were completely pure. 'Dances are unclean, cards are unclean, and the theatre is unclean. If you want the Holy Ghost, let these things alone.'[141]

His opposition to smoking was not based on health grounds, but rather assumed an associated social stigma which would impede Christian witness. He challenged a gathering of ministers that, 'there is not one of us here this morning who does not know that the

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139. Ibid.
140. Ibid.
141. Ibid.

use of tobacco will not hurt his influence with somebody'.[142] He felt no need to explain why; its non-Christian nature was taken as patent to all, including to those outside the church needing to be 'influenced'.

Support was given to prohibition at every possible opportunity. A gathering of children read aloud the motto, 'Dunedin for Jesus'. Alexander's commentary was. '"If Dunedin belonged to Jesus it wouldn't have all these nasty publichouses, would it?" "No," came the ready response from Young New Zealand.'[143] The children knew at least the attitude expected of them. In Dunedin also, Alexander included the 'Prohibition War Song', 'Strike Out the Top Line', in his congregational singing,[144] and when a critic of Torrey's certainty of divine approval asked him if he could also walk on water, Torrey replied that, 'I can walk a great deal better on water than I can on whisky'.[145]

He attempted to paint as dramatic and black a picture as possible, implicating every aspect of the liquor trade in its guilt. 'Any man who sells whiskey [sic] to another, with the result that it leads to his death, is a murderer. The Government which legalises the sale of that drink is a party to the murder, and every man who

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142. *Outlook*, 9, 35 (27 September 1902), 25. Quite how this was received by the ministers was not made clear as a number of them were themselves smokers. See, e.g., Lawrence Harold Barber, 'The Social Crusader: James Gibb at the Australasian Pastoral Frontier, 1882-1935' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Massey University, 1975), *passim*. Gibb, a heavy pipe-smoker, was a leader amongst Dunedin clergy, not only those from his Presbyterian denomination, and was closely involved with the mission, often on the platform.
143. *Outlook*, 9, 37 (11 October 1902), 7.
144. *Outlook*, 9, 36 (4 October 1902), 13.
145. Ibid., 15.

votes for the continuance of its sale is also a party to the murder.'[146]

Part of Torrey's proof of the moral superiority and influence of the Bible, whilst economically also blackening the image of biblical critics, was to compare the perceived incongruity of one's taking a Bible into a bar with the permissibility of taking Ingersoll's *Mistakes of Moses*.[147] The association thus suggested linked in the hearer's mind the theological corruption of modernism with the moral corruption of alcohol and the public house. Torrey was also concerned that indulgence in alcohol would impair one's witness as a Christian. He related a personal experience of being stricken with thirst while in Germany but refusing to drink the only beverage available, beer, for fear that word of the lapse might travel across the Atlantic - 'Suppose someone you had helped over in America should get to hear that you drank beer when you were away from home'.[148]

In his attacks on the perniciousnness of gambling Torrey felt compelled to assert that every man who gambles and wins is a thief, while every man who loses is a fool, prompting one rejoinder that, 'This may be true, but the man who runs religious services on the circus principle and is presented with a purse of sovereigns occasionally - well, he is no fool.'[149]

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146. *Press*, 9 September 1902, 5. It is unclear whether he assumed erroneously that only men could vote in New Zealand at that time or that women as saintly homemakers would naturally vote against such a destructive influence.
147. *Outlook*, 9, 34 (20 September 1902), 37.
148. *Outlook*, 9, 35 (27 September 1902), 25.
149. *Evening Star*, 22 September 1902, 5. This, of course, occasioned a further acrimonious debate.

Not all the places in hell were reserved for the sexually immoral, drunken or gamblers. Exploiters of the poor also received some attention.

> Here is a man growing rich by robbing the poor, the widow and the orphan. He grows richer and richer while his victims go out to the poorhouse, or die of insufficient food. He is one of your leading citizens. As he rolls down the street in his smart turn-out, men point him out to their sons and say, 'There's what I call a successful man', while the victims of his legal robbery are starving and overworked. Do you mean to tell me that that man will not go up before a holy God and receive the just reward of his sin? Of course, there is a day of wrath and judgment![150]

Torrey could be quite evenhanded in his application of the Eighth Commandment. 'An employer who pays his employees an inadequate wage is a thief. An employee who does not give honest and diligent work for his hire, is a thief. A man who pays less for property than he knows it to be worth, is a thief. A man who takes advantage of another's ignorance in, say, selling land, is a thief.'.[151] Torrey thus demonstrated a less narrowly circumscribed social conscience than many of his American evangelical contemporaries, but his social concern faltered as he postponed the amelioration of such injustices to eschatological judgment, rather than necessarily calling for immediate temporal rectification.

The lack of clarity and certainty many might experience in making ethically correct decisions was easily overcome by Torrey. He swept aside all such concerns with a single, simple rule: 'The way to find out is to ask, "What will it please Jesus to have me do?... Can you imagine Jesus playing cards, or dancing, or smoking? No, of course not. Then you may be sure He would not be pleased if He saw you doing these things.'[152] Jesus, or, rather, his

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150. *Outlook*, 9, 35 (27 September 1902), 27.
151. *Outlook*, 9, 34 (20 September 1902), 12.
152. *Outlook*, 9, 35 (27 September 1902), 35.

evangelical representation, thus became the model for ethical behaviour, although on none of these activities was there any direct biblical comment.[153] Torrey also neglected to mention the positively recorded instances of Jesus creating and consuming wine. The naivety of such an approach is pointed up by the frequency with which he insisted that people make clearcut decisions about matters of which the Bible does not treat, and those where the only available options are evils.

It was claimed that Torrey's social teachings were bearing fruit in the wider community. A minister told Christchurch businessmen that at least one Wellington firm was installing new office carpets so that callers could be enjoined to kneel down 'right there', and it was taking the further step of providing new, more comfortable, seating for the factory's workgirls. 'The work of Dr Torrey and Mr Alexander had done more than the Factories Act, and it would be a good thing if they could be engaged to go round and set these matters right. - (Laughter.)'[154] The *Outlook* editor repeated this story and told of hearing of other businessmen 'squaring their bank accounts by the dictates of their conscience', including by the donation of large sums for charitable and religious purposes, while in Dunedin the city trams were halted on one Sunday to enable the workers to attend the mission (although no-one seemed to consider how people from the suburbs might otherwise make their way in). The editor hoped for 'Holy Ghost men', inspired by the mission, to offer

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153. Interestingly, too, the use of Jesus as the great example and role model was a key feature of the theological liberalism current at the time. Indeed, it was almost to this role alone (and in their own Victorian liberal image) that such theologians had reduced his work, in contrast to the supernatural and spiritual salvific roles assigned him by the more traditionally orthodox.

154. *Outlook*, 9, 34 (20 September 1902), 35. The Factories Act of 1891 and its later amendments were pioneering and farsighted

Footnote 154 continued on next page

themselves as parliamentary candidates at the coming election in order to 'banish the giant social evils which afflict our land' - and to restore the Bible in public schools.[155]

These social effects were regarded as particularly significant by the evangelicals as vindicating their view that in order to change society individuals must first be changed, that personal spiritual reform must precede any meaningful social reform. Hence the repeated comparison between the benevolence of converted businessmen and the effects of the Factories Act. In triumph, Alexander improvised 'It will stop Sunday tram cars' as a verse of 'The Old Time Religion', thus claiming the civic protection of the Sabbath as due to the power of the gospel, of 'true religion' itself.[156] The hopes to use the political influence of 'Holy Ghost' parliamentarians in the Bible in schools debate also suggest the ways they believed such influence should be used, and the necessary position for a Christian politician to hold on this vexed question.[157] Obviously, the first duty of such Christian politicians was the promotion of conservative Christian sabbatarianism and morality.

One feature of the evangelists' comments which gave a different social message to their listeners was their standard portrayal of

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Footnote 154 continued from previous page
legislation establishing minimum conditions of work, hygiene, working hours and age.

155. *Outlook*, 9, 36 (4 October 1902), 4, 15.

156. Ibid., 28. Such public effects, though, infuriated some others. 'Anti Humbug' wrote, 'I do strongly object as a citizen to having our city trams turned into places for public worship and hymn-singing. Our trams are public property.... In my mind the truly religious person is a quiet, inoffensive one, not one that behaves like a fanatic as some of these people appear to be doing at present.' *Evening Star*, 25 September 1902, 5.

157. Coinciding with the mission was a nation-wide plebiscite on the topic. The *Outlook* published weekly reports of its progress and of the popular support which the movement

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normative family life. Particularly, they assumed certain social attributes for the different sexes, stressing the faithful, self-sacrificing piety of the mother. Fathers were seldom alluded to, but mothers were frequently mentioned and always presented in a positive light, socially and spiritually. In one Christchurch meeting, during the singing of 'Where Is My Wandering Boy Tonight?', a story was told of an Australian drunk who was saved through the singing of that song, and the appeal was made, 'Now, if there's a man away from his mother's God go to Him now'.[158] Here drunks were men and mothers were pious - did fathers not believe? Alexander made a point of informing audiences that he kept a photograph of his mother in his song book to mark the place of 'It's Our Mother's [sic] Way'.[159] The emotional power associated with the maternal bond was fully exploited, too, for increasing the response to appeals. This seemed to be a standard ploy for use with the men of the railway workshops, an attempt to reach them emotionally rather than by argument in the short time available at such meetings. The Addington workers received not only the story of the husband-murderer told at Petone, but Alexander added the song 'Tell Mother I'll Be There' and then asked, 'Hands up who have mothers in heaven'. The reporter noted, 'A considerable number of hands were immediately held up, an act which seemed to carry the words of the hymn home to the heart....'[160] The same song was re-used at the Hillside workshops although the sermon was changed.[161]

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claimed. See, for example, *Outlook*, 9, 32 (6 September 1902), 1-2; 9, 33 (13 September 1902), 1-2, 6; also, Ian Breward, *Godless Schools* (Christchurch, 1967).

158. *Outlook*, 9, 35 (27 September 1902), 7. On these songs, see below, Chapter Nine.
159. *Outlook*, 9, 34 (20 September 1902), 34.
160. Ibid., 15.
161. *Outlook*, 9, 35 (27 September 1902), 29.

It was not only on railwaymen that this approach was employed. To a Christchurch children's meeting, Alexander again sang the same song and again asked for all those with mothers in heaven to raise their hands, eliciting a substantial response.[162] The reason for the use of such techniques with railwaymen and their effectiveness may be a matter for speculation, but the impact on the children this and the sermon had was to induce 'a time of great movement in the hearts of the children, who rose en masse to signify their intention to accept Jesus as their Saviour'. Workers had to divide them up by ages and were kept busy for over an hour dealing with hundreds of enquirers.[163]

Feminine virtue generally was prized highly. Torrey made a distinction between moral evil and natural evil and to illustrate the vast gulf between them told of a beautiful young woman who starved to death rather than marry a man who would 'buy her virtue'. 'Better it was a hundred times that she should prefer starvation. - (Loud applause.)'[164] Her death was preferable to the relaxation of her moral standards. Yet women were also presented as prone to being led astray spiritually, distracted magpie-like by bright and glittering baubles, even by those who should have assisted and guided them. One of Torrey's anecdotes told of a young woman whose father determined to distract her from her Christian commitment by offering her fine clothes, jewellery and social activities. She soon fell ill, 'and from her deathbed she directed her nurse to bring her birthday dress and spread it out before her. She then requested her jewellery to be placed on it, and, sending for her

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162. *Outlook*, 9, 34 (20 September 1902), 36.
163. Ibid.
164. *Outlook*, 9, 35 (27 September 1902), 28.

father, she said, "These things are the price of my soul." She sold her soul to pleasure.'[165]

The evocation of the image of the pious mother, especially if dead and presented as beseeching her beloved child to imitate her faith, was obviously a powerful weapon in the evangelists' armoury. For parentally-dependent and emotionally malleable children its employment is understandable, if reprehensible by modern standards, but why should it be used on a group that would appear to be a polar opposite, the railwaymen? Was the late-Victorian adult male so susceptible to emotionalism, or had the evangelists miscalculated? There was never a full appeal given from which one might judge the effects.

Certainly, though, some social stereotypes were being reinforced.[166] Firstly, there was the softspoken, selfless mother in the home, an ardent Christian and 'prayer warrior', dedicated both to her children and to her Lord. But there was also the portrayal of children who left home and faith as social rebels, denying and subverting not only their religion and Saviour, but also the basis of society, the family, and its pillar, their mother. Also, by his very absence from this scenario, another was being typecast. The father was represented no longer as the spiritual head of the household - the mother had assumed that role - and his absence from the stories and songs may indicate an assumption that

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165. Ibid., 7. This was one of the few appearances made by a father in any of Torrey's stories. Another was told by Alexander of a Christchurch man whose anger over an issue had been rebuked by his little girl quoting at him the song 'A Little Talk with Jesus'. He followed this by telling of 'an angry and severe husband and father' who walked out on his family. The child, 'looking into the grieved mother's face, said, "We made an awful mistake when we made pa".' Ibid., 8. This story 'brought down the house'.

166. On the effect of the songs used, see below, Chapter Nine.

he was not even present as an effective force within the household, perhaps being instead a frequenter of those 'nasty publichouses' and even a subverter of his children's spiritual wellbeing.[167]

RESULTS AND EVALUATION OF THE MISSION

The results of the mission were mixed and perhaps not entirely what the mission organisers might have expected. No source gives complete statistical information regarding the number of people who responded directly to the evangelists' message. Neither is there any indication of what sorts of responses were made, whether they were for conversion or for some form of rededication, perhaps seeking to 'surrender all' and to acquire the 'baptism of the Holy Spirit'. There were, though, some clues to the types of effects the work had.

Following the Wellington mission, the *Outlook* reported over 500 adults had given their names as converts, as had 'a large number' of children.[168] Also in Wellington, a branch of the Y.M.C.A. was formed as a result of the mission.[169] In Christchurch, a victory

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167. He may also have been physically destructive. When Torrey sought examples for his exposition of the Sixth Commandment, he chose the wayward son who kills his mother by breaking her heart with his profligate lifestyle and the husband who drives his wife to a slow death by his drinking, unfaithfulness and cruelty. Again, the male's atheistic antisocial nature was contrasted with the passive but continually loving and submissive wife and mother. *Outlook*, 9, 34 (20 September 1902), 12.

168. *Outlook*, 9, 33 (13 September 1902), 6. Of these, 150 children and nearly 200 adults were converted on the final day. There was some discrepancy, though, as the *Press* quoted a telegram claiming 750 Wellington converts. *Press*, 9 September 1902, 5.

169. *Press*, 11 September 1902, 5; *Outlook*, 9, 36 (4 October 1902), 30.

of great public relations value was gained when the local secretary of the Free Thought Association and his wife were converted.[170] In Dunedin, a committee was formed to arrange a conference of country ministers at Milton for a month later and one participating minister rejoiced that he had received sixty names, many of young men, who wished to join his church.[171] The overall numerical effect on the membership of the New Zealand churches is unclear. The churches' rolls were generally growing slowly at this time and there is no indisputable evidence to link the mission with such increase as took place in 1902.[172]

Many wrote ecstatically of less quantifiable outcomes. Rev. Charles Dallaston, a senior Wellington Baptist minister, believed that 'in all the meetings there has been noticeable an enthusiasm of the rarer, richer kind - a power only to be explained by the pressure [sic] of the Holy Spirit'.[173] Others stressed the 'unparalleled unanimity of the Churches', or the prayer meetings, remarkable initially for their huge size and then for their widespread continuation in individuals' homes throughout the mission time.[174] Another Baptist minister, Rev W. Lamb, thought particularly the men of Wellington had been reached so that 'in every place where men congregate, the chief topic of conversation is the great Mission'.[175] Torrey himself seemed to concur with this assessment, and the *Outlook* printed as proof a testimony written by a businessman who had been restored from 'coldness of heart' to 'the joy of full salvation'.[176]

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170. *Outlook*, 9, 36 (4 October 1902), 26.
171. Ibid., 8; *Outlook*, 9, 37 (11 October 1902), 15.
172. See Appendix.
173. *Outlook*, 9, 33 (13 September 1902), 1.
174. *Outlook*, 9, 34 (20 September 1902), 21.
175. Ibid.
176. Ibid.

In Christchurch, the assessments were even more of the same. All commentators described the way the community at large were awakened in their interest in religion generally and in the mission particularly. A Baptist, the Rev. J.J. North, claimed, 'Men you overheard upon the streets or on the cars were discussing the perennial problems of religion. Theatrical companies found that their business was suffering from a paralysis.... The Mission Hall was the objective of every man in a hurry.'[177] The attendances far exceeded any earlier religious gathering, with up to 10,000 at times. The Canterbury Hall could take only 3,500, another 600 went to the overflow venue, but some 6,000 remained in the street to hear Alexander sing and local ministers preach. Regarding the converts, few spoke directly, beyond saying that there were very many. One minister dealing with them could describe them as 'exceedingly hopeful cases'.[178]

But the more observant or detached reporters of the mission meetings had noticed that, in fact, the evangelists were not making the desired impact on the community at large after all. In one Dunedin meeting, so well-attended that some were sharing seats, still 'the class of men hoped to be reached by this method were conspicuous by their absence. Scanning them narrowly, row by row, it was easy for any one intimately associated with Dunedin church life to locate the great body of them.'[179] The zealous crowds were comprised very largely of those who already attended churches.

Sometimes there were so many Christians attending that the non-Christian target group could not even gain access. In Christchurch, 'Sinner' complained of Christians singing 'I Surrender All'. 'Why

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177. *Outlook*, 9, 35 (27 September 1902), 37.
178. Ibid., 36.
179. *Outlook*, 9, 36 (4 October 1902), 11.

do not these people surrender their seats to the so-called sinning public.[sic] By so doing they would be helping the class of people that want to be reached by the Lord' - as the writer himself wished.[180] Torrey had occasionally to resort to subterfuge in attempting (unsuccessfully) to solve this problem. In one meeting, he suddenly called out, 'Hands up those who would like to do something for Jesus Christ!' Those who responded were obliged to leave their seats and decamp to the overflow meeting.[181]

The mixed results of the mission and that it did not, in fact, sweep the country with a New Zealand Great Awakening might have come as no surprise to those who had observed closely events in the Mother Country.[182] In 1901 the Evangelical Free Churches in England had decided to run a massive simultaneous mission, first in London, then throughout the country. They used many of Britain's leading nonconformist clerics and evangelists over nearly six weeks. The numbers of converts indicated a success, but it was readily apparent that no missioner had really managed to attract non-churchgoers. Hindsight showed an uneven and temporary effect on overall church growth and within a few years every nonconformist denomination was suffering absolute decline. As Derek Tidball observes, the trusty old evangelistic methods had already proved of decreasing effectiveness throughout the nineteenth century. The evangelicals failed to realise both this fact and also that they were without the influence of former days while facing a new situation of 'a fundamental shift in the social context'. The earlier patterns of evangelism were perpetuated with little question

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180. *Press*, 13 September 1902, 9.
181. *Outlook*, 9, 36 (4 October 1902), 12.
182. Derek Tidball, '"A Work so Rich in Promise": the 1901 Simultaneous Mission and the Failure of Co-operative Evangelism', *Vox Evangelica*, 14 (1984), 85-103.

or modification, meaning that '[F.B.] Meyer's fear that the Free Churches would become a ghetto were largely to be realized and evangelism largely became a preaching to the converted'.[183]

The direct effect of the New Zealand mission was diffused from the major centres in which the evangelists worked personally by the numbers of people who travelled in from rural areas. Some cheap rail fares were offered and the Dunedin meetings, for example, drew those from Palmerston and Waikouaiti to the north and Balclutha to the south. Roxburgh in Central Otago sent a contingent of ladies who had to make a forty-mile coach trip even to reach a railway station, 'and in like manner from almost every Otago township where the iron horse could run came its tale of men and women'. In one meeting, 'at least one sixth of the men... and many women' were visitors from the country.[184]

Beyond the three cities in which Torrey and Alexander operated, there was also another lesser-known missioner, Rev. James Lyall, a Scot with American experience, who was travelling the country simultaneously conducting other campaigns and attended by some success. He spent most of July and August evangelising in Auckland, assisted in the opening stages of the Wellington mission, then moved up the east coast of the North Island to Napier, where he gained 350 converts, then to Gisborne.[185] Following this work, he came south, with Torrey's recommendation, to extend the mission in Dunedin, working there with the Alexander choir and also in the Garrison Hall from 5 to 15 October.[186]

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183. Ibid., 100.
184. *Outlook*, 9, 36 (4 October 1902), 11-12.
185. *Outlook*, 9, 35 (27 September 1902), 5.
186. *Evening Star*, 29 September 1902, 1.

But conversions, however many they were, formed only part of the beneficial effects of the mission seen by some observers. Rev. J.R. Murray noted the 'hundreds' who were new converts; however, he also saw that the churches had been internally revitalised. There were many claiming the Baptism of the Holy Ghost through 'sincere surrender' and this was bearing tangible fruit in the new enthusiasm for personal service and usage of the Bible, so that, 'Ministers and people alike are held by a sturdier faith and a brighter hope'.[187] For Dunedin, this was reiterated by Rev. D. Borrie who saw in the morning and afternoon talks and Bible readings on ministry and devotional life to special groups the times of 'deepest, most lasting, and far-reaching effects of the Mission'.[188]

CONCLUSION

Perhaps the major effects of the 1902 Torrey mission were seen, then, not in a flood of new recruits, but in a new empowering of those already within the churches. Some observers even perceived this directly. In Dunedin, T.G. Brooke was certain of it.

> The mission has tended more to the deepening of the life of Christians themselves than to aught else, and this is especially true of ministers. Into some lives there has come an enrichment of character and an inducement [sic] of power to which they have heretofore been strangers, while to all there has come a new act of consecration, and, as a consequence, a fuller and more blessed realisation of the Divine presence.[189]

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187. *Outlook*, 9, 35 (27 September 1902), 37.
188. *Outlook*, 9, 37 (11 October 1902), 12.
189. Ibid., 16.

This would have resulted from the active joint co-operation of many normally disparate Christian groups who came together for organisational purposes, prayer meetings, choirs and the mass meetings. The large crowds assembled in themselves would have generated substantial fellow-feeling and encouragement regarding the size and vitality of the Christian community, especially since Alexander made this one of his chief aims. And the message was both comfortable and comforting. Despite the comparisons of Torrey with the Old Testament prophets, the activities and beliefs which he challenged were those of the community *outside* respectably middle-class evangelical Christian piety and morality. Those attending the mission would hardly have been at the forefront of those seeking admission to bars, racetracks or dancehalls. Torrey's inveighing against such vices would thus have been cheering rather than challenging, reassuring his hearers of their possession of the high moral ground.

Likewise, Torrey's biblical and theological messages defended traditional orthodoxy and dismissed contemptuously modern critiques of such beliefs. No-one then need be concerned to face them squarely and deal with them directly. The critics had been labelled as religious and moral subversives, trading God's inspired (and therefore inerrant) Word for idle human speculation, and therefore already plunging down the slippery slope leading to alcohol, gambling and damnation. Such links thus made, Torrey's hearers could feel secure in their existing belief and behaviour patterns, reinforced rather than threatened.

From this new security and feeling of wellbeing and purpose would then flow the improving of church life. The Bible could be read and referred to with renewed assurance of its authority. In

Richard Mouw's terms, Torrey had made extensive 'doctrinalist' use of it, as well as applying it to piety and morals. Prayer and devotional activities could be confidently practised as clear instruction had been given and experience gained. Many, too, now had new skills and motivation for personal evangelism, or deeper involvement in their local church.

Torrey and Alexander had received very wide-ranging support in their New Zealand campaign. Their activities obviously met with at least tacit approval from many in both churches and the community. There was some criticism, but in public it was limited to a few outspoken individuals. Such an event would have reinforced the solidarity of Protestant evangelicalism, still the bulk of Protestant Christianity in New Zealand. They had seen tens of thousands turn out to the meetings and heard the Bible and their own beliefs defended with great persuasive power. There had also been many souls added to the Christian fold. If there were not as many as had been hoped for, no-one bemoaned the fact - all else had worked together to produce a very enjoyable time of great encouragement.

The mission of Torrey and Alexander to southern New Zealand in 1902, therefore, seems to have resulted in an internal revitalisation of many churches and individual Christians. Their beliefs and moral code were reinforced rather than questioned by the evangelist and thus internal cohesion and activity were built up. The ostensibly evangelistic campaign, though, did not result in very large numbers joining the churches for the first time, nor in the nationwide spiritual awakening many hoped for. Rather, its primary message was of social and religious conservatism, telling once again 'the old, old story'.

CHAPTER FOUR

I LOVE TO TELL THE STORY:

THE MISSION OF J. WILBUR CHAPMAN 1912-1913

> My hope is that the Church may be strengthened in every way, and that great numbers may be added to the membership of the various bodies. My hope is that the indifferent may be made to realise that God loves them, that the Church is not indifferent to them, and that we really long to see them brought to Him.... My sincere hope is that my ministry may be a helpful one, and that I may not labour in vain.[1]

This was the message with which J. Wilbur Chapman began his nationwide evangelistic campaign in New Zealand in 1912 and 1913. It summarised several of the main emphases which he was to stress repeatedly: the winning of new converts into the Christian faith, the revitalising of the existing churches and their members, individually and collectively, and the assistance and encouragement of the churches to develop and continue their own ministries into their surrounding communities. Unlike that of Torrey a decade earlier, this mission was in two segments, encompassing more than a year, and covering all four of New Zealand's major centres. The evangelist was again an American, closely linked both with the person and revivalistic traditions of D.L. Moody and with the flourishing North American conservative pietistic biblicism.

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1. *Outlook*, 19, 13 (26 March 1912), 7.

THE EVANGELIST: J. WILBUR CHAPMAN

Chapman was a mid-Westerner, born in Richmond, Indiana, in 1859.[2] Throughout his early life, he was constantly in contact with other leading lights in the revivalist galaxy. He attended Oberlin College, where Finney had had such influence, arriving just before the great man's death, and graduated from Lake Forest University in 1879. He studied for Presbyterian ordination, graduating in 1882 from Lane Theological Seminary, which had been established in the 1830s by another leading revivalist, Lyman Beecher.

His life was affected repeatedly at crucial stages by D.L. Moody. Although he had professed Christianity before attending college, he lacked assurance of his salvation and received this while a student through the personal ministry of Moody himself.[3] Chapman also attributed his call to evangelistic work to Moody.

> During the early part of my ministry I was the pastor of a rich conservative church. One day Mr. Moody came into my life. Putting his hand on my shoulder he said, 'You are making a mistake in your ministry; what you are doing does not count for much. Your preaching does not win souls. I say it to you in all kindness.' At the time the rebuke hurt me, but I thought about it for days and weeks, and,... on the sixteenth day of October, 1892, I came to the place where, under the influence of Mr. Moody, I said, 'Oh God, I am willing to be made willing about everything,' and if there has been any victory in my preaching; if there has been any helpfulness in my ministry; if there has been any ability to win souls, I know when the change came.[4]

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2. Many biographical details are taken from Ford C. Ottman, *J. Wilbur Chapman: A Biography* (Garden City, 1920); also *Outlook*, 19, 9 (27 February 1912), Supplement.
3. Ottman, *Chapman*, 29-30.
4. J. Wilbur Chapman, *Power and Its Secret* (Melbourne, n.d.), 23-24.

J. Wilbur Chapman. Australian Christian World, Showers of Blessing (Sydney, 1909).

Another key association was with Torrey through Moody Bible Institute, of which Chapman he was vice-president during Torrey's reign. His itinerant evangelistic ministry was further informed by years of pastoral experience in very large churches in New York and especially Philadelphia, where the Bethany Church he had charge of by age 31 had the largest Sunday School in the United States.

A great weight was always placed by Chapman on the fact that he was no irresponsible fly-by-night, but that for a decade he had had the official backing of his denomination for the itinerant ministry. In Dunedin he publicised his credentials, 'I come commissioned for evangelistic work by the General Assembly of the Northern Presbyterian Church of America.... I was then set apart by the General Assembly to the denominational evangelistic work, and five years ago I was set free to conduct interdenominational missions wherever God might call me.'[5] He had conducted his first world-wide evangelistic campaign after joining forces with Charles Alexander in 1907, reaching Australia in 1909.[6] Following that, he was engaged in almost continual evangelism, including some major missions in America, the most recent before the 1912 voyage to Australasia being in Ireland. By the time he reached New Zealand he had written a number of books on Christian life and piety, developing typically Holiness-oriented themes, and had published other volumes of his sermons.

He was founder of the Winona Bible Conference, an annual Indiana counterpart to D.L. Moody's Northfield Conferences, with the

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5. *Otago Daily Times*, 19 March 1912, 3. He made clear that the financial support for this work came from the proceeds of $5 million bequeathed by John H. Converse, of Baldwin Ironworks of Philadelphia, a wealthy Presbyterian layman, to finance Chapman and to assist him to train other evangelists.
6. Alexander had parted company from Torrey in 1908 amidst controversy regarding his use of, or plagiarism from, other

Footnote 6 continued on next page

intention of promoting traditional Christianity but combining it with an emphasis on practical piety and social action.[7] This conference was part of the network of 'prophetic' conferences established during the late nineteenth century originally to give opportunity for the dissemination of dispensational theology, but developing broader doctrinal concerns as conservatives felt more and more threatened theologically. Through these conferences, Chapman became one of the leaders in the popularisation of premillenialism and of Holiness teachings, but never in isolation from social concerns.

Unlike many other evangelists, Chapman developed a reputation for an interest in the material welfare of those outside the Church. His 1894 work, *Received Ye the Holy Ghost?*, from its title a standard Holiness text, advocated the involvement of truly Spirit-filled and empowered Christians in all manner of social and community work. William G. McLoughlin has argued that this social activity was based on conservative rather than radical principles. Rather than pressing for government involvement in social welfare, Chapman advocated the philanthropy of the rich and of voluntary agencies such as the Church. This may well have seemed quite appropriate in a wealthy church such as Bethany which included mission and evangelism-minded tycoon John Wanamaker amongst its elders.[8] But, ultimately, pietistic concerns overrode any real

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Footnote 6 continued from previous page
musicians and their works. William G. McLoughlin, *Modern Revivalism: Charles Grandison Finney to Billy Graham* (New York, 1959), 374. Throughout *Alexander's Hymns* virtually every piece not a biblical paraphrase or a Wesley or Newton classic has its international copyright claimed by Charles M. Alexander.

7. George M. Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture: The Shaping of Twentieth-Century Evangelicalism, 1870-1925* (Oxford and New York, 1980), 135-138; Ottman, *Chapman*, 96-108.
8. For Wanamaker and his sponsorship of mass evangelism, see McLoughlin, *Modern Revivalism*, *passim*.

empathy for the plight of the destitute. 'If you tell me yours is a home of poverty and Jesus abides with you, then I know you do not mind poverty.'[9] But others have noted that a personal commitment to putting into practice his own preaching was demonstrated in the Bethany Church's community programmes, including a day nursery, diet kitchens and an employment bureau.[10] This expanded into helping to develop a hospital, an industrial bureau for the sick and unemployed and a college for giving training not only in academic subjects but also in technical and vocational skills such as architecture, dressmaking and domestic science. Even his evangelistic team had often included such men as Charles Stelzle, a leading exponent of 'social Christianity'.[11]

Chapman's own stated position was an attempt to maintain a balance, to seek social sensitivity while holding fast to the essentials of evangelical Christianity, giving evangelism a prominent position. He agreed that Jesus was primarily concerned with spiritual redemption rather than 'social improvement', and the preaching of the Gospel somehow contained the solution to all social ills. When questioned on these issues, he asserted, 'Everything else has been tried and has failed. The preaching of the old-fashioned Gospel and the teachings of Jesus Christ will be found sufficient for all the different problems that face us to-day'.[12]

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9. Quoted in McLoughlin, *Modern Revivalism*, 384.
10. Marsden, *Fundamentalism*, 83.
11. Dale E. Soden, 'Anatomy of a Presbyterian Urban Revival: J.W. Chapman in the Pacific Northwest', *American Presbyterians/Journal of Presbyterian History*, 64 (1986), 54. 'Social Christianity' was one of a variety of contemporary synonyms for Christian involvement in social reform, the 'social gospel' which became associated with theological liberalism, and against which so many conservatives came to juxtapose their conception of biblical Christianity. See 'Social Gospel', in *The Westminster Dictionary of Church History*, edited by Jerald C. Brauer (Philadelphia, 1971), 775-777.
12. *Otago Daily Times*, 19 March 1912, 3.

But he was not content to leave the matter simply with 'gospel preaching' and social inertness.

> But so far as I am concerned I do not understand why we may not do our utmost for those who are in distress; why we may not study most carefully the economic conditions and present a cure for the ills which confront us to-day and menace our future so sorely; why we may not have all that is suggested by the writers on Social Topics, and yet at the same time hold to all that has made the Evangelical Church strong in the past, and for myself, I do.[13]

He certainly opposed publicly any gospel which failed to move beyond seeking individual blessing and salvation and which did not galvanise the Christians into good works in the world around them. 'It is time to cease preaching a selfish salvation which has its end in the salvation of the individual, and it is time that we preached that when we are saved we are supposed to reach out after others.'[14] More than this, he believed that Christians could expect ultimately to suffer divine retribution if they shirked such matters. 'I must in no uncertain way declare that these times in which we live certainly demand that after one is saved, there is a service he must render to those is need in the name and spirit of Jesus, and failing in this, he will be called to a strict account at the Judgment Seat of Christ.'[15]

EXPECTATIONS OF THE MISSION

When Chapman arrived in New Zealand there were already expectations and perceptions abroad about both him and the mission

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13. J. Wilbur Chapman, *Revival Addresses* (Melbourne, 1909), 16.
14. Ibid., 20.
15. Ibid., 32.

and what they would be able to achieve. He and his New Zealand supporters made plain their opinions about the person of the evangelist, how evangelism should be conducted, and what they considered it could achieve.

The personal reputation which preceded Chapman to New Zealand was greater even than that which Torrey had enjoyed. One writer to the *New Zealand Methodist Times* declared, 'Dr. Chapman has proved himself in our judgment to be the greatest living evangelist, with the possible exception of Gipsy Smith'.[16] Others noted the large crowds which attended Chapman's meetings and that he was an acceptable speaker 'free from extravagance and sensationalism. He has proved himself a man mighty in power, mighty in the Scriptures, and mighty in the faith.... He is an expert soul-winner, and a master in the sacred art of adapting the Gospel to all the diversities of human need.'[17] Advance information received from Australia was also laudatory. One writer claimed that, 'no other public speaker Australia has yet known - either amongst the Churches or in the political world - has even [sic] drawn such crowds, or swayed them so completely.'[18]

The impression Chapman created as a person was less severe than Torrey's, and of one, perhaps, in closer touch with ordinary human beings, without the stern, unforgiving scholarly manner. One reporter reported, with a touch of relief, 'there is nothing odd about him'.

> He is just a simply-dressed gentleman with an honest look that would give to a bewildered child confidence to ask him the way home. And once one has heard him speak one would instantly say that he would have no hesitation in giving gladness to a lost child. His manner is magnetic, but not forceful. He means to encourage, and not to denounce. His

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16. *New Zealand Methodist Times*, 2, 20 (27 January 1912), 5.
17. *New Zealand Baptist*, 28, 338 (February, 1912), 31.
18. *New Zealand Methodist Times*, 2, 24 (23 March 1912), 16.

> speech is fairly swift, but clear and controlled.... There is nothing dreamy about him, and he obviously believes that what this shaggy, merry-sad world needs most to-day is a robust spirituality.[19]

He was neither a figure of fun nor a pulpit comedian brimming with bonhomie. An Australian writer described him as possessing 'the look, the bearing, the accent of a gentleman', and as 'full of grave self-respect, and of respect for others'. His pulpit manner centred on 'the dark eyes, the serious face, the look of command, the accent of certainty in every syllable, the under note of pathos running through the whole sermon'.[20] A Wellington observer described him as 'strong, imperious, full of his message' and 'brooks no hindrance or interruption. What he had to communicate was so important to him that although he continually emphasised the spoken word by gesture and stance, he had 'no platform tricks' and 'there is nothing extravagant, nothing at all'.[21]

It seemed that the winsomeness of the missioners' genteel respectability was of almost paramount importance in acceptance of their work and message. One writer noted that 'of course' there had been criticisms, 'but the work is of God, the Missioners themselves are lovable personalities, to know them is to have one's mind swept clear of all prejudice and misunderstanding. In a word, they are Christian gentlemen and Christian ladies, with whom one feels it an honour to be associated.'[22] The evangelist pre-empted any question of disreputableness by drawing attention to his denominational standing and consequent subjection to the appropriate church courts. The assertion was also frequently made that he was working on behalf of the local churches. 'No evangelical [sic] campaign was worth

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19. *Evening Star*, 19 March 1912, 4.
20. *New Zealand Methodist Times*, 2, 24 (23 March 1912), 16.
21. *New Zealand Times*, 31 March 1913, 11.
22. *New Zealand Methodist Times*, 2, 25 (6 April 1912), 6.

while unless the missioner was in a sense the servant of the minister.... He would be a poor man to stand in front of immense audiences every night and say anything that would detract from the Church.'[23] In addition, he saw little difference between his meetings and how a church service should properly be run. 'to his way of thinking an evangelistic mission was just a church service a bit intensified. He would not preach a sermon in a mission that he would not preach in his own church in New York.'[24]

Chapman took very seriously the business of being an evangelist. It was no ordinary employment - he was convinced that he personally had to do this work on God's behalf, that 'he was called of God'.[25]

> It is the almost overwhelming sense of the greatness of his responsibility that makes the compelling earnestness of his appeal all but irresistible. 'With all the apportunities [sic] I have had, and the privileges that have been granted me in this work,' he confessed, 'I never come to a meeting like this without trembling. I rise with as much trepidation as when I preached my first sermon almost as a youth....' His fear was that in the presence of this magnificent opportunity he might fail to make them understand how with all their hearts, whether they preached or sang, they longed for their hearers to receive Jesus Christ as a personal Saviour.[26]

This responsibility was not only on the hearers' behalf, but also on his own. His trepidation extended to the prospect that in the final divine analysis he might be found not to have fulfilled his God-given commission to his full potential. 'It is a solemn thing to be a preacher of the Gospel.... I shall not only stand before the bar of your own judgement, but I shall stand before the bar of God's judgement. I can never be the same after this meeting. Either my responsibility is increased or my reward in the skies is made greater.'[27]

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23. *Evening Star*, 19 March 1912, 4.
24. Ibid., 4.
25. *Press*, 8 March 1913, 6.
26. *Otago Daily Times*, 21 March 1912, 8.
27. *Evening Star*, 21 March 1912, 8.

He continued in this sermon to explain why he was an evangelist.

> There are two propositions, listen.... Our religion is true or false. If it is not true, then I am wasting my energies and insulting your intelligence; if it is true I owe it to every man to tell him of Jesus.... And this is true: that every man, woman, and child old enough to know the difference between right and wrong is in danger.... I am not responsible for any man's conversion. I have never converted anyone; I never shall convert anyone. But I am responsible for making plain the fact that He may save even to the uttermost.[28]

This revelation of his *raison d'être* also made clear several other elements of his thought. There was a claim to the exclusiveness of one system of religious belief, in this case a certain strand of Christian thought. It included an assumption of a requirement made on every individual to consciously accept or reject that particular system, to make a decision to become a Christian. Thirdly, the evangelist felt, as most such would have claimed, an awareness of a special calling by God of an individual, in this case Chapman himself, to present this choice to as many people as possible as persuasively as possible, to convince them to make the right decision. The results of that presentation might be left in divine hands, but Chapman the evangelist was compelled to do his part to the best of his ability.

A similar hope for and expectation of a national spiritual awakening resulting from this campaign existed amongst many churches as it had for Torrey's earlier mission. The first chorus, sung repeatedly at the mission's commencement in Dunedin, was,

> O Lord, send a Revival!
> O Lord, send a Revival!
> And let it begin with me![29]

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28. Ibid.
29. *New Zealand Baptist*, 28, 340 (April, 1912), 72.

In the mission's final stage in Auckland, the prayer of the local campaign chairman was still 'that God's own power might work through the missioners and bring a great revival to the city'.[30]

The spiritual and social necessity seemed clear: 'Two thirds of our people are outside the Church. Many of the children are growing up in utter ignorance of the Word of God, and there is an appalling amount of worldliness and indifference in our congregations.'[31] Interestingly, this writer, the Rev. J. Pattison, who was the Presbyterian Assembly's evangelist and a strong promoter of the mission, did not see the remedy directly in terms of a great influx of new converts into the churches. Rather, his vision was more of intramural enlivenment. 'We need a revival of Bible study and prayer, of personal work and missionary enthusiasm.'[32] Doubtless this should then have led to the churches attracting greater numbers, but here he perceived the missioners' role more as catalysts to spiritual growth and fervour than as directly evangelistic.

Pattison's prescription for effective Christian preparation for the mission comprised very much the same ingredients as those recommended before Torrey's mission a decade earlier. He advocated looking to God for blessing, expecting great things from God rather than assuming a defeatist stance in advance. They should also work in organisational preparedness rather than remaining mere spectators, joining in unity and furnishing the mission with a large number of eager volunteer helpers. Above all, there should be preparation in prayer; 'the results of the projected campaign will

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30. *New Zealand Herald*, 18 April 1913, 6.
31. *New Zealand Methodist Times*, 2, 20 (27 January 1912), 4.
32. Ibid.

correspond largely to the faith and effort and prayer put into the campaign'.[33]

The editor of the *New Zealand Baptist* looked for national awakening too. 'We earnestly hope that God may use them here to lead a vast host home to Himself. It is long since our people had a general spiritual awakening.'[34] He also expected that the work would most benefit the churches as Chapman worked with, rather than outside them, to 'strengthen', 'enlarge' and 'encourage' them and break up New Zealand's communal spiritual apathy.[35] Again, true revival would only come if there was sufficient prayer supporting the mission. The *Baptist* editor encouraged those who could to work heartily as choristers, ushers and personal workers. But in a long and impassioned plea, he laid the responsibility to pray on all alike. Without that no part of the work could succeed, but with it divine approval was assured.

> The Missions will be powerless and fruitless unless they are baptised in prayer. The most eloquent sermons Dr. Chapman can preach will fall on unmoved hearts unless he is clothed with spiritual power in response to the pleading of God's people. The sweetest Gospel songs Mr. Alexander and his choirs can sing will merely entertain the audiences, unless they are winged to the heart by earnest intercession. All the advertising and circularising will prove ineffectual, unless the blessing of God is secured by importunate and believing prayer. No prayerless Mission was ever yet successful, and no Mission bathed in prayer was ever yet a failure.... Even the aged and infirm, the crippled and the bedridden, and the lonely dwellers in the blackblocks [sic], can assist to an unguessed degree....[36]

Chapman himself also expected spiritual awakening in New Zealand and, as with Torrey before him, claimed to discern advance signs of it around him. 'I think there is a rising tide in the Church. The spirit of evangelism is spreading. The day of opportunity is

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33. Ibid.
34. *New Zealand Baptist*, 28, 339 (March, 1912), 41.
35. *New Zealand Baptist*, 28, 338 (February, 1912), 31.
36. Ibid., 32.

dawning.'[37] But once again the onus for the awakening's actual coming to fruition was placed on believers' faithfulness and diligence in doing God's work. 'I believe that the Dominion may be powerfully moved for God, if we have the right spirit in our services, and if our desire is to be loyal to Him.'[38] He attempted to transmit his vision to his Wellington audience with an opening sermon entitled, 'The hour is come when we may expect a revival',[39] and followed it with one based on the assumption that 'there never has been a great revival without prayer'.[40] In the mission's second phase, they attempted to systematise the seeking of divine assistance with the formation of a New Zealand Prayer Circle, pledged to pray specifically for the mission, its fruits and the subsequent ministries of the evangelists.[41]

But despite these examples of a widespread confidence that the mission would engender large-scale revival in the country, the *Outlook* printed an Australian address on the nature of evangelism, given with the forthcoming mission in mind, which may also be seen as expressing the caution of some within New Zealand. The speaker agreed that special evangelistic efforts were necessary as many churches 'are living to eat and not to work', and 'must be spoon-fed, living a parasitic life'. But he then asserted strongly that 'Dr Chapman does not mean a revival', that 'Missions can be "got up", revivals cannot' and must rely on the activity of the Holy Spirit. Thus, for anything greater than mere excitement to be generated, more must take place than simply human organisation.[42]

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37. *New Zealand Baptist*, 28, 341 (May 1912), 90.
38. Ibid.
39. *New Zealand Times*, 27 March 1913, 3.
40. *New Zealand Times*, 28 March 1913, 3.
41. *New Zealand Baptist*, 30, 351 (March 1913), 54.
42. *Outlook*, 19, 4 (23 January 1912), 17-19.

Beyond the benefits accruing to New Zealand churches generally, some saw both Chapman and Alexander's having Presbyterian denominational affiliations as providing an opportunity for advancing specifically sectarian interests. The editor of the *Outlook* advocated the establishment of special funds to assist Presbyterian ministers and home missionaries to attend the meetings, especially to stimulate their evangelistic zeal. 'Dr Chapman is the foremost Presbyterian evangelist in the world at the present day, and his coming to New Zealand means a tremendous impetus to Dominion Presbyterianism.'[43] Later in the same issue, he reported in detail a recent meeting in Ulster which presented Chapman as the representative of a move for world-wide evangelism, effective especially amongst Reformed churches, and sponsored by the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in America. In the following two issues, Chapman, then operating in Belfast, was again portrayed as the spearhead of a renewed evangelistic interest amongst Presbyterian churches internationally.[44] Another minister looked for enhanced nationwide Presbyterian cooperation, believing there was 'a danger of our churches becoming too provincial in their relations one to another', and opined that the mission would help to bring the denomination's churches into closer contact with each other.[45]

Those who hoped for specific assistance for Presbyterianism were to be disappointed. The loyalty of the mass evangelist again transcended such narrow constrictions. Despite Chapman's frequent references to the responsibility he owed to his denomination back in

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43. *Outlook*, 19, 2 (9 January 1912), 5.
44. *Outlook*, 19, 3 (16 January 1912), 16; 19, 4 (23 January 1912), 20-22.
45. *Evening Star*, 27 March 1912, 9.

the United States, he maintained that his primary allegiance was to the institutional Church in all forms. In an earlier campaign, he had declared, 'There are two things I will not allow anyone to tell me..., and that is, I won't allow anyone to tell me the days of revival are over, for they have just begun, and I will not preach a denominational sermon. I am first, last and all the time a Christian.'[46] In Melbourne, he announced, 'We are not here to preach denominationalism', and the *Outlook* editor later admitted that the 'revival' embraced a very broad sweep of New Zealand Christianity, 'all who hold the evangelical position; in short, all who believe in Jesus Christ'.[47]

EVENTS OF THE MISSION

The high level of support existing in the country for Chapman and his evangelistic style was demonstrated in the way the visit to New Zealand came about, as the result of numerous invitations from New Zealand churches. Writing to the *New Zealand Methodist Times*, the Rev. J. Pattison, made public that in 1909, which would have been when they first campaigned in Australia, Chapman and Alexander were also invited (unsuccessfully) to New Zealand by the Presbyterian General Assembly. He further revealed that in the following year another call was sent by 'the leading representatives of the Protestant Non-Episcopal denominations, including the

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46. *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, (12 April 1905). Quoted in Soden, 'Urban Revival', 54.
47. *Outlook*, 19, 13 (26 March 1912), 4. Shortly afterwards, the *Outlook* editor apologised to any who might feel he had taken too partisan an approach and by way of reparation singled out

Footnote 47 continued on next page

Methodist Conference...', and that the ministers' associations of the four main centres then extended a third series of invitations. Finally, the same cities responded to a suggestion of the Australian Evangelistic Executive in Melbourne and made a successful application to be added to the 1912 Australian crusade.

It seemed to be important to the mission's appearance of respectability that the missioners were not perceived as mere itinerants seeking personal fame and fortune, but that they were truly sought after and needed by New Zealanders. Pattison added, 'It will thus be seen that Dr. Chapman does not - like some evangelists - come to New Zealand self-invited, but that he is coming *in response to our invitation.*'[48] It seemed, too, that the mass evangelist's criterion of widespread advance support operated strongly for Chapman. Pattison also stressed that the evangelist had made it clear that he would not consider an invitation, nor would his committee permit his involvement, 'unless his services were unanimously and heartily desired by the ministers, and they were prepared to make the needful preparation for his mission'.

The organisation of the mission was uncertain until only a month or two before the evangelists arrived. The mission party sailed from London to Melbourne in February and then took ship almost immediately for the South Island. The original expectation had been that the whole country would benefit from their attentions at the one time, but in 1912 they did not come north of Dunedin. Instead their return to cover the rest of the country was delayed for a year, until the middle of 1913.

Footnote 47 continued from previous page
for special praise leaders from other denominations who had made notable contributions to the mission. *Outlook*, 19, 14 (2 April 1912), 4-5.

48. *New Zealand Methodist Times*, 2, 20 (27 January 1912), 4.

Landfall in New Zealand was made at Invercargill on the afternoon of Monday 18 March 1912. A short meeting was held immediately for ministers and Christian workers at the Y.M.C.A. and a full evening service was conducted that night, when Chapman began the campaign optimistically with a sermon on 'The Triumph of the Supernatural', based on II Kings 7.6, 'The iron did swim'. He later described this as 'one of the best one-night missions he had experienced in any part of the world'.[49]

On the following day, the party journeyed by train to Dunedin, squeezing in three-to-five minute services at Gore and Milton while freight was being loaded. The luncheon of welcome provided at First Church was seemingly intended to emphasise the evangelists' respectability and wide acceptance. The cosmopolitan group of civic notables attending was described in imperial terms: 'Anglican dignitaries, the Executive of the Council of Churches, knights of the Press, nabobs of commerce and finance, politicians, the Mayor of Dunedin, men of labour, and men of law'.[50] The mission was opened that night by a sermon on Acts 19.2, 'Have ye received the Holy Ghost since ye believed?', immediately introducing one of the main theological themes of the mission, the call for greater spirituality from Christians.[51]

In Dunedin, the Council of Christian Churches joined with the Dunedin Presbytery in sponsoring and taking responsibility for the mission. The Committee had difficulty in securing a hall with a large enough seating capacity, so considered building one at a cost of £600. They did manage to hire the Brydone Hall, the largest in town, usually used for agricultural shows and seating up to 4,000,

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49. *Otago Daily Times*, 19 March 1912, 3.
50. *New Zealand Methodist Times*, 2, 25 (6 April 1912), 5.
51. *New Zealand Baptist*, 28, 340 (April, 1912), 72.

with His Majesty's Theatre adjoining for overflow meetings, and existing facilities suitable for enquiry rooms. In order to provide the required seating, churches from throughout the city loaned forms and the organisers hired still more chairs. A choir gallery, seating a further 400, was also erected.[52] The Council's spiritual preparations included weekly combined meetings, with a portion of each devoted to prayer, special weekly meetings in the individual participating churches, again for prayer and publicity, and a series of home, or 'cottage', prayer meetings scattered throughout the city.[53]

A party of about twenty accompanied Chapman on the southern segment of the mission. The Chapman and Alexander brought their wives and a secretary each.[54] Robert Harkness was again the pianist, Mr Norton was the specialist to talk about and supervise the 'personal work' and another specialist, Mr Ernest W. Naftzger, was employed to do the soloist work Alexander had performed on the previous tour. They each also were accompanied by their wives. There were, in addition, a small group of dignitaries travelling at their own expense: a Mr Dennison from New York, Sir Robert Anderson (Bart.), a former Lord Mayor of Belfast and his wife, Mr and Mrs McLoughlin also of Belfast, and Mr A. Hope Robertson of Glasgow, nephew of prominent British Parliamentarian Sir Henry Campbell Bannerman. These all participated freely in the personal work after the meetings. The mere presence of such respectable notables was appreciated by some as an additional evangelistic influence. 'Of the whole party of twenty, not one is idle, and the

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52. *New Zealand Methodist Times*, 2, 24 (23 March 1912), 16.
53. *New Zealand Methodist Times*, 2, 25 (6 April 1912), 5.
54. This was Chapman's third marriage, his two previous wives both having died. Ottman, *Chapman*, 57, 103. In 1904, Alexander had married Helen Cadbury of the Birmingham industrial family.

example of men and women of wealth, of high social and commercial standing, crossing the world at their own cost to participate in evangelistic missions cannot fail to influence many who would perhaps otherwise remain untouched.'[55] On the other hand, those sensitive to other social pressures might have been put off attending by the association with the mission of such wealth and good breeding - the observation that attenders were largely churchgoers indicate the lower, less 'respectable' classes social groups were, in fact, discouraged from coming.

The Dunedin mission achieved such good results that it was felt desirable that it be lengthened. The original plan had been that the whole South Island should be covered in the 1912 campaign, but Chapman, seeing how successful the Dunedin mission was, requested that the Christchurch section be deferred until the following February. This permitted Dunedin an additional fortnight, but Christchurch's *quid pro quo* was the payment by Dunedin of the £100 costs already incurred and the extraction of a promise of their own mission's duration being extended to three weeks.[56] After the mission was extended from twelve to twenty-seven days, the group left for Bluff on 15 April.

After nearly a year spent campaigning in Australia, the missioners returned to the country, arriving 18 February. The party's composition had changed slightly with the addition of the Rev. G.T.B. Davis to represent the Pocket Testament League, the replacement of Naftzger as soloist by Mrs Harkness, the Australian

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55. *New Zealand Methodist Times*, 2, 25 (6 April 1912), 5. This seems a reflection of the attitude in Victorian and Edwardian Methodism labelled 'mahogany religion' by Peter J. Lineham, *New Zealanders and the Methodist Evangel: an Interpretation of the Policies and Performance of the Methodist Church of New Zealand* (Auckland, 1983), 10. See above, 63.
56. *New Zealand Baptist*, 28, 341 (May 1912), 91.

NOON-DAY MEETING AT ADDINGTON RAILWAY WORKSHOPS, NEAR CHRISTCHURCH, NEW ZEALAND, MARCH, 1913.

TRAIN STOPS TWENTY MINUTES FOR REFRESHMENTS! NEW ZEALAND, APRIL, 1913.

(Both photographs from Helen C. Alexander and J. Kennedy Maclean, Charles M. Alexander: A Romance of Song and Soul-Winning (London, n.d.), 193).

pianist's wife, and the defection of the accompanying dignitaries, apart from Dennison.[57] They held only four meetings in Dunedin, then moved inland to Central Otago, holidaying and conducting two meetings in Queenstown. After five days in Timaru, the long-awaited Christchurch mission began on 4 March, the afternoon meetings being in the Y.M.C.A. and the main evening meetings in a huge purpose-erected marquee seating 2,500, with two smaller tents adjacent for after-meetings. Here Chapman felt that 'the people had been kind and responsive and the spiritual harvest more abundant than they had expected'.[58]

Nearly three weeks in Wellington were begun on 26 March. Apparently, the evangelists were not so sanguine about the prospects in the capital city, which was not so welcoming. This was because of 'the little preparation that had been made and because of the discouraging outlook due to the lack of coöperation on the part of the Wellington ministers'.[59] The meetings were not so well attended as elsewhere, the men's meeting only partially filling the Town Hall and drawing from one speaker a derisory comparison with Christchurch.[60] Only in Wellington, too, was it reported that Chapman initially had problems of order, having to tell people to remain quietly seated until the end of the service as 'this isn't a picture show. And don't let us have any talking as you go out. If you want to talk you must go out on the street.'[61] Then a heckler created some disturbance on the following night.[62]

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57. *Dominion*, 27 March 1913, 6.
58. Ottman, *Chapman*, 251.
59. Ibid., 252. Another allusion to opposition was made in the Baptist report which talked of initial lack of 'interest and fervour' and stated that as the mission progressed 'prejudices melted'. *New Zealand Baptist*, 30, 355 (July 1913), 134.
60. *Dominion*, 7 April 1913, 6.
61. *Dominion*, 27 March 1913, 6.
62. *Dominion*, 28 March 1913, 8.

The mission's social standing was further enhanced in Wellington by having an official welcome accorded them at the campaign opening there by Prime Minister William Massey, a Presbyterian and loyal Orange Lodge member. As occurred elsewhere, the chief benefit perceived by him was not spiritual or ecclesiastical, but the influence the evangelists might have for raising the social tone, for 'good' in the community in general. He welcomed their coming as 'they were out, not in the interests of any sect or persuasion, but for the promotion of Christianity as a whole and for the betterment of mankind'.[63] Such an attitude may reflect the desire of community leaders to have all conform to middle-class moral values such as those the evangelists advocated (the Waihi gold mine strike had been the previous year and the 1913 waterfront strike was to occur within six months), or the churches may have been so closely identified with such values as to be assumed as civilising agents working for social good thus conceived.

However, the results were not to be so poor after all, it seemed. Attendances increased and the Town Hall was well filled for most of the last week. 'The meetings began with manifestations of power, continued with ever-increasing blessing, and ended in final triumph. Some of the most remarkable conversions were those that occurred in Wellington.'[64] One observer felt it was not only a good mission, but 'in many respects the best ever held in Wellington'.[65] Also, jealous of every evangelistic opportunity, the missioners were able to use some ingenuity to extend their time in Wellington by one day. Instead of closing on Sunday 13 April, they

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63. *New Zealand Times*, 27 March 1913, 3.
64. Ottman, *Chapman*, 252.
65. *New Zealand Methodist Times*, 4, 1 (3 May 1913), 2.

held an early evening meeting on the Monday and rushed to catch the 9 p.m. train north.[66]

The final stage of the mission was held in Auckland, where the 'extraordinary results' gained were attributed by Chapman's biographer to the extensive 'spiritual preparation' which had gone on in that city. The evangelists claimed this mission to be 'the most fruitful of all' and certainly the support for it was extensive and ongoing. Again, Ottman waxed eloquent over the entire city being 'pervaded by the Spirit of God'.

> Meetings of great power were held in homes, in factories, and on the streets. The people in general declared that never before had the city been so spiritually awakened. The unusual blessing was due largely to the early and earnest preparation. The spirit of prayer prevailed before the arrival of the party and continued throughout the series of meetings. Ten thousand cards had been circulated from the churches pledging the subscribers to daily prayer for the Chapman-Alexander party, the ministers of the city, the members of the churches, and the unsaved of the city.[67]

Although the largest halls available were always used, attendances were large and the competition for seating was fierce. Regularly, 4,000 or more gained access to the town halls, but there were often many who failed. Nightly, the huge marquee in Christchurch had even standing room filled. The sides were rolled up and the crowd outside stood many deep around it. In Auckland, 'A Sinner', a seventy-year old, wrote to the newspaper in an attempt to have the doors opened earlier as even the several hundred there an hour early could crush and injure the frail.[68] The number of people from the churches assisting in the mission was substantial.

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66. After ending in Auckland, they would return home to America (Alexander to his wife's home in Birmingham, England) and then commence a Scottish mission in Glasgow on 5 October. *Press*, 4 March 1913, 8.
67. Ottman, *Chapman*, 252.
68. *New Zealand Herald*, 22 April 1913, 4.

In Auckland, nearly 500 were in the choir and about 250 attended the training session run for them by Norton.[69]

The large crowds gave generously towards the costs of mounting the mission. Typical was the Auckland situation where several days before the campaign's close, it was announced that the offerings given had already met the campaign's expenses and that all subsequent giving would be passed directly to the mission party.[70] Early in the Wellington mission, Chapman and the committee had needed to publicise the more than £500 of costs and to request generous giving. In the event, these expenses were met with three days to spare. The remainder of the giving was to be a thank-offering to the missioners.[71] The profit from the sale of hymn books did not benefit the evangelists, but went to deserving causes, in Wellington to the support of two Dunedin divinity students.[72]

Like Massey's speech in Wellington, the unusual welcome personally afforded the missioners by the Auckland mayor, Mr C.J. Parr, offered another insight into some of the reasons why they were well received by the community, and perhaps by many churchgoers too. It was not directly for their spiritual contribution so much as for their assistance in the raising of community moral tone. Seemingly, anyone else might have done just as well.

> Any agency or movement which made for good citizenship in the community, and made for honest and pure administration was worthy of a welcome, and because of this the city wishes them well. 'I am no narrow sectarian,' said the Mayor, 'and would be just as pleased to welcome the representatives of any

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69. *New Zealand Herald*, 17 April 1913, 5.
70. *New Zealand Herald*, 7 May 1913, 5.
71. *New Zealand Times*, 12 April 1913, 5. Chapman did observe that since the team had agreed originally to come to Australasia for a fixed sum for a nine-month period, which would finally have been extended to nearly two years, both he and Alexander would be personally out of pocket by £1,000 each. *Outlook*, 20, 10 (11 March 1913), 6.
72. *Dominion*, 28 March 1913, 8.

other sect or body with similar objects as I would the distinguished gentlemen who are now here.'[73]

The powers of endurance that the evangelists displayed on this campaign were once again remarkable over both the short and long term. On a typical day in Dunedin, the second Sunday of the mission, Chapman preached in First Church in the morning, spoke to a large women's gathering at 2:15 p.m. and to a men's meeting at 3 p.m., led the 'strenuous' after-meeting, preached again at the Central Mission at 6:30 p.m. and to the main meeting of 4,000 people at 8 p.m. At 10:30 a.m. the following day, he was still able to address powerfully a ministerial gathering 'without displaying the slightest symptom of Mondayishness'.[74] At the close of the Auckland mission the extent of the missioners' workload was revealed. During the fourteen-month Australasian campaign, Chapman had conducted 745 services. Alexander had attended those and been involved with even more.[75]

Like Torrey before him, Chapman ran separate meetings for different social and interest groups. In Dunedin, in a pattern repeated elsewhere, there were a 'Home Day', stressing families and seeking response from youth, an Old People's Day, meetings for businessmen, men, ministers, and church office-bearers, women and

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73. *New Zealand Herald*, 19 April 1913, 9. Such a statement in a formal welcome to the recipients' faces actually reads as more insulting than welcoming and may suggest that at least by some in the community they were merely tolerated.
74. *New Zealand Methodist Times*, 2, 26 (20 April 1912), 4. On the other hand, in addition to their hard work, the evangelists were also happy to enjoy the scenic beauties of the country. '"You might say," the doctor added, "that we are all tremendously impressed with the country. It is beautiful, the people are fine people; you have a great opportunity. Christchurch is great. We've felt quite at home here, indeed we have." Mr Alexander echoed these remarks. "The hedges," he said, "are fine. And the river - the river's a peach".' *Lyttelton Times*, 24 March 1913, 10.
75. *New Zealand Herald*, 9 May 1913, 5.

girls. A highlight of a lunch-hour service at the Mosgiel Woollen Mills was the singing of 'He Will Keep You from Falling', which pianist Robert Harkness had originally written especially for the girls in the Belfast linen mills.[76]

The evangelists' wives were not mere passengers on the journey. If it was not considered appropriate to lead and preach when men were present, they were still usually involved in post-meeting counselling of enquirers, and also competently handled the leading of meetings arranged especially for women. In Auckland, Mrs Alexander and Mrs Harkness led a women's meeting 'filled to the doors' in the Town Hall concert chamber and Mrs Alexander preached, giving 'an eloquent appeal'. At the same time, Mrs Chapman and Mrs Norton ran a 'packed' session for younger women in the nearby Baptist Tabernacle which gained 150 converts.[77] This system was repeated a week later.[78]

THE METHODOLOGY OF THE MISSION

The campaign was so well organised and systematised that it was seen as a 'lesson in "scientific missioning".'[79] The variety of meetings for specific groups, the supporting activities and speakers, the very supervision of the congregational seating, all

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76. *Otago Daily Times*, 21 March 1912, 8. In Wellington a special afternoon service was held for 'the bodily weak - the lame, the blind, the maimed, and the halt', although for the usual evangelistic service, not a faith healing meeting. *New Zealand Times*, 5 April 1913, 4.
77. *New Zealand Herald*, 28 April 1913, 5.
78. *New Zealand Herald*, 5 May 1913, 4.
79. *New Zealand Methodist Times*, 4, 2 (17 May 1913), 7. This was a hallmark of Chapman's work. He had, for example, pioneered

Footnote 79 continued on next page

worked together to facilitate the specific work of the evangelists. The careful division and subdivision of groups of people was noted as one of Chapman's secrets of success; it permitted him to get 'at close grips' with each group in a way impossible with more diverse audiences with more diffuse interests and where issues became more complicated. The clergy were one key section, the church office-bearers being another. The process of division continued with and in the after-meetings, meetings for old people, businessmen, men and women, boys and girls.[80]

A variety of methods were used to publicise the work in advance. In Dunedin, for example, huge posters on billboards, small placards in shop windows and individually-circulated invitation cards advised the city of what was about to happen.[81] After each meeting, some form of decision card was signed by the converts, perhaps of the type Chapman used in America.[82]

Chapman's work deliberately focussed on supporting and enhancing the life and growth of the local churches. In Dunedin, he held a special 'Church Day', when each church met on its own to consider how best it might foster the continuation of the mission's impetus. (Knox Church was reported as drawing 350 for the occasion.) He recommended three specific objectives to which church members should pledge themselves: '(1) Special daily prayer for the ministry; (2) Regular attendance at the mid-week prayer meeting or service; (3) To

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Footnote 79 continued from previous page
'simultaneous evangelism, with a large city being visited by a team of evangelists. McLoughlin, *Modern Revivalism*, 377-382. Also, the current middle-class emphasis on specialised training and education led him to be the first major evangelist to employ a team of specialists for dealing with specific groups. Soden, 'Urban Revival', 52.

80. *Outlook*, 19, 14 (2 April 1912), 4.
81. *Outlook*, 19, 11 (12 March 1912), 8.
82. A statement he employed was, 'Turning from all past sins, and trusting in the Lord Jesus Christ for salvation, I do hereby

Footnote 82 continued on next page

do personal work in inviting people to Church, and more especially to mark out friend or acquaintance to be won for Jesus Christ.' The reporter noted that many had signed such a pledge and that in many churches a Personal Workers' Department had been created as a result.[83] In the same city, a 'Home Night' service culminated in an appeal not for converts, but for young men and women to dedicate themselves to some form of Christian work, perhaps in the ordained ministry, perhaps as missionaries or in some other lay position. 175 men and 150 women responded, jamming the aisles of an already crowded meeting.[84]

Another form of reinforcement for ongoing work in the churches was the province of the Rev. G.T.B. Davis who was a travelling representative of the Pocket Testament League, so called because it produced and promoted the carrying and use of small New Testaments. As he explained, its two main aims were to encourage all Christians to read at least one chapter of the Bible each day and to take a copy with them wherever they went.[85] People were asked to join by signing pledges and buying copies, although some were given away.

This ecclesiastical emphasis assisted Chapman's acceptance by the clergy particularly. In Wellington, speaking to a Bible Class Union meeting, leading Presbyterian the Rev. Dr James Gibb, who had led the Dunedin support for Torrey, admitted that some earlier such evangelistic campaigns had 'stunk in the nostrils of the Church'

Footnote 82 continued from previous page
decide, God helping me, to henceforth lead a Christian life. This I do, freely, fully, and forever.' Quoted in Bernard A. Weisberger, *They Gathered at the River: The Story of the Great Revivalists and Their Impact upon Religion in America* (Boston, 1958, reprinted Chicago, 1966), 240.

83. *New Zealand Methodist Times*, 2, 26 (20 April 1912), 2.
84. Ibid., 3.
85. *New Zealand Times*, 3 April 1913, 8. The League appeared to be an adjunct to the Chapman-Alexander missions particularly. One report was that it was founded by Alexander himself in

Footnote 85 continued on next page

because of their poor attitudes to the existing churches. Chapman, however, was welcome because of his the supportive stand.[86]

Chapman's preaching style contrasted strongly with Torrey's. He, too, made his points forcefully enough, but where Torrey might have been compared with Finney in unremitting directness, even harshness, Chapman was described as 'a pupil of Moody'. It showed in the way he avoided controversy, unlike the way in which Torrey had seemed to attract it.

> Broad in sympathy, intense in purpose, simple in matter, fervent in appeal, mighty and irresistible in impressing upon audiences the sinfulness of sin and the claims of Jesus Christ. No words are wasted, no contentious matter is introduced, no harshness, but the loving urgency of a heart in sympathy with Christ and those for whom He died. In personal dealing he is gentle and winsome.[87]

Observers noted a central theme to Chapman's preaching - 'the soul's need of a Saviour, and Jesus Christ only as that Saviour'. That theme and its developmental aspects were pure evangelical theology, but deliberately not fully explicated for fear of obscuring the main point of revivalism. 'Dr. Chapman's theology is plain and simple. The people before and around him need to be saved from sin and its penalty; till they are saved, theories of the Atonement do not matter, nor anything else.'[88] Only a few interrelated points were made, and those repeatedly. 'The fact of sin, its nature, penalty in present and future death, the Bible as

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Footnote 85 continued from previous page
Birmingham some years earlier. *New Zealand Herald*, 25 April 1913, 4. However, a song in *Alexander's Hymns*, no.142, 'Carry Your Bible!', was dedicated to Mrs Alexander, his wife, as 'the Originator of the Pocket Testament League'. To further the League's efforts, suitable testaments were available for sale at the mission meetings. *Press*, 8 March 1913, 6. After the mission, Davis wrote an open letter soliciting donations and prayers for a plan to distribute a million League Testaments in China. *New Zealand Methodist Times*, 3, 5 (28 June 1913), 16.

86. *Dominion*, 9 April 1913, 8.
87. *New Zealand Methodist Times*, 2, 25 (6 April 1912), 5.
88. *New Zealand Methodist Times*, 2, 26 (20 April 1912), 4.

God's revelation of his judgment against sin; Christ the only way of escape, the need of present decision, the danger of delay - the great Evangelist drives these truths home night after night, with a persistence and earnestness that are irresistible.'[89] On this showing, Chapman had not so much interest in some of Torrey's concerns. His aim was to evangelise rather than to introduce polemic about, for example, the Bible. His lunchtime meetings for businessmen were not lectures devoted to defence of the Bible or of conservative theology, but rather sermons on 'applied Christianity', guidance in the living out of the faith.

The *New Zealand Baptist* editor's hyperbolic eloquence about the spiritual blessings which attended the extended Dunedin mission also suggested the avoidance of controversy and appeal to the common denominator by the mass evangelist. The moralism of respectable churchgoers was the central theme around which all ecclesiastical and theological factions could rally, overriding traditional divisions for the sake of ethical reform and the expansion of church rolls.

> Prayer flowed freely. Large audiences were easily gathered.... The time seemed ripe for a Revival. The viewless wind of the Spirit's influences was moving in the tops of the mulberry trees. The pool around which the impotent lay was being stirred. God was very near to His people, awing them by His majesty, alluring them by his mercy, enriching them with new experiences of His love, and fitting them by fresh gifts of His grace to do His will, and carry on His saving work.... The tide rose all the while, and carried multitudes into the kingdom. Nothing occurred to arrest or mar the good work.... Dr. Chapman won the golden opinions of men who differed widely from him on many points of Biblical criticism, by the faithfulness with which he denounced the sin that ensnared and ruined men, and the tender urgency with which he presented Jesus Christ as the Deliverer from sin.[90]

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89. Ibid.
90. *New Zealand Baptist*, 28, 341 (May 1912), 91.

Chapman's preaching seemed to touch more emotional chords than had Torrey's. Where Torrey's address to ministers had challenged many and stiffened resolve to work with more dedication, Chapman's talk to clergy brought a different reaction: 'Many faces were wet with tears, and not a few sobs were heard when the entire company gathered round the Missioner in a vow of higher living and truer service.'[91] The same afternoon, an address, also to church leaders, on the evangelistic pastor and church produced a similar effect. 'It was matchless and irresistible, full of home truths, trembling with pathos, vibrating with holy passion and power. The tears would flow. I saw reverend Moderators of Assemblies and Presbyteries, hard-headed Superintendents of Circuits, dour Presbyterian Elders and Methodist Circuit officials, not troubling to staunch the tears which trickled down their faces.'[92] Not only were ministers moved by Chapman's messages, but repeatedly the accounts of public meetings note the tears in evidence during the preaching.

Yet simple emotion was not really the effect that Chapman sought to induce. The concept that a person's response to an appeal was basically rational rather than spiritual or emotional was shown in Chapman's argument that people who had not 'received' Christ 'had not fairly considered Him and His teaching, nor had they tested His promises'.[93] He assumed that correctly applied logic and experience would leave the open and rational mind with no doubts as to the validity of Christianity and the need for conversion.

Chapman stated that they did not want to have audiences who merely accepted whatever they said without further reflection or who

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91. *New Zealand Methodist Times*, 2, 25 (6 April 1912), 6.
92. Ibid.
93. *New Zealand Times*, 31 March 1913, 3.

sought empty but exciting temporary experiences. Dunedin congregations were given as models of intelligent hearers who understood the full demands made on them. 'For we want them to think, as the impression is deeper then. It's better for them to be a bit conservative and find what they really want. We don't stand for sensationalism. Our work is constructive, and we want thought.'[94] 'S.G.B.', writing for the *New Zealand Times*, devoted an article to explaining how deliberately unemotional the mission was, how it was 'a serious business'. The evangelists would even curtail applause: '"Don't do that", they say sharply when someone begins to clap. "We have too much on hand to spare time for that sort of thing".'[95]

However, on some occasions, the emotional power of Chapman's preaching threatened to override his personal desire to avoid sensationalism, and he was required to attempt deliberately to suppress overtly emotional outbursts in the meetings.

> So strong was Dr. Chapman's appeal to those who had 'drifted' to 'come back' that just as he was concluding his remarks an elderly lady in the gathering rose up and in a shrill voice declared: 'I will come back.' Then Dr. Chapman said it was not necessary for those who would come back to stand up and announce it, but he would call on them to put up their right hands.... but soon they became too numerous to count, and before long hundreds of hands had been lifted. The crowd was moved. Tears were in the eyes of many, and not a few actually sobbed, there was a suppressed air of excitement almost approaching agitation, and the tent rang with an enthusiastic note when Dr. Chapman concluded his remarks.[96]

When Chapman preached on the Last Judgment, he did so with a definite purpose - to provoke his hearers' thought, which would lead to a rational exercise of their wills. He claimed that the easiest person in the world to reach with the gospel was a man who was made

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94. *Press*, 4 March 1913, 8.
95. *New Zealand Times*, 31 March 1913, 11.
96. *Press*, 7 March 1913, 9.

to think, and that the prospect of final judgment did make men think.[97] In Christchurch, he evidently felt the point required no further reiteration and left the hearers to make their own responses before God.

> 'There is for every man a choice of abode for eternity,' said Dr. Chapman, bringing to a close what was perhaps the most powerful sermon he has preached in the city. 'Which way will ye choose? Turn ye, turn ye, for why will you die! Which way will you choose? May God help you to settle that question. The meeting is closed.'[98]

That he could so dismiss an audience after his 'most powerful sermon' is a strong confirmation of his personal integrity and desire to avoid transitory emotional responses. It also gives insight into his conception of the decisionmaking process as an act of the will (albeit with divine aid) that he felt able to permit the people to go away and ponder on the compelling logic of his words.

It was noted with some surprise that 'the methods of the mission in the matter of after meetings are not those of the usual type, and there has been no "coming to the front" or asking for decisions in the large public meeting'.[99] Sometimes he asked them to come to simply shake his hand, but the technique favoured by Chapman for dealing with those responding to the appeal was that of the enquiry room, a separate place adjoining the main hall into which those who had made decisions or who sought further counsel could be directed and dealt with individually and relatively privately.[100] The use of these was at the discretion of the evangelist, according to the 'feel' of the service. Sometimes, indeed, the enquirers were

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97. He apparently did view this as a gender-based difference as, after preaching in Dunedin on the topic, he took the males in the congregation off to an after-meeting (at which only thirty responded), leaving the women behind to be addressed by Norton. *Evening Star*, 28 March 1912, 8.
98. *Press*, 14 March 1913, 8.
99. *Otago Daily Times*, 22 March 1912, 8.
100. e.g. *New Zealand Methodist Times*, 2, 25 (6 April 1912), 5.

invited to the front of the main hall, at others the entire congregation were asked to remain and divide into the smaller halls. But usually the enquirers and their Christian friends and personal workers were separated by sex into the adjoining areas.

> No talking, except in whispers; no fuss, no excitement, until many hundreds of people have entered each place. The sliding doors are drawn across, and the close-grip work begins. With great skill, but very earnestly, enquirers are induced to declare themselves. There is no scolding nor badgering, no hanging on to people; the assumption is that where the Holy Spirit has been at work man need not do more than provide the opportunity of confessing, and if the Spirit has not wrought conviction, man cannot hope to succeed.[101]

Sometimes, the method might be not to ask anyone to move but to have the personal workers scattered throughout the congregation simply to speak to those sitting around them.[102] Many times the response called for was not, in fact, directly conversion. Rather, it might be for people to 'yield fully', or, for men, to 'break with sin' (110 accepted this call in Dunedin).

What may perhaps have been a typical appeal offered by Chapman included several elements.

> If he could persuade them to drop their heads and say, 'I will accept Him,' they would find Christ as a Saviour. No man could know Christ as his personal Saviour until he stooped down from his sin. If they had defrauded anyone they must make restitution; they could not hope to be saved with a theft hanging heavy upon them.[103]

Even with the most heartfelt of appeals, there was not necessarily a call to come publicly to the front of the meeting, 'dropping the head' or raising a hand might be sufficient. Christ's work as *personal* saviour of the individual is clearly in view, as is the individual's ability to choose to accept Christ. Although this was following a sermon on the calling by Jesus of Zacchaeus the tax

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101. *New Zealand Methodist Times*, 2, 26 (20 April 1912), 2.
102. *Dominion*, 8 April 1913, 6.
103. *New Zealand Herald*, 8 May 1913, 5.

collector, little is made of that call, the operation of the divine drawing of a person towards God. Attention simply focussed on the action of the person to make their own decision. However, there is, in addition, some ambiguity over whether Chapman regarded that simple decision as really adequate to save - did the hearers have to be ethically pure and make that restitution before God would accept them? 'A large number responded' - but to what?

The influence of the mission was seen as not being limited to the cities in which the evangelists laboured. As they had for Torrey, visitors from the country made a real effort to attend. Having done so, the effect on them was much the same as for citydwellers, rejuvenation and enlivenment in their faith and activity for it. Methodist Rev. W. Slade estimated that, 'Not a few country Christians have received a new vision and heard a fresh call, and have returned home to spread the sacred fire among their neighbours'.[104]

CRITICISM OF THE MISSION

Apparently not all, even within the churches, were entirely happy with the mission. There were those who voiced 'the stock objections to wandering evangelists' and predicted 'harmful consequences' resulting from 'excitement of the emotions'.[105] But these voices were not widely heard, particularly in the Protestant

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104. *New Zealand Methodist Times*, 2, 26 (20 April 1912), 2.
105. *New Zealand Methodist Times*, 4, 2 (17 May 1913), 1.

churches outside Anglicanism who all generally supported the mission.

There was, though, a small amount of criticism of the missioners in the press. In Dunedin, 'T. Buxton' was unhappy at the downplaying of doctrinal issues associated with the mission and also objected to Chapman's claim that the preaching of the gospel solved all social problems. 'What does history say? It says that the preaching of the Gospel and the teachings of Jesus Christ have been tried for nearly 2000 years, and have so far failed to solve social problems....'[106] The next day, the same writer, now revealed as speaking for the Rationalists' Association, created a straw man by lumping together both Chapman and the papacy, then wondered why both declined to become embroiled in controversy. The answer was apparently obvious: 'Because they know they would be worsted. The religion which they preach will not stand the shock of scientific investigation.... Dogmatic authority is their only weapon, and it is summed up in the words "Believe or be damned".'[107]

The mission's supporters were ready to leap into print in its defence. 'Alex. Don' accused Buxton of mounting false attacks on a distorted representation of Christianity.[108] 'An Old Widow Woman' castigated him for having no better lifesaving remedy to offer, whereas Chapman had come with a message of hope to save fellow human beings from everlasting flames. She did not expect him to be able to make much of the Bible, since 'only those who have experienced the new birth, or conversion, can understand the dear old Book. Then it is a Father's letter to His children, and we understand His will for us.' Against his 'rational' arguments, she ranged the

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106. *Otago Daily Times*, 28 March 1912, 8.
107. *Otago Daily Times*, 29 March 1912, 10.
108. Ibid., 6.

incontrovertible certainty of her own testimony. 'I can speak from my own experience, for I know what the Master has done for me.'[109]

'John Bull' found more mundane domestic reasons for dissatisfaction with the mission in the social disruption he alleged resulted from it.

> They teach us nothing we did not know long ago. They are taking mothers and wives away from their homes to listen to their addresses, and husbands and brothers come home to find their tea not ready, and have to wait for 'their piece' until their mother or sister returns from the meeting, and other domestic duties are being neglected.[110]

Another writer, 'A H', felt the whole mission, with 'flat' sermons and hymns of mere 'feeble doggerel', was a large, unoriginal bore and was 'going flat as usual'. This person also believed the very concept of such evangelism to be culturally inappropriate, that regardless of how able or amiable the missioners were, 'the whole spirit of the thing is alien to the mentality of a community such as ours' and would pass without lasting trace. This should come as no surprise, given the national background of the evangelists. 'And why should it be otherwise? Why should any average town in Christendom require the perfervid ministrations of a peripatetic revivalism - American at that?' It was obvious that the local clergy were not adequately fulfilling their responsibilities, 'but that ministers should so markedly draw attention to their own shortcomings by heart and hand encouragement of travelling missioners, who have really nothing new to offer, is a strange thing'.[111]

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109. *Otago Daily Times*, 30 March 1912, 16.
110. Ibid., 16. Perhaps the portrayal of the typical home in the songs and attitudes of the mission, with pious mothers and absent or erring menfolk, was not so far from the truth!
111. *Otago Daily Times*, 27 March 1912, 7.

In Christchurch, a hotelier accused the evangelists of hypocrisy in promoting prohibition, yet staying in licensed hotels, and of advocating giving to the poor, whilst accommodating themselves not in the 'People's Palace' but at 'a 3-guinea-a-week aristocratic boarding-house'.[112] 'Once a Convert' charged, presumably on the basis of personal experience, that an emotional mission conversion 'does burn out', that the change wrought was not 'organic and lasting'.[113]

In Wellington, 'Sincerity' felt America's need was greater than New Zealand's and wanted to know how Chapman could justify abandoning his own country, with its 'teeming slums' and 'traffic in human shame', to work in 'the comparative peace and spiritual calm of one of the most moral and cleanly [sic] countries on earth', which already boasted a church and minister for every few hundred people.[114]

THE THEOLOGICAL MESSAGES OF THE MISSION

Some aspects of theology did not concern Chapman as much as they did Torrey. To use Mouw's distinction, he was more of a 'pietist' to Torrey's 'doctrinalist'. The most prominent feature of his preaching was the question of a person's dedication to God and the avoidance of a life which would detract from that by slipping into sin. Chapman also held convinced views on the nature and authority of the Bible, but they were more gently presented than Torrey's had

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112. *Lyttelton Times*, 13 March 1913, 5.
113. *Lyttelton Times*, 15 March 1913, 2.
114. *Dominion*, 8 April 1913, 6.

been. His major use of Scripture was not for a club with which to beat hearers into acceptance of his ideas, but for the provision of pegs from which to hang his sentimental and anecdotal sermons.

Chapman placed at least as great an emphasis as had Torrey on the need for absolute and ongoing surrender to God. From his first major meeting in Dunedin, he emphasised this theme, employing it as the basis off his exhortations to greater spiritual and practical commitment. Addressing Christian workers, he asked, not inappropriately, 'How can I be used for the glory of God?'. His answer came in these terms of surrender, dedication and empowerment by the Holy Spirit taken from the Holiness movement, based on the scriptural question, 'Have ye received the Holy Ghost since ye believed?'[115] In each centre, young clergy, those too inexperienced to have learned already the secret of successful ministry, were insistently urged to 'give Him a chance.... Take your hands off; let Him speak and think, and live and work through your life.'[116] The appeal given was not for conversion, but for fuller reconsecration of Christians' lives. The resulting baptism in the Holy Spirit would give new power to their lives as Christians.

> Many, the Dr. [sic] said, lost power because they failed to yield themselves fully to the gracious Spirit, because they neglected the Word of God, or because they indulged some hidden sin. To become filled with the Spirit would mean a new appreciation of the Lord Jesus and a new passion for souls, a new delight in prayer, a new joy in life.[117]

The theme of power derived from the Holy Spirit was often repeated. In the same sermon, he insisted on the futility of human endeavour apart from the tangible outpouring of God's blessing in

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115. *Evening Star*, 20 March 1912, 5.
116. *Dominion*, 2 April 1913, 8.
117. *New Zealand Baptist*, 28, 340 (April 1912), 74.

this way. 'In vain our methods,... in vain our splendid building, in vain our enthusiasm except the Holy Spirit of God fall upon us, filling us and thrilling us.'[118] Later, preaching on 'They first gave themselves to the Lord', he declared that surrender to God must be 'voluntary, unselfish, complete, final. The surrendered life was the only life that counted, the only life that possessed power and joy.'[119] In the same message, Chapman insisted that this surrender could only be effective if it was total in depth and duration. It must be 'irrevocable. They could never take it back. And it must be a full surrender. To give 99 parts and withold [sic] the hundredth was to stand in the way of victory.'[120] He called all the ministers who were on the platform with him to stand beside him if they were prepared to 'make a renewed surrender', then moved through various other groups of church leaders and workers, finally asking all the respondents to kneel while he prayed for the infilling of the Spirit which would 'make life holy and service effective'.[121]

How one could ever be certain that the surrender was total was never elucidated, and the teaching that such an action was even possible certainly seemed to fly in the face of Chapman's theological heritage as a Reformed churchman. It would seem to contradict any notion of human total depravity as traditionally understood and make divine grace and empowerment contingent upon human action, although this would have been a minor quibble to the heirs of Finney and Moody. Furthermore, the instruction that the surrender must be irrevocable should logically have put that divine

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118. *Otago Daily Times*, 20 March 1912, 2.
119. *New Zealand Baptist*, 28, 340 (April 1912), 74.
120. *Otago Daily Times*, 23 March 1912, 4.
121. *New Zealand Baptist*, 28, 340 (April 1912), 74.

blessing off until the time of death, as before then the person would have been able to revoke their earlier decision. The hard practical questions of how one actually lived with this doctrine in the real world of temptations and failings had little attention devoted to them by Chapman and its other proponents.

Chapman opposed any tendency to dilute by emotionalism this full surrender as a pure act of the will. The surrender of one's self had to be voluntary and it had to be total, not affected by the 'charm of the singing' or 'the thrill of the 4000 people about them'.[122]

A text from II Corinthians 8.5, 'But they first gave their own selves to the Lord', was used in each centre by Chapman to promote the need for full surrender. As he himself made plain, there was no-one who could avoid its implications. For example, it applied to those who were living in (perhaps unrealised) compromise, for those who had lost an initial commitment in their Christian activity, for those who harboured a secret sin, or those who were 'only half-and-half for Jesus', and so on.[123] He left no escape from answering the appeal for some reason after that sermon. When in Auckland he preached again on the same text, the result was judged to have been 'the most effective appeal yet given in the present mission'.[124]

It is difficult to gain a clear understanding of exactly how Chapman defined that sin which must be shunned. In a sermon with a section devoted to 'What Is Sin?', there was no definition. Rather there was simply a piling up of assertions that it was everywhere and corrupting everything, from nations to families, so that 'It could take your boy out of your arms and drag him down to despair,

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122. *Otago Daily Times*, 23 March 1912, 4.
123. *New Zealand Times*, 2 April 1913, 3.
124. *New Zealand Herald*, 25 April 1913, 4.

and break your heart'.[125] The illustration took place in a family context also, a mother spurned as ugly by the daughter she had been burned in saving. Further, there was no escape in the defence that some sins were less serious than others. 'All sin was great, since it was against God. Moreover, small sins led to great ones imperceptibly.'[126]

In his appreciation of the concept of repentance for sins, however defined, Chapman included not only sorrow and remorse for the sins committed and their effects on others, but turning from the sins themselves to God. 'Sorrow for sin, remorse on account of sin, contrition because of sin. Then what else? Do what the prodigal did. Say this, "I will arise and go to my father." He arose and went. That is repentance.'[127] When a person genuinely repented, they would be forgiven by God, and that forgiveness was total and available to all at any time. '"Your sins may be red like crimson," like the sands of the sea for a number.... If any man would accept forgiveness his sins would be blotted out.'[128]

The process by which people came into a right relationship with God was both so complex that the most intelligent person could not have fully understood it, yet anyone could benefit who had attained moral competence. 'It was so simple that the smallest child knowing the difference between right and wrong could say, "I accept Jesus as my Saviour," and could pass into a saving knowledge of the Saviour'.[129] Chapman upheld the exclusivity of this as the sole efficacious process of salvation. 'There was just one way to be saved. They must accept Jesus Christ and confess Him.'[130]

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125. *New Zealand Methodist Times*, 2, 22 (24 February 1912), 6.
126. *Lyttelton Times*, 18 March 1913, 9.
127. *New Zealand Methodist Times*, 2, 22 (24 February 1912), 6.
128. *New Zealand Times*, 7 April 1913, 8.
129. *New Zealand Times*, 8 April 1913, 5.
130. Ibid.

On another occasion, Chapman was concerned that some hearers might commit 'the unpardonable sin', putting themselves beyond hope of redemption. This was not likely, though, nor was it something about which someone might remain ignorant and thus bring unwitting doom upon themselves. 'It was the constant, continual, and at last the final rejection of God's offer of mercy in Christ and by the Spirit of God.' The mere discussion of the prospect still had a salutary effect upon his audience, 'a large number' of men pledging themselves to fuller consecration and eighty decisions being recorded.[131] There was no way in which any who were finally lost could blame anyone but themselves and their own obduracy - when preaching from the parable of the Rich Man and Lazarus (Luke 16.30-31), he spelled out that 'it [being finally condemned by God] would be over the Bible, it would be over God's love, it would be over their mother's prayers, and over the church's influence and the minister's pleading'.[132]

The underlying assumption regarding the efficacy of the work of Christ and the consequent demand placed on every human to 'decide' to accept him was that of evangelical orthodoxy, the substitutionary atonement making possible complete and instantaneous justification of all who took that clearly-defined step.

> No matter who you are, no matter how deep in sin, if you accept Jesus Christ as your Saviour, your record will be made as white as the pages of my book. On the groundwork of his sacrificial death, because of his atoning sacrifice, on account of the shedding of his blood, God finds it possible to be the justifier of all them that believe. Will you take Him?[133]

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131. *Otago Daily Times*, 26 March 1912, 3.
132. *Otago Daily Times*, 30 March 1912, 4. After this sermon, he refused to give an appeal, telling the audience instead to go home and think.
133. *Press*, 22 March 1913, 12.

Chapman's Presbyterian background stopped him short of claiming to be any more than an agent of divine action, who could only do his best to fulfill his own responsibilities. Any more was between God and the individual hearers. 'He was there, not to convert, which only God could do, but to deliver the message of the Bible, and if they heeded him not their blood would be upon their own heads.'[134]

Unlike Torrey's more doctrinaire approach, Chapman's attitude towards biblical criticism was conciliatory - up to a point. He would concede much of the work of text critics and historians, presumably since he saw them enhancing the Bible's apparent accuracy and trustworthiness. But he did hope (without foundation as it transpired) that the more radical branches of biblical literary criticism, which treated the biblical text as little different from any other human literature, were in retreat. 'There is a reaction against the position taken up by a section of the higher critics. Many of the critics are modifying their former statements, while those who have steadfastly stood for evangelistic [sic] truth are holding their ground.'[135]

To a group of Dunedin ministers, Chapman expressed concern about the spiritual effects of biblical criticism. His attitude appeared to be that while it might be acceptable for trained theologians and mature clergy to dabble in such matters, it would not do for the ordinary laity who might thus have their faith weakened. Rather, they needed a fully confident and positive presentation of the gospel and shielding from anything which could undermine that. He admitted that there could be 'a reverent form' of criticism, 'but whatever form of criticism they talked about, whether advanced,

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134. *New Zealand Herald*, 2 May 1913, 5.
135. *Otago Daily Times*, 19 March 1912, 3. What he was perceiving may rather have been the hardening of positions and the

Footnote 135 continued on next page

moderate, sharp, or kindly the pulpit was no place for it. Men were too sin-sick, too burdened and too weak for a minister to stand up in the pulpit and in any way criticise the Word of God.'[136] Thus, he does not seem to have discriminated between criticism as detailed study and analysis and as denigration, since one imagines he would hardly have denied to preachers or lay people the opportunity to study the Bible in depth. His assumption appears to have been that of many conservatives, that to go beyond the use of a limited range of approaches to scripture was automatically to adopt contagious anti-Christian attitudes. This disease which would then be communicable to the unlettered and therefore undiscerning laity.

Chapman's idea of faith was bound up with the Bible and acceptance of it as God's word. Defining faith, he declared, 'It is taking the promises in this Book and accepting them. It is standing upon God's sure Word, and saying, "I cannot understand this, but I will stand here upon it, and watch the solution of the mystery".'[137]

In his own use of scripture, Chapman was quite at home with the technique of abstracting from context biblical portions to use as his sermon texts. One sermon, 'Repentance towards God', was built on a grammatically incomplete fragment of Acts 20.21, 'repentance towards God, and faith towards the Lord Jesus Christ', which he called a 'direct statement' and claimed it demonstrated the need for such themes to be preached frequently.[138] Another example of this penchant for ignoring the context of his texts was a sermon he gave in Dunedin based on the text, 'How shall I go up to my father,

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Footnote 135 continued from previous page
attempt to draw defensible battle lines during the preliminary skirmishes of the Fundamentalist controversy.

136. *Otago Daily Times*, 27 March 1912, 2.
137. *New Zealand Methodist Times*, 2, 22 (24 February 1912), 6-7.
138. Ibid., 6.

and the lad be not with me?' (Genesis 44.34) This was the cry of Judah in the Old Testament story of Joseph as he was obliged to return to his father, Jacob, without his younger brother, Benjamin, whom he had vowed to protect. Chapman was able to build on it a sermon urging Christian parents to evangelise their children for fear that they would otherwise be separated from them eternally when they went to their heavenly Father without first converting their offspring.[139] In addition, he was at home with allegorical interpretations to derive edifying thoughts from more opaque biblical sources. A Good Friday sermon was taken from Psalm 45.8, 'All thy garments smell of myrrh and aloes and cassia out of ivory palaces'. A message appropriate to Easter was extracted by equating the spices with divine attributes, myrrh with sweetness, aloes with the bitterness of Christ's life, and cassia with his power to heal human sin.[140]

Such exegetical sleight of hand did not pass entirely unnoticed. Writing to the editor of *The Press*, 'Hope' condemned the practice of selecting a text out of context to make one's predetermined point, 'there being as much similarity between the passage chosen and the sermon following upon it as there is between a man's hat and the peg he places it upon'. The writer critiqued a specific example of Chapman's indulging in such activity, recounting stories and propounding his own ideas without elucidating the text. 'We were treated to a painfully frequent telling of anecdotes, personal and otherwise, as, indeed, we have been throughout the mission; so much so that one wonders how little of the address would remain if the

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139. *New Zealand Methodist Times*, 2, 26 (20 April 1912), 2. The message bore fruit as the next night a man testified that afterwards at home he and his wife had each successfully counselled one of their children.
140. *Lyttelton Times*, 22 March 1913, 13.

stories were cut out. But no attempt was made to enlighten us upon those sublime words....'[141]

Chapman revealed why, for an evangelist, he devoted so much attention to the life and well-being of the existing churches and to the spirituality of those already Christians. In his view, the primary work of the missioner was not to solve the problems of the Church, but, 'first of all, to stimulate the Church; and the mission is not a success until we have the Church people aroused.... Your reaching the "man on the street" is in proportion to your reaching the people of the Churches. It is through the quickened Church you reach the people who are not identified with the Church'.[142] Hence, there was a need for people to be urged to full surrender to gain a spiritually-empowered ministry and for them to be given training and encouragement in the carrying and use of the Bible and in the techniques of personal work.

The subsequent evangelism was to be the prime ministry of the Christian Church. 'Their [Christians'] principal business was not preaching or visiting, but winning men and women to Jesus by personal converse and personal contact.'[143] This statement indicated that Chapman understood evangelism in solely confrontational terms, 'good works' such as visiting were not directly and visibly evangelistic in the way that face-to-face exposition to an individual of propositional truths was. The

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141. *Press*, 22 March 1913, 6. Chapman's sermon construction was often formed by making short, pithy statements and then illustrating them at length. For example, in 'Dealing Fairly with God', a fourteen-page published sermon, the first five pages were an elaborate recital of the text's biblical context, while in the next nine pages there were eleven anecdotal illustrations, usually half to three-quarters of a page in length. Chapman, *Revival Addresses*, ch.10.
142. *Outlook*, 20, 10 (11 March 1913), 5.
143. *Otago Daily Times*, 25 March 1912, 4.

preaching referred to was presumably regular pulpit ministry dealing with a congregation's pastoral concerns, again discounted as of little significance beside the active seeking of more souls. This emphasis seemed to touch a chord in New Zealanders' hearts; at this meeting up to 75% of the audience rose to pledge themselves to immediate 'personal work' for those for whose souls they were concerned, prompting Chapman to enthuse, 'This is almost greater than anything we have seen in other cities'.[144] Perhaps Chapman was subject to the mass evangelist's occupational hazard of eternal optimism. In Auckland, he declared that 'in no city he had yet visited had he seen such early evidence of the fruit of the mission's work'.[145]

Chapman also specifically subordinated all of the regular tasks of the ordained ministry to that of evangelism. 'How many times we who are ministers of the Gospel seem to fail to appreciate the fact that our principal business is not so much the preaching of sermons or the visiting of people in their homes - but our principal business is the winning of men and women to Jesus Christ by personal converse and by personal contact.'[146] Also he laid the burden for continuing evangelism squarely at the feet of the Christian populace at large.

> It seems to me we are trifling. You are expecting the minister to do it, and others to do it. Dunedin could be set on fire in a week, and 5,000 people could be won for Christ before the week is finished, if every Christian should seek to win his neighbour and every parent seek to win his child.[147]

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144. *Otago Daily Times*, 25 March 1912, 4. The reporter was not quite so sanguine, Chapman 'evidently having in view not only what may be called visible results, but the whole tone and temper of the meeting'.
145. *New Zealand Herald*, 23 April 1913, 9.
146. *New Zealand Methodist Times*, 3, 1 (4 May 1912), 6.
147. Ibid.

He spelled out the expectations of this that he had for a variety of different groups, from employers to parents, and gave anecdotes to illustrate how they might go about it. Practical instruction in such matters was given by Norton and Davis, the mission's two personal work specialists.

In a letter to the Baptist denomination in New Zealand, Chapman exhorted them to foster an evangelistic spirit. The minister must first be seized with enthusiasm for the task, supported by the office bearers and church workers so that they would create and capitalise on the conditions for such work. Not only would greater numbers of people result, but evangelistic zeal would guarantee doctrinal orthodoxy, as 'when the Church ceases to be evangelistic in spirit, as a rule she ceases to be evangelical....' This evangelicalism centred not only on one's faith, but also on a right view of the Bible, as there were three conditions for a minister's gaining a properly evangelistic attitude: 'when he has a vision of Christ, when he has some conception of a lost world, and a confidence in God's Word as the final authority'.[148]

Chapman's exaltation of the trained professional, the 'expert', ultimately, though, made a mockery of his exhortations for all Christians to be evangelists. In his letter to New Zealand Baptists, Chapman made it clear that however much the laity may be included in the evangelistic process, it would largely be as an adjunct to the work of the ordained minister, the trained expert in the production of the desired results. 'If the evangelistic spirit is to prevail, it must first lay hold upon the Minister.'[149] Having expounded the effect of this upon the minister, he continued

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148. *New Zealand Baptist*, 28, 341 (May 1912), 1.
149. Ibid., 90.

to talk of the spirit's spreading throughout the church, but only in terms of supplementing the professional's work. It should spread to the officebearers, seen as at best enthusiastic amateurs who must be ready 'to assist the Minister in what he thinks to be right, because he is supposed to be a specialist, and his training has all been along the lines of effective service for Christ and for the Church'. And it should spread to the Sunday School teachers who should long 'to see the Minister's labours owned and blessed of God, and great numbers of souls brought to Christ because of his pulpit effort and personal work'. The whole church would then be 'not a Minister's field but his force'.

The usual concept of the ordained cleric as pastor, ministering to the flock, was finally turned on its head as 'he would then be wasting very little time in building them up in the faith'. Presumably, nothing further was necessary once numbers had been added to the roll of the faithful who would themselves not be in need of pastoral care as 'He would need only to strive in every possible way to turn the thoughtless and indifferent to Christ'. The Christian Church's sole purpose for existence was thus presented as evangelism; to what 'the thoughtless and indifferent' would actually be turned and what they could expect once they had turned was obviously discounted as trivial to the point of being beneath consideration. This passage suggests that Chapman's vision of assisting the Christian churches was not, after all, for the purposes of building them up spiritually as an end in itself, but rather simply to motivate and equip their members as better evangelists themselves. It may explain why his teaching was not so intellectual as Torrey's lectures on the Bible, but focussed simply

on the issues of absolute surrender, which of course led them to empowerment for service.

SOCIAL MESSAGES OF THE MISSION

Two major social themes recurred throughout Chapman's preaching. These were, as with Torrey, an emphasis on a particular model of the family, usually with pious parents and wayward children, and a portrayal of certain standards to be met in several matters of social concern, especially moral purity, temperance and Sabbatarianism.

As with Torrey's campaign, the picture of the ideal home included a standard portrayal of the saintly mother, compared with whom even a righteous father paled into insignificance. One of Chapman's published addresses advocated the 'old-fashioned' household in which the father was 'right' and 'priest in his household'. But the mother was obviously taken to be the social and spiritual lynch-pin of the family, leading by personal example her offspring towards salvation.

> Thank God, some of us have, and others have had, an old-fashioned mother, a dear, old-fashioned, sweet-voiced mother, with eyes in which the love-light shone and brown hair threaded with silver, lying smooth upon her faded cheek. Those dear hands, worn with toil, gently guided our tottering steps in child-hood, and smoothed our pillow in sickness; ever reaching out to us in yearning tenderness.... How many times when the Tempter has lured us on, has the memory of those sacred hours with mother's words, her faith and prayers, saved us from sin! Years have filled great drifts over between her and us, but they have not hidden from our sight the glory of her pure, unselfish love.[150]

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150. Chapman, *Revival Addresses*, 106-107.

The ideal family's stereotype with which Chapman operated included not only the pious mother, but also a father who was the model of moral rectitude. He insisted that 'America's [and by implication New Zealand's] greatest need was for an old-fashioned revival of religion that would make fathers stand before children as examples, and mothers live as saints'.[151] The active role was for men. the women's part was to exhibit passive character traits. The appeal that followed this sermon was for men prepared to respond if called into some kind of Christian ministry, and for women who were willing 'to live for God'. Another characteristic of Chapman's preaching was the looking back to some imagined utopian past when such perfect relationship structures existed. 'Old-fashioned' was an adjective he applied to anything morally or spiritually upright and good, assuming that former times were better than this present degenerate age. A key strategy in developing and maintaining such a family was to have frequent family prayers.[152]

Chapman reinforced his appeal not merely with the call to make the decision, but with a catalogue of those family members who, already (by definition?) being believers, would rejoice. As with Torrey, the expectation was of the penitent being a man, probably young, but unlike Torrey's the spiritual ones were not only women, or mothers.

> And your mother, the dear old mother. If you were to send her a telegram this evening that you had accepted Christ, her heart would burn with joy. Your old father! If you should cable it across the sea, he would not sleep for joy. Or this wife by your side! If you stood by her, her tears would flow like rain.[153]

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151. *New Zealand Herald*, 26 April 1913, 9.
152. *Lyttelton Times*, 15 March 1913, 3.
153. *New Zealand Methodist Times*, 3, 1 (4 May 1912), 7.

Impious children were always apt to distress spiritual parents rather than the other way around. To one group, he asked, 'Is your father living? Have you ever made his heart ache because you were not right with God...? To which the response demanded was, 'I will be a true son; I will be a true daughter. I will never grieve my mother again. From this night I will be true.'[154]

Chapman's habitual social concern was manifest in his New Zealand message. He gave a definition of a Christian which seemed at first sight to include all imaginable virtues, but notably did not restrict them simply to matters of individual piety.

> What was a Christian? In his home it was kindness, in business honesty, in society justice and fairness, in work thoroughness, in play genuineness; towards the fortunate, congratulation; towards the unfortunate, pity; towards the wicked, resistance; towards the weak, help; towards the struggling, assistance; towards the penitent, forgiveness; towards God, reverence and love.[155]

Chapman rejected notions that merely becoming a Christian was all that was required of his audiences. He told a group of businessmen that they should stand for 'Salvation, Sacrifice and Service'. The salvation was not to be selfish, standing alone without the other two attributes. He gave his own revised attitude as an example of how they should approach living as Christians. Rather than being simply socially inactive preachers, they should actively seek to improve people's lives. 'I used to try to keep people out of Hell. Now I try to keep Hell out of them. I used to try to get people into Heaven. Now I try to get Heaven into them.'[156]

However, at least in the limited setting of his New Zealand messages, Chapman's social concern was largely restricted to those

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154. *New Zealand Times*, 5 April 1913, 4.
155. *Otago Daily Times*, 28 March 1912, 5.
156. *Evening Star*, 27 March 1912, 4.

narrow, usually moral, issues upon which evangelicals increasingly focussed as broader questions became the province of the more theologically liberal proponents of the 'social gospel'. He was, for example, firmly in support of the temperance movement, redefined by him as the 'prohibition movement'. He attended a breakfast at the Auckland Y.M.C.A. in aid of the 'no-license party', which he supported by 'every means consistent with his position'.[157] He regarded Christianity as the necessary foundation for any truly effective group promoting social improvement. 'No reform movement... was of any permanent good unless it was allied closely to the spiritual life.' But there was hope for the New Zealand temperance movement in that the very smallness of the country would make it easier to enforce such a change. In any case, the potential economic benefits were self-evident. 'By adopting prohibition, New Zealand would strengthen its position commercially, and the country would quickly become the envy of the world'.[158] On another occasion, Chapman argued that if prohibition were introduced New Zealand would reap substantial economic benefits. 'I don't think that the wildest imagination could picture the prosperity of New Zealand if it went dry.... Its standard [sic] amongst the nations would be immeasurably greater.'[159]

By comparison with the United States, where Sunday sports were mostly forbidden by legislation, Chapman was scandalized at the casual New Zealand attitude to Sabbath observance, at the fact that 'out here one saw people, evidently of refinement and culture,

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157. *New Zealand Herald*, 8 May 1913, 5.
158. Ibid.
159. *Lyttelton Times*, 24 March 1913, 10. When he left the country, he was reportedly giving serious consideration to returning the following year specifically to aid the prohibition campaign at the 1914 elections. *New Zealand Methodist Times*, 4, 4 (14 June 1913), 2.

showing an utter disregard for the Day of Rest'.[160] With regard to the vexed question of Bible in Schools, Chapman supported fully the current campaign for its educational use, writing an open letter to the Christians of New Zealand asking for their prayers that he might be able to wield some influence in that campaign while he was in the country.[161] He believed the United States provided an example of the effect for good such reading programmes had on people's personalities; 'anyone who knew of the results could not doubt but that it had a great effect in strengthening the character and in turning out men who were of great value to the nation.'[162]

The individualised nature of the sins on which Chapman focussed was shown in his oft-repeated address to men on 'Three Perils Threatening New Zealand'. These dire threats were gambling, drinking and 'impurity'.[163] These men's meetings once again considered those sins to which males were seemingly particularly susceptible. In Dunedin, Chapman dealt principally with those of 'intemperance' ('not the worst of sins, but becoming the most common'), 'uncleanness', dishonesty and religious doubt, and set the same standards (unspecified) for males as for wives and daughters. Further, it was the fathers' responsibility to warn their sons of these evils.[164] Other meetings continued to emphasise themes of personal holiness, although often without being so specific about the sins concerned. One, from a text, 'And Peter', warned of drifting away from Christ and betrayal and denial of him by the committing of sins. This drew responses 'from all parts of the

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160. *New Zealand Herald*, 25 March 1913, 8.
161. *Outlook*, 20, 8 (25 February 1913), 5.
162. *New Zealand Times*, 26 March 1913, 4.
163. *Dominion*, 14 April 1913, 5; *New Zealand Herald*, 5 May 1913, 4.
164. *Evening Star*, 25 March 1912, 7.

building, the large number of men who desired to confess being particularly pronounced'.[165]

The individualistic moralism was repeatedly emphasised and the stance adopted was, like Torrey's, one of retreating from anything which could possibly be construed as sinful. Devoting a whole sermon to the subject of 'doubtful amusements', Chapman declared, 'People who named Christ as their Saviour were called upon to take their stand not against what was bad alone, but against all that was even questionable'.[166] He referred directly to 'dances, cards and theatres, but the lover of the Lord would have no difficulty in deciding for himself as to whether these were questionable amusements'. Under such a view, it was as reprehensible to put oneself in a situation of the appearance of evil as it was actively to commit harmful actions against others. Admitting that 'there were other things as harmful, if not more so, than these, Chapman gave examples. 'It was as grossly sinful to scandalise one's neighbours [i.e. to create scandalous gossip about them] as it was to play cards, and just as sinful to scandalise a preacher as it was to go to a theatre.'[167]

In the Wellington repetition of this sermon, Chapman admitted that some plays were of the highest moral tone and did teach good lessons - 'but there were others'. Again, the question was one the potential of marring one's Christian witness and possibly leading someone weaker astray. 'It was the danger they represented - not so much whether they were right or wrong.'[168] The power of the bad example leading to the slippery slope was always of paramount

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165. *New Zealand Herald*, 21 April 1913, 5.
166. *Lyttelton Times*, 18 March 1913, 9.
167. Ibid.
168. *Dominion*, 11 April 1913, 7.

concern. He had to consider the possibility of someone seeing him attending the theatre and therefore concluding that it would not be harmful for them, or of those tempted by dancing to impure thoughts. An example (without specific reference to time or place) was given of a teacher who, after lessons, had taught her class to play cards. In a meeting, one of her former class had admitted that of the seven pupils, three had been executed for murder, two were imprisoned for life, and the others were fugitives from justice.[169] The implication regarding seemingly innocuous family amusements was clear.

Such a theme could, of course, be turned back easily to Chapman's standard call for 'full surrender'. 'The trouble with the Church to-day', he felt sure, was not really any of these iniquitous activities, but rather 'that people were not out-and-out for Jesus Christ.... With a full surrender to the will of God temptations would lose their power, and in their place would come a joy unspeakable, and the peace that passeth all understanding.'[170]

RESULTS AND EVALUATION OF THE MISSION

J. Edwin Orr, a productive but uncritical historian of spiritual revivals, saw the Chapman meetings as the culmination of a quarter-century of extended evangelism in Australasia. This had begun with prayer meetings in the late 1880s, been carried on by a succession of evangelists, especially Torrey, boosted by reports of the Welsh

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169. Ibid.
170. *Press*, 18 March 1913, 8.

revival, and helped by spontaneous local awakenings occurring in New Zealand, such as those at Wanganui and Waihi in the late nineteenth century.[171] Given that these phenomena did appear in chronological order, he provides no proof that they had the effects he claims for them, that prayer meetings or spontaneous revivals or mass evangelists has any link other than a sequence through time. Having declared that sequence, he regards causal relationships as self-evident.

But the quantification of the mission's actual fruitfulness again proves difficult. The missioners were reportedly 'delighted beyond measure' with the campaign as a whole and considered the Auckland mission the best held in Australasia.[172] The general Christian assessment was continually highly favourable, but seldom specific as to the exact benefits gained from the campaign. Typical is Dr Fitchett's fulsome praise of the Dunedin mission quoted in Chapman's biography.

> Never before... in the history of New Zealand have such audiences been gathered, night by night, for purely religious purposes... and the impression made on the city is profound, and cannot fail to be enduring. The secular press joins with ministers of every Church in wondering testimony to the scale and power of the spiritual work done in Dunedin.[173]

Several months later, the Rev. G.T.B. Davis declared he 'should not be surprised at any time to hear of a national revival' because of the widespread effect.[174]

In Dunedin, the evening meetings in Dunedin attracted large numbers of attenders, 3,000 to 5,000 coming to most of the evening meetings and 7,000 being claimed for the final night, filling both

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171. J. Edwin Orr, *Evangelical Awakenings in the South Seas*, (Minneapolis, 1976), 114.
172. *New Zealand Methodist Times*, 4, 4 (14 June 1913), 7.
173. Quoted in Ottman, *Chapman*, 244.
174. *New Zealand Methodist Times*, 4, 4 (14 June 1913), 7.

the Brydone Hall and the two neighbouring halls.[175] There were from thirty to sixty responses every night of the mission.[176] Other meetings held around the town yielded similar results. Thus, for example, when Norton preached at North-East Valley Presbyterian Church thirty responded, and Mesdames Chapman and Alexander persuaded sixty of the 100 girls at Braemar House to sign cards confessing their faith in Christ and pledging themselves to service.[177] The total of decision cards signed at these meetings around Dunedin was claimed to be over 1,000, the bulk apparently being credited to Presbyterian churches who immediately began to plan a followup campaign.[178] But the *New Zealand Baptist*, produced in Dunedin, declared that the total number of decision cards signed in the city was 860, and gave no apparent differentiation between types of decision or the identity and experiential or denominational background of the decision makers.[179]

The mission was directly credited by the Baptists with some tangible positive results. Describing it as a 'manifestation of the power of God', they declared, 'The Chapman-Alexander Mission in Dunedin made a deep impression on the city, and many of our ministers and people threw themselves with fervour into the work, and our Churches shared in the blessing which resulted'.[180] The Dunedin churches were all reported as experiencing a 'very satisfactory year' and 'signs of growth', with Roslyn adding seventeen members and Mosgiel baptising twenty-five, 'the largest number recorded by any [Baptist] Church for the year'.[181] Only two

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175. *New Zealand Baptist*, 28, 341 (May 1912), 92.
176. *New Zealand Methodist Times*, 2, 25 (6 April 1912), 5.
177. Ibid., 6.
178. *New Zealand Methodist Times*, 2, 26 (20 April 1912), 4.
179. *New Zealand Baptist*, 28, 341 (May 1912), 92.
180. *Baptist Union and Missionary Society of New Zealand Yearbook*, 30 (1912-13), 10.
181. Ibid., 13.

of the Dunedin Baptist churches recorded the effects of the mission, but these reports indicated that the outcome was not so much an influx of former non-Christians into the churches as a rejuvenation and re-enthusing of the churches themselves. Roslyn looked forward to 'increased spiritual life and effort as a result of the Mission', while South Dunedin reported the conversion of several of its young people but rejoiced that many of its members had received a great spiritual blessing and yielded themselves afresh to active Christian service.[182]

In Timaru, eighty converts resulted from the five days spent there, but one local cleric was convinced that 'the finest result' of the mission was the general effect upon the cooperating churches themselves.[183] Another agreed, admitting that the town as a whole had not been moved in that brief a time, 'but we Christian folk have been stirred up and blessed, and reconsecrated to full service'.[184]

The *Press* counted a total of forty-three meetings held during the Christchurch mission and estimated that at the eighteen night meetings the attendance had been nearly 100,000, 54,000 seated inside the tent, with almost as many again having to stand outside. These were, however, cumulative figures and give no idea of how many times any individual may have attended, although the writer observed that most of those present were, in fact, already church people.[185]

An editorial writer in *The Press* in Christchurch was of the opinion that the mission had had a significant impact on the religious life of the community. 'Judged by all the tests which can be applied in such cases, it has been eminently successful in

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182. *New Zealand Baptist*, 28, 341 (May 1912), 99.
183. *Press*, 6 March 1913, 5.
184. *New Zealand Baptist*, 30, 352 (April 1913), 63.
185. *Press*, 24 March 1913, 10.

securing the object for which it was organised - the awakening of the spiritual life of the city.'[186] The writer was aware that the permanence of its effects was impossible to judge at that time, 'but though with some it may be but evanescent, it can hardly be doubted that with many it should prove of lasting benefit'.[187]

Wellington's numerical results seem not really to have been reported, although neither was the level of response noted as being exceptionally poor. However, the first week's work in Auckland resulted in 567 converts. There were numerous others, literally thousands, sometimes the majority of the congregation, responding to the appeals for greater spiritual dedication and personal holiness.[188] Again, the Baptists recorded the event officially, but this time mentioned nothing more specific than that at the Grange Road church a time of 'uplift' and 'a season of great blessing' had been enjoyed, while at the Auckland Tabernacle 'minister and members alike have received much help and benefit, and we shall be disappointed if it does not result in a more earnest and vigorous Church life'.[189] Such phraseology suggests that there was more effect in lifting the morale of the churches than of increasing their baptismal and membership numbers.

Two days before the close of the Auckland mission, it was announced that cards would be sent out to all persons 'who professed to have found blessing in the mission'. Such persons numbered 1,739

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186. Ibid., 6.
187. Ibid. The substantial coverage given the evangelists by the secular press was taken by the *Outlook* as indicative of the general community interest and the impact the mission made. 'They print what the public demands.... Hence... the public are anxious to be informed of the progress of these campaigns. And this in itself is great gain.' The *Outlook* itself relied extensively on the papers for its own coverage. *Outlook*, 20, 14 (8 April 1913), 3.
188. *New Zealand Herald*, 26 April 1913, 9.
189. *New Zealand Baptist*, 30, 354 (June 1913), 103.

at that stage, but it remained unclear as to whether the euphemism described mission converts or all who responded to the evangelist's calls, including those pleas for improved personal holiness and dedication.[190]

Nationally, the mission's statistical benefits were spread rather thin. The Baptist denomination had been growing steadily, if unspectacularly, throughout this period and the campaign seemed to make little difference to that. Their net gains in the years 1910-11 and 1911-12 were 194 and 115 respectively.[191] For 1912-13, this rose to 269 and the yearbook compilers observed that it had been 'a year of steady growth in membership, with baptisms and net increase distinctly above the average'.[192] For 1913-14, membership again grew, but by only 141.[193] Even if all the numerical growth were attributed to the mission, it was of little significance in a denomination of about 5,500. The yearbook writer(s) gave no specific credit to the mission and, in fact, made no reference to it at all.

Many observers, though, did not believe that statistics of the decision cards signed necessarily reflected the principal results achieved. Some looked for the creation of an atmosphere supportive of ongoing evangelistic preaching by the local clergy.[194] In Dunedin, a Personal Workers' Association was formed, rapidly recruiting over 100 keen evangelists, and the local churches

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190. *New Zealand Herald*, 7 May 1913, 5. The cards were later part of the city's Continuation Campaign.
191. *Baptist Union and Missionary Society of New Zealand Yearbook*, 29 (1911-12), 11; 30 (1912-13), 17. See Appendix.
192. *Baptist Union and Missionary Society of New Zealand Yearbook*, 31 (1913-1914), 11. This was despite the previous years' baptisms numbering 268 and 211. These figures were from a statistical year 1 September-31 August, so all immediate mission effects would be included.
193. *New Zealand Baptist Yearbook*, 32 (1914-15), 11.
194. *New Zealand Methodist Times*, 3, 24 (22 March 1913), 15.

committed themselves to an ongoing three-month evangelistic campaign.[195] In Wellington, two such associations were created, while more private effects were claimed in that 'in many homes the family altar has been reared or repaired', many had conceived the determination 'to live a more separated life to God and the Church' and there was great enthusiasm for membership of the Pocket Testament League. A four-week Continuation Campaign would attempt to extend the mission's influence.[196]

Again, though, it was the stimulation to ongoing spiritual and organisational zeal which featured.

> Ministers and preachers have received a new vision and a fresh call; Church members have got a new inspiration; young men and women have seen the glory of Christ's service; and unless the Churches of Dunedin and Otago are culpably inept, the Mission is only the inauguration of a long campaign of victorious evangelism.... It is for us to pick up and carry forward the work from the point at which the Mission leaves it, and one of the greatest services rendered by the Mission is that it leaves the Churches at white hot zeal to do it.[197]

Echoes of the Dunedin mission were reported continuing some time later. Late in May, the Dunedin Presbytery held a 'quiet day' at East Taieri at which increased attendances at services were still apparent, the numbers involved in mid-week prayer meetings were up to double their former size, young people were still offering themselves for church membership and a deeper spirit of prayer was evident.[198] One speaker spoke on what the mission had meant for women especially. She was not reported as claiming any unusual degree of impact, either high or low, amongst them, but concentrated

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195. *New Zealand Baptist*, 28, 341 (May 1912), 94.
196. *New Zealand Baptist*, 30, 355 (July 1913), 134. The League was going to form a national council and then conduct a crusade attempting to gain 100,000 members. The immediate problem was that demand for testaments had outstripped supply. *New Zealand Methodist Times*, 4, 4 (14 June 1913), 7.
197. *New Zealand Methodist Times*, 2, 26 (20 April 1912), 4.
198. *Outlook*, 19, 23 (4 June 1912), 7.

rather on the attractive features of the mission, emphasising the insistence on complete surrender to gain the full measure of the power of the Holy Spirit. She was also particularly impressed by Chapman's ability to preach as if directly to each individual.[199]

Alexander's biographers indicated that there was some lingering effect of the Christchurch mission eight years later. Again, this was not necessarily in large numbers of new converts, but in its encouragement of existing Christians, an exercise in which Alexander played at least as important a role as the preacher. A letter written in 1921 to Mrs Alexander stated, 'The Chapman-Alexander Missions are still often spoken of and remembered by many as the greatest spiritual uplift New Zealand ever experienced, especially your dear husband's singing and leading of Gospel songs'.[200]

After the first, southern portion of the mission, 'P.W.F.' reflected on its effects and concluded it was analogous to 'repairing the harvester'. At all points he saw that Chapman's aim had been, in fact, to strengthen the existing churches in their existing ministries, rather than merely to increase numbers of pew occupants. 'Dr. Chapman is a minister of the Presbyterian church and is under the discipline of its courts. He is a Churches' man, a ministers' man, a workers' man, and a man's man. "I have come not to reflect upon the Churches, but to help them. The Mission services are just the Church's services a little intensified.'[201] The writer continued by listing the special meetings run for various groups of church workers - ministers, office bearers, Sunday School teachers, personal workers - as well as 'home meetings' which

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199. Ibid.
200. Mrs R.M. Ferguson, quoted in Helen C. Alexander and J. Kennedy MacLean, *Charles M. Alexander: A Romance of Song and Soul-winning* (London, n.d.), 197.
201. *New Zealand Methodist Times*, 3, 1 (4 May 1912), 1.

focussed on family life and 'church meetings' for encouraging increased devotion to the life of the individual churches. Chapman 'labours incessantly to make every man and woman work for Christ. This is the distinguishing feature of the Mission, and it has left the Churches alive instead of in a state of collapse and reaction'.[202]

It seemed to some observers that as with Torrey the large majority of the attenders were already churchgoers. Apart from personal knowledge of individuals, even the audience's familiarity with the songs and hymns 'suggested an attendance of people no strangers to church'.[203] But it was not necessarily to be regarded as a bad thing that the great bulk of the evangelistic effect was on those already associated with the churches. A Presbyterian, the Rev. A.C.W. Standage, declared that it was actually a great encouragement to the clergy to see that 'the quickening has taken place chiefly in prepared hearts', since 'the knowledge that the harvest has been reaped principally in soil which has been diligently tilled is full of encouragement to men who so often are disheartened by the seeming futility of their toil'.[204]

Speaking in Australia before he returned to New Zealand in 1913, Chapman declared that Alexander and he had decided never again to conduct missions where there was not a suitable building and other preparations made, and also that they should remain wherever they were operating for as long as seemed best to them, rather than be tied to a calendar. The *Outlook* editor saw this as a clear admission of the weakness of short-term itinerant evangelism, that it could not return results commensurate with the effort expended,

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202. Ibid.
203. *Evening Star*, 21 March 1912, 8.
204. *New Zealand Times*, 10 April 1913, 3.

and of 'undenominational evangelism', which presumably lacked the commitment available from a specific group.[205] Although this opinion did not hamper the *Outlook*'s reporting and support of the mission, even at that time, when it appeared so successful, mass evangelism was being questioned by some as a valid and efficient evangelistic method.

CONCLUSION

This mission appeared as successful in that many people responded to the evangelist's appeals, although it remains uncertain to what extent these were new converts. Even at the time, there was appreciation for the effect such a mission had in galvanising the Christian churches into renewed activity and their members into a higher level of involvement in practical demonstration of their faith. However, there again appeared to have been little durable alteration to the broader trends of churchgoing, registering gentle absolute growth, but slow decline relative to population growth throughout this period. Again the missioners seem not to have been able to break out from being attractive only to churchgoers. Although their work of revitalising those within the churches' orbit may well be seen as making a valuable contribution to church life, yet it is not the intention nor the popular expectation of such missions. Measured against the expectation that the mission would bring large numbers of new faces into churches and spiritual

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205. *Outlook*, 20, 9 (4 March 1913), 3.

awakening to the New Zealand community generally, the Chapman-Alexander mission of 1912-1913 must be judged to have failed.

The Chapman-Alexander mission was widely welcomed when it began and throughout its course many supporters expected it to be the agent of salvation for many and spiritual and moral revival for the nation.

The mission's message was different from that which Torrey had brought a decade previously. Chapman, for example, made much more of emotion, presenting a softer religion, worshipping a more loving God, than had Torrey. The differences may well be due mostly to the respective personalities of the evangelists, as the controversies in which Torrey was becoming embroiled at the turn of the century were developing into more open battles by the time of Chapman's mission. He seems simply to have been less concerned about fine doctrinal points or pugnacious about defending a correct position about them, than Torrey had been. Given that their backgrounds and involvement with Moody, the Moody Bible Institute and the Bible Conferences were much the same, the differentiating factor would appear to be personal temperament and interest - Torrey's devotion to orthodox doctrine and teaching it assiduously, compared with Chapman's pastoral concern and overriding desire that more souls would saved, whether by him or by those he inspired to carry on the work.

As had Torrey's, Chapman's mission reflected its times in the centrality given to the interest, associated with the Holiness/Keswick/Victorious Life movements, devoted to the doctrines of the Christian's absolute surrender to God leading to the second blessing of the full baptism by and empowerment of the Holy Spirit. But also as with Torrey's it failed to grip the interest of the nation, largely drawing existing Christians to hear messages seeking

their rededication to their faith and attempting to encourage their own involvement carrying out their own evangelism. Again, the mission was best appreciated as 'revivalist' in the strict sense, reviving and re-enthusing the work of the existing Christian churches, rather than bringing new members for those churches in from the community outside.

CHAPTER FIVE

'THE BIBLE SAYS...':

THE 1959 CRUSADE OF BILLY GRAHAM

Well over half a million New Zealanders heard an American evangelistic team preach in the autumn of 1959. For thousands, it was an 'hour of decision', many becoming Christians for the first time. Nationwide, a new interest was reported in religious matters generally, and in Christianity particularly. The Presbyterian General Assembly passed a motion to 'give thanks to Almighty God for the great blessing' which attended the crusade.[1]

The crusade began on Sunday 29 March 1959 with the associate evangelist, Grady Wilson, asking his 14,000 hearers at Auckland's Carlaw Park, 'Are you ready to die?'. 'Are you sure your [sic] a Christian? Do you know Christ is your Saviour? Are you sure? Do you know it? Are you sure you are ready to meet God?.'[2] More than one hundred signified that they were not, or did not, by coming forward at the appeal. This meeting, itself exceeding attendance predictions by more than 30%, began a triumphant one and a half weeks. In over eighty locations and by a variety of means, such questions were posed by the evangelistic team to over half a million New Zealanders and more than 17,000 people both answered them in the negative, and accepted the evangelists' proffered solution.[3]

This first major evangelistic mission to New Zealand since the time of Chapman and Alexander was being conducted by the young North

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1. *Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in New Zealand*, (1959), 26.
2. *Evening Star*, 30 March 1959, 1.
3. Warner Hutchinson and Cliff Wilson, *Let the People Rejoice*, (Wellington, 1959), 142-146. They give total attendances of

Footnote 3 continued on next page

Carolinian, William Franklin ('Billy') Graham and a team of evangelists, musicians and administrators. The strategy was simple and the time was short. Associate evangelists prepared the way for Graham by holding meetings for several days in advance of his arrival, and the message was spread further by the use of modern telephone and radio communication methods. The whole crusade lasted a bare twelve days, but had an impact on many New Zealand churches.

In this chapter, the American background from which Graham came is summarised. The varying New Zealand reactions, both positive and negative, to the prospect of his coming are then outlined. There follows a detailed description of the events and methodology employed during this crusade and an analysis, first, of Graham's manner of preaching and, then, of its content, as well as that of those of his books then available in New Zealand. The results of the crusade are finally outlined and its overall effect assessed.

THE EVANGELIST: BILLY GRAHAM

Torrey and Chapman had worked during the formative period of the fundamentalist movement. Graham's personal formative years, though, took place when fundamentalism seemed at the nadir of its fortunes, publicly scorned in the aftermath of the Scopes 'Monkey' trial in Ohio in 1923. In fact, although their public profile did suffer in America in the 1920s and 1930s, fundamentalism and conservative evangelicalism went almost underground and devoted their energy to regrouping and establishing new and more durable foundations. Many Bible colleges and even liberal arts colleges were created, especially

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in the United States, to foster an articulate group of young leaders.[4] Replacing many traditional denominational ties, parachurch agencies blossomed for every conceivable purpose, from marriage counselling to radio broadcasting and foreign missions.[5]

The common denominator was a commitment to a conservative theological position in the face of an overwhelming tide of liberal success within the major denominations. In many ways, the new conservative movement consciously challenged ecumenical developments, especially the World Council of Churches and its supplementary organisations, regarding them as dangerously liberal and blurring, or even subverting, orthodox Christianity. The fundamentalist answer was to provide both deliberate and *de facto* alternatives for those dissatisfied with what liberal groups offered. The 'evangelical subculture' formed, and continues to form, a shadow ecumenical movement.[6]

Footnote 3 continued from previous page
574,300 and analyse 17,493 'decisions', but give a provisional grand total of 22,753 enquirers (142) without explaining the difference. The 'decisions' are not just for initial conversion as only 10,537 are included in the 'Acceptance of Christ' category (144).

4. A general description of this process is Joel A. Carpenter, 'A Shelter in the Time of Storm: Fundamentalist Institutions and the Rise of Evangelical Protestantism, 1929-1942', *Church History*, 49, (1980), 62-75. A case study of one such institution, Northwestern Bible and Missionary Training School in Minneapolis, founded and led by William Bell Riley, is provided in William Vance Trollinger, 'Riley's Empire: Northwestern Bible School and Fundamentalism in the Upper Midwest', *Church History*, 57 (1988), 197-212. Although Trollinger's paper concludes with Riley's death, it is especially valuable background for this study as, shortly before he died in 1947, Riley dragooned a twenty-nine year old Billy Graham into taking over from him the presidency of 'Riley's Empire' at Northwestern. The difficulties of reconciling Riley's combative fundamentalist heritage with the cooperative evangelistic style Graham was even then developing contributed to this appointment being very shortlived. John Pollock, *Billy Graham* (London, 1966), 61-66.
5. See Carpenter, 'Shelter'.
6. See, e.g., Carpenter, 'Shelter'; George M. Marsden, *Reforming Fundamentalism* (Grand Rapids, 1987); David Parker, 'Fundamentalism and Conservative Protestantism in Australia, 1920-1980',

Footnote 6 continued on next page

Billy Graham was a key participant in, and beneficiary of, the evangelical renaissance which took place during the 1950s. He had earlier been part, too, of the fundamentalists' 'underground' period, undergoing a conversion experience at sixteen, in 1934, under the ministry of a fundamentalist itinerant preacher, Mordecai F. Ham.[7] Intending to enter the ministry, he attended a Bible Institute in Florida, then received an undergraduate education at conservative Wheaton College. In 1944, his evangelistic potential was recognised when Torrey Johnson invited him to join his fledgling Youth for Christ organisation, one of the new conservative parachurch evangelistic agencies. Its goal was to make Christians of young people, and specifically servicemen, its motto being, 'Geared to the Times, Anchored to the Rock'. It may well be seen, too, to have a second anchor in contemporary American youth culture. 'Youth for Christ leaders, Billy included, wore loud, handpainted ties and bright suits, that all the world might know Christianity to be no dreary faith. Clothes and excitements were essentially American, counterparts to the organised cheers and shouted slogans of American college football, the marching bands and twirlings at half-time.'[8]

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(unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Queensland, 1982); Bruce Shelley, 'The Pioneers at Fifty', *Christianity Today*, 29, 16 (November 1985), 41-43. A perceptive overview of the present situation is Grant Wacker, 'Searching for Norman Rockwell: Popular Evangelicalism in Contemporary America', in *The Evangelical Tradition in America*, edited by Leonard I. Sweet (Macon, 1984), 289-315.

7. Edward E. Ham, *When Billy Graham Found Christ* (Wheaton, 1955). Biographical details of Graham are taken mainly from Marshall Frady, *Billy Graham: A Parable of American Righteousness* (Boston and Toronto, 1979); William G. McLoughlin, *Billy Graham: Revivalist in a Secular Age* (New York, 1960); idem, *Modern Revivalism: Charles Grandison Finney to Billy Graham* (New York, 1959); Pollock, *Billy Graham*.

8. Pollock, *Billy Graham*, 52. From 1947, Graham also served a five-year period as president of Northwestern Bible School in Minneapolis as hand-picked successor to fundamentalist leader William Bell Riley. For a survey of Riley's extensive popular

Footnote 8 continued on next page

In the 1950s, though, as he became well-known and conducted major crusades on his own account, his work took place against the backdrop of violent criticism, not merely from the more liberal elements in churches, but even more strongly from the extreme fundamentalists among whom Graham had been nurtured. They considered him to be doubly dangerous. Their accusations may be condensed to two charges: his style of cooperative evangelism included all churches who would participate, regardless of theology. It was assumed this style required compromising the gospel to make it more palatable to 'liberals', and certainly implied his guilt by association with them. Further, he still claimed to be preaching his original message, but the ultrafundamentalists decided that this could not be so and that he was, therefore, a traitor to orthodox Christianity.

He became a prime mover in founding the periodical, *Christianity Today*, intending it to 'plant the evangelical flag in the middle of the road, taking a conservative theological position but a definite liberal approach to social problems. It would combine the best in liberalism and the best in fundamentalism without compromising theologically.'[9] He was himself slowly moving to act on some social issues, insisting, for example, that his crusade meetings be racially desegregated.[10] But in his theological camp it was a rarity to read a journal which saw some good in liberal thought.

During this time, Graham revealed that his view of the inspiration of the Bible was noticeably different from the full inerrancy of

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influence, see William Vance Trollinger, 'Riley's Empire: Northwestern Bible School and Fundamentalism in the Upper Midwest', *Church History*, 57 (1988), 197-212.

9. Billy Graham letter to Harold Lindsell, 25 January 1955. Quoted in Marsden, *Reforming Fundamentalism*, 158.
10. For example, Lowell D. Streiker and Gerald S. Strober, *Religion and the New Majority: Billy Graham, Middle America, and the Politics of the 70s* (New York, 1972), 48-59, mention Graham's

Footnote 10 continued on next page

strict fundamentalism. He cited approvingly Baptist scholar Bernard Ramm who had recently challenged the fundamentalist use of Bible as a reliable source of scientific data and who allowed for some form of theistic evolution. Ramm's view, 'in my opinion does not take away from Inspiration but rather gives strong support to our faith in the Inspiration of the Scriptures.'[11]

The British campaign of 1954 opened Graham's eyes to the breadth of church support available and led to his resolve not to be limited to the conservative political or social positions so often associated with fundamentalist theology. In his search for an editor for the new periodical, he asked of one prospect, 'Would he be willing to recognize that fundamentalism is in need of an entirely new approach and that this magazine would be useless if it had the old fundamentalist stamp on it?'[12] Graham wanted to emphasise points of commonality held by all Christian groups rather than to begin negatively, highlighting differences and thus encouraging disunity.

In the following year, Graham's position became widely known as he planned the forthcoming New York Crusade under the auspices of the non-evangelical Protestant Council of the City of New York, rather than remaining limited to fundamentalist support. He publicly repudiated 'the fighting, feuding and controversies among God's people', with which he was 'sick and fed up'. He felt that if revival

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Footnote 10 continued from previous page
background in segregationism, how from 1953 he desegregated his meetings (at least ten years before comparable evangelical groups) and how during the 1960s he made moderate anti-segregation speeches, e.g. 'We should have been leading the way to racial justice but we failed, let's confess it, let's admit it and let's do something about it.' Speech, 7 April 1964. Quoted in ibid., 52.

11. Billy Graham letter to Harold Lindsell, 25 January 1955. Quoted in Marsden, *Reforming Fundamentalism*, 158.
12. Billy Graham letter to Harold Lindsell, 25 January 1955. Quoted in Marsden, *Reforming Fundamentalism*, 160.

was to come evangelicals should repent of their 'name-calling and mud-slinging', and asked, 'What difference does it make who sponsors a meeting?'[13] His critics conceded that St Paul may have been 'sponsored' by pagan philosophers at Mars Hill, but pointed out that this did not mean he handed over names of his new converts to non-Christian temples or synagogues, as Graham did his to their local, often liberal, churches. Graham's response was summarised in his statement that 'The one badge of Christian discipleship is not orthodoxy, but love.'[14]

In all this furore, Graham had emerged as the pivotal figure in the new reformation being undertaken in American conservative Christianity. Initially, doctrinal questions were not so much in debate, although biblical inerrancy was a perennial issue. Rather, 'Separatism... now became a chief test of "fundamentalism".'[15] Since Graham now had a very high public profile, identification with or rejection of his cooperative style of evangelism became a litmus test of purity. The question asked was not so much 'What think ye of Christ?, as 'What think ye of Billy Graham?'.[16]

Graham always demanded widespread support from a city before even considering mounting a campaign there. This had led to some softening in the 1950s of his personal opinions and preconceptions. He refused, however, to negotiate any part of his theology. He would not alter his message to make it acceptable to those who criticised the weight placed on a crisis conversion experience. He was consciously trying

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13. 'What's the Next Step', interview with Billy Graham, *Christian Life*, (June 1956), 20-23. Quoted in Marsden, *Reforming Fundamentalism*, 162-163.
14. 'The Lost Chord of Evangelism', *Christianity Today*, 1 April 1957, 26. Quoted in Marsden, *Reforming Fundamentalism*, 164-165.
15. Marsden, *Reforming Fundamentalism*, 165.
16. This central position meant that 'Graham was absolutely indispensable in breaking new evangelicals from fundamentalists, legitimating the movement, making it palatable to public opinion,

Footnote 16 continued on next page

to make himself more broadly acceptable, and worked hard to downplay any association with fundamentalist fanaticism, but the content of his preaching still could not be faulted by conservative Christians. And he made the full extent of his theological conservatism perfectly plain.

> If by *fundamentalist* you mean 'narrow', 'bigoted', 'prejudiced', 'extremist', 'emotional', 'snake-handler', 'without social conscience', - then I am definitely not a fundamentalist. However, if by *fundamentalist* you mean a person who accepts the authority of the Scriptures, the virgin birth of Christ, the atoning death of Christ, His bodily resurrection, His second coming and personal salvation by faith through grace, then I am a fundamentalist. However, I much prefer being called a 'Christian'.[17]

This statement indicates Graham's own growing dissatisfaction with his extreme right-wing heritage and, in fact, the beginnings of his emergence as one of the leaders of a new sub-movement, usually labelled 'neo-evangelicalism'. Still seeking to preserve an evangelical doctrinal position, this group attempted to work in cooperation with liberal groups rather than to fight them in true fundamentalist style. Many of their leaders have high academic credentials and have sought to maintain their heritage in a manner intellectually acceptable to the wider world of scholarship. Neo-evangelicalism's institutional flagship has been Fuller Seminary in Pasadena, its key journal *Christianity Today* and its organising body the National Association of Evangelicals.[18] Billy Graham has been closely linked with all three. His cooperative evangelism has stood

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promoting "a surprisingly large role in many of the ventures that advanced evangelical learning", and protecting evangelical scholars "from the anti-intellectual tendencies of the broader evangelical community".' Leonard I. Sweet, 'Wise as Serpents, Innocent as Doves: The New Evangelical Historiography', *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, 56 (1988), 409.

17. Billy Graham in *Look*, 7 February 1956. Quoted in Mcloughlin, *Modern Revivalism*, 500-501.
18. See especially Marsden, *Reforming Fundamentalism*.

as a prime example of the neo-evangelical attempts at maintaining Christian unity without compromising either conservative doctrine or the primacy of individual salvation as the goal of church activity.

EXPECTATIONS AND ADVANCE SUPPORT FOR THE CRUSADE

When Billy Graham arrived in New Zealand on 2 April 1959, he was already a well-known figure. His books were widely available for sale and he gained occasional mention in both denominational and secular newspapers. For theologically conservative Christians, the *Reaper*, produced by the New Zealand Bible Training Institute, had for some years provided information regarding Graham's whereabouts and activities. It also printed a number of his sermons, on such topics as 'Second Thoughts on Evangelism', 'Personal Evangelism... God Wants to Help Men', and 'Revival Could Change the World'.[19] The same group had also been primed and encouraged with articles on 'Cooperative Evangelism: Why Not?', 'Dr. Billy Graham's N.Z. Crusades', and 'How Can I (and My Church) Share in Preparing for the Billy Graham Crusade'.[20] These articles advised them to join with as many other local churches as possible and to organise their own church in various support tasks.

Additionally, the *Reaper* had made a variety of attempts to demonstrate Graham's loyalty to conservative Christianity, his social acceptability as a preacher and his effectiveness as an evangelist. In 1954, there had been a major Graham crusade in London, based on

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19. *Reaper*, 33 (1955), 251-252, 288-289; 34 (1956), 147-150.
20. *Reaper*, 36 (1958), 168-172, 405-407, 335-337.

Harringay Arena.[21] Reports were fed rapidly to readers in New Zealand detailing the size of the crowds and the response, claiming that 'nothing much short of a revolution is taking place in London because of the Billy Graham Crusade'.[22] Further, there was the assurance that, 'the illusion that Dr. Graham represents some kind of American freak revivalism has been completely dispelled; the secular press has been charmed and won; and all the manifold representatives of conservative Christianity are now in support.'[23] A popular British theologian and writer, Dr Leslie Weatherhead, was quoted to bolster the good impression and to voice again the hope that is constantly rekindled with each mission.

> The service I attended recently was quiet and reverent.... There is not the faintest effort to pile up emotion by sentimental stories and 'sob-stuff'.... I liked that. I think if I had not been a Christian, I should have joined the 400 people who went into a draughty annexe.... God may use this man and his devoted team to do what needs doing more in this spiritually hungry and restless land; kindle a revival that will sweep Britain and alter incredibly the aspect of every grim problem that now affrights us.[24]

A year later, another article carried a eulogy written by Graham's Crusade Director in which Graham appeared as a 'young, sincere, earnest and humble man', for whom 'there is no comparison' with other notable twentieth-century evangelists - 'his dedication to God is all-embracing'. Other desirable features highlighted included his self-giving to audiences, his 'undivided devotion to Christ', 'his trustworthiness', that he is 'free from the "love of money"' and 'absolutely loyal to the church'. There was no question of his faith in God and his calling as an evangelist, '"I know that my Redeemer

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21. See Frank Colquhoun, *Harringay Story: The Official Record of the Billy Graham Greater London Crusade 1954* (London, 1955).
22. 'A Revolution in Britain!', *Reaper*, 32 (1954), 126.
23. 'Revolution', 126.
24. Quoted in 'Revolution', 126-127.

liveth..." says Job in 19:25, and that is Dr. Graham's position. He *knows*, and consequently *nothing deters him from his God-given task.*[25]

For several years, then, large sections of New Zealand's churchgoers had been made aware of Billy Graham's work and had it presented in a thoroughly positive light. This forty-one year old American was already viewed, by some at least, as a man who could hold successfully a major evangelistic crusade, bringing together a broad range of Christians and presenting to the wider community an 'orthodox' Christian gospel message.

The editorial writer for the Anglican paper *Church and People* contended that Anglicans ought to support the Graham meetings: '...he comes in good faith at our invitation, and ought to be given every assistance.... [since] this is one manifestation of the Church's evangelistic work'.[26] He agreed, though, that 'the Church's spiritual foundations still rest on the parish priest, who without fanfares and often in the face of discouragement, plod [sic] through the week's work', and that Graham is 'an accessory to the Church's work'.[27]

Church and People then attempted to meet some anticipated criticisms of Graham: that he made money from his crusades (Graham and his team were salaried, all money given in New Zealand would be used for campaign purposes and accounts would be audited); that his converts 'don't stick' (many have done, though, and Graham contended his work would be worthwhile if only church members were influenced); that there was too much emotion (his meetings were quiet and dignified and he preached to the will, not the emotions); that crowds were

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25. 'What is Different About Billy Graham?', *Reaper*, 33 (1955), 206-207.
26. *Church and People*, 14, 2 (March 1959), 2.
27. Ibid.

inappropriate and undignified (they were not worship services and this was only one evangelistic method); that his sermons were intellectually empty (but Gallup Polls overseas indicated general religious illiteracy necessitating simplicity of preaching).[28]

Methodists, as a denomination, were seen in 1959 to support the Graham crusade. There appeared to be a recognition of Graham's theological difference from them, but also a determination not to let that hinder involvement. 'Are we only to cooperate with people who hold our views of inspiration? This would be to fall into the same error that characterizes some so-called fundamentalists, who refuse to work with the likes of you and me because we do NOT believe in verbal inspiration. The centre of our unity is Christ; not a theory about the Bible.'[29] The theological sticking-points were deliberately glossed over and subordinated to Graham's winsome character and ecumenical openness. 'What matters is that he has a humble and charitable spirit.... He is free from the sin of disrupting Christian unity over the matter. He works gladly with all who love our Lord.' At this stage, the paper even endorsed Graham's fundamentalistic biblicism: '... he uses Holy Scripture in a proper way. When he uses the familiar phrase "The Bible says..." the texts which follow are always adduced to support the central doctrines of the Faith.'[30] The paper continued in its next issue to be mesmerised by Graham's personality, again refusing to critique either his message or his methods because of what the man was.[31]

There was a more thoughtful assessment in a report of the Melbourne crusade. This observed that, 'the Fundamentalist movements

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28. Ibid.
29. *New Zealand Methodist Times*, 28 February 1959, 572.
30. Ibid.
31. Rev. H. Prouse, 'Dr. Billy Graham: What of the Man?', *New Zealand Methodist Times*, 18 March 1959, 600.

do look on Graham as a figurehead for their particular cultus', but the writer felt Graham stressed 'Catholic orthodoxy' rather than his fundamentalist background. He, too, urged that 'Churches in the main stream of Catholic tradition can lose little by giving the Crusade their full support, and are more likely to be within the blessing of God by entering in, than by standing fastidiously aloof.'[32]

The Baptists, too, seem to have been determinedly uncritical in their support. Their editorial writer acknowledged that there would be some criticism, but asserted that 'these things should not disturb anyone. Neither should any Christian allow himself to be drawn into fruitless discussion of secondary details.'[33] However, what might be classified as secondary and fruitless is not made clear.

Any possibility of Roman Catholic participation, though, was pre-empted by episcopal instruction. The aged Bishop James Liston of Auckland forbade association with such activities: 'By a law of the Church the world over "it is unlawful for Catholics to assist in any way or to take part in the religious services of non-Catholics". Accordingly, we are all bound in conscience to have no part whatever in the Rev. Mr. Graham's campaign, for it is a Protestant mission for Protestants.'[34]

This exclusivist stand was reinforced in the denominational newspaper, the *New Zealand Tablet*. Columnist Dr Rumble replied to readers' questions about Graham by stressing the weight of Catholic tradition.

> Catholics, of course, have to ask themselves, not 'What has he got?' but 'What has he not got?' He has not got the Catholic Faith. He has not got any valid apostolic

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32. Rev. Gordon Brough, '"Religion is not enough": Billy Graham Crusade in Melbourne', *New Zealand Methodist Times*, 28 March 1959, 631.
33. *New Zealand Baptist*, 75, 853 (March 1959), 53.
34. Quoted in *New Zealand Methodist Times*, 11 April 1959, 661. This stand echoed the Australian ruling of Archbishop Beovich in

Footnote 34 continued on next page

> priesthood or commission. He has not got any Church which he knows to be the true Church. He has not got any Sacraments to offer to anybody. His message is that of previous Protestant revivalists: 'Believe on Christ and be saved'.... To a Catholic, whose Church has so much more to give, and far stricter demands to make, it is all pathetically vague and indefinite.[35]

Indeed, it is highly unlikely that Roman Catholics would have been welcome if they had tried to be involved. Although these were the days of ecumenism and the National Council of Churches, there were still standards of entry to be observed. Not for another two and a half decades would Catholics be admitted to the replacement body for the N.C.C., and then still in the face of determined opposition. 'The whole picture changed between '69 and the Palau period, particularly with the Catholics and, well, all the oddbods that used to be excluded from respectable evangelical circles.'[36]

Catholics were not the only disreputable 'oddbods'. The category could include anyone who did not fit that 'respectable evangelical' mould, even other fundamentalists. 'In '59 they [the Pentecostals] were carefully excluded.... If anybody had any Pentecostal leanings they weren't allowed to be in on counselling or anything like that.'[37] Other groups who seem to have been too small, separationist or otherwise suspect, were the Brethren and Lutherans. Although not officially involved, they still participated to such good effect that the South Island committee recommended their official representation on the committee of any future crusade.[38]

Footnote 34 continued from previous page
Adelaide that Catholics were 'not free in conscience to take part in non-Catholic religious services'. Editorial, *Southern Cross*, 8 May 1959, 6. Quoted in David Hilliard, 'Popular Religion in Australia in the 1950s: A Study of Adelaide and Brisbane', *Journal of Religious History*, 15 (1988), 232.

35. *New Zealand Tablet*, 36, 13 (8 April 1959), 16.
36. Rev. J.A. Clifford, interview, 18 May 1988. Baptist College tutor 1945-1951, vice-principal 1952-1960, principal 1961-1973.
37. Ibid.
38. Report of the South Island Committee to the N.C.C., 17 July 1959. Rev. Roland Hart papers, N.Z.B.H.S. archives.

OPPOSITION TO THE MISSION

Within New Zealand, the announcement of Billy Graham's campaign drew criticism from the most conservative quarters of the 'sect-type' churches, such as Baptists, Brethren, Churches of Christ and Dutch Reformed churches. These mostly stood in the Anabaptist tradition of criticism of, and withdrawal and separation from, those who did not agree thoroughly with their own theological views. There was concern regarding 'liberals', usually meaning anyone espousing the most mildly critical position of biblical interpretation. Also, some refused to join even with those who were otherwise 'sound' but who still could not be wholly 'bible-believing' because of a differing baptismal theology, permitting paedobaptism. (Few seem to be aware of the subtleties of eucharistic theology.)

The *Reaper*, more irenic now than at its inception, thought it desirable to pre-empt some of this criticism. In one article, Graham's decision 'to throw in his lot with the Church as a whole - regardless of liberal attitudes on the part of some on theological questions', was clearly claimed to have been made 'after much thought and prayer'.[39] The writer observed that the issue of whether or not Graham should have involved himself on a broader front 'is essentially a matter between God and Billy' and that 'the American Conservatives should not have attacked Billy, inasmuch as he has never abandoned or compromised a single doctrinal point'.[40] Still, the matter was very much regarded as one where any movement of Graham's theological opinions would definitely be a falling from grace calling for

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39. David Steele, 'The Mystery of Billy Graham', *Reaper*, 33 (1955), 89.
40. Ibid., 90.

mourning. 'If some very important Liberal theologians are correct that "Billy will grow out" of his fundamentalism, then, and only then, would there be cause for conservative distress; moreover, it would be more correct if it were distress, rather than anger.'[41] The concept of antithetical ideologies competing over the eternal destinies of souls, though, was not given up, since the conservatives 'would have been much wiser to regard him as a fifth columnist amongst the Liberals'.[42]

The editorial writer related the question directly to the New Zealand situation.

> Only those prepared to sacrifice the chance of a wide religious movement to the personal prejudices of a rigid and brittle theology, deplore such a partnership. There are such. They are the survivors of those wounded by the crude liberalism of a generation ago, who have been unable to cease firing after the battle is won, and the evangelical position needs only vigilance and a ready guard.[43]

Graham's ecumenism thus received qualified support against the separatist conservatives, but little concession was really made to the prospect of enduring, post-crusade, interdenominational cooperation. It seems to have been taken for granted that there was a battle situation between conservatives and liberals and that true Christians should be on a constant war footing, not just against the forces of evil, but also against one's co-workers in the campaign. The impression is clearly that Graham's work should be supported for the moment under an armed truce, but there was no expectation that vigilance could be relaxed in case the other side gained the slightest advantage. On the one hand was a desire for greater Christian unity through the crusade, on the other a zealous intent that 'revival'

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41. Ibid.
42. Ibid.
43. 'The Religious Situation in New Zealand', *Reaper*, 36 (1958), 163.

should be only on 'orthodox' terms, with unremitting vigilance on behalf of 'the evangelical position'.

In the event, for this crusade, conservative criticism seemed to be very sparse and muted. Conservatives did read American literature and listen to audio tapes of ultrafundamentalists like Carl McIntire.[44] They found him, though, 'too cold and condemnatory' to be heeded in preference to the pietistic warmth of the Keswick-linked, New Zealand evangelical leaders like B.T.I. principal John Deane, or, when he arrived, Billy Graham.[45]

There was in New Zealand a very conservative separatist group, the Auckland Consultative Committee of the International Council of Christian Churches, led by Rev. Forde Carlisle, a Baptist minister, who opposed any form of ecumenical cooperation and even published their own magazine, *The Contender*. This journal was created specifically to oppose ecumenical activity and literature which was viewed as directly satanic in origin. Its intention was to offset this literature and to be also 'for the enlightenment of those who are unaware of the enemy's cunning devices as well as the equipment of those who are ready to advance in the 20th [sic] Century Reformation, to attack the enemy, and to expose the lurking lie of evil behind the

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44. Carl McIntire was a key spokesman for American separatist fundamentalism. In 1941, he founded the American Council of Christian Churches in direct opposition to the Federal Council of Churches and he has remained an outspoken opponent of even moderate non-separatist evangelicalism. The broader organisation with he also was associated, the International Council of Christian Churches, was a counter to the World Council of Churches. His belligerent negativity has led one historian to describe him as 'a mental and spiritual oaf, [who] presented himself as an absolute rectum of rectitude'. Sweet, 'Serpents', 408.
45. Mr L.W. Rushbrook, interview, 17 May 1988. N.Z.B.T.I. tutor from 1936, Secretary-Treasurer then Registrar from 1938 until the mid-1970s. Being more of a difference in 'tone', this preference does not, however, necessarily preclude sympathy with McIntire's doctrinal stance.

glitter and the glamour and the glare'.[46] Their attitude towards Billy Graham was one of increasing disappointment, noting first that enquirers from Graham's New York crusade sometimes were referred to non-evangelical, and therefore unsound, churches,[47] and then that Graham joined an ecumenical expression of sympathy at Pope Pius XII's death which expressed confidence in the Pope's resurrection to eternal life with Christ. In disbelief, the *Contender* wondered, 'Do these really believe that the Pope has gone to be with Christ?'[48]

When Graham did come to New Zealand, this group disassociated itself from the crusade. This was not on theological grounds - they 'rejoice in the soundness of his message, and the results of his meetings'[49] - but because of his ecumenical involvement. They saw it as

> a matter of great regret and concern that Dr. Graham has so seriously departed from the fundamental principle of Biblical evangelism [unspecified], for what is now known as ecumenical evangelism. This departure is to us a tragedy, and seriously threatens the clear Biblical line of separatism from false doctrine.... The National Council of Churches is the New Zealand Arm of the World Council of Churches, which is apostate, and ought therefore to be ruled out of the fellowship of all evangelism loyal to the Bible and the historic faith.[50]

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46. *Contender*, 1, 1 (November 1954), 1. Doctrinally the organisation was thoroughly fundamentalist. See their doctrinal statement in *Contender*, 1, 2 (1 February 1955), 1. They further pictured the work of their own groups, and those similar, as a new Reformation, purging the Christian Church of error and corruption. 'We count it an honour to be officialy [sic] associated with Dr Carl McIntire (who to us is a modern Luther, Knox and Wesley rolled into one) and with all the rest associated with and linked together in this glorious holy warfare - God's unbeatable minority.' *Contender*, 1, 1 (November 1954), 1.
47. *Contender*, 3, 2 (March-April 1958), 1.
48. *Contender*, 3, 5 (September-October 1958), 2.
49. *Contender*, 4, 2 (March-April 1959), 1.
50. Ibid., 1-2. They further quoted a resolution of McIntire's American International Council of Christian Churches, including, 'We believe it right to preach to all sinners. We believe it is never right to put lost men, enemies of the Bible, in places to partially control or sponsor a revival campaign, a local church, a ministerial association, or a denomination, or religious institution.'

But such groups gained little public attention and, to the extent that they opposed Graham, had little effect.[51] The same may be said of the few strongly Reformed groups who may have objected to Graham's revivalistic Arminianism.[52] These churches have never held an influential position in New Zealand, and many have been comprised of Dutch immigrants, further limiting their popular appeal.

More vocal opposition from within the churches came more from those who opposed mass evangelism *per se*. Well before the 1950s, not only liberals but even many evangelicals were happier with 'lifestyle' and literature evangelism, relying on Christians' personal examples or evangelistic literature, than with dealing with crowds.[53] This came from the growing awareness of the subtlety of psychological pressuring of audiences, and, in any case, 'personal work' has always been more appropriate to the individualism of the evangelical message than has dealing with crowds *en bloc*. Liberal critics were uncomfortable with precisely that evangelical version of the gospel, but made little vocal demur in 1959. There was, though, a very definite impression of an initial lack of Anglican sympathy with such a venture outside *the* Church.

> When Billy Graham first went to London, there was *enormous* resistance. Pretty well the whole of the Church of England establishment was horrified at this ill-spoken Yankee coming and talking to *Britain* about Christianity. Gosh, I mean, he was a hick from the backwoods. He couldn't speak decent English and he had an awful theology. You know, it was this terrible conversionist theology - *terrible* stuff. The British people, they were staggered at the interest that Billy Graham - and later on, you had the bishops and so on commending him. Now, I'm quite sure that that was so in New Zealand to some degree.... I'm sure there would have been that reluctance in many people's minds - as there is today.[54]

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51. Rev. J.A. Clifford, interview, 18 May 1988.
52. Mr L.W. Rushbrook, interview, 17 May 1988.
53. Rev. J.A. Clifford, interview, 18 May 1988.
54. Ibid.

EVENTS OF THE MISSION

The techniques used during the 1959 crusade were the products of a highly-polished system developed by Graham and his organisation for winning and retaining converts. In the tradition of American revivalism, Graham had refined and applied Finney's principle of the 'philosophical use of the constituted means' to persuade his hearers.[55]

Following Moody and especially Billy Sunday, he drew a team of specialists around himself. From his Youth for Christ days, as he began to conduct more and more of his own campaigns, Graham had employed Grady Wilson, a longstanding friend, as an administrator and assistant evangelist. Soon added were Cliff Barrows as songleader, and George Beverly Shea as a soloist. With the expansion of his ministry, a group of other associate evangelists were recruited. Then, in order to cope with the mushrooming financial and administrative complexities of the ministry and with the hundreds of thousands of letters he was now receiving, the Billy Graham Evangelistic Association was established in 1950. To avert the possibility of the financial scandals that consistently dogged other evangelists, Graham and his team became salaried employees of the Association.

As demonstrated in New Zealand, this team organisation allowed the most efficient use of the shortest time. Associate evangelists conducted preliminary meetings, both to evangelise on their own account, and to act as *hors d'oeuvres* before the *pièce de résistance*, fostering local anticipation of the climactic ministry of Graham

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55. See above, 47.

himself. Grady Wilson, as senior, conducted the Auckland meetings. In Wellington, Graham's brother-in-law, Canadian Presbyterian minister Leighton Ford, was the associate. He began a day later than Wilson and had to contend with bleak weather to attract relatively small crowds, less than half in size of those in the other two centres. For all that, he won more converts than either of the other associates. Christchurch's member of the team was Joseph Blinco, an English Methodist minister sent there because of the city's reputedly English character. He opened the crusade there on 2 April and drew some 40,000 to his meetings.

The efforts of all three paled beside the crowds who listened and responded to Billy Graham himself. Arriving at Whenuapai on the evening of Thursday 2 April, he was received at Government House, Auckland, by Lord Cobham, the Governor-General, who delayed some of his own engagements for the occasion. That night, Graham drew 50,000 to Carlaw Park, virtually equalling in one meeting the total attendances of the Wilson meetings. His second meeting attracted over 60,000 and these two together resulted in 6,276 enquirers, ten times Wilson's harvest. The trend was repeated in Wellington and Christchurch, where he gained more than twice as many hearers as his associates had, and six or seven times the numbers responded.[56]

Another Graham alteration to traditional revivalistic practice was the use, wherever possible, of an open-air venue such as a stadium or sports park. It had long been observed that non-churchgoers were more likely to attend meetings in a 'secular' environment, and some churchgoers were more likely to attend outside a location associated with a denomination not their own. Since few evangelists could afford to follow Moody or Billy Sunday in having purpose-built 'tabernacles',

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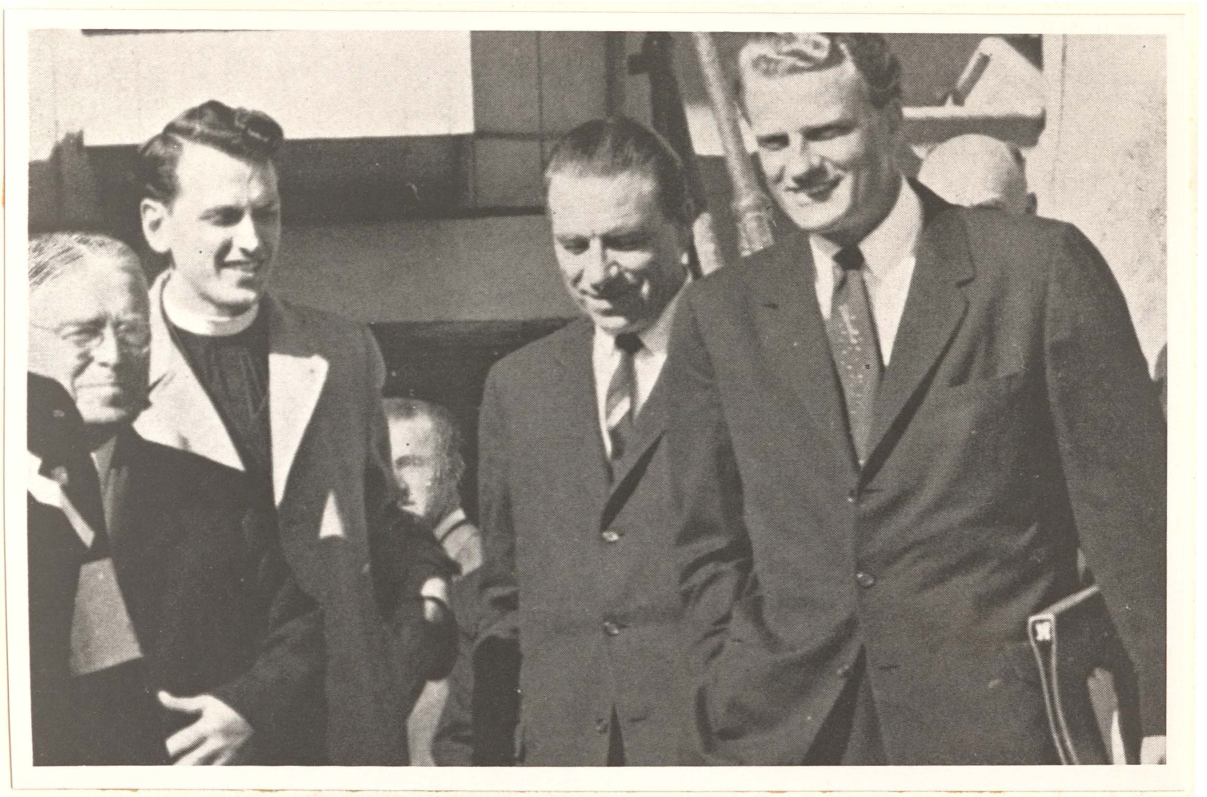
56. All figures from Hutchinson and Wilson, *People*, 142.



The Prime Minister, the Rt Hon. Walter Nash (left) accompanies Leighton Ford, George Beverly Shea and Billy Graham to the dais at the Wellington meeting. (From Hutchinson and Wilson, People, opp. p.61).

Billy Graham (right) meets associate the Rev. Joseph Blinco (left) and Christchurch crusade committee chairman, the Rev. Roland Hart (centre). (From Hutchinson and Wilson, People, opp.p.76).

many revivalists had therefore resorted to using tents. Those, like Torrey and Chapman, who were more successful, filled town halls. But Graham was moving in a yet bigger league and where Torrey had attracted his thousands, Graham drew his tens of thousands. In the London crusade, for example, his last two meetings were at White City Stadium, accommodating 67,000 people, and Wembley, 120,000, while in 1963 one meeting at the Los Angeles Coliseum drew at least 134,000.[57] Sports facilities were usually the only suitably-sized venues. In New Zealand, those chosen were Carlaw Park in Auckland, Athletic Park in Wellington and Lancaster Park in Christchurch.

Modern American advertising methods were employed in a major way for probably the first time in New Zealand's religious life. Relatively little was said in denominational papers for such a notable event. Itineraries were given, embellished with photographs of Graham and, as the time drew near, reports from the Melbourne crusade. But there was seldom much more, and certainly no real discussion of the desirability of the crusade nor any critical appreciation of the way it was being run.

Partly, this apparent lack of interest was due to more prosaic matters demanding editorial attention; the reports from churches and missionary societies still had to have their accustomed pages. Particularly, though, the crusade organisation itself was seen to be creating its own effective publicity. Brochures, posters and newspaper advertisements were widely used to disseminate information in church and community. Publicity and piety merged in the supplying to Wellington restaurants and hotels of cards to be placed on dining tables. Their message read:

A grace before meals...

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57. Pollock, *Billy Graham*, 161-162.

> "O God accept my grateful thanks for this food. Strengthen and sustain me by it. Help me face with courage whatever today may bring." Amen.
>
> Billy Graham Crusade,
> Wellington,
> March 30-April 6, 1959.[58]

Within the churches there was also a growing number of people who knew about the crusade from within as an uncounted multitude prepared as counsellors, choristers, ushers and committee members. There seemed little need for further denominational assistance.

Another promotional innovation for this crusade was the use of Graham's own evangelistic films to generate interest in the crusade and awareness of Graham as a person. They were screened in churches around the nation. The most popular was 'Souls in Conflict', based on the Harringay Crusade. These films' presentation could be like a small-scale crusade meeting and appeals given at the close.[59] The effect of the advertising and promotion was a successful raising of church and community consciousness with regard to the mission. 'There was sort of an air of expectation with the coming of Billy Graham - the sort of thing I haven't experienced since.'[60]

People in whom interest had been created still had to be brought to the meetings. A deliberate strategy was used, taken over from Billy Sunday, of encouraging churches and related groups to book blocks of seats in advance. Overseas, this practice had been criticised for artificially inflating attendances and for weighting audiences towards those kindly disposed and supportive (and thus more likely to influence the undecided). It also took up space which could have been occupied by non-Christians, presumably those most in need of hearing Graham. There seems to have been no such criticism in New

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58. Quoted in *Church and People*, 14, 3 (March 1959), 3.
59. Rev. C.D. Jones, interview, 15 December 1989.
60. Ibid.

Zealand, perhaps because there was no real pressure on seating space,[61] and when Graham's associate, Grady Wilson, began the campaign in Auckland, 10,000 seats were already bespoken for the first meeting.

There was, too, a need to bring the message to people outside the three main centres and several strategies were adopted. Many were prepared to travel long distances. For example, some chartered a bus to come to Christchurch from Dunedin for just one meeting,[62] others came to Wellington by special trains, assisted by rail fares discounted for the occasion.[63]

But for most travel was impractical. The answer was to install landline relays for transmission of the services all over the country. The technique had been pioneered during the London crusade, with the hiring of long-distance telephone lines after the manner of outside sports and political broadcasts. This allowed crowds all over Britain to hear and respond to Billy Graham in their own local theatre, cinema or church. There were sixty-two landline centres, the largest being the Dunedin Town Hall, into which 4,000 were packed for Graham's final address. Some were as small as Taihape, Takaka and Mataura.[64]

Landlines could be used to break out of the ecclesiastical ghetto and reach the rest of the community. In Invercargill, three landline services were further relayed into the local Borstal, being attended by 'quite a proportion' of the boys and resulting in some detainee interviews with the chaplain.[65]

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61. Except for Dunedin, where there was potential pressure as the Town Hall was used. A letter to the editor recommended reservations only for those living more than twenty miles away, with a maximum of 250 seats available to be reserved. *Otago Daily Times*, 24 March 1959, 4.
62. *Otago Daily Times*, 6 April 1959, 14.
63. *Dominion*, 4 April 1959, 13.
64. For a full list of landline centres, see Hutchinson and Wilson, *People*, 141, and map, 23.
65. *New Zealand Methodist Times*, 25 April 1959, 689.

A landline service in the Dunedin Town Hall. (From Hutchinson and Wilson, People, opp. p.77).

The services in these places were usually run as if they were fully-fledged meetings, with local church leaders directing singing, prayers and announcements, but the preacher was replaced by the live broadcast of Graham's sermon. A typical example was Blenheim, where the college hall, seating 900, was booked for five nights and one afternoon, with the Methodist Church and hall available for any overflow. For the first half-hour of the programme, there was local singing, the offertory and announcements, then the landline link at 8 p.m. with a hymn, the welcome, another hymn, a solo and the address.[66] Appeals were made and counselling was available for enquirers, as in the large meetings.

There seems to have been little resistance to this application of modern technology, but the organisers remained conscious that 'this was very much second-best' to having an evangelist in person. The problem was overcome inasmuch as Graham proved a 'forceful enough speaker' to hold an audience's attention for half an hour, while the landline meetings were still able to hear the soloists and choir and participate in the massed singing.[67]

Seemingly, the method was quite effective. Even the more impersonal landline meetings affected their communities. A Methodist report from Invercargill claimed a total attendance of 12,000, with 242 decisions, and that 'folk of all walks of life have felt the impact of these gatherings'.[68] On 5 April, for example, there were 'thousands' at the Te Rapa racecourse in Hamilton, 2,000 at the Palmerston North Y.M.C.A. resulting in 150 'decisions', over 5,000 at the Brooklands Bowl in New Plymouth and 95 'decisions', 800 in Hawera

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66. *Marlborough Express*, 28 March 1959, 1.
67. Mr L.W. Rushbrook, interview, 17 May 1988; Rev. H. and Mrs J. Nees, interview, 20 March 1986.
68. *New Zealand Methodist Times*, 25 April 1959, 689.

yielding 12 respondents, 18 came from the 1,000 in the Stratford Memorial Hall, and 49 of the 1,500 attending in the Wanganui Opera House and overflow.[69] Overall, the official crusade statistics list for the district landline centres a total attendance of 185,000, resulting in at least 5,566 enquirers.[70]

An even wider audience, possibly of over a million, was reached by further use of modern technology. All YA and YZ stations broadcast Graham's sermon from his last Christchurch meeting on the night after it was delivered. There was extensive advertising for the broadcast, even in newspapers.[71] Graham presented himself and his message with persuasive distinction. 'N.L.M.', the *Listener* radio critic, enthused, 'Dr Graham revealed himself a true orator whom the microphone does not diminish. On the air, it was clearly obvious that Billy Graham is a star *radio* personality, which in part explains the magnetism he can exert over his thousands of listeners.'[72] Such ability also helps to explain why it was possible to maintain the landline meetings without a visible speaker.

Those persuaded through the broadcast could be assisted through another innovation - telephone counselling. This was yet another new concept for New Zealand, but the Graham organisation by now had much experience to draw upon. The various main centres had groups of counsellors waiting on a battery of phones. In Christchurch, for example, five telephones were used, handling between two and three hundred calls for counsel. On 10 April, after the radio broadcast of Graham's message, some forty people rang for help and registered decisions. In Dunedin, as calls came in, counsellors were dispatched

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69. *Dominion*, 6 April 1959, 14.
70. Hutchinson and Wilson, *People*, 142.
71. e.g. *Christchurch Star*, 9 April 1959, 5.
72. *Listener*, 40, 1025 (17 April 1959), 17.

all over the city so that no opportunity would be wasted. The phones were staffed by volunteers for some days after the end of the crusade meetings and again with some success, 575 enquirers being counselled.[73]

Some problems may have been experienced with the counsellors used, whether on the telephones or at meetings. After the crusade, the South Island Follow Up Committee recommended the executive give more attention to the duration and practical element of the counsellors' training. They further recommended that it be impressed more firmly on counsellors 'that on no account are they to influence the inquirers to their own particular forms of belief or places of worship'. One may deduce that there had been times when the training had been inadequate to cope with problems presented and that there had indeed been some element of tension and rivalry over the evangelistic fruits.[74]

Women's involvement in mission organisational roles appears to have been negligible. The official record lists no woman as chairing a crusade subcommittee. One woman was a Presbyterian representative on the Auckland executive committee and another was assistant secretary to that in Christchurch, but the only other female participants appeared to be two staff in the Wellington office. There were not even separate women's committees (as there were none either for Maoris or other social groups apart from Students and Youth).[75] Reasons for this situation are obscure. Certainly, all manner of women's groups were already operating both in association with and separate from the denominations. Possibly, as a group, women were

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73. Hutchinson and Wilson, *People*, 142.
74. Final Report and Recommendations from the Billy Graham Follow Up Committee. Rev. Roland Hart papers, N.Z.B.H.S. archives.
75. Hutchinson and Wilson, *People*, 137-140.

more interested and involved in caring and support roles within churches and in the pietism of the Keswick 'Deeper Life' movement, than in overt evangelistic activity.[76]

Despite this lack of formal crusade involvement, women seem to have responded well to the evangelists' message. Of the 17,493 enquirers, 10,253 (58.6%) were female. They comprised about the same proportion of those making 'acceptance of Christ' (57.2%) and 're-affirmation of faith' decisions (59.8%), but made up 64.2% of those seeking 'assurance of salvation'.[77] Maori interest, while not recorded officially, seems to have been high. For example, the Baptist Maori Department was able to take three or four buses per night in from the Pukekohe-North Waikato area alone. From these, there were 'lots of responses', and 'quite a number' amongst Maori in Auckland generally.[78] At about this time, too, the Maori Evangelical Fellowship was being formed as a new denomination and its founding was given great impetus by the crusade's results.[79]

THE METHODOLOGY OF THE MISSION

Graham's preaching, wittingly or otherwise, continually employed techniques which played upon the emotions of the hearers, building up then releasing tension, indulging in conspiratorial friendliness or

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76. Mrs J. Nees, interview, 20 March 1986.
77. Hutchinson and Wilson, *People*, 143-144. The second and third categories continue a reflection of the Keswick-style concern for being assured of and deepening one's relationship with God.
78. Rev. C.D. Jones, interview, 15 December 1989. Jones was Baptist Maori Missioner in South Auckland in 1959 and in Rotorua, where he was also Graham crusade chairman, in 1969. In 1987, he was in a Hamilton pastorate.
79. Ibid.

proclaiming the impending wrath of God. Examples from one sermon indicated some of the variations.

In America or Europe, still living with recent Cold War memories, fear of nuclear holocaust and social disruption were potent sources of anxiety which could be played upon to heighten the sense of urgency, a despairing of human efforts and a turning to Graham's offer of spiritual salvation. New Zealand, too, was involved in this desperation, if only vicariously.

> I doubt if the people of New Zealand, living in this beautiful and lovely part of the world can possibly realise the tension, the confusion, the fear that grips many parts of the world as the results of the world's conditions that we live in today.
> Our philosophers are now beginning to tell us that we may be living in the end of history.... Our intellectual leaders, our political leaders are beginning to say our problems are beyond us.
> And so the world stands on the brink of an abyss of total annihilation.[80]

Alternatively, to assure ordinary people that the rich and famous were no better off spiritually than they, or perhaps in an effort to appear socially highly-placed himself, Graham often included titbits of intimate conversations held 'recently' with some usually anonymous celebrity.

> I talked to a film star recently, one of the most beautiful women in the world. She said: 'I thought if I came to Hollywood I would be a big success and be the happiest woman in the world'. She said: 'I am the most miserable person in Hollywood. What is wrong?' You see, there was a huner [sic] in her soul.
> Then she began to say 'If I could get more entertainment I would be happy or have a sex experience that will make me happy'. But it doesn't....[81]

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80. *Dominion*, 6 April 1959, 10.
81. Ibid. At this point, Graham went on to talk about the soul without God always feeling 'a little bit of a misfit'. Christian theology would have no quarrel with that, but in the context Graham appeared to be indicating that becoming a Christian is the key to happiness and social success. There was little vision here of, for example, Christianity's role as radical critique of secular society.

The charges of emotionalism so frequently levelled against revivalists seem largely inapplicable to Graham's crusade meetings. He made no attempt to set himself up as a demagogue of the Finney or Sunday mould.[82] He said himself that 'It seems to me that evangelism must avoid over-emotion', because although he could preach so as to induce a seemingly genuine response, it proved to be 'without tears of repentance. They were tears of a superficial emotion'. Yet he did still allow emotion a place, since 'the evangelist cannot offer free pardon for sinners and forbid any reaction of joy'.[83]

There was, though, no apparent appreciation by the crusaders of the subtlety of group pressure, nor of the full effects of his preaching methods. When the organising committee reported that 'One of the most impressive features of each service was the complete hush which spread over the vast congregation at the conclusion of each service', this may not necessarily have been evidence, as they thought, of 'a great many people [having been caused] to think seriously about the Christian faith'.[84] It may, for example, have evinced more of a conditioned churchgoers' group response to Graham's request for 'Every head bowed and every eye closed', or simply a powerful emotional denouement to the massed singing, the buildup of tension during the amplified sermon, and the cathartic going-out of the enquirers.

One participating minister felt that what actually had the effect on enquirers was probably the general atmosphere, creating an encompassing environment in which Billy Graham's personal convictions

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82. See, for example, the critiques of Billy Sunday in Douglas W. Frank, *Less Than Conquerors* (Grand Rapids, 1986), and William G. Mcloughlin, *Billy Sunday Was His Real Name* (Chicago, 1955).
83. Billy Graham, 'Evangelism: Message and Method', *Christianity Today*, 3 (1959), 3.
84. Report of South Island Committee to N.C.C., 10 April 1959. Rev. Roland Hart papers, N.Z.B.H.S. archives.

were clearly conveyed.[85] It might be argued that in such a situation, the obvious sympathy of the evangelically-oriented audience, as expressed, for example, in the singing, may well have intensified these convictions and gave them greater power to influence.

Graham's style of preaching in New Zealand remained 'the restating of the great Christian truths in a simple, sensible, straightforward manner appropriate to the age in which we live'.[86] It included homely and simple illustrations intended to retain the listener's attention and to make points clearly. For example, an attempt to explain the doctrine of the Incarnation began by describing the changes a human would need to undergo in order to be accepted by ants as a partner and helper as analogous to the reductions and limitations necessary for God to be able to talk to and influence humans.[87]

What did Graham himself believe was happening when he gave an 'invitation', or made an appeal?

> First, I like to keep constantly in mind that God is sovereign at this point. Simply responding to an invitation at a gospel meeting is meaningless unless God is at work....
> Second, because I know that God is sovereign, I want to be absolutely certain that I don't try to manipulate people to do something that God is not doing in their lives.... To get results, there is always the temptation to stir people with stories and illustrations, but I question whether God is really at work in all of this.
> Third, we need to make the invitation absolutely clear so there is no doubt in the mind of the audience what we want them to do. In calling people to commitment to Christ, I like to stress three things: There must be a willingness to repent or turn from sin.... Coupled with the willingness to repent, I must be willing to receive Jesus Christ by faith. Finally, I stress the importance of obeying Christ as Lord. It isn't simply a trip to the altar saying, 'I believe', but it is a total commitment to Jesus Christ as Lord....
> Fourth, I begin the invitation as I am introducing my message....

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85. Rev. Dr S.L. Edgar, interview, 17 May 1988.
86. E.P. Blampied, 'Some Thoughts on the Billy Graham Crusade', *New Zealand Christian*, 41, 20 (1959), 2.
87. Quoted in ibid.

> Fifth, I like to pray after the invitation is extended. It's at this point that I feel a real struggle with the enemy.... Sixth, for those who have responded to the invitation, I like to clarify once again what is involved in a true commitment to Christ and then lead the inquirers in a prayer of commitment.... Either a word of clarification from the speaker or counselor is essential to make the issues clear and to find out where the inquirer is in his thinking.[88]

In this 1977 article, he spelled out his awareness of the possibility of abuse of the evangelist's position, both in terms of psychological manipulation and of 'human' versus 'divine' activity. He was also aware of the perils of shallow intellectual acceptance without some form of full commitment. His whole message (and indeed the entire meeting) focussed on the moment of giving the invitation which was a spiritual climax - and point of diabolical opposition.

What Graham seemed unaware of even here, this late in his ministry, is the subtlety of psychological pressures. To refrain from overt rhetorical ploys may reduce but not remove the group or peer pressure. The dramatic movement and setting of the whole meeting also exerts influence, and he did deliberately structure this towards the invitation.[89] Again, there was the pietistic weight on commitment to and relationship with God, 'obeying Christ as Lord', rather than doctrinaire insistence on given dogma. Graham's own function was as a mediator through whom the sovereign God operated and he thus felt particularly conscious of demonic attempts to thwart God's work. Too, the clarification of the inquirers' thinking remained in terms of general principles, usually accepting a formula such as 'Jesus Christ is Lord' and therefore one's Saviour. There was no call for social action or even defence of the true faith such as a moralist or doctrinalist might make.

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88. Billy Graham, 'Insights to the Invitation', *Proclaim*, 8 (October-December 1977), 4-5.
89. Marshall Frady has observed how these forces may appear as supernatural. 'There is something of the Nuremburg mystique at

Footnote 89 continued on next page

THE MESSAGE OF THE MISSION

Spoken Message

Some of Graham's theological background has been already been discussed above. Obviously, he was in agreement with the messages being conveyed in the songs of the hymnal as discussed in Chapter Nine below. His preaching and public statements, though, shed light on specific emphases and attitudes.

The fundamentalist antipathy to intellectual grappling with the mysteries of the Christian faith was clearly still part of Graham's worldview, although by 1959 he already held the first of a series of honorary doctorates and was consistently referred to as 'Doctor'. 'We make it so complicated. Jesus explained things so simply that the common people heard him gladly. Of course, the Pharisees missed it. The intellectuals failed to grasp what he was talking about. Many times the condition of our hearts governs the receiving of the message, as much as does the explanation.'[90] The idea of making his preaching intelligible to 'the common people' seemed confused in his thinking here with anti-intellectualism and a pietistic, attitude-centred understanding of reception of the Christian gospel. The implication was that intellectuals who made Christianity so complicated were like Pharisees whose hearts ('of course') were not in a condition to hear Jesus' true message.

His appeal to fundamentalist anti-intellectualism and to revivalistic soteriology was made plain by an appreciative Baptist

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Footnote 89 continued from previous page
work in such excitements - the faceless and impersonal grandeur of immense throngs; regarding the movements of huge crowds as "the breath of God".' Frady, *Billy Graham*, 288.

90. Graham, 'Message', 3.

writer describing the Melbourne meetings. 'His whole sermon was one of the simplest I have ever heard, certainly not emotional or showy, not really intellectual or subtle, just plain straight fact - unless you're converted, you've had it.'[91]

Graham's Arminian view of the individual's conscious, deliberate, self-controlled choice to accept Christ was evident in an analogy used in his broadcast radio talk.

> Now intellectually I can believe in Christ, by faith. My emotions say I love Christ. I can love Him, He appeals to me, but I am really not committed to Christ until my third little man, the will, says 'I will'. I will receive Him. I have used the illustration several times about marriage. When the minister asked me, 'Do you take this woman, Ruth, to be your lawfully wedded wife?' I didn't say 'Well, I love her'. That wouldn't have done. I didn't say 'Well, she is a wonderful person'. I didn't say 'Well she's a beautiful girl'. They could all see that. I said, 'I will'. I will take her. That is what you do to Christ. An open declaration. And that is what I am asking you to do tonight. I will receive Christ.[92]

In tension with the insistence that one must decide to come to Christ, Graham appeared to insist that an individual has no option as to when they do exercise their will and decide to become a Christian. '"You can't come to God any time you want to," he warns as he softly urges the people to come forward to declare themselves. "You can only come when the Holy Spirit speaks to you and draws you.... It is a dangerous thing to listen to God as you have this afternoon and never do anything about it."'[93]

This conflict of messages presumably arose from Graham's Presbyterian background, which stresses God's sovereignty, which, undigested, clashes with the Arminian emphasis on freewill and the revivalist's desire to evoke an immediate response. The problem was

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91. 'Billy Graham in Melbourne by One Who Was There', *New Zealand Baptist*, 75, 854 (April 1959), 84.
92. Quoted in Hutchinson and Wilson, *People*, 117-118.
93. *Church and People*, 14, 4 (May 1959), 1.

noted by a correspondent to the editor who quoted Jesus' words, 'Come unto me, all who labour....' (Matthew 11.28), and observed that there was in them no inherent requirement to wait until Billy Graham made an appeal.[94]

That Billy Graham's evangelism fitted firmly into Richard Mouw's 'pietistic' category[95] was shown clearly by his statements on why he liked to 'saturate my messages with Scriptures'.

> First, because the Word of God is the sword of the Spirit.... The Spirit doesn't speak out of thin air but uses the Scripture as a weapon.
> Second, the Word of God is a seed which when planted in the good soil of the heart, brings forth fruit unto everlasting life....
> Third, the Scriptures have a tremendous penetrating power and an ability to reach out and touch people at their deepest need.... Even though we speak to masses of people, they sit as individuals under the scrutiny of the Scriptures and the Holy Spirit....
> Fourth, God has promised to bless and use his word, and it increases my confidence when I use it....
> I am convinced that where there is little by way of scriptural content in a message, you can expect little by way of real conviction or solid conversions.[96]

Here the biblical text spoken assumed an almost magical power to have a spiritual effect on the hearers. There was an initial acknowledgement of the Holy Spirit using Scripture 'as a weapon', but beyond that the words themselves seemed to 'bring forth fruit'. A key function was to 'penetrate', presumably through hearers' capabilities of resistance, and 'to reach out and touch people at their deepest need'. It was not seen as so important that they should be led into correct dogmatic understanding, or impelled into liberating social activity. What was important, though, was the

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94. *Church and People*, 14, 7 (August 1959), 6.
95. 'The Bible in Twentieth-Century Protestantism: A Preliminary Taxonomy', in *The Bible in America*, edited by Nathan O. Hatch and Mark A. Noll (New York and Oxford, 1982), 139-162.
96. Graham, 'Insights', 4.

individual's need of a personal relationship with God and that that need be met by responding to the evangelist's appeal.

Graham insisted that not all who believe in Christ or who attend church are Christians. `"But the devil believes in Christ, too," says Billy Graham. And so, the Graham story goes, you must do more than simply believe in Christ, recognise Him as divine. You must give yourself to Him, effect total surrender.'[97] This would then lead to the Christian Church becoming `mighty', `doing the will of God'. It also accounted for much of Graham's effect on those who were already churchgoers, who may previously have considered themselves Christians for years.

`You may be a church officer. Come and make your decision', appealed Graham,[98] stressing the evangelical view of the separated, sect-type Christian Church comprised solely of `true believers'. The *Church and People* writer, strangely for an Anglican, agreed, claiming, `Churchmen who felt the call during the crusade, bear witness to the difference'.[99] But this view, traceable back at least to the fourth-century Donatists, runs counter to the `catholic' understanding of the Church in which God alone can decide who is or is not a Christian, a person's profession is all humans can judge by. Regardless of what may be seen as valuable in terms of deepening commitment in one's relationship to Deity, the further insistence on a climactic, individual `decision' to validate one's authenticity as a Christian draws heavy fire from `catholic' theologians and Catholic churchmen alike.

James Barr, for example, observes that,

> since the hearer has in most cases been some sort of a Christian all along, however vague and however

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97. *Church and People*, 14, 4 (May 1959), 2.
98. Quoted in ibid.
99. Ibid.

> unenthusiastic, this sort of preaching presents to him his previous life as something analogous to the "works of the law" in the lives of Paul's opponents. Only when he comes to accept the evangelical message with its concentration on justification by faith does he feel that he has really begun as a true Christian; his previous life, even if lived within the bosom of the church and the Christian community, was empty of true Christian reality.[100]

Further, Barr continues, the revivalist emphasis on individual 'decision-making' distorts the biblical presentation of justification by faith which refers rather to communities. 'Justification by faith... must apply to the church as a whole and not to the individual at some decisive moment in his religious experience. If so, it applies to all those who are Christians, and not to evangelicals in particular'. This applies especially since 'it is probably not unfair to say that in practice justification by faith comes to mean salvation through evangelical conversion, through "decision for Christ", salvation through coming to be an evangelical. Entry into evangelical partnership is entry into participation in the grace of God'.[101] On this showing, therefore, the faith required turns more into subscription to a predetermined creed than an individual and communal trusting and obedient relationship with Christ.

A writer in *Church and People* frankly acknowledged Graham's use of fear in his preaching. 'Billy Graham states clearly what every half-Christian ought to realise - that God isn't a nice old gentleman sitting on a cloud who will forgive all and take everyone in regardless of belief or deed. "He is," the Graham message goes, "a God of judgment".' But, on balance, the writer decided that 'it probably has justification' and was valuable as a 'fear to counter a fear' of walking forward to the platform.[102] There was no comment on its theological validity.

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100. *Escaping from Fundamentalism* (London, 1984), 52.
101. Ibid., 53.
102. *Church and People*, 14, 4 (May 1959), 1.

The insistence that there is a system which will bring divine favour was exemplified in an article written by Graham. He quoted II Chronicles 7.14,[103] and from this deduced four steps which explicated 'the God given method for bringing about a revival of religion.... This is the method that was followed by the church down through the centuries when great revivals came and changed the course of history.' Obeying the four steps (humility, prayer, seeking God, forsaking sin), means that 'after we have met God's condition for revival, God promises that He will hear from Heaven, that He will forgive our sins, that He will heal our land'. Biblical authority is relentlessly invoked to devise this mechanistic system; God is contained and directed. Graham's famous phrase, 'The Bible says...' is used six times in half a page, quite apart from the use of similar expressions and the quote itself. There is, though, no real dealing with the context or original, properly biblical, meaning and implications of this naked proof-text. That which is claimed to be what 'the Bible says' is merely a limited selection of some of the words on the page of a modern English translation.[104]

A Baptist minister and theologian observed that in Graham's preaching generally no real exegetical grappling with the biblical text took place, as grammatico-historical context was ignored. 'It wasn't really biblical preaching, but it was full of bits of the Bible.'[105] In this, Graham merely repeated the stock revivalistic line. He 'wasn't throwing fresh light on anything',[106] but by

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103. 'If my people, which are called by my name, shall humble themselves, and pray, and seek my face and turn from their wicked ways; then will I hear from heaven, and will forgive their sin, and will heal their land.'
104. Billy Graham, 'Revival in Our Time', *New Zealand Baptist*, 75, 853 (March 1959), 56.
105. Rev. Dr S.L. Edgar, interview, 17 May 1988.
106. Ibid.

placing such overt emphasis on what 'the Bible says', the impression was created of an authoritative pronouncement, buttressed by direct access to the mind of deity as plainly revealed in the biblical texts so frequently deployed without question or comment.

In the treatment of II Chronicles 7.14 mentioned above, Graham's approach was typically pietistic, seeking improved personal spirituality rather than advocating a rigid doctrinal purity as the basis for God's favour. He was concerned more for 'a life lived for God' and 'refreshing showers of grace' from 'the windows of heaven', than for enforcing a legalistic code of belief and practice.[107] Doubtless, he would personally have subscribed to many such doctrines, but in his preaching such emphases were played down in favour of enhancing personal relationships with God.

Printed Message

The printed word has always been an important adjunct to Billy Graham's spoken ministry. In New Zealand, several of his books had been widely available for a number of years prior to the 1959 crusade, making him known to at least a wide range of Christians and promoting familiarity with his message. Apart from *Decision* magazine, used as support for his 'Hour of Decision' radio broadcasts, Graham's best-known publication, certainly at that time, was his first book, *Peace With God*, published in 1953 and sold in its millions in many languages. Graham's object was clear: 'to get you to a saving knowledge of the Lord Jesus Christ, and to encourage, strengthen, and build up the Christian in the most holy faith'.[108]

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107. Ibid.
108. *Peace With God* (Kingswood, 1954), VII. Following page references to this book are given in the text.

He attempted this task with a sermonic three-part division, 'The Problem', setting out humanity's hopeless plight, 'The Solution', God's action in Jesus to bring humanity to repentance and faith and give them new birth, and 'The Results', where some aspects of the Christian's life in the Church and the world were discussed. As in his messages, he created an initial anxiety, a feeling of hopelessness and lack of control over one's destiny.

> All humanity is seeking the answer to the confusion, the moral sickness, the spiritual emptiness that oppresses the world. All mankind is crying out for guidance, for comfort, for peace.... All the familiar props seem to have been swept away.... We devise elaborate schemes for security but have not found it. We grasp at every passing straw, and, even as we clutch, it disappears.(4)

This piling-up of woes was followed by a list of several false paths to happiness, such as seeking political freedom, education and higher living standards, then details of how each fails. But Billy Graham had the key. He then concluded, 'So, "Where are we?" you ask. "Where are we now and where are we going?" Let me tell you *where* we are and *what* we are.'(6-7)

His analysis, of course, told the reader humanity is empty and purposeless when out of a proper relationship with God. There is a further complication in the form of a very literal Satan. 'That he *does* exist, there is no doubt. We see his power and influence everywhere. The question is not *is* there a Devil, but *how* and *why* did the Devil come to be.'(45) Despite this assertion, which may appear lacking in existential application, Graham portrayed life in almost dualistic terms as one vast struggle between good and evil, God and Satan, to be resolved literally as the Apocalypse indicates.

As the Devil will be dealt with by due process, so individuals will receive recompense for rebelling against God; 'the Bible does teach there is hell for every man who willingly and knowingly

rejects Christ as Lord and Saviour.'(61) On the other hand, Graham was prepared to allow that Bible references to 'literal combustion' may actually be understood non-literally. But, 'if there is no fire, then God is using symbolic language to indicate something that could be far worse. Essentially, hell is separation from God'.(64)

The solution was seen in the life, and especially the death, of Jesus Christ. Graham held firmly and exclusively to a penal substitutionary view of the atonement, Christ's crucifixion being regarded solely as a substitutionary payment made on humanity's behalf.

> What brought Him to this place of horrors? Who inflicted this hideous torture upon the Man who came to teach us love? *You* did and I did, for it was for *your* sin and *my* sin that Jesus was nailed to the cross.... The blow that crucified Christ became the blow that opened the gates for man to become free.... Through the death of the Lamb of God upon the cross, sin itself was crucified for those who believe in Christ.... Christ bore in His own body on the tree the sins that shackle us. He died for us and rose again.(43-44)

This work of Christ was portrayed in what went beyond language which could be readily understood to a childishly bizarre cosmology as Graham described Christ's incarnation in terms of a medieval royal athlete preparing for a contest.

> Looking down over the battlements of heaven He saw this planet swinging in space - doomed, damned, crushed, and bound for hell. He saw you and me struggling beneath our load of sin and bound in the chains and ropes of sin. He made His decision in the council halls of God. The angelic hosts bowed in humility and awe as heaven's Prince of Princes and Lord of Lords, who could speak worlds into space, got into His jewelled chariot, went through the pearly gates, across the steep of the skies, and on a black Judean night, while the stars sang together and the escorting angels chanted His praises, stepped out of the chariot, threw off His robes, and became a man!(78)

A similar depth of subtlety was employed in the explication of the effects of the crucifixion.

> The blood was being extracted. God demands death, either for the sinner or a substitute. Christ was the substitute! Gabriel and ten legions of angels hovered on the rim of the universe, their swords unsheathed. One look from His blessed

> face and they would have swept the angry, shouting multitudes into hell. The spikes never held Him - it was the cords of love that bound tighter than any nails that men could mould.(82)

It is hard to know to what extent Graham himself actually saw the composition of the universe in this way, or whether such passages merely reflected an excess of the preacher's zeal to engage his audience's attention.

Graham went on to explain about the process of conversion. He never actually defined this key term, but instead produced a dictionary-style list of nine synonymous phrases.(93) He took more of a functional than cognitive view, seeing it consisting of three steps: repentance, faith and regeneration, to each of which he devoted a whole chapter of the book. In what was very reminiscent of holiness/Keswick language, he bundled into repentance the aspects of `renouncing sin, forsaking sin, and yielding all to Christ'.(107) Faith, which he seemed to use interchangeably with belief, also has three components: a knowledge of what God has said, emotional involvement and `the will that makes the final and lasting decision.'(118)

Regarding being born again, he said, `It means that you change hitching posts'.(128) Yet despite the importance of the human will deciding, and this active idea regarding changing `hitching posts', Graham also asserted, `Nor can you be born of the will of man.... it is something that must be done for us.... The new birth is wholly foreign to our will. In other words, the new birth is a divine work - we are born of God'.(123-124) So the whole theological understanding of the basic activity of Graham's ministry, the leading of people to conversion and the new birth, was surrounded by confusion. The evangelist appeared not to have an entirely clear focus on precisely how evangelism works.

The third section of *Peace With God* summarised the results of becoming a Christian. The new Christian will have powerful enemies: the Devil, the world and the lust of the flesh, but 'our attitude toward them as Christians can be summed up in one word - *renounce*'.(145) Again, a pietistic attitude was demanded as one countered the problems not with social action or confrontation of issues, but by withdrawal from them and the cultivation of the character traits of 'the fruit of the Spirit'.[109]

Graham then determined that 'in order to grow properly certain rules must be observed for good spiritual health',(150) and, in keeping with the holiness traditions of discerning set formulae for spiritual wellbeing, he discerned ten. They included daily Bible reading, 'learning the [unspecified] secret of prayer', constant reliance on the Holy Spirit, regular church attendance, constant Christian 'witnessing' (i.e. personal evangelism), love for fellow Christians, obedience to Christ, resistance to temptation, moral wholesomeness and determination to remain undaunted by one's circumstances. These were, again, thoroughly pietistic, always concentrating on fostering one's personal spirituality with no real indication that anything more than these would be necessary in order to flourish as a model Christian. He provided neither a fixed doctrinal creed, nor a moralistic guide to the social application of one's faith. His reason may have been that he wished to avoid controversy, but in a book intended to explain Christianity to those unfamiliar with it, some discussion of it as a religious belief system might have been expected.

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109. These qualities, set out in Galatians 5.22-23, are those engendered in the Christian by the Holy Spirit. They include love, joy, peace, patience, kindness, goodness, faithfulness, gentleness and self-control.

Further chapters then discussed 'the Christian and the Church', again declaring seven purposes for the Church, and the future of the Christian in which a cautious premillenialism was propounded. Chapter Sixteen dealt with the Christian's social obligations. The 'Golden Rule'[110] was held out as the guiding principle and once more the preacher found nine points for his instruction. Christians should be good citizens (law-abiding, cooperative and philanthropic), 'given to hospitality', holding 'Christian attitudes' towards sex, marriage ('man needed a helpmate and woman needed a protector'(178)), labour-management relationships (both 'master and man' needing to humble themselves before God and trying to 'apply the Golden Rule in its most practical and realistic sense'(179)), race relations ('the church has failed' and should 'behold not colour, class or condition, but simply human beings with the same longings, fears, needs, and aspirations as our own'(180-181)), and economics ('Property belongs in the purse or the bank but not in the heart' since God owns everything (181)). Rule Eight declared that Christians will be concerned about human suffering and alleviate that by joining appropriate organisations. 'You cannot love without serving.'(184) Fellow Christians, though, merit special attention and to them especially the believer should show love, forgiveness, liberality, helpfulness and graciousness. In all, Graham was confident that the teachings and example of Jesus form an authoritative mandate and provide adequate guidance for a Christian's social and ethical behavioural standards. 'Just ask yourself, "What would Jesus have done in this situation?" and be guided by that and that alone.'(183)

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110. Luke 6.31, 'Do to others as you would have them do to you'.

At the time of the 1959 crusade in New Zealand there were at least two other of Graham's books in common circulation in the country. *The Secret of Happiness* was again a direct successor to the pietistic and Victorious Life movements from the late nineteenth century.[111] Based on the Beatitudes (Matthew 5.3-11), it was comprised of studies on how to acquire happiness through poverty, mourning, meekness, hunger and thirst, showing mercy, purity, peacemaking and during persecution. This happiness was not 'superficial' and 'dependent on circumstances'. 'The happiness for which our souls ache is one undisturbed by success or failure, one which will root deeply inside us and give inward relaxation, peace and contentment, no matter what the surface problems may be.'(3) The book's thesis was that one can 'prick up your ears... open your heart... surrender your will. Then you will begin life with a capital *L*, find a contentment and joy that crowd the futility and vainness out of the daily walk, and discover the secret of happiness!'(9)

The standard pietistic formula was followed, insisting that Jesus Christ must be one's Saviour and that after conversion one must surrender all, deny oneself and become totally obedient to Christ. 'There, if we will take it, is the secret of happiness: "Seek ye first the kingdom of God... and all...shall be added unto you".'[112] Nineteenth-century pietistic leaders such as hymnwriter Fanny Crosby and preacher/author Hannah Whitehall-Smith [sic] were cited as examples and authorities.[113] The steps to implementing this state in one's life, listed in Chapter Ten, included 'make sure

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111. (Kingswood, 1956).
112. 153, quoting Matthew 6.33.
113. 149 and 73. Hannah Whitall Smith is best known as the author of *The Christian's Secret of a Happy Life* (1875).

you have received Christ', 'don't be a half-Christian', 'live a surrendered life', 'be filled with the Spirit', 'witness for Christ', 'practise the presence of God', 'love everybody', 'learn to relax in Christ' and 'remember you are immortal and will live for ever', amongst others.

The other Graham book readily available in New Zealand in 1959 was *Billy Graham Talks to Teen-Agers*, a collection of short talks such as 'I Was 16 - and Loved Baseball!', 'When Christ Was a Teen-Ager' and 'God's Juvenile Delinquent'.[114] Several were potted answers to 'Youth's' questions about going steady, choosing a college, study attitudes and discerning God's will. Others included autobiographical material, another held up Samson as an example of the traps of sexual lust, disobeying parents, having too much leisure time and 'about every sin in the Book'.(42) The thrust of the book was again to convert and deepen the piety of teenagers rather than to provide a systematic and orthodox belief system. Once more, the emphasis was thoroughly on orthopraxy rather than orthodoxy. The final paragraph was a challenge to a more committed life, especially a commitment to missionary activity. 'If He is Lord, there is but one answer we can honestly make, "Here am I, Lord, send me, take me, use me as Thou shalt choose." Will you make it?'(62)

The books reviewed here all revealed consistent themes. All took for granted a conservative evangelical theological position, but in none was that system spelled out, except with regard to the deity and atoning work of Jesus. There was scant trace of encouragement for separatist attitudes. Graham frequently commented to the effect that Christians are to be active 'in the world',

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114. (Grand Rapids, 1958, reprinted Wellington, 1959).

though, of course, not 'of' it, which fitted Richard Mouw's 'moralist' category as Graham looked continually to the Bible for guidance and especially to its revelation of Jesus' example and teaching. The great emphasis, though, was always on one's personal spirituality, the initial acceptance of Christ as Saviour and then the full commitment or surrender of one's life to be totally devoted to God, and to receive happiness and peace with God as a result.

RESULTS AND EVALUATION OF THE MISSION

The published Anglican response seemed quite favourable to Graham. *Church and People* headed its assessment, 'This is the Work of God'. The Bishop of Christchurch, the Rt. Rev. A.K. Warren, said that for the first time many had been confronted with the claims of Christ, and that he had been impressed by Graham's dedication and humility. An Auckland priest saw him as 'an evangelist in the old tradition - certainly not a stunt revivalist', and another Anglican claimed hearers had been 'sent back to our jobs in the clearer light of God's purpose for us'.[115]

'A critical observer' giving 'his independent opinion' claimed that 'America has much to teach us', approving both mass evangelism and fund raising techniques, since 'both obtain the objects which they set out to attain: They get the money: the decisions are made and something is done to see they are kept'.[116]

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115. *Church and People*, 14, 4 (May 1959), 1.
116. Ibid.

An anonymous assessment stated baldly that the Crusade was a success. Although 'that is not to say New Zealand is being swept by a religious revival.... the crusade was a fairly hefty boulder tossed into the pool, and where the ripples will go no one can say'. This writer also placed great weight on Graham's winsome personality. While observing that 'there were [unspecified] moments of offbeat theology', he or she approved of the two basic elements in the message: the call to accept Jesus Christ and then the total life commitment to God's service.[117]

A Methodist editorial compared the effectiveness of the crusade to the worldwide awakening a century earlier and to the 1904 Welsh Revival and saw Graham's ministry as just a highly visible part of a general evangelistic upsurge amongst Christian churches globally. It also credited Graham's personality and American-style organisation with the crusade's success. The editor opined that the end of the mass meetings was not the end of the mission. The training and nurture of converts still lay ahead. So, too, did the task of maintaining the newly-established interdenominational unity.

> Christians of all denominations (except the Roman Catholics, of course; how their conduct belies their name of Catholic) have prayed and planned and worshipped together. How wonderful it would be if this unity could be given frequent visibility and fostered as something very precious in itself, very dear to our Lord and very enriching to us His disciples. The Crusade has begun, but that is all.[118]

This theme of unity, which had been so widely employed as a reason for churches to become involved initially, was commonly harped upon after the crusade as a, perhaps *the*, chief benefit of participation. The impression given is that many who might otherwise have balked at

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117. Ibid.
118. *New Zealand Methodist Times*, 25 April 1959, 687.

Graham's theology and method overcame their qualms by stressing the cooperative nature of the evangelism.

'Janus', a Methodist commentator on current events, obviously felt within the churches this tide of uncritical support for Graham which could prevent effective assessment of the mission: 'there is now in our midst a Billy Graham cult which believes anything to do with the crusade is above criticism'.[119] He admitted himself to have been very favourably impressed and challenged by Graham, but saw an unevenness about the mission and its results. Positively, he perceived a greater willingness in society to talk about religion, the benefits of churches working together, and 'thorough and worthy' follow up of converts. Statistically, though, he believed that over 90% of urban attenders and nearly 100% of those in smaller centres were already regular churchgoers, as were about 95% of inquirers, very few of whom were aged over 21. Further, almost all counsellors in his area were either Baptists or Brethren, not a truly interdenominational mix. He, too, criticised Graham's use of the penal substitutionary theory of the atonement for 'creating a schism somewhere in the god-head', but allows that 'a defective theology in nowise makes it impossible for God to get through a dedicated man'.[120] Again, it seems, the totality of Graham's personal dedication to his task and his congenial character proved to be the basis upon which his ministry was judged.

Two writers in the *Baptist*, one an evangelist, the other a professor of Classics, compared favourably the 60,000 Auckland attendance (roughly 20% of the city's population) and 3,700 decisions

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119. Ibid., 697.
120. Ibid.

with Pentecost. It seemed that the era of mass conversion had not passed after all.[121]

There was, too, the allied effect of bringing together groups of Christians who would not normally associate with each other. While extreme separatists trembled at the dire consequences of such commingling, other Christians viewed it positively as popularising the N.C.C.'s ecumenism, which had previously been largely restricted to denominational leadership. 'This Crusade was a movement among the church members themselves who discovered in this Christian enterprise their basic spiritual fellowship with one another. Here, I feel is one of the real healing experiences in our modern church life.'[122]

The major denominations did best in terms of referrals of enquirers: the Church of England gained 1836, the Presbyterians 1114, Methodists 749, then Baptists 275, Brethren 97 and Salvation Army 96, with other groups acquiring even fewer. These proportional gains may be attributed to several factors. Firstly, the sheer size of the larger denominations compared with the smaller. Secondly, it is less likely that Anglicans, for example, would be exposed to strong conversionist preaching in their own churches than would Baptists, Brethren or Salvation Army who, as denominations, would already be fairly thoroughly evangelised. Thirdly, for similar reasons, such groups might be more responsive to calls for complete commitment and thorough dedication of one's life since the smaller denominations would be less likely to tolerate nominal adherents.[123]

It is difficult to determine exactly the numerical benefits of the crusade to the churches in terms not only of those who were referred

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121. *New Zealand Baptist*, 75, 855 (May 1959), 120.
122. Report of South Island Committee to N.C.C., 10 April 1959. Rev. Roland Hart papers, N.Z.B.H.S. archives.
123. Ibid.

to them, but of those who remained and participated who would not have done so in the normal course of events. The Presbyterians continued their upward trend, but while in 1959 their membership growth peaked at 5.4%, their pastoral care and attendance increase was actually slightly less than it had been in previous years. Only a year later, the 1960s trend of plateau then decline set in.[124] Their statisticians reported that 6,111 people made a public profession of faith in 1959, a 25.6% increase over the number who had done so the previous year and the highest percentage increase since 1910.[125] Yet they were unsure of how much to credit the Graham crusade with above normal growth rates and concurrent denominational self-strengthening: 'It would appear that this crusade, along with our Stewardship programme, has been influential in bringing about such a spleidid [sic] result. Whatever the cause, "to God be the glory".'[126] There was some evidence of lasting results within the churches. One example was that when asked at the crusade to which church they wished to be referred, thirty-eight selected Avondale Baptist and, of those, thirty-five had sustained their participation after three years.[127]

Beside numbers of conversions and rededications, other benefits the churches might have gained from Graham's work require consideration. The enduring criticism of revivalistic evangelism, that its simplistic approach results in quantity rather than quality in Christian believers, has been levelled at Graham.

> On the whole, what Graham's evangelism seemed to produce, as more than one witness of his [Madison] Garden crusade suggested, were more or less popcorn conversions - from tight hard little dull kernels, suddenly, at the conclusion of his sermon, all over the coliseums and stadiums, *pop*! *pop*! they

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124. See Appendix.
125. *Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in New Zealand* (1959), 250a.
126. Ibid.
127. Rev. Dr S.L. Edgar, interview, 17 May 1988.

> puff and bloom innumerably into instant popcorn Christians, white, weightless, with rather a papery savor.[128]

Graham admitted to the problem, but pointed to the emotional attraction and atmosphere of a crusade meeting, rather than allowing the blame to rest with a simplistic theology. He suggested that people became disenchanted because ordinary churches were unable to compete with the 'entertainment' aspect: 'People go to the meetings, they hear the beautiful singing, they are wonderfully lifted up in spirit, the preacher stands up and shouts and pounds the pulpit - and then they go back to church and wonder why church service is not the same.'[129]

For all that, he was not prepared to exalt his own type of ministry above the parish services traditionally at the heart of Christian communal activity: 'The holiest moment is when we come to the Communion Table, for that is worship of God; it is his Church at worship. Ours is an evangelistic service to reach those outside the Church as well as those on the fringe of the Church. These are two different things, and the worship service is most important.'[130]

The Christchurch committee had been co-ordinating crusade efforts throughout the South Island. Their official final report to the National Council of Churches indicated great pleasure with the mission's effects.[131] They perceived four areas in which churches had benefitted: in increased attendances, reception of new members, the acquisition of a core of 'keen, trained counsellors' able to continue the work, and a general encouragement and strengthening of preaching and pastoral ministry. Beyond the churches, they, too,

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128. Frady, *Billy Graham*, 307.
129. Graham, 'Message', 4.
130. Ibid.
131. Report of the South Island Committee to N.C.C., 17 July 1959. Rev. Roland Hart papers, N.Z.B.H.S. archives.

claimed 'a new spiritual climate', that many had been made by the crusade to think seriously about the Christian faith.

They felt, though, that the impact was lessened by physical factors. Intemperate weather discouraged attendance, while the crusade was too short and needed a larger team, especially so that industries, schools and rural areas might have been visited to arouse interest in the night meetings. Other observations they made were about attendant benefits. They applauded 'the ease with which all sections of the Church can work together' and the Christian dedication resulting from the counsellor training. Their overall approval was unqualified as they also urged the N.C.C. to invite Graham's return at an early date.[132]

They claimed that the crusade 'proved an irresistible attraction to the masses', and that 'a God-consciousness has been awakened in the community and people are receptive to spiritual conversion in a new way'. They spoke of 'the wonderful spiritual success of the Crusade'. But this may have been over-optimistic. There was no evidence presented of 'the masses' being irresistibly attracted at all. The attendance figures gave no indication of how many times the same people attended, nor of whether even the enquirers were churchgoers or not. Too, the claim of the awakened community God-consciousness was simply a matter of 'feel', stated repeatedly at the time of the crusade, but with no proof more than the bare assertion.[133]

The South Island chairman, Baptist minister Roland Hart, seemed disappointed and believed more could have been achieved: 'It would seem to me that our faith was too small, although we may be forgiven this because the Team revealed a similar lack of faith. Had we aimed

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132. Ibid.
133. Ibid.

higher we would have gone further.' He fails to elaborate how this might have been achieved, but the statement suggests that the crusades goals were set on the basis of the judgment of the 'experts', presumably the Graham Team, and that because of some miscalculation by them, perhaps due to unfamiliarity with New Zealand, the crusade's effect on the community was consequently limited.[134]

CONCLUSION

In this first crusade in New Zealand, Billy Graham introduced new evangelistic methods. He employed associate evangelists to hold preparatory and simultaneous meetings. Air travel speeded communication and shortened the crusade's duration to a few days. Radio broadcasts, telephone counselling and landline meetings were mid-twentieth century means of preaching and responding to a far wider audience than had formerly been possible.

But although the scale was larger, and these new techniques were employed, his basic style and message remained little altered from the presentations of Torrey and Chapman early in the century. All three evangelists had supporting choirs and soloists. All three employed a number of specialists in charge of organisation, counselling and music and had local organising committees preparing venues and co-ordinating all the multitude of associated tasks of mobilisation and follow-up.

Also, the message preached by Graham was very similar in substance to that of the earlier evangelists. They all sought to make plain the

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134. Personal report of Chairman of South Island Committee to N.C.C., 12 June 1959. Rev. Roland Hart papers, N.Z.B.H.S. archives.

inadequacy of the lives of those who had not accepted Christ as Saviour and then to coax them into using their wills to come to Christ. Graham, perhaps, referred more clearly to 'making a decision'. But beyond that initial appeal for converts, all of the evangelists also made much of an individual's personal spirituality, conceived of largely in terms popularised by the nineteenth-century holiness movement. Constantly employed were stock concepts such as 'full surrender', 'peace', 'renunciation' and 'consecration'.

Such phrases do not appeal to those making their first commitment, rather they are addressed to those already within the churches. They challenge those whose faith has dwindled or whose Christian fervour has cooled - and who would this not challenge? No-one is immune from self-questioning nor proof against suggestions that their entire being may not be utterly dedicated to a cause or relationship. In making this sort of appeal, to sensitive souls concerned that they were not 'good enough' as Christians and who would therefore try to do better, Graham added 6,956 or an extra 66% to those claiming to be first-time converts.[135] These evangelists' message was thus more than mere evangelism. It served also to build up the conservative Christian groups in their enthusiasm for their view of the faith and particularly in their view of what the Christian life is, or, at least, should be.[136]

Billy Graham was able to build on the consensus left by the work of the two earlier mass evangelists and the host of smaller evangelists who had preached the same message. Particularly, he benefitted from the strength of the Keswick movement and its associated institutions in New Zealand in the mid-twentieth century.

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135. Hutchinson and Wilson, *People*, 144.
136. Hilliard observed a similar consequence in Australia. Most of the enquirers were already within the influence of Protestant

Footnote 136 continued on next page

In his cooperative evangelism he encapsulated the evangelical ethos as envisioned by this movement - the theological foundation of Christ's substitutionary atonement to be appropriated by sinners, the pietistic stress on the ongoing higher/deeper/victorious Christian life to be enjoyed by believers, and the evangelistic outreach to the community which would enlarge numerically the group of truly dedicated Christians. Just as they had set aside critical or doctrinally-oriented theological reflection in favour of maintaining the unity in Christ Jesus, so too Graham's crusade reinforced this attitude by accepting all Protestant groups who were prepared to suppress their confessional variances for the greater unity.

Yet beneath this studiedly uncritical welcome the cracks were only papered over. The perceived evangelical unity was only apparent, not real. The liberal critics remained unconvinced, denominational differences had not been superseded by ten days' cooperation, and there were new Pentecostal movements already beginning which would threaten evangelical unity from an entirely unsuspected direction. Billy Graham's 1959 crusade was, perhaps, the last great opportunity for the display of Christian unity by the Protestant churches of New Zealand.

Footnote 136 continued from previous page

churches and the ensuing numerical growth at most enhanced existing trends. He concluded, 'Graham's strongest appeal... "was to the lapsed or lukewarm Christian. He spoke the language of Zion to those with memories of Zion." The crusade did not trigger off a revival, but it reinforced the faith of believers. Many Evangelicals remembered it as the greatest religious event of their lives.' 'Popular Religion', 235, quoting Arnold D. Hunt, *This Side of Heaven: A History of Methodism in South Australia* (Adelaide, 1985), 369.

CHAPTER SIX

CREATING LOVE AMONG THE BRETHREN: THE 1969 BILLY GRAHAM CRUSADE

The second visit of Billy Graham to New Zealand, in 1969, was the fourth major mass evangelistic mission on which this study focusses. There had been a number of attempts to entice him to return earlier, but these had all failed for one reason or another, some related to Graham's personal circumstances, others to factors internal to New Zealand. Despite the promises given by Graham in 1959 of a speedy return, it was not to be until another Australian mission was mounted that New Zealand could again attract a few days of his time and effort.

The changing historical and theological context in which this new crusade took place has been outlined in Chapter Two above. The advance expectations of crusade supporters and the opposition of both liberal and fundamentalist Christians, novel in its public expression, are summarised. The methods and messages of the crusade are reviewed and its results surveyed. Throughout this chapter comparisons are made, too, between the 1969 Billy Graham crusade and the one ten years earlier discussed in the previous chapter.

EXPECTATIONS OF THE MISSION

As was the case before the 1959 Billy Graham crusade, some attempt was made in advance to generate interest. The methods

employed were much the same as for the earlier crusade, including the use of films.[1] In particular, New Zealand's conservative Christians were again kept in touch with Graham's activities throughout the 1960s by the *Reaper*, which published a number of references to his work or summaries of his itinerary in most years. One such reference, applauding Graham's continuing conservatism, was to a Dr Gibson Winter of the University of Chicago Divinity School who apparently said that Graham's work `"set the church back 50 years". Countered Graham that Winter had grossly understated Graham's intention, which was to carry modern theology back 19 centuries to that of Jesus and the apostles.'[2]

Much of the material was gleaned from overseas sources, suggesting little original thought or debate within New Zealand. Certainly, when anything critical was cited it was only with the object of refuting it and thus strengthening the evangelical and evangelistic work. One such was a quote from *Christianity Today* defending the $US840,000 cost of the 1966 London Crusade, since to hold it `costs about what Cassius Clay got for less than three minutes in the ring with Sonny Liston. It costs about one-fourth of a fighter plane that is used to destroy life. It costs one-fifth of what Elizabeth Taylor got for playing Cleopatra. It costs about what Julie Christie can now demand for one movie.'[3] There was no further comment as to whether the money might have been spent more effectively within a Christian, or even evangelistic, context.

There was a detailed defence of Graham by the Bible Training Institute registrar, L.W. Rushbrook, in 1967.[4] Noting the

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1. Rev. C.D. Jones, interview, 15 December 1989.
2. *Japan Harvest*. Quoted in *Reaper*, 42, 2 (May 1963), 102.
3. *Christianity Today*. Quoted in *Reaper*, 46, 8 (October 1966), 288.
4. 'Criticism of Dr Billy Graham', *Reaper*, 47, 8 (October 1967), 301-304.

difficulties facing any such public figure, he pointed out Graham's impeccable record as 'a Christian gentleman'. The usual irenic New Zealand position was maintained when, on the question of whether Graham should have permitted his Presbyterian wife to have their children baptised, Rushbrook, a Baptist, declared, 'These are surely private matters which will not concern us in N.Z.'. In what appeared to be a veiled reference to the attitude of the militantly fundamentalist *Contender*, he commented on the bulk of the evangelical criticism of Graham centring around his claimed failure to 'contend for the faith'. He responded, 'By that presumably is meant a comprehensive denunciation of everything and everyone whose outlook is not according to the critics' views', and went on to dismiss 'the cranks and the heresy hunters and the shallow minded who contend that Billy Graham is the tool of Communism, or the champion of the World Council of Churches or the betrayer of the evangelical faith to the Roman Catholic Church'. He further noted the extreme Calvinist suspicion of revivalistic methods, but urged tolerance since 'even our Lord Himself gave us no foolproof method of evangelism'.

Rushbrook identified the 'root of the problem' of criticism of Graham as 'that he associates with himself on his sponsoring Committees and sometimes on his campaign platforms men whose concept of salvation and in some cases of Christ differs considerably, to say the least, from Billy's own'. He conceded that this stance appeared at first glance to contradict several Bible verses (II Corinthians 6.14-17 and II John 9-11), but went on to quote at length an exegesis of such passages by British evangelical Anglican scholar, John Stott, which concluded, 'This verse gives us no warrant to refuse fellowship to those, even teachers, who do not

agree with our interpretation of apostolic doctrine in every particular'. Rushbrook's opinion, and presumably that of the Bible Training Institute in general and of the *Reaper* editors in particular, was that New Zealand conservatives should 'then with utter confidence fully support this God-honoured man and His [sic] God-honoured message and method'. As living proof of its positive benefits, he pointed to eight current N.Z.B.T.I. students who were converted in the 1959 crusade, two who were converted by converts, and five who were challenged during it 'to consecrate their lives fully'.

The next month's *Reaper* issue again carried an article defending Graham and his methods, written this time by the organising secretary for the anticipated crusade in Melbourne.[5] His assessment of 'the man' focussed on Graham's physical presence and authoritative control of his team. 'The message' was categorised as 'fundamentalist, eschatological, and authoritative', and the rejoinder proferred to those who criticised Graham's theology as 'unrelated' and 'outdated' was that it 'has met the deep soul hunger of many hundreds of thousands the world around, and named among the converts are world figures in politics, sport, entertainment and education. The "common people hear him gladly" and find an answer to life's problems in the direct, forthright, authoritative message they hear.'

The writer then set out to counter criticisms of Graham's methods. Of mass evangelism itself: 'How can it be [outdated] when it is being used to bring many under the sound of the gospel? Mass rallies are common in many other areas....' The organisational

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5. John Robinson, 'Billy Graham: The Man His Message and His Methods', *Reaper*, 47, 9 (November 1967), 348-352.

methods were defended as being a way in which a worker in the usually too traditional Church had become modern in a technological age, using 'sanctified business methods and organisation'. Finance was limited to covering the costs of the local crusade, nothing of the transportation, accommodation or salaries of the team, while Graham's salary was compared to that of a principal in a small American Christian college or seminary. Regarding the artificial and transitory nature claimed by many about Graham's conversions, the points were made that (a) they were only ever called 'enquirers', not 'converts', (b) the most Graham ever claimed was that his work was a 5% contribution to a conversion, the rest being due to the preparation and follow up work of local churches, and (c) there were many still in the churches who were converts of the 1959 crusade. It was assumed that those who criticised Graham were of a certain type, presumably liberal male clerics who were incapable themselves of attracting people to Christianity and thus motivated by professional jealousy. The writer challenged such a critic that 'if he will face frankly what is happening, and view Graham's ministry with an unjaundiced eye, he may find an answer to his own barren ministry and his half-empty church'.

The next issue carried still another enthusiastically supportive article,this time from a South African, declaring 'I'm for Billy Graham!'[6] The writer judged that Billy Graham, while a great preacher, evangelist and organiser, was not unique in these talents and ascribed his outstanding success to personal prestige derived from specific divine election. Since, therefore, the work was of God, all should cooperate wholeheartedly. This interest in Graham

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6. J.B. Harper, 'I'm for Billy Graham', *Reaper*, 48, 10 (November 1968), 388-391.

as a person, to the explicit exclusion of other issues seemed an ongoing factor in all shades of religious and secular media coverage of Graham's work.

One evangelical leader who remained firmly supportive, whilst acknowledging some might be critical, was the N.Z.B.T.I. principal, the Rev. David Stewart.[7] He agreed that mass appeals had dangers, but felt that there was, in Graham's work, no conscious striving for emotional effect. Rather, the real commitments would be made individually with the personal counsellors after the appeal. Stewart's assessment of Graham's message was that the hearers needed to be encouraged in a faith 'not founded on man's reasoning, but based solidly on the authority of a message which has come from God'.[8] This would assist believers in an age of 'hesitant uncertainty'. Stewart also believed Graham was correct to place his emphasis on individual salvation, rather than on social issues. This was because a person's 'first and most desperate need is to be assured that he is a person, a being who matters to God, who can receive and return the love of a heavenly Father who rejoices over the return of one sinner in a hundred who repents'.[9] One who had this inner security would be best able to work for social betterment. Stewart, too, attributed Graham's success to supernatural assistance: 'Attempts to explain the phenomenon away as being due only to efficient propaganda, or the mass psychology of the mob, the music, the man, or the message, are pathetically inadequate. There is no explanation except to recognise the work of God in His sovereign choice of instrument.'[10]

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7. D.G. Stewart, 'Billy Graham Month', *Reaper*, 49, 1 (February 1969), 2-5.
8. Ibid., 2.
9. Ibid., 3.
10. Ibid.

With such support for Graham publicly declared by its principal and registrar, the Bible Training Institute's involvement in the 1969 crusade was as full as it had been ten years previously. Once again all students acted as counsellors, all men assisted with preparation of venues, while many staff and students took on further tasks as committee or choir members.[11] The support had not dwindled as there were elements in the Protestant churches who stood unyielding in the face of the social and theological changes of the decade. The Institute had remained largely impervious to the assaults made on traditional Christian orthodoxy by *Honest to God* and the Geering heresy trial since it was shielded by the staunch evangelicalism of its leaders and the prior theological commitment of its constituency. 'The Presbyterians on our Board at that time... they consistently negatived [sic], on the Board anyway, any influence that Geering might have had, and I don't think it made [sic] much influence at Bible College [sic].... The Presbyterians who would come to Bible College would not be at all interested in Geering's point of view.'[12]

Opposition to the Crusade

The 1969 Graham crusade was the first of the mass evangelistic ventures to attract overt opposition not only from conservatives, but also from theological liberals. Previously, they had tended simply to remain silent or to withdraw from active participation. On this occasion, they were not so reticent, establishing a pattern of criticism which would continue for later missions. The centre of

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11. L.W. Rushbrook, interview, 17 May 1988.
12. Ibid. The N.Z.B.T.I. changed its name in 1970 to the Bible College of New Zealand.

this criticism was now in the National Council of Churches which had formerly officially supported Graham's activities.

In 1957, the annual general meeting of the National Council of Churches had voted overwhelmingly to invite Billy Graham to conduct a crusade in New Zealand. This was but one round in an ongoing debate internal to the N.C.C. on the nature of evangelism suitable to mid-twentieth-century New Zealand and, indeed, whether such involvement was proper to the N.C.C. at all.[13] When the crusade occurred in 1959, a lack of objective assessment exacerbated these divisions. `It fortified the supporters of such evangelism in their belief in its effectiveness, failed to convert [sic] their critics and, in the absence of precise information, had an effect on church life not easily determined. Success, real or imagined, encouraged some to urge a return visit.'[14]

Those so encouraged sought for that return visit as soon as possible.[15] The Baptist Union, supported in 1961 by the Presbyterian Life and Work Committee, favoured 1963. But N.C.C. annual general meetings were unable to come to any agreement. The question of indigenous evangelism as preferable to importing a foreigner was raised. By 1962, the N.C.C. was being accused of `throttling the wish of the Churches for a Graham Crusade',[16] but when, in 1963, it did invite him for 1965 he was unavailable due to illness. The debate continued through the mid-1960s, the opposition

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13. Colin Brown, *Forty Years On: A History of the National Council of Churches in New Zealand, 1941-1981* (Christchurch, 1981), 100-104. There were at least three positions taken: that large-scale evangelism was necessary and desirable, that witness through social activism should be central, and that processes of Christian nurture and education should be stressed rather than soliciting individualised instantaneous conversions.
14. Ibid., 103.
15. The debate is summarised in ibid., 133-138.
16. *Church and Community* (September, 1962). Quoted in ibid., 134.

to Graham's mass evangelism precluding any official N.C.C. invitation and concentrating ecumenists' attention on localised cooperative programmes and on a community-oriented venture, 'InterView '69'.[17]

When it did take place, the 1969 crusade met much more open criticism from theological liberals than had that of 1959. The Rev. Paul Oestreicher, a New Zealand Anglican recently returned from working with the British Council of Churches, created a well-publicised storm. He branded Graham an 'Apostle of the Establishment', since Graham was an honorary chaplain to the White House, which, claimed Oestreicher, symbolised everything rejected by Jesus. Further, he alleged, Graham's evangelism made no attempt to deal with the concrete social problems of 'suffering man', but instead 'calls them away from real life'. Oestreicher's socialist sympathies were revealed in his claim that 'Billy Graham's version of religion is thoroughly antisocial' since it was 'some opiate for the masses to be taken in doses to escape from reality'.[18]

Oestreicher later developed psychological dimensions to his assessment, asserting that 'the preachings of Billy Graham are definitely harmful, in fact they could lead to people becoming patients in mental homes'. This would be because those hearers already possessing a guilt complex would have this played on by the evangelist's oratory. 'For an unstable person this could be the last straw.... The appeal is strictly emotional, and it is trying to frighten people into the Church.' Against Graham's use of 'words alone', Oestreicher juxtaposed the correct use of 'right deeds'.

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17. Ibid., 138.
18. *Otago Daily Times*, 21 February 1969, 1.

'The world will not listen to what the Church says, but rather watch what it does.'[19]

In Dunedin, both Graham's supporters and critics promptly claimed many column-inches of the *Otago Daily Times*' 'Letters to the Editor'. Typical were two published on 27 February: 'A New Creature' advocated Graham's preaching of a new spiritual birth as necessary before one could gain a real awareness of the world's needs, while 'Not Hungry' asked if New Zealand had so few chances of hearing Christian preaching that the expenditure of $120,000 was justified in providing yet another.[20]

These arguments of social versus spiritual need were rehearsed many times, with the backing for each side transcending denominational boundaries. The University of Otago Roman Catholic chaplain joined Graham's supporters, while opponents included both Christians of various backgrounds and those opposed to any Christian activity. Some supporters deliberately set Graham forward as the champion of traditional orthodoxy. 'Awake', for example, compared attacks on him from 'so called smug Christians' with earlier opposition to Spurgeon, Whitefield, Moody and Wesley. 'However, those evangelists were inspired men who are now looked upon as geniuses as what they were [sic].'[21] Others emphasised the over-riding importance of a pietistic inner relationship with God, 'Not Envious' asserting that 'happiness or tranquility of spirit can only come from a simple, unadulterated belief in God'. He or she was convinced that the crusade 'is God speaking through Billy Graham in a practical way, not bogged down by dogma. [Graham] talks about the things that matter most, if only we be still and listen for once in

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19. *Otago Daily Times*, 7 March 1969, 3.
20. 27 February 1969, 4.
21. 24 February 1969, 4.

our lives.'[22] 'Mavis Walsh' sidestepped the whole argument: 'I can personally recommend, not a "pie in the sky", nor an intellectually satisfying faith, but one which is an absolute reality.... It gives purpose and meaning, and provides the motivating power to face life and death, not as a delusion but as a fulfilment.'[23]

Ultimately, some of Graham's supporters reverted to the pragmatic justifications of Finney and his followers - this method worked better than those of others. 'Not Envious' attributed the criticism of Graham by unnamed Anglican and Presbyterian ministers to envy from those whose own denominations were declining.[24] More forcefully, 'Ex-Presbyterian', specifically targetting Presbyterians and Methodists, castigated 'the soft-pedallers, the spineless wonders, who do not preach punishment for wrongdoing; and a religion that expresses no fear for wrongdoing is a poor anaemic thing'.[25]

Ad hominem arguments were not the exclusive province of Graham supporters, 'Paulus' accusing 'Grahamites' of 'spiritual pride'.[26] Many objected to the mass evangelistic method, some displaying little knowledge of how meetings were actually conducted. 'RCR', for example, classified Graham as 'a rabble rouser' and objected to 'dishonest' advertising of free admission as 'the organisers neglect to state that there will be an hysterical appeal for funds to defray expenses for the Lord's work, etc.'[27]

Most opposition, though, developed the theme of social involvement and action as preferable to evangelism on its own.

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22. 1 March 1969, 4.
23. 3 March 1969, 4.
24. 1 March 1969, 4. This was the same stereotype employed earlier in Robinson, 'Billy Graham'.
25. 7 March 1969, 4.
26. 28 February 1969, 4.
27. 5 March 1969, 4.

'L.R. Cowell' criticised Graham's personal association with the rich and powerful in the U.S.A. and thought he should rather model himself on Martin Luther King.[28] 'Paulus' believed a Christian would be most properly involved in social action, leaving little time for spiritual introspection and placing one's soul's fate 'in a simple act of faith in the hands of God.... Many of us do not see the Graham Crusades becoming involved in the practical needs of humanity in this way but rather indulging in selffish [sic] preoccupations albeit "spiritual".'[29] While 'L.R. Cowell' asserted that 'Christianity does not need salesmen, instead it desperately needs ordinary men and women who can demonstrate by their everyday examples that Christ has entered their lives'.[30]

Beyond echoing Oestreicher's 'pie in the sky' phrase, though, no critic really made any theological comment, except for 'Reflective' who objected to Graham's use of biblical texts taken out of their proper contexts.[31]

Oestreicher's charges that Graham's preaching would create such guilt in people that they would ultimately become psychiatric patients were rebutted in Auckland by the crusade's vice-chairman, the Rev. Roland Hart. Hart conceded without hesitation that some hearers would have a heightened sense of guilt. But this would be a good thing, leading not to their psychological crippling, but to positive healing.

> A sense of guilt is one of the real factors in human life in our society, and guilt which is not dealt with has a serious reaction within the life of the individual. Billy Graham's message is one of good news for those who have a sense of guilt.
> He ends his message by pointing out that the forgiveness of God is available to all who will receive it.[32]

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28. 26 February 1969, 4.
29. 27 February 1969, 4.
30. 6 March 1969, 4.
31. 7 March 1969, 4.
32. *Otago Daily Times*, 8 March 1969, 3.

Hart cited his personal experience as a Baptist minister in both Auckland and Christchurch that not one of those referred from the 1959 crusade had had any mental trouble in the succeeding ten years.

Opposition to Graham's coming was again not limited to theological liberals and those desiring a greater social action emphasis. The separatist group which had criticised Graham's 1959 campaign, the Auckland Consultative Committee of the International Council of Christian Churches, also maintained in 1969 their disapproval of his continuation of cooperative methods of evangelism. When, after the 1959 Crusade Executive Committee had recommended Brethren and Lutheran groups be officially included in future crusades, the *Contender* asked, 'What will the Assemblies do? Will they repudiate their separatist position which they have maintained across the years, and in principle is biblical, or will they surrender to the subtle outreach of ecumenical evangelism, and be sucked into the vortex by the tentacles of the ecclesiastical octopus?'[33]

By 1962, the *Contender* had decided that 'There appears to be little or no doubt that Billy Graham has allied himself with the apostates of the W.C.C.... The W.C.C. is using Billy Graham in the same way as the Communists are using the churches'.[34] The writer noted having seen a picture of Graham consorting with the Archbishop of Canterbury, critiqued the Archbishop's theology, and then asked, 'Why doesn't Dr. Graham obey the word of God which he preaches. Here is one, and only one of many, scriptures that Dr. Billy seems to totally disregard. "Have no fellowship with the unfruitful works of darkness, but RATHER REPROVE THEM". Eph 5:11.'[35]

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33. *Contender*, 5, 1 (January-February 1960), 1.
34. *Contender*, 7, 1 (January-February 1962), 2.
35. Ibid.

In 1965, when the National Council of Churches decided not to formally invite Graham to return, the *Contender* saw this as Graham's just deserts for compromising and only to be expected from liberals, saying, 'Dr. Graham will be invited, and used, by Councils and associations so long as the liberals find it necessary or convenient. But when it suits the liberals with whom he has co-operated, he will be excluded. This is the strategy of both Rome and the Liberals who dominate the Ecumenical movement.'[36]

The journal did not even deign to mention Graham's 1969 crusade, perhaps having decided he was irredeemable. Instead it chose to criticise his having called a conference at which evangelicals would discuss social issues, including civil rights, the Vietnam war, race relations and other matters which the journal saw as pandering to World Council of Churches policy.[37] The separatist spirit did have a tangible effect on the acceptance of the mission in some churches. In Rotorua, for example, of three Brethren assemblies, one gave full support, one was very suspicious and gave no official support, although some individuals participated, but the third 'considered it the work of the Antichrist', because of Graham's association with the World Council of Churches and his cooperative approach to evangelism.[38]

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36. *Contender*, 10, 2 (March-April 1965), 9.
37. *Contender*, 14, 6 (December-January 1969-1970), 2. It is perhaps deserving of note that Carl McIntire and assistants had toured the country in May 1968 and returned in April 1969. The first tour's attendances reached 150 at most, which the *Contender* confessed was poor, especially when 'compared to the thousands who will go to the [Graham] Crusades in 1969'. *Contender*, 13, 3 (May-July 1968), 2. The second tour drew no more than 300 to any meeting after 'extensive and expensive advertising'. The editor remarked forlornly, 'From this we gather that although there was a great interest shown by those attending, the large bulk of Christians do not know or do not care, that the ecumenical movement is a grave danger to Biblical Christianity'. *Contender*, 14, 3 (June-July 1969), 2.
38. Rev. C.D. Jones, interview, 15 December 1989.

Perhaps the *Reaper* again, as in 1959, felt pressure from the *Contender* and its supporters to renounce Graham's cooperative evangelism and maintain evangelical purity from liberal apostasy. In 1968, the *Reaper* countered by allowing Graham to defend himself. It reprinted an earlier article of Graham's in which he had spelled out his attitude to fundamentalist separatism and which must have confirmed the *Contender*'s worst fears. He wrote, 'As I study the subject of separation in the Old and New Testaments, I discover that the weight of Scripture lies in the direction of fellowship rather than separation.'[39]

He quoted I John 3.14 regarding having mutual love as the proof of being truly Christian, '- not because we are sound in the Christian faith and believe in the Bible from cover to cover. The one test is love!'[40] He noted that while Christians should remain separate from worldly evil, immoral living is not the same as holding erroneous opinions. The only error which is always to be avoided is blatant denial of the deity of Christ. Quarrels over scriptural inerrancy and evangelistic methods are insufficient grounds for separation. 'History may record that the issue of the day was not the inspiration of the Scriptures or evangelism but, perhaps even deeper, the need for love among the brethren!'[41] Even those who did deny Christ's deity should be treated with at least the neighbourly love which all humans are entitled to receive from Christians.

Throughout the article, Graham's attitude was consistently irenic. He stressed love, fellowship, the exercise of discretion,

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39. Billy Graham, 'Fellowship and Separation', *Decision* (1961). Reprinted in *Reaper*, 48, 3 (April 1968), 108.
40. Ibid., 109.
41. Ibid., 110.

giving others the benefit of the doubt, and maintaining a flexible attitude over fellowship during evangelism while holding a firm theological position. His own practice was to eschew response to negative criticism, holding that, 'The Scripture says, "For it is God's will that by doing right you put to silence the ignorance of foolish men" (I Peter 2.15).'[42]

But, as in 1959, when he arrived in the country, Graham's personality dazzled many potential critics. The *Evening Star* had been aware of Graham's 'methods of emotional evangelism and hellfire and brimstone beliefs', but their reporter, too, concluded, 'meet the man in person, and no matter what your religious conviction, you could not fail to be impressed'.[43] Graham was described as 'sincere, charming and - yes, humble' and 'the antithesis of everything the evangelist is reputed to be'. He appeared so winsome that criticisms raised at a press conference were answered to the questioners' satisfaction by Graham's statement that 'other people have different ideas... and I respect them for it, but I do not like to answer reports of their statements personally'. No more was said as he went on to discuss the variety of gifts which Christians possessed and exercised.[44]

CRUSADE EVENTS AND METHODOLOGY

The people who invited Billy Graham to return to New Zealand in 1969 were largely the same group who had run the 1959 crusade. Many

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42. Ibid., 112.
43. *Evening Star*, 7 March 1969, 1.
44. Ibid.

of the earlier committees were reconstituted with much the same personnel.[45] The lack of N.C.C. support proved not to be an insurmountable problem as the residual enthusiasm left in evangelical and sympathetically-inclined groups provided a broad enough base for another national evangelistic effort.

This crusade was even briefer than its predecessor had been. Graham visited personally only Auckland and Dunedin, with the southern city earning his presence at only one meeting. Wellington could attract no senior member of his organisation, while Christchurch had to content itself with associate Lane Adams on the Lancaster Park platform. The newspaper coverage was weak compared with the interest shown in the previous decade.

Still, there were many prepared to listen to Graham himself, where they could. During the four-day Auckland section of the crusade, a total of 235,400 heard Graham 'live'; 128,000 at Western Springs and 107,400 at the various landline venues. Of these, 42,000 attended the Sunday meeting, the largest crowd Western Springs had ever seen (yielding 1,855 enquirers), while 36,000 listened to the landlines throughout the country.[46]

In Dunedin, the Carisbrook stands, seating 14,000, were fully booked more than a day before Graham's meeting. The organisers knew of two trains from Christchurch and one from Invercargill bringing 1,600 people, and forty-five chartered buses swelling further the out-of-town contingent. Five hundred ushers were required to manage this crowd and seven hundred counsellors were prepared to assist enquirers spiritually.[47] In the event, over 20,000 came to the Dunedin meeting and some 1,000 answered the appeal.[48]

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45. Mr L.W. Rushbrook, interview, 17 May 1988.
46. *Dominion*, 3 March 1969, 4.
47. *Evening Star*, 8 March 1969, 1.
48. *Evening Star*, 10 March 1969, 3.

The methodology of this crusade, with so many links to its predecessor, and with the Graham system having been so diligently refined, altered little from what had gone before. As in 1959, landline centres were establish to provide for those outside Auckland, Christchurch and Dunedin. The Wellington area alone had nine, the central one being at the Town Hall, a venue accommodating up to 4,000, and others at a local city church, Lower Hutt, Heretaunga, Porirua, Raumati and the Golden Coast. One innovation was that photographic slides of the stadium, Graham and the choir were shown so that attenders would not be bored or embarrassed by having to stare at loudspeakers.[49] The landline meetings, in the new age of television. were not as effective as they had been. 'The landline itself was really a very disappointing thing. People didn't sing well and one felt it was very impersonal and cold. And we worked on this when we found after the first night it was very unstimulating. And the responses were very meagre indeed.'[50] This observer opined, 'I think the preaching came across well', indicating that it was the atmosphere which suffered - a hint of the significance of the emotions in the inducing of decisions, rather than the simple power of the preached word leading to a purely rational choice of the mind and will.

Reflecting the changing times and the new technology, a variation on the radio broadcast of 1959 was an interview of Billy Graham conducted on television. A panel of well-known personalities treated him so harshly that accusations of bias and incompetence poured into editorial correspondence columns. Some suggesting that Graham's image came out of the programme better than it had been

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49. Rev. C.D. Jones, interview, 15 December 1989; *Dominion*, 27 February 1969, 24.
50. Rev. C.D. Jones, interview, 15 December 1989.

before as viewers sympathised with his predicament.[51] Even the *Listener* editor felt moved to side with Graham, noting the 'surly mood' and 'poor research' of the questioners, that they were often 'awry' and 'tended to cloak their ignorance with arrogance'.[52]

Differing types of meetings were again held. In Wellington, a youth-oriented landline meeting drew 1,200 to 1,500 to the Town Hall, of which some thirty responded, only two of these being older than twenty-five.[53] On the same day, an afternoon women's meeting was addressed by the sole female member of the crusade team, Mrs Mildred Dienert.[54]

In neither of the Graham crusades was there any taint of responses to the appeal being engineered. In some mass evangelism, counsellors have been instructed to go forward as soon as the appeal was made in order to provide an initial impetus which would then draw any who were undecided. The Graham counsellors, though, followed rather than led enquirers.

> Your instructions were to only go up as you were needed. You weren't supposed to go and create a false response.
> No. We would watch the kind of people that were going up and if you saw someone with a ribbon you knew that a counsellor had gone up, and so you were trying to assess this number.[55]

Even more than previously was there a noticeable emphasis placed by the Graham organisation and its supporters on the ongoing nurture of newcomers to the faith. The address by Graham's associate, Lane Adams, at the Auckland School of Evangelism demonstrated the importance placed by the Graham crusade organisation on the local

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51. e.g. *Church and People* 27, 5 (21 March 1969), 10; 27, 6 (4 April 1969), 3; *Listener*, 60, 1536 (21 March 1969), 6; *Otago Daily Times*, 7 March 1969, 4; 8 March 1969, 4; *Evening Star*, 7 March 1969, 2.
52. *Listener*, 60, 1537 (28 March 1969), 5.
53. *Dominion*, 28 February 1969, 9.
54. *Dominion*, 27 February 1969, 24.
55. Rev. H. and Mrs J. Nees, interview, 20 March 1986.

churches' following-up on the enquirers from a mission. Adams' theme was that 'Billy Graham not only will not answer your problems [within the local church], but, God willing, he will give you thousands of brand-new problems called babes in Christ'.[56] He questioned whether it was appropriate to evaluate an evangelist's ministry by whether or not the converts 'stick'. Rather, he turned the issue back and asserted that 'the validity of the Church as the Body of Christ will be discovered in the Church's ability to relate itself properly to the Crusade enquirer'.[57] Using biblical and personal examples, he claimed that churches typically demanded a higher level of understanding and behaviour from recent converts than they should - sometimes higher than that for established members.

The baby analogy was then developed to alter hearers' expectations of converts. Babies need to be fed frequently, but only with appropriate food, much of which will be vomited. Babies will sleep often. When they wake they create much noise which seldom conveys real sense, and exercise constantly but achieve little. They are also prone to frequently dirtying nappies. These pediatric observations were employed to emphasise the erratic nature of dealings with new believers who would ignore or reject instruction, create disturbances and offend many already in the churches, and to encourage perseverance and dedication to the 'infant'. 'Only when a relationship of parent to child has been established by your investing your life... can you say that you have truly followed up a person....'[58]

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56. Lane Adams, 'Follow Up Those Babes in Christ', *Reaper*, 49, 2 (March 1969), 47.
57. Ibid., 48.
58. Ibid., 52.

Similar themes had already been expressed by the N.Z.B.T.I. principal, urging widespread Christian involvement to support and develop the crusade's effectiveness. Rev. Stewart stressed prayer to bring people to the meetings, for Graham and the counsellors in their roles, and for the new converts. Churches should work to invite not only churchgoers, but also those 'outside Christ', since 'it is the churches praying and working most earnestly who will reap the greatest harvest'.[59] But the mission's work should not stop there. Churches should follow up the converts, providing fellowship and nurture in the faith. He declared, 'If [the convert] is frozen and starved, and in a year's time is never seen in your church, don't blame Billy Graham!'[60] Beyond that, though, he rejected a simple equation of the Billy Graham crusade with the Christian responsibility to evangelise. 'Evangelism is the local church and every member of it going out into the community constantly, living and witnessing for Christ.'[61] Thus, the crusade's organisation had its encouragement of ongoing church involvement and follow up reinforced by one of the country's most influential evangelical leaders.

THEOLOGICAL AND SOCIAL MESSAGES OF THE MISSION

The basic messages preached by Graham remained largely unchanged from those of the previous decade. The major emphasis was again on the need for the decision to become a Christian and the individual's

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59. Stewart, 'Month', 3.
60. Ibid., 5.
61. Ibid.

subsequent relationship with God. The dualistic juxtaposition of material and spiritual foundational to revivalistic evangelism remained an obvious plank in his preaching. His Dunedin sermon, based on Jesus' interview with Nicodemus in John 3, stressed the necessity of being born again, from this material world into the spiritual world. 'It would be necessary to start again and to change one's whole pattern of living.'[62]

Graham's pietistic view of religion and of Bible usage continued in 1969 as it had been in 1959. When preaching in Dunedin, he discouraged hearers from trying to prove God's existence scientifically. Rather, they should exercise faith to accept God into their lives, when results and His existence would readily become apparent: 'I look into my heart and I find He has done all that He ever promised in the Scriptures. I find the answers to problems, a new joy, a new power, a new sense of direction, the forgiveness of sins and a certainty that I am going to heaven.' He recommended a Christian life comprising daily Bible reading, individual or group prayer and honest and principled living centring on loving one's neighbour.[63]

A belief in a very literal eschatology and real apocalypse was spelled out at the record-breaking Sunday meeting at Western Springs. Graham began by instructing his audience to 'listen to God's voice, not mine', then equated modern civilisation with Sodom and Gomorrah. Conflating several times, places and contexts, he said, 'The road to Armageddon in 1969 is the same road Sodom took, the same road Jesus warned us about'. Australasia's relative affluence was equated with the false sense of security in Sodom, a

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62. *Evening Star*, 10 March 1969, 3.
63. Ibid.

place which enjoyed sinful pleasures, exemplified in that 'the nightclubs were full'. Graham anticipated the premillenialists' end of this age at Armageddon: 'The Bible teaches the world is going to experience one last great war - a war of great, widespread destruction'.[64]

Billy Graham's political views were made clear in a 1967 article, again published in the *Reaper*.[65] Graham expounded the Old Testament story of Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego as exemplars of God-rewarded courage in the face of political and social pressure to disavow their faith. The particular relevance of this was that 'the free world [was] backed against the wall as it has never been before'.[66] In contrast to 'the blindness of world leaders', Graham could see 'that in the shadows there is an eternal struggle between the forces of God and the forces of Satan'.[67]

While at least part of that conflict takes place in 'alcoholism and immorality and unfaithfulness', it was clear that Graham envisaged a larger stage. The article began quoting a Soviet radio broadcast which announced that God had remained undiscovered and that Christ would be 'relegated to mythology'. Later, readers were asked, 'Can you face what the East German Christians are going through?'[68] He threatened that 'I don't believe America or Britain or Australia will be spared unless we have a great turning to God. Are you ready?'[69] Every opportunity for evangelism was utilised fully.

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64. *Dominion*, 3 March 1969, 4.
65. Billy Graham, 'God with Us', *Reaper*, 47, 11 (January 1968), 407-412.
66. Ibid., 407.
67. Ibid., 410.
68. Ibid., 411.
69. Ibid.

However, these views were accessible only to the relatively few Christians who were in a position to read such articles, so they could at most form a background for these people, a context into which his spoken messages requiring decision and commitment could be fitted. The actual sermons preached in the mass meetings and the interviews with the media never really gave overt indications of political-eschatological agendas.[70] For all that both this and the previous crusade took place during the Cold War and then the Vietnam era, neither contained the direct and open condemnation of Communism and non-Western political or religious beliefs common amongst American evangelists of smaller stature who typically identified such belief systems with various scenarios from the Apocalypse. In Graham's earlier years, he, too, had subscribed to such theories. But even if he still retained vestiges of those beliefs, they virtually never impinged openly upon the principles urged by Graham upon the New Zealand public.

Only occasional echoes of Graham's flirtations with the politically powerful were heard in the New Zealand context. Mrs Graham told one interviewer that President and Mrs Nixon had been personal friends of the Grahams' for twenty years. In an appreciation which must have caused embarrassment several years later, she described them as 'very warm, kind people. When you're with them you have a sense of integrity. You'd like them... and once you met them, you'd have confidence in them.'[71]

The attempts made during the crusade to curry favour with young people were not universally appreciated. In his address to youth, Graham had claimed young men were wearing 'Jesus boots' and growing

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70. Rev. C.D. Jones, interview, 15 December 1989.
71. *Evening Star*, 8 March 1969, 8.

long hair from reverence for the person of Jesus, even if they repudiate the institutional Church. A Dunedin newspaper columnist, John Halifax, questioned the connection as boots were not worn in biblical times and neither the hair length, nor the attitudes and actions which accompanied it, seemed to be motivated by any discernible form of Christianity.[72]

Social messages regarding home and family could also be derived from the Americans' public image. Mrs Ruth Graham warranted one interview - in the *Evening Star*'s 'Woman's World' column. It was largely comprised of brief sketches of homely family life, of raising their five children and of 'Bill' raiding the pantry. Under the headline, 'Family Important to Mrs Graham', the columnist made it clear that Mrs Graham felt her place was in the home and her priorities were 'Bill and the children', yet each year she also 'does her part' through executive involvement in a charitable organisation. The writer both reinforced a very clear social message and revealed perhaps another reason for Billy Graham's personal success:

> From another woman's point of view, Mrs Graham is a very lucky woman.
> She has a happy home, a rewarding and interesting life, nice children and a husband who, apart from being dedicated and famous, is extremely good looking.
> Photographs do not do Bill [sic] Graham justice. Well over 6ft tall, bronzed, youthful, with beautiful white teeth and blue eyes - he's quite a dish![73]

In the era of 'Beatlemania', one wonders how much Graham's physical appearance, cleancut and handsome, contributed to his popularity with women and those seeking reassurance of a simpler and more wholesome way of life.

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72. *Evening Star*, 28 February 1969, 2.
73. *Evening Star*, 8 March 1969, 8.

Graham admitted to the press that he believed his mass evangelism was not the best method to win converts: 'More can be done on the parish level - man to man evangelism.' But he believed that he specifically had a God-given gift as an evangelist which made him effective, while admitting himself to be 'no more than a mediocre preacher'. This belief of a divine appointment to the task, and the conviction of an imminent return of Christ, motivated him to continue in this ministry 'until he is called elsewhere or until he dies'.[74]

RESULTS AND EVALUATION OF THE MISSION

The 1969 Billy Graham crusade seemed not to achieve the results hoped for it and certainly not to measure up to the level achieved ten years before.

An evaluation of the crusade was produced in a *Reaper* editorial by Principal David Stewart,[75] describing the pre-meeting atmosphere as 'festival rather than devotional'. He noted that the congregational singing was limited to two or three traditional hymns of praise rather than the numbers of emotional songs which might have been expected.

Stewart observed that those who claim Graham's preaching to be over-emotional had either never heard him, 'or else are singularly responsive!' Indeed, Stewart felt the preaching was 'somewhat "flat"', concentrating on Christ's claim to Lordship over one's life, 'but there was no deeply-moving appeal, no tearing at the

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74. *Evening Star*, 7 March 1969, 1.
75. 'The Graham Crusade', *Reaper*, 49, 2 (March 1969), 42-43.

heart-strings', without story illustrations, and authority rather than emotion in the voice. 'When the invitation was given it all seemed so very ordinary that I wondered whether any would respond.' And then, of course, large numbers did.

The writer acknowledged that not all were clearly new converts and that not all with problems could be fully assisted by the counsellors, but affirmed that many, of all types, were. He regarded it all as of beyond mere psychological origin, 'The only satisfactory explanation is that the Spirit of God is pleased to move where He chooses, and in His sovereign choice, God has been pleased to use Billy Graham as the instrument of His power'.

The 1959 Graham crusade had caught the church growth tide at its flood, just before it began to ebb. The 1969 crusade, though, caught that ebb tide in full flow. Presbyterian membership and adherence, for example, peaked within a few years of the crusade and began to fall away throughout the late 1960s and 1970s.[76] Although the numbers under some form of pastoral care reached their maximum in 1970, that care's support base of committed attenders and members was dwindling from 1962, a trend which did not escape the notice of the committee producing the statistics.[77]

This trend worsened as by 1966, for the first time ever, the number of communicant members of this church exceeded those who actually attended services and the denomination's ordinary revenue failed to keep pace with the 4% rise in the national cost of living.[78] The next year, the period of the Geering heresy trial, actual membership began to decline also. The 1969 Billy Graham

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76. See Appendix.
77. *Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in New Zealand* (1963), 270a-273a.
78. *Proceedings* (1966), 321a-325a.

crusade, though, may have had a positive effect as 1970 was the only year to record a general increase (although the denomination did not link the two points), but the overall downward trend was not arrested.

The Baptist General Secretary's report noted the effort many Baptists had put into supporting the crusade, but questioned its overall value. 'Results have been apparent in some Churches, particularly in the Auckland area. Landline meetings were disappointing. The overall thinking in Baptist circles in New Zealand appears to be away from the large crusade type of gathering. It is unlikely that landline meetings would again be attempted.'[79] The South Auckland Baptist Association was the only one even to mention the crusade in their annual report and while they hoped for resultant significant growth they reported only a net membership gain of ten and decreases in both service attendances and Sunday School activities. They concluded, 'These results obviously call for a long hard look at both our dedication and our methods'.[80] Unlike the previous crusade, the 1969 effort also seemed not to be attractive to Maori. They simply failed to become involved as they had earlier. In the Baptist Maori work in Rotorua, the Maori response was 'very disappointing, just one or two. There was no real response and no real interest. It was hard to whip up interest.'[81]

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79. *Baptist Union and Missionary Society Yearbook*, 87 (1969/1970), 26. As for the earlier period, Baptists' statistics were confusing with changes in membership totals never corresponding exactly with increase/decrease totals. In 1969, their membership dropped from 14,720 to 14,641, but they claimed a net increase of 30. Yet it is clear that by the late 1960s their growth, too, had faltered and until at least 1972 their numbers remained virtually static between 14,500 and 14,600.
80. Ibid., 22.
81. Rev. C.D. Jones, interview, 15 December 1989.

Statistical data are lacking, but there is a belief amongst those engaged in theological education at the time that the Graham crusades did bear some fruit in terms of enquirers who went on into full-time Christian training and service. This trend, though, appeared not to be an irruption of those who, in the first flush of post-crusade enthusiasm, felt it necessary to 'do something'. Rather it was a slow percolation through from the churches over a period of years of converts who first matured within church life and of those who rededicated themselves at the crusades and who later sought practical expression of that commitment. A former registrar of the Bible Training Institute, where many evangelicals received training, observed, 'It must have had some effect, but it's not easy to tabulate it, in the sense that B.T.I./Bible College is more of a reflection of the churches... than anything else, and if there had been increased weight in the churches that would have been reflected.'[82]

Not only the N.Z.B.T.I., but also the denominational theological colleges benefitted to some extent. The largely evangelical New Zealand Baptist Theological College reflected a certain newfound confidence resulting from the crusades. Regarding a crusade origin for some ministerial candidates, a former Baptist College principal said, 'Without any statistical evidence, I'd say yes.... There was a general feeling. It lifted the spirits of church people generally. Here was something that everybody could see and I think that meant that there were people who felt that a bit more firmly and felt they could answer the call to service.'[83] The Auckland

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82. Mr L.W. Rushbrook, interview, 17 May 1988. See also above, 302, on N.Z.B.T.I. recruitment after the 1959 crusade.
83. Rev. J.A. Clifford, interview, 18 May 1988. This impression was supported by the Rev. H. Nees, General Secretary, Baptist Union of New Zealand, 1966-1975. 'I remember I used to be on

Footnote 83 continued on next page

School of Evangelism also assisted in this regard, stimulating an unknown number of people into subsequent evangelistic activity of their own and within their denominations.[84]

As in 1959, and as would later be the case in 1987, the positive effects of the crusade were seen in hindsight to be at least as much within the existing congregation as in any influx of new converts there may have been. 'Many of us who were pastors would feel that we had more benefit from the Billy Graham crusades in the training of some of our people than in... the actual converts.... The training was first-class. It was canned, of course, but it was very well done.'[85] Once again, on a more general level, clerics felt that a major benefit of the whole exercise was simply to raise the profile in the community at large of things religious generally and of the Christian faith in particular. 'His [Graham's] coming created an environment when it was easier to talk about religion.'[86]

However, these comments refer largely to the 1959 crusade. There was little such apparent benefit derived from that of 1969. One factor contributing to the weaker effect of the 1969 crusade was that it commanded less united support even amongst the churches. As noted above, by the mid-1960s the Methodists had decided not to back a National Council of Churches request to Graham to return. The fact that the crusade then became the result of an invitation from a

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Footnote 83 continued from previous page
one of the boards, accepting people into Baptist Theological College, and for a number of years quite a lot of them were converted from the Billy Graham Crusade.' He remained uncertain, though, as to how many would have come anyway through conversions within churches. Interview, 20 March 1986.

84. Rev. Dr D.G. Stewart, interview, 17 May 1988. He observed that Graham himself has developed this aspect of his wider ministry, particularly promoting major conferences for evangelists held in Berlin (1966), Lausanne (1974) and Amsterdam (1986).
85. Rev. H. Nees, interview, 20 March 1986.
86. Rev. Dr S.L. Edgar, interview, 17 May 1988.

private group of people instead of from the national Christian umbrella organisation meant it could be regarded as more marginal and therefore more vulnerable to criticism, or even apathy. The expression of the growing lack of consensus had negative consequences: 'I think it was to some extent the buildup of the liberal people who didn't want him to return.... The first one was more accepted and became more of a national crusade.'[87] Another participant blamed the over-large Auckland venue, the Western Springs stadium: 'Carlaw Park was a bit more personal.... At Western Springs you were separated from the speaker by a greater distance'.[88]

Some of the blame for poorer ongoing results from the 1969 crusade has also been levelled at the reluctance of some non-evangelical clergy even to accept those enquirers who had been referred to them by the crusade. 'Where the fault lay was when they were referred back to their churches, as they [the crusade] were very strict in doing, that there were often really quite whole lumps of them whose ministers put them right off'.[89] To the extent that this was, in fact, the case, this unco-operativeness may have been linked again to the lack of National Council of Churches' support giving the crusade the appearance of a purely evangelical activity.

Wherever the blame or excuses may be directed, the fact remains that the 1969 Billy Graham crusade failed to meet the expectations held for it, or to follow the precedent set in 1959. The evangelical unity, the 'love among the brethren' was again achieved, but the mood of the general community, and of the leadership in most large denominations had swung against mass evangelism. In a new

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87. Rev. H. Nees, interview, 20 March 1986.
88. Rev. J.A. Clifford, interview, 18 May 1988.
89. Mrs J. Nees, interview, 20 March 1986.

social context, the mission's substance was again 'the old, old story', retold in a familiar way. But by this time, New Zealand no longer wished to be lulled by accustomed words and methods. An old story was no longer comforting, but *passé*, Graham's moralism was no longer in step with nominal social ideals, and evangelical theology was no longer the consensus position of New Zealand Christians. Challenged from both left and right, New Zealand evangelicalism was facing a crisis in its identity and in its relationship with society.

CHAPTER SEVEN

MAKING FRIENDS FOR GOD:

THE 1987 MISSION OF LEIGHTON FORD

The first of the two mass evangelists to arrive in 1987 was fifty-five year old Leighton Ford, a Canadian Presbyterian minister of impeccable evangelical credentials, who had been a leading member of Billy Graham's evangelistic team since 1955.[1] He had a concern for more than the simple practice of evangelism, writing and working for more lasting and widespread effect. Beyond such concerns, he also had a sensitive social conscience and his evangelistic ministry was informed by a desire to offer his hearers more than an easy, simple, solely spiritual salvation.

In this chapter, Ford's personal background and his attitude towards evangelism in a broader context than pure revivalism are surveyed. Then the events of the mission conducted in New Zealand are surveyed, beginning with the expectations which New Zealanders held for the campaign and the preparations made in advance for it. Ford's particular message is then analysed to determine its key features and the theological and social emphases made by him in his attempts to influence his hearers. Finally, the quantitative and qualitative results of the mission are considered to detect what impact, if any, the Ford mission had on New Zealand churches or on society at large.

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1. Ford was a graduate of Wheaton College, Illinois, and Columbia Theological Seminary, Decatur, and had received honorary doctorates from Houghton College and Gordon College. Graham C.

Footnote 1 continued on next page

THE EVANGELIST: LEIGHTON FORD

In 1985, Ford had been named Clergyman of the Year by Religious Heritage of America and Presbyterian Preacher of the Year by the National Presbyterian Center in the United States.[2] In August of that year, he announced that after thirty-one years with the Billy Graham Evangelistic Association he was leaving (with Graham's support given Graham's advancing years and the slow running-down of the B.G.E.A.) and in mid-1986 founded his own international organisation, Leighton Ford Ministries. This new project would enable him to maintain his evangelistic ministry, but also to add operations in new fields, especially the training and development of young Christian leaders for the future. He observed that 60% of the world's population was currently under 24 years of age and concluded that younger leaders were needed to reach them with 'Christ's global cause'.[3]

The example Ford was following was the encouragement and promotion Billy Graham had given him early in his own career and, to this end, he was beginning by teaching courses on evangelism in a number of leading seminaries and theological colleges and offering a practical internship programme within his own campaigns.[4] He was particularly concerned that the product would be 'Kingdom seekers',

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Footnote 1 continued from previous page
Juden, 'Mission Christchurch with Leighton Ford 1985-1987' (Unpublished Probationary Studies thesis, New Zealand Baptist Theological College, 1987), Appendix D. Many biographical details are found in Norman B. Rohrer, *Leighton Ford: A Life Surprised* (Wheaton, 1981).

2. *Evening Post*, 4 March 1987, 31.
3. *Challenge*, 44, 25 (4 July 1986), 6.
4. *Challenge*, 45, 6 (6 March 1987), 3. As an example of this help, he cited his week preaching in Wellington in the 1959 Crusade. 'They took me for a week to get Billy for a day or two'.

working for Christ, rather than 'empire builders' building their own reputations. This included emphases on worship and social concerns which had not usually been linked with mass evangelism. 'We want to develop some innovative approaches which will combine a strong emphasis on worship, on preaching the gospel and on Christian social concern. For example, in recent evangelistic campaigns, we have emphasised putting hope into action through local agencies which are meeting human needs. We want to encourage cooperation, not competition, in spreading the gospel.'[5]

Ford's intention was that the training should be individual, 'schooling them personally', and he hoped to set a personal example of the qualities he thought were most appropriate and attractive. As a young man, he had been most impressed by people who displayed 'servanthood, gentleness and approachability' and he wanted his young disciples to display such virtues also, having seen them first in him.[6] The New Zealand reports about him suggested that he did, in fact, exhibit many such qualities, taking considerable care with individuals whom he met, remembering their names and displaying concern for their problems, and exhibiting an engaging degree of humility. 'I don't feel like a celebrity.... I do not want to be a celebrity. I am just another person, another Christian, who has been given a special gift and a public ministry. I don't feel as if I am or should be treated as anything special.'[7]

In New Zealand, Ford put this philosophy into practice by bringing two young men with him as part of that internship programme.[8] These two assisted in the larger meetings,

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5. *Challenge*, 44, 25 (4 July 1986), 6.
6. *Challenge*, 45, 6 (6 March 1987), 3.
7. Ibid., 3.
8. Twenty-six year old Graham Johnston was a Dallas Theological Seminary and college graduate who had been a close friend of

Footnote 8 continued on next page

particularly with personal counselling, but also went around local schools both seeking to gain converts and to encourage students to attend the large youth gatherings.

Beyond his own ministry, Ford had a substantial personal commitment to Christian evangelisation globally. He was the chairman of the Lausanne Committee for World Evangelisation, an organisation seeking to promote worldwide interdenominational evangelism, with a specifically evangelical theological emphasis contrasting with the ecumenical endeavours of the World Council of Churches committees on evangelism. Having held one successful international conference in Lausanne, the Committee were planning another in 1989 to be held in Manila with the specific aim of confronting the challenge to Christianity of the ongoing global population explosion. Ford wanted to try to make the reality of the situation strike home to complacent Christians in developed countries, not solely to send more missionaries, but to support national churches with personnel and finance as necessary.[9]

In keeping with his careful and caring approach to Christian ministry and to evangelism, Ford's manner and presentation was deliberate and thoughtful rather than sensational or overbearing. One Wellington newspaper described his style as 'laid back' and informal.[10] This was reflected even in his appearance as he often wore not the usual navy-coloured business suit, but a tweed sports

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Footnote 8 continued from previous page
Ford's son, Sandy. He had already been with Ford in six missions over the preceding year and was going to be involved for another two years. Steven Haas was twenty-eight, a graduate of the University of Kansas, Fuller Theological Seminary and Edinburgh University, who was only with Ford for a year. Both were solidly evangelical in orientation and determined to 'stick as close to Jesus Christ as I possibly can'. *Challenge*, 45, 12 (3 April 1987), 7.

9. *Challenge*, 45, 3 (30 January 1987), 1.
10. *Evening Post*, 12 March 1987, 12.

jacket and crew-neck jersey over his shirt and tie, making him look perhaps more like a university lecturer than the successful businessman many such public Christian figures appeared to be.

Ford's approach also appeared to be sympathetic and non-confrontational as he brought to his ministry a declared identification with those grieving and in emotional distress. This empathy was derived from his own experience of the death of a son, Sandy, during heart surgery in 1981, which was for him a time of spiritual testing and about which he admitted not having any answers.[11] However, in Wellington he said that this experience had given a theme to his work, having demonstrated to him that 'Christ is our hope', and despite this bereavement and also his own having grown up in a 'broken home', 'the hope held out in the Word of God has been true and has held me'.[12]

EXPECTATIONS AND PREPARATIONS FOR THE MISSION

The few days of Ford's actual presence in the three New Zealand cities visited were only a relatively small part of the overall mission and its effects. Much effort was expended in advance in planning, attempting to enthuse a wide variety of churches to participate, and then to provide a range of preparatory activities equipping participants and heightening that enthusiasm.

In Wellington, aspects of the mission had been running for eighteen months before his arrival, with a plethora of prayer

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11. *Press*, 24 February 1987, 3.
12. *Evening Post*, 4 March 1987, 31.

festivals, training courses, street dramas and small group meetings taking place. More than 123 churches had been mobilised and 900 counsellors trained in support of the Wellington mission. The evangelist was just the catalyst for all this activity.[13] When the Manawatu mission began with a combined service on 23 November 1986 and an open-air youth service in Takaro Park, Palmerston North, on 29 November, it was only the public commencement of activities already intramural to the local churches for several preceding months.[14]

The Inner City Ministers' Fraternal group in Christchurch had been planning in principle for such a mission since 1978, initially considering dates in 1981-1982.[15] The major impetus for the 1987 mission seems to have come from the Anglican Bishop of Christchurch, the Rt Rev. Maurice Goodall, sending a personal invitation to every local congregation to a meeting in December 1984. From this meeting and Bishop Goodall's continuing interest developed a desire to be associated with an already-existing invitation to Ford to come to Wellington. The additional invitation to Christchurch was sent by Goodall on behalf of an ad hoc interdenominational steering committee and accepted by Ford in June 1985.[16]

Perhaps the churches were less ambitious for such a mission in the 1980s than they had been in previous generations. There seemed not to have been an overt anticipation of a spiritual revival directly gripping the whole nation, as had been hoped for with Torrey, Chapman and Graham. It had been replaced by an expectation that the major function of the mission would be to assist the

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13. Ibid.
14. *Challenge*, 44, 42 (31 October 1986), 1.
15. Juden, 'Mission Christchurch', 5-6.
16. Ibid., 7-9.

churches in their own work. The Rev. James Worsfold, an Apostolic minister and chairman of the Wellington Council of Churches, believed that churches 'will be renewed in their task of evangelism', and the Rev. Ross Pilkinton, Wellington mission coordinator, regarded it as a time for a special effort for churches to 'sensitively, lovingly, if [sic] vigorously proclaim the message of Jesus Christ'.[17] He added that he expected that 'the long term impact will be the ongoing mission of local churches'.

In a letter to Christchurch Christians, Ford urged them to be diligent in their cultivation of contacts with people whom they could bring to the mission, as God works through his people. For himself, he enthused, 'we anticipate that the Lord would work mightily among us for his own name's sake' - but he obviously saw the work taking place through the efforts of more than just himself.[18]

Perhaps these expectations, so much more subdued than those for the earlier missions had been, reflected a less triumphalist assessment of evangelical Christianity's influence amongst the New Zealand churches and in the wider community. When it came time to count supportive heads, the number of Wellington Protestant churches found to welcome such a campaign was, for the mission organisers, alarmingly low. When they sent out an initial request in January 1985, at most only 40% of churches replied agreeing to participate. By the time of the crusade, this had grown to between 55% and 69%.[19] The main support came from the Baptist (100% of churches), Brethren (54-79%), Pentecostal (69-78%) and Salvation Army (79-93%)

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17. *Evening Post*, 4 March 1987, 31.
18. *Challenge*, 45, 5 (13 February 1987), 5.
19. Ross Pilkinton, '"And Heal Their Land": A Final Report on Mission Wellington' (Unpublished typescript, Wellington, June 1987), 9-10. Catholic churches were neither asked initially

Footnote 19 continued on next page

denominations. There was 'mediocre' support from Anglicans (39-59%) and Presbyterians (51-61%) and poor Methodist (12-23%) and other groups' (33-52%) involvement.[20]

An interesting feature was that those congregations identified by Pilkinton as 'the more conservative congregations' were those he noted 'did not tend to support us'.[21] It is unclear how he assessed this conservatism, but it might reflect the withdrawal from contact with other groups that has been the hallmark of such groups as the Exclusive Brethren. There may also have been a fundamentalistic doctrinalism amongst some surviving from earlier in the century.

Further, with Christchurch, the more self-consciously Pentecostal groups may well have resisted involvement with one who was not visibly 'Spirit-filled' in their terms, and who was therefore not going to advance their own cause specifically.[22] In marked contrast to their support of the northern Luis Palau missions, southern Pentecostals, used to their own kind of mission, were not always easily enthused to become involved in the Ford campaign. The problem was particularly apparent in Christchurch.

Footnote 19 continued from previous page
nor included in the later figures. The omission was not explained. The 55% cited recorded those churches where only the church leader actively promoted the mission, the 69% recorded those where at least one person from the church attended a training programme or had other official involvement with the mission.

20. A similar survey in Christchurch revealed 48 (42%) of 113 churches responding were actively interested, only 7 (6%) were definitely opposed, while 58 (51%) were lukewarm, wanting to wait to study a full proposal. This gave a definite support base of 5,431 churchgoers, with 90 uninterested and 4,782 uncommitted. Juden, 'Mission Christchurch', 7-8. No indication was given of what proportion this was of Christchurch's Christian community.
21. Pilkinton, 'And Heal Their Land', 10.
22. Pilkinton also noted that there were more Pentecostal-type congregations in the greater Wellington area than either Anglican or Presbyterian churches and that many of them were of

Footnote 22 continued on next page

> At the Leighton Ford crusade [in Christchurch], we found it quite hard... to get the cooperation of the larger... independent Pentecostal churches, because they said quite frankly they were better off having one of their own visiting speakers - they could guarantee what size of place they could fill, it didn't cost half as much, and they knew pretty well what kind of results they'd get.[23]

One leading Pentecostal minister had experienced Ford's ministry elsewhere, felt it inappropriate to Pentecostal interests, and his negative influence was widespread. 'So we had real difficulties getting the support of key lay people who could give leadership in committees.'[24] Christchurch mission coordinator Graham Juden also noted some pressure from Pentecostals and charismatics to abandon 'outmoded' mass evangelism in favour of more dramatic activities.[25]

The existence of such a problem exemplified the shift of emphasis which had taken place in the conservative Christian constituency.[26] The mass evangelistic rally had been the showpiece of the strength and unity of evangelicalism and the call for decisions had reinforced the Christocentrism of the movement. As many conservative Christians transferred allegiance away from

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Footnote 22 continued from previous page
considerable size. The number of adults attending churches in the area on any given Sunday 'could be as few as 7,000 and no more than 15,000 - i.e. from 2% to 4.5% of the population'. Ibid. Such facts were suggestive of the changing balance of contemporary New Zealand ecclesiastical life, with the actual numbers of active worshippers concentrating increasingly in the apparently smaller evangelical/charismatic/Pentecostal denominational groupings, as 'mainline' churches at best held their ground. The church attendances were, from the mission leaders' perspective, 'a very sobering statistic indeed'.

23. Rt Rev. M. Goodall, interview, 19 February 1989.
24. Ibid.
25. Juden, 'Mission Christchurch', 46-49. He did not spell out what was offered as an alternative. The method currently in vogue was 'Power Evangelism', propounded by American John Wimber, which claimed to arouse interest in and gain converts for Christianity by the exercise of New Testament-style miracles, 'signs and wonders'. Wimber had published several popular books and for several years during this period held large, expensive annual training sessions in his approach in Auckland.
26. See above, Chapter Two.

classical evangelicalism to the new charismatic and Pentecostal forms, so their interest in soul-saving as an activity in its own right and in the centrality of Christ alone diminished. To evangelism *per se* were appended offers of faith healing and Spirit-baptism, while the Holy Spirit, from being almost unheard of, assumed a high prominence.

Apart from these concerns, mission leaders had a more mundane worry, that support would be further diminished in that the Christmas holiday period could lead to a reduction in attention to and interest in the missions. Early in the New Year they called for renewed action and involvement on the part of New Zealand Christians after holiday lethargy, and for the temporary cessation of activities which might distract from the missions. 'Let's lay aside the things that are good, because there are better things to do right now' was the plea of the Wellington coordinator.[27]

In addition to the level of Pentecostal support displayed, another aspect of the Ford campaign unlike the Luis Palau mission was that Ford's work did not receive official Catholic episcopal support. Still, attitudes had thawed dramatically since the mutual prohibitions operative in the era of the Billy Graham crusades. The Catholic approach had become similar to that adopted officially by most Protestant denominational hierarchies, one of permitting individuals and parishes to act as each saw fit. In Christchurch, Bishop Denis Hanrahan had encouraged his priests to pray for the success of the mission and was willing for them to receive mission literature.[28] Bishop Peter Cullinane of Palmerston North was happy for local parishes 'doing their own thing', while hoping that some

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27. *Challenge*, 45, 1 (16 January 1987), 1.
28. Juden, 'Mission Christchurch', 59.

Catholics would train as counsellors. He thought those best suited for such work would be those already possessing some training and those involved in leadership of the Catholic charismatic movement.[29] Cardinal Thomas Williams had declined to officially involve Catholicism nationally, but seemingly for practical rather than theological or ideological reasons. He claimed to support the mission and had 'no doubt a lot of good' would result from it, but pointed out that the Catholic Church was already conducting 'Renew', its own extended campaign to improve the spiritual life of the church, and that there had been a recent papal visit which had required much organisational effort. After all of that, 'I hardly felt it would be fair on our people to ask them'.[30]

However, in Wellington a Marist priest, Father Paul Shanahan SM, the national director of 'Renew', was personally invited to become an advisor to the mission and a liaison person for those wishing to be put in contact with Catholic nurture groups and churches, which he hoped would lead to them being provided for in the catechumenate or in some related supporting group.[31] He was himself interested in evangelism and was keen to learn from ministers of other churches about the field.

In Wellington, some 10% of the enquirers resulting from the mission were young Catholics, a very unusual situation given the traditional indifference, not to say antipathy, between Catholics and evangelical Protestants. Father Shanahan attended each public meeting there as a voluntary Catholic advisor and counsellor, rather than in any official capacity, and found Ford, his methods and message, to be quite acceptable to Catholics. He described Ford as

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29. *Zealandia*, 55, 10 (15 March 1987), 5.
30. Ibid.
31. Ibid.

'a very fine gentleman.... He could well preach in any of our [Catholic] pulpits. His message was one of hope and he was a good strong preacher, giving sermons relating Christ to people's lives in an affirming yet uncompromising way.'[32] Despite the lack of official Catholic support for the mission, Shanahan thought that the ecumenical atmosphere generated around it was 'something the new Council of Churches in Aotearoa would rejoice in'.

Father Shanahan had no doubts about the validity of the commitment the Catholic converts were making, but expressed concern about their reception back in their own churches, putting the responsibility for their continued maturity in the faith on the attitude of parish clergy. 'I take this as a sincere response to a sincere man who was helping others to know Jesus.... I hope they [Catholic priests] see it as a very serious business, not a flash in the pan, or something of a joke.... I hope others - in parishes - will follow this up constructively, and as is necessary.'[33]

For the Protestant churches and individuals who were directly committed to involvement with the campaign, there was a variety of activities with many different aims all leading up to the missions. Preparatory training seminars were conducted in Wellington and Christchurch by Dr Eddie Gibbs, a church growth specialist from Fuller Theological Seminary in Pasadena and former Training Director for Billy Graham's Mission England several years previously. These seminars were for those who would lead 'nurture groups', small house groups for instructing new Christians in the faith within a sympathetic atmosphere of those in a similar position. The Christchurch mission coordinator foresaw these groups playing a

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32. *Zealandia*, 55, 13 (5 April 1987), 5.
33. Ibid.

crucial role in the retention process for converts. 'The nurture group provides a bridge of teaching and caring which links the inquirer to the local congregation or fellowship.'[34] The leaders' training seminars' topics were 'Knowing Christ', 'The Lordship of Christ', 'How to Share Christ' and 'Follow Up', the object being initially to enhance the trainees' spiritual lives before training them more specifically as mission counsellors and group leaders. The training for counsellors, 'Christian Life and Witness' classes, attracted many people. 1,100 participated in Christchurch, over 400 in Manawatu and some 900 in Wellington.[35]

In addition to these training courses specifically for counsellors and nurture group leaders, a programme entitled 'Reachout' was held in the centres Ford was to visit. The Rev. Norman Pell, an Australian who was International Director for the Leighton Ford team, went to each venue five times in the preceding eighteen months to instill in his hearers the concept of the Church as 'the extension of the Incarnation', which must therefore embody the principles characteristic of Jesus' life and ministry. He defined these characteristics so broadly as to encompass virtually all aspects of the Church's work: 'establishing specific objectives, identifying people's needs, equipping the people of God, reaching out and discipling and celebrating and evaluating'.[36] Functioning partly as another consciousness-raising exercise, its aim was to involve local churches as thoroughly as possible in an

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34. *Challenge*, 44, 36 (19 September 1986), 3. The structure of these groups was supposed to be a ratio of some six enquirers to four existing church members so that the relationships which would form such bridges could be established. Juden, 'Mission Christchurch', 22.
35. *Challenge*, 44, 42 (31 October 1986), 1; 45, 6 (20 February 1987), 4; *Evening Post*, 4 March 1987, 31.
36. *Challenge*, 44, 36 (19 September 1986), 3.

integrated programme, by identifying local needs, reaching out in new ways into their communities, 'discipling' the converts and in the celebration of Christian worship.[37] It included study materials for small home group use on the topic of being 'the people of God', others on developing congregational effectiveness in personal evangelism, and a third workshop manual on the encouragement of individual and corporate prayer.

In missions, such programmes are often credited with having one of the major lasting effects in the churches, viz. providing a substantial body of laypeople who have some small amount of training in evangelistic activity and even some counselling skills. This would certainly appear to have been the case again in Wellington where 68% of the counsellors admitted that this was the first evangelistic mission in which they had ever been involved.[38] Attending the courses would have given them exposure also to many from other ecclesiastical backgrounds, assisting the process of interdenominational unity. At least one senior Christchurch church leader later observed that those congregations who involved themselves with the Reachout programme were the ones who gained most overall from the mission.[39]

The traditional desire for a mission to be thoroughly prepared for by the prayers of believers was expressed in a novel departure from the usual reliance on the devotion of the individual Christian.

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37. The programme had been developed in the early 1980s in Australia in association with the Billy Graham Evangelistic Association. It is described appreciatively in some detail in Juden, 'Mission Christchurch', Section D. Its publicised aims were: 'to present the claims of Jesus Christ to as many people as possible; to strengthen the fellowship, witness, and growth of local congregations; to encourage Christians to become more involved in serving the needs of people in the community. Ibid., Appendix A.
38. Pilkinton, 'And Heal Their Land', 14.
39. Juden, 'Mission Christchurch', 19.

Prayer was systematised into 'Operation Andrew', a programme named after one of the biblical apostles who several times brought others to meet Jesus.[40] Christians were asked to list on cards the names of, and pray for the conversion of, specific individuals known to them and then to do all they could to invite their targets to the meetings. The process thus included the cultivation of friendships with non-Christians and therefore elements of the 'lifestyle evangelism' approach were incorporated into the conduct of the more confrontational mass evangelism.

It was reported that in Christchurch no-one was converted through this programme, but 64% of the Wellington enquirers reported coming to the meetings because a Christian had brought them and this was seen as proof of the effectiveness of such methods there.[41] Operation Andrew would, however, also have had considerable value in raising the profile of the mission in the awareness of churchgoers and encouraging their own attendance, if only to see what happened to those for whom they prayed, and in giving them personal stake in the mission's outcome. Even those who could or would not become officially and visibly involved as a counsellor, choir member, or usher could participate and feel their contribution placed some weight in the spiritual balances. Prayer could be carried out in the privacy of one's own home and the capital of existing personal relationships could be drawn on to assist in the task of attracting within the evangelist's sphere of operation those non-Christians for whom the whole project was ostensibly conducted.

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40. The title was based on John 1.42, 'Andrew brought Simon to Jesus'. The programme was also employed in the Palau missions.
41. Pilkinton, 'And Heal Their Land', 18. Juden believed that the Christchurch situation was because Christchurch churches generally lacked real commitment to personal involvement in

Footnote 41 continued on next page

EVENTS OF THE MISSION

When Ford finally arrived, the Mission Christchurch mass meetings were held at the large Queen Elizabeth II stadium from Wednesday 25 February to Sunday 1 March.[42] The usual massed choir and orchestra provided the musical backing, while the Saturday afternoon was devoted to the 'Rainbow Special' children's programme and the Saturday night youth meeting concluded with a concert by the mission's musician, Kenny Marks. The topics for the meetings were all based around the theme of hope: 'Hope for an Age of Anxiety', 'Hope for Beginning Again', 'Hope for a Life Worth Living', 'Hope for the Young and Searching' and 'Hope for Love in a Hurting World'.

The Manawatu mission was held in Palmerston North at the Manawatu Sports Stadium, from Wednesday to Friday, 4 to 6 March. The meeting themes were the same, but the organisers expected only 4,000-5,000 as there were no weekend meetings.[43] In fact, some 12,500 attended the stadium meetings alone, the largest number being 6,000 for the Thursday night youth meeting, and about 200 decisions were recorded.[44] The Palmerston North mission had a choir of over

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Footnote 41 continued from previous page
evangelism, but he did not ask why then so many did support the mission in other ways. He also opined that Christians had become use to a never-ending stream of 'teachers' providing information and exhortation on all manner of topics and expected the same from Ford, rather than demands for personal action. Some commented, 'We went to be taught and were disappointed'. 'Mission Christchurch', 37-39.

42. Ford had an associate who oversaw final arrangements and assisted as master of ceremonies. Irv Chambers was not only vice-president of Leighton Ford Ministries and director of music for his campaigns, but a practising magician who used his skills as a preaching aid. *Press*, 20 February 1987, 5.
43. *Manawatu Evening Standard*, 2 March 1987, 5; *Challenge*, 45, 6 (20 February 1987), 4.
44. *Challenge*, 45, 9 (13 March 1987), 16.

Leighton Ford in Christchurch. (Both photographs courtesy of Mr Vic Francis, Challenge).

300 under the direction of a Salvation Army musician; the Christchurch and Wellington music being directed by Graham Pollock and Dr Guy Jansen respectively, both laymen involved with secondary school music education. After the main Thursday night meeting in Palmerston North there was a youth concert given by Kenny Marks, the vocalist travelling with Ford, and including local Christian bands. This was intended to appeal to the large student population in the city.[45]

The Mission to Wellington ran from Wednesday 11 to Sunday 15 March, the mass meetings being conducted at the Basin Reserve sports stadium. The topics were the same as used in Palmerston North with 'Hope for Beginning Again' and 'Hope for Love in a Hurting World' added as they had been in Christchurch. The youth meeting with Kenny Marks' concert was again held on the Saturday night and another 'Rainbow Special' was offered on the Saturday afternoon.[46] It proved difficult in Wellington to recruit the desired 500-voice choir and what was labelled a 'pyramid selling' technique had to be employed, with existing members and representatives actively seeking new reinforcements, rather than the organisation simply relying on advertising. Still, Pilkinton wondered about the value of retaining the use of large choral groups in the modern cultural climate.[47]

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45. *Challenge*, 45, 6 (20 February 1987), 4. Marks was a first-generation American of Yugoslav descent, based in Nashville. A behavioural science graduate of Messiah College, he had operated as a singer of Christian music in Billy Graham missions and had several recordings to his credit. Juden, 'Mission Christchurch', 14, Appendix K. All reports indicate that Marks was successful in facilitating the appeals to young people in much the same way as the earlier evangelists had used their more sedate soloists. The after-meeting concerts he gave also included appeals. Ibid., 30-32.
46. *Evening Post*, 9 March 1987, 31.
47. Pilkinton, 'And Heal Their Land', 17.

In Wellington, another foreigner also assisted on the final night of the mission, Barry Goode, an Adelaide pastor and ex-prisoner who was engaged to carry some of the mission's effects further afield within central New Zealand.[48] This twelve-day, eight-centre tour yielded 270 further enquirers, sixty as new Christians. although the 'one night stand' arrangement was later felt to be relatively inefficient.[49]

The format of the mass meetings had altered little from Graham's pattern. They were described by the supportive *Challenge* paper as 'familiar' and Ford's style as 'conservative'. The Christchurch meetings, for example, were comprised of choir then congregational singing, musical items and notices. Ford's thirty to forty-minute sermon, then an appeal accompanied by the singing of 'Just As I Am'.[50]

The children's programme for both the Leighton Ford missions in Christchurch and Wellington, and also for the later Palau missions, was developed by the Scripture Union organisation and named 'Rainbow Special'. A small team drawn from the Scripture Union, 'Youth For Christ' and 'Youth With A Mission' bodies used music and a variety of dramatic techniques to retell the story of Noah. The point was to provide Ford with the opportunity to introduce Jesus to the children as their 'friend' with whom they could have a special relationship.[51] The attempt to make child converts was a potentially sensitive issue, but the organisers did try to avoid

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48. *Challenge*, 45, 6 (20 February 1987), 3. He worked full-time in prison ministries and had his own regular radio and television broadcasts. His visit was assisted by the New Zealand Prison Fellowship for Christian ministry in prisons and he also spoke in several lower North Island penal institutions.
49. Pilkinton, 'And Heal Their Land', 23.
50. *Challenge*, 45, 8 (6 March 1987), 3.
51. Ibid.

exerting undue pressure. The children were told that if they wanted Jesus to be their friend they could either fill in a form which would be dealt with later, or, if an adult present with them consented, they could be permitted to talk with a specially-trained counsellor.[52]

Each centre ran a number of events additional to the mass stadium meetings. In Christchurch, in earlier months, two prayer seminars had been arranged for women. During the mission, a luncheon for women was held at the New Life Centre in Majestic House, seating 1,000 people, at which ninety-two made some form of response, fifty-one for conversion.[53]

In Palmerston North, Ford had several meetings additional to the large evenings' occasions. They included lunchtime visits to Massey University and a freezing works, and a meeting for women at the Salvation Army Citadel.[54] The university meeting had to compete with a nearby heavy rock band, but the women's meeting overflowed its auditorium and 200 had to watch on closed-circuit television.[55]

As well as speaking in the Basin Reserve meetings in Wellington, Ford addressed senior citizens at the Lower Hutt Horticultural Hall, students at the Victoria University of Wellington, and a combined Sunday morning service in Upper Hutt in favour of which most local

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52. Ibid. In Christchurch, 60 children aged 11 and under made some form of commitment and this was communicated to the churches with which they already had some contact. Juden, 'Mission Christchurch', 25-26. In Wellington, 106 children gave their names and these were passed on to local churches or Sunday Schools. Pilkinton, 'And Heal Their Land', 12.
53. Juden, 'Mission Christchurch', 26-29. The Women's Committee aimed to motivate women to support the mission, to pray for the unsaved and to attempt to use the mission as a vehicle to reach such people. They appeared to have no further ambition or involvement.
54. *Challenge*, 45, 6 (20 February 1987), 4.
55. *Challenge*, 45, 9 (13 March 1987), 16.

churches cancelled their own services.[56] At the student meeting there were about forty protestors criticising especially the invitation to Ford being part of the orientation programme at the commencement of the academic year. In their opinion, he contravened the local students' association policy against heterosexism (discrimination by heterosexuals against those of differing sexual orientation), the Lesbian Rights Officer stating, 'We are objecting to the fact that he calls gays and lesbians sinners'.[57] Such action must have been anticipated by campus mission supporters as some of the 1,000-strong crowd, in a reversal of the usual course of events, threw eggs at the protestors.

The mission organisers considered that Ford was actually at his best in these smaller functions and certainly the results indicated a proportionally greater level of success there. Sixteen per cent of those who attended the Wellington luncheons and breakfast said they had either become Christians as a result or at least wished for further help, compared with only a 2% response rate in the mass meetings.[58] Pilkinton could even put a brave face on the Victoria University meeting, claiming that the activists had alienated many and that 'the Gospel was demonstrated, if not actually heard'.[59]

Along with 'Pied Piper', singer Kenny Marks, the other two young members of the Leighton Ford Ministries group, Graham Johnston and Steve Haas, visited secondary schools both to preach and to encourage students to attend the mission's youth night. Their

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56. *Evening Post*, 4 March 1987, 31; *Challenge*, 45, 9 (13 March 1987), 16. At the church service, 1,600 attended and 55 made some sort of response to the altar call. There were also a breakfast meeting at Parliament, business and church luncheons and a broadcast service. *Evening Post*, 9 March 1987, 2.
57. Ibid.
58. Pilkinton, 'And Heal Their Land', 13.
59. Ibid., 20.

invitations were successful as the 8,500 attendance was the largest meeting of the entire campaign.[60] There was also a team of up to fifty young adults, many associated with Youth For Christ and Open Air Campaigners, conducting associated street drama around shopping malls for two months before the mission. Apart from the usual rationale for such activity, it was seen as beneficial in stimulating general community religious consciousness, 'to raise significant questions about life and God'.[61]

In Christchurch a special effort was also made to attract youth as the Youth Committee organised a coffee bar after the meetings. Run by a different denomination each night, it was intended simply to provide somewhere for young people to congregate, serving coffee and food, but also to act as a 'second net', giving opportunity for further discussion with those challenged by the evangelist but who had not responded to the altar call.[62]

The mission organisers seemed to face interminable problems in their desire to publicise and stimulate interest in the mission. Particularly, finance and apathy were key areas of concern - how to affordably make the events attractive and memorable well in advance, but not so often or in such ordinary fashion that people would feel they had already seen everything or would simply ignore the advertising. These worries were exemplified in their quandary over the production and dissemination of the thirteen issues of the 'Mission News'. At fifty cents per posted copy and thousands of copies produced, they wished to avoid wastage. 'How to rescue Christian information from the fate of secular junk mail is a

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60. *Zealandia*, 55, 13 (5 April 1987), 5; Pilkinton, 'And Heal Their Land', 21-22.
61. Pilkinton, 'And Heal Their Land', 19-20.
62. *Challenge*, 45, 8 (6 March 1987), 4.

serious and growing problem. But what alternative is there?'[63] There was also not nearly the same level of interest from the news media in mass evangelism as there had been for any of the previous missions. Secular newspapers seldom accorded front pages, substantial headlines or even extensive coverage to the missions; radio did provide brief news items and some interviews; but no television coverage was forthcoming at all, despite direct requests from the mission.[64]

During the period of the Mission to Wellington, Ford also had to compete for publicity with a much more dramatic Act of God, a major earthquake centred near the Bay of Plenty towns of Edgecumbe and Kawerau. Much visually impressive damage was done and the front pages of New Zealand newspapers were occupied with reporting on it for days. There was no need for a collection in the Wellington meetings, but one was taken on the final night to make a contribution to the Mayor of Wellington's appeal for funds for the earthquake victims.[65]

The Ford mission organisers were conscious at all times of the event's public image. The Wellington committee became legally

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63. Ibid., 8-9.
64. Pilkinton observed that all Television New Zealand reported was a brief mention of the launching rally and a false claim that the mission's mistreatment of the Basin Reserve turf was such as to cause the cancellation of a one-day cricket match. Ibid. The present writer has attempted to contact North Island newspapers regarding this situation but received either no reply or no assistance, except for the Napier *Daily Telegraph's* editor's comment that 'in general terms I have no particular policy regarding mass evangelists except that since they provide an "event" in the community that must be reported as a matter of record.... it really comes down to the readers of the newspaper to decide what, if any, merit there is in attending or accepting or rejecting the message being handed out. Such is the role of the press.' K.R. Hawker to the author, 7 March 1989.
65. *Evening Post*, 9 March 1987, 2. The collection raised was claimed to be $6,660 (*Challenge*, 45, 10 (20 March 1987), 1), but the official figure was 'over $5,000. Pilkinton, 'And Heal Their Land', 16.

incorporated partly to 'give the Mission greater public credibility'. The coordinator considered in retrospect that accommodating the team in a top hotel was a mistake, since it was out of keeping with the rest of their budgeting and left them vulnerable to public criticisms of extravagance.[66]

Sensitive also to charges of emotional manipulation and the transience of crusade conversions, the Christchurch organisers stressed the length of planning that had been invested in the campaign and that the following operation was specifically 'mounted to combat the possibility of people reneging after being drawn to the Christian faith on an emotional "high".'[67]

Similarly in Wellington, Ford was introduced with the headline, 'No Tub-thumping Image for Crusader', and newspaper readers were reminded of his preaching there as part of the Billy Graham team, of his 'impressing with his reasoned, persuasive message - the very opposite of the popular image of the tub-thumping crusader'.[68] The Anglican bishop of Montreal was cited as being 'delightfully surprised' that any American evangelist could be so restrained and was quoted as saying, 'No pressure is involved - no attempt to play on the emotions'.[69] Pilkinton, as Wellington coordinator, even had reservations about the 'sword waving' connotations of the term 'crusade', hesitating still more because 'It also gives a picture of the sawdust trail and tents - an association with a particular kind of American Christianity'.[70] The term 'mission' was substituted for 'crusade' in the event's very title in an attempt to overcome such objections and to convey better the aim of long-term action

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66. Pilkinton, 'And Heal Their Land', 11-12.
67. *Christchurch Star*, 25 February 1987, 36.
68. *Evening Post*, 4 March 1987, 31.
69. Ibid.
70. Ibid.

stimulating local churches to ongoing evangelism, rather than centring on a single event.[71]

Reflecting the times, the organisers of these missions were more culturally sensitive, in intention if not so much practice, than had been the case in the past. Repeatedly, the Wellington organisers found that New Zealand churches were not interested even in principle in 'a North American package deal'. They had to alter and redefine materials and approaches to reduce and reapply the North American emphasis, even to the types of portfolios allocated to committee members. Eddie Gibbs was particularly appreciated as a Briton with recent British experience. He was, therefore, seen as having communicated with and trained aspiring New Zealand group leaders more effectively than would have been the case with an American.[72]

The mission committees were aware that there had to be a meaningful contribution from and involvement of other cultures. In Christchurch, there was debate and a willingness in principle for this to happen, but seemingly only a little supportive action. Presbyterian minister, the Rev. Aotofaga Lemuelu, was appointed multicultural advisor to the mission. Maori and Pacific Island welcomes and participation were included in the opening meeting.[73] Ford addressed 300 Pacific Islanders at St Paul's Trinity Pacific Presbyterian Church.[74] One Maori man served on the Youth Committee, Ford received a Maori welcome on his arrival at the airport, and Maori men led in prayers of invocation in two of the

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71. Pilkinton, 'And Heal Their Land', 4.
72. Ibid., 5-6, 8.
73. Christian Recording Centre, 'Mission Christchurch Edited Highlights' (Videotape, P.O. Box 5181, Christchurch, n.d.).
74. Ford encouraged them to act as missionaries, as the 'finger of God', since it was the age of 'the indigenous missionary'. *New Zealand Baptist*, 103, 3 (April 1987), 3.

large meetings.[75] There seemed little else attempted; neither Maori nor Pacific Islanders gained any representation on the Mission Committee and the only women included at that level of direction were the two in charge of the Women and Prayer Committees.[76] Even the mission coordinator, having asked the question, sidestepped the issue and could not completely clear the organisation of 'tokenism' in its grappling with the issues involved. In his report, the topic of women's representation was never even discussed, it presumably being assumed without question that their having their own committee and some of their own meetings was an adequate degree of participation.[77]

Despite their stated awareness of the need to be as inclusive as possible, the Mission Wellington Committee was also very European and male. It had a mere three women among its twenty-eight members, and only one of these chaired a formal sub-committee - that responsible for 'Ladies'. As with its Christchurch counterpart, this Ladies' Committee itself seemed largely to exist merely to reinforce general mission publicity and provide a Women's Luncheon meeting during the mission rather than to provide any distinctively female contribution to the overall mission design or practice. Nor was it seen as necessary to include specific representation at all on the central committee for Maori or Pacific Islanders, although the Very Rev. Kenape Faletoese did serve as a member without portfolio and the Ven. Hapai Winiata was on the Board of Reference.[78] In his final report, coordinator Ross Pilkinton also

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75. Juden, 'Mission Christchurch', 32-35.
76. Ibid., Appendix C.
77. Ibid., 34. He did advance, without further comment, the suggestions that local Maori leaders already had heavy demands placed on their time and availability, and that the mission was primarily an 'evangelistic' rather than a 'cultural' occasion, implying that such issues therefore became largely irrelevant.
78. Pilkinton, 'And Heal Their Land', 8, Appendix 1.

observed that there had been initial difficulty in recruiting Maori and Pacific Island counsellors and nurture group leaders, at least in part because of the poor quality, obtuseness and verbosity of some of the training materials. When a special and more sensitive effort was made, thirty-five non-European counsellors were trained and proved invaluable in coping with the 'significant numbers of non-European enquirers'.[79]

In keeping with the heightened social awareness and sense of responsibility felt by many evangelicals in the late twentieth century, the 'Hope in Action' theme was prominent in Ford's mission, especially in Christchurch. The Christchurch mission coordinator, the Rev. Graham Juden, stressed that social action by Christians was one of the Mission's three major aims. Regarding those attending who may have had social, as distinct from religious, problems, he affirmed, 'It's one thing to give these people spiritual encouragement. But they need practical help, too. If they don't get it, all our preaching is just so much hot air.'[80]

Attenders were given the opportunity to contribute practically towards the underprivileged of the city as bins were provided in which they were encouraged to leave dried or canned foods for distribution by the St Vincent de Paul Society, the Salvation Army or Anglican City Mission.[81] In addition to the 500 counsellors prepared to assist spiritually with enquirers resulting from the evangelist's preaching, in a 'holistic' approach to people's needs, a qualified team of twenty specialist counsellors were also on hand at the meetings to advise or refer on those who sought help for physical or psychological problems, drug addiction or unemployment

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79. Ibid., 6. No detailed figures were given.
80. *New Zealand Baptist*, 103, 1 (February 1987), 7.
81. *Press*, 26 February 1987, 1; *Challenge*, 45, 8 (6 March 1987), 4.

counselling.[82] The Wellington equivalent prepared seventy counsellors, and seventy cases were dealt with, falling into three broad categories: marriage difficulties, 'social or moral problems' such as alcoholism, prostitution and homosexuality, and those habitually seeking agency assistance. The committee were disappointed in how few did use the service provided.[83]

Ford was, however, personally cautious in moving beyond such expressions of concern to identifying openly with specific political causes. He was quoted as saying that 'It's dangerous to link Jesus with a political party'.[84] This was not because politics should be avoided by the Christian so much as because the breadth of application of the Christian perspective should preclude such narrow limits. 'The Gospel of Christ should cover the whole of life' and therefore there would be a danger in over-specialisation. He ambiguously gave the American Civil Rights Movement as an example of such imbalance, presumably implying, but not making clear, that in it religion had become too closely identified with a specific political agenda. He seemed, therefore, not to be prepared to move too far from the traditional evangelical claim to stand apart from politics, especially when they were radical in some way - unlike much of modern theology, which has openly espoused and advanced many movements for sweeping social change.

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82. *Press*, 20 February 1987, 5; *Challenge*, 45, 8 (6 March 1987), 4. This team dealt with twenty-one people, thirteen women and eight men, with problems ranging from incest to drug dependence, and, of these, nine were referred to medical or social service agencies. G.W. Beale and D. McEvedy, 'Hope-In-Action Report', n.d., Hope-In-Action Committee File, Mission Christchurch Office, 332 Cashel Street, Christchurch.
83. Pilkinton, 'And Heal Their Land', 16.
84. *Crosslink*, 1, 2 (April 1987), 4.

THE MESSAGES OF THE MISSION

As with the other missions there were more messages conveyed by Leighton Ford than a simple call for souls to be saved. Much of these additional emphases were communicated by actions, rather than words. For example, Ford's interest in social concerns was exemplified in the counselling and charitable opportunities provided at the meetings. Apart from whatever direct benefits they conferred on recipients, their very existence signalled a new emphasis in the type of Christianity being offered by the evangelist and had value in raising the social consciousness of the meeting participants. Ford also emphasised evangelism as an ongoing process in the churches, and again his actions with his apprentices underlined his spoken words. Subordination to the example and authority of Scripture and an individual's relationship with Christ were retained as foundational, but not in a doctrinaire way, and the offer of hope, based on the nature of God was central to his message.

Ford had explained his commitment to evangelism as resulting from a challenge given once by a preacher: `"If a man has a soul, and he has, and if that soul can be won or lost for eternity, and it can, then the most important thing in the world is to bring a man to Jesus Christ". Did I really believe he was right?'[85] Presumably having answered 'yes', Ford then argued that the need for committed Christian evangelism was urgent. He gave four negative reasons, each the counter to some other perceived problem, to oppose: the spread of implicit universalism; the assumption that one who belongs to an ecclesiastical organisation is, by virtue of the fact, right

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85. Leighton Ford, 'Urgent!', *Reaper*, 47, 10 (December 1967), 389.

with God; an overemphasis upon God's sovereignty which becomes fatalistic inaction; and, alternatively, human effort which ignores God. From this basis, he concluded that mere method is insufficient, one must somehow be galvanised into determined commitment. 'Before evangelism is a programme, it is a passion - a passion of the heart which issues in saving action.'[86] The passion and the need coalesce to result in urgent, compelling delivery. Quoting missionary Samuel Zwemer, he derived an equation: '"Evangelism is a collision of souls. We may measure its effect by an equation: mv = i or mass x velocity = impact." If we let *mass* stand for the truth of the gospel, then the *impact* of our gospel on the world will be in direct proportion to the *velocity* - the *urgency* - with which it is delivered.'[87]

Ford made it clear that he would not give ground on the uniqueness of Christianity as the only completely full and sufficient means of access to God. But an image he used suggested that he did regard other religions as having at least a dim, though inadequate, perception of the true spiritual enlightenment to be found fully in Christianity alone. His picture was of a rope which had been let down from heaven, but which had become unravelled at one end. Each person grasped at an individual thread believing it gave them access to heaven.[88] None of these threads would bear a person's weight; the rope itself had to be grasped.

An incident during the Mission Christchurch planning gave some further insight into Ford's comprehension of soteriology and the dynamics of the conversion process. Coordinator Graham Juden wrote to Gibbs and Ford about the formula to be used when the appeal was

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86. Ibid.
87. Ibid.
88. *Press*, 24 February 1987, 3.

given. An influential visiting English Charismatic Baptist leader, the Rev. David Pawson, had argued that to 'receive Christ' was unscriptural and people should instead be asked only 'to repent towards God, believe on the Lord Jesus, and receive the Holy Spirit'.[89] Gibbs replied that he agreed in principle with Pawson, but believed that some flexibility was necessary as 'at the point of an individual's commitment the motivation for the decision will vary with each person'.[90]

Ford also agreed that Pawson's formula was biblical, but not all-encompassing. He believed that it was also quite proper to ask people to receive Christ, following Matthew 10.40 and John 1.12.[91] Further, he refused to be bound to any one formula exclusively, and claimed that employment of such variation also had biblical warrant. 'What I do find difficult is the suggestion that there is only one form of words which must always be used in giving the invitation to Christ. Surely Scripture is much more richer [sic], more varied than this; even in the ministry of our Lord He sometimes spoke of "receiving the Word", or "Come unto Me".' Ford himself used various formulations, 'always seeking to emphasize the need of repentance, of faith, and a subsequent commitment to Christ as Lord, and not infrequently mentioning receiving the Holy Spirit'.[92]

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89. G. Juden to E. Gibbs, 16 June 1986. Letter in Christian Witness and Followup Committee File I, Mission Christchurch Office, 332 Cashel Street, Christchurch.
90. E. Gibbs to G. Juden, 27 June 1986. Letter in Christian Witness and Followup Committee File I, Mission Christchurch Office, 332 Cashel Street, Christchurch.
91. L. Ford to G. Juden, 11 July 1986. Letter in Christian Witness and Followup Committee File I, Mission Christchurch Office, 332 Cashel Street, Christchurch. Matthew 10.40 is 'He who receives you receives me, and he who receives me receives the one who sent me'. John 1.12 reads, 'Yet to all who received him, to those who believed in his name, he gave the right to become children of God....'
92. Ibid.

This discussion illustrated Ford's constant intention to remain under scriptural authority, taking the Bible as the paradigm for every action, where possible. Although he rebelled from Pawson's restrictive views, he still would not move beyond biblical formulations and phraseology. His attitude was irenically evangelical, holding to the Bible's centrality in all such matters, but rejecting rigidly fundamentalistic line-drawing where none was necessary except to conform to artificial defence of supposed orthodoxy. The simple appreciation of the Bible as being 'rich' and 'varied' signalled one who was unlikely to insist on overmuch theological hairsplitting.[93]

Ford's statement indicated that what he believed crucial was the commitment to Christ as Lord, and that the actual framing of this, providing it fell within some form of existing biblical conceptual or phraseological pattern, was of little consequence. He did not see it as necessary to delineate precisely whether one received Jesus, came to him, believed in or on him, or used some other expression, provided that the commitment was made and that it was made in a context of awareness of the need for human repentance and faith towards God. Such a position reflected the difference between the attitudes of moderate evangelicals and those who would tend towards a fundamentalist narrow rigidity. It also reflected the mass evangelist's concern for a non-specific approach, retaining awareness of the widely varied backgrounds from which an audience would be drawn, minimising the theological jargon through which an unchurched listener would have to wade.

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93. In the same letter, he gave an example of a man being converted not by Billy Graham's appeal, but by the evangelist's reading of an obscure Old Testament verse mentioning 'a pelican in the wilderness', which the man felt described his personal loneliness. Ford asked, 'Who could have expected such a verse

Footnote 93 continued on next page

Ford was thus shown to be aware of the criticisms possible of American-oriented mass evangelistic theology and methodology. He argued, though, that his own ministry offered real spiritual benefits, rather than empty emotionalism and exploitation which left no lasting constructive effects. 'I realise that people look on evangelism, especially from the United States, as being commercial and full of hype. But I don't want them to be like this. This mission is a celebration of hope; a way for individuals to find hope.... Like the celebration of marriage , the missions must lead on to something else.'[94]

The central theme of Ford's mission in New Zealand was that offer of hope. The underlying assumption of his message was that the world was a place of doubt, stress, anxiety and difficulty. The answer Ford offered was that hope for the solution of all these problems was to be found in one way or another in Jesus Christ. He presented the offer in terms of the person of Christ rather than the Christian religion because he recognised that 'Christianity was a "culturally loaded term".'[95] Consequently, his aim was not to emphasise doctrinal issues, issues of belief as such, but to develop people's personal relationships with the Son of God. He sought to make people acquainted with the person of Christ who transcended such difficulties: 'I want to bring Christ rather than Christianity to people'.[96] This relationship would then enable individuals' personal spiritual development such that the mission's effects would not be merely transitory, but would be reflected in the continuing

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Footnote 93 continued from previous page
to convict and convert? Who could deny that God does it?' Ibid.

94. *Press*, 24 February 1987, 3.
95. Ibid.
96. Ibid.

alteration in those lives. 'I'm sure that there are ongoing results reflected in changed lives; lives which have been touched and changed by Christ'.'[97]

Repeatedly, Ford stressed the intention to bring his hearers into a very personal relationship with God (not necessarily Jesus). His definition of evangelism was even couched in such terms: 'Evangelism is not propaganda. It is not hammering people but making friends for God.'[98] God's people would be the tangible expression of the divine favour. 'We want to be their friend. God loves them.'[99] This perspective was particularly clear in the 'Rainbow Special' description of Jesus as one's 'special friend'.

The context in which the hope was offered was not, though, limited to dealing with individual crises, but included issues with global implications. Ford identified a 'tremendous anxiety' worldwide concerning 'the world situation, the nuclear threat, unemployment and economic problems'.[100] A report by Mr Justice Roper on violent crime had been recently released at the time of the mission and there was turmoil and uncertainty in the country being generated or exascerbated by the economic, administrative and social innovations of the Fourth Labour Government.[101] Ford was able also to work concern for such problems into his message. He felt the mission was timely as 'society was experiencing economic and social problems and personal struggle'.[102] These problems were caused in part, he believed, by a lack of spiritual awareness and hope within the community, which led to violent and anti-social behaviour.

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97. Ibid.
98. *Christchurch Star*, 25 February 1987, 36.
99. Ibid.
100. *Manawatu Evening Standard*, 5 March 1987, 2.
101. See above, 104.
102. *Evening Post*, 9 March 1987, 2.

His definition of the hope he offered was grounded in an element of faith in a benevolent deity surpassing, perhaps overlooking, visible evidence available, '... that hope is a positive experience which goes beyond the facts, because there is a god [sic] who loves us'.[103] The hope was not merely a careless lack of concern for or disregarding of life's difficulties, but a certainty that that divine benevolence was willing and able to make a tangible positive contribution to their solution on both the global and individual levels. Therefore, the actions of Christians, operating as God's agents, were significant and effective. He believed that 'God has given us the power to change the world as well as provide hope in our own lives'.[104]

Ford had some forthright practical advice for those who wished to become Christians. After the mission, they should seek out a suitable church to join. Once again, the mass evangelist avoided endorsement of any specific denomination, even his own. In keeping with Graham's policy in such matters, Ford's guidance was no more specific than broadly evangelical ideals, a centring on Christ and the Bible, adding what would probably be the crucial factor influencing their long-term acceptance of Christianity, supportive fellow-believers. They should select a church 'where Jesus Christ was the central figure, where the teaching of the Bible was uncomplicated, and where there was a warmth of fellowship and a sense of belonging. But they should not look for a perfect church because there is no such thing - just as there are no perfect people.'[105] It was unclear whether the reference to the 'uncomplicated' teaching of the Bible reflected a pastoral concern

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103. *Manawatu Evening Standard*, 5 March 1987, 2.
104. *Evening Post*, 9 March 1987, 2.
105. *Manawatu Evening Standard*, 5 March 1987, 2.

for new converts whose lack of understanding necessitated simple instruction in the basics of the faith, or whether 'uncomplicated' was a euphemism for conservative and evangelical interpretation in distinction from that affected by the relativism and nuances of more liberal expositors.

RESULTS AND EVALUATION OF THE MISSION

The Christchurch organisers were reported as predicting attendances of 6,000 for each of the first three nights and 11,000 for Saturday and Sunday.[106] In the event, there were about 4,000 to the earlier meetings, the largest attendance of about 6,000 on the final night giving a total of at least 20,000.[107] These attendances yielded some 551 [2.8%] commitments, while in the Manawatu 12,000 came and 250 [2.1%] responded.[108]

Up to 39,000 people attended Ford's 'Mission Wellington' and over 1,100 came to 'respond publicly in commitment to Christ'.[109] The overall Wellington response rate was, therefore, some 2.9%. The large Basin Reserve meetings yielded only a 2% rate, but the smaller Upper Hutt Rally doubled that at 4% (although only 52 enquirers out of 1,300 attenders), Goode's community rallies gave 5.6% and the

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106. *Press*, 26 February 1987, 1.
107. *Press*, 2 March 1987, 8. The *Star* predicted slightly fewer and estimated attendance more generously with 7,000 on the last night and a 25,000 total. *Christchurch Star*, 2 March 1987, 2. The official estimate was 21,055 in total. Juden, 'Mission Christchurch', 64.
108. Juden, 'Mission Christchurch', 64. *Crosslink*, 1, 2 (April 1987), 4.
109. The official Wellington figures were 38,954 attenders and 1,111 enquirers. Pilkinton, 'And Heal Their Land', 25. Throughout, his report gives a detailed quantitative analysis

Footnote 109 continued on next page

luncheons and breakfasts returned 16.2%. This did not suggest to Pilkinton that the mass meeting was inefficient and/or inappropriate in a modern setting, but rather that there should have been additional emphasis on the smaller gatherings.[110] Of the enquiries at the major meetings, 54% were for 'Salvation', i.e. new conversions, 34% were 'Rededication' of those needing spiritual renewal and 10% were seeking 'Assurance of Salvation'. With regard to age, 80% were under 30 and 40% attended Intermediate or Secondary School. The denominational affiliations of enquirers were diverse, 19% being Anglican, 14% Baptist, 12% Catholic, 11% Presbyterian, the total going to all Pentecostal churches was 14% and 12% had no previous church affiliation. The pattern revealed was a mixture of the relative total sizes of denominations and the degree to which specific groups supported the mission, but the high showing of the Catholics was unexpected, while the Brethren received a mere 4%.[111] Thus, the churches' quantifiable returns from the mission were not necessarily at all proportional to their level of support and involvement.

Of those who were enquirers in Wellington, 75% already attended a church and only 16% were totally unchurched (of these one third still were not attending any church when questioned later), raising the question of the validity of the whole enterprise as true evangelism of those outside the Christian Church. This was reinforced by the further finding that 64% of enquirers had been brought by another Christian and only 15% attended having been drawn by the advertising. Wellington coordinator Ross Pilkinton thought

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Footnote 109 continued from previous page
of the Wellington mission not available for any other campaign, even in Juden's work on Mission Christchurch.

110. Ibid.

111. Ibid., 26-27.

that the expectation that mass evangelism should reach outside the churches was, in fact, mistaken. Rather, its true value was that it `"clinches the deal" for many on the fringes of the church'.[112] The importance of the Operation Andrew personal invitation programme was reflected, too, in the bringing and counselling of Christians' personal acquaintances. However, this again demonstrated the attractiveness not of mass evangelism as such but of individual relationships and the importance of already being in some way part of a Christian community.

In financial terms, the Leighton Ford missions were very successful. The initial Christchurch budget was for $111,000, but this rose to about $140,000, although Ford's salary was paid by his own evangelistic association. In the event, the mission's costs were covered by donations and sponsorships from churches, businesses and individuals, so no collections were necessary, apart from one taken in the final meeting to contribute towards the costs of Ford and his team.[113] Speaking for the organising committee, Mission Secretary Newton Dodge thought that the money had been well spent relative to other ways in which a similar amount could have been disposed of. `Line up $140,000, the cost of a new Mercedes, against bringing 550 people into the Christian family.'[114] Palmerston North, too, covered its expenses and in Wellington the $125,000 budget was also met by churches and individuals, with no need for a public collection.[115] Ford later commented that only six times in

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112. Ibid., 28.
113. *Press*, 26 February 1987, 1. This final collection alone raised $20,000. *Christchurch Star*, 2 March 1987, 2.
114. *Christchurch Star*, 2 March 1987, 2. He also noted that only about half of the money needed had been gathered a fortnight before the mission, but the remainder had been forthcoming by the opening night. *Challenge*, 45, 6 (6 March 1987), 4.
115. *Evening Post*, 4 March 1987, 31.

his entire ministry had the money been completely raised to cover expenses before the beginning of a mission. Once was in Britain, two were in Canada and all the other three were the current New Zealand missions.[116] The raw calculation of expenses in the capital city put the cost for each person attending at up to $4.18, or $146.39 for each enquirer, or $322 per first time commitment. Given that one overseas computation apparently estimated that in the U.S.A. it took six clergy and 1,000 laypeople one year to make one convert, Pilkinton observed, 'it makes the Mission look like a good investment!'[117]

In attempts to avoid the charge that mass evangelism's converts did not 'stick', strenuous efforts were made by the missions to avert the possibility of these enquirers being lost through neglect after the meetings. Christchurch converts were to be contacted five times within two weeks of the mission. The first contact was a letter, posted on the night when they made their decision, which would arrive in the next day's mail. This letter was from the Rt Rev. Maxwell Wiggins, formerly Anglican Bishop of Tanzania and now chairman of the Christian Witness and Followup Committee, confirmimg the decision and encouraging the person to become linked with a local church and to begin to study the Bible. Within the next forty-eight hours, the counsellor who originally dealt with the person made another contact. Then two further approaches were made, by the local minister and then by a nurture group leader, and after twelve days a second letter over Bishop Wiggins' signature was mailed. This was all made possible by the use of a computerised

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116. *Challenge*, 45, 10 (20 March 1987), 1.
117. Pilkinton, 'And Heal Their Land', 30.

system for collating and distributing the enquirers' information gleaned from the decision cards.[118]

In Wellington, after the mission, 25% of the enquirers were definitely attending the nurture groups and 25% were not.[119] However only 3% of counsellors there failed to make later contact with their enquirer, most contacted them at least a couple of times, and 22% made a personal visit.[120] Further, all enquirers of high school age also had their names passed on to the local Inter-School Christian Fellowship group or Youth For Christ organisation and would also have been pursued through those channels.

This low proportion of Wellington enquirers who subsequently attended nurture groups, and the fact that less than one half of the counsellors trained actually did counsel someone, may have disappointed some who were keen to be involved and play their part.[121] But since about half of the enquirers were still of school age and would therefore be unlikely to attend adult nurture groups, the problem was more one of inadequate planning for the types of results attained. In addition, there was the intangible benefit of having acquired in the churches a pool of people trained to some extent in evangelistic counselling and small group leadership, people who might also have been enthused by their mission participation and therefore both willing and to some degree able to play active roles in further strengthening their own churches.

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118. *Challenge*, 45, 8 (6 March 1987), 3. In Wellington, those who responded at the meetings were given a copy of the Gospel according to Luke, a letter from Ford and a pack of literature designed to introduce new Christians to the basics of Christian belief and living. *Evening Post*, 12 March 1987, 12.
119. A flaw in the questionnaire used prevented greater accuracy. Pilkinton, 'And Heal Their Land', 14.
120. Ibid.
121. Ibid., 28-29.

Two years after the Ford and Palau missions, *Challenge*, which had put so much effort into supporting them, attempted an assessment of their effectiveness. The paper's conclusion was that, at best, the results were mixed.

> Mission to New Zealand will go down in history as a time when hundreds of lives were changed, when an unprecedented number of churches tossed aside differences and focused on one aim, and when Christians were prepared as never before to practically serve God in evangelism.
> That's the good news.
> The not-so-good news is that the Mission to New Zealand meetings never really took off as had been hoped for, that Leighton Ford and Luis Palau spent much of their time preaching to the converted, and that the much-heralded aim of letting every New Zealander hear the voice of God was not fulfilled.[122]

The chairman of the Christchurch mission, the Rt Rev. Maurice Goodall, was convinced that regardless of the mission's outcome in terms of new converts, it was immensely valuable in bringing together many churches who would have had little contact otherwise. Even before the main meetings were held, it was 'doing more to bring Christchurch churches together than anything else in the last 25 years'.[123] He believed its particular value was in the links it made between lay people from within congregations, rather than the restriction to church hierarchies which had been common in the ecumenical movement. 'Now we are learning that the things we share and have to offer the community are far greater than the things that divide us.... The range of people working together has gone well beyond the circle of churches which normally co-operate in even major ventures.'[124]

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122. *Challenge*, 47, 12 (6 April 1989), 1. The paper's editor, Vic Francis, confirmed that hundreds of lives had been changed (a total of nearly 10,000 reported commitments of various sorts), churches had united and many Christians had received basic counselling, small group leadership or other training. The reported comments by many church leaders associated with the missions echoed this.
123. *Challenge*, 45, 3 (30 January 1987), 1.
124. Ibid. His sentiments were echoed by the mission coordinator. Juden, 'Mission Christchurch', 59-61.

Ford himself stressed that the large meetings were not the end but the beginning of the mission and that New Zealand churches had a divinely-given responsibility for their own evangelistic activity. He told the final night's audience in Wellington that 'New Zealand is in a mission situation from here on.... New Zealand has been given a task by God, to evangelise New Zealand.'[125] He went on to say that this was a priority which came before missionary work overseas, which was the primary task of those who lived there. Such evangelism would also not come easily. 'There will be a cost and there will be a price.'[126] He explained that this kind of mission properly came about through the changed lives of individuals and churches working together in cooperation.

The Wellington coordinator, Ross Pilkinton, believed that these changes had been begun and the momentum built up for that ongoing work. He reaffirmed the value of exercising a variety of evangelistic ministries, but quoted American writer Howard Snyder in saying that there also needs to be within the Christian Church a time for operating in as large a group as possible, instead of only in a scattering of disparate congregations. A time when the believers 'know they are part of a people, a movement! Something is happening, something big, something God-sized. They have seen it and felt it.'[127] Pilkinton rejoiced in the creation in the Ford mission of that community feeling amongst Christians. 'But on that last Sunday night as Kenny Marks sang "Friends", and the choir sang "Ah. There's the celebration" did we not sense something of our peoplehood, our Kingdom dimension, our unity together in the Spirit

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125. *Zealandia*, 55, 13 (5 April 1987), 5.
126. Ibid.
127. Howard Snyder, *The Problem of Wineskins* (Downers Grove, 1974), 108. Quoted in Pilkinton, 'And Heal Their Land', 32.

together with the Lord Jesus? And the Lord must have smiled on that unity....'[128]

Pilkinton further pointed to two differences from the 1959 Billy Graham crusade which he felt were significant.[129] One was the social action emphasis, 'so. our Hope-In-Action programme, for all its deficiencies, was an attempt to authenticate our Gospel words'. The other innovation was the availability of a Pentecostal-style 'deliverance ministry', the prayer for release from the power of demonic spiritual influence, significant as yet another indication of the growing Pentecostal influence amongst New Zealand evangelicals. Both were attempts in their own ways to express what has been claimed by various groups as the totality of the Christian gospel. Both were moves away from, or accretions to, the 'pure' evangelical message of simple salvation by believing in Christ. However valid or otherwise they were as specifically Christian activities, neither displayed quite the same focus as the earlier missions had. The new emphases were not just impositions by Ford, although his contribution (and his very selection in the first place) added especially to the social action field. To the extent that they were new departures, they indicated new levels of awareness amongst evangelical Christians in New Zealand, some developing a stronger social conscience and moving away from an inert pietism, others replacing the centrality of belief in Jesus with the experience of the Holy Spirit. Neither form was traditional evangelicalism of the type promoted by Torrey, Chapman and Graham.

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128. Pilkinton, 'And Heal Their Land', 32.
129. Ibid., 33.

CONCLUSION

The Leighton Ford missions to central New Zealand in 1987 seemed, therefore, to be the most socially aware and responsible of the mass evangelistic campaigns conducted in the country. Ford was the most sympathetic of the speakers, and the least confrontational, certainly much less so than his contemporary, Luis Palau. Yet these missions seemed not to be any more successful than the others and Ford certainly made less impact on the consciousness of both the Christian and the secular communities than did Palau. And Ford and Palau both were more marginal to New Zealand society than their mass evangelist predecessors had been. This may have reflected a continuing decline in the general influence of Christian religion in New Zealand and any form of outreach into the community may have attracted the same indifference. Ford may have lacked publicity simply because he was not controversial enough to gain significant media attention.

Whatever the reasons, it seems fair to observe that Ford's missions achieved little by way of impact in terms of bringing numbers of new people into the churches' orbit and little even by way of uniting the churches on a continuing basis, although many had hopes they would. Ford's personal attitudes and message and the direction of the organising committees may have contributed more to New Zealand Christianity by making more widely known and accepted a moderate evangelical position retaining much of traditional theology. But he also combined it with greater Christian social awareness and sensitivity and the additional affective piety of the

new charismatic wing of the churches. In this way, the missions could have had a deeper effect in assisting the generation of a new middle ground between the extremes of the New Zealand theological spectrum.

CHAPTER EIGHT

CONTROVERSY, CHARISMATICS AND CONCERNED CITIZENS: THE 1987 MISSION OF LUIS PALAU

Before 1987, the major mass evangelists to operate in New Zealand - Torrey, Chapman and Graham - had all been North Americans. So too was Leighton Ford who conducted his own crusade in February and March 1987. They had pioneered or reinforced in this country the use of many mass communication techniques and conducted extensive, widely-supported missions. Although employing North American evangelistic methods, the most recent mass evangelist to work in the country, Luis Palau, was of Argentinian, not North American, origin.

This chapter begins with a description of the background from which Palau came. The general New Zealand context of the mission has already been outlined in Chapter Two above, but the Palau mission took place in a unique atmosphere of interdenominational cooperation, mixed with virulent criticism of Palau personally and of the whole mass evangelistic ethos. These special circumstances demand extensive exploration, as they reveal many of the tensions within the New Zealand Christianity of the late 1980s. The criticism came most often from within the churches, often from church leaders, and demonstrates how far from the attitudes prevalent earlier in the century many New Zealand Christians had come.

Palau, too, was not reticent in publicising his views on many issues, often controversially, and his taking of sides in several debates already occupying New Zealand attention identified his evangelistic mission with one of the factions. The theological and

social messages he and his associate propounded to his hearers are discussed, as are some of the techniques he employed to gain decisions. Finally, the evangelistic results of the campaign are summarised and evaluated.

THE EVANGELIST: LUIS PALAU

Luis Palau was born in 1934 and raised in Argentina. He had been heavily influenced by English Brethren missionaries who had been responsible for his parents' conversions and with whom he worked for some time in the late 1950s as a translator and evangelist.[1] This background and his association with Anglican evangelicals while at school contributed to his assumption of a conservative theological position. He studied avidly any available literature by or about famous evangelists of the past, feeding his growing interest. From a copy of *Moody Monthly*, he became aware of the success of Billy Graham's modern mass evangelism and its possibilities.

> Here I had heard that the end was near and that there would be no more revival, no more great masses of people coming to Christ. The assemblies would get smaller, and we would just have to band together and defend the faith in the last days. But it wasn't true! To say that the masses weren't turning to Christ, you had to ignore what Billy Graham was doing.[2]

A visiting Californian pastor and writer, Ray Stedman, recognised Palau's potential and organised the opportunity for him to study in the United States at the Multnomah School of the Bible,

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1. For biographical details, see Luis Palau and Jerry B. Jenkins, *The Luis Palau Story: An Autobiography* (n.p., 1984).
2. Ibid., 87.

Luis Palau. (Courtesy of the Waikato Times, Hamilton).

Portland, Oregon, one of the many theologically conservative Bible schools the fundamentalist movement had spawned. A missionary body, Overseas Crusades, returned him to South America, providing openings for his development as a mass evangelist, an activity he consciously modelled on Billy Graham's example. He claimed his goal at this time was to draw people's attention to God through staging a vast public event: 'I wanted a part in proving that God was still powerful. The world is impressed by big crowds. No, I don't believe in numbers for numbers' sake, and, no, I don't believe in big crowds to show off how the hotshot evangelist can draw a crowd. A huge crowd is a credit to God.'[3]

Despite ostensibly seeking God's glory, his interest centred on 'power' and success. If he was to be an evangelist, as he desired, then despite his disclaimers he had every intention of being a 'hotshot'. 'I don't believe I was thinking about making a name for myself. But people have choices. They can be successful; they can be failures; or they can be mediocre. Being second-rate is certainly dishonoring to God. He spews the lukewarm out of his mouth, Revelation 3:15, 16 tells us.'[4] Yet he remained committed to some form of the doctrines of original sin and total depravity, and sought to ensure that his own ego did not dominate his ministry. He tried to remain receptive to divine correction: 'The Lord knows all my motivations, even the basest. Slowly but surely He will chip away at any vestiges that dishonor Him, so I am at peace.'[5]

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3. Ibid., 88.
4. Ibid., 88-89. However, the Bible verses cited actually refer not to one's being a success or failure at one's work, even if it is a Christian ministry, but rather to one's commitment to and relationship with God.
5. Ibid., 89.

Palau built up his own team in the late 1960s to work in Mexico, then left Overseas Crusades in October 1978 to establish the Luis Palau Evangelistic Team. He then conducted a number of major crusades throughout the world, gaining several opportunities to acquire experience of audiences of largely British heritage. In 1981, he mounted a five-week crusade to Glasgow, where, because of his Argentinian origin he was dubbed by the press 'God's good gaucho', he attracted over 5,000 enquirers. In Glasgow, he achieved success with a breadth of engagements from a reception given by the Roman Catholic mayor to chats with Clydeside shipyard workers. On the other hand, he was shunned by the Church of Scotland General Assembly.[6] His most spectacular evangelistic crusade was his Mission to London in 1983-84, where some 500,000 attended and 28,000 made decisions.[7]

There were several clear links between Palau and the earlier mass evangelists who visited New Zealand. In his autobiography, he described receiving an initial inspiration to become a mass evangelist from what he read about Billy Graham, especially the success of the 1954 Harringay crusade.[8] His adoption of Graham's style bore early fruit as Palau's first convert resulted from his use of a sermon outline derived from *The Secret of Happiness*. Many of his techniques also followed Graham's.[9] There was, too, a direct link with Torrey from whom Palau gained initiation into many of mass evangelism's mechanistic minutiae of organisation and

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6. For an evangelical description and assessment of this crusade, see J.D. Douglas, 'God's Good Gaucho and Roundup Time in Glasgow', *Christianity Today*, 25 (17 July 1981), 90.
7. This was a response rate of 5.6%. A consciously sympathetic account of mission is given in Susan Holton and David L. Jones, *Spirit Aflame: Luis Palau's Mission to London* (London, 1985).
8. *Luis Palau Story*, 86-91.
9. Ibid., 83-85. See also e.g. 131, 152, 157-159.

personnel management. He was given a copy of Torrey's *How to Work for Christ*: 'I ate it up.... I answered all the questions and memorized every verse in the entire eight-volume course.... Torrey covered everything from how to lead someone to Christ to how to deal with an agnostic. It was fantastic. There were even sections on passing out tracts, having prayer meetings, and making sermon outlines.'[10] Palau then freely admitted to using these techniques, carrying on Finney's ideal of 'philosophical use of the constituted means' into the late 1980s.

When Palau campaigned in New Zealand, his Mission did not cover the whole country but focussed on four centres in the North Island: Whangarei, in the north; Napier-Hastings, on the east coast; Hamilton, New Zealand's fourth-largest city; and Auckland, the country's largest urban area.[11] Palau was hailed by his publicists as 'the South American Billy Graham', but few had heard of him in New Zealand. Over half of New Zealand's population resided in the areas to be visited, so, to advertise the impending crusade to all these people, the supporting churches embarked upon what was seen by professionals to be 'a sophisticated and precisely timed campaign', conducted for them by an advertising agency.[12] In Auckland alone,

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10. Ibid., 90.
11. Palau was supported by one associate evangelist, Bill Thomas, whose background as a New York black was often stressed to gain Maori acceptance. Thomas conducted meetings in the Bay of Plenty prior to involvement in the main Palau crusade. 5,500 attended those held in a Te Puke fruit packing shed with over 110 enquirers resulting. *Waikato Times*, 7 March 1987, 5. Also emphasised was Thomas's educational background, replete with earned degrees: BA in Philosophy (Jamestown College), BD (Berkeley Baptist Divinity School), MA in Church History (American Baptist Seminary of the West), DTheol in Evangelism and Missions (Free University). Thomas, an ex-missionary, was an itinerant, French-based evangelist and head of his own evangelistic association. 'Introducing Bill Thomas An Ambassador for Christ', pamphlet (Orange, Cal., Bill Thomas Evangelistic Association, n.d.).
12. *Marketing Magazine*, 6, 5 (June 1987), 43.

the publicity team had a substantial budget of $NZ200,000, which bought fifty TV advertisements, 'doorknocking' by volunteers to 268,000 homes giving free copies of Luke's gospel and a personal invitation to attend, nearly 200 billboards tended frequently by 'Palau pasters', a six-page supplement to the *New Zealand Herald* newspaper, and sundry other newspaper, radio and sign advertising.[13] All was orchestrated 'to make it interesting, teasing and associated with the Christian faith'.[14] The major visual publicity, the billboards, carried slogans such as 'Luis Palau - Not a Footballer' as the meetings were to be held in sports stadiums, although the actual informative value of these negatively-phrased posters, even to supportive Christians, seemed low.

The year before, some public awareness had been generated when Palau had visited Auckland briefly to make contact with the ministers from the Greater Auckland area. Four hundred attended a meeting held at the Auckland Museum. Palau also preached at the Auckland Baptist Tabernacle. Another preparatory visit, from 7 to 18 June 1986, was made by Mrs Susie Sainsbury, wife of a leading British Parliamentarian and who had chaired the Ladies' Committee of the Mission to London. Her aim was to create interest among Christian women.

Once again, the Bible College of New Zealand took a leading role in promoting and conducting mass evangelism. The Principal, the Rev. David Stewart, was on the Advisory Committee, other faculty held various committee posts, and the students all took the

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13. Ibid. See also *Auckland Star*, 16 March 1987, 5.
14. Michael Johnson, chairman of the Auckland publicity committee. Quoted in *Marketing*, 44. A Hamilton advance report anticipated the three-week New Zealand mission would cost $100,000 with 60-70% to be spent on advertising. This perhaps should have read $1,000,000, but then the advertising proportion would have been incorrect. Alternatively, it may have been meant to refer only to Hamilton expenses. *Waikato Times*, 12 March 1987, 11.

counselling course and were encouraged to be involved in some way.[15] Differing from the Graham period, the *Reaper*, though, had not maintained a constant stream of advance information and publications from the evangelist. Such work was left largely up to the *Challenge*, a theologically conservative national Christian paper.

CATHOLIC INVOLVEMENT

In what was without precedent in New Zealand, Palau's mass evangelistic effort was to be truly interdenominational in that Catholic support was given and accepted. Bishop Denis Browne, Catholic bishop of Auckland, joined the Mission's advisory board and encouraged his church's participation. He saw the crusade as both a 'wonderful opportunity for ecumenical endeavour', and as a strengthening of individual denominations: 'We are supporting this venture because it will be a call for people to reflect on their own Christianity within their own faith denominations and to increase their commitment to their denominations'.[16] When questioned on the acceptability to Catholics of the evangelical emphasis on personal conversion and personal relationship with Christ, he replied, 'Absolutely. If Christ is not the centre of our Catholic faith and the centre of our lives, then what we are preaching is just peripheral'.[17] A Redemptorist priest, Father John Moss, became the Catholic member of the Mission executive and a Mission trustee.

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15. Rev. Dr D.G. Stewart, interview, 17 May 1988.
16. *Zealandia*, 52, 14 (6 April 1986), 1.
17. Ibid.

Bishop Browne's endorsement of the Mission was claimed to be the first time the Catholic Church anywhere in the world had actively supported Palau. The bishop was responding to the Mission's attempts to move away from theological exclusiveness. He noted, 'This is a non-denominational mission, seeking to involve all Christian Churches in a mission to the people of Auckland'.[18] The New Zealand organisers had indeed overridden the Palau Team's reluctance and made Catholic inclusion a crusade precondition. There was a meeting with a Team member; 'In the end, we said, "No Catholics, no crusade. There is no way that we in New Zealand or Auckland are going to go back to where we were, where we didn't cooperate together".'[19]

Catholic participation was widespread, especially from those involved in the current Renew movement, which placed much emphasis on Bible study in small home groups.[20] But this collaborative spirit seemed not altogether unqualified. An editorial writer was cautious in his support, agreeing that Catholics could benefit from evangelistic experience and from personal conversion. Yet he insisted Catholicism remain 'strong in its own beliefs', which he

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18. *Zealandia*, 52, 15 (13 April 1986), 3.
19. Rev. B. Jenkins, interview, 22 February 1989. He attributed this reluctance not so much to conservative Protestant anti-Catholicism as to how the action may have been perceived overseas. 'Now, his organisation were really concerned, really concerned, about the bad publicity, about that back in Latin America where he works, because associate [sic] with Roman Catholicism means you associate with prejudice, bigotry, persecution, corruption and dictatorship.' Another widely experienced observer was convinced that never before in New Zealand's religious history could collaboration between such disparate groups as Catholics, Brethren and Pentecostals have taken place. Rev. Dr D.G. Stewart, interview, 17 May 1988. This momentous shift in denominational attitudes may have been facilitated by the transdenominational charismatic movement, but also by the need perceived by many to present one united Christian front on threatened social and ethical values. See above, Chapter Two.
20. Rev. Dr D.G. Stewart, interview, 17 May 1988.

saw as centred in the incarnation and, 'contrary to much fundamentalist teaching', involved in the existential problems of being human. This meant that, 'If Luis Palau rallies can leave such theology intact, the Catholic Church belongs there'.[21] Fr Moss had a similar reservation: 'I hope the Catholic Church is strong enough to be able to accept the call Palau brings and take it to themselves, without being overcome by the fundamentalist influence'.[22]

Others concurred with Browne's initiative, but desired to retain distinctly Catholic emphases. A *Tablet* columnist echoed a denominational version of the Anglican bishops' query regarding indigenous evangelism. 'Veritas' commented, 'The oddest aspect of the crusade... is not so much that it should be commended to Catholics by the official Church, but that we should need his services at all. This immediately raises the question: Why have we no Catholic crusading evangelists?'[23] Harking back to the preaching of Marists and Redemptorists of former days, 'Veritas' called into question present standards of Catholic preaching and the roles of contemporary clergy and laity, so that 'it is ironic that we appear to think we should accept a ride on the evangelical coat tail of a dedicated Christian who is not a Catholic'.[24] A writer to the editor of *Zealandia* also supported Catholic participation, but would have preferred a Marian emphasis Palau and his evangelical supporters would have found hard to embrace. 'Shirley McNeil' asked, 'Why are Catholics so reluctant to believe with the teaching Church, and to share this with other believers, that the

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21. *Zealandia*, 52, 15 (13 April 1986), 6.
22. *Zealandia*, 52, 25 (29 June 1986), 19.
23. *New Zealand Tablet*, 114, 46 (1 April 1987), 13.
24. Ibid., 32.

fruitfulness between Mary and the Holy Spirit did not stop when *she said yes on our behalf*, but that this fruitfulness is operative from age to age'.[25]

CONTROVERSY AND CRITICISM OF THE MISSION

The Luis Palau Mission to Auckland was surrounded in controversy as no other mass evangelistic endeavour in New Zealand had been. Some nine months before the crusade opened, several prominent Christian leaders - the four Anglican bishops with responsibility for the Auckland region - promulgated a diocesan pastoral letter opposing the crusade.[26] Their aim was pastoral, believing that, 'the bishops who are elected to lead and care for the faith have a responsibility to critique... what comes across us' [sic].[27] Their letter provided that critique of the Mission both theologically and methodologically.

The bishops affirmed that Jesus Christ 'holds the universe together, is God's creative word and is the pivot and hope of all humankind', and went further to stress an incarnational theology. 'Christ is the Gospel. The Word, the Gospel became enfleshed...', and thus '...all Christians are called to witness to the Good News of God, with joy and passion.... in this world which God made and

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25. *Zealandia* 52, 17 (27 April 1987), 11, my italics. No Protestant, especially one of evangelical persuasion, would allow Mary a role of co-redeemer with Christ. Christ's role as mediator between God and humankind is held to be unique.
26. Rt Revs B. Gilberd, W. Vercoe, E. Buckle and G. Wilson, 'The Gospel and the Church in New Zealand and the 1987 Luis Palau Mission', pastoral letter from the bishops to the clergy and laity of the Anglican Diocese of Auckland, undated [June 1986].
27. Rt Rev. B. Gilberd, interview, 22 February 1989.

loves'. There was here an implicit, though unstated, critique of a conservative theology which would place much greater weight on the transcendence of God.

The Anglican Church's traditional position as a *via media* was emphasised by their describing it as 'comprehensive' and 'suspicious of extremes', while it accommodates a 'considerable diversity', 'strives to acknowledge the many-sided nature of truth', and retains an ongoing respect for varieties of tradition and the use of reason in doing its theology. From this perspective, they saw Anglicanism's understanding of salvation as maintaining a balance between personal and social aspects, as 'God's transforming work in individual lives *and* in human society'. Directly, the bishops challenged Palau's seeming onesidedness in this area, claiming, 'there is a distorting neglect of the power of Christ's Gospel to transform the principalities and powers of this world. This is not an adjunct to the Gospel, but integral to it.... The focus is so "next-world" oriented, that Gospel-centred social action in order to change *this* world is by-passed.' At a time when multiple finance and sex scandals were breaking over American televangelism, their disquiet regarding Palau also related to a perceived over-emphasis on 'fame, success and numbers' and 'appealing result-oriented answers'. This seemed to them at odds with the message and ministry of Jesus.[28]

They claimed, further, that although Palau might encourage aid for the needy, he failed to challenge the oppressive social structures, particularly in South and Latin America, which create many of these needs. Indeed, they went so far as to link him

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28. This concern never left them. Of such superficial spirituality, Bishop Buckle later observed, 'There's a lot of wilderness in the Scriptures'. Interview, 22 February 1989.

directly and by implication with conservative groups and U.S. foreign policy which upheld such regimes. They charged that 'the Mission in these contexts seems to ignore the wretched human conditions in which it takes place', and that 'such preaching fails to challenge those who hold and abuse power with a truly prophetic Word, and has the effect of reinforcing the status quo'. To make matters worse, an undocumented 1970 Rockefeller report on South America was cited which purportedly advocated the United States' promotion of conservative Protestant groups there to enhance more widespread pro-American attitudes. The citation's effect was to imply that Palau was wittingly or otherwise aiding manipulation of Latin American churches by their governments, especially by those favourable to the United States.

Two further theologically-oriented criticisms were made. A 'preoccupation with Satan, Judgment and Hell' tended to produce stereotypes of, and presumably unduly negative attitudes towards, differing ideologies, religious faiths and views regarding human morality. Such a preoccupation would improperly skew the Christian gospel message as 'the threat of Hell appears too often to be the motivator of mission, rather than the love of Christ'. Secondly, the bishops were also concerned that some of the Palau literature seemed to link a dispensationalist anticipation of an impending Last Day with a Reaganite support for nuclear armaments, even that Palau looked for 'a nuclear armageddon'. Although they saw this as transferring control of the eschaton from human to divine hands, they asked, '... what kind of God lies behind such a view?' Such destruction seemed to them seriously to overlook a meaningful doctrine of Creation.

The bishops' methodological critique centred on one issue: 'We do not see the organisation being representative of New Zealanders, but predominantly of one segment only', i.e. of white males. They claimed both Maoris and women were largely omitted from the organisation and control of the Mission, and that where they were involved it was as latecomers, not full participants from the initial stages.

> The Maori people who came into it, as were the other Polynesians, were given a sort of structure that they were asked to endorse and support, rather than being part of the planning of the structure.... No longer in our society can we plan for the Maori... and initiatives have got to be seen coming from other areas, other than just ours....[29]

Supporting this contention, the fourth signatory to the letter was the Rt Rev. Whakahuihui Vercoe, Bishop of Aotearoa, who had responsibility for Maori Anglicans throughout the country.

The mission organisers, however, claimed that their choice of the evangelists had been made precisely with the aim of being sensitive to and of reaching non-pakehas, Maori and Polynesian, since Palau was Argentinian and associate Bill Thomas an American black.[30] Confusion, though, appears to have surrounded this aspect in some crusade officials' minds. For example, Waikato publicity convener, Peter Bourke, asserted Palau was desirable as an evangelist 'because of his background and his lack of a "heavy American third world style of mission"'.[31]

The Anglican critics did not find this justification entirely plausible, though, since both evangelists were thoroughly steeped in

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29. Rt Rev. E. Buckle, interview, 22 February 1989.
30. *Waikato Times*, 12 March 1987, 11; Rev. B. Jenkins, interview, 22 February 1989.
31. *Waikato Times*, 12 March 1987, 11. It is unclear whether Bourke meant Palau did not operate with a sensitivity to Third World needs, or whether he believed the United States to be part of the Third World, or whether Americans adopted a special evangelistic style for the Third World which Palau would not

Footnote 31 continued on next page

one particular North American theological-cultural milieu.[32] The Auckland bishops put great emphasis on the need for indigenous evangelism within a country, rather than for someone imported, ostensibly preaching a culturally transcendent gospel. Bishop Wilson, a self-confessed theological liberal, later commented, 'I raise a big questionmark about the itinerant evangelists who move from one country to another, proclaiming more or less the same message out of the same cultural envelope'.[33] In the pastoral letter, they asserted that, 'What we need, at this time, is to evoke evangelists from within our church, and the churches of New Zealand, to preach Christ, the Word made flesh, in our particular context'. This, they claimed, would enhance the prospects of the evangelism meeting directly the needs and understanding of the local hearers, of the work synchronising with the character and efforts of the indigenous Church, and of the fullest possible participation of all social or ethnic groups.

In the event, of those listed as having responsibility for Mission Auckland, the sixteen-member Executive Committee included one Maori, one Polynesian and two women. Of the twenty-eight on the Advisory Board, three were Maori and three Polynesian, with five being women. The twenty-four Working Committee chairpersons also included two Maori and four women, but these may be regarded as having been assigned to traditional race and gender-defined roles. The women had responsibility for nurturing-type committees,

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Footnote 31 continued from previous page
use in New Zealand. This same accredited mission spokesman, though, said of a mass evangelist who frequently acknowledged his debt to and modelling from Billy Graham that, 'The mission was not a Billy Graham "get on a soap box type"'. Ibid.

32. Rt Revs E. Buckle, B. Gilberd and G. Wilson, interview, 22 February 1989.
33. Rt Rev. G. Wilson, interview, 22 February 1989.

'Disabled', 'Hospitality', 'Love in Action' and 'Women', while the Maori looked after 'Maori' groups, 'Ethnic/Cultural' and 'Maoris-Whanau Hou'. There was no relinquishment to such people of organisationally key areas like finance, publicity, follow up or counselling.[34]

Bishop Gilberd also criticised the formalised methodology and simplified theology: 'I don't think the gospel can be packaged. That denies the truth that can be found everywhere. I think God is a big surprise. He will not be contained. That's the message of the resurrection.'[35] Even at the time of the mission, though, he did not think the bishops' protest would have much impact on Palau's ministry outside New Zealand: 'We're small beer [sic] in his international circuit'.[36]

Stern Christian criticism of Palau and his activities came not only from the Auckland bishops, but through the Church and Society Commission of the National Council of Churches in New Zealand, and through *Accent*, an ecumenical magazine. The commission's

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34. *Mission Bulletin* (Auckland), 12 (July 1987), 2. There were, though, substantial efforts made by the Mission to have meaningful contact with Maori groups. For example, in the Bay of Plenty, Bill Thomas was presented with a ceremonial cloak by a local elder, thus having *rangatira* status conferred. *Waikato Times*, 7 March 1987, 5. Palau spent one afternoon of his Waikato time as the guest of the Maori Queen, Dame Te Atairangikaahu. *Waikato Times*, 23 March 1987, 1. The Auckland Women's Committee, chaired by Baptist laywoman Beulah Wood, organised a number of specifically women's gatherings. In the previous October they held 'evangelistic fashion parades'. During the Mission there were a Tuesday morning rally, two coffee mornings and two luncheons (one especially for Maori and Polynesians). *New Zealand Baptist*, 103, 2 (March 1987), 4. In 1986, there had also been two series of preparatory women's meetings in March and June. Such activities, of course, do not answer the questions raised over the Mission's tendency to marginalise organisationally certain groups and still to tend towards certain traditional stereotypes.
35. Quoted in Diana Wichtel, 'A Joyful Story', *Listener*, 115, 2461 (25 April 1987), 14.
36. Ibid.

chairwoman, the Rev. Joan Cook, criticised Palau's intensely individualistic orientation: 'Our concern is that he does not move people into changing the way we live and challenging institutions'.[37] She saw such an orientation as turning the Gospel into bad news for the poor, the oppressed and for women, who suffer from 'institutionalised sin' and who, presumably, were more likely to commit the particular 'personal sins' Palau concentrated on. For example, she claimed Palau had asserted that 'those who suffered under dictators had only themselves to blame because they had indulged in adultery, fornication, alcohol and drugs'. Cook's attack may have resulted from the mission's statement that, 'What we have found is that the typical Latin American effectively doubles his income by embracing the gospel and rejecting gambling, alcoholism and immoral relationships.... The Gospel transforms both rich and poor alike and especially benefits the poor in the here and now.'[38]

This kind of statement suggested that the Mission, in addition to merely 'preaching the gospel', also intended its activities and message to promote directly a white, American, middle-class value system. This was an echo of the idea that if a large enough proportion of a country's population become convinced Christians their improved lifestyle will automatically ameliorate all manner of social problems. Small account was taken of differing conceptions of how 'real' Christians might behave as, for example, those who would view drinking, smoking or gambling as 'things indifferent', to be left to the individual conscience. Nor did Christians with socialistic leanings receive support; capitalism and revivalistic

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37. *New Zealand Herald*, 1 May 1987, 1.
38. 'Excerpts from the Letter of the Executive Director of the Luis Palau Evangelistic Team to Mr Alan Wood Dated 26 June 1986',

Footnote 38 continued on next page

individualism sit easily together. The support such a message may give culturally-bound capitalism was one of several issues dealt with harshly by Anglican theologian Raymond Pelly in an article entitled 'Not the Gospel of Christ'.[39] He dismissed Palau's message as 'an amalgam of people's neurotic fears and the militarism and capitalism of Reagan's America' and as 'akin to a rape'.

The response from mission supporters to the bishops' pastoral letter was swift and strong, from both within and outside the Auckland Anglican diocese. Regardless of personal beliefs on the crusade issue, many objected to the manner of the bishops' protest. At a meeting of archdeacons, 'almost to a man, they felt we shouldn't have written the letter'.[40] The matter was debated at the 1987 synod. A group of thirty-six evangelical Anglican clergymen signed a letter affirming that the Palau Mission was indeed an 'ecumenical opportunity "to witness to the Good News of God with joy and passion"'. They also agreed that no single individual, Palau included, could preach the entire Christian gospel: 'The fulness [sic] of the message lies within the Body of Christ, including bishops [sic] clergy and laity, not in any one of us as individuals'.[41] They concluded, though, that the bishops' letter had led to many Anglicans feeling 'disowned', with many other people feeling confused as different Christian leaders adopted contradictory positions, and that the resulting polarisation of Christians injured both the diocese and the wider Church.[42] Their

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Footnote 38 continued from previous page
unpublished typescript circulated under a Mission to Auckland covering letter by Alan Wood, Mission chairman, 17 July 1986.

39. *Accent*, 2, 4 (May 1987), 8-9. See below, 407.
40. Rt Rev. E. Buckle, interview, 22 February 1989.
41. 'A Response to the Pastoral Letter from the Bishops to the Clergy and Laity of the Anglican Diocese of Auckland - The Gospel and the Church in New Zealand and the 1987 Luis Palau Mission', undated letter.
42. Ibid.

real objection thus appeared to be more of the bishops' methods than of their arguments. The Auckland dean, the Very Rev. J.O. Rymer, felt personally constrained to assure his congregation that his own support of the mission did not indicate a personal conflict with Bishop Gilberd and advocated informed and logical debate of contentious issues within the Church as healthy.[43]

The issue seems very much to have been approached as an issue of ecclesiastical authority. It may even be that whereas many Anglican parishes would have greeted the mission with indifference, now they participated in reaction against what was perceived as undue episcopal direction.

> Many of the things the bishops said many of us may well have agreed with, and they have a right to their viewpoint, but it was very heavy artillery. I think it did two things: one was to deeply divide the diocese of Auckland... and, secondly, to precipitate many who would not have bothered too much into officially linking with the Luis Palau movement, they were so angered by it.[44]

The pastoral letter had allowed that some Anglicans would feel called to Mission involvement, saying, 'we respect that calling and pray that they may be used to widen and deepen the approach of the Mission'. But that admitted freedom was overlooked in the reaction. Bishop Buckle later reflected, 'I was surprised that the episcopal role was taken not at the level of the expression of opinion, but more at the level of a directive, which it wasn't intended to be'.[45]

There appeared to be two basic issues behind the furore. The first was an ecclesiastical one, internal to the diocese, of disappointment for some at one of the first public actions of a new diocesan bishop, the Rt Rev. Bruce Gilberd. The previous bishop of Auckland, the Rt Rev. Paul Reeves, who had been made archbishop of

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43. Newsletter, Cathedral of the Holy Trinity (29 June 1986).
44. Rev. B. Jenkins, interview, 22 February 1989.
45. Rt Rev. E. Buckle, interview, 22 February 1989.

New Zealand, was regarded as a social and theological liberal, and there was a period of anticipation as conservatives waited to assess the attitude of the new bishop. 'They had just got rid of Archbishop Paul Reeves, who was seen as the great radical, and here was a new bishop, and here he is [sic] making a statement which seems to be in the same tradition of radical theology.'[46] The resulting disappointment led to a loss of confidence by some in the bishops' leadership.[47]

The second focus was on evangelism *per se*. The bishops did assert that 'all people need to see and hear this Gospel, this Good News. All Christians are called to witness....'[48] And they looked for indigenous evangelists and commended 'a right and vital emphasis on the need for personal commitment to Christ'.[49] But the orientation and expression of their viewpoint promoted different underlying assumptions and practices from those of the mission. For mission supporters, then, 'there was a feeling that what lay behind it ['Gospel and Church'] was a radical theology which really questions the value of evangelism in any definite way in which an evangelical would think of it'.[50]

The questioning at all of any readily identifiable evangelistic activity was seen by some to be grounds for complaint. There was a feeling amongst some Anglicans, after the former regime, that 'there had been so little evangelism of any kind that it seemed a shame that something that *was* happening, whether we could agree with it in total or not, was being called in question'.[51] The Auckland

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46. Rt Rev. M. Goodall, interview, 19 February 1989.
47. Rev. B. Jenkins, interview, 22 February 1989.
48. 'Gospel and Church', 1.
49. Ibid.
50. Rt Rev. M. Goodall, interview, 19 February 1989.
51. Ibid.

bishops certainly did feel a pressure existed to welcome Palau uncritically simply because the mission gave an opportunity for evangelism: 'there were those who supported it - anything named evangelism must be alright.... It was unfortunate that we were reported by some, because we couldn't support this particular overseas evangelist, to be against evangelism, of course, which we're not'.[52]

There were few responses, though, which attempted really to grapple with the detailed questions raised by the bishops' pastoral letter, 'The Gospel and the Church in New Zealand'. One which did was a lengthy paper by the Rev. D.G. Stewart.[53] He took the bishops to task for a suggested universalism in their sentence, 'He has redeemed all life and all persons', for rejecting 'a simplistic and literal-minded understanding of Scripture' without positively affirming Scripture in any other way, and for ambiguously replacing the historic incarnation of Christ with the incarnation as an existential aspect of contemporary Church life.

He then worked systematically through the specific allegations. Admitting there were no Maori on the initial Investigatory Committee, he pointed out that there were Maori on the Advisory Board, the Executive Committee and the various Working Committees and that 'they have been consulted right from the time the Administrative Committee commenced its work'. Further, he pointed out that New Zealand society is *multi*-cultural, rather than simply

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52. Rt Rev. B. Gilberd, interview, 22 February 1989. He went on to say, 'We want to see the Gospel let loose in this country in ways that take women seriously, Maoris seriously, our heritage seriously, and admit that the Gospel isn't necessarily linked with crazy movements like the atomic armaments, where he seems to link in some [sic] of his literature, the holocaust with the Last Day.'
53. 'The Gospel and the Church in New Zealand and the 1987 Luis Palau Mission: Some Personal Comments on this Document by Rev.

Footnote 53 continued on next page

bi-cultural, and that the mission organisation had also involved numbers of Polynesians.[54] Again, he admitted there were not enough women on either the Advisory Board or the Executive, 'but there are women on both, and we are seeking to increase their number'. He also rejected any suggestion of the mission's discrimination against the poor, or that any one social group was intended to be the mission's particular beneficiary. Agreeing heartily that indigenous evangelism with 'a prophetic edge' should be encouraged, he also agreed that 'we would take the view that the overseas visitor whose work is distinctively that of an evangelist is not necessarily the best person to present that prophetic message to the groups of our society in New Zealand'.

He continued through the bishops' letter, rebutting it point by point, especially the elements which claimed Palau had an unhealthy interest in Satan, hell and a nuclear armageddon. Stewart supported Palau's dealing with these issues, 'for the Bishops will realise that these subjects are treated seriously in Scripture'. When dealing with the question of Palau's emphasis on personal conversion to the exclusion of social concern, he objected that 'the evangelist's message is very vitally concerned with the life of the individual in this world'. Stewart here, though, missed the issue at the very root of revivalistic/evangelical conflict with liberalism, viz. the exclusive focus on the individual and his or her actions rather than on social structures, on personal morality rather than on oppressive attitudes and institutions.

Footnote 53 continued from previous page
D.G. Stewart, Principal, Bible College of New Zealand', undated typescript.

54. In Hamilton, despite the organisers' aims to attract them by using non-Anglo Saxon evangelists, there was very little Maori involvement. Rev. C.D. Jones, interview, 15 December 1989. Jones further cited Auckland Maori evangelist, Muri Thompson,

Footnote 54 continued on next page

Stewart became relatively heated when discussing the bishops' implications that Palau was somehow a tool for conservative American foreign policy in Latin America.[55] He tagged their allegations 'guilt by association', 'logically and morally deplorable', 'a downright lie', 'deliberately misleading deceit', and reminiscent of McCarthy and Goebbels, while challenging them to prove any such programme exited or that Palau was so tainted.

Stewart again fully endorsed the bishops' call for indigenous evangelism, but denied their fear that the mission would hinder such an objective, anticipating instead a stimulation of evangelistic activity. His final criticism was of the bishops' 'incredible arrogance' in their partisan insistence that mission converts be guided and nourished in what they called 'the wider Christian and Anglican way'.

Apart from Stewart's rebuttal, there was an official response by the mission organisation to the pastoral letter, which took the form of another point-by-point refutation provided by an anonymous Executive Director of the Luis Palau Evangelistic Team.[56] Some responses dealt with the issues raised, others seemed to miss the bishops' point. For example, the 'Rockefeller report' was described as 'totally irrelevant to Palau's ministry',[57] but when criticising the bishops' concern that the cost of bringing in Palau might be too

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Footnote 54 continued from previous page
as commenting that in Auckland there were very few Maori responses made to the evangelists' appeals and that, relative to the Graham crusades, their place appeared to have been taken by the Pacific Islanders, who were still largely immersed in a church-oriented culture.

55. He identified the 'Rockefeller report' mentioned as one commissioned in 1970 by President Nixon and presented by Governor Nelson Rockefeller of New York, but never adopted as official U.S. policy.
56. Contained in Wood, 'Excerpts'.
57. The Team professed complete ignorance of both the report and its author, asking, 'And who is Rockefeller anyway? Neither

Footnote 57 continued on next page

high in theological and social terms, the Team thought only of financial expense, asking, 'At what point is the cost too high to win thousands of men and women to faith in the Lord Jesus?' They also bypassed without response the bishops' opposition to the mass evangelistic orientation towards exalting a famous individual and its quest for impressive statistics.

When dealing with the allegations of inadequate attention to social action, the Team response rightly pointed out some imprecision in the bishops' arguments. They also agreed with the Christian gospel's efficacy in assisting the healing of family problems and unethical business and political behaviour, and in the struggle for peace and injustice, since these are rooted in and consequences of human sinfulness. But they then relapsed into the classic evangelical fixation with individualistic amelioration and a narrow view of social faults. As evidence that Palau was 'vitally concerned for the poor', they produced the statement that the poor would benefit in the present from Palau's gospel preaching leading to their 'rejecting gambling, alcoholism and immoral relationships'.[58]

Thus, the Team's real perception was, apparently, that social improvement best takes place when an individual becomes a Christian, which process was assumed to include by definition the social values of fundamentalist America. There was throughout the Team document no apparent apprehension of oppression in the forms of racism and sexism, for example. Their illustration of Palau's personal response to 'injustice' was that 'under his direction the

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Footnote 57 continued from previous page
Palau nor any of his Team members know any such Rockefeller, and we have absolutely no relationship with that political world view'.

58. See above.

Association has provided relief for widows and orphans in Argentina and throughout Latin America' - this was certainly a worthy activity, but dealing rather with the symptoms than the disease.

A similar fixedness of perception was apparent in the Team's operations when actually in New Zealand; Palau and Thomas seemed not to tread lightly around complex and difficult issues. In an area suffering from effects of rural economic depression and growing unemployment, Bill Thomas appeared to preach a simplistic, triumphalist doctrine of prosperity, claiming, 'rebellion and indifference to God caused every evil and dissatisfaction in this world. "If you come to God He will provide," he said. If people were crying inside, could not pay the bills or wanted work and didn't have a job then God would provide he said.'[59]

These contentious issues were to hound Palau throughout the mission, having grasped popular attention in a way the official mission advertising could never do. Later, they still often determined the way the mission was remembered by the general public. In the churches, the debates achieved little beyond confirming in the minds of each side their existing suspicions of the other.[60]

METHODOLOGY OF THE MISSION

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59. *Waikato Times*, 19 March 1987, 3. Similar lack of sensitivity had been displayed in the earlier Scottish crusade, too, when Palau had performed what even a sympathetic commentator described as 'thin-ice skating' in criticising theological professors for undermining students' faith in the authority of the Bible. Another *faux pas* was in encouraging people from an area of high unemployment to thank God if they were jobless as 'it gives you more time to pray', drawing a unionist's criticism that, 'He promises pie in the sky tomorrow; we try to put meat in the pot today'. Douglas, 'God's Good Gaucho', 90.
60. One example of this fact was the heat with which various participants still discussed the affair when interviewed two years after the event.

The activities which formed the Palau mission were very similar and often identical to those which made up the Ford mission discussed above, and require little further description. For example, 'Operation Andrew' was used once more to stimulate prayer support, the nurture group and counsellor training was very much the same, and the 'Rainbow Special' again formed the children's programme. A programme centred around prayer also helped to heighten expectations and to visibly invoke divine approval and aid. In Hamilton, there was a prayer fast, a series of prayer breakfasts, and a number of meetings devoted particularly to prayer.[61] Special large meetings scheduled for the Auckland mission included a lunch-time rally at the University of Auckland, a banquet for sportspeople, and a two-day evangelism seminar for Christian workers. They were supplemented by a multiplicity of smaller-scale activities such as specialised luncheons, pastors' meetings, ethnic group meetings and radio talk show appearances.

Hamilton provided what seemed an unusual contrast in types of reception for the evangelists. In what the *Mission Bulletin* declared to be 'the controversial University of Waikato bullring meeting',[62] Bill Thomas was heckled by a few audacious students who challenged his views on homosexuality and other social issues. Also, a university faculty member present insisted that varieties of biblical interpretation were possible and that, in any case, such

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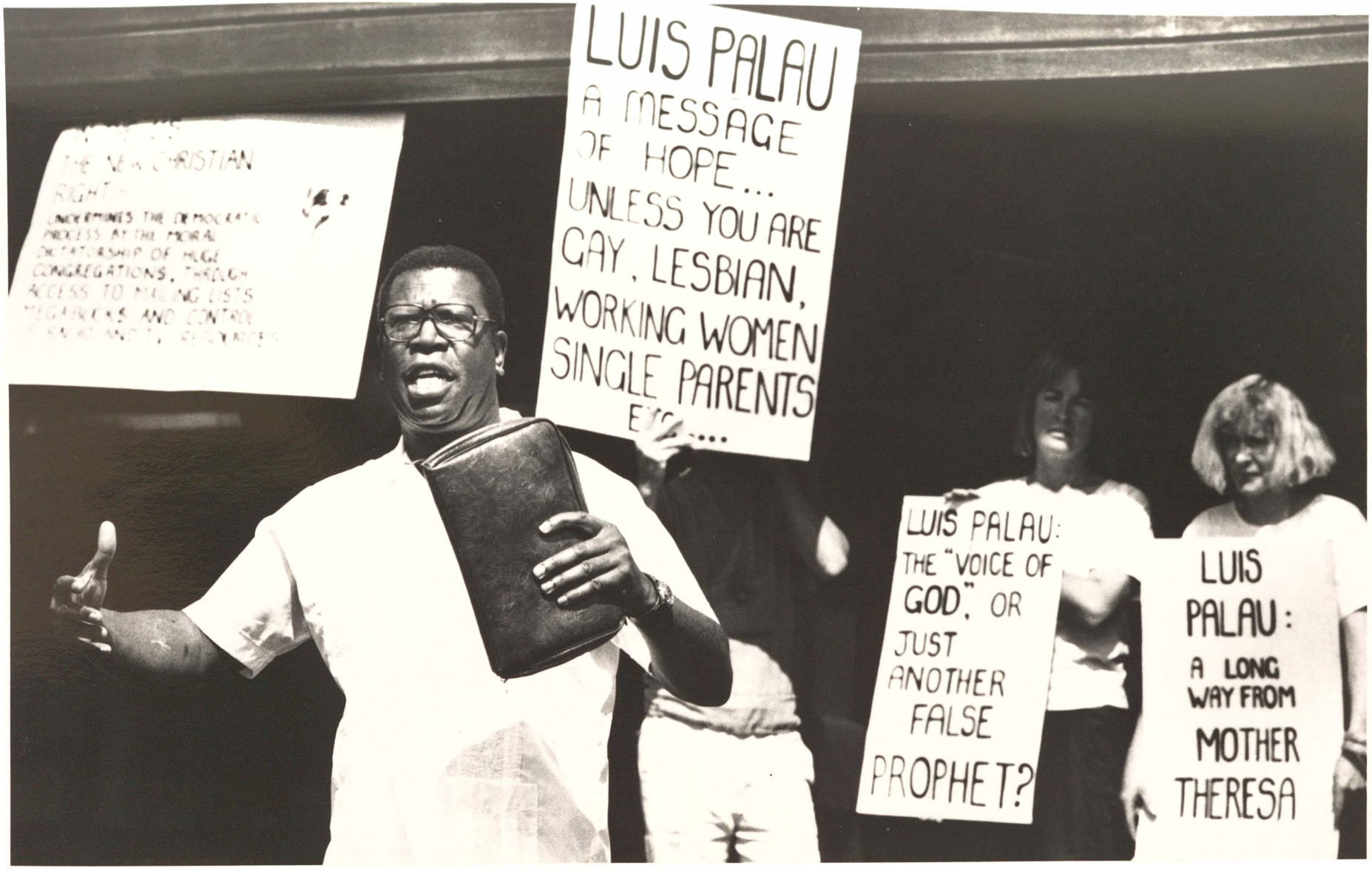
61. Luis Palau Waikato Mission, 'The Foundation of God's Mission is Prayer' (unpublished pamphlet, [Hamilton], March 1987). This pamphlet also exhorted readers to personal prayer and suggested topics for intercession or praise. As in the earlier missions, the explicit claim was made that the quality of the evangelism was related directly to the quantity of preceding prayer: 'The law of prayer is the law of the harvest: Sow sparingly in prayer, reap sparingly; sow bountifully in prayer, reap bountifully'. Ibid.
62. *Mission Bulletin* (Waikato), final issue, 4.

Bill Thomas at the University of Waikato.
(Courtesy of the Waikato Times, Hamilton).


THE NEW CHRISTIAN
RIGHT
UNDERMINES THE DEMOCRATIC
PROCESS AT THE MORAL
DICTATORSHIP OF HUGE
CONGREGATIONS, THROUGH
ACCESS TO MAILING LISTS
MEGACHURCHES AND CONTROL
LUIS PALAU
A MESSAGE
OF HOPE...
UNLESS YOU ARE
GAY, LESBIAN,
WORKING WOMEN
SINGLE PARENTS
LUIS PALAU:
THE "VOICE OF
GOD", OR
JUST
ANOTHER
FALSE
PROPHET?
LUIS
PALAU:
A LONG
WAY FROM
MOTHER
THERESA

conservative Christianity was not an approach appropriate to dealing with university students. This was hardly the major confrontation and deliberate goading the Mission later portrayed it as. Both the *Waikato Times* and the *Mission Bulletin* admitted most heard Thomas out quietly and, unlike Leighton Ford's Victoria University predicament, there was no competing rock band and no throwing of eggs. But it did provide a contrast with that evening's service with about 2,000 compliant Christians. 'The song-singing, hand-clapping believers stood up, sat down gave money and at the end came forward in their hundreds to the urgings of Dr Thomas....'[63]

With regard to the methodology and techniques employed by the Luis Palau mission, an attempt was made to provide some theoretical underpinning for mass evangelism and thus to justify the mission's very existence. It was immediately apparent, however, that for Palau the foundational, unquestioned given was the ongoing validity and usefulness of mass evangelism *per se*. A chapter of *Spirit Aflame*, written by him and entitled 'Why Mass Evangelism?',[64] was circulated widely throughout New Zealand in pamphlet form and published in segments in various mission bulletins distributed to supporting churches. It comprised a list of twenty-seven reasons justifying mass evangelism to his readers, and advocating its retention, giving a fuller rationale for the procedure than had most of his predecessors.

Section One, reasons 1 to 11, celebrated the technique's ability to reach many people simultaneously, which 'the New Testament clearly states... is God's deepest desire (Mark 13:10)'(32). It

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63. *Waikato Times*, 19 March 1987, 3. Later, the reporter counted only over 100 'counsellors and others' who came forward.
64. Luis Palau, 'Why Mass Evangelism?' in Holton and Jones, *Spirit Aflame*, 31-37. Page numbers are hereafter given in parentheses after the topic to which they refer.

gained public attention and created a community 'God-consciousness' in a way ordinary church activity could not do. This was essential because of the vast numbers of unevangelised people resulting from the modern population explosion. Related advantages included reaching the majority of the world's population, who were aged under twenty-five, as 'young people, otherwise indifferent to Christianity, are attracted by the mass crusade approach'(33). Long-term planning of local church-planting and evangelism was assisted since 'mass evangelism has a soil-testing function of revealing responsive and non-responsive populations'(33). The oft-reported unity of diverse Christian groups in such endeavours had further benefits as 'spiritual healing takes place in the Body of Christ when God works through mass evangelism'(33). Palau even claimed that the usually consciously anti-intellectual mass evangelism 'reaches "the untouchables"... the upper class and professionals... people in the arts and entertainment fields, along with the professors of the great universities'(34). In his presentation, though, this attribute appeared merely as a function of the social penetration of mass communication media, rather than of the particular form or content of the mass evangelist's Christian message.

Palau's second group of reasons, numbers 12 to 20, focussed on the claim that 'mass evangelism is the prophetic voice of God to a nation through His people'(34). A titanic power struggle was envisaged between the presently-dominant powers of evil and the authority of the Word of God. 'When the Body of Christ proclaims the Gospel on a massive scale, the forces of darkness are disrupted, often dislodged, and have to flee before the power of Almighty God'(34). There was no clear indication of whether this was

anticipated to be purely a spiritual flight or whether social institutions would be visibly altered. Neither was the context of the prophetic message ever represented as more than standard 'gospel preaching', nor as containing any social critique beyond individual godlessness and immorality. Included in this 'prophetic' section were benefits to the churches of unity of groups and individuals, training in Christian counselling, widespread involvement, and improvements in Christians' self-image and the public image of 'biblical Christianity'(35).

Palau also had an ideal of mass evangelism's sanctification of communication technology: 'I believe that God allowed the invention of modern mass media for the purpose of sharing His truth, not for corrupting humanity. When films, telephones, radio, television and the press become God's instruments, they fulfil His holy purpose of redeeming and blessing humanity'(35). As with reaching the intellectuals, though, the real impact was seen to be made not because of the evangelist's message so much as because of the communicative influence of the mass media, when 'those who mould the thinking of the masses broadcast a proper and clear vision of the truth of God through the medium they control'(35-36). It could be asked whether Palau had to some extent become so dazzled by the medium that he had lost sight of the distinctively theological message.

The third group, reasons 21 to 27, expounded Palau's perceptions of how mass evangelism effected church growth. This was by stimulating zeal to plant new churches, converting people who later become outstanding church leaders, and by overcoming reticence to employ other evangelistic methods. Also in this section, Palau asserted that mass evangelism 'supplies the vision and creates the

climate' for Christian 'calls to justice and honesty at all levels in a nation'(36). Clearly, though, Palau could not see beyond the change which may occur on a limited, person-by-person basis as 'conversion of thousands to Jesus Christ causes a transformation in the family and business life of a nation'(36). The underlying social structures and institutions remained invisible to this viewpoint, unreformed beyond an individual's personal moral influence.

Finally in this section, Palau presented a summary of the essence of the mass evangelistic message:

1. It proclaims the glory of His name.
2. It exalts the person and work of His Son.
3. It presents Christ's substitutionary death on the cross and His powerful resurrection from the dead.
4. It proclaims His power to transform individuals, families and nations.
5. It warns of judgment to come and of the living hope in the Father's house (John 14).(37)

The gospel thus presented was thoroughly triumphalist, making nothing of the identifying, suffering aspect of God as presented by much of the rest of Christianity, saying little of the love of God and giving no expression to other understandings of the efficacy of Christ's death. This portrayal did not alter any central features of the nineteenth-century evangelists' message, despite twentieth-century developments both in theology and in sophistication of sociological understanding. The longstanding tradition was preserved and affirmed without further reflection or modification.

In another piece of Palau's writing, he explained how he viewed the relative merits of personal versus mass evangelism.

> I believe in one-on-one evangelism. I practice [sic] it. I teach it. But it can only be a complement to the greater movement. History has shown that a nation of millions cannot be converted by one-on-one evangelism, because eventually the chain breaks down and the multiplication peters out. You can prepare the groundwork, but eventually it's necessary to move

> the masses, sway public opinion, influence the thought patterns of the nation and the media.[65]

Thus the implication was that use of mass evangelism *could* convert 'a nation of millions'. But there was no awareness shown that history has not demonstrated that to be feasible either, not even the American Great Awakenings, resulting from many factors additional to evangelists' efforts, having converted a whole nation.

For all that it was developed at some length and explicated in a series of distinct points, Palau's justification of mass evangelism as a valid and efficient evangelistic technique was thus rather feeble. It was comprised largely of unsubstantiated assertions, such as claims of its greater attractiveness to those outside the Church, or of its success in converting outstanding church leaders. Doubtless, it is attractive to some and a few of its converts have become notable (or notorious), but a claim of its superiority in such matters is completely unverifiable. Further, his presentation of the underlying theology demonstrated its paucity and inadequacy in conveying the breadth of Christian belief, reflecting instead the restriction to one narrow perspective Jerald Brauer has observed.[66] Also, there was evident an enthusiastic espousal of mass communication techniques which appeared to exercise little critical judgment on the issue of whether these were really appropriate to the process of conveying the Christian gospel and leading new converts into the faith. As of old, the justification for their use, based on dubious evidence, was the claim, 'they work'.

When considering Palau's actual means of inducing his hearers to become Christians, overt playing on emotions was evident, again associated with, and conveying, one particular theological

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65. *Luis Palau Story*, 88.
66. See above, 39.

viewpoint. Palau unabashedly employed fear of the future to create the climate of urgency requisite to prompt decisions. In one sermon, he asserted,

> Today the whole world is afraid. Here in the West we have a feeling of gloom. We fear diseases, missiles, invasion and atomic warfare. But the relentlessness of history is coming to a head. The Bible says that during a war [sic] called Armageddon all hell will break loose on earth. The Bible says that one third of the human race will be killed in one hour, one third of the rivers will dry up and one third of the animals and vegetation will be killed. Many believe the Bible is describing an atomic war.[67]

This passage further exposed the literalism with which one of the most highly symbolic sections of the Bible, the book of Revelation, was taken.[68] It also revealed clearly the dispensational premillenialist cast to Palau's eschatology, consistent with the views of the other twentieth-century mass evangelists. Attempts at affecting society for the good are regarded as ultimately futile as the world moves inexorably towards catastrophe; only an individual's personal piety counts.

> What can we do? We can work for peace and encourage our leaders to work for peace, but in reality we must be ready for that day of Armageddon. You can prepare by having Jesus Christ in your heart. The Bible says: 'The peace of God, which transcends all understanding, will guard your hearts and your minds in Christ Jesus'(Philippians 4:7).[69]

This was a continuation of the tendency, integral to dispensationalism, to view the present world as a thoroughly lost cause, the best one could do being to safeguard oneself. Timothy P. Weber credits that theological viewpoint with destroying through the

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67. Luis Palau, 'Jesus Christ is for Today', quoted in Holton and Jones, *Spirit Aflame*, 162-163.
68. Revelation 8 and 9 seemed indiscriminately to be run together with 16.16 and 19.11-21 to construct this particular eschatological scenario.
69. Palau in Holton and Jones, *Spirit Aflame*, 163. Again the Bible was treated in cavalier fashion as this verse is extracted not from teaching on eschatology, but from an exhortation to pious living.

nineteenth century a major element of the evangelicalism it claimed to uphold:

> Premillenialism generally broke the spirit of social concern which had played such a prominent role in earlier evangelicalism. Its hopeless view of the present order left little room for God or for themselves to work in it. The world and the present age belonged to Satan, and lasting reform was impossible until Jesus returned to destroy Satan's power and set up the perfect kingdom.[70]

Palau ended that published sermon with an appeal and a prayer which the reader could use, but the immediate preparation for this climax was the setting out of a choice, between a literal heaven or hell, again employing tension and fear.

> But unfortunately if you die without Christ you go to hell - the other place - the one we *don't* dream about. Hell is not a swear word, but an awful reality. And if you die without Christ, that's where you'll go, but not because God wants you there. The Bible clearly teaches that hell was prepared for the devil and his demons, not for people.[71]

Another example of Palau's calculated playing on the audience's emotions was his telling of a child killed by a truck one day after becoming a Christian. He explained that people have emotions, God-given for a purpose. 'If the story of the death of a beautiful ten-year-old boy shocks someone into coming to Christ, then I say, so be it. Praise the Lord. Let them come.'[72] This particular story was apparently the high point of a sermon which was broadcast on television and radio to more than twenty countries. It was also filmed, 'and people are converted at almost every showing.... From

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70. Timothy P. Weber, *Living in the Shadow of the Second Coming: American Premillenialism, 1875-1925* (New York and Oxford, 1979), 183. See also George M. Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture: The Shaping of Twentieth-Century Evangelicalism 1870-1925* (Oxford and New York, 1980), 125-127; Douglas W. Frank, *Less than Conquerors: How Evangelicals Entered the Twentieth Century* (Grand Rapids, 1986), 60-102; Ernest R. Sandeen, *The Roots of American Fundamentalism: British and American Millenarianism 1800-1930* (Chicago, 1970).
71. Palau, 'Today', 165-166.
72. *Luis Palau Story*, 45.

death comes life.... Little Danilo did not die in vain.'[73] One wonders how the child's family and friends felt.[74]

One example of the use of fear in Palau's New Zealand preaching was reminiscent of the views of anti-intellectual fundamentalism. He portrayed secular universities as godless and to be shunned. Sometimes this was by implication, as in a description of an unnamed professor 'who had a group around him, and they were mocking the message of the resurrection of Jesus - led by him'.[75] He warned, 'Don't let the arguments and philosophies of the world... drag you down.... Don't let the atheists and the humanists and the materialists put you down.'[76] And he ridiculed such people as the professor, 'Throwing his weight around just because he has a doctorate in God-knows-what. It would be the same as if, because I am a theologian speaking to 12,000 people, I start pontificating about atomic power, or trigonometry, or some of those heavy things that I know nothing about, just because I have a certain authority.'[77] The implication was that the professor, because he was an expert in some human-oriented discipline, was *ipso facto* assumed to be disqualified from having anything worthwhile to say about religion. Seemingly, university faculty, in taking up their roles, were seen to make themselves different from other people and lose the ability and the right to interpret the Bible for themselves, which is a foundational tenet of Protestantism.

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73. Ibid.
74. The actual conduct of Palau's meetings did not, though, permit open displays of congregational emotionalism. Of the Glasgow campaign, a British magazine allowed, 'There is no play on the emotions... they walk off as matter-of-factly as if he had asked for volunteers to help with the washing-up'. Quoted in Douglas, 'God's Good Gaucho', 90.
75. Luis Palau, Recording of Mission Waikato Meeting, 22 February 1987. (Audiotape, Hamilton, Mission Waikato, 1987).
76. Ibid.
77. Ibid.

Other persuasive techniques employed by many public speakers were adapted to enhance sermons. For example, the use of cliches and repetition were frequently-used rhetorical devices for reinforcing the message.

> These meetings are not a climax, but rather links in a chain. The mission will go on and on, so pray, pray and keep on praying and bring your friends - they will come because you have been praying for them. I come with great confidence on the one hand, but in fear and trembling. Satan will do everything to discourage us, but greater is He that is in us than he that is in the world.[78]

In this speech, Bill Thomas played on several common expressions and themes. The idea of the 'links in a chain' suggested both a strength of connection and unity among Christians and the need for ongoing commitment to evangelism. The stress on efficacious prayer was a hallmark of evangelical piety, while the need for ongoing prayer was reminiscent of Torrey's exhortations to 'pray through' to a successful conclusion. There was the ever-present fear of a personal Devil attempting to thwart Christians' efforts. Also, Thomas appropriated two New Testament quotes, which both gave his words a familiar ring and reinforced in hearers the impression that here was a man of God who preached a thoroughly Bible-based message.[79] Paul and John, writing with apostolic authority, may have had justifiable grounds for these claims. The suggestion that Thomas was to be received with equal respect and the corresponding denigration of any opposition or criticism, implied in his use of these verses, may seem a demonstration of surpassing arrogance or, at the very least, pastoral insensitivity.

Even if, as so often in these evangelists' use of the Bible, the verses were to be interpreted divorced from their original contexts,

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78. Bill Thomas. Quoted in *Waikato Times*, 7 March 1987, 5.
79. 'Fear and trembling' echoed I Corinthians 2.3, ironically where Paul was stressing to his readers not his personal ability as a

Footnote 79 continued on next page

the impression given by incorporation of such language into what the evangelists said was one of intimate acquaintance with and understanding of the Bible. It thus implied personal godliness and authority for the speaker. The image of the charismatic, authoritative individual who may be relied upon and whose call is to be heeded was thus enhanced.

The steps taken to nurture and assist the spiritual development of Palau mission converts for the most part paralleled closely those in the Ford mission described above. One follow-up strategy, novel to the Palau campaign, gave a further firm and potentially ongoing connection between the new converts and conservative Christianity's theological and moral codes discussed here. This was the sending to all 5,500 converts and 9,000 helpers of Mission to Auckland a complimentary copy of *Challenge*. This issue not only included the first of a series of articles written by Palau for new Christians, but also a letter from the Auckland mission chairman, a special *Challenge* subscription offer, and a four-page supplement promoting the New Zealand Temperance Alliance.[80]

Footnote 79 continued from previous page

rhetorician but rather the power of his message, which was 'not with wise and persuasive words, but with a demonstration of the Spirit's power, so that your faith might not rest on men's wisdom, but on God's power'. 1 Corinthians 2.4-5. 'Greater is He that is in us than he that is in the world' was an adaptation of I John 4.4, another passage which emphasises that the Christian gospel is received only by the truly spiritual. The succeeding verses say of Christians' opponents, 'They are from the world and therefore speak from the viewpoint of the world, and the world listens to them. We are from God, and whoever knows God listens to us; but whoever is not from God does not listen to us. This is how we recognize the Spirit of truth and the spirit of falsehood.' I John 4.5-6. Thus did Thomas legitimate by implication his ministry and message.

80. *Challenge*, 45, 18 (15 May 1987), 1.

THEOLOGICAL MESSAGES IN THE MISSION

In the atmosphere of widespread social and cultural tension pervading New Zealand in the mid-1980s, differing theological opinions were more clearly drawn than they had been in Billy Graham's time. There did seem distinct opportunity for open conflict between liberals and conservatives within the New Zealand churches, compounded by the ongoing disputes deriving from the growth of the Pentecostal/Charismatic movement.[81]

In this climate, liberal critics were prepared to be much more open in their attacks on Palau and mass evangelism than had formerly been the case. The Auckland Anglican bishops and Dr Raymond Pelly have been mentioned earlier in this chapter. Pelly, a theologian, also took strong exception to Palau's theology. The evangelist was taken to task for what Pelly claimed was an emphasis on human guilt for which there was no human response possible, so that 'gradually we are prized loose from our human moorings and dangled over the abyss'.[82] The God portrayed was one of 'power and wrath [who] will destroy you, sinner that you are', unless one turns to Jesus in the appropriately revivalistic manner. This was founded upon the penal substitution doctrine in which 'Jesus on the cross suffers the wrath of Palau's revolting, violent, macho God'. Despite Palau's continual mentioning of 'God' and 'Jesus', Pelly felt that, 'almost totally lacking is any genuine sense of the love of God.... There is no sense of a God who stands with his people in suffering and joy, of a God who works with people as they work through their own

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81. See above, Chapter Two.
82. 'Not the Gospel of Christ', 8-9.

experience, however terrible....' For Pelly, Palau's view of God was of a deity who was transcendent rather than immanent, having meaningful contact with humanity only to judge and condemn.

Palau's own theological position was set out publicly in general terms in the 'Luis Palau Evangelistic Team Statement of Faith', a moderate and broad document, largely following the Apostles' Creed, with some specifically evangelical nuances.[83] Section One was a standard trinitarian statement. Section Two, on Christology, specifically mentioned the deity, virgin birth, miracles, bodily resurrection and ascension of Jesus. Penal substitution was the only view of the atonement mentioned, with belief in 'His vicarious death and atonement through His shed blood'. There was also a millenarian, though not specifically dispensationalist, expectation of Jesus' 'personal return in power and glory'. A section devoted exclusively to soteriology envisaged 'lost and sinful man', requiring 'faith in Jesus Christ and regeneration by the Spirit', but without specifying further what these theologically fraught terms might entail. The statement concerning the Holy Spirit was solidly evangelical, conceding nothing to Pentecostalism, as the Spirit's 'indwelling' ministry enabled the Christian 'to live a godly life' - no mention of spiritual power or gifts. 'Forgiveness of sins, the resurrection of the body, and life eternal' were all traditional credal expectations.

The sixth section's description of the Church, though, specified its composition of 'all who are regenerated through faith'. A more usual admission requirement would have been justification, and the whole qualifying clause bore undertones of Palau's Brethren

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83. 'Luis Palau Evangelistic Team Statement of Faith', undated single-page typescript.

background with its emphasis on the true gathered Church, visibly different from the surrounding world, rather than, say, Catholic and Anglican inclusive views of the Church as an indistinguishable admixture of wheat and tares. The statement facilitated the revivalistic call for a clearcut decision for Christ and for the rededication of the nominal.

Additional to traditional creeds, the 'Statement' appended a declaration regarding the importance of the Bible. It is 'the inspired Word of God and the supreme and final authority in faith and life'. This, again, was broadly evangelical rather than catering solely for fundamentalist insistence on total inerrancy. It also said nothing about the more liberal emphasis on the incarnation and ministry of Jesus as the Word of God as expressed, for example, by the Auckland Anglican bishops.

The flavour of the entire document was one of trying to retain acceptability to the broadest possible spectrum of Christianity, while meeting the demands of American conservatives. It had echoes of the historic creeds, yet addressed peculiarly evangelical interests in, for example, matters of the atonement, parousia, nature of the Church and authority of the Bible. While theologically conservative, it was not a fundamentalist document.

Palau's associate evangelist, Bill Thomas, was not nearly so reticent about his fundamentalist beliefs. His own organisation's publicity brochure about him spelled out clearly some positions which Palau's statement had fudged.[84] Regarding scripture, Thomas believed 'that the Bible (66 canonical books) is the inspired and infallible Word of God and inerrant in the original manuscripts'.[85]

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84. 'Introducing Bill Thomas'.
85. It seemed Palau could take his biblical fundamentalism to the same extent as Thomas. In a sermon during Mission to London,
Footnote 85 continued on next page

Christ 'suffered on the cross as our substitute', and 'Our salvation is by grace through faith alone in the shed blood of Jesus Christ'. Thomas's anthropology was both creationist and, for a revivalist, unusually Calvinistic: 'Man was created by a direct act of God in His own image. Our first parents, Adam and Eve, disobeyed God (sinned). Therefore, all of their descendants are born with a sinful nature....', while 'good works, both personal and social, are among the results of salvation'.[86]

Thomas had stronger Pentecostal sympathies than had Palau. His brochure claimed, 'He enjoyed the fullness of the Holy Spirit at an early age', and that this experience 'is absolutely essential for a life of holiness, power and godly service'. These expressions, 'fullness', 'holiness' and 'power', are all key catch-phrases of the Holiness and Pentecostal movements, to which was appended the less ambitious 'godly service' of the evangelical. His brochure also described his ministry as 'Holy Spirit-empowered', related not to a special ability to evangelise or serve, but to more dramatic manifestations: 'As witnesses together with the Holy Spirit, we follow Christ's command to lay hands on the sick and heal them, and cast out demons in His Name'. Although he did encourage the sick 'to avail themselves of the best in medical science', the implication was that the Spirit's empowerment related only to healing/exorcism activities, somehow differentiated from ordinary evangelism.

Footnote 85 continued from previous page
he had asserted before a scripture reading, 'The Bible is without error. You can trust it 100 per cent. Everything it affirms is the truth of God'. Quoted in Holton and Jones, *Spirit Aflame*, 157.

86. 'Introducing Bill Thomas'.

Also, a more restrictive ecclesiology even than Palau's was envisaged in Thomas's description of the Church as 'all those who have truly accepted Jesus Christ by faith as their Lord and Savior'. This combination of evangelical/revivalistic jargon clearly delineated an anticipation of the decisionmaking procedure and individualistic relationship with Christ. Thomas, too, added more detail to his eschatology, expecting Christ's 'personal, visible return... at the end of the Age.[sic] The eternal blessedness of the redeemed, and the eternal punishment of the lost'.

However, despite these published credos, in practice Luis Palau, like the other mass evangelists before him, often emphasised the pietistic rather than the doctrinal aspects of conservative Christianity. In his published series of follow-up articles, he devoted much space to such topics as 'Taking Time to Pray', 'Praying in God's Will', 'Communion with God' and the Bible as 'Your Daily Bread'. He identified prayerlessness as the chief cause of Christians failing truly to follow Christ, so he advocated both a formal devotional time set aside daily, preferably in the morning, and ongoing prayer as need arose throughout the day.[87] By getting to know the Bible and praying consistently one could develop 'a sensitivity' with God, so that one could discern and pray for things which are in God's will.[88] Another article schematised 'the kind of prayer that God delights to answer': one must believe that God will answer, ask directly, and confess one's sins,[89] while its successor further refined the system by use of a notebook as an *aide-mémoire* of prayer-topics and a confidence and thanks-inspiring record of God's answers.[90]

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87. *Challenge*, 45, 19 (22 May 1987), 16.
88. *Challenge*, 45, 20 (29 May 1987), 20.
89. *Challenge*, 45, 21 (5 June 1987), 16.
90. *Challenge*, 45, 22 (12 June 1987), 3.

One study, admittedly using literature produced by the Waikato mission organisers rather than by Palau personally, has described the nature of the prayer being requested.[91] Reflecting a preoccupation very similar to that of earlier evangelicalism critiqued by Douglas Frank,[92] the prayer as being both a power itself and as a means of gaining access to the power of God. Sometimes that power was to be used as a weapon against a personal Devil in the cosmic conflict between good and evil. Or it might be a means of meteorological control, so that weather during the mission would be conducive to the gaining of large attendances. The mission's publicists appeared confused over the relative places in the process filled by God and the individual; whether the efficacy of prayer was dependent solely on divine favour, or whether 'it's our attitude alone that counts'.[93] The meaning conveyed throughout was 'that prayer is power, a spiritual force rather than a mode of address; an activity pertinent to a supernatural realm as against a means of engagement in an I-Thou relationship with the Divine'.[94]

An ambivalence also occurred in the mission's preaching over the question of whether or not a person's spirituality was entirely their own responsibility. The phrase 'God has no grandchildren' was used frequently, even being the title of a video of Palau's campaign in Wales. Such a mission had become necessary, it was claimed, because the effects of the 1904-1905 revival had not been transmitted automatically from generation to generation. The

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91. Douglas Pratt, 'Mission, Medium and Message: A Critique of the 1987 Luis Palau Campaign', in *'Rescue the Perishing': Comparative Perspectives on Evangelism and Revivalism*, edited by Douglas Pratt (Auckland, 1989), 57-76.
92. Douglas W. Frank, *Less Than Conquerors: How Evangelicals Entered the Twentieth Century* (Grand Rapids, 1986), esp. ch.4.
93. *Mission Bulletin* (Waikato), February 1987, 7.
94. Pratt, 'Mission', 62.

individual's decision to become a child of God, the whole focus of revivalistic evangelism, was essential precisely because each person must be converted on that individual basis.

Yet, in unresolved tension with this assertion, there was also a repeated emphasis in Palau's ministry on the spiritual benefits of a godly family providing a good Christian upbringing within the community of faith. Thus Pat Palau, Luis's wife, could write an article entitled, `Pass on a Heritage of Salvation', describing how although her parents were not Christians during her youth, yet her grandparents were, positively influencing their descendants. She declared, `You may be a first-generation Christian with no spiritual inheritance of your own. But you can pass on a rich, godly heritage to your children, and to your grandchildren. The promise of Psalm 103: 17 is true: "From everlasting to everlasting the Lord's love is with those who fear him, and his righteousness with their children's children".'[95] This sounded more akin to Calvinistic covenant theology than to Arminian revivalism, yet may have been a reflection more of the type of sentimental depictions of family life popularised by Moody, whose book featured in her story, than of rigorously thought-out theology and exegesis. Alternatively, the mission's centring on the godly family as the crucial bulwark against the encroachments of secularism may have tinctured their thinking on other issues.

The doctrine of regeneration received but a brief, simplistic and culturally-bound redefinition from Palau. It became merely a spiritual washing away of sins which was like `taking a shower, putting on perfume and drinking Coca-Cola after a sporting match'.[96]

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95. *Challenge*, 45, 18 (15 May 1987), 16.
96. *Waikato Times*, 23 March 1987, 1.

Since at least the writing of the *Didache* at around the end of the first century A.D., there has been tension within the Christian Church between the established pastoral and hierarchical leaders of the local church and the itinerants, who have often seemed to attract the glamour whilst accepting little responsibility. In Auckland, the same tension was in evidence with the opposition, discussed above, of the Anglican bishops, the question of how their flock should receive and act upon those concerns, and the integration of the parachurch Palau mission with local institutional structures.

Mission participants and supporters seemed to project an ambivalence over its relationship to the existing churches. To some, the crusade was perceived as a victory for real, biblical Christianity over 'traditional religion'. One interview with Palau, entitled 'Break the Mould Every Day', was almost exclusively concerned with converts (and Christians generally) avoiding 'religious tradition', which was clearly boring and pernicious but remained an undefined looming menace.[97] Palau diplomatically sidestepped the proferred direct opportunities to attack 'the establishment', but did observe that a 'religious shell' becomes an obstacle to one's personal growth and must be broken. 'Now, some have led by rabble-rousing, getting at the religious establishment. Others, though (and this is what I'd like to do personally), can lead so many people to Christ that a spontaneous combustion takes place. The religious shell cracks, people begin to act differently and "the system" is put to one side so it's no hindrance.'

Once again, mass evangelism, by creating large numbers of new Christians, became *ipso facto* a panacea for all manner of ills, in

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97. *Challenge*, 45, 15 (17 April 1987), 12.

this case 'the system' of 'formal Christianity'. Palau's personal view may be interpreted as a typically pietistic impatience with everything extraneous to the individual's relationship with God, but *Challenge*'s interviewer's distinction between 'merely being a traditional Christian' and 'a Christian as God wants them to be' contained implied criticism of non-charismatic, formal churches at least.[98]

Yet, clearly, others, probably the large majority, anticipated the mission would reinforce at least part of 'the system'. Bishop Browne expected this to be so for denominations generally and for Catholicism particularly. The mission publicity brimmed with expectations of strengthened existing churches. David Harry, Waikato mission co-ordinator, looked for a numerical increase of 'at least 30 percent' in every participating congregation.[99] And associate evangelist Bill Thomas declared, 'It is our position that the Church is God's only agent on earth for reconciliation of men to Himself...' - a statement of almost Cyprianic strength.[100] These statements obviously implied full support for existing structures.

The theology of the Palau mission was, therefore, closer to an overtly fundamentalist position than any of the earlier missions since Torrey's had been.[101] The advance publicity for Palau suggested he was of a softer, more evangelical persuasion, but Thomas's publicity made clear he personally took a harder line. The mission was presented as being intended to aid the Christian Church as a whole in New Zealand, but the evangelists' published ecclesiologies demonstrated a much more restrictive attitude

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98. Ibid.
99. *Mission Bulletin* (Waikato), September-October 1986, supplement, 3.
100. *Mission Bulletin* (Waikato), November 1986, 2.
101. See also Pratt, 'Mission', *passim*.

regarding the nature of the Church. Certainly, some of their local supporters viewed it as limited to a particular type of Christians believing and worshipping in a particular way, demonstrating a tendency towards a doctrinaire and separatist fundamentalism. Thus, aspects of the mission's theology may well have exascerbated existing divisions within New Zealand Christianity rather than helping to heal them.

SOCIAL MESSAGES OF THE MISSION

Conservative Christians had become heavily involved in pressure groups concerned with ethical and moral matters during the 1980s.[102] In addition to the issues discussed above of the mission's theological concentration on personal rather than institutionalised sin and its focus on individual moral improvement, there were, too, other social messages being conveyed by the mission which placed it firmly on one side of this debate already taking place in New Zealand society.

From before he arrived in the country, Palau signalled his intention to preach a message with strongly social overtones and conservative evangelical emphases, stressing 'sex and temptation', the importance of men playing the leading role at home, male-female relationships, Christian business ethics and the recent rise of occult practices.[103] There were whole sermons devoted to these matters.[104] Billy Graham's reticence to make pronouncements on

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102. See above, Chapter Two.
103. *Waikato Times*, 16 March 1987, 14.
104. Luis Palau, Recording of Mission Waikato Meeting, 22 February 1987, Tape 6 (Audiotape, Hamilton, Mission Waikato, 1987).

such matters and his concentration on preaching an exclusively evangelistic gospel seemed to have gone by the board.

The central emphasis of the social comment in Palau's ministry in New Zealand was on the family. As noted above, this was a key theme upon which the country's 'moral right' groups had played constantly for some years.[105] Palau had written a whole book, readily available at the time of the mission, devoted to giving his responses to convoluted family problems, from a husband's boredom with his wife to a teenager's attempts to cope with her mother's adultery.[106] Typically, the Bible was appealed to as 'God's instruction book for living',[107] and Palau's advice was sprinkled liberally with biblical quotations. Often these were abstracted from their original contexts and reapplied as rules for life. Thus, for example, when giving advice regarding a 'weak, ineffectual' man's need to discipline his teenaged son, Palau deployed Deuteronomy 6.6-7: 'The Bible says, "These commands that I give you today are to be upon your hearts. Impress them on your children. Talk about them when you sit at home and when you walk along the road, when you lie down and when you get up".'[108] No cognisance was taken of these verses' relationship to the Shema, nor of their covenant affirmation role within Old Testament Judaism. In this

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105. Sociologist Allanah Ryan saw this theme as, in fact, the universally appealing 'articulating principle' around which the 'moral right' had built its secure, authoritative answer to the insecurities felt by New Zealanders faced by confusing social changes challenging traditional morality. This system then functioned as a conservative attempt to gain 'moral hegemony' in New Zealand, dominating attitudes about gender and family relations, sexuality and morality. Allanah Ryan, '"For God, Country, and Family": Populist Moralism and the New Zealand Moral Right', *New Zealand Sociology*, 1 (1986), esp. 109-111.
106. Luis Palau, *Tough Questions* (London, 1984).
107. Ibid., 31.
108. Ibid., 45-46.

regard, Palau's attitude towards the Bible tended more towards Richard Mouw's moralistic category, quarrying the biblical texts for precepts for 'right living'.[109]

Repeatedly, in his sermons Palau stressed that modern families were disintegrating and that the centrality of Christ was essential to a family's continued existence, even Palau's own.[110] The New Zealand groups' rhetoric also displayed the same fears and blamed a range of ills. Some feared godless, Marxist, state intrusion into personal, especially parental, rights. One writer claimed, 'In case you haven't realised it, the family today is under siege'. He or she insisted that this assault could be treacherously subtle, as when the government provided dependency-creating handouts to the needy, but 'sometimes the attack on the family is more overt, as with Marxism and the strident feminists, whose aim is to "free" women by destroying the family.... Inheritance taxes, abortion on demand, welfare handouts, state education - all have helped to destroy the family.'[111] On the other hand, different spokespeople could also insist on legislation to protect the family and 'proper' social values, as in the political campaign associated with the abortion debate in the late 1970s or the nation-wide agitation, lobbying and petition-signing opposing the 1985 Homosexual Law Reform Bill, legislation which did move to reduce state regulation of moral activity.

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109. See above, 26.
110. e.g. 'If Jesus Christ wasn't the centre of our home my wife Pat and I would have broken up long ago. I don't know what would have happened to our four boys.' Luis Palau, 'Jesus Christ is for Today' in Holton and Jones, *Spirit Aflame*, 163-164.
111. C. Munroe, 'The Family Under Siege', *Issacharian Report* (May 1987), 12. Quoted in Allanah Ryan, 'Remoralising Politics', in Bruce Jesson, Allanah Ryan and Paul Spoonley, *Revival of the Right: New Zealand Politics in the 1980s*, (Auckland, 1988), 80.

The Palau mission did not specifically identify the threats quite so, but it did assume several formulae, all appropriated as Christian principles, which, it was believed, would help to ensure familial stability. In the evangelists' public statements, it was implied that good would result from the establishment of what was claimed to be the divinely ordained and therefore truly Christian systematised hierarchy of relationships. Palau, and especially his associate Bill Thomas, expected male headship of the family and women's submission to husbands. Thomas stated, 'It is man's role in the family to discipline the children and to earn the living for the family.... These models were built in and if upset caused psychological problems for people'.[112] Other commentators observed that Palau said much the same, the Rev. Joan Cook reporting him as saying that 'if a person did not believe in the submission of women he was anti-family, anti-male, and anti-parenting'.[113]

One writer, though, did find in the Whangarei meetings that marital responsibility was not portrayed as all one-way: 'He talked about male tyranny as sternly as he talked about women's liberation - and about the need for forgiveness in marriage.... If he gave no comfort to doctrinaire feminists, he socked it to macho oafs and nudged the meaning of "submission" in marriage towards "resting in one another's strengths".'[114]

Certainly, Palau's reported statements were softer than Thomas's. In Whangarei, he said that women had much to offer the Church, depending on their individual gifts and situation, and even that 'there is no male and female because all are one in Jesus Christ. Man was never perceived as superior.'[115] Once again,

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112. *Waikato Times*, 18 March 1987, 3.
113. *New Zealand Herald*, 1 May 1987, 1.
114. Mike Paterson, 'Palau the Man', *Accent*, 2, 4 (May 1987), 7.
115. *Northern Advocate*, 20 March 1987, 5.

though, he saw a movement which seeks to challenge oppressive social structure, in this case feminism, in purely personal moralistic terms. He described 'women's liberation' (a term easier to interpret individualistically than feminism) as a 'big mistake', since 'if you think you can find fulfilment and satisfaction by dumping one man and finding another, you are wrong. No man can satisfy a woman.'[116] Within this limitation of women's liberation to a context of discrete relationships, the gender hierarchy was still taken for granted. He sympathised with the 'women's liberation movement' as a response to admitted male arrogance and unfaithfulness (retaining another individualistic connotation) and 'Therefore, I think there is a good reason why many women feel alarmed and rebellious but rebellion is not the biblical answer'.[117] The term 'rebellion' assumed a superior authority, men, against whom the women react.

Yet women might still have a kind of authority within their traditional sphere of moral influence. An interviewer asked Palau his opinion of the American Pentecostal televangelist, Oral Roberts, who was then making histrionic pleas to his followers for money. Palau replied, 'I often say, "Where is the wife?" Why doesn't she say, "Oral, stop this foolishness, you're making a clown of yourself"?'[118] This may have been a contemporary religious equivalent of Torrey and Chapman's picture of the saintly mother who by devotion and example kept the wayward husband and children in the straight and narrow way.

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116. *Northern Advocate*, 16 March 1987, 18.
117. *Northern Advocate*, 20 March 1987, 5. No 'biblical' alternative to such action was proffered.
118. Wichtel, 'Joyful Story', 14. Regarding the fiscal and sexual scandals surrounding Roberts and other televangelists, Palau was highly critical. He said, 'it was a crash waiting to happen. It was a question of time, of when and of whom.

Footnote 118 continued on next page

These views of desirable family relationships echoed exactly the opinions of the New Zealand 'moral right' groups. The Family Charter's second and third clauses affirmed that, marriage 'is monogamous, heterosexual and permanent. No official recognition should be given to homosexual or de facto unions.... The husband and wife have equal status but different roles.'[119] One of these groups, the Concerned Parents' Association, which specialised in educational issues, emphasised the gender-based, hierarchical nature of those roles: 'God's order is that, within marriage, a man has responsibility for the care and the protection of his wife; together they have the responsibility for the care, protection, upbringing and education of their children.'[120]

The moral standards to which Palau adhered personally, and assumed appropriate for all confessing Christians, were fairly clear. However, he hesitated to attempt to apply those standards beyond the Christian community in the ways demanded by the New Zealand political lobby groups such as the Coalition of Concerned Citizens who wished to recriminalise homosexuality. For example, when asked about legislation for morality, Palau declined to be drawn and redefined it as a matter between people and God:

> You simply cannot demand Christian ethics from non-Christian people. You have to realise you're going to have to do a lot of compromising this side of heaven. I don't think the New Testament encourages the passing of laws in the sense that the adulterer in the days of Israel [sic] should be stoned.

Footnote 118 continued from previous page

There was too much excess glamour, too much flaunting of riches, of diamonds and gold, of Hollywood movie stars, talk of mansions and private jet planes.' Quoted in *New Zealand Baptist*, 103, 4 (May 1987), 3.

119. 'Family Charter'. Quoted in Ryan, 'Remoralising Politics', 61.

120. Concerned Parents Association, 'Parents versus the State', *C.P.A. Newsletter* (October/November 1983), 8. Quoted in Ryan, 'Remoralising Politics', 67. The 'Family Charter' itself made this assumption explicit in clause 15: 'The average father's income should be sufficient to support his family. His wife

Footnote 120 continued on next page

> God loves homosexuals. He loves lesbians. He's for them, he wants to do something with them.[121]

Social issues were continually viewed by Palau in a personal way. For example, regarding pornography, he observed that it was degrading to use women just to 'show their breasts and legs', but then asked, 'Why should my daughters-in-law, beautiful girls, be looked at by every man who walks by thinking, "I'd like to see *her* in a *Playboy* centrefold"? I hate that. It's insulting. It's a blasphemy, in my opinion.'[122] But, again, he saw no real point in moralistic legislation: '"I know you're not going to stop it if you pass a law. In fact, the more laws you pass, the more it's going to multiply...." Delicate questions, says Palau. "I can't say I've got an answer".'[123]

Palau did still see a possibility of social activism by Christians in the wider community, but it would have to be for a suitably spiritual cause, presumably excluding, for example, liberation theologians' agitation over matters of justice and economics. But some degree of civil disobedience could be justified if there were restrictions on evangelism. 'Dr Palau said that, while he did not espouse violence, Christians could "seriously consider" breaking laws which violated God's Word, such as laws banning preaching the Gospel.'[124] Again Palau showed himself, despite his South American experience, to have his views circumscribed by traditional evangelical concentration on personal morality and individualised conceptions of sin, with little ability

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Footnote 120 continued from previous page
should not be forced to go out to work and risk neglect of the children.' Quoted in Ryan, 'Remoralising Politics', 62.

121. Quoted in Wichtel, 'Joyful Story', 14.
122. Ibid.
123. Ibid.
124. *Waikato Times*, 16 March 1987, 14.

to perceive or react to broader social issues. Godly standards and 'spiritual' concerns appropriate to Christians were assumed, but there was little to be said beyond these. And his preaching and publicly reported statements reinforced only these limited perceptions within New Zealand conservative Christianity.

The evangelists repeatedly attempted to turn this social message into an evangelistic one. Typical was Palau's final sermon in Hamilton which, as earlier promised, he devoted to 'young people', giving some of the promised attention to 'sex and temptation'. He assured his hearers, 'The most important questions for young people were would they keep themselves pure and would they marry a non-believer. If they did [sic] it would wreck their lives....'[125] An evangelist would normally have said that one's eternal salvation and relationship with God were the issues of paramount importance, but Palau managed to introduce this aspect only in the context of females resisting sexual immorality: 'Women's bodies were sacred and Jesus was saying, "Let me come intop [sic] your life, don't let the world drag you down, don't let the atheist or humanist movements pull you down.... You don't belong to yourself, you belong to God. God owned you and paid dearly for you...".'[126] Interestingly, the villains of the piece envisaged here were depersonalised, nebulous, worldly anti-God movements. An individual's inherent sinful nature or the machinations of a personal Devil had dropped out of sight, perhaps cutting too close to the bone for the prevailing triumphalist mood.

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125. *Waikato Times*, 23 March 1987, 1.
126. Ibid. Once more a biblical quotation was pressed into an unaccustomed duty. The last sentence was adapted from I

Footnote 126 continued on next page

RESULTS AND EVALUATION OF THE MISSION

In Hamilton, Mission Waikato had been expected to draw 20,000 people to each of the meetings at which Palau spoke, with 75% of Hamilton churches supporting it.[127] In the event, in Hamilton, a total of 53,150 people attended and 931 responses were gained, but 13,000 of these were at the children's programme, Rainbow Special, and another 15,500 at Bill Thomas's three meetings.[128] When other meetings such as the fashion parade/coffee morning for women are deducted, the Waikato mission seems to have fallen well short of the hopes held for it.[129] One brief study indicated the lack of general community impact in that even the ordinary attenders at meetings had been comprised very largely of regular churchgoers, and that very few could not be classified as already Christians.[130]

Footnote 126 continued from previous page
Corinthians 6.19-20: 'You are not your own; you were bought at a price'. But although Paul was writing about shunning sexual immorality, it was to those already Christians. He was not applying these standards to those outside the Church, nor was he imputing salvation to non-Christians, as Palau's statement could have suggested.

127. Interview with Peter Bourke, Mission publicity convener, *Waikato Times*, 12 March 1987, 11.

128. Hamilton statistics from *Mission Bulletin* (Waikato), final issue (n.d.), 4, 7, 8. The ever-optimistic (or confused) Peter Bourke had earlier claimed over 60,000 total attendance. *Waikato Times*, 28 March 1987, 7.

129. The climactic Sunday night meeting with Palau attracted only about 9,000. *Waikato Times*, 23 March 1987, 1. Even if, as a correspondent to the editor later claimed, this underestimated the actual attendance of 12,000, barely two-thirds of the hoped-for number were there. *Waikato Times*, 27 March 1987, 5.

130. Bryan Gilling, 'Convinced Christians Convincing Convinced Christians? A Study of Attenders at a Luis Palau Crusade Meeting', in *'Rescue the Perishing': Comparative Perspectives on Evangelism and Revivalism*, edited by Douglas Pratt (Auckland, 1989), 77-96. The attempt to undertake that survey was hampered by the uncooperativeness of crusade officials, again indicative of the tension surrounding the crusade and of the deeper antipathy towards anyone associated with a secular university.

The Auckland mission mass meetings attracted a total attendance of 153,750, yielding 5,375 enquirers.[131] Of these Auckland enquirers, 12.79% were of Catholic affiliation, 11.59% Presbyterian and 9.34% Anglican. 17.74% claimed either no religious affiliation or (1.13%) to be converts from a non-Christian religion. Discounting children, who were not asked with respect to denomination, 69.88% of all enquirers were adults or teenagers already associated to some extent with a church, although this proportion was lower in Hamilton. 55.38% of the enquirers were female, 44.62% were male, compared with 59% and 41% in Hamilton. Of the about 500 churches in Auckland, 361 had supported the Mission.[132]

The supporters of the mission saw it as a substantial success. The final Waikato *Mission Bulletin* was headlined, 'Mission meetings end: BUT REVIVAL CONTINUES', and also claimed, 'Revival has begun in Waikato'. The Waikato mission continued steadfastly to maintain that there had been a great triumph. Bill Thomas's difficulties at the University of Waikato only highlighted his 'total honesty'. He continued to be portrayed as having 'an uncanny ability to relate to whatever group he is speaking to'.[133] Palau apparently won hearts with his 'sensitivity to the feelings of others and general friendliness'.[134] An evangelist's customary expression of satisfaction and optimism for the future was also forthcoming. Palau observed after his forty-eight hour stay, 'I have a massive regret that I didn't come to the Waikato for longer. It had all the

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131. Auckland statistics from *Mission Bulletin* (Auckland), 12 (July 1987), 3.
132. Capt. Chris Pack, Mission Secretary, quoted in *New Zealand Baptist*, 103, 4 (May 1987), 1.
133. Peter Bourke, *Waikato Times*, 28 March 1987, 7.
134. Ibid.

elements for a mature and exciting spiritual revival.' He was reported to say 'he had never seen such unity among believers as he had seen in this country - especially in the Waikato'.[135] This echoed Billy Graham's frequent declarations that his most recent mission had been his most successful ever.

Although Auckland's claims were less extravagant, the leaders felt that at least the experience of interdenominational unity amongst participants, the new body of trained counsellors and small-group leaders, and the public presentation of a combined Christian presence were all ongoing benefits additional to the numbers of enquirers. Supporters were not necessarily dismayed at the poor response relative to that for Billy Graham, because of the intervening alterations in social conditions (e.g. the alternative attractions and deleterious moral effects of television) and mores. 'Billy Graham was an event - these days people like that [i.e. itinerant evangelists] are two a penny.... Even in '69, most folk would have given a nodding assent to Christian ethics. In the light of that, the attendance at Luis Palau was quite remarkable really.'[136]

One unusual response to the mission was a public post-crusade debate held at the University of Waikato, the motion debated being, 'That a Christian Crusade on campus by Luis Palau should be fully supported'. Pastor Jim Williams, a local Assembly of God minister, and the Rev. Brian Brandon, the Waikato Mission chairman, took the affirmative, while they were opposed by the Rev. Dr Douglas Pratt, the then University chaplain, and Mr Norman Kingsbury, an Anglican layman and the University's registrar. Although no final vote was

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135. Ibid. Also *New Zealand Baptist*, 103, 4 (May 1987),1.
136. Rev. Dr D.G. Stewart, interview, 17 May 1988.

taken, the crowd size necessitating two large lecture theatres and the animated subsequent discussion indicated an ongoing community impact from the mission.

CONCLUSION

Palau's mission was, therefore, not as successful as the earlier Billy Graham crusades had been. It did, however, gain considerably greater public attention than did the contemporary Leighton Ford campaign. Much of that attention, though, was more notoriety than fame. The widely-publicised opposition of the Auckland Anglican bishops provided a story on which the news media could capitalise, while Palau and Thomas's public statements were sufficiently controversial to fan those flames once lit. The messages of the evangelists, both theological and social, went far beyond the basic requirements of mass evangelistic attempts at conversion and provided substantial support for the conservative wing of contemporary New Zealand Christianity. They reinforced a view of the Bible veering back to fundamentalistic inerrancy and a concern with an individual's spiritual wellbeing to the exclusion of wider theological or social concerns. In those social concerns, their view was restricted almost exclusively to matters of personal morality, again echoing the rhetoric and interests of only one group of New Zealand Christians.

The Palau mission seems, then, not to have advanced beyond the perspectives of the Billy Graham era and, indeed, to have gone back beyond Graham to have resurrected concerns not voiced in New Zealand

by a mass evangelist since Chapman, or even Torrey. The New Zealand religious atmosphere had changed and where earlier groups of irenic evangelicals had welcomed pacific figures such as Billy Graham and Leighton Ford, now the evangelist who did attract notice was much more forthright and flamboyant, prepared to interlard evangelistic appeals with pugnacious social comment. It is debatable whether he was any more successful purely as an evangelist than his contemporary, Ford, because of this approach, but he was certainly the more prominent as a public Christian figure.

CHAPTER NINE

'THE HEART IS GREATER THAN THE HEAD':

THE MUSIC OF THE MISSIONS AND ITS EFFECTS

The total message of any public speech is conveyed not only in the words actually uttered by the speaker, but also in the medium, the context in which those words were spoken. The tone of the mission meetings was set in some degree by their physical surroundings, the tent or auditorium in which the crowds, by their very presence, raised expectations. But above all, that tone was set by the music of the missions. music that permitted audience participation, and thus gave communal expression and reinforcement to certain beliefs and feelings.[1]

The music is important since, as has been observed by contemporaries and other scholars, the hymnal was 'next to the Bible among religious books in its influence over mind and heart'.[2] Students of Protestant religious phenomena have delved deep into hymnals to find the essence of these expressions of the Christian faith, on the premise that, 'Protestantism, when all is said and done, is more adequately represented by its hymns and prayers than

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1. Since psychology of religion, semiotics and the variety of other social sciences which could be employed to analyse the gatherings and music are each major fields of academic endeavour in themselves, this study does not seek to incorporate every possible insight which could be gained through their use. Instead, this analysis has been restricted largely to the more directly 'religious' and theological aspects of the missions' music and its use, and uses work already done in this regard by a limited number of scholars, particularly Sizer and De Jong, as discussed below.
2. Robert S. MacArthur, 'Current Literature', *Baptist Quarterly Review*, 11 (1889), 398. Quoted in Mary G. De Jong, '"I Want to be Like Jesus": The Self- Defining Power of Evangelical Hymnody', *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, 54 (1986), 462.

by its textbooks'.[3] Even in studying the religion of the present day, social scientists may often turn to the music generated for greater insight into popular piety and theology which may not be published in scholarly systematic theologies.[4]

De Jong notes that hymnic influence was particularly strong amongst evangelicals from at least the nineteenth century, since the words were regarded as both inspired by God's word, the Bible, and informed by Christian experience, 'so evangelicals tended to accept as definitive the models proposed and views espoused in the hymns'.[5] She continues by noting the expectation that compilers of hymnals often expressed, that singers would internalise the songs, would 'make them their own'. Songs and hymns, therefore, by definition had to be 'true', to ideals if not to an individual's experience. The acceptance by the singers of the validity of the expression of theology and experience seems to have been unquestioning. It may, therefore, be regarded as reflecting the piety and theology, even the self-definition, of the group, while at the same time helping to form and shape that very self-understanding.

Each pair of missions in this study had much of their music in common and will consequently be analysed jointly. In the first section of this chapter, the music of Charles M. Alexander, who accompanied both Torrey and Chapman as their songleader, is analysed in some detail to determine the major messages communicated through it. This analysis will reveal the theology and social attitudes

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3. Robert McAfee Brown, *The Spirit of Protestantism* (New York, 1965), xxi. Quoted in Dale A. Johnson, 'Is This the Lord's Song? Pedagogy and Polemic in Modern English Hymns', *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, 48 (1979), 196.
4. Thus, British sociologist David Martin asserts that, 'the hymn is the most central item in the religion of Britain'. *A Sociology of English Religion* (London, 1967), 88. Quoted in Johnson, 'Lord's Song', 196.
5. De Jong, 'Like Jesus', 462.

conveyed and popularised in his songs. Since there is evidence available of the impact it had on audiences, these, too, are described. The second section looks at the music of the two Billy Graham crusades as compiled by Graham's associate, Cliff Barrows, to discern any alterations in those messages or effects since the Alexander period. Was Christianity or society portrayed any differently in mid-century? The process is continued in the third section, where the songsheets of the Ford and Palau missions are studied to reveal further changes in the tone and conduct of the mass evangelistic missions, their theology and attitudes, and those of their constituencies.

CHARLES M. ALEXANDER AND THE MUSIC OF THE 1902 AND 1912-13 MISSIONS

The Musician and His Methods

The music of both the 1902 Torrey mission and the 1912-1913 Chapman mission was a feature in a way not repeated in any of the subsequent New Zealand mass evangelistic ventures. This was due in large part to the personal influence and ability of the songleader both Torrey and Chapman brought with them, Charles McCallon Alexander, and to the large songbook he compiled for use in their missions. The part he played as a person, deliberately evoking certain feelings and attitudes amongst the audiences, is explored, then the social and theological tutelage given in the songs themselves is discussed. We shall see that having such a congenial individual, and attractive and memorable vocal music, enhanced the preacher's words and aided his appeal for decisions, whilst

Charles M. Alexander. Australian Christian World, Showers of Blessing (Sydney, 1909).

assisting in the development of a community of fellow-feeling amongst the audience.

The exuberant chorister, Alexander, had been born and raised on a Tennessee farm and was later educated at the small Maryville University nearby, becoming the school's director of music.[6] Through a combination of multiple readings of Finney's autobiography and the shock of his own father's death, the young Alexander underwent a thoroughgoing evangelical conversion. From 1892 until 1894 he attended Moody Bible Institute, studying under R.A. Torrey, where he both developed his musical and organisational talents and indulged his evangelistic zeal. The next eight years he spent as songleader for the evangelist Milan B. Williams until Torrey, needing an assistant on his world tour, invited his former pupil to participate.

When conducting an evangelistic mission, Alexander had clearly in mind how he wished to prepare an audience psychologically to respond fully to the following speaker - to become rapidly as one large, happy family, secure, comfortable and accepting.

> The first thing I do is by some method to produce a homelike atmosphere among the people in the audience. One must make them forget that they are in a set service. I try to do nothing undignified or eccentric, but endeavour to induce such a feeling as you have in a company of friends gathered around a fireside at home....
> One of the best and quickest methods... is to pick out a little boy or girl from somewhere in the gathering, have the child stand on the seat where he [sic] is, or call him to the platform, and let him sing the chorus alone. If too bashful, call two children together. This is rather risky, but it nearly always works. The sympathy of the audience is called out to the boy or girl. People forget the leader, forget themselves, forget the things they were thinking about when they entered the building.
> In the beginning with a new audience I always select one of the simplest airs in the book.... In a short time they learn the song, see my movements and what they mean, and follow me

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6. For biographical details, see Kermit L. Staggers, 'Reuben A. Torrey: American Fundamentalist, 1856-1928' (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Claremont Graduate School, 1986), ch.4; Helen C.

Footnote 6 continued on next page

> more quickly and easily in the remainder of the service. Finally, a leader must be a leader. He will certainly fail if he does not make up his mind that he is going to conquer the audience before he sits down. People like to follow when they have a leader.[7]

Apart from such psychological adroitness, he also noted technical factors such as an audience's size, their seating positions and the number of people sitting on the platform as being important in increasing the enthusiasm of the singing. Alexander did employ in New Zealand those methods later confided to Davis. On several occasions he coaxed children out of the audience to boost the singing, even encouraging their efforts with gifts of song books and rewarding some by requesting their photographs as mementoes.[8]

Alexander's success in putting into practice this 'warming-up' technique was renowned.[9] The *Evening Post* reported a sample of his attempt to introduce 'Old Time Religion' to the first Wellington audience. 'You tell me you can't sing; I don't believe you. Any one [sic] who has got a mouth can sing this song.... Everyone who is good-looking sings. Now ladies, now men, come down off your dignity and dig. It's a nice little rattle-bang air, as you hear.'[10] The gospel song musical style, too, assisted the audience

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Footnote 6 continued from previous page
Alexander and J. Kennedy Maclean, *Charles M. Alexander: A Romance of Song and Soul-winning* (London, n.d.), *passim*.

7. Quoted in George T.B. Davis, *Torrey and Alexander: The Story of a World-Wide Revival* (New York, 1905), 239-241.
8. *Outlook*, 9, 35 (27 September 1902), 28; 9, 36 (4 October 1902), 15.
9. Writing of Alexander's work within the United States, one leading historian of revivalism noted the impact of his methodology on his successors. 'A smoothly fused, co-operative mass was created, ready to listen acceptingly to the revival speaker.... Alexander's winning ways and his selection of simple, singable tunes made it possible for a group to have a good time in the process of being saved. No successful "chorister" afterwards could forget that.' Bernard A. Weisberger, *They Gathered at the River: The Story of the Great Revivalists and Their Impact on Religion in America* (Boston, 1958, reprinted Chicago, 1966), 237.
10. *Evening Post*, 29 August 1902, 2.

to follow along easily. One reporter observed, `... the music seems to have been specially selected, and may be described as "catchy", though not frivolous. It seemed reminiscent at times of some of the nigger [sic] hymns peculiar to the slave days of America.'[11]

Using these techniques Alexander was remarkably successful in engendering a mellow, emotional, `sing-along' atmosphere which kindly disposed the hearers to the preaching to follow.

> As a leader, his sway over a chorus is phenomenal.... People who can't sing and know they can't sing open their mouths and do sing when his ringing `Folks, wake up there!' rouses them from their lethargy.... The leader is a magician who takes commonplace Gospel music - mere rubbish it might be thought - and changes it into gems of song by his exquisite interpretation of sentiment.... The heart is greater than the head. Pure sentiment transcends the principles of musical criticism. And thus it is that Mr. Alexander can transmute even the odds and ends of harmony into religious classics.[12]

His leading appeared so effective an *Outlook* writer even ascribed to the songtime the ability to lead people to salvation, presumably moving their hearts as the sermon would move their minds. In addition, Alexander's personality itself was so winsome as to be credited with bringing about positive change in hearers.

> In my opinion Alexander is the best evangelistic leader in the world today, and I have heard all those now living.... The singing is a great help, not only in preparing the people for the reception of the Word, but I believe lots of people are saved through the singing. And then Alexander is such a Godly fellow that he must carry a great deal of influence.[13]

In New Zealand, the use of songs, and especially of Alexander's solos, was perceived as contributing visibly to the success of the appeals. In one meeting, after the sermon, a number of people responded immediately. But Alexander sang a solo and `many more now responded, and soon many workers were seeking and finding anxious

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11. *Evening Star*, 19 September 1902, 1.
12. *Evening Post*, 3 September 1902, 11.
13. *Outlook*, 9, 28 (9 August 1902), 6.

ones'. It was the correspondent's opinion that, 'these solos after the sermons are of the highest value, and greatly aid in enforcing the call for decision'.[14] Another reporter's observation was that, 'Singing and speaking were made of about equal importance in the service'.[15]

Acceptance of musical appeal to emotion had been accorded the evangelistic imprimatur of the great D.L. Moody, whose testimony suggested to the *Outlook* that a songleader of Alexander's calibre might have at least as great an effect as Torrey's formidable preaching skills.

> The writer heard in a mighty all-day convention this question put to D.L. Moody, 'Do you believe in solo-singing?' And the answer was, 'Certainly I do; perhaps as many will reach Heaven through sacred song as through sermons.' While Dr Torrey moves multitudes by his cultured Bible-readings, etc., Mr Alexander reaches tens of thousands by his enthusiastic songs. Two phrases are singularly suggestive: 'A very prince of song'; 'Alexander the Conqueror - for Christ.' Said an American, 'Alexander has been worth 5000dol [sic] in the music of our town.' Melbourne, Ballarat, Sydney, Tasmania all tell the same tale.[16]

New Zealand reports confirmed that Alexander's emotionalism and warmth of personality did reach many on whom Torrey's dry, intellectual presentation failed to make an impact.

> Dr Torrey, with his keen logic and mighty eloquence, and Mr Alexander, with his winsomeness, make a mighty attack on the forces of sin which few can resist. Many a moral iceberg whose only response to the Evangelist's mighty blows is to turn a more forbidding face than ever towards the truth, melts under the influence of singer's winsomeness. Hardened sinners may reject the preached Word at first, but they cannot resist the influence of Mr Alexander's personality. While the speaker sets forth the truth with a power that no rational mind can resist, he has in the person of his singer

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14. *Outlook*, 9, 35 (27 September 1902), 8. In another meeting, Torrey's initial appeal yielded no respondents, but Alexander's singing another solo did move some to come forward. Ibid., 28.
15. *Press*, 9 September 1902, 5.
16. *Outlook*, 9, 31 (30 August 1902), 36. The writer's use of the phrase 'Bible reading' in this context to describe Torrey's preaching as a whole was again suggestive of his formal, intellectual presentation style.

> an object lesson of the Gospel which even a spiritual infant, incapable of taking abstract truth, can comprehend.[17]

Beyond this acceptance of its usefulness, emotional involvement, elicited in this case by the singing, appeared to be regarded by many as somehow superior, perhaps even more spiritually desirable, than the coldness of intellectual engagement. In one meeting, a correspondent reported gleefully, 'Why, a staid theological professor forgot all about his lexicons and histories and compendiums, and the sunshine of heaven fell upon him in that hymn - at least that's what others thought they saw. A judge of the Supreme Court forgot his law for the Gospel, as he stood and sang'.[18]

Alexander's songleading style did not change in the decade intervening between the campaign with Torrey and the 1912-1913 mission with Chapman. He still conducted with genial exuberance, encouraging and cajoling.

> Mr Alexander sang himself. He has the great secret. He knows what he wants to do, and how to do it. Almost he is contemptuous of his medium, careless that the years of hard talk have roughened his voice. He put the people to singing it, and threshed the time with his feet. He altered the tone of his voice, and sent a yell of commentation [sic] and stimulation out over the heads of the crowd.
> All shyness had gone, and when he spoke to the people they answered. He joked and they laughed. They had taken him at his word now, and were singing as loudly as they might.... Mr Alexander wrought with them; he shouted his orders, but they were lost in the burden of the song almost before they were over the little space between the platform and the first row of seats.[19]

To achieve his purposes, he was not above singling out individuals, often for praise, but sometimes for embarrassment.

> But Mr Alexander is never easily satisfied, and his searching eye detected several who were not joining in. 'That's absolutely unallowable in this place,' he exclaimed abruptly, with the old delicious American accent. 'You've got to sing

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17. *Outlook*, 9, 32 (6 September 1902), 23.
18. *Outlook*, 9, 35 (27 September 1902), 27.
19. *Press*, 8 March 1913, 6.

> or go home. You know that.' The audience smiled, but they took him at his word all the same, and joined in with renewed vigour. 'Infidelity never wrote any songs,' he remarked pointedly....[20]

Or it might be for a bribe: 'Now somebody down there sing it and I'll give you a New Testament, leather covered, India paper'.[21]

The boisterousness of Alexander's songleading carried over to the meetings for old people. '"Sing if you have never sung in 20 years," said Mr. Alexander, and the old folks laughed, and raised their trembling voices with fresh vigour. "If you can't sing it all, sing it in spots," he suggested, "and if you don't know the tune, sing any tune you do know".'[22]

Once again, too, it was apparent that the songtime was serving a particular purpose and having certain effects on the audiences. The initial effect was purely pragmatic and organisational, 'settling down the crowds, and preparing them for the preaching of the message'.

> The people are caressed by sweet sounds, until at last, 'Rise and sing the first verse of "When I Survey the wondrous [sic] Cross."' 'Now, sit down while you sing the last verse: "Were the whole realm of nature mine." Sing it softly. Very softly, now.' And as the last strains die softly away, a solemn hush falls upon the people. Dr. Chapman is on the rostrum and the message begins.[23]

The usefulness of having the additional emotional influence when Chapman sought to bring about decisions was still as obvious as it had been with Torrey. 'He often followed a solemn appeal by the Evangelist with a pleading strain which deepened the impression already made, and softened the heart to yield to the call of the loving Lord.'[24]

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20. *Otago Daily Times*, 21 March 1912, 8.
21. *New Zealand Times*, 31 March 1913, 11.
22. *New Zealand Herald*, 26 April 1913, 9.
23. *New Zealand Methodist Times*, 2, 26 (20 April 1912), 4.
24. *New Zealand Baptist*, 28, 341 (May 1912), 94.

Alexander's personality and technique were not the only factors operative in producing these effects. The words and musical style of the songs and hymns sung provide an important insight into the dynamics of the mission meetings. They display elements of the evangelists' theology and also a key aspect of their methodology, how they attempted to influence their audiences. Further, the songs provide clues to functions other than the purely evangelistic which the meetings may have served, especially for those - the large majority of attenders - who were already committed churchgoers and therefore presumably not generally in need of evangelistic conversion.

In both missions, the songs' ability to convey theological and social information did not derive so much from the enduring quality of the hymns as from their sheer musical catchiness and popular appeal. The style assisted the retention of a message so that it would be recalled and hummed long after the preached word had passed out of mind. 'Nobody, of course, says that the songs are going to rank with "Jesus, Lover of My Soul," "Rock of Ages," and other classics; but they serve their purpose; they convey a message; like all new things, they catch the ear and lodge in the memory.'[25] Alexander's own explanation was similar, that 'these Gospel choruses have hooks in them. They grip and hold. And the message of the song sings its way on into the heart and life'. He declared that he would only abandon gospel songs when he could be shown 'high-class' music had the same effects in moving hearts.[26]

In what appeared to be an echo of a deliberately memorable alliterative catchphrase, probably taken over from Chapman himself,

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25. *New Zealand Methodist Times*, 2, 26 (20 April 1912), 4.
26. *Press*, 11 March 1913, 9.

it was noted that 'Dr. Chapman believes that simple singing is one of the specifics for a sickly Church'.[27] The choruses contained numerous cheerfully helpful phrases which the continual repetition and attractive tunes made readily memorable: 'God will take care of you', 'O, yes, He cares, I know He cares', 'He will keep you from falling', and the like.[28] Alexander's aim was consciously to assist these phrases and their associated ideas to become firmly fixed in the audiences' minds. He was questioned about the frequency of their repetition, '"You hit us often in the same place." "Yes, I'm drilling a hole," was his reply.'[29]

The Music of the 1902 Mission

The music of the 1902 Torrey mission, under Alexander's leadership and using Alexander's selection of songs was a major feature. As outlined above, Alexander's personality, his songleading skills, and the type of music to which words were set, all assisted the songs to become popular, and thence in the retention of the songs as elements in the formation of popular piety. There were references in the songs to many biblical and theological concepts, but a small number were central. A social image recurring frequently was a particular view of family relationships. Theologically, the songs also reinforced, although usually by implication, such doctrines as that of Christ's substitutionary atonement and of divine care of the believer.

In 1902, many of the songs used unabashedly played upon audience emotions in either or both their words and their musical style. A

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27. *New Zealand Methodist Times*, 3, 1 (4 May 1912), 1.
28. Ibid.
29. Ibid.

favourite device was to evoke echoes of the well-known parable of the prodigal son. This was given an additionally sentimental twist with the portrayal of the singer as a recalcitrant child being influenced towards Christian faith by the pious example and prayers of a saintly mother, and especially by remembrance of her after her death. This picture replaced the biblical image of the forgiving father welcoming home the penitent son and reinforced even more strongly the theme of maternal piety already noted above with reference to the evangelists' spoken comments.

'Tell Mother I'll Be There' recorded the mother's enduring patience and love in the face of the singer's youthful waywardness.[30] When the singer left home (equated with 'became a prodigal'), despite being grief-stricken the mother 'day and night... prayed to God to keep me in His care'. But the climactic event which finally brought the sinner to repentance was the mother's death.

> One day a message came to me, it bade me quickly come
> If I would see my mother ere the Saviour took her home;
> I promised her, before she died, for heaven to prepare:
> O Saviour, tell my mother, I'll be there.
>
> Tell mother I'll be there in answer to her prayer;
> This message, blessed Saviour, to her bear!
> Tell mother I'll be there, heaven's joys with her to share;
> Yes, tell my darling mother I'll be there.[31]

Another song in similar vein was 'My Mother's Prayer'.[32] When the child left home the mother prayed for him. The prayer's details

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30. Charles M. Alexander, ed., *A[lexander's] H[ymns No. 3* (London and Edinburgh, n.d.)], no.41. As it was not possible to locate the earlier edition used in 1902, references have been made to this edition, the one used for the later Chapman-Alexander missions. The 1902 newspaper reports mention by name some forty-four songs from the 'Red Book'. Of these forty-four, about thirty are included in the later *AH*.
31. Ibid., v.4, chorus.
32. *AH*, no.116. The song was inspired by Proverbs 6.20, 'My son... forsake not the law of thy mother'.

are not spelled out, but the child is haunted by the prayer and the image of the mother praying 'by the old arm-chair', ultimately leading, of course, to conversion and eventual celestial reunification with the deceased mother.

I never can forget the hour
I felt the Saviour's cleansing power:
My sin and guilt he cancelled there;
'Twas there He answered mother's prayer.

Oh, praise the Lord for saving grace!
We'll meet up yonder face to face;
The home above together share,
In answer to my mother's prayer.[33]

Other songs used which featured the mother's powers of moral suasion included 'It's Our Mother's Way' and 'My Mother's Bible'. A popular alternative which voiced the anxiety of the prodigal's mother was 'Where is My Boy To-night?'[34] The point of the song seems almost to be a morbid revelling in the emotiveness of this picture, with scant reference made to things religious at all. The first three verses described an angelic child 'pure as morning dew, as he knelt at his mother's knee', when 'life was a merry chime!'. But although this paragon had since departed and presumably fallen from grace, his mother's love was invincible. The love of Jesus received mention in verse 5, but it appeared as an afterthought unconnected to the rest of the portrayal of anguished maternal devotion.

Go for my wandering boy to-night;
Go, search for him where you will;
But bring him to me with all his blight,
And tell him I love him still!

Tell him that Jesus loves him too,
And is waiting to bring him home;
He surely will yield to Love so true,
Oh, plead with him now to come!

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33. Ibid., v.4, chorus.
34. *AH*, no.57. This was based on the sentiment of Proverbs 17.25, 'A foolish son is a grief to his father, and bitterness to her that bare him'.

> Oh, where is my boy to-night?
> Oh, where is my boy to-night?
> My heart o'erflows, for I love him, he knows? [sic]
> Oh, where is my boy, where is he to-night?[35]

Such songs were frequently sung as a solo, usually by Alexander himself, as a touching prelude or accompaniment to Torrey's appeal for decisions.[36] These songs, expertly deployed and introduced, could move even railway workers' hearts.

> Mr Alexander announced the hymn, 'Tell mother I'll be there,' but before singing it called out for 'Hands up who have mothers in heaven.' A considerable number of hands were immediately held up, an act which seemed to carry the words of the hymn home to the heart as the solo was sung by him and the chorus by the choir.[37]

As already noted, Alexander aimed to produce 'a homelike atmosphere' inducing the cosy feeling of a fireside singalong amongst friends. Again, the gospel chorus musical style of many of the songs contributed to this, quite apart from their lyrics.[38] 'The Old Time Religion', which Alexander had tagged 'a nice little rattle-bang air', was an example,[39] as was the tour's most popular piece, 'The Glory Song'.[40] Some of the others which were also of the hearty, 'singalong' type included 'There's Power in the Blood', 'Count Your Blessings', 'Tell Me the Old, Old Story' and 'Trust and Obey'.[41] The use of such rollicking tunes made easier the songleader's task of creating an atmosphere of cosy fellowship and

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35. Ibid., vv 4, 5, chorus.
36. e.g. *New Zealand Times*, 3 September 1902, 4. The method appeared effective; the *Outlook* described one rendition of 'Where is My Boy Tonight?' as 'an arrow from the Lord, that found its mark in many a heart'. 9, 34 (20 September 1902), 15.
37. *Outlook*, 9, 34 (20 September 1902), 15.
38. There were only a few of the more traditional Christian hymns used, particularly 'All Hail the Power of Jesu's Name', 'Jesus, Lover of My Soul' and 'When I Survey the Wondrous Cross'.
39. *AH*, no.9.
40. *AH*, no.3. This song was even reproduced, with music, under the heading 'Alexander's "Glory Song" has caught Wellington' in the *Evening Post*, 30 August 1902, 2.
41. *AH*, nos 169, 153, 271, 53.

they were therefore generally employed early in meetings, at the brief factory services and at the railway whistlestop gatherings.[42]

Apart from their immediate functions of generating feelings of bonhomie and of facilitating responses to the preacher's appeal, the songs Alexander used in 1902 were powerful reinforcers of Victorian evangelical piety. They were not used directly as didactic vehicles for expounding the central concerns of evangelical theology. Although that theology was taken for granted, it was seldom made explicit.

For example, the view of Jesus' death as substitutionary atonement for human sins, a central evangelical doctrine, was assumed, but few of the songs made any direct reference to his Passion. Isaac Watts' hymn, 'When I Survey the Wondrous Cross', moved from consideration of Christ's wounds to the consequent requirement for a response of total human dedication to God.[43] A very popular song, 'There's Power in the Blood', despite its title and continual repetition of the phrase, revelled solely in personal benefits derived from the believer's appropriation and application of that power, rather than in its origin.

> Would you be free from your burden of sin?
> There's power in the blood, power in the blood;
> Would you o'er evil a victory win?
> There's wonderful power in the blood.
>
> Would you be free from your passion and pride?...
> Would you be whiter, much whiter than snow?...
> Would you do service for Jesus your King?...
>
> There is power, power, wonder-working power,
> In the blood of the Lamb;
> There is power, power, wonder-working power,
> In the precious blood of the Lamb.[44]

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42. e.g. *Evening Post*, 29 August 1902, 2; *Lyttelton Times*, 19 September 1902, 6.
43. *AH*, no.285.
44. *AH*, no.169, vv 1-4, chorus.

Jesus himself was repeatedly referred to as 'the/my/our Saviour', but the mechanics of the soteriological process were not elucidated. The term seldom had eschatological overtones of the guarantor of eventual eternal salvation. Nor was it even linked in a direct way with the believer's individual conversion decision. Rather, 'the Saviour' was portrayed as a consoling, guiding, encouraging and protecting companion,[45] 'this Friend so dear',[46] and 'the lowly Jesus' whose quality of friendship is uniquely holy, meek, steadfast and generous.[47] The work of Christ thus appeared largely in terms of the consolation of the believer in this life, unlike the traditional evangelical emphasis of Christ's atoning death on the cross and his roles as sinners' advocate before God and eschatological Judge.[48] These songs portrayed a much milder, sweeter Victorian vision of religious life with a featherbed Christ cushioning the believer from the impact of this-worldly adversities. Again, when praising Jesus' self-giving, loving nature, the concentration remained fixed firmly on advantages accruing 'for me'.

> 'It's just like Him,' to take my sins away,
> To make me glad and free, To keep me day by day;
> 'It's just like Him' to give His life for me,
> That I might go to heaven, and ever with Him be.[49]

In addition to the pleasure of being able to claim the Deity as 'dear Friend', the depiction of the Christian life was almost exclusively triumphalist. One song urged people to 'Count Your Blessings' as a panacea for a depressive personality and a solution to life's difficulties, even potentially sinful covetousness.

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45. 'The Saviour with Me', *AH*, no.218.
46. 'Old Jordan's Waves I do not Fear', *AH*, no.28.
47. 'No, Not One!', *AH*, no.206.
48. There is some trinitarian confusion evident here as in traditional theology the Holy Spirit would have been credited with contemporary action as Paraclete, comforter and encourager.
49. 'It's Just Like Him', *AH*, no.215, chorus.

When upon life's billows you are tempest-tossed,
When you are discouraged, thinking all is lost,
Count your many blessings, name them one by one,
And it will surprise you what the Lord hath done.

Are you ever burdened with a load of care?
Does the cross seem heavy you are called to bear?
Count your many blessings, ev'ry doubt will fly,
And you will keep singing as the days go by.

When you look at others with their lands and gold,
Think that Christ has promised you his wealth untold;
Count your many blessings, wealth can never buy
Your reward in heaven, nor your home on high.[50]

Expansive claims were made for the 'Old-Time Religion's' ability to engender spontaneously love for people, the Bible and Jesus.[51] 'Trust and Obey' took Proverbs 17.20, 'Whoso trusteth in the Lord, happy is he', at face value and promised never-ending felicity for the true believer.

When we walk with the Lord
In the light of His Word
What a glory He sheds on our way!
While we do his good will,
He abides with us still,
And with all who will trust and obey.

Not a shadow can rise,
Not a cloud in the skies,
But His smile quickly drives it away;
Not a doubt nor a fear,
Not a sigh nor a tear,
Can abide while we trust and obey.

Not a burden we bear,
Not a sorrow we share,
But our toil He doth richly re-pay;
Not a grief nor a loss,
Not a frown nor a cross,
But is blest if we trust and obey.[52]

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50. *AH*, no.153, vv 1-3.
51. *AH*, no.9. Alexander put this to practical effect in Christchurch when he insisted the congregation stand and shake hands with their neighbours to brighten them up. '"That will do the Presbyterians good," he continued, and forthwith started a verse from "The old time religion".... "Make [sic] me love everybody...."' *Outlook*, 9, 34 (20 September 1902), 35.
52. *AH*, no.53, vv 1-3.

Other songs reinforced the theme of God's plans for the faithful always turning out for the best.

> Have faith in God, the sun will shine,
> Though dark the cloud may be to-day;
> His heart hath planned your path and mine,
> Have faith in God, have faith alway.[53]

A frequently-recurring feature of the mission's hymnody which continued the tide of jollity and optimism was the prospect for the believer of not merely temporal but even eternal bliss in the presence of Jesus. 'The Glory Song', which virtually became the mission's theme tune, was devoted to celebration of this expectation.

> When all my labours and trials are o'er,
> And I am safe on that beautiful shore,
> Just to be near the dear Lord I adore,
> Will thro' the ages be glory for me.
>
> Oh, that will be glory for me,
> Glory for me, glory for me,
> When by His grace I shall look on his face,
> That will be glory, be glory for me![54]

Another song gave encouragement for facing daily life from the anticipated joy of catching a mere glimpse of Jesus.

> Onward to the prize before us!
> Soon His beauty we'll behold;
> Soon the pearly gates will open,
> We shall tread the streets of gold.
>
> When we all get to heaven,
> What a day of rejoicing that will be!
> When we all see Jesus,
> We'll sing and shout the victory.[55]

With such a prospect, the end of earthly life was to be celebrated rather than feared. The image of death as crossing the Jordan River into the Promised Land was prominent in 'In the Sweet Bye and Bye', and 'Shall We Gather at the River?'[56] The thought of

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53. 'Have Faith in God', *AH*, no.174, chorus.
54. *AH*, no.3, v.1, chorus.
55. 'When We All Get to Heaven', *AH*, no.136, v.4, chorus.
56. *AH*, no.86 - although the image of the Jordan merges with the river of life flowing from beneath God's heavenly throne as in **Revelation** 22.1.

death and of 'crossing the Jordan' did give pause to some, but reassurance was readily available in the memory of Jesus' protective friendship and the anticipation of his personal assistance (provided 'I' continued to work at my task of remaining faithful as a 'witness').

My sins He long ago forgave,
And still I feel His power to save;
And if I keep the witness clear,
Old Jordan's waves I shall not fear.

O'er me has sorrow's storm oft swept,
Safe from the danger me He's kept;
If still I trust this Friend so dear,
Old Jordan's waves I need not fear.

So when at death's cold brink I stand,
My hand clasped in my Saviour's hand,
I [sic] too, shall shout in tones so clear,
Old Jordan's waves I do not fear.[57]

The piety expressed in the mission's music thus added to the atmosphere Alexander's songleading was attempting to create, one of snug, sentimental fellow-feeling. The singers were members of a righteous, clubby elite of 'friends of Jesus'. There were occasional tremors of apprehension at facing the world outside that club in one's own strength, but the presence of the Saviour (not *as* Saviour, though, but as comforting, sustaining life-companion) guaranteed a secure passage.

I must have the Saviour with me,
For I dare not walk alone;
I must feel His presence near me,
And His arm around me thrown.

I must have the Saviour with me,
For my faith, at best, is weak;
He can whisper words of comfort,
That no other voice can speak.

I must have the Saviour with me,
And His eye the way must guide;
Till I reach the vale of Jordan,
Till I cross the rolling tide.

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57. 'Old Jordan's Waves I Do Not Fear', *AH*, no.28, vv 2, 3, 5.

Chorus:
Then my soul shall fear no ill!
Let Him lead me where He will,
I will go without a murmur,
And his footsteps follow still.[58]

Thus, the hymnody of the 1902 mission appears to have concentrated on the generation of appropriately warm feelings and creating the right atmosphere for the meetings. Doctrinal content was low, as were expressions of militancy for the faith. At appeal time, there were not even any 'appeal songs' used, but rather songs, often about 'Mother', again calculated to exert purely emotional power. The attempt to encourage the hearer's rational decision to become a Christian was not enhanced by the mission's music, but a Finneyite effort to use all available means to induce the desired visible response was promoted. The non-believer was pulled towards the front of the meeting by his or her emotions, while the believers were confirmed in the security and geniality of their familiarity with their divine Friend.

The Music of the 1912-1913 Mission

One recent study has analysed the tradition of gospel hymns to which Alexander was heir, showing that they developed only from the mid-nineteenth century within the revivalistic tradition.[59] In her second chapter, Sandra S. Sizer discusses the gospel hymns' distinctive themes and emphases. The metaphors tend to be strongly dualistic, the world contrasted with heaven, Jesus with polar values, light and dark, hope and fear, home and wandering. Their forms are either direct addresses of praise or prayer to deity, or

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58. 'The Saviour with Me', *AH*, no.218, vv 1, 2, 4, chorus.
59. Sandra S. Sizer, *Gospel Hymns and Social Religion: The Rhetoric of Nineteenth-Century Revivalism* (Philadelphia, 1978).

statements to another specific audience, usually sinners or fellow-Christians, although a few may be unaddressed descriptions or affirmations.

Sizer identifies the gospel hymns as also having a social function. 'The primary import [of the gospel hymns] is the way they function to create a sacred community articulated in terms of shared emotions'.[60] This community definition helped to provide an organisational framework for the evangelical worldview centring on shared emotions. The doctrinal hymns of earlier periods were replaced by testimony or story hymns, such as 'The Ninety and Nine' which paralleled the popular preachers' anecdotal style. Such a basis came from a conception of the religious community as a group of likeminded pilgrims, united by common feelings.

But Sizer also delineates problems and shortcomings which were fostered by these types of hymns. The emphasis on likeness of feeling reinforced group uniformity, the domestic imagery of home and mother put women in a unique and isolated sphere of their own, the negative view of modern urban society discouraged attempts at positive participation, the reduction of doctrinal hymns to testimony songs exalted introspective personal piety at the expense of an intellectual grappling with biblical or theological issues.[61]

Sizer argues that the main impression of Christianity created by the gospel hymns is one of quiescent inertia.[62] 'Passivity and passion [i.e. intense stress on the emotions]... are the two strategic foci of the gospel hymn collection.'[63] The most important group of metaphors used were those of hiding in safety and

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60. Ibid., 129.
61. Ibid., ch 5.
62. Ibid., ch.2.
63. Ibid., 39.

in places of refuge. The portrayal of the human condition was of a passive victim. The solution was equally passive, to rest in a safe place, such as the 'Rock of Ages', or a 'harbour' or 'home'. Instead of the eighteenth-century Jesus, who was a judge, conqueror or king, the gospel hymnwriters sought the shelter of an intimate companionship with a gentle, sweet friend, to whom one should surrender totally one's will. Such martial hymns as appeared were largely defensive, the aim being merely to 'Hold the Fort'. Further, the missionary hymns of this most missionary-minded era seldom included thoughts of aggressive evangelism, but rather avoided imposing their will, preferring instead to 'rescue the perishing', 'pleading earnestly', or even merely glowing in the darkness ('Let the Lower Lights Be Burning').

The 'passion' appeared in the most frequently used group of metaphors, ideas of emotion, contrasting positive with negative emotions, turmoil with rest and weakness with strength. (The only other large category is that dealing with guilt and atonement for it.) Even the form of the gospel songs was different from earlier hymns as, previously, addresses to deity had been mostly expressions of praise and thanks, but now became soft, pleading supplication. Many had no audience at all, but were merely personal 'testimony', as if the singers were witnesses on Jesus' behalf before a hostile jury, e.g. 'I Love to Tell the Story' - which never actually does.

> If the scenario of the older hymns was that of a criminal pleading before God with Christ as his advocate, that of the gospel hymns is one of Jesus on trial before a huge, anonymous, and largely hostile jury, with happy Christians appearing on the witness stand in his behalf. They describe the character and actions of the accused in glowing detail, celebrate his great deeds, ask others to consider his suffering and extend their sympathies, and finally plead for his acceptance into their hearts.[64]

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64. Ibid., 47-48.

Sizer's typology seems to fit better the music of the 1912-1913 mission of Chapman and Alexander than it does that of the 1902 Torrey mission. For this second mission, Alexander employed an almost completely new repertoire from that used in 1902.[65] Many were seen to be endowed with a particular power by the very presence on the platform of so many involved in their production. Chapman himself wrote the words to 'Tis Jesus', 'Hail, All Hail' and 'Yield to Him Now'. William Rock, Alexander's secretary, wrote the words of 'It is Heaven', and Robert Harkness, again the mission pianist, composed the music for all of these and for many others.[66] In Christchurch, the *Press* printed daily a selection of the more popular songs with edifying messages and information on their provenance over Alexander's signature. Often these were his own anecdotes of conversions wrought or lives changed through the agency of these gospel hymns.

Newspaper reports mentioned a scant half-dozen of the previous mission's favourites; two were standard hymns, 'All Hail the Power of Jesu's Name' and 'When I Survey the Wondrous Cross', one, the 'Glory Song', had virtually been Torrey's mission's theme-song. The other three, 'My Mother's Prayer', 'Where Is My Wandering Boy Tonight?' and 'Tell Mother I'll Be There' all emphasised again the theme of the errant child responding belatedly to the pious mother's example.

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65. Once again, secular and church newspapers often included in their reports of mission meetings at least partial lists of the songs used. Although the appropriate edition of the songbook was again not traceable for this study, the later edition, which must have been produced only shortly afterwards, included nearly all of the songs used.
66. *AH*, nos 130, 34, 75. *New Zealand Methodist Times*, 2, 26 (20 April 1912), 3.

There were some new specimens of this last genre. 'Memories of Mother' spoke of the prodigal being led back to righteousness, and ultimately to salvation, by remembering not the father's enduring love as in Jesus' parable, but a mother's care and affection when all others turned away.

> My mother's hand is on my brow,
> Her gentle voice is pleading now;
> Across the years so marred by sin
> What memories of love steal in!
>
> While others scorned me in their pride,
> She gently drew me to her side;
> When all the world had turned away,
> My mother stood by me that day.
>
> O mother, when I think of thee,
> 'Tis but a step to Calvary;
> Thy gentle hand upon my brow
> Is leading me to Jesus now.[67]

There were fewer of the hearty triumphalist songs, although again new examples were used. In 'Joybells', the hearer was assured that, provided one surrendered to the Lord,

> When the dark clouds round you gather,
> When life's mist obscures the way,
> Christ will set the joybells ringing
> If you will His Word obey.[68]

While 'Singing Glory' asserted that, 'He makes the path grow brighter every passing day; He makes the burden lighter all along the way', the writer of 'Walking with Jesus' claimed to be 'content and fully satisfied; For the way is growing brighter, clearer as on we journey side by side'.[69] And another song promised 'peace, perfect peace' through all trials, including death, grief and temptation.[70]

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67. *AH*, no.110, vv 1, 3, chorus.
68. *AH*, no.121, v.1.
69. *AH*, no.49, chorus; no.60, v.3.
70. *AH*, no.284.

The expectation of widespread revival was enhanced by the repeated singing of a popular chorus.

O Lord, send a revival!
Lord, send a revival!
O Lord, send a revival,
And let it begin in me![71]

This was not only an enthusiastic prayer for such an event, but also included the individualistic element so common in the mission. 'Let it begin in me' could be a personal admission of need for a 'revived' spiritual life, but also stressed the way the dynamics of revivals operated, the change of numerous individuals, the sum of which could then be called a revival. It might, too, have allowed an opportunity for penitent self-flagellation if a wider revival did not eventuate - 'I' might have been too resistant to permit greater spiritual outflow in the church or community.

In similar vein was 'There Shall Be Showers of Blessing', which, based on Ezekiel 24.26, claimed God's promise of blessing on those who were faithful Christians. The blessing sought remained unspecified amidst the aqueous imagery, but once again was contingent upon the believers' full compliance with the divine will.

'There shall be showers of blessing:'
This is the promise of love;
There shall be seasons refreshing,
Sent from the Saviour above.

'There shall be showers of blessing:'
If we but trust and obey;
There shall be seasons refreshing,
If we let God have His way.

Showers, showers of blessing,
Showers of blessing we need;
Mercy drops round us are falling,
But for the SHOWERS we plead.[72]

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71. *AH*, no.335.
72. *AH*, no.48, vv 1, 5, chorus.

Compared with Torrey's mission, more of the new songs dealt with the work of Christ on the cross for sinners, emphasising the doctrine of the substitutionary atonement and some of the details of the process. 'Nailed to the Cross' described the removal of the Christian's sins so that they were nailed to the cross with Jesus.

> I will leave them all there; no more upon me
> Can the weight, that would crush me, be laid:
> For in Jesus my Lord, were they nailed to the Cross
> When the price of redemption He paid.[73]

'His Loving Thought' described the crucifixion, then somewhat fancifully applied Christ's motivation to singers and hearers directly and individually.

> When Jesus hung on Calvary
> He thought of you and me;
> 'Twas love that held Him there to be
> A sacrifice for you, for me.[74]

'How They Crucified My Lord' recited some of the details of Jesus' passion, then moved on to the resurrection and atonement.[75] Several others concentrated on Christ's post-ascension ministry, 'What Did He Do?' rejoicing in His ongoing intercessory work in heaven and 'Our Blest Redeemer' in the gift to Christians of presence of the Holy Spirit.[76] Again, though, these are all warm, supportive, even sentimental, images and there is little of, for example, the less comforting role of eschatological Judge.

Many songs dealt with the relationship between Christ, again usually portrayed as 'Friend', and the Christian, concentrating especially on that protection and friendship offered to the believer. One chorus, written by Harkness, concentrated on both of these themes.

He will keep you from falling,

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73. *AH*, no.54, v 3.
74. *AH*, no.31, v 1.
75. *AH*, no.144.
76. *AH*, nos 77 and 283.

He will keep you to the end;
What a Saviour is Jesus!
What a wonderful Friend![77]

'Our Great Saviour', written by Chapman and plagiarising many phrases familiar from other hymns, portrayed Christ the Saviour in entirely the manner Sizer has observed, as refuge, a comforting and supportive friend, rather than in any crucicentric, exemplary or eschatological way.

Jesus! What a Friend for sinners!
Jesus! Lover of my soul;
Friends may fail me, foes assail me,
He, my Saviour, makes me whole.

Jesus! What a strength in weakness!
Let me hide myself in Him;
Tempted, tried, and sometimes failing,
He, my Strength, my vict'ry wins.[78]

Others, such as 'He Will Hide Me', again gave divinity that same role, although Jesus the friend seemed rather to be giving that protection against the worst excesses of paternal chastisement from God the Father.

When the storms of life are raging,
Tempests wild on sea and land,
I will seek a place of refuge
In the shadow of God's hand.

Though He may send some affliction,
'Twill but make me long for home;
For in love and not in anger,
All His chastenings will come.

So, while here the cross I'm bearing,
Meeting storms and billows wild,
Jesus, for my soul is caring,
Naught can harm His Father's child.[79]

One of the most popular songs of the mission, 'He Will Hold Me Fast', celebrated the protection afforded in all circumstances. The image was of a child being safely cradled out of harm's way.[80]

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77. *AH*, no.342.
78. *AH*, no.46, vv 1-2.
79. *AH*, no.172, vv 1, 2, 4.
80. *AH*, no.1.

Another type of song Alexander used was that of the testimony, which Sizer noted as a typical scenario, as if Jesus required defence witnesses before a hostile courtroom jury. Some of these, with the singers ostensibly telling of their own experiences, fitted into the other categories, others spoke of a broader range. 'He Lifted Me' began by describing how the singer was in 'the depths of sin and shame', thoroughly undeserving Jesus' self-sacrifice, and 'how or why, I cannot tell', but 'he lifted me' to 'a higher plane'.[81] 'My Jesus, I Love Thee' made plain the very close relationship between believer and Friend, the possessive adjective straying, presumably unwittingly, beyond what might be thought acceptable theology into sentimentalism.[82] The singing of 'It Is Heaven', describing the blessedness of Christian life and experience, was recommended by Alexander as a help in evangelism, in doing one's work and with right living.[83]

Some concentrated rather on the human need for divine assistance than joyously on the benefits of having already received it. 'I Need Thee Every Hour' pleaded for that aid in resisting temptation, to give peace and even meaning to life.[84] 'Don't Stop Praying' promised that help provided the request was made unceasingly.[85] From admission of human need, it was a small step to songs which reinforced Chapman's central message of the need for all, even Christian believers, to surrender their own will and commit themselves fully to God's will and service. The best-known of such

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81. *AH*, no.21.
82. *AH*, no.69. It confused the difference between referring to divinity by function, as in 'my redeemer/saviour/lord' and by person, 'my Jesus'.
83. *Press*, 18 March 1913, 9.
84. *AH*, no.71.
85. *Press*, 20 March 1913, 9.

songs had the title 'Full Surrender!' and the title's exclamation mark indicated the total extent of that commitment.

> Saviour, 'tis a full surrender,
> All I leave to follow Thee;
> Thou my Leader and Defender
> From this hour shalt ever be.
>
> As I come in deep contrition,
> At this consecrated hour,
> Hear, O Christ, my heart's petition,
> Let me feel the Spirit's power!
>
> No with-holding - full confession;
> Pleasures, riches, all must flee;
> Holy Spirit, take possession!
> I no more, but Christ in me.
>
> I surrender all!
> I surrender all!
> All I have I bring to Jesus -
> I surrender all![86]

In similar vein, 'Have Thine Own Way, Lord!' offered the singers to God to do with as he would to make them more Christlike. This, of all songs, exemplified Sizer's observation of gospel-hymn Christianity as passivity.

> Have Thine own way, Lord!
> Have Thine own way!
> Thou art the Potter;
> I am the clay.
> Mould me and make me
> After Thy will,
> While I am waiting
> Yielded and still.
>
> Have Thine own way, Lord!
> Have Thine own way!
> Hold o'er my being
> Absolute sway!
> Fill with Thy Spirit
> Till all shall see
> Christ only, always,
> Living in me![87]

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86. *AH*, no.50, vv 1-3, chorus.
87. *AH*, no.146, vv 1, 4.

In case the hearers had not been convicted of their self-centred inadequacy and need of divine control, another chorus probed relentlessly.

> Can the Lord depend on you?
> Can the Lord depend on you?
> Does He find you ever true?
> Can the Lord depend on you?[88]

Another group of songs promoted evangelistic activity. One, dedicated to the mission's personal worker, Norton, and his wife, exhorted Christians to attempt to 'win someone', although the only method recommended was somewhat anaemic and certainly non-confrontational.

> Will you not try to win someone,
> Back from the path of sin?
> Telling the love of Jesus,
> Will you not now begin?
>
> Will you not try to win someone,
> Just by a word or smile,
> Lifting your heart to Jesus,
> Praying for grace the while?
>
> Will you not try to win someone?
> Someone has gone astray;
> Will you not try to win someone
> Back to the narrow way?[89]

'Just Where I Am' was a prayer that whatever the singer's station in life they could be reliable and effective in personal evangelism. Although it may have comforted those who had unfulfilled yearnings to be missionaries or clerics, it may also have suggested to those singing it that they should be content with their lot in society.

> Just where I am, oh let me be
> A faithful witness, Lord, for Thee;
> While others seek a wider sphere,
> Oh keep me faithful, Lord, just here!
>
> Or, if at home Thou bidd'st me stay,
> Let me be used to smooth the way
> Of those who go at duty's call,
> Leaving their home, their friends, their all.[90]

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88. *AH*, no.346.
89. *AH*, no.93, vv 1, 2, chorus.
90. *AH*, no.37, vv 1, 4.

The best-known example of this type was 'Rescue the Perishing', which hung undecided between last-minute desperation and genteel considerateness. It gave a very real air of urgency to the task of rescuing unbelievers, urging hearers to 'snatch them in pity from sin and the grave', yet it also permitted them to 'patiently win them'.[91]

Finally, there was a group of songs which were used in the meetings to encourage people to respond to the evangelist's urgings. One promised many rewards to any who 'took Jesus today'.

> Will you take Jesus to be your Guide?
> His love will brighten the way;
> Safe in His keeping you may abide;
> Will you take Jesus to-day?
>
> Will you take Jesus to-day?
> Will you take Jesus to-day?
> He offers pardon and peace to all:
> Will you take Jesus to-day?[92]

Alternatively, 'Yield to Him Now', written by Chapman and Harkness, threatened that opportunity was limited, that 'there's hope only promised to-day; To-morrow His grace may be ending'.[93] A similar piece insisted that it was impossible to be truly half-hearted or agnostic - the decision must be made then and there. The repetition permitted no procrastination.

> You must do something with Jesus,
> You must do something to-night!
> You must decide this great question:
> You must do something to-night!
>
> No neutral ground must be taken,
> You must do something to-night!
> You must be *for* or *against* Him:
> You must do something to-night!
>
> You must do something with Jesus,
> You must do something to-night!
> Will you reject? or will you accept?

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91. *AH*, no.73.
92. *AH*, no.159, v.1, chorus.
93. *Press*, 15 March 1913, 15.

You must do something to-night![94]

Another popular song singled out any who felt guilty, depressed or unhappy and offered relief.

Somebody's here with an aching heart,
No rest and no peace within;
Somebody's here, and the tear-drops start,
As God convicts of sin.

Jesus will give you rest,
Jesus will give you rest;
Turn from your sin, call now on Him,
For Jesus will give you rest.[95]

'Jesus Is Calling' stressed Christ's offer of rest and release from burdens and its present availability, requiring an immediate response.

Jesus is waiting, oh, come to Him now -
Waiting to-day, waiting to-day!
Come with thy sins, at His feet lowly bow;
Come and no longer delay!

Jesus is pleading: oh, list to His voice -
Hear Him to-day, hear Him to-day!
They who believe on His name shall rejoice;
Quickly arise and away![96]

To steel waverers to action there was, too, the musical reinforcement of the evangelical belief in the necessity of the crisis decision of the will, that being 'almost persuaded', but not acting, was ultimately useless.

'Almost persuaded' now to believe;
'Almost persuaded Christ to receive;
Seems now some soul to say,
'Go, Spirit, go Thy way,
Some more convenient day
On Thee I'll call.'

'Almost persuaded,' harvest is past!
'Almost persuaded,' doom comes at last;
'Almost' cannot avail;
'Almost' is but to fail!

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94. *AH*, no.18, vv 1, 2, chorus. This was another of the many Harkness productions, composed during and partially derived from one of Chapman's earlier sermons. *Press*, 19 March 1913, 12.
95. *AH*, no.124, v.1, chorus.
96. *AH*, no.105, vv 3, 4.

Sad, sad that bitter wail -
'Almost - *but lost!*'

Oh, be persuaded! Christ never fails;
Oh, be persuaded! His blood avails -
Can save from ev'ry sin,
Cleanse you without, within -
Will you not let Him in?
Open the door![97]

The messages and effects of the music of this mission thus again enhanced the message and methods of the spoken word and assisted in reinforcement of its central emphases. Seldom was the person of the deity celebrated in what might be viewed as real worship. Rather, the focus was on the work of Christ and the subsequent demands on and potential betterment of the hearers' lives. The message of the need for full surrender to God was central and many of the songs either promoted that overtly or celebrated the beneficial results of performing this act of total commitment to God. The call for people to be converted was strengthened by the simultaneous singing of songs which further urged the case. The ongoing presence of Jesus as a refuge from the struggles and dilemmas of life and as the best and truest of all friends for believers was again the main Christological perspective promoted. Once again, the music provided the atmosphere of a safe, friendly and continually joyous community for which the only admission requirements were to 'take Jesus' and to commit oneself to 'full surrender'.

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97. *AH*, no.107, vv 1, 3, 4.

THE MUSIC OF THE BILLY GRAHAM CRUSADES

As with the Torrey and Chapman missions, some of the theological emphases of the Billy Graham crusades may be derived from the songs and hymns prepared and sung. The 1959 crusade hymnal, published in Sydney, certainly reflected Graham's theological position, but compilation was also assisted by 'the Chairman [sic] of the Music Committees in the various Crusade cities'.[98] So to some degree the book indicates not only the evangelist's views, but those of the Australasian 'consumers', the churches and audiences. Graham's personal views, as seen in his preaching, public statements and published works, are discussed in the preceding chapters.

The 1959 Billy Graham Crusade

The music of the 1959 crusade reveals many continuities with the earlier *Alexander's Hymns* and its compiler, but also highlights some changes which had come about in the interim. The hymnal itself was only a fraction of the size of Alexander's main selection , the thirty-five songs which had endured from the previous era comprising nearly half of the new book, compiled by Graham's songleader, Cliff Barrows. Also, in no way was Barrows the powerful figure, almost the rival of the speaker, which Alexander had been. Perhaps as a result, the music itself occupied less central a position in the agenda of the crusade meetings, reduced to a purely supportive role.

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98. [Cliff Barrows, ed., *Billy Graham] C[rusade] S[ongs* (Sydney, 1958)], 6.

No longer did anyone claim the power to convert for the songleader and his efforts.

In regard to the Graham book's content, the more extreme examples of Victorian sentimentality had been excised, as had many of the more topical hymns. Some of their replacements were standard hymns of the faith such as 'Praise to the Lord, the Almighty', 'Love Divine, All Loves Excelling', 'Join All the Glorious Names' and 'Amazing Grace'.[99] Some, though, were rather classics of the revivalistic tradition: 'The Old Rugged Cross', 'In the Sweet By and By', 'Revive Us Again' and 'I Surrender All'.[100]

The theme of the continuity and maintenance of the faith was included, but was hardly prominent. One hymn exhorted people to 'Stand up, stand up for Jesus' as 'soldiers of the cross'.[101] Another identified the faith held as being that of 'our fathers' which was 'living still in spite of dungeon, fire and sword'. It asserted, 'Faith of our fathers! holy faith! We will be true to thee till death!'[102] This was a song not in the Alexander collection and its inclusion may have reflected the hardening of American fundamentalist attitudes during the intervening generation. Certainly, martial and conflict-oriented imagery was reinforced in other hymns such as 'Onward Christian Soldiers' and Martin Luther's

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99. *CS*, nos 15, 34, 54, 55.
100. *CS*, nos 9, 36, 56, 72. Still, criticism of the standard of music used in this crusade was expressed by an Anglican columnist who lamented inaccurately that, apart from 'Praise to the Lord, The Almighty', none of the great universal hymns of Christendom was included in the music selection for even such a conspicuously interdenominational occasion. He also observed that 'revivalism seems to be almost inevitably associated with sentimentalism in music', while recognising that music will be chosen to reinforce the appeal to emotions rather than for aesthetic reasons. *Church and People*, 14, 4 (May 1959), 6.
101. *CS*, no.37.
102. 'Faith of Our Fathers', *CS*, no.8.

Reformation classic, 'A Mighty Fortress is Our God',[103] but did not form a major component of the crusade's message.

Moreover, the faith being asserted and defended seems softer, less doctrinaire, than that which had been manifested in Torrey's defence of the Bible. Rather, it consisted largely of a single-minded focus on the substitutionary atonement doctrine, to which a large number of hymns were devoted, in contrast to the relative avoidance of direct mention of the theme in Alexander's hymns. 'For God So Loved the World' was a musical adaptation of John 3.16, in which God's love for the world was described purely in terms of Christ's death and millenial return.[104] Another was Charles Wesley's expression of wonder at gaining benefit from the Saviour's blood.[105] The attraction and efficacy of 'The Old Rugged Cross' was hymned, as was the 'Power in the Blood'.[106] The gory Victorian imagery remained, too, in the clear spelling-out of the doctrine in 'Nothing But the Blood'.

> What can wash away my sin?
> Nothing but the blood of Jesus;
> What can make me whole again?
> Nothing but the blood of Jesus.
>
> For my pardon this I see...
> For my cleansing this my plea....
>
> Nothing can for sin atone...
> Naught of good that I have done....
>
> This is all my hope and peace...
> This is all my righteousness....
>
> Oh! precious is the flow
> That makes me white as snow;
> No other fount I know,
> Nothing but the blood of Jesus.[107]

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103. *CS*, nos 23, 10.
104. *CS*, no.62.
105. 'And Can It Be That I Should Gain?', *CS*, no.41.
106. *CS*, nos 9, 25.
107. *CS*, no.32, vv 1-4, chorus.

There was, still, no other view of the atonement celebrated, and little of any other doctrine, even of the person or work of Christ. Unlike Alexander's book, there was little scope for a topical index. As another hymn put it,

> My hope is built on nothing less
> Than Jesus' blood and righteousness....
> His oath, His covenant, His blood,
> Support me in the whelming flood....[108]

One other doctrine which did receive some stress was that of the Second Coming of Christ. Eschatological judgment, leading to ultimate salvation or damnation, is a presumption of the doctrine of atonement just described.

> When He shall come with trumpet sound,
> O may I then in Him be found;
> Dressed in His righteousness alone,
> Faultless to stand before the throne.[109]

But the concept appeared in other hymns, too. It might have been in terms of the Christian's confidence of acquittal, 'I'll go with Him [Christ] thro' the judgment'.[110] Or it might have been expressed as hope of an ultimate destiny in what seems a physical, though astronautical, new world.

> Soon He's coming back to welcome me
> Far beyond the starry sky;
> I shall wing my flight to worlds unknown,
> I shall reign with Him on high.[111]

The dispensationalist eschatological view was clearly the position espoused in such hymns as 'Is It the Crowning Day?', which opened by asserting that 'Jesus may come today' and 'I may go home today'.[112] Another awaited the time 'When the trumpet of the Lord shall sound, and time shall be no more', and 'When His chosen ones

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108. *CS*, no.30.
109. *CS*, no.30, v.4.
110. 'Where He Leads Me', *CS*, no.65.
111. *CS*, no.20, v.5.
112. *CS*, no.45.

shall gather to their home beyond the skies', again in a very physical heaven.[113] It was clearest in verse 4 of 'It Is Well With My Soul':

> And, Lord, haste the day when the faith shall be sight,
> The clouds be rolled back as a scroll,
> The trump shall resound and the Lord shall descend,
> 'Even so' - it is well with my soul.[114]

But many other hymns in the crusade song book seem to have had practical, non-doctrinal emphases. There were those which motivated the hearer to evangelism. The ambivalent 'Rescue the Perishing', retained from the Chapman mission era, was still popular. Others of similar theme which were also still used from Alexander's day and before were 'Oh, For a Thousand Tongues' and 'Jesus Saves'.[115]

Having inspired the evangelistic activity, the hymn book also provided songs which reinforced the evangelist's message. 'Just As I Am' and 'Almost Persuaded', models of revivalistic durability, continued to be standards for use at appeal time.[116] Newer songs, too, put the words of evangelical commitment into the mouths of both new and existing believers.

> I need Jesus, my need I now confess;
> No friend like Him in times of deep distress;
> I need Jesus, the need I gladly own;
> Tho' some may bear their load alone, Yet I need Jesus.
>
> I need Jesus, I need Him to the end;
> No one like Him - He is the sinners' Friend;
> I need Jesus, no other friend will do;
> So constant, kind, so strong, and true, - Yes, I need Jesus.
>
> I need Jesus, I need Jesus,
> I need Jesus ev'ry day,
> Need Him in the sunshine hour,
> Need Him when the storm clouds low'r;
> Ev'ry day along my way, Yes, I need Jesus.[117]

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113. 'When the Roll Is Called Up Yonder', *CS*, no.48.
114. *CS*, no.44.
115. *CS*, nos 49, 40, 47.
116. *CS*, nos 68, 61.
117. *CS*, no.46, vv 1, 3, chorus.

Other songs were useful to continue to persuade and reassure the wavering and uncommitted - provided that they could stomach the abattoir imagery.

> Come, ev'ry soul by sin oppressed,
> There's mercy with the Lord.
> And He will surely give you rest
> By trusting in His Word.
>
> For Jesus shed his precious blood,
> Rich blessings to bestow;
> Plunge now into the crimson flood
> That washes white as snow.
>
> Yes, Jesus is the Truth, the Way,
> That leads you into rest:
> Believe in Him without delay,
> And you are fully blest.
>
> Only trust Him, only trust Him,
> Only trust Him now;
> He will save you, He will save you,
> He will save you now.[118]

There remained, though, another major theme expressed in these hymns. As there had been in the earlier missions, there was a substantial emphasis on personal devotion and piety, celebrating the believer's relationship with Jesus and pledging renewed dedication to him. At least one third of the Graham hymns not in *Alexander's Hymns* fell into this category. The 1959 book did retain the old injunction to 'Trust and Obey', the encouragement of 'Blessed Assurance' and 'What A Friend We Have In Jesus', the triumphalism of 'It Is Well With My Soul' and 'Standing On the Promises', and the plea for yet deeper spirituality in 'I Need Thee Every Hour'.[119]

The new songs varied between the strong affirmation of God's steadfastness in 'Great Is Thy Faithfulness'[120] and the shallowness of:

> Heavenly sunshine, heavenly sunshine,
> Flooding my soul with glory divine;

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118. *CS*, no.18, vv 1-3, chorus.
119. *CS*, nos 24, 1, 22, 44, 42, 64.
120. *CS*, no.3.

Heavenly sunshine, heavenly sunshine.
Hallelujah! Jesus is mine![121]

Some urged an other-worldly relationship with Jesus to the exclusion of all earthly distractions.

Turn your eyes upon Jesus,
Look full in His wonderful face;....
And the things of earth will grow strangely dim
In the light of His glory and grace.[122]

Others extolled this relationship over all manner of human temptations, although the verb 'to have' is one few theologians would apply to deity.

I'd rather have Jesus than silver or gold,
I'd rather be His than have riches untold;
I'd rather have Jesus than houses or lands,
I'd rather be led by His nail-pierced hand.

I'd rather have Jesus than men's applause,
I'd rather be faithful to His dear cause;
I'd rather have Jesus than world-wide fame,
I'd rather be true to His holy name.

Than to be the king of a vast domain
And be held in sin's dread sway;
I'd rather have Jesus than anything
This world affords today.[123]

In similar vein, a song that consisted entirely of

Jesus Christ is the Way;
Jesus Christ is the Truth.
Jesus Christ is the Life,
And He's mine, mine, mine.[124]

might be seen as theologically gauche, not to say presumptuous, transgressing, at the very least, Calvinist notions of God's sovereignty and infinitude and portraying a 'possessive' gospel in which one may almost own and control God for oneself.[125]

A contradictory theme appearing in the songs with which Calvinists would have been more comfortable was that of God's

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121. *CS*, no.17.
122. *CS*, no.50, chorus.
123. *CS*, no.73, vv 1, 2, chorus.
124. *CS*, no.12.
125. For this term, I am indebted to Dr G.D. Pratt.

ongoing care, protection and love for the believer, even if its presentation may be criticised as simplistic, failing really to grapple with the difficulties of life. The theme of the believer's passivity described in Sizer's study noted above was still very visible in such songs.

> He hideth my soul in the cleft of the rock
> That shadows a dry, thirsty land;
> He hideth my soul in the depths of His love,
> And covers me there with His hand,
> And covers me there with His hand.[126]

Another echoed the celebration of divine protection and support.

> What a fellowship, what a joy divine,
> Leaning on the everlasting arms;
> What a blessedness, what a peace is mine,
> Leaning on the everlasting arms.
>
> Leaning, leaning,
> Safe and secure from all alarms;
> Leaning, leaning,
> Leaning on the everlasting arms.[127]

Throughout the 1959 hymnbook, the influence of revivalistic individualism was all-pervasive. Seldom was a plural pronoun in evidence; they were usually first or second person singular: 'My Jesus I love Thee', 'Blessed assurance, Jesus is mine', '"Great is Thy faithfulness", Lord, unto me!', 'He leadeth me', 'Just as I am, without one plea, but that Thy blood was shed for me', 'I will sing the wondrous story' - and the like.[128] The evangelistic task was entrusted to, performed by, and benefitted from, by the individual - God's amazing grace saved a wretch like 'me'. The intensely personal and individualistic nature of this revivalistic type of Christianity was summarised in 'He Lives', in which Christ's interaction and direct communication was with the individual, independent of ecclesiastical mediation or influence.

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126. *CS*, no.4, chorus.
127. *CS*, no.16, v.1, chorus.
128. *CS*, nos 29, 1, 3, 39, 68, 51.

He lives, He lives, Christ Jesus lives today!
He walks with me and talks with me along life's narrow way.
He lives, He lives, salvation to impart!
You ask me how I know He lives? He lives within my heart.[129]

In fact, one of the few times the Christian Church as a whole was held in view was in a song which still asked that 'each heart' be filled with God's love, 'each soul' be rekindled and that God would 'revive us again'.[130] The view of the institutional Church presented was thus basically negative. All was subordinated to the individual's relationship with God, or more specifically with Jesus, which was presumed to be independent of the influence of the greater body of believers.[131]

The theology presented by the crusade hymnbook, then, revealed a concentration on only a few themes, particularly Christ's substitutionary atonement and second coming, portrayed in distinctly premillenial, even dispensationalist, terms. These are characteristic of conservative evangelicalism, fundamentalism and revivalism. They are central to the call to sinners to repent and to accept Christ as 'their personal Saviour', the individual accepting his work on their behalf. The prospect of Christ's imminent return lends some urgency to the matter.

Beyond this, though, there was no real emphasis placed in the songs on correct doctrine or militancy on behalf of fundamental truths. Even military images were relatively few. The great weight was on personal piety, the individual's relationship with Christ and the hope of future salvation. Graham's hymnody, then, appears to have been an agent for the conserving and reinforcing of the

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129. *CS*, no.21, chorus.
130. 'Revive Us Again', *CS*, no.56.
131. Perhaps the exception to this trend was no.35, 'The Church's One Foundation', an old hymn which stresses the Church's unity.

distinctives of conservative evangelical theology, but remaining untainted by belligerent insistence on more detailed doctrinal purity.

The 1969 Billy Graham Crusade

The music of the 1969 crusade, as might be expected, was very similar to that of 1959. The crusade songbook was slightly smaller, containing sixty-six hymns and songs compared with seventy-four in the earlier edition.[132] A small number of songs from 1959 were, therefore, discarded and not replaced, while ten more were replaced with new selections.

There appeared to be little discernible pattern to the rejection/replacement policy. Several of the old revivalistic favourites disappeared, such as 'Power in the Blood' and 'Almost Persuaded', as had some reminiscent of the 'absolute surrender' teaching associated with the Keswick and related groups, like 'All to Jesus I Surrender', 'All your Anxiety [Bring to the Mercy Seat]' and 'More Love to Thee'. Their replacements, though, were seldom much different in tone or purpose. 'I Have Decided to Follow Jesus', while more exactly a testimony song to be sung by converts, was both more positive and more appropriate for use at appeal time as the dire implications of 'Almost Persuaded'.

> I have decided to follow Jesus,
> I have decided to follow Jesus,
> I have decided to follow Jesus,
> No turning back, no turning back.
>
> The world behind me, the cross before me....
> Tho' none go with me, I still will follow....
> Will you decide now to follow Jesus?[133]

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132. Cliff Barrows, ed., *Billy Graham Crusade Songs* (Sydney, 1968).
133. *CS* (1968), no.4.

Another new-comer, 'Who is on the Lord's Side?', which had been included in late editions of *Alexander's Hymns*, was also comprised of militaristic exhortations to 'serve the King', 'be His helpers' and 'face the foe' as members of 'the King's own army' in a cosmic spiritual struggle.[134]

Several of those excised from the 1959 book were amongst those Sizer had identified as exemplifying concepts of passivity in Christian life and belief. 'He Hideth My Soul' was one, as was 'Lead Me to Calvary', which asked Jesus ('King of my life') to provide the singer's complete spiritual experience, 'lest I forget....' One of those newly added, though written in 1956, celebrated much the same treatment. 'His Sheep am I', based on Psalm 23, portrayed the Christian life as 'feeding in God's green pastures' and 'lying by His cool waters'.[135]

A number of the new additions praised Jesus and celebrated his person and position, rather than just the benefits which an individual believer expected to gain from the relationship. 'Crown Him with Many Crowns' abounds with triumphant images of the exalted Christ, 'ineffably sublime'.[136] In like manner, 'At the Name of Jesus' is also intended as praise of that name and its subject. It, however, takes a pair of verses to exhort the hearer to 'name Him', 'in your hearts enthrone Him' and 'crown Him as your Captain', giving it a second value in assisting the appeal for conversion and dedication.[137] 'Thine Be the Glory' is more martial, and although it also seeks for his aid - to 'make us more than conqu'rors' - its focus is on lauding Christ's conquering of sin and death.[138]

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134. *CS* (1968), no.46.
135. *CS* (1968), no.60.
136. *CS* (1968), no.39.
137. *CS* (1968), 34.
138. *CS* (1968), no.13.

One other change toned down still further what attention had been given to premillenial eschatology in the earlier songs. 'Is It the Crowning Day?', referring to the Second Coming and that 'Jesus may come today', was replaced by an appropriately evangelical rejoicing instead in the day of one's conversion. The substitute, 'O Happy Day' was another testimony song, referring to the time 'that fixed my choice on Thee, my Saviour and my God!' It was comprised of several central evangelical emphases, including the substitutionary atonement ('O happy day, when Jesus washed my sins away') and even a Calvinistic flavour to the conversion process (the choice was 'fixed' on that day, not made independently by the singer and 'He drew me, and I followed on').[139]

The remainder of the second Billy Graham crusade's music differed little from the 1959 selection, the other songs being identical. The songleader was the same, Cliff Barrows, and there seemed to be few significant distinctions between the two in this regard. The lack of alteration in the music reflected the sudden gulf separating traditional mass evangelism from the New Zealand public, and even from many within the churches, which had yawned so widely during the intervening decade. The new popular religious songs were no longer comprised of several verses and drawn from the *Redemption Hymnal*, *Alexander's Hymns*, or like anthologies of gospel hymns, but were beginning to be written as short, often single-verse songs, accompanied by guitars rather than pianos and organs.

As conservative Christianity became further separated from the *Zeitgeist* of the mid-twentieth century, Graham and those who later emulated him were faced with a dilemma. The mass evangelist in his choice of music was trapped between conservatism - having to retain

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139. *CS* (1968), no.45.

songs and hymns which were wellknown and comfortable to his audiences so as to keep the atmosphere of unity and the appearance of the unchanging nature of the evangelical gospel - and the often antithetical requirement to stay abreast of the times, to move with the audience's cultural and social development. To remain too conservative was to appear out of touch with contemporary movement and therefore irrelevant, to change too far too fast risked alienating the staunch, long-term, churchgoing supporters of the missions and also to court later charges of irrelevance if the gospel and its presentation were seen to be too closely tied to the transitory and ephemeral.

THE MUSIC OF THE 1987 FORD AND PALAU MISSIONS

The hymnbooks of the Alexander era and Graham crusades had disappeared for the missions of the 1980s. This may have reflected changing economic circumstances and a decision to give disposable material to attenders rather than asking them to purchase something more permanent, but in any case with the briefer modern missions, holding few meetings in each centre, there was less need for a wide variety of music. The music seemed to have shrunk even further in its centrality to the missions' meetings themselves. Palau did not even have his own songleader, relying on the abilities of the locals to run meetings. Ford had Irv Chambers as master of ceremonies, but also used locals as music directors. The music appeared much more to be a pale adjunct to the personality of the preacher than it had early in the century.

The Leighton Ford Missions

The Ford mission songsheet had only twenty-two songs.[140] They displayed a more local flavour than any of their predecessors having been selected from a recent New Zealand hymnbook, *Servant Songs*. In that selection a balance was maintained between traditional and new songs. There were six older hymns, four of which had been used in the 1969 Graham crusade.[141] The remainder were largely contemporary choruses, several written in New Zealand. There was evidence of some thought given to inclusiveness, with the usual 'Brother, let me be your servant' having been altered to 'Will you let me be....', and the use of one song in Samoan and another song and a verse of 'Guide Me O Thou Great Jehovah' in Maori.[142]

The themes of the songs chosen were also mixed but fell largely within the pietistic emphases of earlier crusades and traditional evangelicalism. A number were comprised largely of praise of divinity. Usually this was directed to Jesus, although sometimes obliquely, as in the lines

> Magnify, come glorify Christ Jesus the King.
>
> Jesus, name above all names,
> Beautiful Saviour, Glorious Lord.
>
> Ev'ry knee shall bow, ev'ry tongue confess
> That Jesus Christ is Lord.[143]

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140. 'Leighton Ford 1987 New Zealand Missions Songsheet', unpublished printed sheet, Mission Christchurch Office, 332 Cashel Street, Christchurch.
141. These were no.2 'Amazing Grace', no.7 'When I Survey the Wondrous Cross', no.10 'Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God Almighty', no.14 'Dear Lord and Father of Mankind', no.19 'Guide Me O Thou Great Jehovah', and no.22 'Praise to the Lord, the Almighty'.
142. Ibid., nos 21, 11, 5, 19.
143. Ibid., nos 4, 16, 17.

But there was also some praise, presumably to God the Father, in 'Exalt the Lord Our God', and the whole Trinity was worshipped in 'Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God Almighty'.[144]

Reference was made to the resurrection of Christ, including:

Alleluia, Alleluia, give thanks to the risen Lord.

He is risen from the dead and he is Lord.[145]

But those more joyful songs were also balanced by more sobering references to the cross, such as those in

When I survey the wondrous cross
On which the Prince of glory died,
My richest gain I count but loss,
And pour contempt on all my pride.

We worship Jesus' great majesty
Who thro' His love gave everything,
We stand before Him now washed and free
Because He died on Calvary.[146]

The large bulk of the songs were pietistic rather than doctrinal or directly usable as adjuncts to the evangelist's work. There was nothing of Alexander's 'You must do something tonight' genre and, indeed, there was only one song which appeared directly to be employable as facilitating a response to an appeal. But even this could have been applied equally well to the rededication of believers' lives to God, even to some form of mystical union.

Jesus take me as I am
I can come no other way
Take me deeper into You
Make my flesh life melt away
Make me like a precious stone
Crystal clear and finely honed
Life of Jesus shining through
Giving glory back to You.[147]

Mostly, the songs were worshipful and exhortations to worship.

Exalt the Lord our God,
And worship at His footstool.

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144. Ibid., nos 9, 10.
145. Ibid., nos 1, 17.
146. Ibid., nos 7, 13.
147. Ibid., no.12.

I will bless the Lord and give Him glory
Oh I will praise His name and give Him glory.

Praise to the Lord, the Almighty the King of Creation.

I love you, Lord
And I lift my voice
To worship you
Oh my soul, rejoice
Take joy, my King
In what you hear
Let me be a sweet, sweet sound
In your ear.[148]

Within this category, there were several which were based on scriptural texts of God's words of comfort and encouragement to his people.

Be still and know that I am God.
I am the Lord that healeth thee.
In thee O Lord do I put my trust.

Tell my people I love them;
Tell my people that I care.
When they feel far away from me,
Tell my people I am there.

If my people, called by my name,
Humble themselves and pray
And seek my face, turn from their wicked ways,
Humble themselves and pray;
Then I will hear from Heaven,
Forgive their sin forever
And heal, heal their land,
And heal their land.[149]

Yet another group of songs acknowledged human sinfulness and shortcomings and sought God's mercy, forgiveness and restoration. The song in Maori, 'Tama Ngakau Marie', asked the Tama a t'Atua (Son of God) to 'love us', 'take away our sins', and 'undo these evil

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148. Ibid., nos 9, 13, 22, 20.
149. Ibid., nos 8, 15 (chorus), 18. The last of these was an adaptation of a text popular in many such situations for exhorting Christians to greater devotion in the expectation that they would be rewarded by community-wide spiritual renewal. This particular arrangement was written in Wellington especially for these Ford missions. 'And Heal Their Land' was an alternative title for Mission Wellington.

ties which bind us'.[150] 'Dear Lord and Father of Mankind' requested God to 'forgive our foolish ways', 'drop Thy still dews of quietness' and 'breathe through the heats of our desire Thy coolness and Thy balm', while 'Guide Me O Thou Great Jehovah' sought protection, provision and guidance to the uttermost through 'death of deaths, and hell's destruction'.[151]

Uniquely, the 'Servant Song' was directed not to deity but humanity, the singers offering to be servants, companions, comforters, empathisers and rejoicers with the hearers, the object being to 'be as Christ to you'.[152] It thus sought to emphasise practical response to and manifestation of the relationship enjoyed with God.

The Leighton Ford mission songs thus reflected many of the characteristics and emphases of Ford's approach. Although few in number, they included, musically, a substantial traditional element, familiar to evangelicals for decades, and, theologically, several of the central elements of evangelical worship, particularly of Jesus' ministry and crucifixion. Where his resurrection and ascension ministries were celebrated, it was often within this context, reviewing both the 'hope' about which Ford preached and its spiritual basis. The tone of many of the songs was joyful, yet reverent and not merely thoughtlessly happy, again focussing on praise and thanks to the godhead rather than dwelling on the personal benefits of being a Christian. And there was recognition of the need for ongoing divine action in the singer's life and for that life to be put to the service of both God and humanity - the 'hope in action' theme. The message of the music reinforced themes

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150. Ibid., no.5.
151. Ibid., nos 14, 19.
152. Ibid., no.21.

within the rest of the mission of the person and work of Christ offering hope and comfort for life both eternally and temporally. The compilers of the collection seemed to have captured well the essence of the mission and the best aspects of the evangelical background from which it sprang.

The Luis Palau Missions

There were some similarities, but also considerable contrasts, between the Ford music and that used by the virtually simultaneous northern missions centred around Luis Palau. Musically, the Palau missions promoted a substantially different theology and Christian experiential base from that of the earlier evangelists. Like the Ford missions, they were also without the quantitative diversity typical of the earlier large crusades. For example, the Mission Waikato organisers produced only a two-sided complimentary song-sheet, containing twenty-one songs, rather than a full hymnbook.[153] Of these songs selected, a mere three were of a hymn type: no.19 'Blessed Assurance', no.20 'Amazing Grace' and no.21 'How Great Thou Art'. The rest were a selection of short choruses taken (without acknowledgement) from the *Scripture in Song* songbooks widely used amongst theologically conservative churches, especially those associated with the charismatic and Pentecostal movements. The three older hymns, also, would have been some of the few retained in use in such churches.

The music selection therefore indicated some of the shift in the mass evangelist's constituency. Whereas people from most

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153. 'Complimentary Song Sheet', Luis Palau Waikato Mission 18-22 March 1987, unpublished printed sheet.

denominations would have at least known the popular hymns in the Graham books, to many from 'mainline' denominations, used only to hymnals, the Palau mission songs would have been unfamiliar. That the choruses formed 85% of the mission's music suggests either a bias of the organisers' towards short, popular, theologically superficial songs, or at least an expectation that the large majority of the audience would be comprised of attenders at the sorts of churches which used that material.

Without exception, the songs were upbeat and triumphalist, having a single focus without internal theological development. They omitted the pietistic, prayerful emphasis of such Graham crusade selections as 'Guide Me, O Thou Great Jehovah', 'The Lord's My Shepherd' or 'Rock of Ages'. Even such revivalistic classics as 'The Old Rugged Cross' and 'Just as I am' were overlooked. Instead, the Palau songs fell into two categories.

The first category was comprised of those which praised Jesus (virtually none mentioned the Father or the Holy Spirit). These included:

> O how I love Jesus (repeat 2x)
> Because He first loved me.
>
> To me He is so wonderful (repeat 2x)
> Because He first loved me.[154]

No.7 contained the exhortation to 'praise the Name of Jesus'. No.11 insisted

> From the rising of the sun
> To the going down of the same
> The Lord's Name [sic] is to be praised.

Other songs, such as no.12, 'Majesty, worship His Majesty', and no. 17, 'You are the King of Glory', put that injunction into effect. Jesus was continually presented as 'Lord', 'King of Kings', 'Lord of

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154. Ibid., no.4.

Lords', 'King of glory', 'Prince of peace', and 'Lord of heaven and earth'. Apart from one verse of 'How Great Thou Art', there was no direct reference to Jesus' earthly ministry, teaching, suffering or death. At most, the few indirect references were softened by association with a concentration on pleasant results for the believer.

> With His blood He has saved me
> With His power He has raised me.[155]
>
> Jesus who died, now glorified
> King of all kings.[156]
>
> Yes I'm a conqueror, reigning with Him
> Secure as the blood of Jesus
> Cleanses me within.[157]

The Jesus thus presented had little in common with the 'Man of Sorrows' sung of in the Graham meetings, he who suffered on 'The Old Rugged Cross' which was 'the emblem of suff'ring and shame'.[158]

The second group of songs used in Mission Waikato were celebrations of the believer's blessings resulting from being a Christian. Since 'this is the day that the Lord hath made', they sang 'we will rejoice and be glad in it'.[159] They told each other to 'rejoice in the Lord always',[160] because 'we are one in the bonds of love'.[161] The Christian Church appeared only as an all-conquering triumphant army of saints, as God was apparently saying,

> For I'm building a people of power
> And I'm making a people of praise
> That will move through this land
> By My Spirit

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155. Ibid., no.5, 'To God be the Glory'. Some trinitarian confusion was evident as the song was presumably to God the Father and it attributed these actions to him, although they would usually be credited to the Son and the Spirit respectively.
156. Ibid., no.12, 'Majesty'.
157. Ibid., no.18, 'I'm a Conqueror and Victorious'.
158. *CS* nos 66, 9.
159. Palau Waikato Song Sheet, no.1, 'This Is the Day'.
160. Ibid., no.6.
161. Ibid., no.8.

And will glorify my [sic] precious name.[162]

This army fought using the name of Jesus as a magically omnipotent weapon against devilish forces of evil.

In the Name of Jesus,
In the Name of Jesus,
We have the victory
In the Name of Jesus,
In the Name of Jesus
Demons will have to flee
When we stand on the Name of Jesus
Tell me who can stand before
In the mighty name of Jesus
We have the victory.[163]

Regardless of how Palau was to preach, the atmosphere was set anticipating Christian life as a ceaseless series of spiritual triumphs. The emphasis on power and success and Jesus as 'King' reigning 'over all the nations of the earth',[164] rather than as suffering servant or even, more appropriately to revivalism, the sacrificial Lamb of God, was epitomised in this song:

I'm a conqueror and victorious
I'm reigning with Jesus
I'm seated in heavenly places
With him, with him
And the Kingdom of God is within me
I know no defeat only victory
For the Kingdom of God is within me
I know no defeat but
His strength and power
For He strengthens me
He strengthens me
With joy in my heart
And peace in my soul
He strengthens me
Yes I'm a conqueror, reigning with Him
Secure, as the blood of Jesus
Cleanses me within.[165]

The atmosphere thus anticipated in the musical selection was reinforced by the style of congregational worship. There appeared

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162. Ibid., no.15.
163. Ibid., no.10.
164. Ibid., no.14. In context, this implied a dispensationalist anticipation of the millenium.
165. Ibid., no.18.

to be a high proportion of charismatic and Pentecostal believers in the audience and the singing was directed in a boisterous, cheer-leading fashion by the master of ceremonies, Rev. Jim Williams, a local Assemblies of God minister.[166]

There was, then, despite their contemporaneity, a vast difference between the styles of the Ford and Palau missions, as represented in their music. Both had identical resources to draw upon, and both were limited to the compass of a single song sheet. The Ford music was as broad in its selection of themes and its approach as could have been expected within those confines, while the Palau music was narrow theologically and manifestly different in its presentation of Christianity. The Ford music expressed most key evangelical soteriological and Christological doctrines and developed them to result in imperatives to pietistic and societal activity.

The Palau music, however, lacked any substantial doctrinal content, even regarding the actual work of Christ. Too, far from its praise and celebration leading to response in the singers' or hearers' lives, the whole thrust was back to introverted passivity in reception of divine blessings. Apart from the 'people of power', whose triumphant movement was still anticipated rather than actual, the songs revert to Sizer's category of passivity. This passivity was, though, qualitatively different from the nineteenth century's. Where earlier writers had fled to places of refuge and leant on divine everlasting arms for support, the 1987 version was to reign Jesus, to be seated in heavenly places with him and to gain victory over demonic forces by standing on the name of Jesus. Unlike the

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166. Author's personal observation, Luis Palau mission meeting, Hamilton, 22 March 1987. For example, he led the crowd in a cheer for Jesus: 'Give me a J! Give me an E!....'

music of the Ford campaign, this change reflected strongly the new position influence amongst theologically conservative New Zealand Christians held by the Pentecostal and Charismatic movements, and their intrinsically triumphalist, experiential nature promulgated at the expense of accustomed evangelical doctrinal emphases.

CONCLUSION

As Dale Johnson observes, the more blatant attempts of early hymnwriters to conduct educational campaigns or controversies in their writing have, happily, ceased to motivate most religious songwriting over the last century.[167] The compilations of hymns and songs which have been analysed here have, though, still demonstrated themes and concerns generated by their varying historical contexts. Alexander relied heavily on the gospel song tradition of the mid and late-nineteenth century, and on the writings even of his contemporaries and colleagues. His presentation of the Christian faith was affected accordingly, including as it did a strong flavour of the piety of the Keswick/Holiness movements. The presentation of the family, and especially the pious mother, are unique amongst the present selection. They had disappeared by the time of the Billy Graham crusades. The divine friend was the chief image of Jesus portrayed in Alexander's music and Christ's substitutionary atonement was included, albeit often obliquely. The assistance music gave to preparation for a successful appeal was recognised in the inclusion

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167. Johnson, 'Lord's Song', 217.

of the number of songs which either urged potential converts to make the right choice, or encouraged Christians to win more souls. The importance of the music, and of Alexander personally, to the early missions was demonstrated in the extent of his involvement in running the meetings, the almost equal attention he received compared with the preachers, the reports of contemporaries of audience appreciation and the public singing of many of the songs, and even the physical size of the hymnal.

By contrast, the lesser importance of music, to the evangelist if not the audience, was obvious in the Graham era. Barrows was simply one of the team, usually paid less attention than the preaching associates. The hymnal had shrunk to one-sixth of the size of *Alexander's Hymns*, and reports of the meetings mentioned little about the singing, certainly not giving extensive listings of the individual songs used. The songs and hymns were less topical than many of Alexander's had been. The theology assumed and conveyed was much the same as earlier, the substitutionary atonement being in evidence, for example, as well as the retention of several songs for again aiding the appeal. Perhaps the singing was as important to the audiences as it had been earlier in creating the fellow-feeling and reaffirming their common dedication to the faith, but reports give no indication one way or the other. The common faith portrayed had changed to some extent, with less devotion to the emotionalism of the earlier era and to the passivity and surrender motifs, but there remained the concern with Christ's person and work, especially in the substitutionary atonement.

The music's centrality as a distinct feature within the mission meetings faded still further by 1987. The songsheets gave only one-third of the numerical selection available to the Graham

songleaders. Neither of the evangelists brought with them a specialist for the music at all, leaving its selection and presentation to local talents, whereas the songleader had been the one essential companion for earlier preachers. The audiences may still have benefitted from the times of singing, although, again, reports tend to overlook the whole aspect, but it appears remote that anything like the same effect Alexander had generated now occurred. The theology of the common faith expressed in the music had shifted further during the period since 1969. Ford's music reflected much the same emphases as had that for Graham, although still with some more modern components. Palau's showed few of the traditionally evangelical concerns, being centred on triumphalist personal experience, with even Christ, certainly when considered as suffering Saviour, being subordinated to this self-centredness. The music used, too, was mostly of local origin (or publication) and demonstrated the extent of Pentecostal influence in contemporary New Zealand conservative Christianity.

The compilers of the various selections studied, unlike De Jong's examples, communicated little with the users of their productions. They did not try to instruct them to identify with the words, but merely spoke vaguely of 'blessing' ensuing from the singing. Alexander, under a small heading 'How You Can Help', simply asked, 'When this book comes into your hands pray that God will bless those who sing or read the Hymns'.[168] Cliff Barrows' foreword to the Graham crusade songbooks was confident that, as people sang, 'you too will know the joy and blessing that these songs can bring'.[169] The two 1987 missions' songsheets, being so

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168. *AH*, 2.
169. *CS* (1968), 3.

compact, instead used their opportunity to communicate with the user to advertise the various facilities the mission offered, as more of a programme than specifically as a worship aid. Again, the music decreased in relative importance as overt expectations of its spiritual value and use in assisting the dynamics of the meetings faded. Possibly the expectations were retained implicitly, but there remains little indication of any greater appreciation remaining.

This chapter, then, has surveyed the use of music as an integral aspect of each mass evangelistic mission in New Zealand. Beginning with Charles Alexander's central and extensive involvement with the missions of Torrey and Chapman, it has also included the music Cliff Barrows prepared for the two Billy Graham crusades, and the material used in the two 1987 missions. Alexander's direct purpose of creating the community of fellow-feeling has been discussed and by extension its continuation in the later campaigns. The main theological and social messages of the various hymns and songs, too, have been analysed, revealing an original focus on evangelical piety and a concern for centring that community around an appreciation of Jesus as Friend, Saviour and Lord, and latterly a focussing on positive personal experience. Thus, insight is gained into the central themes the evangelists promoted and the changes in popular theology and piety amongst New Zealand conservative Christians.

CHAPTER TEN

CONCLUSION

This study of six major New Zealand mass evangelistic missions argues that periodic revivalistic campaigns contributed more to reinforcing the biblicist evangelical faction within New Zealand Christian churches, than to nationwide spiritual awakening. R.A. Torrey (1902), J. Wilbur Chapman (1912-1913), Billy Graham (1959 and 1969), and Leighton Ford and Luis Palau (1987), were each and all committed and practiced Protestant evangelists with already established reputations prior to their arrival. They entered New Zealand to 'save souls', to raise the membership and profile of the Protestant churches, and to call the nation to social and personal moral reformation.

Their national impact is shown to have been limited, and their attempts to refashion the Church into a purer and more committed evangelistic force were restricted and short-lived. Within the Church, the mass evangelists brought momentary Protestant unity, transcending sectarian denominational boundaries, and provided transitory emotional uplift helpful to some individuals who found 'ordinary' church life mundane and unchallenging.

THE EVANGELISTS

The mass evangelists who operated within New Zealand all shared a number of common characteristics: their cultural and theological heritage, their being foreigners to New Zealand, their not being

products of indigenous revival movements and the fact that their own personalities affected their approach and their messages. Firstly, they were, with the exception of Palau, all North Americans. Torrey was a New Yorker, Chapman was from the Midwest and Billy Graham from the South. The one who was not, Luis Palau, was in any case deeply affected by North American missionaries operating in his own country, took Billy Graham as the model for his own ministry, was trained in an American Bible college, began his ministry with an American mission organisation, and took up permanent residence in the United States. Leighton Ford, too, though born a Canadian, was trained in the United States and his life and ministry were inextricably intertwined with those of Billy Graham.

The evangelists all came from, and to some extent helped to shape, the American evangelical/fundamentalist milieu. Torrey and Chapman had participated in its formation and initial period of self-definition in the late-nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Within that perspective, Chapman represented the pietistic wing, concerned more within personal spirituality, while Torrey assisted the harder definition of the doctrinalist party and its expression in *The Fundamentals*. Graham was a key figure in the redefinition in mid-century of moderate evangelicalism, breaking away from doctrinaire, combative, separatist fundamentalism, and stressing Christian cooperation in the unifying endeavour to bring more souls into the Christian fold. His missions around the world were the major public expression of that movement, making visible to all the possibility of Christian unity, in some matters at least, and rescuing conservative Christianity from its image of belligerent obscurantism. Ford followed Graham's lead in this moderation, but developed for himself a position as a leader in the late-twentieth century evangelical attempt to combine classic evangelistic concerns

with social relevance, to continue to stress the 'spiritual' saving of souls, but also to add 'hope in action', specifically Christian activity in areas of present social need. Palau has not personally been an innovator in such ways, but simply by virtue of his personality and public stature has also been a major figure in the renewal of evangelical interest in vigorous and effective evangelism throughout the world.

Another common factor in their background and that of their New Zealand ministries was that both they themselves, and their missions, were not products of New Zealand conditions. The mass evangelists were alien, not indigenous, and the timing of their work in the country was set by agendas independent of New Zealand needs. The arguments that revivals of religion and those who work to generate them are effects of social deprivation, communal searches for meaning and attempts at restoring social stability, whatever their applicability in other contexts, seem not to be particularly helpful in studying the mass evangelists who have visited New Zealand. These observations generally apply to major revolutions internal to a community or even nation, perhaps with a few prominent individuals acting as catalysts. Thus, in the U.S.A. for example, William G. McLoughlin can perceive cycles of awakenings at reasonably regular intervals when large sections of the community responded to the calls of a few to return to conservative revivalistic religion as a means of establishing stability within a world threatening in its speed of change.[1]

But the mass evangelists considered in the present study were not thrust up from within a turbulent concerned local class, they were imported, and all from America which had in many ways a

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1. 'Revivalism', in *The Rise of Adventism*, edited by Edwin Scott Gaustad (New York, 1974), 119-153; expanded in idem, *Revivals*,

Footnote 1 continued on next page

different religious and cultural heritage from the British background of pakeha New Zealand. They did come at the invitation of New Zealand churches, but in timing it was never exactly in response to specifically New Zealand needs. Their New Zealand activities were associated with crusades elsewhere in the region, Torrey and Chapman on their world tours, Billy Graham fitting his days here around the weeks his missions ran in Australia. Only the last two, Palau and Ford, focussed on New Zealand, as modern air travel and their largely singlehanded method of operation made such small-scale distant endeavours practical. To this extent, then, both the coming to New Zealand of the mass evangelists and their timing was largely accidental.[2]

In their operations in New Zealand once they were here, the personalities of the evangelists affected their approach to evangelism and their perception by the New Zealand audiences. Torrey appeared very much the intellectual, dry, scholarly, even cold. Contrasted with him, Alexander's boisterous exuberance seemed very attractive to many, lured by feelings rather than academic-style discursiveness. Chapman impressed with his pastoral concern and his frequently-expressed care for the institutional Church. Billy Graham's winsome, and above all sincere, character was continually the subject of approving comment, and in the earlier

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Footnote 1 continued from previous page

Awakenings and Reform: An Essay on Religion and Social Change in America, 1607-1977 (Chicago and London, 1978). A symposium in which McLoughlin again expounded his interpretation and received both support and criticism was recorded in *Sociological Analysis*, 44 (1983). See especially, R.C. Gordon-McCutchan, 'Great Awakenings?', 83-95; Timothy L. Smith, 'My Rejection of a Cyclical View of "Great Awakenings"', 97-101; idem, 'Response of Professor Smith on Cycles of National Awakenings', 121-122; William G. McLoughlin, 'Timepieces and Butterflies: A Note on the Great-Awakening-Construct and Its Critics', 103-110; Michael Barkun, 'The Awakening-Cycle Controversy', 425-443.

2. For example, Torrey's whole Australasian campaign grew largely spontaneously from an initial invitation to Melbourne. Billy

Footnote 2 continued on next page

crusade was sufficient in itself to override the potential objections of some to his work. The two 1987 evangelists appeared to approach their task very differently. The contrasts in their preaching styles were attributed largely to their respective Canadian and Argentinian origins. Ford was described as 'quiet, thoughtful' and using 'a minimum of movement and gesticulation', preaching 'off the cuff', but 'measured and controlled', 'more likely to be conciliatory, coaxing his audience to a decision....'[3] Palau, by comparison, was 'very Latin', 'gesticulating in exaggerated fashion almost non-stop', 'far more likely to run over time as he gets caught up', and 'more blunt, almost demanding a decision'.[4]

METHODOLOGY

In some degree, the very designation 'mass evangelism' defines the methodology employed by these missioners. They were aiming to be attractive to many people, so that they could then speak to the largest crowd possible, and attempt to evangelise them, to convert them to Christianity.

The most obvious changes in the conduct of the New Zealand missions stem from technological advances available to the later evangelists. For example, the length of time devoted to a mission

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Footnote 2 continued from previous page
Graham's return visit was originally hoped for in the early 1960s but was postponed several times, and, when it was organised for 1968, had to be postponed again until 1969 because of his illness.

3. *Challenge*, 45, 11 (27 March 1987), 1.
4. Ibid.

decreased dramatically, largely due to improvements in modes of travel. The Graham, Ford and Palau missions were all measured in days; Torrey's and Chapman's ran for weeks, even months. The earlier evangelists were obliged to travel by sea and rail, taking days to move between locations, while air travel made possible the reduction of unproductive time to mere hours. Thus Graham, although only in the country for less than a week, could appear personally at meetings in both Auckland and Dunedin, at opposite ends of the country. However, although the time lost in travelling could be reduced, the saving was not reinvested in evangelistic activity. The later missions were never conceived of in terms of more than a few days, demonstrating another difference in the nature of modern mass evangelism, which seems to have changed into a method of giving a short, sharp jolt to a community, and then moving on. This was a far cry from the 'protracted meetings' of Finney and the campaigns of the Moody-Torrey-Chapman era which saturated a city or area with effects of the mission and in which the evangelist moved home and family for a period of months, or even years. The change may well reflect both the increasing mobility available in the twentieth century, and the increased costs of mounting a mission which seems to need so many expensive trappings.

Modern technology did help in bringing at least a partial experience of the missions to wider audiences. Newspaper reports - usually very extensive in the early missions, but weakening later - enabled the evangelists' message to be conveyed to anyone throughout the community who cared to read them. The Billy Graham crusades were able to utilise the telephone system to conduct the landline meetings in many rural areas remote from the major urban centres favoured with the evangelist's physical presence. The physical presence of the celebrity evangelist appears to have been of such

importance to the successful outcome of a mission, though, that it is moot whether the landlines were a significant improvement on the whistle-stop contacts Torrey and Chapman had with those outside urban centres. Radio broadcasts of Graham's sermons and interviews on television meant that people could be reached who did not even have the inclination to make the effort to attend one of the arranged meetings. Such interviews and items in the news media were also of assistance to Ford and Palau.

The use of a team of some size was a feature common to all the missions. No mass evangelist operated alone. Torrey's team was relatively small - although Alexander on his own was the equivalent of many. Chapman came with more, including specialists to superintend personal work and related activities. Graham, though, came with a team of associate evangelists, men of lesser repute than himself, but who would stand in for him, to do the same work as him, until he appeared in person to provide the climax. Ford's assistants were not nearly so visible as these men, but he left much of the work, such as the provision of music, to the local organisers. Palau did the same, but had, in Bill Thomas, an associate performing much the same tasks as had Graham's. In addition to those thus clearly associated with the evangelists, the team was effectively swelled by the large number of local leaders who performed a multitude of complementary and supportive tasks and therefore made each mission possible. The conduct of any mass evangelistic mission was never the production of a single individual 'star', as might have been expected from their advertising.

It was essential for attention to be directed to the individual evangelist, though, to provide a focus for the activity. He had to be made highly visible throughout the community, as well as in the churches, as unless it was known the mission was taking place there

would have been no support or attendance. To this end, all of the missions employed some form of advertising. From 'California' Taylor's public lectures and street-corner preaching, through the newspaper advertising devised by all of the missions, to the billboards and radio and television appearances of the later evangelists, all of them tried to make themselves known to the public at large. Within the churches, all of these large missions' organisers promoted activities that would raise awareness of the evangelists' coming and win support. The approach common to all was to enlist prayer for divine blessing and aid for the project. This was usually done by means of a variety of meetings for the purpose, often including some novelty. This might be an all-night vigil, a day set aside for prayer and fasting, or most latterly, the prayer triplet scheme associated with Operation Andrew wherein three Christians would join regularly to pray for friends and acquaintances of each group member to be divinely moved to attend the mission and respond to the evangelist's appeal.

All of the missions prepared large groups of Christian people for the administration and pastoral followup in the missions. These were, of course, another means of generating interest in advance. But they had additional beneficial results for the churches and individuals. They gave many 'ordinary' Christians an experience of working with those of other denominations whom they might normally never meet, thus enhancing interdenominational understanding and cooperation below the formal, institutional level. They provided training and increased confidence for many in skills never previously acquired or exercised. Choral singing or ushering at a mission may have prepared some to join in the corresponding activity in their own church. Training in counselling or small group leading, as offered in the later missions, also assisted in the

performance of those functions at a parish level. After the Ford and Palau missions, many churches began new house groups specifically for mission converts.

The missions varied in the extent to which they did train and use such people, with the later, shorter campaigns generally putting greater emphasis on these matters. The amount of attention given both to preparation and followup seems to have been in inverse proportion to the duration of the actual mission. The Torrey and Chapman missions trained choirs for only several weeks before the evangelists' arrival and provided their own pianists, whereas the later missions' prepared for months in advance and employed small orchestras. Ushering and related administrative activities never featured greatly in the early missions' preparation, but they required full representation from the beginning on the later organising committees. Counsellor training was not deemed necessary by Torrey and Chapman, although some advice on 'personal work' was provided during the course of the mission. For the later missions, evangelistic enthusiasm was an inadequate qualification for counselling, one could not participate without first having successfully undertaken the official mission training programmes.

In another example of this shift, mission control was further increased over both who could participate in the mission, and how they could do so. The early missions left little assistance beyond for churches to nurture converts. From the Graham era on, prepackaged, step-by-step courses were provided to be distributed to enquirers by the mission organisation, regardless of the individual enquirer's personal needs or existing church association, and which could often be returned to the mission for 'marking' without the necessity of personal contact at all. The assumption clearly was that not all churches could be trusted to provide what was regarded

by the evangelists as a minimum standard of pastoral care and spiritual guidance. When the Ford and Palau missions introduced the concept of small house groups to nurture converts personally, again the prospective leaders had to undergo a standardised mission training programme.

Regardless of the merits or otherwise of such formalisation and standardisation, it is obvious that the whole mass evangelistic process, while involving more local participation, during this century has extended the control and direction of the 'experts'. Although the duration of the missions themselves has decreased dramatically, the time period over which they exercise influence in the involved local churches has increased, as has the scope of their influence. The local churches appeared to have acquiesced happily in this process - no antipathy to it having appeared in any of the sources - perhaps feeling that they, as 'amateurs', should defer to the 'experts', and/or that they were unable to galvanise themselves into evangelistic action or to develop their own training programmes. It may have been a further manifestation of New Zealand's tradition of 'cultural cringing' before people or ideas from overseas.

THEOLOGICAL EMPHASES AND CHANGES IN THEM

There was no real attempt made by the mass evangelists to adapt their messages, theological or social, to the New Zealand context in which they were operating. Each presented messages which had been purged of the controversial positions which they might have, or did, express in America. Torrey, for example, made no sustained or

specific attack on theological modernism of the kind he was wont to make when at home. Billy Graham, particularly in his younger days, was given to vocally opposing Communism; but no explicit trace of that survived into his New Zealand public statements. Luis Palau was very concerned about the dangers of 'secular humanism', and, while he could not restrain himself altogether, very seldom did he relapse into expressing these fears in anything more than the most general terms. Chapman and Ford were not by nature controversialists and eschewed being drawn into making any such statements.

The lack of controversy and direct application of their messages stemmed from several factors. Mass evangelism, by its very nature, tries to appeal to as broad a spectrum of society as possible. Controversy will automatically alienate whole groups of people who disagree with an opinion, or simply dislike conflict. One distinctive of the evangelical theological position which the mass evangelists espoused was that there is an absolute, unchanging, infinite God. The corollary of that belief is that the gospel, the good news about him which the evangelists presented, should also be unchanging, in essential content at least. Thus, it should be as little affected as possible by the surroundings in which it is presented - the gospel is the same for New Zealanders as it is for Americans, or for anyone else. This certainty is the basis for the international ministries such evangelists have conducted, unlike the extensive cultural reorientations required of long-term missionaries working in unfamiliar countries.

The taxonomy which Richard Mouw offered as a means of gaining insight into American Protestantism has also proved valuable as a

tool for interpreting the attitude to and usage of the Bible by the mass evangelists.[5]

There has been relatively little play made by the mass evangelists of doctrinal issues. Torrey and Palau were the only two for whom such matters were any overt priority. Torrey's concern in New Zealand was focussed especially on two issues, the doctrine of hell as revealed in the Bible, and on the Bible itself and the correct method of its study and interpretation. The sermons and lecture series he gave to defend the divine inspiration of the Bible and the (for him) consequent doctrine of biblical inerrancy placed him squarely in the stream of incipient fundamentalism then developing in the United States. His lectures on 'Why I Believe the Bible to Be the Word of God'[6] were not called for by any prevailing controversy in New Zealand. Not being one to be reticent over giving others the benefit of his wisdom, whether they wanted it or not, he gave the series absolutely gratuitously as being a topic about which he personally held deep convictions. His description of the Bible as 'God's absolutely reliable revelation',[7] and his dismissal of modern biblical criticism as 'the most terrible jungle of confused voices',[8] made it readily apparent that he was claiming prime, even exclusive, authority for his own method of biblical interpretation.

Palau's situation was slightly different, in that there was controversy surrounding his mission long before he even arrived, and that that required some response. Perhaps conditioned to some

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5. 'The Bible in Twentieth-Century Protestantism: A Preliminary Taxonomy', in *The Bible in America: Essays in Cultural History*, edited by Nathan O. Hatch and Mark A. Noll (New York and Oxford, 1982), 139-162.
6. *Outlook*, 9, 34 (20 September 1902), 22-26.
7. Quoted in George T.B. Davis, *Torrey and Alexander: The Story of a World-Wide Revival* (New York, 1905), 229.
8. *Outlook*, 9, 35 (27 September 1902), 12.

extent by his association with American doctrinal sensitivity, part of the response he felt necessary, for both himself and his associate, was to provide doctrinal statements of faith. This was not a common type of document in New Zealand - apart from amongst those groups directly associated with the more sensitive American scene. While Palau's statement was irenic in tone, Bill Thomas's faith was described with a crystalline clarity which seemed to the New Zealand ear to be saying too much and leaving no room for compromise. An example was his statement on scripture: 'that the Bible (66 canonical books) is the inspired and infallible Word of God and inerrant in the original manuscripts'.[9] The other mass evangelists seemed to hold similar opinions on most theological issues, but they largely kept them to themselves in New Zealand. Their interest was not in presenting Christianity as merely a belief system and thus in using the Bible just as a textbook of facts, whether on religious or other matters.

All of the evangelists emphasised strongly the 'pietistic' approach to Scripture, seeking to strengthen the individual's personal relationship with God. This is understandable as the mass evangelist is attempting in the first instance to entice those outside Christianity altogether into a 'saving' relationship with God, understood in evangelical terms.

But in addition to that self-evident activity, all of the evangelists in this study ventured a supplementary task, the leading of existing Christians into a subsequent, deeper spiritual commitment. Torrey and Chapman spoke of second blessings, baptism by the Holy Spirit and resulting empowerment for a more 'successful'

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9. Bill Thomas Evangelistic Association, 'Introducing Bill Thomas An Ambassador for Christ', (unpublished pamphlet, Orange, Cal., n.d.).

life as a Christian, reflecting the Keswick/Victorious Life movement background in which they shared. The more recent evangelists have largely avoided such terminology as it came increasingly to imply the Pentecostal priorities and experience. Yet they, too, continually referred to the Bible for guidance in personal spirituality, concentrating on the believer's relationship vis-à-vis a God with whom one enjoyed a relationship as with another human being. There was no conception of simply availing oneself of some sort of amorphous life-force.

Billy Graham could still retain talk of 'total surrender' to God, but give it an additional and somewhat different nuance by restricting it to 'doing the will of God'.[10] He left the concept there, whereas the earlier evangelists would have taken it further to lead on to the expectation of greater empowerment for Christian service. His treatment seemed more fully submissive, or perhaps passive, as the concept of power could well lead to a triumphalism at least implied and often more overt.[11] Leighton Ford sought 'to bring Christ rather than Christianity to people'.[12] He was not concerned with doctrinal or denominational niceties, with trying to make more evangelicals or Presbyterians. Communion with Christ, encountered as a person and affecting one's behaviour and experience, was the object of his ministry. Luis Palau's mission, perhaps because of the controversy which surrounded it, was more concerned with propagating doctrine than any of its predecessors since Torrey. Yet even here, Palau was still concerned continually to go beyond that controversy, or 'pure' evangelism of new converts,

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10. *Church and People*, 14, 4 (May 1959), 2.
11. Which was precisely the quality Douglas W. Frank criticised in the evangelicals of Torrey and Chapman's vintage. *Less Than Conquerors: How Evangelicals Entered the Twentieth Century* (Grand Rapids, 1986), 103-166.
12. *Press*, 24 February 1987, 3.

to strengthen existing believers' relationships with God, as shown in the series of articles on prayer and personal spirituality published in *Challenge*.

The third of Mouw's 'minds', moralism, was also prominent, up to a point, in the evangelists' presentation of Christianity. They continually referred to the Bible as the authority for defining appropriate types of activity, particularly in certain areas of morals. The matters which concerned the evangelists did not alter much over time. Torrey and Chapman had sexual morality as a major determinant of standards of good Christian living, so did Palau. Ford and Graham did not mention it so prominently, but it remained on their agenda of social issues. Other topics of concern relating to certain aspects of personal ethics, such as alcohol abuse (or use), remained standard fare in the evangelists' pronouncements and all of them employed the Bible continually as the arbiter of moral behaviour. The fourth 'mind', culturalism, was visible only when modern culture was portrayed as evil and somehow to be avoided. Normally, however, the evangelists were too concerned with individual morality and salvation to be diverted into broader issues.

Other theological messages contained in the missions' preaching and songs were largely standard evangelical emphases: belief in God as a personal being (and, likewise, the Devil), concern with the person of Christ, his work, especially the doctrine of the substitutionary atonement, and the view of humanity which, while portraying people as sinful yet credited them with the ability to turn to God for salvation and the enjoyment of a relationship with him. Although it was a belief held by all of them, none of the evangelists made any significant play on premillenialism in their New Zealand statements. By the time of the Palau and Ford missions

something of the triumphalism of the Pentecostal movement had flavoured the mission meetings and their music, but had not yet significantly affected the preached message.

To the extent that the mass evangelists gave social direction, their messages varied a little in content, but not in basic orientation. They were all focussed on the individual's morality, often specifying sexual issues and alcohol as key concerns, with Torrey especially adding other taboos, but never moved much beyond that dimension of social analysis or critique. Even when Palau attacked modern 'secular humanism', his examples were always at a personal level, rather than challenging basic structures and institutions of society. The other social concern they shared was the state of the family. The portrayal changed somewhat from Torrey and Chapman's view of the pious mother leading her household by spiritual example, to Palau's interest in authority structures, but they all gave a special place in their preaching to the family and its protection.

INSIGHTS INTO CHANGES IN NEW ZEALAND CHURCHES

The reception of the mass evangelists in New Zealand altered substantially over the twentieth century, both in the churches and in the wider society. The Torrey and Chapman missions seemed to fit in well and to be accepted by most groups. There were criticisms of Torrey's theology, but they were limited, in public at least, to a few individuals. The evangelists were welcomed by public authorities, even including Prime Minister Massey. The Christian expectations of the missions were almost uniformly high, throughout

the non-Anglican Protestant denominational spectrum, and nationwide spiritual awakening was anticipated. The first Billy Graham crusade earned much the same reception, Graham even being granted an audience with the governor-general, the only sustained criticism being not from the left, but from the extreme Christian right. All of these crusades were welcomed for the spiritual improvement they might be able to offer. But both church and civic leaders saw them also as potential generators of social amelioration, that the cities in which they operated would be better places in which to live because people's social attitudes would be reformed. Reform in this view was considered to be coincident with a reassertion of Victorian values, the individual eschewing moral debauchery and living as a good citizen. The social concerns and perceptions of the evangelists during this period were obviously still in synchronism with those of community leaders. The mores of evangelical religion still reflected those of 'respectable' society, both seeking a return to a better past.

The changing attitudes of the 1960s altered that tolerance. Graham was still criticised by fundamentalists, who were effectively, though, talking only to themselves. But much publicity was accorded the attacks on him by the Christian left, by liberals no longer prepared to countenance the extensive retention of evangelical theology which lacked an overt commitment to social change. Change was now defined relative to oppressive institutions and less concern paid to personal morality. No longer were liberals reticent about publicly voicing their rejection of earlier Christian orthodoxy. The issues of personal sexual morality which comprised much of what social comment the evangelists did make were no more of real concern to the public, or, rather, the opinions on them promulgated by the evangelists were out-of-step with those now held

in the community. It was no longer accepted, for example, that extramarital sex or alcohol (or drug) use were the evils the evangelists claimed they were. By 1987, the evangelists were themselves the targets of active protests by those who asserted that such conservative convictions were not only *passé* as opinions, but actively harmful.

Society and its attitudes had altered greatly during the twentieth century, but the mass evangelists were still often peddling the same messages, frequently packaged in almost the same ways. It suffices to note here the extent to which the evangelists were out of step with the broader New Zealand society by the late-twentieth century and the change that had occurred from the beginning of the century, and even from the 1950s, when lip-service at least was paid by influential leaders to the same social values as those held by conservative Christianity.

The ways the missions were conducted and their reception give insights into changes that had taken place in New Zealand churches during the twentieth century. The type of meeting run in 1902 by Torrey and Alexander was different in many ways from the Palau gatherings in 1987 and those differences reflect to some degree the changing conditions in the local churches sponsoring (or opposing) them.

The most obvious changes came about in the second half of the century, after the 1959 Billy Graham crusade. The first change came in the apparent widespread rejection of the theology and social messages promoted by the evangelists. The 1959 campaign still received at least tacit support from the majority of New Zealand Protestant Christians and their leaders and attracted little vocal criticism. Those who disagreed theologically or methodologically

with Graham largely kept their peace, and even in the community there was no substantial opposition.

That lack of public questioning disappeared during the 1960s as did the quiescent acceptance of so many other sources of social or religious authority. The 1969 Billy Graham crusade revealed that whereas previously fundamentalists had grumbled amongst themselves at his consorting with liberals, now those liberals were not so happy about consorting with him and his theology that was, for them, too conservative. The attacks on Graham by Canon Oestreicher and others displayed publicly the rift between liberals and evangelicals which had been heightened during the 1960s by attempts at ecumenism and union between denominations and by the Geering debate and its aftermath. There was, too, a general disenchantment during the period with people or ideas conservative and American as protests spread throughout society against anything which supported the 'Establishment' or the Vietnam war. Graham, for all his trying to ingratiate himself with Youth was, to them, now on the wrong side of fifty and not assisted by his close association with the Johnson and Nixon White House. These concerns were also being expressed in the New Zealand churches.

By 1987, there were new developments. The most dramatic were those associated with the seizure of a high public image by the various manifestations of the conservative wing of Christianity. Both Leighton Ford's missions and those of Luis Palau demonstrated the new-found importance of the Pentecostal/Charismatic movement and of the conservative Christian attempts to gain social influence. Ford's missions were the less directly affected, the leadership being more from traditional evangelicals in mainstream churches than from those of charismatic or Pentecostal persuasion, as tended to be the case for the Palau missions. Ford, too, with his 'Hope in

Action' theme and its practical expressions, stamped his own brand of social concern on his missions in a way that never happened with Palau. Palau, by contrast, seemed directly to gain much of his support from, and give back in his messages to, the Christians who were concerned with family and moral issues, narrowly defined. He talked much about morality in terms exclusively of 'sex and temptation' and, in a time when homosexual rights and equality for women were particularly contentious social issues, he and Thomas felt no compunction about asserting male domination and monogamous heterosexuality as the divinely-ordained pattern for humanity.

The music of these missions also suggests some of the changes in the evangelists' Christian constituency. The Alexander songs which were so popular were internationally-known, composed and produced overseas. Some were standard hymns, but many were the gospel choruses popularised by Sankey. The extent to which they were already known in New Zealand indicates the overseas focus of the New Zealand churches, and also a common evangelically-oriented core to the composition of the country's churchgoing public. The sentimentalism of many of the songs also reveals the extent to which those churchgoers were people of their time, affected even in their religion by the often mawkish emotionalism typical of the time.

By the Billy Graham crusades, the sentimentality had virtually disappeared, leaving songs and hymns which displayed more directly a traditional evangelical theology. The churches were reflecting their times as colonial Victorian sensibilities were replaced by homegrown New Zealand pragmatism. But again the major changes were to come between the Billy Graham crusades and those of 1987. The hymns, with multiple verses and music supplied, bound in a book, had disappeared. In their place was a single printed sheet, containing the words alone for a mere couple of dozen short songs. These

songs, particularly for the Palau mission, were mostly products of the New Zealand Pentecostal/Charismatic movement, and reflected its emphases rather than those of traditional evangelicalism. Especially, its triumphalist portrayal of exuberant personal experience supplanted the Christocentrism at the heart of the evangelical version of Christianity. This type of music, compiled by the local organisers, was a clear indicator of the extent to which the Charismatic ethos had permeated, even captured, what had been the middle and conservative ground in New Zealand Christianity.

THE MISSIONS' IMPACT ON NEW ZEALAND CHURCHES AND SOCIETY

As has been noted throughout this study, the most difficult aspect of these missions to assess is the impact which they had on New Zealand churches and society. The statistical data are uneven and the reports of participants were subjective impressions only and were made at the time, often while the mission was still in progress, preventing the inclusion of any broader perspective. That the missions faded so rapidly from Christian or social cognisance in itself, though, does suggest the limited nature of their enduring influence. Had they been of dramatic community-wide importance, they would have attracted greater and longer-lasting attention.

The impact has clearly been impaired by the restriction of the missions' appeal to those already in the churches, by the churches' failure to make them attractive to those outside the Christian community. Whether this was because of the poor image of the churches in New Zealand society, or because mass evangelism was itself inherently uninteresting to non-churchgoers is a moot point.

None of the evangelistic campaigns was part of, or generated, a major community-wide revival, with the possible exception of Billy Graham's activities in 1959. Thousands, even tens of thousands, turned out to see and hear them, but for all of the periods under consideration the indications are that churchgoers, not those outside, were the attenders, resulting in little discernible addition to church rolls.

Such 'reviving' as took place was confined to new confidence, dedication and unity within the existing churches. These were in evidence in large quantities during the preparations for the missions, and in the mission publicity while meetings continued. However, since none of the missions generated the interest to have a full study done on its effects, it may also be assumed that if these qualities were engendered they were diverted into religious activities other than ongoing evangelism. The groups of counsellors, choir members, small-group leaders and others given training and experience in the missions presumably made some further commitment to their churches, but it remains unrecorded and unsung. The rededication of existing Christians' lives was also another clearly significant feature of each mission, but again its endurance and extent are impossible to measure. These aspects are all better termed 'revival' than 'evangelism', as they give fresh animation to existing church life. While that revival may be appreciated as an important enough function, it was not fulfilling the ostensible aim of their activities, which was to win new converts to the Christian religion and members for the Christian churches.

On an individual level, further questions may be raised about the efficacy of revivalistic evangelism in even providing a true opportunity for religious conversions to take place. Revivalists have based their entire methodological system upon the premise that

the hearer is able to make a rational choice to accept the evangelist's offer of a relationship with God, and have bent all their energies to the task of ensuring that decision is facilitated. There have been corresponding accusations from critics that, in fact, rational choices are not necessarily made, that respondents are carried along on a tide of emotion. These criticisms may have some validity even for the mass missions where the evangelist avoids overt emotionalism.

For the Palau mission some indications were recorded of the power to influence of group dynamics apart from the direct verbal message of the preacher. A *Challenge* feature, written two years after Ford and Palau's visits about their enduring effectiveness, was comprised of seven encouraging testimonies of people affected by them:[13] a Black Power gang member assisted by nurture group contacts, a teenaged solo mother whose post-crusade family situation meant she 'just fell' and nearly lost Christian contact, and other new converts who went on to bible college training or had family or marriage relationships beneficially affected.[14]

The three converts whose 'moment of decision' was detailed all reported that they were not fully conscious of what they were actually doing. One man said he had 'this thing' on his mind to go to hear Palau. Another recalled he 'wanted to go up for something, but did not know what it was. "I accepted Jesus, but didn't know really what I was accepting, and which way he came to me".' Only when he was followed up and dealt with individually, several months after returning to his gang, did the full significance become

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13. *Challenge*, 47, 13 (13 April 1989), 9-11.
14. One church's growth was also recorded, the Whangarei Church of the Nazarene whose youth group blossomed from five to twenty-five and who subsequently drew forty to fifty people to an evening service instead of five to twelve.

clear.[15] The third could specify what had prompted him, 'I can't remember a lot about the message - it was more the atmosphere of all the Christians that were there'. When Bill Thomas's appeal was given, this man was too frightened to move, 'Then I just started walking down, I didn't want to go but I was just going'.[16]

These testimonies suggest that the evangelists' actual preaching may have done little more than assist in the creation of an atmosphere which predisposed hearers to respond on cue. The cognitive content may actually not penetrate at a conscious level but rather supplement cumulative feelings of guilt which must be assuaged, prepare for an appeal which must be answered, and identify a large and powerful group which must be joined.[17] The structure of the meetings and the group dynamics operating would therefore seem in these cases at least as influential as the sermon in inducing responses. This also calls into question the whole revivalistic rationale entailed in the concept of using one's will to make a 'decision for Christ'. A conscious decision is not made if one is not fully aware and, ostensibly impelled by some unspecified inner force, is 'just going' without really desiring to do so. Further study of such phenomena is not within the scope of this thesis, but would inform any similar analysis in the future.

We see, then, that the Christianity offered by the mass evangelists is of a particular, limited type, based on American forms of evangelicalism. The theological presuppositions which undergird their demand for personal decisions to convert to Christianity preclude acceptance of much that has constituted the Christian tradition over its two thousand year history. Although

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15. Ibid., 9.
16. Ibid., 10.
17. The third man stressed 'the atmosphere of all the Christians' which was intensified by Thomas asking for all Christians

Footnote 17 continued on next page

the evangelists personally may not be restrictive in their practices, their very assumptions and the effects they have on the theology of those groups who have supported mass evangelism has lead to the promotion in these missions of only one branch of that Christian tradition - conservative evangelicalism.

The late 1980s, with secular scepticism and suspicion reinforced by the recent unmasking of some American 'televangelists', is a context illsuited to discovering positive ecclesiastical usefulness in the efforts of earlier evangelists. This thesis holds that the mass evangelists who led the six New Zealand missions studied were givers of renewed value and confidence to evangelical conservatives and biblical fundamentalists, repressed and often overlooked in churches dominated by 'liberal' clerics. To most other New Zealand Protestants, and to the unchurched, their activities and words concerning matters of eternity were lost among the concerns of global and local politics and the busyness of making a temporal living.

Footnote 17 continued from previous page
present to raise their hands. This technique is simply a variation on Torrey's asking the Christians to stand - it clearly identifies the target group, if not to the distant evangelist then at least to neighbours and in the minds of those thus singled out, and it increases the psychological pressure to conform with the obviously large majority.

APPENDIX
SELECTED ATTENDANCE AND MEMBERSHIP FIGURES OF THREE NEW ZEALAND DENOMINATIONS[1]

Presbyterian Church Attendance and Membership in New Zealand 1895-1916 and 1955-1975[2]

A. 1895-1916

Year	Persons under Pastoral Care		Attendances at Public Worship		Communicant Membership	
	Total	% +or-	Total	% +or-	Total	% +or-
1895	--		16,994		8,902	
1896	--		19,105		10,282	
1897	--		20,500		10,726	
1898	--		20,544		10,026	
1899	--		--		--	
1900	--		--		--	
1901	--		--		27,233[3]	
1902	--		43,411		26,339	
1903	--		43,649		27,608	
1904	--		45,577		28,864	
1905	--		47,745		29,994	
1906	--		49,894		31,287	
1907	--		70,124[4]		31,981	
1908	125,659[5]		71,251		32,740	
1909	124,418		72,710		34,014	
1910	128,180		73,553		35,377	
1911	132,994		75,320		37,139	
1912	133,730		74,353		38,466	
1913	--		76,731		39,957	
1914	--		75,511		41,080	
1915	--		76,420		41,802	
1916	--		75,631		42,007	

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1. Anglican figures are not included as they are often divided by diocese and the denomination has not supported mass evangelism to the same degree that these, the next three largest Protestant groups, have.
2. Source: *Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in New Zealand*, 1896-1917 and 1956-1976.
3. Union of Presbyterian Churches of Otago and Southland with those in the rest of New Zealand.
4. Addition of attendance at Other Preaching Places to that at Churches.
5. First year in which Pastoral Care figures kept.

B. 1955-1975

1955	393,632		101,621		69,523	
1956	407,015	3.7	105,047	3.4	71,938	3.5
1957	437,848	7.6	110,481	5.2	75,485	4.9
1958	462,428	5.6	114,215	3.4	78,494	4.0
1959	485,206	4.9	117,671	3.0	82,704	5.4
1960	505,503	4.2	119,041	1.2	85,080	2.9
1961	523,159	3.5	102,555	[6]	86,928	1.2
1962	535,176	2.2	115,586	-2.9	87,951	1.2
1963	550,607	2.9	98,279	-15.0[7]	89,413	1.7
1964	566,174	2.8	96,836	-1.5	90,542	1.3
1965	570,292	0.7	93,931	-3.0	91,433	1.0
1966	571,495	0.2	90,270	-3.9	91,982	0.6
1967	575,276	0.7	89,545	-0.8	91,682	-0.3
1968	572,925	-0.4	87,240	-2.6	90,579	-1.2
1969	570,682	-0.4	83,563	-4.2	89,395	-1.3
1970	587,070	2.9	84,360	1.0	90,637	1.4
1971	582,493	-0.9	78,913	-6.5	88,566	-2.3
1972	582,799	0.1	75,986	-3.7	87,770	-0.9
1973	576,293	-1.1	73,436	-3.4	86,731	-1.2
1974	582,871	1.1	76,193	3.8	83,847	-3.3
1975	580,400	-0.4	72,873	-4.4	82,548	-1.6

6. Figures do not include children.
7. Figures are now actual numbers of those at church services.

Methodist Church Attendance and Membership in New Zealand 1895-1915 and 1955-1975.[8]

Year	Membership	Attendance at Public Worship
1895	10,168	59,850
1896	11,852	67,211
1897	12,201	67,686
1898	12,686	68,524
1899	12,997	67,058
1900	12,929	66,382
1901	13,670	67,781
1902	13,974	68,556
1903	14,675	70,208
1904	15,279	72,062
1905	15,723	72,627
1906	16,208	73,560
1907	16,609	71,738
1908	17,057	72,600
1909	17,791	71,695
1910	18,550	73,076
1911	19,194	71,307
1912	19,753	92,636[9]
1913	23,810	88,997
1914	24,252	90,234
1915	24,549	89,632
1955	27,703	----[10]
1956	28,215	
1957	28,985	
1958	29,869	
1959	30,656	
1960	31,307	
1961	31,674	
1962	32,073	
1963	32,389	
1964	32,496	
1965	32,749	
1966	32,709	
1967	32,730	
1968	32,668	
1969	31,905	
1970	31,224	
1971	30,213	
1972	29,835	
1973	29,015	
1974	27,563[11]	
1975	26,512	

8. Sources: 1895-1902 *Minutes of the New Zealand Conference of the Australasian Wesleyan Methodist Church*; 1903-1912 *Minutes of the Annual Conference of the Methodist Church of Australasia in New Zealand*; 1913-1975 *The Minutes of the Annual Conference of the Methodist Church of New Zealand.*
9. Includes Primitive Methodist and Maori statistics.
10. Attendance figures no longer published.
11. Redesignated as No. on Electoral Roll.

Baptist Church Membership in New Zealand 1910-1915 and 1960-1972[12]

Year	Membership	
	Total	+or-
1910	5,165	--
1911	5,379	194[13]
1912	5,494	115
1913	5,763	269
1914	5,904	141
1915	5,811	-93[14]
1960	12,801	916[15]
1961	13,187	399
1962	13,515	454
1963		
1964	14,214	317
1965	14,187	122
1966	14,674	693
1967	14,852	227
1968	14,720	-121
1969	14,641	30
1970	14,712	-26
1971	14,570	-33
1972	14,829	209

12. Source: *Baptist Union and Missionary Society of New Zealand Yearbook* (1910-1916, 1961-1973).
13. The secretary observed that when adjusted for inaccurate accounting 'the net increase would have been a record, or nearly so'. *Yearbook*, 29 (1911-1912), 11.
14. This drop was attributed to an 'abnormal purging of church rolls', also to fewer baptisms being conducted and to the effects of the war.
15. The figures in this column are obscure. They seem to bear no direct relation to either the differences in the annual totals or to the sums of the annual variations within each of the area associations.

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