Origins of the Salvation Army

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To

Henry D. Shapiro and H. F. McMains

Walter and Irene Murdoch

Grace M. A. Murdoch

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Preface

In this book I aim at something new in the treatment of Salvation Army history. Heretofore the army, like many religious organizations, has chosen historians who saw it as God's special creation and chose not to view the army in relation to events of a specific era. Such a stance is often taken by apologists for an aging movement, to legitimize its continued existence. It does not help us understand how the army's founders, William and Catherine Booth, spoke to their time. Whether or not a person speaks for God to an age is a theologian's problem. But, as Cushing Strout put it, "To be a historian is to seek to explain in human terms. If God speaks, it is not through him."[1] I cannot divine, then, whether or not God spoke to the Booths. I can only document how they spoke to their age through the army they created. The Booths' gift was their grasp of Victorian language, both religious and social. They were not mystics or recluses, but a man and a woman alive to the flow of events. Ideas they absorbed from American evangelists in the 1840s and 1850s they made congenial to their time and place.

To avoid the pitfalls of hagiography, I shall present these actors in the human theater of Victorian society. Howard R. Murphy chastened one contributor to the Salvation Army's official history for being more inclined to "vindicate the Army's leaders rather than explain them; . . . more interested in being inspirational than in being penetrating; [with] no evidence of either historical perspective or historical curiosity."[2] Not all army history has been done badly, but much has been commissioned by the army to justify its leaders' actions. A new history is justified because of the army's international importance. Murphy argued that "the scholarly community has a legitimate interest in the Salvation Army, which has a significance in modern history that its members may or may not appreciate."[3] Since Murphy wrote in 1965, there has been no attempt

to provide a critical history of the army's origins, which point to tension between its revivalist and its social missions.

Five issues suggest the need for a new Salvation Army history. First, more must be said about the transatlantic genesis of the Booths' religious experiences. American revivalists' visits to England in the 1840s led to the founding of a revival mission in East London by the Booths in 1865. To grasp these American revival ideas is crucial to understanding the army's origins. Indeed, the Booths' affinity for American revivalism in 1853 led them to consider moving to the United States, as William's revival preaching would be more accepted there. They felt that the English resisted aggressive Christianity.

Second, few realize that the Booths' mission did not succeed in London's slums.[4] Booth founded his mission as an evangelistic outreach to what he termed London's "heathen masses," but within a decade his mission stagnated. It grew only when it moved beyond East London to provincial English towns and villages in the 1870s, areas already evangelized by other nonconformists. In the 1880s, growth came with expansion to America, Australasia (Australia and New Zealand), Europe, India, and Africa. Growth, mostly in Anglo-American towns, obscured the fact that the army had failed to gain a foothold in urban slums. How did Booth respond when critics exposed his failure to bring the gospel to the "lowest of the low?" He quickly adopted a social program in the late 1880s.

Third, the Booths reveled in revivalism's freedom-loving, antisectarian nature but imposed a rigid sectarian discipline within the Salvation Army. As revivalists, the Booths relied on spontaneous lay and female ministry. After 1865, however, as leaders of a sect, they institutionalized revivalism. In so doing, they introduced tensions between revivalist freedom and denominational discipline. The army gradually buried revivalism's creativity and its lay initiative under regulations more odious than those Booth had escaped when he resigned from the Methodist New Connexion ministry in 1861.

Authorized histories emphasize approved expansion, but the Salvation Army's growth came largely through the unsanctioned efforts of lay persons who pushed the mission beyond its home base and financial resources. In 1872, for example, a lay missioner took Booth's ideas to

Cleveland, Ohio, without Booth's blessing. In 1879, a family migrated from Coventry to Philadelphia, to establish the first permanent branch outside Britain. Yet the army in America prefers to celebrate the 1880 "official" opening of its work there by Booth's "commissioner."[5] In the 1840s, Booth had rejoiced that "separation between layman and cleric [had] become more and more obscured."[6] But forty years later, in his own sect, he instituted rigid separation of "officers" and "soldiers," with a system of military ranks. W. T. Stead saw in 1891 that "succession from Caiphas" (the high priest at the trial of Jesus) was just as much alive as "apostolic succession." The Salvation Army had not avoided the separation between clergy and laity any more than other denominations had.[7]

Fourth, the army developed from simple, almost democratic beginnings in 1865, to an imperial structure in the 1880s. Some argue that military government sparked growth after 1878, but research denies a link between autocracy and success. In fact, the army's failure to grow to a size Booth predicted was the result of his autocratic polity. By the mid-1880s, this failure to gain a lay membership in the slums led Booth to divide the army's energies between social services and evangelism. The working class was becoming less subservient; it wanted a voice. While Victorian love of the military bolstered Booth's autocracy, his military mentality kept his army from adapting to more democratic times. Like Victoria's British imperium, Booth's Christian imperium faded with the onrush of democracy. The reluctance of imperial systems to die created major difficulties for the Salvation Army as for the British raj.

Fifth, the army took on the character of its Anglo-American cultural environment; it was not unique. More synthesizers than originators, the Booths owed a debt to every person they met. For all their Christian militancy, they did not cut themselves off from secular ideas, money, or honors. They lived by the Apostle Paul's adage, becoming "debtor[s] both to the Greeks and to the Barbarians; both to the wise and to the unwise."[8] Flexibility led the Booths to achieve a catholicity that narrow sectarianism would have denied them. They overcame Methodist sectarianism to found a worldwide movement that reflected nineteenth-century Christian ecumenism. They built an international empire, tightly controlled at the center yet made up of discrete parts. Booth's imperium was a single state, but great tension existed between London's headquarters and colo-

nial commissioners. Tension also existed within the imperial family, between paternalistic William and his lively progeny, who took command positions around the globe. Attempts to create a separate American Salvation Army in 1884 and 1896 found William unalterably opposed to nationalist fragmentation. His desire to form a worldwide Christian imperium brought General Booth great success and significant frustration.

Acknowledgments

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Second, my greatest debt by far is to my wife Grace and to our children, Randall, Amy, and Ryan, who demonstrated great patience in not taking offense at my diversions. My parents, Walter and Irene Murdoch, initiated my interest in Salvation Army history and acknowledged with forbearance the critical stance I took with regard to it.

The work itself, despite the visible evidence of many invisible hands, is my own. Its conclusions are not those of a deity; I claim no special revelation. They are human assessments of an intricate and absorbing human institution.

PART I.

American Revivalism and William and Catherine Booth, 1829–65

Posters announced: "War! War! In Whitby! 2,000 Men and Women Wanted to Join the HALLELUJAH ARMY!" Formerly a nearly illiterate, hard-drinking boxer and chimney sweep, Elijah Cadman came to Whitby, Yorkshire, in late 1877. A town crier announced Sunday services at Saint Hilda's Hall, at which twenty-five individuals professed conversion. Cadman then trained converts as preachers, singers, and soul-fishers. His methods, like those of others in William Booth's Christian Mission, included visiting door-to-door in slums by day and preaching at night. When slum denizens threatened to cut his throat for denouncing their hellish lives, he retreated through the streets, singing and waving a huge umbrella. Publicans organized gangs to break up processions of missioners who wore a strange array of military caps. Police, worried about disrupters' power to upset an uneasy neighborhood peace, ordered Cadman to move on. At Cadman's chapel, many wept as a sister preached; others led sinners to salvation: backsliders, a rank infidel, a poor street girl. Soon Cadman rented a hall for congregations of three thousand on Sundays and fifteen hundred on weeknights. Typical of Booth's missioners, Cadman had been converted through Wesleyan influences in 1864, at age twenty-one; he had joined a Hallelujah Band wearing Garibaldi red shirts at Rugby the next year. He rejected "ordinary ministry" because he did not believe in a paid clergy. In 1876, he met Booth at his Whitechapel headquarters and in 1877 became the first captain of the "salvation army."[1]

Unless one fathoms early influences on William and Catherine Booth, the Salvation Army's founders, one cannot appreciate the methods they used. The principal influence on the Booths and on early mission evangelists like Cadman was that of American revivalists James Caughey, Charles G. Finney, and Phoebe Palmer, who preached in England in the

1840s. Their "American methods" converted sinners by "scientific" means, through advertising meetings in rented halls, preaching and praying for specific results, bringing sinners to open confession of sin at a penitent form (communion rail), and training converts to win others. Understanding this legacy and that of British Methodism is critical for comprehending the history of the Salvation Army. The Booths' views on theology, organization, nonsectarian, aggressive revivalism, lay participation, and Wesleyan disciplines of behavior, adopted between 1844 and 1865, well before they founded the army, changed little up to the time of Catherine's death in 1890.

William's limited theological training, just six months in 1852, led Catherine to compensate for his deficiencies. Prior to their marriage, she spent her leisure in exhaustive study, the fruits of which she passed on to him. Their dogma was John Wesley's Arminian theology of "free salvation for all men and full salvation from all sin." Ideas of exclusive election (predestination) were abhorrent to them, as were theories that permitted a believer to engage in antinomian (sinful) behavior. The Booths' Wesleyanism stood midway between extreme Calvinism and such mid-nineteenth-century heterodox expressions as transcendentalism and free thought. Faith, repentance, and restitution for past wrongs brought conversion, and conversion led to holy living. Salvation included both new birth (conversion) and an experience of holiness (entire sanctification) that endowed a believer with purity and power. The Booths adopted these doctrines, along with biblical trustworthiness and trinitarianism, as the creed of the East London mission they founded in 1865.

The Booths also acquired from Palmer and Caughey, and from Finney's fear of ministerial education, a belief in a lay ministry for men and women alike. When attempting to discern why the clergy lacked fire, revivalists identified the problem as formal training. Seminaries were the bane of inspired preaching. Yet, while Booth shared this notion, like many itinerants he himself accepted ordination, even though it meant submitting to the inconvenience of six months of seminary education. He lived with a tension between a desire for knowledge and credentials, and a fear of education's corrupting influence. Although he opened training institutes for Salvation Army officer candidates in 1880, proposed a university of humanity, and accepted an honorary degree from Oxford, he never abandoned his revivalist's distrust of education.

The Booths equivocated on other issues, too. They loved Wesleyan discipline but despised its lack of focus and authority. They loved autocracy's efficiency but denounced its inflexibility and its tendency to allow men of limited vision to gain power. Imagined offenses caused the 1851 Wesleyan Conference to take away William's and Catherine's memberships. In 1861, William resigned from the Methodist New Connexion, when its conference refused his request to follow what he saw as God's call to evangelism. On the other hand, he had resigned Reform Methodist pastorates in Walworth and Lincolnshire because reformers would not give him ample authority. Conflicts between love of freedom and love of discipline pursued him as he founded an East London mission with a democratic Wesleyan Conference system in 1870. Later he altered the mission's polity to an autocratic (many said despotic) military system in 1877. Booth sought a plan that would reproduce aggressive first-century Christianity. Could a movement be at the same time liberating *and* authoritarian? Despite intimations that, as early as 1849, Booth had conceived of a model utilizing military command structures,[2] it was not until 1878 that he put it to use, when he renamed his urban home mission a "salvation army."

The preeminent influence on the Booths throughout their lives was American revivalism, brought to Britain by Methodist evangelists Caughey and Palmer and the Presbyterian Finney. As early as 1846, as a teenage lay preacher in Nottingham's Meadow Platts, William was employing revival techniques before anyone had informed him that he was not even a certified "lay preacher." By 1865, he had had nearly two decades of experience testing these principles of evangelism in streets, in secular buildings, and in homes. He prayed with sinners at church benches and preached for sinners to turn from unrighteousness to God. He took converts' names and added thousands to church rolls.

Caughey, Finney, and Palmer had no truer disciples than the Booths. To them, next to the Bible, no book was so precious as Finney's *Revival Lectures*; no friend so dear as Caughey; and no example of female ministry so impressive as Palmer. Methods learned in the 1840s later became Salvation Army rules. Probably the most important feature of revivalism was public speaking by laymen and laywomen. Caughey, Finney, and Booth had become revivalists before being ordained, and they suspected that clericalism was the nemesis of true religion. From 1859 on, Catherine took a public stand in favor of female ministry, taking her husband with

her, in spite of his earlier reluctance to extend this privilege to women. After defending Phoebe Palmer's ministry in Sunderland, Catherine decided to accept a public role as a preacher. Thus the Salvation Army developed out of the Booths' early development in British Wesleyan and particularly out of American revivalism. Aided by thousands of Wesleyan recruits like Elijah Cadman, who also embraced these methods, the army spread through the Anglo-American world and to "missionary lands" as well.

1.

The Salvation Army's Roots in American Revivalism

When eight religious emigrants clad in military garb arrived at Battery Park, New York, in March 1880, they were returning to a scene from which their general, William Booth, had derived his revival methodology. Soon after arrival from London, George Scott Railton, Booth's commissioner to America, conducted an afternoon meeting at Mrs. Doolittle's Five Points Mission, founded in 1850 by Phoebe Palmer. The *New York Herald* depicted the "motley, vice-smitten, pestilence-breeding congregation" as "negroes, dancing girls, saloon-house tramps, sandwiched between well-dressed visitors." The service began with Methodist hymns, unknown to the slum-dwellers. Railton encouraged sinners to repent and go to heaven. Ladies prayed with outcasts "as tenderly as if they were about to die millionaires and leave the ladies a safe full of government bonds." The *Herald* reported that Railton asked one young black woman, "'Are you a Christian?' 'No Sir.' 'Why not?' 'Kase de Lord ain't in me no more.'" Railton assured her that "'the Lord wants you to come back.'" She ended the chat with, "'I guess Ize too bad today.'" Salvationist services included singing, short prayers, exhortations to be saved, personal interviews to get sinners from the pew to a penitent's bench at the front, and a personal testimony to confirm new-found faith.

The reporter properly identified the "English Salvation Army," but familiarity with earlier American revivals would have shown the army's methods to be those that Caughey, Palmer, and Finney had impressed on the Booths in the 1840s. By the time British salvationists came to New York, not even they were aware of their methods' origins, although Railton noticed that nearly every American, including the young black woman, "knows what being saved means," and that thousands of American evangelicals, mostly Methodists, aided his enterprise.[1]

American revivalists had gone to England soon after the 1783 Peace of Paris ended the American Revolution. First to arrive was Lorenzo Dow,

in 1799. An eccentric asthmatic and epileptic, Dow helped to found the first English camp meeting at Mow Cop in 1807 and helped to merge revivalist sects into the Primitive Methodist denomination in 1811. Like later revivalists, Dow focused on England's Wesleyan heartland—Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire, and Leicestershire—an area similar to upstate New York's "Burned-Over District," in that many revivals were held there.[2] The area, in 1829, was the birthplace of William and Catherine Booth.

Caughey, Finney, and Palmer arrived in England between 1846 and 1866 to introduce "scientific" methods of winning souls to Christ—methods that, if effectively employed, would assure conversions. This methodology captured the attention of the Booths in their youth, became their obsession as adults, and gave their Salvation Army its aggressive character. Revivalist independence contrasted with Methodist discipline, to which discipline both Booths became converted. Their dynamic autocracy evolved from these contrasting systems: aggressive, individualistic revivalism and rigid, bureaucratic church polity. Of the three revivalists, Caughey, whom the Booths knew personally, provided the best model of how the new methods worked. Finney, whom historians generally have viewed as father of the new methods, was best at describing the techniques in book form. Palmer, a lay evangelist, offered the Booths an example of a female preacher, and her books on holiness doctrine provided them with a terminology for their preaching. Both female ministry and holiness doctrine became key ingredients of the Booths' mission after 1865. When the Salvation Army added a social service program in the 1880s, it mixed revivalism with late-nineteenth-century social Christianity in a manner characteristic of evangelical societies founded in the 1850s, including the YMCA, the YWCA, and the WCTU. The army still claims allegiance to its revivalist heritage.

While English Methodism long had influenced Americans with books and tracts, confident American Methodist revivalists now convinced British evangelicals that they could be a social force. By 1829, Methodism had become America's largest sect. It had grown from less than ten thousand members in 1780 to about five hundred thousand, penetrating the growing northwestern cities. American methodism's strengths were: (1) an optimistic Arminian theology that held that people were prime actors in their own salvation; (2) a flexible structure that permitted individual initiative while imposing control over untrained, free-wheeling clergy-

James Caughey (c. 1810–91), the American Methodist evangelist who, in Catherine Booth's words, "prayed for us most fervently . . . expressing the deepest interest in our future. . . . [I was] almost adoring his very name." Courtesy of the Salvation Army National Archives and Research Center.

men; (3) diminished distance from pulpit to pew; (4) a millennialist dream of an improved Christian state with a thrifty working class, which gave Methodism a reputation for social reform;[3] (5) an appeal in both urban and frontier areas. Methodism opposed infidelity and popery and appealed to the poor and the rich through itinerant preaching, protracted meetings, and active lay and female involvement.

James Caughey was the American who most influenced the Booths. His sway began in 1846, when William first heard his electrifying preaching in Nottingham. Thereafter, Booth bore Caughey's stamp. Caughey had been born in southern Ireland on April 9, 1810, of Scottish ancestry. In 1827, he took a position at the Methodist Sunday School Association in Newburgh, New York. As a flour-mill worker in 1830, he was caught up in a revival at Troy, in New York's "Burned-Over District." As a probationary preacher in the Troy Conference in 1832, a deacon in 1834, and an ordained elder in 1836, he learned Hebrew and Greek adequately to study the Bible. English Methodists labeled him "well read, a philosopher and a clever man." He believed in the potential conversion of mankind and in providential intervention by God and Satan in daily activities. His claim to having had supernatural visions disquieted Methodists, who feared the impact of Millerite millennialism (an American sect that emphasized the imminent return of Christ, to the neglect of common Christian doctrines).[4]

In July 1839, as Caughey was considering a marriage he apparently

wanted to avoid, after three days of prayer a voice informed him, "the will of God is that thou shouldst visit Europe." By now he was an experienced revivalist. He had been a circuit rider in upstate New York and had held a successful revival in Montreal. At Pittsfield, Massachusetts, he converted over three hundred in six weeks. But, as he prepared to go to Britain in September 1840, with enough money for a two-year stay, he did not have an extensive reputation. After brief missions in Quebec, Caughey arrived at Liverpool in July 1841 and attended the Wesleyan Methodist Conference at Manchester. He had a letter of introduction from New York's Bishop Robert R. Roberts. Thomas Waugh, a respected Irish Methodist, invited Caughey to Dublin, where, contemporaries claimed, his conversion of seven hundred people in five months was "unequaled" in Methodist history. He moved on to Limerick and Cork, hostile Roman Catholic towns where he found that his methods were better suited to stimulate Protestant churches than to expand Methodism in unfriendly climes—a discovery that Booth later made in city slums. Expecting to return to America, Caughey asked the Troy Conference to grant him a settled pastorate, but in the interim he received an "impression" that placed Liverpool "constantly before me, although I have no official invitation."

Hearing from the Holy Spirit was excuse enough to skirt a bishop's authority in New York, where revivalists had such freedom. He divided his six weeks in Liverpool between successful work in the North Circuit and unsuccessful work in the South.[5] His major revivals after Liverpool were in Birmingham and in the Yorkshire cities of Leeds, Hull, Sheffield, Huddersfield, Boston, and York, where churches experienced impressive membership gains after a period of stagnation and decline. He went to Nottingham, Chesterfield, Dorchester, Macclesfield, Wakefield, Gateshead, Scarborough, Lincoln, and Sunderland—all cities where Booth would preach in the 1850s. In six years of campaigning, with brief periods for recuperation and two trips to Europe, he counted twenty thousand conversions and nine thousand persons sanctified.[6]

Sheffield was an ideal social environment for revival success. A predominantly working-class city with iron and steel industries, it had a population of one hundred thousand. The religious climate included an evangelical Church of England and a revival tradition which dated to 1794–96, when William Bramwell, an exceptional English evangelist, preached there. Methodism was the strongest sect, although from 1834 to 1844, it

had declined from 4,950 to 4,307 members. Caughey disliked what he termed the city's "Chartist conspiracy"; he opposed "secret combinations of workmen" and the collapse of social order. But his visit fell between peaks of Chartist activity in 1842 and 1848. Historian E. P. Thompson argues that working-class allegiance shifted between religious fervor and political activism. Methodists infiltrated the Chartist movement, in terms of both men and ideas. Chartists sought a working-class parliamentary vote and representation, ideas which reflected the sentiments of upwardly-mobile Methodist workers. Due to Methodist influence, Chartists used models of camp meetings and love feasts in their endeavors. After achieving a decade of growth in Sheffield in 1834–44, now respectable Wesleyan Methodists wanted a role in the social and political system.[7]

Sheffield fell prey to Caughey's reasoned emotional appeal. Before his arrival in May 1844, Methodists saturated the city with handbills and showbills heralding his meetings. When he arrived, he preached as many as ten sermons a week. His pulpit presence was commanding; height, keen eyes, and attractive dark features attracted attention. His "bell-like" voice was unforgettable, and his tongue was packed with attention-arresting Irish-American idioms. But his forte was the use of anecdotes and a frank denunciation of sin. He avoided speculative theology. He incited fear with vivid pictures of hell's fury and God's looming judgment, then abruptly shifted to evocations of Christ's mercy and love. He addressed individuals in the congregation without mentioning names: "There are several characters here before me tonight, my discourse will particularly concern." He then gave them a special message and even prophesied their imminent death, hoping for an immediate conversion. His theatrical manner deeply impressed young Booth and taught him methods that he later used in his own preaching. Caughey's social message encouraged converts to make restitution of property and to embrace teetotalism, though the British Wesleyan Conference had ordered chapels closed to teetotaler meetings in 1841. It associated such issues with excessive lay influence. But in Sheffield, Caughey found Methodists who had accepted abstinence since the mid-1830s.[8]

Caughey's emphasis after preaching was on "knee work," his term for prayer. This included the "American device" of calling penitents to the communion rail (also called a *mourner's bench* or *penitent form*) to pray following a sermon. He told penitents how to get free from sin

while the congregation shouted, prayed, or sang. He went from pew to pew inviting "anxious enquirers" to go forward. Caughey, like Wesley before him, deplored fits of wild frenzy. After conversion, Caughey pleaded for an instantaneous "entire sanctification" experience which gave believers purity and power. He recorded each conversion and sanctification, noting that converts included both the "educated" and "those of the baser sort." But an English historian of revivalism argues that "Shopkeeper Wesleyanism had arrived." While a few of the 80 percent non-Methodist converts were wild characters, as Caughey claimed, most were between sixteen and thirty, of evangelical upbringing, who had experienced conversion in earlier revivals of Aitken, Miller, and Bramwell.[9] Since Dow's time, Methodism had become respectable, and open-air preaching had declined. Church members' children were easier revival targets than "papists", infidels (non-believers), or socialists. Converts were primarily Methodists; 20 percent came straight from the membership rolls. They simply could not recall a time when they had been converted.

In 1846, the year Booth first heard Caughey at Nottingham, "all hell" let loose against Caughey at Hull, as chartism revived in the Midlands. At Huddersfield in 1845, socialists had attacked him in a public debate as a hindrance to the working-class cause. The *Whig Morning Chronicle* viewed his 1846 Birmingham revival as evidence of popular ignorance, demonstrating a need for improved education for the masses. It charged him with fostering family disunion, spiritual pride, and religious excitement, adding, "Nothing that has grown of the transatlantic fusion of Puritanism and democracy ever produced a more appalling frenzy than the ministrations of Mr. Caughey have engendered among the sturdy hammerers of the iron town." Caughey's enemies despised the contrived nature of his revivals: his use of a penitent form, his individualized "death warrants," and his planting of "decoy penitents" at the mourner's bench to entice the shy to come forward.[10]

Caughey's independence from conference discipline owed much to his income from books, portraits, and occasional gifts from the congregation (the Booths later sold the same trinkets to build their income). Wesleyan conferences heatedly discussed his case but took no formal action until 1846. That year Jabez Bunting, a "High Church" party leader, asked the conference "affectionately" to request the New York bishop to recall Caughey, on grounds that he "has now been for several years in

this country . . . subject to no ecclesiastical supervision, responsibility or control, such as those to which all other Methodist ministers . . . are required to submit; [and] that such an irregularity is dangerous to the good order, peace and unity of our Body." Threat to authority caused "settled ministers" to point with envy at their itinerant brother's freedom. Caughey had come to England without an invitation and had remained for five years without any official connection to a Methodist conference. His popularity had kept him in demand even when circuit superintendents preferred that he stay away. More ominous, he had encouraged "irregular ministers," uneducated men like Booth, who might overrun the denomination.

August 12, 1846, with his chief defender absent, the conference ruled that Caughey be denied the use of Wesleyan pulpits. Then, after participating in revivals and temperance meetings of other Methodist sects in the Midlands and North, he bowed to his bishop's "earnest request" that he return home. When his partisans, mostly laymen, protested the censure, the conference raised questions about his position on slavery, which in 1844 had split American Methodism into northern and southern churches (he opposed slavery), and about the accuracy of his revival statistics. His return to New York in 1847 left behind in the Wesleyan Conference a storm of controversy over revivalism and lay authority.[11]

When Caughey returned to Britain in July 1857, his fame was considerably augmented, possibly due in part to his unceremonious departure in 1847, but also due to the publication of his *Letters,* which described his English revivals. At Sheffield, where he was popular and where Reform Methodism was strong, the Booths went to hear him preach. Catherine wrote to her mother that Caughey was "a sweet fellow, one of the most gentle, loving, humble spirits you can conceive of. He treated me with the greatest consideration and kindness; conversed with William on his present and future position like a brother, and prayed for us most fervently." Next day Caughey baptized the Booths' second son, Ballington.[12] Caughey preached at Hanley, Manchester, Hull, and Louth in 1858–59, and claimed over eight thousand conversions and three thousand entirely sanctified, by count of church secretaries. His third visit, in 1860 to 1862, was again directed at Midlands cities—Lincolnshire and the North, in United Methodist Free Church chapels—with one southern three-month visit to Bristol in 1862. He compiled a

record of seventy-five hundred converts. His last visit came during a period of ill-health and a decline in revivalism. Still, working in the South, he stirred up revival in London in 1864, and in Exeter in 1865–66.[13] Booth last met his revival mentor in New Brunswick, New Jersey, in 1886, during Booth's first American tour. A Salvation Army officer reported the reunion at a crowded theater where Booth was preaching:

> In that period of silence prior to the opening remark, a stooped figure, clad in a black cloak hobbled down the aisle leaning heavily on a cane. All eyes were fixed on him. His hair was snow white and his face showed the effect of the passing of time. . . . An officer bent over the shoulder of the General [Booth] and whispered, 'General, that is Dr. James Caughey.' The message galvanized the General into action. Leaving his seat on the platform, he climbed over the orchestra pit and swiftly made his way up the aisle to meet the old man.
>
> 'Dr. Caughey,' exclaimed the General. 'William,' said the old man and they embraced each other and kissed each other on the cheek and under the barrage of the amazement of the crowd, [Booth] led the old man to a seat on the platform. In his address that afternoon, . . . Booth paid high tribute to the man who placed his feet upon the path which had made him successful as a soul winner.[14]

Booth was Caughey's heir. Caughey convinced Booth that converting the masses was possible through scientific, calculated means. Revivals which were planned, advertised, and prayed for would succeed. From the time they met in 1846 to his death in 1912, Booth was consumed with the idea of winning souls through mass meetings, house-to-house visitation, and personal witness. That was the legacy of James Caughey, who died in 1891 at age eighty-one, largely forgotten, despite his influence, not only on the Booths, but on all British evangelicalism.[15]

Charles G. Finney, credited by many as the main designer of revivalism's "new methods," at any rate was the major promoter of those methods. In 1837, his *Lectures on Revivals of Religion,* which became the Booths' prime text and later was required reading for Salvation Army cadets, was published in England. *Lectures* put in writing what Booth had seen at first hand in Caughey's meetings. Booth's first biographer noted that "among the few modern books which have received the