CHURCH LIFE IN THE RURAL LOWLANDS OF SCOTLAND -
AN ANALYTIC STUDY, 1952-1954

by

George P. Morgan, B. A., B. D.
Preface.....

The study upon which this thesis is based was undertaken first of all for selfish reasons, in order that I could learn from the experience of Scotland, Scotland's churches and Scotland's ministers. I have served as pastor or assistant pastor in three kinds of rural situations - a "larger parish," a parish of linked churches, and a united church of mixed denominational heredity. This experience of little more than twelve years has been sufficient to teach me one thing at least - that there is a tremendous amount to be learned about the rural community as a special kind of parish, to discover how it may find its place anew in the life of the twentieth century church.

I have even cherished the fond hope that this study would also add in small measure to the churches' fund of knowledge about the rural parish, in its unaccustomed role as a problem area of the churches' life and work.

Without the orientation and advice of wise counselors, this research would not have been possible. I am particularly indebted to my advisors, the Reverend Professor W. S. Tindal and the Very Reverend Principal J. H. S. Burleigh, and to other professors who have given me guidance in outlining this study, who have read my early manuscript and suggested areas of improvement and further exploration. Grateful acknowledgment is made of interviews granted and information supplied by the Reverend D. P. Thomson, Doctor John Highet, the Reverend Horace Walker and the Reverend A. J. H. Gibson of the Church of Scotland, and others in official capacities in the national offices of the Congregational, Free, Episcopal and Roman Ca-
tholic Churches. I am indebted to the Reverend David Smith for his careful
and kindly reading and correcting of my early manuscript. My gratitude must
be expressed also to the Rev. J. A. Lamb, Miss E. R. Leslie, and the staffs
of Edinburgh's many libraries for their invaluable assistance in finding
sources of information. And I am thankful for the kindness and warmth of
hundreds of ministers and lay people who gave me their time and thought
unstintingly, to contribute the material of which this thesis is largely
composed. I shall never be able to repay them, either for their interest
and help, or for the hospitality of their firesides and friendly cups of
tea.

I am grateful to Mrs. Margaret Feeley and Mrs. Ann Canady, who assisted
in the typing of the final manuscript, and the reading of proof.

My years of study in residence at the New College in Edinburgh were
made possible by the United States Educational Commission in the United
Kingdom (the "Fulbright Commission"), who were good enough not only to grant
me a fellowship for graduate study, but also to renew that grant in order
that the basic research could be completed.

But my deepest debt is to my wife and children, without whose patience
and love this thesis would never have been completed. To my wife, I am
most grateful for constant and gentle encouragement, for listening, reading
and criticizing, and for enduring my idiosyncrasies for the whole of two
years and the chinks of four more while the research, the analyzing, the
editing and the writing of this thesis were being completed.

Latham, New York, U. S. A.

April 13, 1958                                      George P. Morgan
# Table of Contents

**Preface**

**Table of Contents**

**Chapter I: Introduction**  
Definitions  
Procedure  
Analysis and Report  
Prospectus

**Section I: The Field**

**Chapter II: The Secular Parish**  
The Population of the Rural Parish  
The Economy of the Rural Parish  
The Holding of the Land  
Amenities in the Rural Parish

**Chapter III: Social Patterns in the Rural Parish**  
The Rural Family  
Manners and Morals  
Community Life in the Rural Parish  
Educational Level in the Rural Parish  
Tensions in the Rural Parish

**Chapter IV: The Church in the Parish**  
The Rural Minister's Responsibility in Terms of  
Land and People  
Population and Potential Church Strength  
The Church and Community Life  
The Church and the School  
The Church, the Land and the Economy

**Section II: The Human Factors**

**Chapter V: The Rural Person**  
A Brief Psychology of the Rural Person  
The Religious Condition of the Rural Person  
The Rural Person Looks at the Churches  
Religion's Value in the Rural Mind
## Chapter VII: The Rural Minister

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Rural Minister Looks at People and Parish</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Rural Minister Looks at His Job</td>
<td>131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The People Look at Their Minister</td>
<td>136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Man and His Training</td>
<td>143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Occupational Hazards of the Rural Ministry</td>
<td>152</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## Section III: The Tools

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Church</td>
<td>158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Hall</td>
<td>163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Rural Manse</td>
<td>166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Furnishings and Equipment</td>
<td>169</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Minister's Car</td>
<td>171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Parish Faces Its Property Problems</td>
<td>174</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## Section IV: The Method

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Ekklesia&quot;: The Church Called Out</td>
<td>178</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Called to Worship: the Word and the Sacraments</td>
<td>179</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Called to Teach</td>
<td>190</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Called to Maturity Discipleship</td>
<td>201</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## Section V: The Church Ministering, Part I

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Mission&quot;: The Outreach of the Church-Sent</td>
<td>207</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visitation Evangelism</td>
<td>209</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crusade Evangelism</td>
<td>216</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Church's Use of Mass Communication</td>
<td>222</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Program Evangelism</td>
<td>229</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## Chapter IX: Administering the Church

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Types of Parish Structure</td>
<td>236</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Use of Material Resources</td>
<td>243</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Use of Human Resources</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denominational Supervision and Assistance</td>
<td>255</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Glance Toward the Future</td>
<td>258</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## Section V: The Spirit

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Pulse of the Rural Church</td>
<td>266</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## Appendices

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A: A list of &quot;Lowland&quot; presbyteries of the Church of Scotland</td>
<td>274</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B: A table of denominations having Lowland rural churches</td>
<td>275</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C: An alphabetical list of churches included in this survey, by denominations</td>
<td>277</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D: Interview guide for visits to ministers</td>
<td>279</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E: Interview guide for visits with laymen</td>
<td>281</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F: Denominational index of attendance per centages</td>
<td>288</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION
CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A kingdom of its own in the midst of the world — that is the rural parish. It is a kingdom with its own peculiar customs and traditions. It is a realm whose people bear distinctive marks of citizenship. It has a topography all its own. Even its language is unique.

The sovereign individualism of the rural parish is not free, of course, from all the universal leveling influences of our times. It is increasingly urbanized and mechanized. Its limited opportunities are constantly rationalized by transportation, communication and law. But it still retains its sovereignty.

Like every kingdom, it produces vivid contrasts and sharp contradictions. It is full of variety and change. Yet it possesses the consistently homogeneous characteristics which make it as possible to say, "It is rural," as it is to say, "It is Scots."

This study of the unique realm of the rural parish was begun for two primary reasons. One is my own vocational interest in the rural church, which reached the point of dedication in me almost as early as my decision to enter the ministry. It grows out of my boyhood in a rural village and its church, and it has been nourished by nearly ten years of experience in the rural pastorate. The other reason is a search, a pursuit of the "parish idea" which has never really taken root in the Protestant tradition of my own country, but which offers the hope of more effective churchmanship in countless situations.

A specific concern for the rural church is nothing new. Jesus directed his disciples to carry their mission into the villages of Palestine
as well as into the cities. By the wisdom of John Knox, *The First Book of Discipline* made special provision for some of the needs of country parishes.¹

Until the last century, the overwhelming power of the church in nearly every part of the world was in its rural strongholds. The programs of the denominations, the training of their ministries, and the entire concept of parish life was naturally oriented toward the country church. No remedial measures had to be provided for the rural parish, for the whole church was predominantly a rural church. In large areas of the world, this is still true. In some Oriental countries, up to ninety per cent of the churches are in rural places.²

In much of the Western world, however, and in certain parts of the Orient,³ the last century with its accelerated industrialization has shifted the balance of population from country to city. It was only natural for the church's attention to turn in the same direction, and for its enterprise to be oriented toward the city and town.⁴ The transition has had the effect of leaving the rural church stranded like a ship at low tide. Inevitably, sociologists and churchmen sounded the alarm. "Populations never reproduce themselves in the cities at a sufficient rate to maintain their numbers..... This the rural family does..... If in America today every city of over 100,000 were almost solidly Christian but the countryside non-Christian, the Church could..... expect a marked decline. Cities must be constantly replenished with fresh life from the country. The strategy of a world Christianity demands that the rural populations be made Christian, if Christianity is to increase progressively and encompass mankind."⁵

In some areas, the churches have rallied to meet the challenge. Some theological schools have turned their attention toward preparing a specialized rural ministry. In Japan, "Rural Gospel Schools" have been established for the training of lay workers. In many of the younger churches, Christian cooperative "model villages" have been organized. The Roman Catholic Church has carefully outlined the stake it has in rural life.

Scotland has not escaped the problem. There is a mighty redistribution of the population in progress, with three persons out of every five expected to have removed to a new home during a forty year period ending in 1965. Now, amid some indications that this tide may be cresting, the only areas which appear to have made a clear profit from the redistribution of the population are the cities and towns. Depopulation in some sections of the Highlands has reached such a point that there are only nine persons to the square mile.

The rural church is hardy, however, and in most cases has survived in spite of everything. The denominations have felt occasional spasms of pain for their work in country places, but have seen the danger signs only as cause for "anxious concern." As a result, "on the whole the Churches have been more aware of change and challenge in cities and their suburbs than in the country, and ..... this fact is reflected in the deployment of their forces both financial and personal."

7 An example of this development may be found at Chiangrai, Thailand, where the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., has assisted in construction of a model village which has more recently been imitated by the government of Thailand.
8 Tambaram, Vol. V, p.187. See also the papal encyclical, "Rerum Novarum".
9 Information supplied by the Rev. Horace Walker, in an interview at the Church of Scotland offices, 121 George St., Edinburgh, November, 1952.
The concern which I have long felt for the rural church has been increased by this study. If the trend away from the land is to continue, then the churches must recognize that their very life in the rural parish is literally at stake. If a new landward trend has actually begun, then the churches must ascertain that their work in village and country is sound and that they are prepared to inject the healing medicine of the Christian faith into the bloodstream of the nation's culture at the point of greatest effectiveness. It is not my purpose therefore to glorify rural life nor to write an apologetic for the rural church. I hope instead to present a clear picture of church life in the rural Lowlands of Scotland, with particular attention to problems which affect the church's health. I cannot sentimentalize the rural pastorate. I can only portray it as I have found it in experience and in study, one of the most difficult and one of the most challenging of Christian callings. It can be the source of tremendous satisfactions and joys; but nothing will be gained by ignoring that which is unpleasant, and which may explain even the slightest symptom of the church's ill health. We are bound to remember that the rural pastorate can be a source of frustration and disillusionment for one who seeks in it an idyllic and contemplative way of life in an idealized and simplified society.

For my pursuit of the "parish idea," Scotland is peculiarly suited. The written history of its churches knows no time when the land was not divided into parishes. Though it is a "relatively homogeneous" land compressed into less than 30,000 square miles, its parishes provide examples of extreme types: the mountain glen and the city-like tenement; the traditional order of the centuries-old and the uninhibited order of the "scheme" whose mortar is scarcely dry; the croft and the factory farm; the

isolated hamlet and the city-shadowed village; the purely agricultural community and the dormitory for town or mine or sea.\(^{13}\) If I may be pardoned the appearance of clinical coldness, Scotland is a ready-made laboratory for research into the design and the operation of the parish.

**Definitions:**

Before proceeding with any program of study, it is necessary to limit the area of investigation. It was the unanimous counsel of my advisors that I should confine my research to the churches in rural Lowland parishes. This statement alone requires many definitions.

What is rural? No arbitrary limitation is completely satisfactory. A village of a thousand souls may be quite completely rural in Aberdeenshire, but quite thoroughly urban in Lanark. Yet an arbitrary limitation must be set. I have followed the precedent of the 1945 investigation of rural church life conducted by the British Council of Churches, according to which "a town is taken as any close settlement of above 1,500 persons."\(^{14}\) Consequently, I have considered any parish "rural" in which there is no village center with a population of 1,500. This limitation has proven satisfactory in nearly every case, and it has also made possible the comparison of my own findings with those of the Council's research.

The Lowlands of Scotland were chosen as the area of our research for several reasons. For one thing, the Highlands present a problem which is quite different from that of other parts of rural Scotland, and should properly form the basis for quite another study. The second reason was one of scope: a study which would involve both Highland and Lowland Scotland would include

\(^{14}\) *The Land, The People and the Churches*, p. 74.
parishes too widespread and too inaccessible to be completed within the limits of time and energy. The Lowlands, which fit the sociologists' definition of "region", provide an area with both homogeneity and variety sufficient for both thorough and profitable study. There was also a third reason which was primarily personal: the area whose situation most clearly parallels the sphere of my interest in my own country is the Lowlands.

It is not easy, however, to find unanimity concerning the boundary of the Lowlands. The problem was approached from two directions. First, an effort was made to establish the location of the elusive "Highland Line." And second, the offices of the majority church, the Church of Scotland, were asked for a statement concerning the presbyteries which were considered Lowland. Since the two resultant lines of division were roughly coincident, presbytery boundaries were used as the arbitrary demarcation of the Lowlands, and churches of the minority denominations were chosen from the same area. Included within the region are the counties of Caithness, Moray, Banff, Aberdeen, the Easternmost reaches of Inverness, Kincardine, the Northeastern and Southern fringes of Perth, Angus, Fife, Kinross, Clackmannan, Stirling, Dumbarton, parts of two islands of Bute, and all of the counties South of the Clyde-Forth Canal. (See Appendix, list of Lowland Presbyteries.) The region so defined includes 51.8 per cent of the land area of Scotland, and all or part of twenty-seven of its thirty-three counties. It does, of course, include the industrial belt of central Scotland, which has 71% of the population of Scotland within 15% of its area." On the other hand,

15 Klof and Brunner, A Study of Rural Society, p. 12.
17 The Rev. A. J. H. Gibson, in an interview at the Church of Scotland offices, 121 George St., Edinburgh, January 15, 1953.
18 Daysh, Studies in Regional Planning, p. 57.
however, it also includes a rural population equal to 15.4 per cent of the total population of Scotland. The parishes which comprise the area range to many extremes, including a very few parishes which we must properly call "Highland." I cannot claim, therefore, that the question of defining "Lowland was perfectly resolved, but the definition will serve for the purposes of this study.

When in this survey we speak of "churches," we mean churches of a variety of denominations present in the rural Lowlands. Of the approximately thirty-eight denominations in Scotland which publish or willingly divulge information concerning their work, only eighteen claim rural congregations. Nine of these claim only one to four country churches. Of the 1,081 rural churches in the Lowlands, 92.7 per cent belong to four denominations or religious families. In the order of their representation, they are: the Church of Scotland, with 751 churches; the Roman Catholic Church, with 109 churches; the Episcopal Church in Scotland, with 85 churches; and the Christian Brethren, with 57 assemblies. The mathematical method of selection which we used (see p. 10) automatically by-passed some of the tinier denominations, and as a result, our survey includes sample parishes of only nine denominations. (See Appendix.) The number of parishes selected from any one denomination is in proportion to the total number of rural congregations that denomination claims, with the one exception that fractional samplings are sometimes precluded by our method of selection; i.e., four-tenths of a church cannot be surveyed!

My inclusion of nine denominations within this survey does not in any way indicate my personal agreement with their theologies or methods. They are included for two reasons: 1) any honest and impartial analysis of church life in the area of our study must report their strength and activities; and 2) the value of my findings results in part from the sharing of both good and bad experience from among all those involved in the work of the rural church.
Procedure:

Once the definitions and limitations of our program of study were established, it was necessary to discover precisely what parishes were rural, how many of them there were, and how they could be satisfactorily surveyed.

The first of these problems was a complex one. Census reports give Scotland's "landward" population. The census definition of "landward," however, does not correspond to our definition of "rural." It is based instead upon burghal status, which sometimes has little to do with actual population. Even one unfamiliar with Scotland soon discovers relatively new towns which are not burghs, but which are much larger than some of the more ancient burghs. As Scotland's industrialization proceeded, a multitude of these "new towns" sprang up. Some burghs have undergone similar growth, but their burghal boundaries have not changed. A burgh with an official population of 2,000 may have an actual population of twice that number clustered in and around it. There are, moreover, more than twenty-five Lowland burghs with populations considerably smaller than our arbitrary rural limit of 1,500. It was therefore necessary to make thorough and careful comparison of the most recently published census reports, maps, gazetteers, and Statistical Accounts, and to fill in the remaining gaps or bring information up to date by persistent reading and correspondence.

Once the cities, burghs, and towns had been culled out of Scotland's rural Lowland parishes, the most up-to-date church lists of all denominations were examined, and a master list of all rural churches of all denominations was compiled, excluding only private missions and chapels where no membership was reported.

It was obvious that a survey of this entire area must be based upon case studies of selected parishes within the area. It was necessary, then, to establish a system of selection. Several alternatives were considered, and
were eventually narrowed to two. The first was to gather from official
and other knowledgeable sources the names of parishes worthy of study. The
second was to make a completely mechanical and arbitrary selection, which
would eliminate the element of personal choice entirely. The first method
was tempting because it would have insured the qualities of interest and
vitality. It was rejected in favor of the latter method, however, because
it would have failed to insure the selection of "typical" and "average"
parishes, and would have tipped the scales on the side of the more "successful"
parishes where "things are happening."

The method of selection which was used was a mathematical one. All rural
churches were listed alphabetically for each denomination. When a sampling
of one out of every ten was decided upon, every tenth church on the denomina-
tional lists was chosen for a case study. The method provided 103 cases for
our research, and they form the frame of reference within which we shall dis-
cuss "the rural church" throughout this thesis.

It was necessary to face several other questions. How should information
be gathered concerning the churches of our survey? Would published sources
provide the facts required? How extensive were these sources? Were they com-
parable for churches of differing denominations? If additional information
should be required, how should it be assembled? What indices of validity
should be applied to published information?

These were not easy questions to answer. A survey was made of all avail-
able printed information concerning the sample parishes. The Statistical
Accounts were a mine of information, but because the editors of the most re-
cent edition had made the wise decision to summarize areas frequently larger
than a parish, and because information concerning the churches (particularly
the minority churches) was frequently of a general nature, they did not pro-
vide the type of material we needed. Yearbooks of the denominations also
gave valuable information concerning each church, but it was limited in its scope, and there was considerable difference between the informational categories used by the several denominations. In addition, these and other sources of information were unable to provide the important element of local opinion from both ministers and lay people. I am bound to acknowledge the valuable help provided by such published material, by giving both preliminary information and a check upon my findings; but other sources had to be tapped as well.

To tap these sources, I have borrowed heavily from the procedures of sociology, and particularly from the methods of social surveys. My thesis therefore falls into the general category of a "statistical thesis," in the area of practical theology. Its findings, however, are not altogether of a statistical nature, as will be seen most clearly in Sections IV and V.

To provide an instrument for our case studies, preliminary lists of "areas of inquiry" were composed. Out of these, specific questions naturally rose. Rural pastors were consulted. Presbytery clerks were interviewed for their suggestions. Denominational boards and agencies gave their advice. Governmental officials made their recommendations. Methods of social survey inquiry were studied. University personnel were asked for their counsel. Out of this preliminary research came the drafts of two instruments, questionnaire-type survey forms which would be used separately with ministers and laymen. The drafts were submitted to advisors and others, and were redrafted several times. When their format was nearly finalized, they were pre-tested in three parishes, and revised again.19

The two survey forms became the basic sources of our study. (See Appendix.) They were accompanied by a third instrument, a notation sheet

on which were recorded factual observations concerning persons supplying
information and the condition and location of churches, halls, and manses.
These three forms were supplemented by relevant information from all other
available sources.

When the procedures of our case studies were finally decided, it was hoped
that some of the information could be gathered by posted inquiry. Early at-
ttempts to do so met with only partial success, and I was forced to agree
that the "inquiry is ordinarily best conducted by interview.... The
interview..... affords opportunity for obtaining more complete and adequate
responses from the general run of people. Most people talk more readily than
they write."20 Attempts to conduct the survey by post also posed one very
difficult problem, the selection of laymen who would supply the information
we needed. I considered lay response particularly important, both for the
sake of general parish information, and for the cross-check they would pro-
vide concerning the judgments and opinions of ministers. Laymen whose names
were given me by their pastors were undoubtedly representative of the Church
(particularly the Session) but tended to be unrepresentative of the parish.
It quickly became obvious that another method of selection was needed. The
most satisfactory procedure proved to be an on-the-spot selection in each of
the 108 parishes.

In every church situation, therefore, I interviewed the minister, vicar,
leader or priest (or Interim Moderators and Session Clerks where pulpits
were vacant). In each case, I also interviewed at least one other person
belonging to the area served by the church. I usually selected this person
myself by the most arbitrary method I could use - his profession, his
position in the church, or other similar means. Before conducting the interview,
it was my usual practice to inform the minister of my selection and to secure
his approval. I was determined that no difficulty, however, should influence this process of selection, and only rarely did I encounter any difficulty more serious than delay when arranging interviews with persons so selected.21 I have visited churches, halls and manses. I have sought to observe anything which has a bearing on the church's well-being. As I was told to expect, the information which came unsought has sometimes proved as valuable as that for which I asked.22

I believe that these procedures have given us an excellent cross-section of rural parishes and of popular thought about the church. I have listed some extremely successful churches, and some which are extremely discouraging. The parish with the largest number of farms in Scotland formed the basis for one of our case studies. Included in the survey is the parish in which is located the largest social service work of the Episcopal Church in Scotland - a home for 300 orphans. The two churches with the oldest continuous records in Scotland were two of our sample parishes. By the method of selection which I adopted, I have been led to study ancient churches founded by St. Columba, St. Moluog and others of the first missionaries in Scotland. Even the architecture of the churches I have visited has been a cross-section, varying from the restored beauty of ancient houses of worship to the aesthetically impoverished Heritors' Gothic.

As a result of these definitions and procedures, I have been for two years an "itinerant minister." My parish has been the half of Scotland in which ninety-five per cent of her people dwell, and where eighty-five per cent of her churches are. I have become still better acquainted with her countryside, where twenty-seven per cent of the Lowland churches are, and twenty per cent of Lowland people live.23 Through this countryside I have

21 Ibid., p. 8.
22 Ibid., p. 8.
23 The Land, the People and the Churches, p. 16.
journeyed more than five thousand miles, enjoying the pleasurable opportunity to combine rewarding research with travel through a bonnie land.

**Analysis and Report:**

It is almost impossible to describe in words the mass of information which was accumulated by this research, and the problems involved in correlating and evaluating it. In the process of analysis and report, I have followed certain self-imposed principles which should be made explicit here.

Many of my findings are reported in terms of proportions and percentages. This is a method which I use reluctantly, and which I shall avoid wherever it is feasible. In most instances, however, it is a method which is imperative. This is not a thesis whose primary validity will be proved by reference to published sources. Its validity must be attested by internal evidence, given in the most precise form possible. It would not be wise, moreover, to lengthen the thesis excessively by the circumlocutions and prolonged explanations which are the only valid alternatives. The reader will note that exact percentages have frequently been sacrificed in favor of less precise proportions (e.g., "about one in five"); this has been done for the sake of readability, and is based on the conviction that such phrases are as meaningful to the average reader as a multiplicity of exact fractions!

If any question should arise concerning the validity of such statements in this report, it will be possible always to support them with mathematical accuracy. Because the freedom and frankness of each interview depended upon my assurance that all information and opinion would be kept in strictest confidence, it will not be possible to divulge specific sources. References to particular parishes and persons will be made only in cases where explicit permission has been granted.
When reporting on particular denominations or sects, I shall attempt to use the appropriate terminology with regard to titles, offices, worship, procedures, etc., whenever this is practical. When I refer to the churches in toto, however, I shall avoid endless repetition by using the terminology of the majority church, the Church of Scotland. It should be understood that when I do so, I am referring to all the churches. When I wish to refer to the Church of Scotland alone, I shall do so explicitly.

Words, phrases, spellings and symbols throughout the thesis will be American (including the symbol "£" for pounds sterling, for which there is no equivalent on an American typewriter), unless some particular purpose is to be served by using a Scots expression which has no satisfactory parallel in American usage. It is not possible to revoke a lifetime's education!

In the five major sections of the thesis, all quotations from published sources will be footnoted. Other quotations without footnotes may be assumed to be directly excerpted from my records of personal interviews, and are as nearly exact transcriptions of conversations as I am able to reproduce.

In the report which follows, I shall try to refrain from recording anything which is patently rumor, gossip or personal grievance. I believe that a valid test of this type of material is the criterion of "two or more witnesses" of Scripture. In my notes I have been constrained to record anything which was said to me in seriousness, without regard to my own personal agreement or disagreement; but in this report of my findings, I shall ordinarily avoid one man's opinion, unless there seems to be particular value in it. Beyond this one manifestation of "censorship," however, I shall attempt to be a reporter and not a judge; I shall try to avoid subjective, critical and judgmental evaluations except in the instances where I willingly assume explicit personal responsibility for them as my own opinions. Otherwise, if there appears to be judgment rendered in the reporting of facts, I hope it
may be that the situation is judging itself. I write this, however, with the
full realization that it is virtually impossible to discard completely the
thoughts and opinions which arise from my own experience in a rural ministry.
If there are instances in which I have not succeeded in eliminating myself
from the process of judgment, I apologize for them.

Prospectus:

I have learned from the churches of Scotland, and I am grateful. It
would be appalling to imagine the entire band of candidates for the ministry
roaming around Scotland, poking in her churches, consuming the time of her
ministers and laymen in endless series of interviews - but it would be
valuable to them! It is my hope that the research contained in these pages
may be of value to someone other than myself.

I am quite aware of the shortcomings of a study of this kind. It runs
the risk of applying some of the methods of science to an unscientific object.
In some ways, it is only an extension of what the church at large has always
attempted to do from time to time. In certain instances, the findings of this
research will state nothing new. In many cases, matters which require an ad-
verse report are inherent in situations which should not or cannot be changed;
for there are, so to speak, congenital diseases among churches and occupational
diseases among ministers. I have been handicapped to some extent by being an
outlander and an incomer, unfamiliar with Scotland's history, unaccustomed to
her ways and a perfect stranger to her people. I am quite aware that many un-
fortunate conditions in the church as I report them here would also be found
in the churches of my country or of any country - and more could be added! Of
all these things I am aware.

I believe, however, that the Church of Christ can triumph, even through
its shortcomings! The answer to a difficult problem is frequently found by
first singling out the difficulty. At worst, this study will sometimes
give the substantiation of a contemporary sociological survey to hunches,
impressions and previous findings of the church. Some of my findings will
be reassuring to the churches; others will undoubtedly be disconcerting
where they contradict previous notions staunchly held. But there is always
value in knowing the facts, and I believe that I am able to state many facts
with more clarity and certainty than has been possible before. I am con-
vinced that my situation as a stranger has been at least as much a blessing
as a handicap. I have not encountered the slightest doubt when I gave the
assurance that mine was a completely unofficial bit of research, and that I
was not connected in any official way with any of the denominations of
Scotland. As a result, both ministers and lay people have opened their
hearts and minds as I believe they might hesitate to do to someone whom
they might later encounter in the ongoing life of the church. Perhaps, too,
there may be some value in a report by an impartial observer, for it does no
harm "to see ourselves as others see us."24

Every parish situation is, of course, more or less unique,25 and it
would be far from possible to apply all of our findings in any one place.
In the days of primitive Christianity, it was accepted doctrine that a
healthy Christian Church must be based upon healthy individual congregations.
That was the basis on which large parts of the New Testament were written,
as letters to local congregations about their particular problems. The
letters were not addressed to the Church-at-large.26

25 Dwight Sanderson, Rural Society and Rural Social Organization (John Wiley
26 Parish and Parish Church, p. 244.
Yet it was also true that what was applicable with special validity in one local congregation was usually applicable with nearly equal validity in almost any other church in Christendom. The letters of Paul and his contemporaries became the currency of religious instruction for churches throughout the world for nineteen centuries. I believe we shall be justified, therefore, in assuming that what applies in one particular rural parish today may have at least a limited currency in others, especially where the general conditions of work are the same.
SECTION I
THE FIELD

Chapter II: The Secular Parish
Chapter III: Social Patterns in the Rural Parish
Chapter IV: The Church in the Parish
CHAPTER II:

THE SECULAR PARISH

There is a very simple and graphic way to visualize the extent of the ideal rural parish. Just ride the bus from town to town. As you approach a country village, passenger after passenger boards the bus, until it is quite full. In the village, these passengers leave, but their places are quickly filled. Then the bus proceeds on into the countryside beyond the village, and one seat after another becomes vacant. About midway to the next village or town, the process begins again. Shoppers with their bags over their arms, workmen, schoolchildren, farmers bound for market, entertainment seekers fill the bus again.

If you would paint a line on the road at the point where the bus is most nearly empty, and repeat the process on every road that leads into the village, you would be able to see where the boundaries of the parish ought to be. Historically, the parish was intended to be a unit, within whose borders the people looked to one another for their primary needs, church, school and market. The center of this self-sufficient life was usually a village served by shops, a school, one or two churches, a hall and a diversity of tradesmen. The parish was a secular and religious unit, and in every way answered the modern sociologist’s definition of a “community.”

In Scotland, the systematic effort to bring every part of the nation into a framework of such parish units goes back to about 1100.\(^2\) Already, the parochial system had been found to work well in both civil and ecclesiastical spheres in England and on the continent, where parishes as

2 P. D. Thomson, Parish and Parish Church, p.69.
we know them had emerged by the sixth century, and "rural parishes" were numerous by the time of Charlemagne.3

Because the parochial system was introduced into Scotland by pious men, and also because the church had been there long centuries before the nation was organized in parishes, the church from the beginning enjoyed a privileged and responsible position in the parish. It was not only the center of religious life; it was also a civil power. "Manorial courts were held and notices calling them proclaimed in it; rents as well as tithes were paid there; lands were sold and conveyed, and charters were read there; and there all manner of business was transacted..... The whole life of the parish, in fact, religious and secular, domestic and social, recreational and cultural, became more and more organized round the parish church."4

The persons responsible for parochial government were called the Vestry, because of the place where they met. The poor were cared for by officers of the church. Even roads and bridges were acknowledged as the church's responsibility.5 Thus it is impossible to describe the civil parish without also describing the ecclesiastical parish. In medieval times, it was often impossible to distinguish between the two.

The architects of the reformed church made few changes in the parochial system. In accord with the Reformers' "Discipline", in fact, the local parish was assigned still more duties than before, chief among them being the education of children. The responsibility for the parish school belonged to the kirk session, and the parish civil and ecclesiastical continued in many respects to be one.6

3 F. D. Thomson, Parish and Parish Church, p.124.
4 Ibid., pp.99f.
5 Ibid., pp.109ff.
6 Ibid., pp.202ff.
From the time of the Reformation, however, the duties which we now think of as civil were gradually given up to, or assumed by, the State. At last, the care of the poor and the administration of the schools were assumed as responsibilities of government, and the division between duties sacred and duties secular reached the point where we find it today.7

But this is not the end of the history of the civil parish. The government which at first gave powers to local civil authorities, and then to Parochial Boards and still later to Parish Councils, finally stripped away nearly all of the civil parish's local autonomy. The powers of government were exercised in larger and larger units. The civil parish in rural Scotland today remains as a convenient unit for the keeping of the parliamentary rolls and the taking of the census. Sometimes it gives substance to a loosely knit social service council or "parish committee." Beyond this, it still furnishes a few square miles with an identifying name and the church with an ecclesiastical unit. Legally, it is little more.

The Population of the Rural Parish.

A keen observer soon marks the uncultivated fields and the crumbling dwellings which can be found throughout rural Scotland. The solitary spikes of marble beside the country roads, or prominent along the village streets, are obvious clues to the present-day situation of the rural parish. To stop and read the long list of the dead on the memorials of two world wars is to gain a shattering impression. Amid the signs of depopulation, one reason for the dearth of men to till the land is carved upon the stone.

Another impression quickly becomes as strong. It is the sharp contrast in the length of the lists one generation apart. True, casualties were not so heavy in World War II. But war did not become that much more

7 Ibid., pp. 286ff.
merciful in one generation. In both wars, I was well assured, all the men available were called up. But as several ministers pointed out to me, the simple fact was there there were not the same number of people in the rural parishes in 1939 as there had been in 1914. In the generation between the wars, the trend of two previous generations to depopulate the land continued. In some places, it was accelerated by the agricultural depression of the inter-war period.8

A striking example of this movement from the land was found in the parish of Trinity Gask, which had close to one thousand inhabitants in 1851. A century saw the population dwindle to two hundred and seventy-six. This parish was not average in the degree of its loss; but neither was it alone.

In 60% of the civil parishes involved in this study, the population fell during the inter-censal period 1931-1951. In one case, the population neither gained nor lost, and the remaining parishes saw a moderate increase.9 Of the parishes where there was an increase in population, more than one half included parts of large towns which had grown considerably during the twenty-year period; the landward sections of these parishes frequently continued to be depopulated.

Little is known sociologically about the validity or relative importance of various causes of rural depopulation. Because of this lack of factual knowledge, many statements of the reasons are based on hunches and prejudices.10 Impossible as it is to put the reasons in their proper order, however, churchmen, educators, "planners" and geographers agree on a number of things which have undoubtedly contributed to the unhealthy picture. Emigration, a lack

8 The Land, the People and the Churches, p.20.
of alternative employment (especially among unmarried women), poor housing, the low social status of agriculture, and an unbalanced rural economy comprise one published list.\textsuperscript{11} Others echo the same factors.

Agriculturalists and churchmen agree that rural education has made little effort to prepare for agriculture as a profession and for rural culture as a way of life.\textsuperscript{12} In substantiation of their claim, the minister of one country parish informed me that in recent years, only one youth who went to high school from his parish came back to the land.

Some valiant efforts to increase the attractiveness of the country for life and work have had a boomerang effect. "Any increase in rural amenities stimulates the desire for a way of life better satisfied by town than country. There are indications, for example, that housing improvements have this effect."\textsuperscript{13} The minimum farm wage, the building for agricultural workers of cottages not tied to the land, and the requirement of only one month's notice before leaving agricultural employment - all desirable in noteworthy ways - have nonetheless had the effect of allowing a freedom which has been an unsettling influence. Vigorous efforts to bring life back into the parish through community centers, parish halls and the like sometimes have such limited success that they succeed only in pointing the farm laborer's attention to the scantiness of local entertainment. He and his family yearn for the town, where entertainment is readily accessible.

It is uncomfortably true, moreover, that the unit which can, or does, supply some sort of social and cultural life is of necessity a larger unit today than it was one hundred years ago.\textsuperscript{14} More expensive recreations


\textsuperscript{13} H. P. White, "Rural Problems in the Border Counties," p. 178.

\textsuperscript{14} \textit{The Land, The People and the Churches}, p. 71.
require a more extended parsonage, and better-equipped schools require a
greater spread of tax-payers.

For one reason or another, the decline in population has proceeded un-
broken for a century. "...... In 1861 three out of every ten adult men were
employed in agriculture, but in 1931 only one in every ten was so employed."15
The decline became most drastic between the wars, when the number of persons
employed in agriculture in Great Britain "fell from 616,000 in 1921-1925 to
593,000 in 1938, a drop of 25 per cent. Among young persons under the age
of 21, the fall was 46 per cent."16

The churches have been among the chief mourners over the loss. Quite
apart from the rural level of culture and education and its consequences to
potential leadership, depopulation has resulted in a diminutive pool from
which talent and leadership may be drawn. Depopulation and distance are
twin difficulties in rural church work. Distance can be overcome in many
cases by devising means of transport or by decentralization of programs but
people cannot be devised.

When asked to name the major difficulties within their parishes,
ministers named depopulation nearly twice as often as any other problem.
"The Church," one minister told me, "should be the last to want to see the
countryside depopulated. She has drawn most of her strength from the
country."

As a result, one out of every four churches studied is trying to carry
on its work in a parish whose largest village center has one hundred people
or less. If this "sampling" is projected, it would indicate that there are
about two hundred and seventy such churches in Scotland's Lowlands. More
than half of the parishes visited had village centers of four hundred

16 The Land, the People and the Churches, p.20.
people or less. A projection of this sampling would indicate nearly six hundred such Lowland churches.

The church, then, has a life-and-death interest in the prospects for future rural population. It must be interested in present trends. What are the prospects?

One question asked of both ministers and lay people in all parishes studied was this: "What is the population trend here right now?" Both ministers and laymen tended to think that the depopulation was stopped, at least for the present. Both claimed growth for their parishes more often than they claimed continued shrinkage. Ministers and lay people agreed in their answers in two-thirds of the parishes. When I remembered the rural persons' reputed tendency toward pessimism, I was rather surprised to find that in cases of disagreement, the ministers were three times as pessimistic as laymen!

These answers are encouraging. But it must be pointed out that they represent impressions which are not always founded on complete information. A few new houses can produce a deceiving aura of growth, when in fact, they merely take the place of old houses left derelict. In some cases, it was pointed out specifically that more houses were occupied than before — but by the same number of people; the new houses were occupied by young families who had previously crowded in with the older generation. In nine separate cases, it was noted that the village population had grown, but that the farming population had fallen away at least a corresponding amount. We must reckon with the fact that in many other cases, this may have escaped less alert observers. Yet it cannot be discounted that a large majority of ministers and lay people shared the impression that "the bottom has been reached."
Some published facts offer a check upon the impressions. The number of births per thousand of population in 1952 was slightly higher in the landward areas than in the cities; but it was equal to the average for all of Scotland, and was exceeded by the rate in large burghs. The number of deaths per thousand of rural people was considerably lower than for any other segment of the population.17

While families in the rural areas still tend to have more children than would be the average for any other segment of Scotland's population, this is very nearly nullified by the fact that the proportion of women aged fifteen to forty-four is lower in landward areas than in Scotland as a whole.18 Moreover, the marriage rate in the landward areas is less than sixty per cent of the rate for the whole of Scotland.19

In areas considered rural by the Education Department, the ratio of school-aged children to total population is no larger than it is in Scotland as a whole. The same thing is true of the number of young persons between the ages of fifteen and eighteen.20

Very clearly, therefore, there is not much likelihood that the population of rural areas will see any noticeable natural increase. If there is to be any increase, it must be by a movement from town and city to country.

Predictions about any such movement must be made with caution. A large minority of both ministers and laymen noted a considerable amount of shifting of the population. "Of eighty children in our school this Autumn, forty are new." In some cases this was the result of the seasonal "flitting" of farm laborers and their families. In many instances it was something

17 The Annual Report, 1952, the Registrar General for Scotland (Edinburgh), Table 1.
19 Ibid., Table 4.
quite different. In one Lanarkshire village, I was told that there were
two hundred people until less than a year ago. As new houses are built, the
population is increasing to a planned one thousand. The people moving in
are workingmen whose employment is usually five to twenty-five miles away.

Such instances could be multiplied. One heard the old complaints.
"Fifty years ago, there were seventy-five houses in the parish. Now there
are forty-five." "Twenty-five years ago, there were a hundred and twenty-five
in the school. Now there are forty-five." But as often, the answers were these:
"We have several fifteen-to-twenty-house schemes. Houses for four hundred more
are scheduled." "Sixteen new houses are going up. The village will be as big
as it's been for years." "When I came two years ago, there were one hundred and
fifty in our school; now there are two hundred and seventy."

With improved transport, it becomes more and more practical for the village
youth to live in the village, even though they take employment in the town in
preference to the land, and for townspeople to go to the villages to live. The
testimony of the persons interviewed indicates that there is a marked tendency
in this direction, especially in villages up to ten miles distant from moderate-
sized towns.

Some Lowland regions are obviously too remote to feel the effects of this
movement to make the village a dormitory for the town and the city. It was in
Aberdeenshire and Angus that one heard most often: "Our population is still
shrinking." As might be expected, it was within reach of the Glasgow complex,
in the counties of Lanark and Ayr, that one heard most often: "Our parish is
growing."

Some effects of this restless movement are practically predictable. The
people of the country parish are less and less agriculturally minded. The
stemming of the tide of depopulation does not mean a halt in the exodus from
the land; the 103,647 persons employed in agriculture in Scotland in June, 1948,
29

Approximately $95,400$ more can be assumed to be dependents of those so employed. $^2_2$ But the bulk of the people who come to the country to live, or of the ones who stay, have other employment. "They become deglamified."

Another effect of the change is in the age of the rural population. If it is practical for a workman to "use our village as a dormitory," as one layman put it, it is also practical for an elderly person to use it as a place of retirement. In more than one out of every ten parishes, this is exactly what I was told. In one parish with a population of three hundred and fifty-five persons, seventeen were old-age pensioners. In another of four hundred and seventy-five persons, the trend to become a residence for the aged and retired was so pronounced that there were only ten children in the school.

Nor does the fact that the drift from land to town is now accompanied by an opposite drift mean an even trade, though the numbers may balance one another. Two-thirds of the ministers felt that they still lost the best of their young people, even though the trade was numerically equal in more than half of all the parishes. A substantial group felt that the incomers did not match those who left, "not in caliber, interest or age."

**The Economy of the Rural Parish.**

"What we need is some light industry. Something serving agriculture. Maybe for two or three parishes together. You see, we have nothing to give employment to the girls."

The minister who voiced this need had a parish in many ways average for the one thousand and eighty-one rural parishes from which our examples were chosen. It had a village center of about four hundred people; the average


would be five hundred and seventy, and the majority would have villages of four hundred people or less.

Moreover, his opinion was typical of that expressed by many of the ministers and laymen interviewed. For in more than one quarter of the parishes studied, agriculture, with perhaps a very few local shops and tradesmen to serve it, is the only source of income worth noting in the parish. As one might expect, all but three of these parishes are either in the Border Counties or North of the Firth of Tay.

In another quarter of the parishes visited, agriculture and one other small local business are the only sources of income. Sometimes the business is forestry, sometimes a quarry, a ten-employee timber mill, or a small tourist trade. In a few cases, agriculture is abetted by multiple local incomes - a mine and a small agricultural machinery business, forestry and a "hydro" project, tourists and a large number of retired persons with incomes from pensions or other sources. Thus in 63% of our one hundred and eight parishes, the local parish is practically self-dependent, though not necessarily self-sufficient.23 This circumstance may, in fact, point to a hopeless economic future for a rural community dependent on the vagaries of agricultural prosperity alone. As a result, it may also point to continued depopulation and community disintegration. It also accentuates the wisdom behind the Scott Report's advice that small industries settle in the countryside, even though this advice was primarily given for the sake of economy in operation.24

In the parish situations still unaccounted for, employment in nearby towns plays some part. In 10% of all the parishes, outside employment supplements agricultural income. In 18%, it supplements income from agriculture

24 The Land, the People and the Churches, p.74.
and additional local sources. (In two-thirds of these, outside employment plays so large a part that agriculture is a minor quantity.) And in 9% of all the parishes, there is almost no agriculture whatever.

The sources contributing income additional to agriculture are, in the order of their incidence: employment in nearby towns, timber milling, mining, retirement incomes, forestry, tourist businesses, the manufacture of agricultural machinery, transport businesses and fishing. The most striking single factor in this list is the importance of retirement incomes to the economy of the contemporary rural parish. This is directly related to the previously mentioned trend toward the use of rural villages as places of retirement.

There was a good measure of agreement (71%) between ministers and lay people concerning the level of prosperity at the moment in their particular parishes, and disagreement was only once more than a matter of degree. It is difficult to decide what to do mathematically with a sampling of opinions of which 57% indicate that the local economic level is above average, 40% indicate that it is about average, and only 3% indicate that their communities fall below average! But it is easy enough to see the psychologically important fact that there is a general feeling among rural people that the level of their prosperity is high, when compared with the past.

Opinion would also indicate that the level of rural prosperity is more consistently high in the Central Lowlands than in the Northeast and the Borders. Perhaps there is more than a statistical correlation between this and the corresponding regional finding concerning the economic bases of rural parishes. (See page 30, paragraph 2.)

It seems to be the condition of the farm servant, who in the past has always been "at least twenty years behind the town worker",25 which has improved the most. "Taking the country as a whole, those working for the

25 The Land, the People and the Churches, p.14.
minimum rate are in a minority, and even these earn a good deal of overtime during the summer."

26 It is not at all to be concluded from this that the condition of the agricultural worker is equal to that of the industrial worker, but opinions seem to agree that the gap between the two is much more narrow than even a generation ago.

The condition of the workingman has improved in the country, as it has elsewhere, partly at the expense of the traditionally well-to-do. Where opinions were given, they agreed that there is practically no poverty, and little real wealth remaining. One minister commented that the only actual poverty in his parish was among solitary ladies of "the proud old gentility". Where wealth occurs, it is in the hands of a rising new "class" of independent farmers, as often as it is in the hands of hereditary lairds.

The flavor of the answers cannot be savored in summary. "They have more money, but it goes no farther. Still, they are living on a much better standard since the war; there's no poverty." "The average farm worker gets six or seven pounds, and extras in seedtime and harvest. Agriculture is prosperous; that's the trend since the war." "Many daily workers are getting more than ten pounds per week. Some cotters are making more than the minister. They were dreadfully poor before the war, though; the average here for a cotters in 1939 was fifty pounds and percs per annum." "The farmers are high, the miners are higher." "All the farmers have cars, tractors, odds and ends for comfort." "The majority of farm servants are above the dictated level, though we have only one farmer-in-a-big-way." "The farm laborers say they're well off." But, "the farm laborer, for his skill and work, still gets less than anybody else." "We think we're going to be better off, but it all seems to go just the same."

26 The Rural Market, p.18.
The Holding of the Land

Alongside this major change in the condition of the "average man," one finds that the pattern of land-owning is undergoing a minor revolution. The large estate, with its accompanying "big house," at one time commanded the scene in nearly every rural parish. This is true no longer.

All the ministers interviewed were asked about the holding of the land in their parishes. Information from more than one hundred ministers, priests, and leaders would indicate that in 29% of the rural parishes visited from one to four estates still embrace most of the land. In many cases, even these are no longer in the hands of the hereditary lairds, but a new "landed gentry" have acquired the "Big houses" and their lands, keeping the estates largely intact. In a number of other cases, the laird remains, still occupies the "big house," and retains the "home farm," but has been forced by circumstances to sell most of the land. When this is true, the laird and the estate may maintain a status in the community, but they are reduced to a low place in the economic or agricultural picture.

In another 18% of the parishes under scrutiny, it appears that well-to-do persons have gradually purchased farms as they came on the market, and have by this means built up new large properties, similar in scope to the old estates, but without the "big houses" and their benevolent meaning.

In a bare majority of parishes (53%), however, the dominant pattern seems to be an owner-operator type of family-sized farms. These usually range in size from fifty to two hundred and fifty acres, although larger farms or even small holdings or crofts may occasionally dominate the parish pattern. The resultant average size of an agricultural holding in Scotland (fifty-nine acres) is somewhat smaller than that for Britain as a whole.27

27 The Rural Market, p. 25.
A farm on which the work is done by the farm-owner and his family, with seldom more than one or two farm servants - or none at all - is more a Scottish than a British pattern. It also appears to be a pattern which has in large measure developed since World War II. For in 1947, one authority wrote: "The system of land tenure, which is general over..... Scotland", with the exception of the Highlands and Islands, "depends on leases of varying lengths granted by the landowner to the tenant." But the trend to the family farm was even then becoming apparent. The same writer notes: "An appreciable number of the farmers are nowadays owner-occupiers."28

As may be expected from the first of the foregoing quotations, most of the new large holdings and about a third of the old estates are divided into medium-sized units and rented to tenant-farmers. Thus the family-sized farm, either owner-operated or tenanted, dominates the pattern in 81% of the parishes studied. The remaining 19% of the parishes, in most of which the land is held by estates, are divided between two types of farming. In one, the estate is run as a large-unit operation which approximates the idea of the factory-farm. In the other, it is farmed in smaller units, with a grieve to manage each unit. In either case, large numbers of farm servants are commonly to be found.

I have here attempted to describe for each parish its dominant pattern. The picture would be false if I did not add that in most rural parishes today, the pattern is compounded of any or all types of land-holding, and seems to be in a state of great fluidity at the moment. Seventeen ministers reported, without specific questioning, that there is a definite local trend toward the sale to former tenants or grieves of farms which until now have been parts of estates or large holdings. A number of others pointed to a strong tendency for wealthy farmers, retired military men or civil servants, and businessmen to buy additional

farms as they "come up for sale". The farms are then used primarily for investment, occasionally for residence.

By far the largest single group of parishes still dominated by estates or by new large holdings is to be found along the Northeast Coast, in the counties of Moray, Banff, and Aberdeen. The next largest similar group is in the counties of Perth, Angus and Kincardine. And the third such group is found in the Border Counties. These are the same areas which appeared twice before in connection with "one-business economies" and a lower-than-average degree of prosperity.

Where the old system of land-ownership is perishing, the change evokes a mixed response. Several ministers feel that the break-up of the estates is an unadulterated loss, that a benevolent laird was a figure in the parish who cannot be replaced, and who blessed the people with steadily improved housing and more other benefits than they knew. For every one who sorrows at the change, however, there are three who realize the loss but feel that the net result will prove to be a gain. They recall that tied housing was often poor, that grievances who had no roots were often a detriment to land and community, that the large holders were often absentee owners (a fact still true in a third of the parishes where estates are the dominant pattern). But this is not to say that the ministers were unconditionally reconciled to the break-up of the estates. Where they expressed further opinions they deplored without exception the buying-up of farms by the retired rich, by wealthy investors, by absentee holders, or by institutions, for they feared that the new owners would not have the land, the people or community institutions at heart.

In a few of our parishes, some land is held by the government, either for reforestation or for the rental of small-holdings. Despite this experience, however, no minister or layman whom I interviewed ever once ventured to favor the nationalization of the land, although such opinion has at times appeared in the press. 29

29 Cf. The Scotsman, January 25, 1951, "Farmer Favours Land Nationalization."
The system of land-holding which meets with greatest favor among 82% of those who gave opinions is for the farmer to own, or at least to rent, the land on which he and his family work. The family-sized farm, increasingly mechanised and worked with a minimum of employed help, gives the community a resident farmer rather than a hired grieve or absentee owner. The majority opinion is that this conduces to permanence, to a healthy long-term participation in community life, and to halted depopulation of the land. Economically too, "a good case can be made out for" the owner-occupier "being the better method of land-holding." 30

This judgment stood even though the ministers realized the system's weaknesses. The farmer often chooses to do his own weekend chores (and to be absent from kirk!) rather than to pay his few hired servants the bonus wages required by law for weekend labor. Admittedly, the farmer's family are more completely involved in the workings of the farm as a consequence of self-ownership. One study indicates that a higher per cent of farm wives in Scotland (almost half) take part in actual farm work than in Great Britain as a whole (39% is the over-all average). 31 But in spite of these and other objections which will be discussed more fully in Chapter IV, it was the majority speaking through one minister who said: "The family-sized farm is the ideal."

Amenities in the Rural Parish.

Surely this is an untouched old country hamlet we approach by the one road of access. Here on a rise of land, huddled beneath a cluster of trees, are about a dozen old stone cottages, walls unevenly patched with plaster, a common well at the side of the road, a seventeenth century church, a manse - it must be the manse! - with as many windows and perhaps as many rooms as the hamlet and church together.

30 H. P. White, "Rural Problems in the Border Counties."
31 The Rural Market, p. 82.
Then we reach the top of the rise, and there, on down the road and across a shallow glen, are a dozen new rough-cast buildings, each with accommodation for six to ten families, grouped along a gracefully curving drive that follows the contour of the brae.

This describes exactly only one of the one hundred and eight parishes of our study. But my notes and observations tell me it could be repeated without many changes in the case of two thirds of the total list. In some, as we have noted, the housing is new in the sense that it shelters incomers and adds to the population. More often, it is actually re-housing for young families who have crowded in with "in-laws", for others who have previously occupied sub-standard housing, or for agricultural workers, to give a centralized alternative to the isolated tied cottage on farm or estate.

Actually, the over-all tendency of the new housing is toward centralization. Justification for this policy stems partly from the fact that the motor car is the property of the farmer, and only rarely of the farm laborer. "Living on a relatively isolated farm is often satisfactory, or at least tolerable, for a farmer and his family, while a similar site may seem really isolated to a farm worker's family..... Improvements in communications and the spread of information have cut down the absolute inaccessibility of various farming areas in this country. But it has not reduced relative accessibility, and it is the relative factors that seem to weigh with people in their decisions as to whether to remain in a particular area or to move elsewhere." Thus centralization (or "rationalization" of rural life, as the planners choose to call it) has been under way since the passing of the Town and Country Planning Act of 1932. Only recently has its hold been broken even to allow "such vagaries as the building of isolated new houses, if the people who build them or are to live in them, just happen to prefer it that way."32 The result is the increase

in village populations and the decrease in population on the land which were previously noted. (See page 26, paragraph 3)

There is no question that new housing was needed. "It's remedied now. But the old rows were pretty dreadful." That the need is not yet completely satisfied is attested by the fact that when the ministers were asked to name the most pressing problems of their parishes at the moment, they listed "housing" in more than one out of every four parishes. "Housing is needed especially for retired farm workers." "It's mostly tied houses here, and pretty poor. The lairds are too poor to improve them." "There are very few good cotters' houses. They're tied, and have no conveniences." One minister voiced a judgment it would be hard for a psychologist to accept: "Housing is so poor it is actually lowering the intellectual level". Nearly half of those who named housing as a continuing problem went on to name tied houses as the offenders. Occasionally, however, high tribute was paid to the laird or large holder who had improved his tied cottages even beyond the specifications of housing legislation.

When the effort to extend electricity into rural Scotland is examined, the resulting impression corresponds to that gained by examining the conditions of housing. It is an impression of vast improvement achieved in the immediate past and planned for the immediate future. It is an impression of rapid change and unquestioned progress. However, as late as 1949, even in Central Scotland (which we would expect to be highly "rationalized"), "only one farm in three is supplied with electricity". Detailed statistics parish by parish are not often available, but in the case of one of the parishes in which we are interested, they indicate that in 1951, in an average-sized parish whose village center had a population of some four hundred people, three fourths of the houses had no electricity. Both churches in this village had electric service. But nearly

33 Daysh, Studies in Regional Planning, p. 73.
one third of the rural churches visited had no electrical supply. Five were planning to have it installed within a year, and three more "are hopeful". Most of those that did not have electricity in the church did have it in the manse or a hall; twice, the source was a private power plant. These general conditions create a problem which affects even the continuance of parish schools, and the willingness of teachers to work in rural parishes. We may assume, not too rashly, that there are also unfortunate consequences to the churches.

Water, and possibly even sanitation, seem to be more common in rural Scotland than is electricity and new housing. In the parish mentioned above, nearly all the houses had water and sanitation, though only one fourth had electricity. In one isolated parish, the schoolmistress told me: "There is almost no sanitation in the whole parish. Only this year did the schoolhouse get it. But most have water - even hot water." It would seem that the parish was unusual in which I heard: "We must have new housing. None of our houses have sanitation or electricity." It was unusual, but not unique. And one can sympathize with the plight of the occasional parish whose minister says: "We need better amenities desperately if we're to bring, or even keep, the people."

Roads in the rural parishes are sometimes splendid, commonly fair to good, but often poor. Sometimes the minister must travel literally miles of roads not even listed as "public", in miserable condition, and with frequent gates and bars to be opened and closed with each passing car, if he is to visit his congregation at all. The consequences for the minister's ear, if he is fortunate enough to have one, are disastrous.

Public transport, on the other hand, is commonly good. In four out of every twenty rural parishes studied, bus service is apparently excellent at all times, including Sundays. In an equal number of parishes, the service is good

35 The Scotsman, March 2, 1951, "Rural Schools Problem".
on all weekdays, and at least partially convenient (serving the church from at least one direction and at moderately useful hours) for Sunday's church program. In eleven out of every twenty parishes, the service on weekdays ranges from poor to good, commonly with buses for schoolchildren each day and shoppers' buses two days a week, but with no service on Sundays. In only one-twentieth of the parishes was public transport non-existent. To avoid distortion of the picture of public transport in the rural areas, however, it must be noted that the bus routes usually follow only one road through the parish, sometimes merely cutting across its "waist", and giving no service to the people on the parish's network of subordinate roads.

In one third of the parishes where no Sunday buses are available, and in a few others, I was told that nearly all the farmers had cars. For the rest, bicycles, motorbikes and walking are the only transport to church, despite rural distances. Where there is a village, there will still be people in church. But they will not be the farm folk. Least of all will they be the farm servants, whose weekday standby, the bicycle, suddenly loses its fascination at the prospect of unnecessary Sunday travel.

Communications in country districts no longer depend upon the "bush telegraph," although I found it still in good working order and much relied upon by the church. Various ministers told me: "They know more about life in the Manse than I do." "They see things that don't happen even." "They know my thoughts before I do." On at least two occasions, when I stopped to inquire where the minister lived, the news of my coming arrived before I did. A word to the postman or a vanman, a notice in the village shop or post office still communicate fairly effectively to a majority of the people nearly any news one wishes to have known. The effectiveness dwindles, however, just beyond the edge of the village; something else must reach the farm folk.
Something else is available, and it is something far more accurate. In a vast majority of instances, the local press, whether a daily or weekly journal, "will print anything we send them". A few will even send a reporter to cover any sort of special event. In infrequent cases, the newspapers will print news of the churches and other local activities, but not announcements. A few will print only the news of things previously advertised. It was a rare experience to hear of a journal which would take only special news, only advertisements, or no religious advertisements or news whatsoever. Usually, the attitude of the press is such that a church has a local channel of communication for almost anything it wishes to say, sometimes even the content of the Sunday morning sermon.

Where the local press fails, perhaps because of mediocrity as some ministers strongly feel, the radio has an excellent chance of success. Even in the case of religious broadcasts, which are not always the most popular ones, more than thirty-five laymen and ministers thought they had a wide audience to every one who thought their audience was negligible, and to every five who thought their audience was selective or limited. It is interesting that the layman, who are the primary audience the religious broadcasters seek to reach, were even more affirmative in their estimate than were the ministers.

One other amenity, facilities for recreation, must be mentioned. One tenth of the ministers interviewed feel that a total lack of recreational facilities presents a major parish problem. Another tenth feel that though some facilities are available, their parishes still face a pressing problem in the need for more wholesome and healthful recreation.

To this point, our summary has been a cold and unsympathetic critique of the amenities available in a rural community. Our warmth increases, however, when we compare rural with urban problems and when we state rural progress positively.
It is a fact, for example, that in three out of every four rural parishes visited, there is no longer an acute housing problem. It must also be stated in this record, that amenities are becoming available in rural Scotland on a rapidly expanding scale. As one instance of the progress, electricity is being newly supplied at the rate of more than six per cent of Scotland's farms per year. Communication, and even transport (probably the poorest of all rural amenities), usually make it possible for anyone so inclined to partake of the same kind of enjoyments in the country as he would in the town. In addition, one can have the freedom, the privacy, the richness of deeper but less cluttered personal contacts, and the natural beauty so valued by the Town Planners, who would put "green belts" round every town.

Despite remaining black spots in rural housing, sanitation, transport, electrification, and recreation, enormous strides are being taken. It would not be surprising if the ebb of the rural Lowland population, which now appears to be halted, should eventually become the flowing tide.

CHAPTER III: SOCIAL PATTERNS IN THE RURAL PARISH

It is often possible to discover with nearly absolute accuracy the number of people, the condition of houses, or the size of farms within any parish. It is possible to prove that more rural men and women in Scotland possess bicycles than do their urban counterparts, or that the rural woman uses fewer cosmetics than the average Scotswoman. But it is more difficult to paint with accuracy a picture of the things that matter more - of where the rural person goes on his bicycle, of what happens within his home, or of his habits day by day. Nevertheless, it is necessary to know something of the social structure within which the church must work.

The Rural Family

Most of the people with whom I talked indicated that home life within their parishes was good. Of course, there are blemishes in the picture. In a fifth of the parishes, family life in the average household was pronounced poor. "You'll hardly ever find the whole family together at the same time." "In twenty-eight years as minister here (in a parish of one thousand, five hundred people), I've never seen a family out walking together." In an almost completely agricultural village of three hundred and fifty, five broken homes were listed from memory. Several times, the person with whom I talked put his finger on a common source of trouble in these liberated times: "It's a pulling between the father and the mother. He wants the sons to go into farming, like himself. She wants them to get out and get a 'better' job, in which they won't have to work so hard. It makes him feel inferior, and the trouble begins." Instances like these were numerous enough to cause ministers to place "family troubles" fifth on their list of parish problems. Yet four out of every five

1 The Rural Market, pp. 103 ff.
assessed the average family life as "pleasant"; parents are "good to their children, sometimes too good." Most of them would agree with a recently published estimate that family life in Scotland is, on the whole, still strong. It is "not so strong as it used to be", nor "so strong as it should be"; but "It's not so bad as in the towns." Through the changes, the rural home usually remains a dependable institution.

The existence of religious activity within the home, however, is not so dependable. Ministers and laymen were agreed about that. In slightly more than 60% of our 108 case studies, it is thought that there is practically no religious life in any of the homes of the local parish, with the possible exception of a very few church families. In 25% of the parishes, religious practices of some sort at least could be found in a good number of church homes. In about 10%, there is "good family religious life". This estimate would obviously mean various things to various people, but it always appeared to mean some definite observance of religion within the homes of a predominant number of families. In the remaining 5%, no opinion was hazarded.

In their estimate of family religious life, the extent of agreement between laymen and ministers is remarkable. Where their opinions differed, the laymen were less optimistic than the ministers. I am rather inclined to put more trust in the layman's opinion in this instance; for it is the layman's home with which we are concerned, and he should know what goes on within it! But there was seldom any difference of opinion, and I believe this indicates that those who were interviewed could speak for their parishes with fair accuracy.

2 The Scotsman, Feb. 23, 1954, "Family Life is Still Strong."
There was agreement, too, that the most common form of religious observance in the home is the custom of grace at meat. Slightly less common is the practice of teaching and encouraging bedtime prayers for children, or at least for "the under-sevens". Far less common is the practice of family worship, the "cotter's Saturday night", or even Sunday family worship. Ministers thought some form of family worship would still be observed in a fair number of homes in about one parish in twelve; the layman's opinion diverged farthest from the minister's at this point, and indicated that the number ought to be changed to one parish in twenty-four where family worship could be found in more than a rarely exceptional home.

The Christian Brethren seem to maintain the most active form of family religion, while small and inconclusive samplings of the Nazarenes and of the Free Church of Scotland indicate that they too place strong emphasis on this phase of religious life. Religious observance within the home would appear to be next most common among Roman Catholics, with whom it usually takes the form of the family rosary. It should be noted that priests nearly always have a higher opinion of family religious practice among their people than do laymen. The proportionate incidence of healthy family religion is next highest among congregations of the Church of Scotland. Among the other denominations studied, there was no evidence that family religious practices were other than exceptional.

No geographic generalizations appear to be warranted, except that family religion appears to be very much alive in the county of Caithness. Elsewhere within the range of this study, it is found only in scattered and isolated sections of the Lowlands.

The predominant opinion is that all this has resulted from no recent development. "Family devotions have been gone for twenty or thirty years."
"It's dead. And so far, I can see nothing to replace it. There's no going back to the old pattern." "Candidly, I don't have anything of the sort in my own home; I don't know why either. I was brought up to it, always had it when I was a boy." (This was the admission of a number of laymen, including elders and session clerks.) "I was really astonished to discover that in this part of the country, you don't even find grace said in the homes of my fellow-ministers." "Only a small number of homes even have a Bible." "There's nothing anti-religious, nothing pro. They just don't give it a thought." "There's not much (religious life), and not much difference between Protestant and Roman Catholic in our school." "A few keeps the old ways." "You'd find something in the homes of maybe six out of the thirty-nine children in my class." Everything indicates that the present situation is one with fairly deep roots; it has not happened over night. It is far too widespread for that, even in the country areas where it was once supposed to be so common.

Nevertheless, there was some hope that the prospects were improving. Some thought they could see the way ahead. "The day of home influence is past, over. The church can try to re-establish it. But in the meantime, the work of the church, especially with the young, is purely a missionary work." "It'll have to be furthered by careful pastoral work." Cautious estimates of improvement were ventured in twelve parishes, always where special efforts had been made to introduce "The Holy Tryst", Bible readings, family rosary, "Family Prayers", or something of similar nature. Other ministers are also making an effort in some way to strengthen religious life in the homes of their congregations, although not all of them can see improvement. The effort is sometimes made through the Woman's Guild, sometimes through the Sunday School, most often through an emphasis in preaching, and occasionally through "family counselling" in visitation.
A few persons volunteered the opinion that religious broadcasts may be the "something" to bring religion back into the household. Though family life remains generally sound, that "something" is still needed. It is hard to forget the statement made by a rural doctor: "I've been here twenty years..... and I've never seen a Bible on a chest of drawers, even in the homes of the dying."

Manners and Morals

Of the ten things which ministers listed as the most pressing local problems, five are definitely problems of morality. The list, of which single items have been referred to previously, is as follows:

1. Depopulation and its effects.
2. Disregard for the Sabbath.
3. Betting and the pools.
4. Housing.
5. Family troubles.
7. Illegitimacy and sexual immorality.
8. Intemperance.
9. Unstable business and employment, or poor working conditions.

3, 6, 7, 8 and 10 are largely moral problems; 5 is at least partly so.

Though another study indicates that rural people play the pools slightly less than townspeople in Britain,3 there is no question that betting is common enough in the rural parish. One minister said wryly: "The pools coupon is a Sunday ritual; it goes with the Sabbath rest." A policeman reported: "I think it would be safe to say there isn't a home in _ _ without pools coupons." In one tiny agricultural parish with a population of less than five hundred, it was estimated that sixty pounds a week went for betting from parish households, including those of the elders. This figure may be discounted as an exaggeration; but it could be divided by five, and it would still be greater than the total Christian liberality of the parish. According

3 The Rural Market, p. 110.
to one layman, "The biggest curse here is the pools."

It is interesting to note, however, that most laymen (who were as ready to admit betting to be a general practice as were the ministers) did not seem to look upon it as a problem of the same magnitude. It was not nearly so much a moral issue in the layman's mind. Of the moral problems mentioned by laymen, betting was of least importance. The contrasting order of importance put upon such issues by lay persons and by ministers makes a curious problem in Christian ethics:

From the layman's point of view:
1. Intemperance.
2. Juvenile delinquency.
3. Illegitimacy and sexual immorality.

From the minister's point of view:
1. Betting.
2. Illegitimacy and sexual immorality.
3. Intemperance.

We can only guess at the reasons for the importance betting assumed in the minds of the ministers. Perhaps it is that betting, while not so blatant a sin as some of the others, is the most widespread. Perhaps, too, ministers today so feel the pressure of financial necessity in their churches that they are more sensitive to the extravagances of their people.

The second most important moral problem of the rural parish, according to ministers, is the problem of morally questionable recreations, barely mentioned by the laymen. The ministers' chief targets were the local Friday night "hops" or Saturday night country dances. There has been, in recent years, a most successful revival of interest in country dancing in rural Scotland. The revival has been partly spontaneous, and partly the work of agencies like the Social Services Council, which seeks to re-establish a waning sense of community. Operating through local "Parish Councils," this agency attempts to recover for rural communities some of the entertainments and recreations
which were once indigenous, and thus to liberate the country from its
growing dependence upon the town. It is no accident, for example, that rural
people do not go to the cinema in the same proportion as in the towns, for
they sometimes have an active program of drama, concerts and other activities
in their own parish hall and a fair proportion of them choose to patronize
homegrown recreation.

Unfortunately, the spontaneous elements of the revival have occasionally
fallen into the hands of irresponsible persons who have used them for commer-
cial purposes. And it is when someone like the local publican has become
their sponsor that they are often uncontrolled or "morally questionable",
giving rise, as the ministers point out, to drunkenness and sexual immorality.
Laymen, on the other hand, look more to the positive side of the picture as
a healthful and wholesome development, and often fix the blame upon the
church for having exercised so little control over the sponsorship and super-
vision of local entertainment.

Sexual immorality has been historically a ponderous rural problem. The
problem was not usually one of commercialized immorality, as in the towns,
but rather one of casual relationships and of children born out of wedlock.
There is the same problem still. It was specifically listed by either min-
isters or lay persons in one parish out of every four. The disorderly house
is occasionally present where "incomers" occupy the newer village housing,
but it is still a rarity. Incest and other unnatural practices are still
reported, but they are now extremely rare. In the landward areas of Scotland
today, however, of every ninety-eight unmarried women between the ages of
fifteen and forty-four, at least one each year bears a child. The rate in the
rest of Scotland is one to 118. The peculiar rural nature of the problem

5 Annual Report, 1952, the Registrar General for Scotland, Table 8.
has not radically changed.

But the figures tend to create a false impression. We dare not overlook the fact that there has been a steady improvement of the problem over the period of nearly a century during which comparable records have been kept. In 1902, the rate of illegitimate births in Scotland, outside of the principal towns, was one to every seventy-five unmarried women between the ages of fifteen and forty-five. And the number of illegitimate births per thousand of population in 1902 represented a reduction of precisely two-fifths from the number for 1856. Interestingly enough, the rise in the level of rural morality parallels the relaxation of ecclesiastical "discipline." It also parallels the spread of the "organized" assault on the use of leisure time, first through parish halls and local institutes, then through "community councils" and the like, of which we shall say more later.

Of importance in this connection, and possibly worthy of further research, is the fact that in the rural areas where the problem of illegitimacy is worst, engagement seems to be the custom for the daughters of persons of position, but not for the average young woman. There is, therefore, no definite period of preparation for marriage, and some persons interviewed suspected that this might be coupled with a loose morality and the "prevailing low regard in which young men hold the opposite sex." Here and there, a minister also noted the presence of the idea of trial marriage.

The testimony from our 108 sample parishes would indicate that the worst problems of sexual morality occur in the Southwest, in the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright and the county of Dumfries, and in the Northeast, in the county of Aberdeen. Perthshire also had a level of incidence higher than the average, but not so high as the three counties named.

While rural people smoke less than average British subjects, they tend to drink more. The rural person's drinking, however, is likely to be done within his own home, or outside the parish altogether, rather than in the local pub. In one parish, where a fair amount of drinking was admitted, I was proudly told that two pubs had recently gone out of business. This is a situation attributed at least in part to the rural man's innate shyness, and his resulting reluctance to drink where he can be seen.

Even this, however, does not always eliminate a drinking problem from the rural parish. In the exceptional parish where I was told that "the farmers drink to get drunk," the rural publican would still find it hard to achieve financial success but for the Sunday drinking law, which allows "bona fide" travellers to be served. Since the traveller must have journeyed more than three miles, the pub located in a village three miles or slightly farther from a town is likely to be a busy place on a Sunday. In one village, I was told that six special buses discharged full loads of passengers at the hotel every Sunday afternoon. The visitors are not all from the towns. The very reticence already mentioned drives the country pub drinker to a neighboring village. "They won't go to a pub where they're known, but men and women will come here."

As a consequence, in the one out of every five parishes where there is an alcohol problem of disturbing proportions, the problem nearly always is not a local one at all, but one involving incomers who suffer fewer social restraints, and are the more difficult to control. In the remaining 80% of the parishes, laymen and ministers are in close agreement that the problem is "not bad" (30%), or else that there is no problem at all (50%). "In six years, I have never seen a drunk in the parish, or one who had been drinking." "It's too expensive." "Cars give better outlets." When further comments were

7 The Rural Market, pp. 107, 109.
offered with respect to trends in drinking habits, the laymen occasional-
ly decried a tendency for young people, especially young women and girls,
to drink more; but usually the comments indicated that the problem of intem-
perance is not acute, and even less acute than it used to be. Moreover, there
appears to be no one section of the country where the "trouble spots" are any
more common than any other.

I was told by an employee of the County Council of one large agricultural
county that it is statistically provable that juvenile crime and delinquency
"are on the rise in rural communities." I'm sure the elderly lady who told
me sadly, "There's plenty of wildness in the bairns these days," would agree
with him. Nevertheless, in five out of every nine parishes, a direct question
about this condition produced no more than a complaint of "weak discipline at
home" or "too much pocket money." In a very large number of parishes, school-
masters, ministers and others dealing directly with youth commented upon their
"high degree of honesty," "no cribbing," and the like. In the minority of
rural parishes where there may be an occasional outbreak of malicious mis-
chief or petty thieving (33%) or in the still smaller number of those in
which the youth are involved in more serious difficulties (11%), the blame
for the trouble is almost always traceable; and it is usually traceable to
the teen-age youths of two or three families. It is not a rash which breaks
out on all the youth of the community at once!

Taking all in all, the laymen of 84% of the parishes expressed an almost
unqualified, or completely unqualified, opinion that their communities were
decent, moral and orderly places in which to live. And so they are. Though
some of the layman's optimism may be discounted as local pride or sometimes
as ignorance of local conditions, it is still true that there are virtually
no rural parishes in which all the social problems appear together, where
there has been a total moral breakdown, or where the community is quite
thoroughly lawless and criminal. In that sense, there are no sections of the rural landscape which parallel the trouble spots of the cities. On the whole the small community still manages to single out the offenders, and apply the social pressures and sanctions which keep its more blatant offenses under control.

Actually, the dilemma which is increasingly perplexing to the church is one of a different sort. There has been progress toward decency and respectability, for example, in the problems of intemperance, illegitimacy and (there is some reason to suspect) the general use of leisure time. The progress in this direction and the retreat from religion have been going on simultaneously. Rural people have at the same time become more refined and less religious. The thing in this which creates the dilemma for the church is that on the surface of it, religion has had very little to do with the progress, and it is extremely difficult for the church to explain, in simple and obvious ways which will not be lost on the average mind, just what she is trying to do. Unfortunately, there is a grain of plausibility in saying, "The church doesn't matter any more." And it is understandable that a layman can occasionally say about his neighbors who do not go to church, "They just don't feel the need of anything they don't already have."

Community Life in the Rural Parish.

Part and parcel of the "manners and morals" of the rural parish, and yet deserving of treatment by itself, is the interesting and complex question of "community feeling", of the patterns which make for community, and of the activities which either grow out of community or are designed to produce it.

In the average rural village, it does not take long to discover the importance, completely out of proportion to their size, of the black and white curb-side signs which read "Bus Stop!" In three-fourths of our rural
parishes, for example, it is estimated that most of the people's shopping is done outside the parish, in a larger town brought close by shoppers' buses or by the farmers' cars. Shopping vans, sometimes travelling long distances from the cities, satisfy many of the needs of the farm folk, especially of the farm servants' families — or even of the villagers, if the bus service is poor. Shopping is done in the local village in descending degrees by the wives of agricultural workers, small-holders and farmers, and the village shopkeeper finds himself relegated to a meager business, catering to the old, the poor, and the unanticipated wants of the more prosperous. The economy of the village, and at least occasionally its appearance, reflects these habits of the people. The bus stops make their mark.

In nine out of every twelve parishes, the people (particularly the youth and the "young marrieds") turn their backs upon the local village for most of their entertainment and recreation, using local facilities only when others are inconvenient. In two out of every twelve parishes, there is sufficient commercial entertainment that most of the people, even the youth, find their main diversions locally. And in the remaining parishes, though commercial entertainments are absent, there are sufficient clubs, facilities and entertainments of local manufacture to meet most recreational needs within parish bounds. But once more, we have seen the importance of the bus stop!

75% of our parishes have schools which do not go beyond the primary level. There are Junior Secondary Schools in 17%, and Senior Secondary Schools in 7%. This means in effect that in three-fourths of the rural parishes, all the children over the age of twelve attend school outside the parish. The bus stop is of importance for the children too.

8 Ibid. p. 93.
All this is important, even essential to the progress of rural people. It represents the breaking down of the walls which simultaneously protected and confined the country parish. It means the liberation of rural life. The villager can indulge a broader range of interests, and the farmer's existence can be deeply enriched. The schoolchild can have the benefits of more and better equipment, leaders and teachers with a variety of talents, and a diversified curriculum. All these are constructive factors in the country parish.

Unfortunately, there is often something lost in the thrust of progress. As the actual community to which the people belong has become larger than the parish which once defined it, the old "sense of community", the feeling of "belonging" have often been obscured and sometimes destroyed. Occasionally, it is not quite possible to lament the passing of a spirit of community which was an obstacle to progress! But more often, the result is a clear loss.

The country village and her people would usually like to have it both ways; they would not now give up the benefits of the enlarged community, but they would preserve the amenities of the intimate, close-knit life of the small social unit. Therefore the country parish has fought the tide which has threatened to wipe out its identity. The usual weapons it has used to stem the flood are the church, the parish hall, the bowling green, and the "Community Council."

Almost every Lowland rural parish has its hall. Variesly dubbed "the village hall," "the parish hall," "the Institute," or more ambitiously "the Community Center," it may be supplemented in the village by a church hall or "scout hall," or in hamlets and villages elsewhere in the parish by still other halls variously named. The chances are, it is the building which housed a defunct church, and it has gone through only a moderate amount of renovation
to suit it for its present use. The parish hall usually serves for the needs of the church; the church hall, when there is one, is seldom used for many non-church activities. About one parish in twenty has no hall at all; in such cases, the parish makes use of whatever facilities there are in the school.

The parish hall is maintained and its activities controlled to varying degrees by a "hall committee," a "village committee," a "parish council" or a "community council." The committee or council often works more or less in collaboration with the Social Services Council in Edinburgh, receiving advice and help as they are needed.

Quite apart from the church, with its varied organizations and program, there is an almost endless list of community activities. Even in parishes where there is no village center, there are sometimes so many organizational meetings and special events that the hall must be "spoken for" several weeks in advance. The most prevalent secular activity in the rural parish is the Women's Rural Institute, followed closely and in order by country dances, badminton clubs, sports clubs (usually football), the British Legion, political organizations, bowling clubs, the Young Farmers, social clubs, men's clubs, youth clubs, dramatic groups, and an infinite assortment of variously-sponsored socials, whist drives, and the like. Occasionally, the largest share of community activities is conducted for the youth of the parish. Often, however, the local program of events is conspicuous for the absence of activities involving teen-aged young people. Sometimes the reason for this is that an honest endeavor was once made to interest them, but all efforts failed because of inadequate local leadership or the competition of commercial entertainments. Occasionally, young people have had to be excluded from the program because of their behavior and consequent damage to
parish property. Frequently, "we leave it to the church." I have come to the conclusion that though this last reason is sometimes an evasion of duty, it is often a simple preference for young people to be kept under the church's wing, and it presents the church with both an opportunity and a challenge.

If there is commercial entertainment within the parish, it is most often limited to the twice-a-week film (shown in the village hall or, in the rare village which has one, the cinema), "bus outings", and occasionally racing. Of course the pub fills a gap, if not a need. But commercial recreations are not common in the country parish. Ordinarily it must be a local program, conceived and led by local people, that will keep alive the sense of community which the double-decked bus (and the centripetal force of the towns which it represents) has tended to destroy even while it has brought the blessings of the town to the countryman's door. It speaks well for the abilities of rural people that under such pressures, they have been able to achieve the revival of drama, art, music, crafts and dancing which have given new significance to Scottish rural life.

The church has a vital interest in this battle for community identity. Is it being won or lost? Ministers and laymen agree that in about three-fifths of the parishes, the battle goes "fairly well." In one fifth, community spirit continues unabated. But in the remaining parishes (not necessarily the smallest ones), sense of community is today judged very poor or non-existent. Even where community spirit is strong, there are grave doubts that it is present to any marked extent in the minds of the young people. In their work with youth, ministers are exposed to (and extremely sensitive to) the full force of the town's attraction. Two-fifths of them feel the pull of the town to which the young people go for their secondary schooling, and the competition of the bus it has become their habit to ride. Many are the entertainments at the young
people's command. As they come into wider contact with able leaders, the minister is no longer the parson. For the church, the competition is keen. On the other hand, ministers feel that they are at a distinct advantage if their parishes have secondary schools or if local activities are sufficient to meet the recreational needs of youth.

It is possible to single out certain factors which spell doom for genuine community life. Proximity to a strong center (a town of three thousand people or even fewer) is virtually certain to ordain the end of a separate community existence in the weaker village center of the country parish. The village within five miles of such a strong center has next to no chance of maintaining a community life which keeps people's interest centered there. One parish studied did manage to sustain a community life within a mile of a very strong center; two others did so at a distance of three miles. There were no others which did so at less than five miles, and I do not have the record of even one village with a population smaller than four hundred which was able to withstand the pull of the town even at the distance of ten miles. One Aberdeenshire village of 1,400 people felt a damaging pull from a city more than thirty miles away.

A now impossible and undesirable isolation was the historic preservative in which the parish once kept its unity of life. "The disappearance of our isolation is.... probably the greatest of all changes in village life since the beginning of our century, if not since the beginning of history.... The village folk were used to working together, playing together, worshipping together, and even squabbling together. An intense feeling of community pervaded them. They felt they 'belonged'. This feeling is.... one of the chief losses of the modern, and in many ways more enlightened, village of today."10 The parish, a unit which was once large enough to be a community with a complete 10 Ralph Whitlock, "The Changing Village," in Field, March 11, 1950, p. 355.
life of its own, has often become what the sociologist would call a neighborhood," while "modern technical developments have tended,. . . . to increase the size of the communities."11 "The village of 500 or 1,000 inhabitants can supply some sort of social and cultural life, but the small unit cannot. . . ."12 As a result, "during the last generation the village has lost its community spirit. . . ."13

In seeming contradiction to this, a very few rural parishes can be found which still fulfill the functions of community, regardless of the size of their village population, and even in a very few cases where there is no village at all. These are of two types: parishes which "enjoy" a continuing isolation, outside the ten-mile radius of attraction from the town; and the ones which, by dint of monumental leadership from a minister or other local person of stature, still contrive to rise above the role of neighborhood and assume with real ability the responsibilities of community. These conditions, however, are not normal, nor are they permanent. And the small village of four to six hundred or less is normally reduced in its position from center of a community to center of a neighborhood.

This in itself should not be interpreted to mean that all the change is evil. Community has not been lost. Instead, the people now belong to a larger and more satisfying community. Their country village remains no less a pleasant residence with a neighborhood life, a social give-and-take, and activities for the gregarious. There are the old advantages of country life. The traditional rural spirit which prompts the voluntary exchange of farm labor at harvest time, the mutual helpfulness when trouble comes still mark the

12 The Land, the People and the Churches, p. 71.
country village and the lands around it. The change is not evil. But it seems to be a simple fact that we claim too much if we expect the smaller rural parish to be a community complete. And we may well ponder whether we do not also claim too much, if we expect it to fulfill all the functions of a religious community of worship and Christian experience. Perhaps the church also must enlarge its community, or find itself in the unfortunate position of waging an impossible warfare.

Educational Level in the Rural Parish.

"You always have a percentage of people who are well-informed, well-travelled. Country congregations aren't all bumpkins!"

So answered one minister when I inquired about the educational level in the local parish and the availability of qualified persons for duties and offices in the church. And so answered 66% of the ministers. (Of these, 10% expressed the opinion that the level of intelligence, education and culture was exceptionally good, or that there was an unusually high proportion of well-trained persons in the parish.) 5% gave no opinion, and 29% thought that the level was lower than average. Curiously, of the parishes which are solely dependent on agriculture and local businesses, the number in which the educational level was considered lower than average was disproportionately small. Of the parishes where there is no agriculture or where agriculture is a minor quantity, the number whose educational and cultural level was deemed low was disproportionately large. This was especially the case where there were large numbers of colliers or mill-workers.

Where the educational level is considered low, the church feels it in the staffing of the Sunday School, in the recruitment of office-bearers, and in the work of preaching. Ministers often expressed the feeling that they had to keep their people's intelligence and education in mind when planning.
their sermons, in their selection of words, or when making allusions. The layman, however, was possibly talking about the same problem of communication (attributing it to a different cause) when he said: "He talks over their heads." "They don't understand the language the church uses; it isn't the language you hear anywhere else." "They just don't understand what it is the church is trying to put across." "The ministers and the church are out of touch with the people."

To put the ministers' estimate of the educational level into proper perspective in regard to the recruitment of local leadership, we must note the fact that it is only one of the many tormenting difficulties which confront the rural church. More usual was the response, "It's simply a matter of numbers." Laziness, religious illiteracy, fear of expense, moral character, or plain unwillingness to accept responsibility bear their share of the blame. Sometimes, it is simply that "the girls go away to find work." "It's not education, it's occupation. They're educated well enough. But shepherds can talk about nothing but sheep!" Or occasionally, "It's still a feudal system. There's no resentment, but they expect the 'big people' to lead."

In general, however, the minister who takes a country church today need not expect to find it filled with untutored rustics. Indeed, he need not expect to find it filled at all, for the rustic has become the peer of his urban brother in more of his ways than one!

**Tensions in the Rural Parish.**

Changes are often accompanied by tensions. Usually the tensions are temporary, rising as they do between those who accept the change and those who fight it, and falling again as the recalcitrant slowly acquiesce. In rural Scotland today, the church often lives in just such an uneasy climate of tension.
Traditional rural society was extremely well-ordered. Because it was small in scale, it was possible for it to achieve a division of labor, a system of social pressures and moral sanctions, and a scheme of "place" which were admirably thorough - if not always kind. Everyone had his position; and yet the closeness and intimacy of the social structure made it possible to achieve also a flexibility according to merit. When it worked properly, it was ideal.

With the introduction of material advantages like those described in Chapter II, the rural system of "place" quickly felt the impact. Legislation required vastly increased wages, and the status of the agricultural laborer rose with his wages and standard of living. The laird, who as the chief land-owner bore the weight of the laborer's improvement in housing and condition, was often forced to break up his estate and reduce his own standard of living. The system of place underwent a tremendous levelling.

The change in this case is almost complete. The old sure feeling of place still prevails in only about one-tenth of the rural parishes, and even there it has been much weakened over the years. Curiously, these few parishes are not confined to the most isolated, or to the self-dependent ones. Where the laird remains and his properties are intact, "place" may be a thing of the past. "The laird takes part in parish life, but he has little influence." "They call the laird by his first name. He may not like it, but he doesn't say anything!" Sometimes it has been the laird himself who worked hardest to eliminate the feeling of class. "He sends his children to the parish school. They're all growing up to speak 'Glen.....'" Often it has been the church which has sought to remove any unwholesome "respect of persons." Only occasionally was the church guilty of preserving a distinction which had died elsewhere. "We still have the 'better people,' to use
a hideous phrase!" And where it remains, the church would usually have it pass. "The working people of the parish have a discouraging idea of their 'place'. There is no incentive for them to get an education, or better employment."

In the nine out of every ten parishes where "class" by any traditional definition has disappeared except in the minds of a wistful few, it has been replaced as often as it remains by a new class of farmers, landed gentry or "new rich". This development seems to create little adverse feeling and resentment, however, and the sense of position is most evident in the minds of those who pretend to the higher place.

The passing of the rural sense of place is occasionally lamented; usually it is not. One layman told me: "The parish needs a head as the nation needs a king. Now there's no one to assume that leadership, unless it's the church." Though several ministers felt that the church and the parish suffered from the absence of the laird to "give a lead" many more protested their appreciation of the place a good laird could fill, but felt that the change was generally for the better. For the church, the change has sometimes contributed to the difficulty of a period of financial transition.

The vast majority of the ministers, however, feel that their churches are already on a sounder foundation for being churches of (as well as for) their people.

Sometimes, as class lines became weak and uncertain ("weaker here than in Edinburgh"), "the individualization that is associated with this process introduced a competitiveness which is incompatible with the firm community feeling of 'belonging together' characteristic..... of the rural culture."

The very clubs and activities which were designed to point the masonry of that firm community feeling have been known to become the battlegrounds for

---


the opposing factions of self-appointed leaders in about one-seventh of the parishes. On the whole, however, the passing of the rural sense of place has occurred with a minimum of tension.

The schemes of new houses, which are present in at least two-thirds of the parishes, have also become surprisingly well integrated into community life and patterns. There are the places where "the new houses tend to make their own tight little community." "We're divided: new houses, old community. They're just not assimilated." "The pre-fabs have drawn the old community together against them." These instances, however, are only a 15% minority. And when one begins to analyze the elements entering into this type of experience, it quickly becomes evident that new houses are not often the source of social conflict or stratification if they serve primarily to re-house old residents. The irritations begin when new people come into the parish to fill the new houses. And the "new" social problem of the new houses is revealed in a different light, as the old resistance to "incomers."

There are still the parishes where, despite the mighty flittings and shifting of rural people, the incomer remains an incomer for thirty years: "We've been here seventeen years, but we're still incomers. I offered to help, and nothing happened!" "I've gone among them, into their homes, day in and day out for twenty years as their doctor. They've never made me feel like one of them." But though the problem of integration of new persons is still alive, it is a dying problem, mortally wounded at the hands of a restless population. One minister in a parish of nearly five hundred told me: "I've been in just about every house, and I've found only one old lady who was born here. Everybody else is an incomer!" Those who resented incomers would find themselves in an uncomfortable minority in a parish like that.
Probably the most serious tension of the rural parish, and one which threatens to grow worse rather than better, is the tension between farming and non-farming elements. In an alarming 44% of the parishes, ministers and laymen indicated that it is difficult to get the support in church or community affairs of both farmers and villagers. The farm, with its new mechanised equipment, grows more and more dependent on the town for prompt service and supply of spares. The farmer's car makes it more and more his habit to by-pass the country village and find both his provisions and his recreations in the town, the center of the larger community to which he now belongs. The villager, who could under wise leadership serve to bridge the gap between farmer and farm-laborer, tends instead to form his own closed society. If the village houses sufficient facilities and enough people to satisfy his social requirements, he does not need the farmer. As one farmer put it, the villagers are "just not interested in the outlying places."

The potential conflict between farmer and farm servant, on the other hand, creates a rapidly diminishing problem, if only because the growing tendencies toward mechanization and toward family-sized rented or owner-operated farms have conspired to decrease the number of farm servants. Where there are only one or two such farm servants, the tendency is for them to be treated very much as members of the family. Tension does exist occasionally, however, as it does also between farmers' wives and cotters' wives. Sometimes, where tied housing tends to isolate the farm servant and his family, the gulf is deepened by the contrast between the social symbols of the farmer's car and the farm servants' bicycles. But it is seldom that much friction develops from this source.

The comparatively recent racial mixture in Scotland's rural Lowlands, which might have been expected to cause irritations, has not often done so. The problem has been confined to a few Italians (usually shopkeepers), some
Polish refugees who settled in Scotland during or after World War II, and Irish agricultural workers who came to Scotland in substantial numbers before World War I and during the period of low agricultural prosperity between the wars. I encountered many situations where racial irritation was potentially present. There was not one case of feeling, however, against the Italians. ("We were told there would be, but we haven't found it so.") In only one instance was anti-Polish feeling reported, and in only two was there any such feeling toward the Irish. In the latter case, I suspect that the feeling was more religious than racial. Amusingly, where there are numbers of retired English people, they themselves humorously report more difficulty in becoming integrated into community life than do the Polish refugees!

The tension between youth and age, always present in every society, has been accentuated by the rapidity with which the "rationalization" of rural life has taken place. Age resists the change; youth accepts it as inevitable. It is a tension which was mentioned only infrequently (in about 11% of the parishes), and I record it here only because it manifested itself more frequently in the churches than in the life of the rest of the community.

These notes are not made to cause alarm. I realize they are predominantly the signs of a society in flux. Some are problems which will evaporate before the heat of change is removed and the lines harden again. But if the church is to continue her mission to all the people, she must be ever alert to tensions which may become worse instead of better. As we have already noted, the cleavage between farm and village may well be widened. The friction between youth and age may increase, if the present tendency continues and the village becomes more and more a place to which the aged may retire. And the church will pay dearly if the lines harden before the gulf between new houses
and old is filled.

But in every one of these situations, the church can provide the catalyst to compound a unified and stable society out of the component elements of the rural parish today.
CHAPTER IV: THE CHURCH IN THE PARISH

Of the eighteen identifiable denominations or religious bodies at work in Lowland rural areas, many are today, and some have always been, splinter groups with only a nominal representation on the parish scene. As we have seen (page 8), half of the eighteen have fewer than five congregations each in the whole area of our study; five more have fewer than twenty-five each. In addition to these groups, the country village is often the home of other unaffiliated houses of worship, often identified by curious names. They are local phenomena, unlisted in any denominational year-book, and often dependent on both the personality and the resources of one ardent believer who acts as their leader. Like the tinier denominations and sects, their places of meeting are small, but large enough to accommodate the few who gather on the Lord's Day. The fact that they seldom number more than fifty in their whole fellowship, however, is not sufficient reason to dismiss them as unimportant. Their zeal is often in inverse proportion to their membership, and they sometimes do exceedingly worthwhile work, particularly with children and youth.

In slightly more than half of the parishes of the Lowlands, a limitless variety of combinations of these denominations and sects are at work side by side, if not arm-in-arm. The type of excessively competitive religious situation which is sometimes encountered in the small community in Canada or the United States is seldom found in the Scottish parish.1 One Aberdeenshire village with a population of 1,000, boasted a Church of Scotland, a United Free Church (Continuing), and four assemblies of the Christian Brethren. Another Northeastern village of the same size was the home of a Roman Catholic Church, an Episcopal Church, a Free Church of Scotland, and

two Church of Scotland congregations. But the village which has more than
three churches is to be found only about once in every eighteen parishes.

The average village, with its population of 500-600, has two churches.
It is a virtual certainty, moreover, that at least two congregations will
be found in the village whose population exceeds 750. On the other hand, a
population of less than 400 is nearly always insurance against a religiously
competitive situation. The insurance has often been paid for over the years
by a process of economic attrition, which has eliminated the weaker congrega-
tions or forced their merger with larger and stronger churches. More than one-
fourth of the Church of Scotland parishes I visited have been thus merged or
linked since the Union of 1929, as a result of policy dictated in part by
financial necessity and in part by the shortage of ministerial manpower.

The Rural Minister's Responsibility in Terms of Land and People.

The area for which the parish minister is responsible today is in many
cases identical to the area for which the parish priest was responsible prior
to the Reformation. But in the total area which composed Scotland's 940
parishes in 1560,² there were 2,325 full charges of the Church of Scotland
at the beginning of 1953.³ Every one of these had either a parish (quoad
omnia or quoad sacra) or a "delimited area" as its particular sphere of
responsibility. Thus all of them were, in a loose sense, churches with "par-
ishes."

A conscious effort to keep up with the changes of the times accounts for
some of the increase. A chapel of ease, if its development in membership and
financial strength warranted, was often "set off" as a quoad sacra parish.
Where a new village or town arose and sometimes dwarfed the old parish

² P. D. Thomson, Parish and Parish Church, p. 120.
³ The Church of Scotland Year Book, 1954 (Church of Scotland Publications,
"capital," a church was likely to be built, and a quoad sacra parish "dis¬
joined" from the "auld parish" area. Since 1918, another 106 churches have
been accounted for accordingly, by Church Extension efforts.¹

But the most widespread change in parish boundaries occurred after the
union of the United Free Church and the Church of Scotland in 1929. One of
the principles agreed upon at the time of union provided that each church
would have a definite territory delimited as its responsibility. Wherever
there was a former United Free Church which did not immediately unite with
the parish church, the old parish was carved into fragments to give an
equitable share of land and people to both existing churches. Sometimes vil¬
lages were cut in two, and the old idea of the parish as a unit of life often
suffered tragic, though perhaps unavoidable, injury. It was an injury which
has been only partly healed by the 65% local unions of congregations effected
between 1929 and 1953.⁵

In many instances, therefore, the Church of Scotland minister is supposed
to be pastor to a parish whose people have no more in common with each other
than they do with their neighbors in the next parish. The streams of trade,
social activity, education and culture cross the parish boundaries without
heed. The people who cross the unseen line six days a week tend not to
remember it on Sunday, and a substantial minority of any church's membership
may come from outside its parish borders. "The people in my parish go to
six other churches, though ours is the only church in the parish." This
condition is not confined to parishes which have been partitioned. In
a pre-Reformation parish in Roxburghshire, where there has never been but
one church, 38% of the church's members come from neighboring parishes.

It is understandable that a large number of Church of Scotland ministers,
when asked about the area of their parishes, informed me that they could no

¹ Ibid., pp. 65, 71.
⁵ Ibid., p. 55.
longer think in terms of historic boundaries. They usually acknowledged
their spiritual duty toward all who live within the strict confines of their
parishes, but they must now think and do their work in terms of the whole
area in which their people live. Frequently the parish they proceeded to
outline, the flexible blend of historic lines and realistic necessity, is
larger than the 

\textit{quoad omnia} or \textit{quoad sacra} parish with which they are of-

ficially charged; occasionally it is smaller.

The average size of the "working parish" so described to me by Church
of Scotland ministers is thirty-seven square miles. It may be only a single
mile square, or it may be as large as one hundred and eighty square miles.
It may contain as many as a hundred miles of all-weather roads.

Two other denominations have in recent times undertaken to assign or
reassign the whole land area of Scotland to one or another of their ministers
and priests as "parishes." One of these, the Episcopal Church in Scotland,
has more than 380 congregations, but only 216 incumbencies. As a result,
the area assigned to each minister is very large. When asked about the size
of the region they served, however, Episcopal ministers tended to ignore
their assigned area (which is generally too large to be cared for adequately)
and to confine their answer to the area within which their active members live.
The resulting Episcopal "working parish" consists of about forty square miles.

The Roman Catholic priest, whose church lists more than 500 places of
worship and 343 "parishes," is in a position to take the area assigned to
him a bit more seriously. The consequent territory for which he is responsi-
ble is large, but it is usually within the realm of physical possibility for
a man who is adequately equipped and whose membership, though scattered, is
small. The average size of this territory in the rural Lowlands is about 185
square miles.
The other denominations and religious groups at work in the rural areas do not undertake a territorial ministry. Like Episcopal and Roman Catholic churches, they minister only to their own membership. Their ministers do not think of themselves as responsible for all the people within an area, or as "parish ministers" according to the traditional ideal of the Church of Scotland. Usually, their membership is confined to the village in which their church is located, and seldom reaches out to include the farming population of the area. Nevertheless, the membership is occasionally widely scattered, and presents the same practical difficulties as confront the parish minister.

Where a territorial ministry is undertaken in rural Scotland, the churches can count on certain predictable problems. In more than two-thirds of the parishes visited, laymen agreed with their ministers that cars were required for parish work. For large numbers of rural people, distance is an all-important factor in church attendance. In some cases, additional manpower or equipment is needed not so much because of the size of the population to be served, but because the rural parish is so large that one man simply cannot cover it as a minister should.

Square miles are only the beginning of the rural minister's geographic problems. Two out of every five ministers (including more than one-third of Church of Scotland ministers) interviewed are required to conduct regular services in other churches or in institutions, usually from two to five miles distant, and occasionally as much as forty miles away. Still others are responsible for Sunday Schools in outlying districts. This is a problem which is likely to become more acute, rather than less so; in more than one-half of the churches, ministers and lay people are definitely anticipating (with mixed approval and dread) an imminent readjustment of their parish
arrangement, usually by linking, only occasionally by union or closure.

The problem is still further complicated by the developing patterns of rural "traffic." As communities are enlarged and the pull of the towns is more and more extended, villages which were once centers of trade for their parishes lose their attraction for the family with a car, or even for the person who rides the bus; it is just as easy to go on through or past the village, to the town. In one Aberdeenshire parish, I was told: "We'd be best worked out of Aberdeen; our people naturally go that way." In another, which is divided in half by a river, there is but one way to get from one end of the parish to the other - by using a secondary road out of the parish to a main arterial road, following this outside the edge of the parish, and finally turning onto another secondary road which leads back into the parish's "other half." The buses follow the main road every day, including Sunday. And when the people from the distant end of the parish walk out to the bus on Sunday morning, it is much easier for them simply to stay on the bus and go into the nearest town for church than it is to get off and walk from the main road to their own parish church. In that situation, the minister is supposed to be responsible for the whole parish population; but he can count on little support for his church from one half of the people, who continue on Sunday to follow the routes of their weekday "traffic." This may seem an extreme case; but nearly every country minister finds that there are just such improbable segments of his parish population.

The patterns of rural "traffic" mean that there are watersheds for population as truly as there are for rainfall. We have seen in Chapter II (see page 20) that it is sometimes possible to draw a rather fine line where the attraction of one large town gives way to the attraction of another. In a day when the commercial and recreational habits of rural people are becoming less and less localized, these population watersheds take on new importance.
for the church. Many of the ministers serving linked charges (some of them having been charged to bring the people gradually toward real union) discover that the people of the two churches are on opposite sides of the watershed, and the streams of their "traffic" drain in opposite directions into the pools of new, enlarged communities. There are absolutely no natural bonds, and the minister is waging a losing battle.

Anyone who knows the rural church at all knows well the old problem of the location of churches within the parish. It is an historic problem bound up with the rise and fall of villages, the one-time policy of building the church in the geographic center of the parish (regardless of accessibility or center of population), the merger and subdivision of parishes and the union of denominations. Since no two churches have the same history, it is impossible to generalize to any extent about their present location. It is only possible to report that in about one out of every four parishes studied, the church's history has contrived to make its present location an unfortunate problem of accessibility, transport and program. In one parish, people who live five miles from the parish church lives less than two miles from a church in a neighboring parish. Just such a trick of history has sometimes isolated the church and the manse to such a degree that the cost of supplying amenities is exorbitant. Sometimes it has set the people so far from the manse that the natural and invaluable day-to-day contacts between minister and people are nearly impossible. It has resulted in ludicrous situations like that in the parish of St. Mungo, in Dumfriesshire, where the manse, located at the site of the old church, is a full three miles from both the present church and the village.

A new and unfortunate trend of this same sort is apparent in a large number of parishes today. The villages are literally growing away from the
churches. The church is often located just at the fringe of the village, or
a little apart from it. With the manse and the glebe, the church thus controls
the land at one end of the village. The most likely site for new dwellings is
also at the edges of the built-up area; but the new houses have to be built
where land is available, and the available land is at the end of the village
opposite to the church. Occasionally, when the authorities consider the old
village site poor, the new schemes are erected at a new location some distance
from both village and church. It is difficult for the church to know how to
combat the trend. But there would appear to be merit in the experience of the
church at Inverkip, in Renfrewshire, where the session and presbytery saw fit
to give up part of the glebe for the erection of new houses. As a result,
Inverkip's church stands in beautiful situation, adjacent to both the new and
the old sections of the village.

The one factor which tends to compensate for these problems of area and
location is that of membership. The average Church of Scotland congregation
numbered, at the beginning of 1953, about 550 members. In contrast, the
average Church of Scotland rural congregation within our study numbered only
305. The smallest was a parish with 56 communicant members; the largest was
a linked parish in which there were 1002 members, 900 of them in one church.
In the Roman Catholic rural "parishes" which I visited, the total estimated
Roman Catholic population averaged only 156. Rural ministers of the Episcopal
Church whom I interviewed were responsible for only 151 communicants each.
Assemblies of the Christian Brethren in the rural Lowlands seem never to exceed
50 or 60; when this number is reached, they either cease to grow, or else
divide into other assemblies. As a result, their average membership as I ob-
served it was 35-40. In the other minor denominations involved in this study,
the ministers were responsible for some 105-110 members each.
In virtually all denominations, then, the rural congregation is smaller than the one in town or city. On the surface, this would seem to compensate for the extra miles required of the minister in his pastoral care of each scattered family. But beneath the surface, it is less than a compensation if we remember the difficulty of doing the work of a church when the hands and the resources are few.

**Population and Potential Church Strength.**

The matter of resources cannot be ignored, and it is advisable to inquire how large the population base must be for a church to be self-supporting. To find the answer, it may be necessary to set an arbitrary standard of self-support. The Church of Scotland Committee on the Maintenance of the Ministry considers a church self-supporting if it draws from the Maintenance of the Ministry Fund no more than its "tiends" and other endowments contribute to the Fund. The stipends of many of the churches considered self-supporting by this standard, however, are covered by tiends and endowments to the extent of 50-100%; three fourths of the Church of Scotland congregations of our study fall into this category. As a consequence, it is difficult to ascertain the actual ability of each congregation to support itself. While the standard given here serves the purposes of the Fund quite adequately, it is desirable to establish a more revealing standard for the purposes of this inquiry. It would hardly seem too demanding to set a standard for self-support by which the local congregation, from its living resources, bears the cost of its own annual expenses, including the contribution to stipend of at least 50% of the denominational minimum. This allows for a moderate amount of endowment, such as any church might possess. By this standard, we probably should eliminate from our consideration the six assemblies of the Christian Brethren, who are without exception self-supporting, but who have no ministers to support.
Of the 102 churches remaining, only 16 meet our arbitrary standard. And if the standard is raised to require the local contribution of as much as three hundred pounds to stipend, only eight churches of the 102 meet the standard. Of the 16, only six are in parishes where there are villages of less than 600, only three are in parishes where there are villages of less than 400 (despite the fact that nearly half of all our case studies are in such parishes), only one is in a parish where there is a village of less than 300, and none where there are villages of less than 200. From this, it seems hardly realistic to expect a church to carry its financial burdens alone unless its parish has a village center of 600, or at the very least 400, people. Beyond this point, churches must either be linked to make it possible for them to bear the burden of a minister's support, or else they must be looked upon as entitled to a minister's service because of the payment of tithes, or because of a straightforward missionary responsibility of the denomination.

Although I believe the sixteen self-supporting churches do offer us a key to the necessary population base for self-support, I also realize that 16 out of 102 is not by any means a fair estimate of those which are capable of supporting themselves. Many do not make a greater contribution toward stipend simply because they have endowment so nearly adequate that the effort is not required. Nevertheless, it is disturbing to note that of the 56 churches of this study which are endowed to the extent of more than 50% of the minimum stipend, 24 are still unable to assume the small additional amount required for self-support. All but four of these are in parishes where there is no village of more than 400. Four churches which have more than 50% of the minimum stipend covered by endowment and have additional support by virtue of linkage with neighboring churches are still unable to bear the remaining burden of the minister's stipend. Once more, we have strong support for placing
our minimum population base at a village population of 400. It is my observation that village population is what matters; parish population seems to have almost no relation to the church's economic condition, nor indeed to the vital matter of attendance, which will be discussed in greater detail later in this chapter and in Section II.

Though the matter of location of the churches was treated previously, a curious fact remains to be noted here. Of the churches which can be considered self-supporting by our standard, all but two are situated very near the center of their villages; the two stand at the village bounds. There are many churches which stand in beautiful locations apart from the villages; but not one bore even half of the financial responsibility of having a minister.

Curious, too, is the fact that the "competition" (or at least the friendly presence) of other churches in the village appears to have no adverse effect on the ability of the church to support itself. If there is any effect, it is beneficent. For all but one of the churches which met our standard of self-support were in "competing" situations! I do not mean to say that our divisions are a healthy thing; but if we are to object to them, we must have grounds other than economic.

The Church and Community Life.

There is not much question that for the present, the status of the church in the rural community has generally been much reduced. I emphasize that this is a condition which may prove temporary, for along with the signs for ill, there are also signs for good in the findings of this study. But at the moment, the church does not occupy the position it once did in the parish life. Some of the reasons for this are not hard to find, and most certainly not all of the blame devolves upon the church or its ministry.
For one thing, the community has tended to grow at the same time that the parish has tended to become smaller through territorial subdivision. (See pp. 24, 57-60, 69 f.) The church managed quite well to maintain a position close to the heart of community life as long as parish and community were roughly equivalent. But this became more and more difficult as the community expanded beyond parish limits and began to encompass so many activities and interests centered outside parish bounds. Simultaneously, this trend made it more and more impossible for the church, whose acknowledged sphere is the parish, to exercise a controlling influence over the nature of the total parish life, when it is no longer confined to the bounds of the parish.

Unfortunately for the church, when the village center and its old sense of "belonging together" were challenged by the expanding community, the vital response was nearly always quite secular. "Community" activities and sentiments were self-consciously stimulated, and popular energy was poured into an effort which was, in itself, a wholesome revival. The new self-consciousness of the country parish, however, was often quite forgetful of the church. Frequently, out of sincere conviction that the religious and the secular should not mix, the church quite ignored the development and exercised little or no control over the kind of activity which was produced. "The Church and the community are separate." Consequently there has arisen on the parish scene a new kind of indirect competition which has destroyed the old unique pre-eminence the church once enjoyed.

The changes which suddenly converged upon the rural parish, moreover, found a church which was not temperamentally or physically geared for change. Often, there were no resources to enable the church to avail itself of the new amenities, surely not sufficient resources to allow the church to move where the people moved! Another case in point is the rural communion roll,
which usually contains the names of a misleading proportion of persons who have long since removed elsewhere, but who have not "lifted their lines" from their old home church. A proportionate number of people can usually be found within the same parish, who have not been pressed by the informal, unhurried processes of the country kirk to become communicant members in the local parish, and who keep their "lines" back home. Now the traditional "flitting" of the farm servant (which may have been genetically sound, but which has always made a difficult task for the church!) is supplemented by the stirrings of the occupants of the "new houses," and the church is confronted by a more urgent evangelistic task, to keep in touch with the people while a large-scale migration is under way. Because in these and other ways, the church is not particularly geared to change, it often finds itself more a bystander than a participant on the swiftly shifting parish scene.

Sometimes the church finds itself in all innocence, on one side or the other of a parish division. (See pp. 81ff.) In the fairly common division between farm and village, for example, the church sometimes serves as a bridge between the two sections of the community; but in a larger number of parishes, the churches are the "kirks of the village," and the farm folk are becoming more and more divorced from religion. This I would hesitate to state if it were my own observation alone; but the ministers with whom I talked were frequently disturbed by the tendency for the church to "miss the mark" with the farming elements of their parishes. This is a tendency which occurs far more frequently than for the church to be the "farmers' kirk." One minister said bluntly, "The farmers are moving away from the church." Another reported, "The farmers as a whole don't attend church, I lose the hired servants on Sunday, and the small-holders just don't come!" Nearly half of churches reported extreme difficulty "getting the farm servants." One Roman Catholic priest freely
recognized the division, and proceeded to find the way around it by having one mass for the village and a second for the country.

Because the church is what it is, and because its local leadership is properly chosen from among those men who have by their lives proven themselves worthy of Christian responsibility, the church often unsuspectingly finds itself on the side of years whenever there is conflict between youth and age, or old and new. This is perhaps to be expected, with an ageing rural population. It is easy to acquire, if not to earn, a reputation for being (as one elder phrased it) "the kirk of the grey-haired women and bald-headed men." To many people, this is synonymous with being a church opposed to change. The legend sometimes becomes the fact; witness the one church in ten where I heard that "the church is run by the aged," the one church in three where there are "practically no young people in the congregation," and the beadle who thought that the significance of "elder" was "an elderly gentleman." (See p. 66.)

What we might by overstatement call the fratricidal tendencies of Christian churches are also a frequent factor in preventing the churches from assuming their rightful place at the heart and core of parish life. Nearly half of the laymen (virtually all of those who ventured to express an opinion) and a number of ministers feel that it is an ineffective witness which reveals to the non-church elements of the community the fact that "the kirks themselves canna get on with each other," where "the ministers hardly speak," or where "The church was united, but it'll never unite." Said one schoolmaster, "It's hard enough to explain to the children today why there was a Disruption in 1843; it's impossible to explain why two churches, both of them now Church of Scotland, can't work together in ......" The ecumenical movement would mean more to the person outside the circle of the church - or even to the person within it - if among the parishes served by two or more churches, there were not the one in six in
which there is an antagonistic spirit between churches of the major denominations or of the same denomination, and another one in every six where the feeling is no better than cold.

It was stated at the beginning of this subdivision that not all the signs were for ill. So far, I have noted none of the signs for good, but let the testimony which I have heard describing the black side of the picture stand as a substantial warning. Despite the fact that the tendencies I have here described are the experience of a disturbing minority of the parishes studied, they are nevertheless the experience of a minority! We cannot ignore them; neither should we magnify them. And we must set over against them the experience of the majority.

It is the experience of the majority of the churches that where there are new houses, their occupants are as willing to support and attend the church as are the older residents. One church has undertaken a Sunday evening "Open Door" in a development of prefabricated housing. In another parish, in which the new houses are some distance away from the church and the old village, the minister has secured the use of a hall and holds regular services for the people of the "new village" at least two other ministers plan the same approach, and several have begun work with Sunday Schools in similar situations.

The majority of the churches still do not feel any division between farm and village, or else they are consciously combatting it by keeping a balance of employments and backgrounds represented on the kirk session and in other offices, by the use of decentralized Sunday Schools, and by careful cultivation of the least responsive elements of their parish population. To avoid even the appearance of an ageing institution, many ministers consciously endeavor to induce worthy younger men to assume the responsibilities of office-bearers, adopt such methods as the children's sermon and children's church, or set more rigid requirements for those
who would be communicants of the church. The methods are legion; the most important thing is that the church must be alive to the dangers.

Two of the most hopeful signs have to do with the church's control over community activities and the interrelations of churches. On the one hand, about one-fourth of the churches are now making a conscious effort to exercise all possible control over the nature of the parish's new self-consciousness, either by the minister's direct action as trustee or member of "the committee," or indirectly through the office-bearers of the church. Laymen are particularly anxious that the church take more interest in the parish life, and have numberless suggestions about the ways it could be done (See pp. 49, 57.) Detailed mention of methods will be deferred until Section IV; but I would cite as a most interesting achievement of community leadership and influence the example of the church and minister of Glenrinnes in the foothills of the Northeast Highlands.

It can also be stated quite conclusively that there is an improving relationship between the churches. In two-thirds of the situations where churches were at work in the same village, the description of the relationship was about evenly divided between "friendliness" and "cooperation." Cooperation is most common between the Church of Scotland and the Episcopal Church, and least so when the Christian Brethren or the Roman Catholic Church existed with others in the parish. In more than one parish in every four, the feeling today is "better than it used to be." Of the numerous unions and linkings which have occurred in recent years, the ministers and lay people can agree that the union is now harmonious in nearly three cases out of every four. This is the more remarkable when remembered against the background of heat and ferment which sometimes accompany the union of two congregations! And it is contributing to a less contradictory witness in the contemporary rural parish.
Nevertheless, the stature of the church in the community appears to have suffered during the period of transition. In nearly three parishes out of every five, the laymen feel that the church (which was once the only parish institution) has managed to continue to be the most important single thing in the community. I believe that the laymen of the other two-fifths of the parishes were being as honest when they confessed that for the majority of the people, the hall, the clubs, the bowling green, the school, the bus, the W. R. I., the Farmers' Union—or even the dirt track or the ice cream shop—had become more important than the church, which exists in their mind to "hatch, match and dispatch." There is surely sanity and wisdom in further linkings and unions carefully consummated; but it is jolting to learn that in 55% of the parishes of this study, the stature of the church as an independent institution is so reduced that further linking, union or closure is either advocated or expected at the end of the present ministry. To account for this fact, we are practically forced to admit that the church has often lost its pre-eminence on the parish scene and in the parish mind. It is a situation which the church must acknowledge, with a firm resolve to improve the future.

The Church and the School.

Over the years, Scotland has worked out a relationship between church and school which is potentially very near the ideal for Scotland's ecclesiastical situation. The guiding principles of the relationship are contained in a Memorandum of the Scottish Joint Committee on Religious Education, issued in 1941. While it grants full recognition to freedom of conscience, it does not back away from the responsibility of providing thorough religious instruction. It furnishes the curriculum material for use in the classroom. Bibles and hymnaries are provided by the Education Authority. There is a proper distinction between religious education and the accumulation of factual knowledge, and it is specified that the
religious curriculum shall not be examinable. It is fully recognized that religion is not simply a subject to be taught and learned, and so religion is elevated from the total curriculum as a factor of over-riding importance in life by the prescription of additional brief morning worship (or a weekly worship service) and services in a church at Christmas, Easter and closing days. The relationship is cemented by provision that ministers may be appointed School Chaplains.

The system allows flexibility. The chaplain's duties are to be agreed upon in consultation with the schoolmaster, in consideration of local conditions. Children may be dismissed from religious instruction if their parents so desire. The program is to be reviewed locally each year by the Chaplain (and possibly a Local Joint Committee on Religious Education) in conference with the Education Committee. It is left to the schoolmaster and the teachers to provide time in the school day for religious instruction.

The flexible relationship between church and school allows freedom. Freedom involves risk, because it relies upon the good conscience of the many who are responsible for its practice. In rural Scotland today, how conscientiously are the principles of this relationship followed, and how well are its provisions carried out?

By and large, what I heard and observed indicates it is working out well. Nowhere did the minister report that the school ignored its responsibility. In only about one parish in seven was there complaint that more than the exceptional teacher failed to take the responsibility seriously enough. "The period for it is often devoted to other things; the teachers just don't feel it's their cheese." "It's the first thing in the school timetable to suffer." But in the vast majority of parishes where the ministers ventured an evaluation of what is done religiously in the school, it was their opinion that the teaching is done conscientiously at

---

the Primary level. In about 25% of the parishes, there was some question voiced about the effectiveness of what is taught. "They don't know the subject matter, but they know how to teach." "It's religious knowledge rather than religion." Obviously, the effectiveness varied. "It depends on the teacher." But the consensus of opinion indicates that in the average school, the religious curriculum is both taken seriously and taught effectively. "It's ahead of what they get in Sunday School," one minister confessed.

It should be stated that the ministers also feel that teachers tend to take religious instruction less seriously at the Junior Secondary level, and still less so in Senior Secondary Schools. In order to counteract this tendency, a few ministers have offered (and the offer has been readily accepted) to teach the classes of older children, going to the school once each week to do so.

If there is a criticism to be made concerning the working of the system, it is that the ministers tend to take their share of responsibility less seriously than do the teachers and schoolmasters! Five Church of Scotland ministers, all of them the only local ministers in a position to act as School Chaplains, professed not to know whether the teachers either conducted worship or taught classes in "religion." "I don't take much interest." "I don't inquire (about religious teaching at school) because I don't want to get rung in on it." Others who were officially School Chaplains had similar attitudes. "The chaplaincy can be used as a lever to get the minister to do things for the school." "I stay away; they know more about it than I do."

Fortunately, however, the majority of Church of Scotland ministers had worked out their respective duties in consultation with the schoolmaster, or at the schoolmaster's invitation, and took them more or less seriously. Personal unpleasantness, always possible in a flexible relationship, had caused the schoolmaster to stop the practice of appointing a chaplain in six parishes; in several others, no
chaplains had been appointed because of present or recent vacancies, or because the schoolmaster preferred not to offend one local minister by appointing another. But about three-fourths of the ministers of the Church of Scotland who were in a position to be chaplains acted in that capacity.

The chaplain's duties were variously interpreted. One man felt he had discharged his responsibility by making two visits a year to the school. Most made several visits each year, or conducted from three to eight special services (at Christmas, Easter and the opening or closing of terms) in the church or, occasionally, in the school. A few waited for invitations from the schoolmaster; usually the chaplains and schoolmasters worked out times for visits by consultation. A large minority (about one-sixth) made systematic visits to the school each week, each fortnight, or each month, and either regularly taught a class of older children or else taught alternate classes at the time of each visit. A heartening 12% of Church of Scotland ministers made such visits every week.

It was in this vital relationship between church and school that I found the most active form of ecumenicity in the rural parish. In 71% of the parishes where I interviewed the resident ministers of minority churches, they reported that they had access to the school either by understanding or by invitation. "I take part in closing services when asked - and I am asked." "The ministers of the Baptist Church and Parish Church and I take turns in going to the school once a month." "I can always go in, though I can't teach. They even allow me to bring religious films to the school." "The children here go to our Catholic school; but I take a class regularly at ...." One Church of Scotland minister told me, "The Free Church minister and I are joint chaplains; we turn about, visit each school once a month."

The testimony of both ministers and lay people would indicate that to find any more consistently satisfactory treatment of religion by the school, it would be necessary "to go back at least forty to fifty years." It is no more than we
might expect that each local situation improves or deteriorates with changes of ministers, schoolmasters and teachers; but it is interesting to note that improvement or deterioration were mentioned with about the same frequency.

The relationship of church and school seems to be a stable one.

Though there were the few ministers who could not be bothered with the program, most said that they considered it very important. At least three were each chaplains of four schools or more. One was a member of the local Education Committee. A local pastor commented: "The most important thing to be done right now is the approach to the community through the village school." I was happy to hear another minister say, "It cuts both ways: the school cooperates with me, so I cooperate with them."

It is a most unfortunate thing, therefore, that the work done by the cooperating church and school is one of the least known and understood of all religious undertakings in the rural parish. It was seldom that the layman with whom I talked - even though he may have been an elder of the kirk and unless he was the schoolmaster himself - gave real credit either to the schoolmaster or to the minister for the part they took in the mutual endeavor. Fully one-third of the laymen in parishes where the ministers were actively engaged in the program knew nothing about this part of their pastoral work. Perhaps a bit of the comparative pessimism of their answers can be accounted for by the fact that they knew more about what went on in the school than the ministers did; even schoolmasters sometimes admitted to more laxity in religious instruction than their ministers attributed to them! "We do it as best we can, but religion suffers first in the school day." "In country schools especially, we're so crowded for time." But most of the pessimism was apparently caused by lack of information, the ancient source of the underestimation of the minister's work which leads some to say, "He has nothing to do from Sunday morning to Sunday morning!" It 7 Ibid., p. 23.
would be well if more people could know of the Aberdeenshire parish where "The minister visits the school once a month. We teach religion daily. We use the wireless religious broadcast for schools. We use the prayer cards to tie in. And we sing 'The Lord Bless Us and Keep Us' as a benediction to the wireless service. They love hymns. I teach them all." Of the work of this Glenbuchat schoolmistress, her minister could say, "Yes, she teaches it, and it's taught well!"

The Church, the Land and the Economy.

The fortunes of church and community are inseparable. When the economic level is low, when the management of the land is poor, or when the people leave the countryside, the church cannot but feel the effects of the trends. Whether the church wishes to be involved in sociology and economics or not, it cannot escape involvement. And it behooves us to inquire how the changes in the rural economy and the extensive changes in land ownership patterns are affecting the church.

I discovered a small amount of feeling that "Prosperity is bad for religion"; but this was not typical. One minister said, "With their wage rises, they are finding their satisfactions in another, a materialistic sphere. Before, they found them in the Christian fellowship." A few others, and a very few lay people, echoed the same opinion. But there was no general tendency to attribute the current malaise of the church to the rise in the economic level. As a matter of fact, there was a greater tendency to lay the blame at the door of the liberation of rural life, and the increasing accessibility of the towns. Curiously, when attendance per centages of churches in the same denomination are compared, they support the opinion. There was only one type of rural parish which varied more than one or two points from the average: the parish which had become a residence for town employment fell approximately one-third off the norm. No one
with whom I talked, however, expressed any wish to reverse the liberation of the country parish, even though (as one minister put it) "the internal combustion engine has taken its toll!"

Earlier, we remarked upon the widespread feeling that "The farmers are moving away from the church." (See pp. 65, 80.) We might expect that ministers would be just as unhappy about a second trend which has occurred simultaneously and which could therefore be assumed to be the cause of the farmers' abandonment of the church, namely, the increase in owner-operation of family-sized farms. (See pp. 33ff.) Ministers and the lay people, however, are not unhappy to see this second trend; and if we can trust the gauge of attendance per centages, they are right. For attendance at churches in farming parishes is highest where the farms are owner-occupied, lowest where there is a predominance of tenant farmers or grieves. Farmers as a whole may not support the church as they used to, but they are more likely to remain churchmen if they own the land they work. "Grieve operation is especially bad for the church." "It's hard to get tenants; tenants who become owners are much more willing to bring their lines here." "It's easier to get the support of farm-owners." There is a rewarding wisdom in the advocacy of self-ownership contained in the papal encyclical, "Rerum Novarum," and many another Christian statement like it.  

In Scotland, the church itself has a long-standing interest in the land, through the payment of "tiends" by a growing list of "heritors." In other countries where the church has ties with the land, there sometimes arises a resentment against the church as a land-owner, or against its alliances with those who own the land. There seems to be no such resentment in Scotland's Lowlands. This may be due to the fact that the payment of perpetual "feu duties," similar to tiends in their present form, is a common and accepted practice. It is also undoubtedly due to the wise and faithful adherence of the Church of Scotland to its

accepted role as Scotland's Church, the kirk of all her people, the parish's kirk. There is no quantity of feeling, to my knowledge, that the church is "too closely tied up with the laird," and only occasionally is there any sentiment expressed that the minister chooses his friends for their value to his position! If there is the opinion in the rural Lowlands today that any church is the church of the "landed gentry," it is not the Church of Scotland, but rather the Episcopal Church, whose ministers frankly find the role most distasteful and would gladly change it for a more democratic one.

In this summary of "The Church in the Parish," I have attempted to confine the matter to the church as it partakes of the community life and community patterns already described. The church as it works with individuals, or as it carries out its peculiar spiritual mission will be treated in detail in Section IV. Of the church and the whole parish, one remaining note must be made: there is a widespread feeling among laymen that "The church must take a greater interest in parish life, if it expects the parish to take more interest in the church." It is a feeling shared by some ministers, who feel, as one of them expressed it, that "The church and every church organization and every church activity must undergo an opening of the ranks."
SECTION II

THE HUMAN FACTORS

Chapter V: The Rural Person

Chapter VI: The Rural Minister
CHAPTER V: THE RURAL PERSON

The "average" countryman probably does not exist. Habits and upbringing, attitudes and beliefs differ from person to person and from community to community. It is hardly likely that there is on any subject an "average" opinion. But it is sometimes valuable to know what most of the people think, or even to know how large the disagreeing minority is. If, on any question relating to the church, there is homogeneity of thought among farmers and schoolmasters, blacksmiths and shopkeepers, miners and planners, and the wives of laird and ploughman, then the church should know about it!

For just such thought, our study searched. I have been as careful as I could be to assure the validity of the information I have used. Not only have I interviewed people from all walks of life, but I have also been careful to talk with people in a variety of relationships with the church: the session clerk and the man who "has no time for the minister;" the man who sends his collection "when they come for it" and the faithful occupant of the pew; the member, the non-member and occasionally the man who belongs to another church. I have not dreamed of getting an unbiased view from anyone, but I have hoped that one bias would at least help to counter-balance another! If the public opinion I have gathered does not prove to be perfectly representative, the reason may be that only fourteen per cent of the lay persons with whom I talked were not supporters of the churches; this per centage was kept low intentionally, to avoid a preponderance of ill-informed, ill-considered and prejudiced opinion. It later appeared that this precaution was unnecessary, however, when a comparison of answers indicated that the non-member was slightly less critical of the church and of the minister than was the office-bearer!

As many checks as possible were made upon the validity of my findings.
It was possible, for example, to tell very quickly how much the person with whom I talked actually knew about the church, by mixing in a standard set of questions which could then be compared with up-to-date, known and published information.

That the persons interviewed gave me answers which they considered carefully and deemed to be fair was obvious from the unstinting length of time they nearly always gave up for our interviews, and from my notes indicating the frequency with which they restated earlier answers which they felt were too hastily given or too flippantly worded. It is almost superfluous to repeat that an assurance of anonymity was given in each interview to encourage frank and honest answers. Should there be any further question concerning the honesty of the opinions I report, it would be well to point out how far (perhaps too far!) the lay persons interviewed bent over backward to present an unbiased, fair and careful answer: in communities where more than one church existed, slightly more than half the people expressed the opinion that a church other than their own was doing the best all-round Christian work. Where published volumes of the new *Statistical Accounts* permitted, the total findings for each parish were compared with that recent analysis.

From these and other means of checking and cross-checking my sources, I am virtually certain that the "rural mind" which I here describe reflects the honest, considered judgment of the majority of rural people in the areas I surveyed.

A Brief Psychology of the Rural Person:

To read the writings of Robert Burns, or the eighteenth and nineteenth century *Statistical Accounts*, or the memoirs of Bishop Burnett or of a
"Highland Lady," and then to travel through the villages of Scotland today and talk with thinking rural people as they analyze themselves and their society, is to acquire a vivid impression of the extent to which the mind as well as the habitat of the rural person has been urbanized. "Urbanization" does not perfectly describe what has happened to rural life and to the rural mentality, but I know of no other word which describes it as well. I shall try to amplify what I mean.

**Materialism:** Urbanization has tended to make rural society more materialistic. The mechanization of farm work, the removal of man one step farther from both soil and beast has done a great deal to lighten the load of the agricultural laborer. It has also taken him one step farther from the elemental stuff of life, farther from the constant reminder of God's creative power. His vastly improved wages have opened up the possibility of possessing more of life's comforts than his ancestors ever dreamed of having. The rural person now possesses the means to avail himself of what is best and of what is banal in the life of the towns, while his better wages have improved his lot, they have also tended to make him more materialistic. He is less a creature of God, more a creature of man. He has acquired a veneer of urban sophistication, a materialistic gloss alien to the deep rural spirituality of men close to their Creator. And it is impossible to believe that this traditional rustic spirituality was never more than a figment of the imagination of poets and romanticists! Robert Burns was nothing if not a realist.

**Impersonalization:** Another characteristic of the urbanized rural mentality is its impersonal quality. For the farm laborer today, his employment is less a way of life, more a job. He leaves it on Saturday at noon, and forgets it until Monday morning. He is less dependent both physically and
socially on the unit of the farm or estate, because of his housing off-the-farm, his shorter hours and his higher pay. He is more free. His employment is comparatively detached and impersonal. He does not live with his work; he goes to it. His social relationships are more and more in the town, where he depends upon people with whom he has little or no personal contact. "Local government, education, the marketing of farm produce, the purchase of and repair of agricultural machinery - all these are centered in the town. Decisions affecting daily life are made miles away, in county town, or even in Whitehall. The country man's dependence for all the necessities of life on people whom he knew personally and with whom he lived a common life is drastically curtailed; increasingly he deals with officials whom he scarcely knows...." Urban impersonality has come to rural life, along with unions, machines and the omnipotent bus.

These trends toward materialism and impersonality have been abetted by simultaneous changes in the components of rural population. As we have already seen, the percentage of the population in the rural community which actually represents the farm has steadily dropped. More and more the villager has no concern with agriculture; his employment is frequently in the town - and this increases the impersonality of his life contacts. The village is simply a congenial place to live, or perhaps a place to retire when his working days are past. In short, the middle class has come to the country - though it was essentially an urban phenomenon. With it has come the middle class mind and its materialistic preoccupation with property and possession.

Democracy: The middle class mind has other, more attractive characteristics, however. One of them is its essential democracy. For every person

1 The Land, the People and the Churches, p. 19.
who feels that the problem of class is worsening in rural Scotland, there are four who feel that it is substantially improved. In parish after parish, the minister need no longer turn to the traditional "heritors" alone to find his office-bearers. Indeed, in many parishes, the pendulum has swung so far that the farm-owning population has no representation among the officers of the church. The ingredients of potential leadership are frequently well-developed among an increasing proportion of the parish population.

One of the things most often mentioned when lay people were asked for their suggestions for the improvement of rural church work was the hope that more men could be given a greater variety of responsibilities in the church. Ministers too are aware of the potentialities of this new situation, and nearly half the ministers interviewed felt a need for working more men into the church's leadership. They hesitate, not because they doubt the capabilities of their men, but because more often they question their spiritual fitness.

Meanwhile, the new reservoir of leadership produced by improved education and by a levelled society (see p. 60) is being drained off into the secular revival of community organizations and activities, both cultural and otherwise. More men are able, and improved working conditions have given more men the leisure to assume responsibility within their community. Women too enjoy a new freedom; another study indicates, for example, that fifty per cent more farm women take part in social organizations in Scotland than elsewhere in Great Britain. A new liberty of action and belief has thus come to the rural community as it has been subjected to the democratizing influences of urban change.

3 The Rural Market, Table 72, p. 88.
4 Kolb and Brunner, A Study of Rural Society, p. 11.
The urbanization of rural life goes deeper than we may wish to think. Just how deep is shown by an examination confined to the sixty-three percent of our parishes which are almost completely dependent upon agriculture, the parishes which are, superficially at least, "purely rural."

In only one-fifth of these parishes did ministers report that church attendance was affected by a rural event of such overwhelming importance as the harvest - and this in a day when the prohibition against Sabbath labor means less and less. If the testimony of our case studies can be trusted, the farmer's busy Summer working schedule has less influence upon the activity of the church than does the Sunday bus tour. More "purely rural" churches are affected in their program by such urban importations as holiday time than by such traditionally rural activities as lambing, berry-picking or potato-lifting. Some of this evidence can be discounted by the fact that according to candid admission (and occasionally by ministerial preference), at least one-tenth of the churches in the "purely rural" communities have none of the actual farm population in their worshipping congregations. But the remaining evidence is a blunt indication of the extent to which rural Scotland had been subjected through schools, unions, press, wireless and law to the urbanizing influence of the towns.

In one of my interviews I was told: "You can level country people, you can mechanize them, educate them, liberate them, elevate them, urbanize them, modernize them. But they'll still be just as conservative as ever!" To some extent this is undoubtedly true - and especially so if our judgments are comparative.

An example of persistent rural conservatism can be found in the fact that, while the lines between rural and urban have been battered down, the rural community still keeps the walls of its internal divisions high. It
may be true, as one contemporary writer puts it, that "the distinction of insider and outsider is not so clearly drawn in the country";\(^5\) aside from the sort of exception previously noted, the incomer is usually quickly accepted as a part of the community. But he seldom outlives the distinguishing badge of "incomer," and he quickly falls into a niche in the community from which it is exceedingly hard to extricate himself.

The village is much more aware than the town of those who go to the Church of Scotland, or the Free Church or the Roman Catholic Church; the division is more real, and frequently involves a social delineation. The church-goer is distinctly known as a church-goer, and the non-attendant is clearly known to stay away. Because the rural human relationship is intimate, the lines are drawn distinctly - sometimes painfully.

If we give credence to the testimony of our witnesses, the rural community itself is not thus seen to be a closed corporation; but within it, the church and the non-church, the farm and the non-farm, the incomer and the old-timer tend to become closed corporations, conservatively conscious of divisions which are nearly impossible to change. As one man said of his own church: "It's an exclusive club, and the lines are sharply drawn. The people who are in are in, and the people who are out are out." We cannot therefore disagree when we read: "One criticism of the churches is that they tend to run activities for their own members, and to ignore the needs of the village as a whole."\(^6\) A rural conservatism still exists which makes evangelism an extraordinarily difficult job, and which circumscribes the potential membership of the religious community.

Remaining alongside the ancient rural conservatism are other traditionally rural characteristics which strike the particular attention of ministers

---

\(^5\) Pamphlet #4, Tell Scotland series. (The Church of Scotland, Edinburgh, 1953).
\(^6\) The Land, the People and the Churches, p. 51.
who have held both rural and urban churches. One is genuineness. "They do feel their religion deeply." The other is shyness. "They express themselves and break social patterns with difficulty. They are willing to follow, but they need leads." Yet even these characteristics of the rural mind are undergoing change. They too are becoming "urbanized!" There is a mass of evidence available from our interviews which indicates that the attitude of the rural person toward "innovations" is significantly changing. Only five per cent of the lay people questioned had anything but praise for religious broadcasts on the wireless or television. Eighty-two per cent expressed the opinion that religious broadcasts received a wide hearing, far wider than that of the pulpit. (The few persons still unaccounted for estimated that there was a large audience for such broadcasts, but that the audience was predominantly composed of the aged and the sick.) In rural Scotland, religious broadcasting, even religious television, is no longer an innovation. It was revealing to me in one of my interviews to hear the comments of two generations concerning the televising of a communion service of the Church of Scotland. A middle-aged woman recalled the press reports of indignant presbytery actions, and professed to agree with their disapproval. But her octogenarian father, whose bad health had long confined him to his home, was eager in his approval of the broadcast. There is little question that he was anything but rural, for he had lived in the same community all his life! Yet he, like many others, had abandoned the conservative rural suspicion of at least some "innovations."

Far from disapproving the use of religious films by the church, three out of every four lay persons feel that the churches make all too little use of them, and would like to see them used both in halls and churches for Sunday evening services, as evangelistic tools, for women's organizations
or even as recreational devices for youth. All but five laymen (two Church of Scotland, two Christian Brethren, one Nazarene) expressed approval of the inclusion of occasions for fellowship in the church program, and most of these would go farther, to approve of a church-sponsored recreational program at least for the youth of the parish.

In the traditionally sensitive area of the order of worship, one out of every four laymen interviewed held to the opinion that the old forms of worship were no longer satisfying for the average person. An additional one out of every four felt the need for sharply increased variety, radically improved music, or similar means to break “the monotony and dullness” of the traditional service. “We don’t like innovations (sic) but we don’t like it dreigh.” Another one in every four, while personally disapproving of any changes, frankly commented that he supposed the form of worship did keep some people away, or that the young people especially would like some more variety.

When I heard the torrent of suggestions which my question elicited, suggestions which usually included a greater degree of congregational participation, I could only conclude that the ministers with whom I talked were over-estimating the conservatism of their people, and under-estimating their readiness to accept change — even in worship. When one out of every eight laymen suggested that what the church needed most was a modern program of evangelism, the conclusion was verified!

As we have noted, rural conservatism is not gone. The rural man is still shy of public responsibility, and he usually finds “dressing up” distasteful. There are still the few who object violently when the minister buys small chairs for the Primary Sunday School class at the Manse, or brass vases for the sanctuary! (“We always met together in the church — and we
had a glass vase." There are still the congregations who refuse to repeat the Lord's Prayer. But the average rural person is no longer the conservative creature he once was. As often as not, he likes change and variety in his religious practices, and the attitudes on the periphery of his religious faith are less conservative still. I do not attempt to render judgment, or to say whether I believe this trend to be good or bad. I report the fact of the change, so that account of it may be taken.

The Religious Condition of the Rural Person:

Inquiry into the place religion holds in the mind and life of the rural person reveals a mottled picture. Unlike the healthiest city parish, an occasional rural parish may have as many as ninety-seven per cent of the adult parish population on the rolls of the parish church. Several ministers told me, "Practically every adult in this parish has a church connection." And again unlike the average city parish, it is often possible for the rural parish minister to list from memory the people who "aren't Church of Scotland." ("In a former parish of mine, one-sixth of the people belonged to the church. Here it is one-half. There it meant something; here it means nothing. It's one of those things which makes country church work entirely different from that of the city.")

It was therefore a surprise to me to discover that the rural churches of the Scottish Lowlands claim a total membership of only thirty-three per cent of the population within their area, as compared with the fifty to fifty-six per cent of the total population claimed by Scotland's churches in town and country. More sober thought, however, reminds us of the numerous parishes where parish boundaries are deemed worthless, and where large segments

---

of the town's peripheral rural population turn townward for their religious
life - just as they do for nearly everything else. It is likely that some,
perhaps all, of the gap between these divergent proportions may be accounted
for by these large numbers of people who do not actually live in the towns,
but who are close enough that they fall within their orbit and are caught by
their gravitational pull. If this is true, it simply underlines the crucial
problem of the rural parish church and community as they struggle for iden-
tity against the attraction of the towns.

There is an obvious alternative explanation, of course, for the diver-
gence of figures: the rural church, despite its smaller pool of population,
does not always succeed in cultivating it to the same extent as does the
average urban church. This does not necessarily reflect upon the work of
the rural minister; it may simply mirror the exceptional problems of distance,
population movement and sparse resources which afflict his church. But what-
ever the explanation, the fact cannot be ignored that the rural church at-
tracts a lower proportion of the available population than does the church
in town or city.

It is quite another question how real the religious affiliation of the
rural Scot is. It has been estimated that "half the people in Scotland never
go to church."\(^8\) While this does sound a bit better to the ear than to say
that "less than five per cent. of the English people attend church",\(^9\) it is
still a negative statement, and has less meaning than a positive one. It was
therefore interesting to discover that ministers and laymen are in remarkably
close agreement that average attendance at Sunday morning worship comprises
29% of rural church membership (or approximately 10% of total rural population)
and ranges from 26.6% for the Church of Scotland to nearly 100% for the Church

\(^8\) "Church News" in the \textit{Evening News}, Glasgow, January 11, 1947.
\(^9\) "Billy Graham on Britain" in \textit{The British Weekly}, February 18, 1954.
of the Nazarene. A comparison of attendance per centages for all denomina-
tions studied is given in the Appendix.

Attendance in proportion to membership was highest in parishes where
agriculture is a minor quantity, lowest where agriculture is the sole basis
of the economy. Nevertheless, if our one-tenth sampling can be presumed to
be indicative, it is quite safe to say that on a given Sunday morning, no
less than 9.6% (and absolutely no more than 15%) of the rural population of
the Lowlands can be found in church. Curiously, this per centage is higher
than that for the towns, though the ratio of membership to population is
lower.

Regionally, the highest ratio of attendance (as compared to membership)
was reported in the counties which are most nearly "Highland" in their situ-
ation. This was a finding I had been led to expect. Caithness had the high-
est per centage (88%), with Fife (68%) and Dumbarton (67%) following behind.
Closer scrutiny showed that when church attendance was compared with popula-
tion (rather than membership), however, the average in these counties was less
than 15% higher than the average for Scotland. In other words, the ratio of
church attendance to population in counties bordering the Highlands is not
strikingly high; actually the ratio of church membership to population is
strikingly low. On the other hand, the ratio of attendance to both member-
ship and rural population was lowest in the counties of East Lothian, Selkirk,
 Roxburgh, Berwick, Angus and (the very worst) Midlothian.

If church attendance may be used as a criterion of the religious con-
dition of rural people, then certain segments of the rural population could
be singled out as more or less religious than others. There is an over-all
tendency which could be backed by statistics, for the farming element of the
population to drop away from the church - a tendency only partially counter-
acted by the development of healthy owner-operation on Scotland's farms. The people of the Lothians and the Borders, as we have seen, are not so church-minded as other Scots. And there is evidence that other segments of the population could also be singled out for future cultivation and attention.

Rural men, for example, are not the church-goers their wives and sisters are. "It's not the habit of the males to go. I feel it's due to a period when the ministers failed to grip them, and they became divorced from the church." (Several of the men interviewed, echoing this opinion, pinned down the period to one or both of the two World Wars.) "Not a man in this village goes to church except the elders." "Even the elders go only because they're expected to; that's their job." Somehow it seems as though an awful lot of men wait until they're along in years before they'll have anything to do with the church." "They're decent men, but they won't go to church; they stay away home with the bairns and let the woman have a chance to get out." Ten rural churches have a larger female attendance to every one which has more men.

Only one out of every five laymen questioned felt that his worshipping congregation included a "fair" proportion of young people. "We can get the girls, but we can't get the boys and young men." "We lose them in the courtship period; there's a gap between the fifteen-year-olds and the families." "It's children and old people." "It's an old ladies' church." "Until last year, one-third of our members were old-age pensioners." "We have no young people, and nothing in the service that would hold a young person's interest." "We don't catch the young men before they go away, so they leave with no ties." Young people, particularly young men, appear to be the segment of the rural population most obviously untouched by the churches.

Undoubtedly, the facts above are potent reasons for the shortage of
candidates for the ministry today. To the knowledge of those interviewed, three-fourths of the churches studied have not produced a candidate for the ministry within the longest living memory. Only slightly more than one-fourth have produced a minister in the last fifty years - but fortunately, nearly one out of every three of these has produced more than one. If the appeal of the ministry to young men is any gauge of religious interest in the rural parish, the picture is not bright.

It is impossible on an absolute basis to discover whether recent years have seen an improvement or a worsening in the total picture of religious vitality, as indicated by such obvious signs as church attendance. It is worth noting, however, that among ministers and laymen who hazarded a guess about tendencies in the immediate present, the optimists were slightly more numerous (if more cautious) than the pessimists. This would agree with the guarded optimism of the report of the British Council of Churches, that "perhaps if allowance is made for the number of people who have left the land in the last twenty-five years, the decline in church attendance " is less in country than in city." As one elder concluded, "Of course there just aren't the people in the parish that there used to be."

Admittedly, however, there is a definite social pressure against attendance in the church. Although there are refreshing examples of parishes where it is not so, my findings indicate that the social pressure is highest among young people. "The youth are afraid to be criticized for going down to the Manse." "We pride ourselves on bringing our bairns up to be decent, but they grow up with the idea they'll soon be old enough to stop church." This finding is confirmed by The Land, the People and the Churches, which lists social pressure first among the reasons for non-attendance at church

10 The Land, the People and the Churches, p. 34.
services. (Other reasons given by this same source are: independence of
the individual, criticisms of the ministry, absence of pastoral visitation,
the impossibility of attendance, and the dullness of the worship, in that
order.)¹¹ The denomination which appears to suffer most from social pres¬
sure is the Episcopal Church in Scotland; in rural areas, it still bears
the previously-noted label of "the gentry's church," a label which today
is more a bar to the people and a hindrance to the church's work than it is
a title of respect. Similar labels are frequently attached to the churches
of other denominations which, rightly or wrongly, become popularly designa-
ted as the churches of the middle class, the wealthy farmers, the "crust,"
an elite group of "auld kirk folk," and the like. Fortunately, the ministry
is practically unanimous in its abhorrence of such labels and the accompa-
nying social pressures.

Membership, attendance and social pressure, however, do not paint the
whole picture of the religious condition of the rural person. For one thing,
the average rural Scot who does not belong to a particular church nearly al-
ways considers himself something, and it is usually "Church of Scotland."
This is far from a vital church connection! But it does mean that to a
small degree the church has the ear of the unchurched, and that the doors of
the unaffiliated are open to the parish minister.

There is little indication, moreover, that unbelief is a major factor
in the malaise of the contemporary rural church; only two laymen mentioned
it as a reason for non-attendance. Nearly everyone, it would seem, is at
least nominally "Christian."

There is also little reason to believe that there is any considerable
antagonism to the church, though some is voiced against individual ministers.

¹¹ Ibid., pp. 34, 35.
Nearly all the ministers with whom I talked felt that there was no active antipathy to a religious message. I found laymen, both churchmen and non-churchmen, extremely appreciative of the things which they could see happening in their churches (visitation, especially of the sick; simple and relevant preaching; impartiality in the pastor's relationships; church publications; hard work). I found them understanding of their ministers' difficulties. "After all, he doesn't live here." "His mother takes a lot of his time." "His wife is crippled - but then, we knew that when we called him." "It's a big parish." If laymen are critical of their ministers for disinterest in community affairs, or for what they feel is laziness, they are anything but critical of their personal lives and friendships, or their mental and scholas-tic equipment. If there are some who are quick to note the minister's faults, they are usually quick to note his good points, too. "He doesn't visit much, but he's guid wi' the sick." When infrequent criticism was levelled at the church for being too materialistic, or more often against ministers for being "too mercenary" or "too professional," I was usually made to feel that the criticism was accompanied by a real desire to see the church return to its ideals of service.

This was actually much more than a feeling. It was substantiated, for example, by an expressed preference on the part of the laymen to have their leisure-time activities (especially for their young people) under the wing of the church. It was evinced again by their universal willingness to take time for an interview, as soon as they learned the purpose of it. The Church in rural Scotland does not have many evil-wishers.

It is not so much, then, an active resistance which ties the hands of the rural church. According to the testimony of the ministers, it is much more definitely a lagging, dragging indifference. More than one minister in
four listed as one of his gravest grievances what he called the "religious illiteracy" of the people. There is often no live interest in religion, even where no antagonism exists. The man who does not go to church is decreasingly apologetic about it! The issues which burned hot among the Covenanters and the early Nationalists were essentially religious issues, but the burning issues of today are of quite a different nature. "The average man is not antagonistic to the church today; for him, there are other things far more important to be antagonistic to." "The mass of people... do not recognize themselves as in need of anything more than they presently possess." 12

In the opinion of more than a few, this is a consequence of "generations of compulsory religion," and may be a period of natural transition to a religious loyalty more freely given. But whatever the cause, the effect presents the church with an inescapable challenge.

The Rural Person Looks at the Churches:

Let us assume for the moment that the average man is "religiously illiterate," and that the ministers are right. Let us concede that the half to two-thirds of rural people who have no religious affiliation know little that is precise and accurate about the church. (This last assumption is more than a little true; those who are church members or even officers often know practically nothing of a concrete nature about the statistical and business condition of the church.)

How are they to find out about the church, or the churches, in their communities? They find out by what they see. They have not been educated within its walls for a generation or more; so they form their impressions from what they see on the outside. When the uninformed rural Lowlander looks

at his church, what does he think he sees?

According to him, he often sees inefficiency. He sees the duplication of effort and of ministries. He sees buildings which are being destroyed not by use, but by decay. He sees halls which the churches do not use, and which they will not permit others to use. He sees buildings far from the center of activity, in lovely, picturesque, isolated groves of trees which many will admire but few will frequent. When many of the ministers candidly admit that "a minister is wasted here," that "the parish needs to be reorganized," and that "one man could do three men's work," then it is not to be marvilled at that laymen see it too.

But the greatest sign of inefficiency which they see is in the denominationalism which to the average rural Scot of the twentieth century (even to the average church member) is unjustified and wasteful. Again, I hasten to add that I am not passing judgment, but reporting the attitude of the people with whom I talked.

The fact that denominational loyalty is no longer strong enough to blind the churchmen's critical faculties has already been stated. But the status of denominational feeling is much more complex than that. It is still present everywhere - of that there seems little doubt; but nearly everywhere the opinion is that it is far less active than it has been for centuries. It is dangerous to generalize, but the statistics point to the lowest degree of inter-denominational sensitivity among Church of Scotland members, next lowest among those belonging to the Episcopal Church. (This was certainly true of Episcopal laymen, who appeared much more battle-weary than their ministers. "We can't get the clergy to say it, but we're working for the same end as the Presbyterians, and we have no monopoly as the only church there is.") Denominational consciousness was most apparent among the Brethren,
the Roman Catholics, and the sects — although it was fascinating to find that nearly every person with whom I spoke, including Christian Brethren and occasional Roman Catholics, talked of the Church of Scotland pastor as "our minister"!

Another interesting fact which came forcibly to my attention was that there is often as much open antagonism between churches of the same denomination as there is between denominations, and this cannot help but obscure the meaning of the old denominational boundaries. Assemblies of Brethren were most commonly at odds with one another. "For some reason, when one of our assemblies gets up to fifty or so, it doesn't seem to be able to hold together any longer; we seem to work better when we're small." The same intrafamilial feeling was common, though not so frequent, among Church of Scotland congregations, especially where the denominational heredity was different before 1929.

As yet, the local church unions which have taken place in the Scottish Lowlands have been the direct result of the massive and monumental denominational unions which have taken place within the last sixty years. There are in Scotland at present none of the local interdenominational federations which have occurred elsewhere, particularly in America. Therefore there is absolutely no basis for estimating the chances for success of such ventures, and there is no machinery for setting them up. In several places, however, without any prompting from the interviewer, laymen and ministers alike expressed the wish that some such cooperative parish could be constructed, maintaining multiple denominational ties if necessary. In a few cases, it was possible to establish that the suggestion had come from reading about such unions in other countries.

The reasoning behind these expressed hopes was practical, not theological.
"We'd prefer to have one full-time man, rather than two who have to spend half their time, and even live, somewhere else." The economic factor spoke loudly, too, for it is hard to get away from two - or three or four - roofs to repair, pastors to support, fires to keep, Sunday Schools to staff and maintain, and buildings to clean. In several places where competing churches were struggling to live, the present members regretted that their ancestors had ever built churches of their own label, but grudgingly continued to maintain them because they could see no way to stop without losing face, and swallowing pride. ("The church was built at the time the works was here. It wouldn't be built today.") In addition, there was the very practical consideration that in other employments, modern tools enable fewer men to do more work. "If the jobs were combined (i. e., churches united), a man with a car should be able to do it as well as for one church years ago, and he could be paid well enough to expect better work."

How loudly these considerations speak to the average churchman is hard to gauge. But in two out of every three fields where competition existed, the laymen expressed the wish that a union could be brought about, either within or between denominations. In half of these, they were hopeful that it would; in the other half, they were hopeless - often because they were sure that "the minister and the elders wouldn't see it." In a large minority of cases, their guess was confirmed by my ministerial interview; but the layman had a strong tendency to overestimate the conservatism of his minister, just as the minister nearly always overestimated the conservatism of the laymen of his parish. Throughout the study, this poverty of vital communication struck me again and again as being one of the greatest obstacles to effective Christian work.

When the layman was asked to name his chief criticism of the church or the churches within his community, one of his most common answers (sixth in frequency) was competition among the churches. He often held the opinion that more people attended the church where the competition was keener — but even this opinion was barely verified by the statistics. To my surprise, church attendance in non-competing fields was less than one per cent lower than in those where competition existed. Just as we have seen in the case of the church’s financial support, competition has practically no influence on the results.

All these impressions and facts add up in the rural person’s mind to a picture of inefficiency, at a time when the urban word “efficiency” is thrust upon him with every new machine and technique.

In the view of the average rural man or woman of the Lowlands today, moreover, the church itself has the appearance of an anachronism. In its present form, just how much need does it satisfy? Or is it to a certain extent a relic — like the ruins of the “auld abbey” or the “big house” — of a quaint era now gone by?

The church is no longer the power it once was. More and more, the rural community of which the church was once the heart can now get along quite well, it believes, without the church. Its charities, which once brought every beggar to its doors and made the poor its debtors, have become the charge of the State. In the school, it is no longer the minister but the state-employed teacher who does most of the teaching of religion. And as for Sunday services, radio and television bring public worship of a high quality into the home. The church itself may preach a seven-day-a-week Christianity, but the church which has its doors or the doors of its hall open more than 14 P. D. Thomson, Parish and Parish Church, p. 103.
one day in the week is rare in rural Scotland. It preaches the Christian use of leisure time, but it does next to nothing (the layman believes) to provide the means. We may add to all this the old criticism that there are plenty of good people who are quite good without the church. The criticism is becoming sharper now; with a larger segment of the rural population religiously unattached, the examples are more numerous than before!

There is an accompanying feeling that the church has little to do with the modern way of country life. Better wages, better houses, sanitation, water, electricity - all these have come to rural Scotland. Despite General Assembly pronouncements in their favor, they seem to have come without the church's help; for the local church too often remained silent and appeared to stand firmly in favor of the status quo, the tied house, and the unbroken estate. "The church had nothing to do with our rise, and wasn't concerned about our poverty," commented one layman. Levelling has come to rural Scotland, but the church has been behind the "club" or the Legion in doing away with class distinctions. As an apparent "last straw" of unprogressiveness, the church is frequently the very last building in the village to have electricity "laid on."

Parish Councils disappear in favor of centralized authority, but the churches struggle on as before. Buses drive local tradesmen out of business or to the towns, but the churches will not give in. When the tiny schools are closed and their work is done just as effectively in a larger, more central one, the tiny churches continue, fighting a seemingly hopeless fight against what appears to be an irresistible tide. It is an admirable, courageous fight which the church is waging (see Chapter II), but the layman

15 The Land, the People and the Churches, p. 19.
seriously wonders if it is a wise one.  

And so, to the average rural person in or out of the church, the church is an anachronism of the former centuries. He seriously questions, consciously or unconsciously, just what the place of the church is in modern life. And he wonders if the church, as it functions today, has a real place left. Is its existence really justified by its ancient pattern of activity? Even if he continues to go to church, he still nearly always wonders. He has a more or less vague feeling which sometimes finds eloquent expression: "We still need the church; but new conditions require to work in completely new patterns - and the church isn't flexible enough." "The church will have to change a lot of ways of working." "These are changed times. The church is no longer seeking to exercise iron discipline, so a new approach is needed on the part of the ministers - a new type of ministerial personality, not that of a laird or king, but of a friend, a counselor." "The church must not fight change!"

Often, there is a fervent wish to do something about the situation - to "open the ranks of the church," to change the pattern of work with the young. But when the average person looks at the church, he frequently sees a bare stone wall. In what way can he offer his services? How can one hope to change the church's pattern of doing things when its government is so unchangeable? The Reformation church was the touchstone of Scottish democracy; but now a new middle-class concept of democracy has come to rural Scotland, and the average person finds it more and more difficult to see the democracy.

16 Cf. A. H. Dunnett, The Church in Changing Scotland, p. 139: "The courageous thing would have been to close the mission by withdrawing the financial support rather than encourage its wrongful development. Why is there constantly this lack of courage in religious matters? The people in Scotland are being injured by the reluctance of their ecclesiastical and religious leaders to hurt their feelings or take away any of their so-called privileges. It will be a blessed day for the people themselves, when their leaders really lead...."
of elders who hold life-time tenure; who may have been representative of the people when they were elected, but who are not representative of a changed community; and who are frequently elected not by the people but by other elders. Another recent study comments: "We are quite sure that the average age of office-bearers, if anyone cared to undertake the task of computing it, would be very high, and although we would be the last to underestim ate the service rendered by people who have held office for many years, the implications for the future are very dangerous." 17

Remarks recorded on my interviews confirm the fear. "Elders elected for life - and all of them old!" "The church is more conservative than the community, the elders more than the church, the minister more than the elders." Sometimes the order of progression was slightly changed: "The elders are the most unprogressive of the lot."

Such was the majority report. There were also gratifying interviews in which the progressiveness of the church was applauded. In one place where a chapel in a ghost community had been closed, its furnishings and its organ removed to a new church in a "scheme," the young man I interviewed had no regrets. He admired the church for changing with the times, and for shifting the weight of its attack to the place where it was more desperately needed. Where one young minister was cautiously feeling out in new directions, I heard this: "He's a bit of an innovator - but everything is up since he came here." A layman in another church reported with obvious relish that three young men had recently been elected to the session. In another parish, I was told: "Things in the churches are looking up. Our Church of Scotland is up-and-coming." There can hardly be too much emphasis placed upon the fact that the fear of innovations was far more real in the minds of ministers

17 *The Land, the People and the Churches*, p. 46.
than in the minds of laymen.

The over-all impression which was left with the interviewer when the study was completed was one of readiness. The churches and the ministers may be reassured that the people of rural Scotland are generally ready to "give a go" to any reasonable methods the church sees fit to use for more effective work in the country places. In nearly half my interviews with laymen, the opinion expressed was that the church is "behind" the people. Ministers may take heart from the layman who suggested that one minister in a helicopter could cover five glens!

Religion's Value in the Rural Mind:

On November 11, 1953, I sat in the audience to hear one of the leaders of the "Tell Scotland" movement. In part, this was his message: "There is a tremendous unused potential in the pews which we have not begun to make use of, and in which there is a tremendous sense of frustration because they have never been given a chance to fulfil their own sense of mission."18 Shortly afterward, I read a similar judgment: "The Churches have not yet learned how best to make use of their enthusiasts who crave some responsibility and some piece of work entirely their own."19

Are these statements true? Is it possible to tell just how much his religion is worth to the average Scot? How much of his time and his talents and his possessions would he willingly give to the church?

To learn the answer, one of the questions I asked of every minister in my "survey parishes" was this: "Do you find any posts particularly hard to fill in your church?" When I read through the answers, it seemed unlikely that anyone could convince all the ministers that there are in all parishes

18 D. P. Thomson, in a talk at the Church of St. George's, West, Edinburgh, November 11, 1953.
"a tremendous unused potential in the pews," men and women just waiting, willing and anxious to be unleashed, ready to have their power put to work for the church.

In more than one church out of every six, including nearly all Roman Catholic and many Episcopal Churches, there was no attempt to use local leadership at all. This was frequently a matter of policy, and sometimes of expediency where the congregation was too small to require a group of lay officials. ("We have no posts. It's pews I find it hard to fill.") Though it is difficult to judge which was the cause and which the effect, suffice it to say that the very weakest congregations I studied were those which had no local officers.

Of the remaining churches where my question was applicable, a third reported extreme difficulty in finding suitable persons to serve as elders or vestrymen. More than a third reported difficulty in finding persons to teach Sunday School. Various others reported that it was nearly impossible to recruit choir members (though the rural church which even attempted to have a choir was in the minority), youth leaders, Woman's Guild officers, organists, and even beadlees. ("The one we got won't even come to church!")

Still, throughout my questionnaires, there was also evidence that the optimistic claims were probably right. The ministers who had no difficulty finding elders had many formulae which could well be used by others. "We have no difficulty. We use signed, sealed, democratic votes from the whole congregation." "We have elders elected on signed slips; the men are more willing if they feel they have the people behind them." "We need more jobs for men to do." The churches having the greatest difficulty recruiting elders were those still using the appointment or session-election systems.

The bankruptcy of leadership can also be avoided by able planning. "I'm
already set with a Sunday School superintendent when the schoolmaster leaves next year." "I have a superintendent who's always looking and always has someone on the string." There is a positive correlation also between situations where no difficulty was reported in finding Sunday School staff and those where leadership training was offered to the teachers. The creation of less important officeships (managers, deacons, etc.) provides a training-ground for men who will some day be elders. ("We work in as managers the elders' runners-up.")

Others felt that the reluctance to serve was not so much an unwillingness to work in the church as it was an unwillingness to be bound to the same duty for life. "It would be better if we had elderships by rotation." "Managers are easier to find because we rotate their terms."

From the laymen's answers, on the other hand, the optimism of the more successful ministers appears to be justified. When suggestions for a more effective program were called for, the laymen proposed: 1) evangelism of some kind; 2) a more realistic, relevant ministry; and 3) more lay participation.

When asked whether there were any duties they would refuse to accept on behalf of the church, or officeships they would reject, two out of every three protested that there was no job they would refuse. Of the duties they found least to their liking, the door-to-door collection of money was second only to the eldership. Two out of every five laymen felt that the church did not ask its people to do enough, and nearly twice that number felt that there was not sufficient scope or variety in what the church did ask.

Both ministers and laymen were questioned about projects involving voluntary labor. Ministers were about evenly divided between a favorable and an unfavorable opinion, and also evenly divided between those who had tried it and those who had not. It was interesting to note that of those who had tried...
voluntary labor projects for church improvement, only a small handful were still opposed to their usefulness. Laymen, on the other hand, were far more favorable to the idea, with only six opposed. (I made notes on my own private estimates of the age of the persons I interviewed, and in this case it proved enlightening; I am quite certain that not one person under the age of forty expressed the slightest opposition to the idea of the church's use of voluntary labor.)

When it came to the delicate subject of financing the church's work, the response I received was anything but the response I expected, and I am sure it would come as a surprise to the average parish minister. Out of 108 interviews with laymen, only six objected that the financial burden of their church was too heavy. There were others who had objections about the way the financial load of the church was distributed, or about the ways the funds were used. But less than six per cent felt overburdened by the church's demands.

It was surely not that the laymen were reticent on the subject. They spoke with conviction, sometimes with heat. But they had few objections to the amount the church requested. Instead, they protested that the church does not set its targets high enough, and therefore the people are not challenged. When the church announces the average contribution required to meet its needs, few give more, but many give less. There was strong feeling on the part of church members that the Freewill Offering System, still unused in the average country parish, should be inaugurated to distribute the burden of support; of this, more will be said in Chapter X.

There was violent feeling that the pulpit was not the place for financial appeals or sermons directed wholly to the subject of money and giving. "There are enough other ways to get it across!" "We're tired of hearing it preached." "There's too much drumming from the pulpit about money." On the other hand,
great appreciation was shown where the church did make its appeals in other ways. "Thank God, there's no askin' from the pulpit!"

In the few cases where the financial burden of the church was deemed too heavy, the added judgment was usually volunteered that "no one would complain if he thought he was getting his money's worth." That this was a true judgment was confirmed by the fact that churches where things were going well were by and large churches which were willing to contribute beyond their own needs to the needs of others. Note was made in every parish where there was a lively missionary interest, as well as in those where antagonism to missions was reported, and a brief tabulation of comparative statistics regarding attendance as related to membership is revealing:

| Attendance in churches with lively missionary interest | 10% |
| Attendance in the average country church | 29% |
| Attendance in churches antagonistic to missions | 22% |

Once again, cause and effect are difficult to determine. But the figures seem to verify the validity of the saying that "a missionary church is a healthy church." They also seem to verify the judgment that there is no unwillingness to support the total program of a church which is thoroughly doing its work.

Thus far, our evidence seems to be running in two conflicting directions. On the one hand, the country person by his own testimony considers the church as it stands today more or less of an anachronism. On the other hand, he protests that he is willing to support it with his time, his talents and his possessions; he is not willing to have his religion discarded. What shall we then conclude?

Perhaps the evidence is mounting that what he questions is not the need for the Christian religion, but rather the place in his community for a church which does not do its old duties well, and is reluctant to undertake
anything new. He sees a church which has turned over the training of her young to the teachers of the school, which has turned over the care of the poor to the state, which has even turned over the care of the dead to the County Council. And yet he does not see this church assuming new responsibilities in place of the old.

He is still glad to pour himself and his energies into a church which can and will do what he senses his community needs, even while he himself is unable to voice what those needs are. To the church which finds and keeps its mission old and new, in whatever age or clime, the people will turn and give their loyalty.
CHAPTER VI: THE RURAL MINISTER

Just what manner of man is it who is willing to play Daniel in this den and who seeks to satisfy the hunger of men's spirits without being torn in the teeth of their censure and criticism? Who is it who tries to do the job that can never be perfectly done?

The ministry is a calling of the Lord. It is a calling which nearly always entails material sacrifice, in order to be able to serve the Church and the Christ. And when a minister goes farther, and decides that his will be a rural ministry, the sacrifices are greater still. His Manse is larger, and his stipend smaller. He inherits a wilderness and is expected to turn it into a garden paradise. He lives farther from his neighbors, but privacy is forfeited in the community still small enough for individual surveillance to be preserved as one of the most enjoyable rustic pastimes. Out of touch with his brethren, he is in need of constant cultural and theological opportunities, but he is so far from them that he can indulge in them only as an occasional spiritual spree. He is no more able to afford a car than is his city brother, but a car is for him not a luxury; it is a necessity, and an expensive one.

Before one word of evaluation or judgment is spoken about the man who undertakes the duty of being the servant of "this so great people," many words of admiration must be uttered to his credit. The country offers him its compensations; George Herbert is not yet wrong! But the compensations are not for every eye to see. They are elusive and intangible, and they do not put bread upon his table or petrol in his car. If he finds the country parish to his liking, and chooses to stay, he is a man of a great and enviable spirit who has found contentment beyond superficiality; but if he discovers he was mistaken, and stays because he
must, he is a man to be pitied.¹

I shall attempt to delineate the man who is there, trying against odds to do the impossible job whose half-finished product I am only weighing.

In some respects, the minister of rural Scotland is the average minister anywhere. Typically, there is not enough of him to go around; six per cent of the churches studied had no ministers. One out of every three of him was under forty, which seems not a bad share of the younger ministers of Scotland. At the opposite end of the age range, however, approximately one out of every four was near (within a year) or past the age of retirement. Those two statistics reveal a strong tendency for the Scottish minister to look upon the country parish as a place to begin his ministry and a place to end it, but not a place to spend the prime of his life.

He is usually physically well-equipped, personally attractive, with a voice which tends more to "good" or "fair" than "poor," and which is sometimes nothing short of excellent. He is usually a masculine-appearing person, although it was necessary for me to note an unfortunately effeminate speech or manner in the case of nearly a third of my interviews. He is usually a nervous-appearing person with a restrained sense of humor. He often confesses to loneliness. He has a very unbusineslike manner, and tends to look and act extremely tired (as he may very well be) regardless of his years.

It would not be often that the most hard-hearted interviewer could make the notation "cynical," or "unfriendly" or "insincere." Instead

¹ Cf. "Oh, For a Life Away from It All" and "Far From the Madding Crowd," The British Weekly, April 16, 1953, and July 23, 1953.
there are frequent notations of "fair-minded;" "not brilliant, but practical;" "a sincere, tired, tolerant old man;" "the courage of his convictions;" "a good, straight-thinking person;" "clear-headed;" "the most convincing minister I've met in Scotland." But the most charitable interviewer would also have to make frequent notes of "dispirited;" "frustrated;" "discouraged;" and sometimes "lazy."

But let's allow the country preacher to speak for himself.

The Rural Minister Looks at People and Parish:

There are three things which are required of a country parson, beyond the calling of the Lord:

1) A love of people;
2) A love of the country; and
3) A willingness to be a leader of village and parish life.²

At least this is the conclusion of the British Council of Churches' post-war study.

About those requirements, there can be little argument. If a minister is to be effective in his work, he should first be happy in it. He must enjoy his contact with country people, and if he enjoys it, he will join with them in their whole way of life.

It is as interesting as it is difficult to analyze just how the average country minister looks upon the countryside and the people of the countryside. Various questions were asked to try to find the answer:

"Do you like working in a country parish?" "Do you consider country people hard to work with or easy, responsive or unresponsive, as compared with townspeople?" "Are country people over-critical?" "Do you think country people expect too little, enough, or too much of their minister?"

² The Land, the People and the Churches, pp. 30-40.
In asking questions of this kind, I fully realized that the answers could well be slanted in either of two main directions: They could bring out all the latent dissatisfactions of the rural pastor, creating an inaccurately pessimistic picture of his situation; or they could evoke a kind of artificial flattery from the minister who did not wish to appear negative in his attitude toward his work. Realizing these dangers, I was perhaps over-suspicious of the answers I received at first, until it became quite obvious that the ministers with whom I talked were prepared to give a well-considered and unemotional judgment of parish and people, commenting freely on the points which they considered both good and bad.

The bulk of the ministers who expressed a like or a dislike claimed that they enjoyed their country parishes; only twelve per cent of the 102 interviewed openly confessed that they disliked them, and would prefer to be elsewhere. About one out of every four considered country people harder to work with religiously than town or city people; but the majority thought there was not much difference and a few believed that work among them was easier. One in six considered them more responsive. It is revealing to find that eighty per cent of the ministers who had had both town and country parishes felt that country people were as easy or easier to work with, although they were quite unhappy to find that the scattered situation of their people often contrived to make their work just as hard as it had been in the town. About one minister in ten felt that his people were unusually critical, and about the same number believed that they expected too much; but twice that number felt that their people expected too little, and gave them credit for being not so much critical as interested and concerned. Some of the notes are heartening to read.

"Country people are slower to judge, and surer of themselves when they
have made up their minds." "They're shy, but they're loyal." "They have a better sense of proportion." "Rural people are genuine." "They're slower to be stirred, but they keep their enthusiasm longer." "They're less vocal, but they're good listeners." "They're no worse than people anywhere; and like everywhere else, the ones who expect the most are the people who won't go to kirk." "They'll accept anything that's reasonably presented."

I believe it is quite safe to say that at least three out of every four ministers are happy working with the kind of people who live in a country parish. Of the other quarter, about half confessed their dislike of country people while the other half who evaded a direct answer indicated things which they found it hard to abide. "They're gossipy" - "petty" - "inconsiderate" - "touchy." "They have no morals." "They're a mongrel breed." Three to one may not appear to be a bad proportion on paper; but in a rural parish it means that sooner or later nearly every country person will have a minister who makes him feel that he wishes he were somewhere else. Later in this chapter, we shall see that the average layman is not blind or deaf to the minister's dissatisfaction.

To say that 75% of country ministers like working with country people, moreover, is not quite the same as saying that three out of every four are completely satisfied with their parish arrangements or their jobs. This survey would have been incomplete, for example, if I had not inquired about the adequacy of the ministers' stipends. Let me hasten to say that I heard not one word or complaint about stipend from any minister until I raised the question myself, late in every interview. I wish to make this clear lest my report give anyone the impression that the ministers of rural Scotland are loud in bewailing their terrible lot. But when I put the fateful question, it nearly always released a torrent of
words which were sometimes filled with deep emotions. When the minister's wife was present, the torrent was usually wider and deeper! The only persons who were free from strong feeling about their stipends were those who were unmarried, those who were well on in years (with families grown and away), and those who (like the leaders of the Brethren) had other employment as their livelihood. Practically without exception, men who were rearing families regarded their situation as nothing short of desperate.

About a third of the ministers find it both necessary and possible to supplement their stipends. They teach school, drive school buses, seek seasonal agricultural employment within their parishes, undertake additional hospital or private school chaplaincies, write books. A very few attempt to conduct small-scale farming operations on their glebes, or to raise chickens commercially. A few more are blessed with independent incomes, or pensions from other sources. Another third find the supplementary income necessary, but simply not possible. And the final third profess to have no need for it. It should also be said here that most of the ministers who supplement their incomes in ways like this suffer pangs of conscience because their additional employment consumes time which their parishes need.

The ministers' satisfaction with their position is not increased by the fact that the Church at large appears to take their plight lightly; a man whose life and work depend upon a car finds it difficult to understand a minimum salary set lower in the country place than it is in one of Scotland's four metropolitan centers where a man can be well served by public transport. The occasional increase in the stipend minimum of twenty pounds or so is appreciated — but it is never enough. Sooner or later, the seeming injustice of it tends to destroy the idealism
which bade him take one of those thankless posts in some out-of-the-way area.

We must add to this the conviction — whether based on fact or fancy it is hard to tell — that ministers as a professional group look down upon the man who takes a "little church." "Too many men look upon it as a place to retire, a place of refuge, rather than a place to do a job." More than 25% of the ministers confessed that they felt there was a stigma attached to their choice of parishes; some were amused by it, some defied it and stuck to their preferences, some were hurt, some were impressed. Whatever the reaction, there seems to be a professional pressure toward the towns which is undoubtedly connected with the published statistical information about membership, Christian liberality, and stipend. It is a pressure which takes its toll of rural ministers, and affects their attitude toward their people and their parish. It may also be well to point out that when the country is looked upon as a place for a man to begin and end his ministry, his acceptance of a rural parish has no relation to his love or dislike of the country. For a young man, his first parish is thus a sort of term he must serve before he can find the kind of church he wants.

At the beginning of my survey, it seemed likely to me that the Manse garden might be another gauge of the minister's love of the country and country life. After seeing the gardens of Scotland's rural manses, however, I devoutly hope that there is no vital connection. My private notes on gardens often make discouraging reading, but I take comfort from the fact that some of the men who most loudly attested their love of the country had the most disgraceful gardens! Actually, there seemed to be no connection between a successful garden and a successful church, and
there were a few cases where I suspected that work in the garden was a
refuge from work in the parish.

There were, however, two respects in which the minister's garden
had a bearing upon the people's attitude toward him, and his own atti-
tude toward his parish. As will be noted in Chapter VII, the people do
not appreciate seeing constant signs of neglect of the Manse and its en-
virons, which are after all church property. From the opposite side, the
country minister who is taking his job seriously does not love a garden
which is his constant master, and which consumes his time and his energy.
It seldom proves of real value to him, because he does not have the time
nor the equipment to garden economically; one busy minister who felt
 obliged to keep the Manse grounds in good repair but who did not have
time to do it himself estimated that his garden cost him fifty pounds a
year. Frequently the garden becomes to the country minister a sort of
symbol of all the useless, tyrannical, little duties — like the miles
he must drive in his car even before he can make a call in a hospital —
which take up his time. And he is apt to dream of a parish in which he
can be less a handy man and more a minister. The garden, which I anti-
cipated might be a gauge of the rural minister's love of the country,
proved to be a frequent cause for him to dislike it.

Actually, the day when the minister was considered the model gardener
"with an active interest in agriculture as part of (his) vocation" is
gone. He no longer needs to be the professional gardener who "set a high
standard of cultivation and fertility to the whole parish." His parish
is nearly always partly peopled by men and women whose interest in the
country is residential, not vocational, and whose non-agricultural empl-
loyment is more and more accepted as a part of rural life. "...The type of

3 P.D. Thomson, Parish and Parish Church, pp. 271, 272.
person that country people like is one who is good at his own job, and who at the same time respects them in theirs. It is not necessary that a parson should play at farming or be an enthusiastic gardener. He ought to be interested in gardening, as in everything his people do; but his personal interest in agriculture needs to be only aesthetic, not professional. Yet the country minister often feels a horticultural obligation beyond the attractive appearance of his manse and grounds, sufficient to make his parish work miserable and to help destroy his love of the country. That this literally can happen becomes apparent when we realize that the Manse garden is commonly the largest garden in the village in a day when the whole concept of the minister's job is expanding beyond its earlier pattern of duties.

The Rural Minister Looks at His Job:

Just what does the country minister consider his job to be? How far does it go? Where does it stop? Does he have a clear idea of its bounds at all? Is there a job actually to be done? Is the day of a professional ministry past? If any of these questions seem pointless, let me point out that I raised the first three myself; the ministers with whom I talked raised the rest. Without attempting to justify or condemn, I shall try to show just what I mean.

In the previous chapter, the fact was mentioned that laymen frequently commented that the church's job was changing, that there was need for more flexibility. Though their laymen might be surprised to hear it, the ministers are usually at least as aware of this as they are. They are not sure what to do about it, but they are sometimes painfully conscious of the need for an adjustment of the job to the

1 Of The Land, the People and the Churches, p. 40.
situations.

There are new manifestations of church life constantly appearing on the rural scene, and we shall go into them in detail in Section IV. Far beyond the actual experiments on the parish proving ground, however, are the ideas which were suggested to me by the parish ministers. I gained the impression that most pastors had many things in mind to do (as in the area of evangelism), if only they could find the time, the resources, the cooperation and the courage to try them. They hesitate because they over-estimate the traditionalism of their people and anticipate more opposition than they would really meet. (Two out of every three ministers consider their people more conservative than themselves, reversing the opinion of the laymen). They hold back because their youthfulness makes them unsure of their ground and reluctant to try what is untried; or they hesitate to plunge into expanded duties because of approaching old age. They often call for someone to take the initiative in reorganizing parishes. They express the wish that their denominations would sponsor experimental parishes and team ministries.

Meanwhile, the minister is aware that his job is changing, and is not sure that he likes the direction in which it is going. His duties are increasingly administrative — and the knowledge often haunts him with the suspicion that he is decreasingly faithful to the pastoral duties of his ordination vows. He is aware that his responsibilities go far beyond the traditional preaching and teaching of the word and the visitation of the people. He is an organizer, a promoter, a program planner, and he is uneasy about the change which represents an altered concept of the ministry. It is interesting to note how many of his suggestions represent a frustrated desire to return to the old personal,
pastoral contact in new forms more readily acceptable to the modern mind: pastoral psychology, counseling, pit and field evangelism, and so on. I have wondered seriously whether the half-guilty uncertainty and confusion about the nature of the job did not partly account for the inertia of many of the ministers in rural areas.

In all truthfulness, we must also report that one out of every five ministers did not feel that his job was in fact a job. This was volunteered, unanticipated information which made me wish I had asked every minister directly concerning his feelings in this respect. These men openly testified that they were not kept busy — a fact which correlated roughly with the opinion of the laymen. "A minister is wasted here," one pastor told me. Another vowed, "One man could do three men's work."

"I took this as a half-retirement, and I'm not wanting to do anything I don't need to." "This is the easiest kind of a job." "It's frustrating here -- not enough to be busy. I love to read, study, or I'd be lost. It's a crime to have men in places this small."

This testimony may at first seem to conflict with the statements in the earlier part of this chapter and in earlier chapters concerning the difficulty of work in a scattered country parish. The conflicting evidence does not actually conflict, however, and can be reconciled when one remembers that the feeling of "being wasted" is, after all, a minority opinion. It is valuable because it underlines the need for constant "job analysis and adjustment among rural parishes, in order to avoid the waste of manpower, property and tools. To drive this evidence home, we may recall a statistic previously mentioned, that nearly half the ministers doubted that there was sufficient potential indigenous leadership in their congregations to maintain an active and independent church
in the future. The avowed policy of the Church of Scotland, to resurvey every parish as it becomes vacant, is at least a partial answer to this problem. (We shall speak more of this policy in Chapter X.)

I must in honesty report one other finding also. If we exclude the non-professional ministry of the Brethren from our reckoning, we still discover that one out of every eight ministers questions the usefulness of a full-time ministry in the rural parish - and of the doubtful ministers, all but two are from the Church of Scotland. I report this because I feel that this is a serious minority voice, not because I have forgotten that it is a fractional finding. Those who expressed themselves in this connection were partly influenced by their feeling that their parishes were not full-time jobs. Two were seriously considering a continued part-time ministry, while they worked in secular employment for their livelihood, following the example of the sects. Some were undoubtedly influenced by the difficulty of living on a minister's stipend; to them secular employment was the answer, and they believed that the needs of their parishes could be provided for by their part-time labors or by the work of lay preachers. Some were convinced that the day of preaching was past. (To this last, let me repeat the angry answer of one aged minister: "Preaching has not lost its place; but for the man who thinks it has, his preaching will have no power." ) These were one minister's dreary words: "The country churches are under sentence of death - the buildings going, the people gone. Frustrating is the word. I wouldn't advise any young fellow to go into the ministry today."

We have heard the minority report, the voice of the embittered, the frustrated, the defeated - who seem to have an unfortunate tendency to find their final resting place in the country parish. They constitute one of the crosses which the rural church has had to bear.
Fortunately, it is a minority report; I cannot emphasize this strongly enough. When the average minister of rural Scotland looks at his job, he does see a challenge. Though he is sometimes confused about the nature and the bounds of a minister's duties in changing times, he is making the effort to keep up with multiplying responsibilities. He is concerned that he may not spend his greatest energies where they will count the most. One of the unanticipated findings of my survey is the list of the things which the clergy named as "the most important thing I do." Ministers do not - cannot - agree about what the most important part of their job is; parishes do differ. But the priority was most often given to pastoral visitation ("the most important thing in church work is visiting"), then to the chaplaincy of the village school ("the most important thing to be done right now is to approach the community through the school"), to youth and children's work, to communicants' training, and to evangelism, in that order. The volunteered information often showed a constant reassessment of the parish needs, and flexibility in the thinking of the parish minister. The church can well be proud of the two ministers I met who had just resigned their pastorates, in order that their churches could unite with others in their villages; this is the kind of flexibility the church and its ministry must be prepared to display, and it will go far to restore the confidence of country people in their church.

The average country minister has a healthy regard for his traditional responsibility as the parish's minister, even though it makes his actual duties much larger than the membership of his church would indicate. As one pastor commented to me, "If a city church has a membership of 600, the man has 600 people to care for. But if a country church membership is 300, the man has the whole parish to care for, maybe as many as 1200
people if he's a parish minister as he should be."

The average country minister is interested in his work and in doing it well. He does like his people, and he likes the country. He accepts as his province many things which are not strictly duties of his ministry; they are important to him because they are important to his people. In parishes where there is a resident minister, three times out of four he shares in community activities and considers them vital to his ministry, because they keep him in touch with people who do not consider themselves part of his church and because they give him constant natural contacts with his own flock. "I get roped into everything, and I enjoy it; I'm meeting my people all the time." "It's the only good way to have any control over the kind of activities they have without the church."

The typical rural pastor looks upon his work as more than a job. He usually did not come to the country because of any particular feeling of vocation to a rural ministry (a few have done so); but once here, he finds it to his liking and his work becomes a challenging part of the mission of the kingdom of God.

The People Look at Their Minister:

Many a country preacher would give almost anything to know just what his people think of him and expect of him! Rural people are not vocal, and they are slow to praise. It would not be hard for a minister in a rural parish to conclude from the silence that his efforts are never appreciated and that his mistakes are never forgotten! In most cases, it would therefore be a pleasure and a reassurance for him to read the notes of my interviews with the laymen of his parish; there were times when I longed to let him do so, and I refrained only because it would have been a breach of confidence.
It is not that the country person is uncritical; we have seen that he was able to pass judgment on the church. He is better equipped educationally than his forebears, he has in his wireless a better basis for comparison, and he has in community activities a larger personal experience in leadership. "Country people have an instinct for assessing true worth, which they do with more certainty than many townspeople." Yet I usually found them slow to pass personal judgment on the minister, and appreciative of the things they were aware he did. In one parish, a family with whom I talked recalled with warm affection an incident from the dim past, possibly long forgotten by the man involved. The incident concerned the minister on a Sunday morning, when he was saddling his mare to drive to kirk. "He decided it was too bad weather for the mare — so he walked." The man was still appreciated for a humane act from long ago. Here again, however, I found a case of poor communication between minister and people, for there was a staggering lack of information about the sum of the minister's manifold duties; yet what the minister was known to do earned the warm gratitude of his laymen.

What, then, does the country person want in his minister? He wants a man who can preach. "Just because we're in the country doesn't mean we don't want to hear a guid sermon." On each interview, I asked whether the people recalled any particular man as the great minister of the parish; when the answer was given, I asked why he was remembered. The reason named most often was that he could preach a "guid sermon." Laymen appreciate a good visitor, and are critical when their minister does not visit; but they do not go to kirk to listen to a "guid visitor." If any minister is tempted to say that the day of preaching is past in rural

5 The Land, the People and the Churches, p. 40.
Scotland, let him listen to the average rural layman.

He also wants a man who can lead. "The church in a small place depends pretty much on what the minister is." "So much depends on the priest; if he's someone you like, you'll try hard to get there; if not, you'll take every excuse to stay away." "They go because they admire the man; they want to support him because he works, helps them, visits them faithfully." "A good man, a good church." "Sometimes they say, 'Even with a good minister, the community would tire of him quickly.' I don't believe it."

He wants a minister who is democratic, who is no respecter of persons, and who will call in the homes of the poor as in the homes of the rich. The rural person wants a minister who can lead, but he does not want domination from the clergy any more than from the gentry.

He wants a pastor who shows that he is interested not only in his job, but in his people. He wants him therefore to take part in community life outside the church. He wants him to come into his home, and sometimes to pray in that home if there is some specific need for prayer. He wants him to be a friend as well as a preacher — the "sort you feel like going to for anything." He wants him to take a special interest in the young people, and to make good use of his chaplaincy at the school.

He wants his minister to be a man of conviction. "The church shouldn't be soft in its preaching; it never lost in the long run for saying what it believed." "A minister should speak out, regardless of whether it suits people or not." A minister's avowals of his stand may meet with disagreement — and there is nothing which makes a country person more vocal than disagreement. But country people are often congenital
non-conformists, and to them disagreement is not the same as dislike. A minister who muffles his beliefs will not be respected, and his people will quickly sense his lack of courage. They want him to have convictions — along with tact and tolerance. From interviews with laymen in 108 parishes, the ministers were criticized for many things; but no minister was ever criticized for honestly believing too much!

It is worth noting some of the other things which laymen did not criticize, even when invited to express their judgments. Only once did I hear one word of complaint that a minister visited too much, and then the criticism was a gentle one. "He and his wife called all the time; they never ate a meal at home." Never did I hear that he took too active a part in non-church activities — so long as they were within the community. He was never criticized for keeping his people informed about church programs and needs, and about his own activities, by means of good communicative tools, like the parish paper or supplement. He was never accused of being too busy — for almost more than anything else, the country person wants to see some evidence that his minister is not afraid to work.

This is an excellent moment to turn the attention of our survey from what the people expect of their minister, to the kind of man they think they see at the Manse.

In nearly every case, as we have previously seen, they testify that he is free from entangling friendships with any individual or clique in his congregation. (Episcopal ministers were the only ones so accused, and they very seldom). In nearly every case, they declare the standard of the minister's personal life free from any hint of reproach. In a majority of cases, though with some exceptions which will be noted
later in this chapter, the laymen found no fault with the minister's background and training. They found him generally democratic and free from snobbishness. They found him usually courageous, if not always tactful. They found his preaching frequently fine, and at worst deadly dull rather than theologically or logically unsound. And I am sure it would be heartening for the ministers to know that in more than one fourth of the parishes, the present minister is regarded as equal to or surpassing the best minister the parish has had in living memory.

In fact, the bulk of their criticism can be condensed into three categories: 1) The ministers are generally over-cautious and conservative. 2) They are afraid of work. And 3), they show too little interest in the community and people.

The first of these judgments, that of conservatism, has already been discussed in Chapter V. The layman is very understanding toward this conservatism if the minister is old and can be expected to be old-fashioned, but impatient with it if he is young. He is sometimes unsure of the minister's reasons for holding back from the use of new tools and techniques which the layman no longer regards as innovations. He often suspects that it is because the minister is afraid to offend, "afraid to lose what little hold he still has." Perhaps he is right; we have already noted that the minister usually thinks of his laymen as more conservative than he, and probably holds back for this reason. But the layman would prefer to feel that his minister's reasons stemmed from conviction, for he could then respect them more than he respects the appearance of fear or laziness.

The second charge, the fear of work, is more serious, and I hesitate to report it because I know that it is so easy in this respect to be unfair.
Although I know ministerial lethargy to be only partly fact, it is entirely fact that the average layman thinks the average minister is lazy. If the minister does not visit, he attributes it to laziness. If the minister does not go to the school, he lays it to laziness. When the grass grows tall around the manse, the minister is thought to be afraid of soiling his hands. If he is reluctant to undertake a new project or add a new activity to the church's program, he is thought to be afraid of the extra work. I discovered instances when a minister had refused on principle to cooperate in certain types of evangelistic programs; but his refusal was interpreted as laziness. Every minister knows this charge; it stems in part from the nature of a minister's work. To a man for whom work is lifting potatoes and plowing fields, it is difficult to make plain that a minister works with books, slaves with ink and wrestles with human souls.

Nevertheless we must face the charge. We must reckon with the fact that twenty per cent of our ministers did not themselves feel that they were busy; they never succeeded in covering up that fact. We must face the implication that arises when in one parish, with only 150 souls, the minister was regarded as "cracking," while in another non-competitive field with a population of more than 1200, the people thought the minister had plenty of time to spare. The implication is simple: The minister of that latter field is either lazy or ill, or else he is utterly inept at the "public relations" aspect of his job. I have previously indicated that I believe the last is frequently the case, for communication between minister and people is a constant problem which can lead to a total lack of mutual understanding. The plain fact is that the people would like to see more sign of the minister's activities, beyond
a Sunday sermon and repetive, sermonic prayers. The minister can do a
great deal more than he usually does, to make his labors known. Perhaps
we should not forget the sting in the statement of one "Free Church"
layman: "We've waited a long time for just the right time to close up
our church and go in with the Church of Scotland here. But if the Church
of Scotland wants others to unite, it won't be by somnolence. Others are
waiting for some sign that the church is alive." And it may be difficult
to forget the bitter comment of one elder about his church: "Of course
the stipend is too low. But we pay plenty for what we get. We'll never
be able to raise the stipend here until we have a man who'll work for it."

The third charge is also a serious one, that the ministers are
frequently uninterested in the country parish or in country people. More
than a few times this comment was recorded, or one similar to it: "All
they're interested in is how the church goes. They don't care about the
people." Often the charge of "professionalism" was raised. It did not
mean the same thing in every case; it meant "they're just good technicians"
in some, but in others, it meant that they had an interest in the job
only as a job. About one third of the laymen professed to believe that
their ministers were not interested in the small churches in the country
places; this was most common in the case of younger men (and it correlates
extremely well with the candid confessions of young ministers themselves).
The layman believes that one sign of this scorn of the country church is
the fact that his church is used as a "stepping-stone." He is himself
afraid of the life-time pastorate; but he wishes there could be a happy
medium between that and the young man who "jumps on too soon." Anything
less than five years, he usually considers "too soon."

We may suspect that this last criticism is an outgrowth of the long-
standing sensitiveness of the country person toward the city. His cultural
and material opportunities have traditionally been inferior to those of
the towns, and he is used to having men in every profession look upon a
move to a city as an upward step. When the charge is levelled against the
ministry, therefore, it is not hard to understand. But this criticism,
and the other two, must all be taken seriously, for they contain more than
a seed of truth.

The Man and His Training:

It is a tribute to Scotland's theological faculties that even one
out of every four ministers feels that his training for his job was as
good as he could ask. When a man makes a mistake, his instructors are
likely to receive the blame.

It is quite possible, however, that the churches' theological
institutions could profit from the critique offered by their graduates,
and it is for this reason that each clergyman was asked a direct question
concerning the adequacy and relevancy of his training. As might be ex¬
pected, the Roman Catholic clergy agreed almost to a man that their training
had been thorough and adequate to the specialized job they were expected
to do. Most others, however, had either major or minor suggestions con¬
cerning their ministerial preparation.

Briefly, these suggestions may be ranked according to the frequency
with which they were mentioned, under the traditional areas of ministerial
training. Least often cited were the areas of church history and theology;
next Biblical knowledge; and most often the tremendous area of ethics
and practical theology. This too is a finding which could have been anti¬
cipated because of the nature of the practical complications which arise
from the minister's job.

Almost without exception, the men who were interviewed felt that
their training in theology had been adequate. Their only criticism was a hope that theology in the future need not be so completely dehumanized. "The training seems to take the edge off our initial vision, blunts our cutting edge." "It makes a man a scholar, and builds a barrier between him and his people." In the field of church history, only one recurring suggestion was recorded: that men be trained to find and to use local historical sources.

In the field of Biblical knowledge, the complaints were more common, though still few. The demand was almost entirely for a more thorough training in the English Bible, with relatively small demand for the abandonment of Greek and Hebrew. "It should be abolished or mastered." "A lot of things like that could be dropped. They're all right for a scholar, but unnecessary for a parish minister."

The problems of ethics seemed not to weigh heavily upon the ministers' shoulders, with two exceptions. One was the desire to be able to use the training in ethics received in theological school. "I've never once been asked for marital counsel, for example; I'd be glad to give it, but I don't know how to make people come to me for it." The other was in the field of ministerial ethics and etiquette, where many a minister felt keenly concerning the neglect of professional courtesies on the part of predecessors, outside ministers calling within the parish, failure to include "free kirk" ministers in "cooperative" services and programs, and a general disregard for parish boundaries.

But the great mass of the suggestions fell under the broader head of practical theology. Some came from old men, some from the young; on the whole, they represent a very average cross-section of age-groups, and the complaints of old and young are remarkably alike. Some suggestions were very general ("What we need is practical practical theology"), and some
were painfully specific. Out of the diverse list of answers, I shall attempt to present as orderly a summary as possible.

It appeared that the point where practical training was most critically needed was in the administration of a church. As one elderly minister put it, "Some young men can't even manage their own glebes." A long list could be compiled from the suggestions, sufficient for several courses of lectures in practical theology: They are the silly things which don't seem important but which are vital to a man at the beginning of his ministry: "The minister as an official," "the legal end of the ministry," "how to conduct meetings," "the upkeep of fabric," "church finance," "the elements of church book-keeping" ("I can't even tell my own treasurer how it should be done"), "how to exercise authority," "how to handle the kirk session," "how to keep Woman's Guild officers in their own domain," "how to have the business of the church run in a business-like way" — these are some of the things that would be on the list, for "we don't all come from backgrounds where we saw the inside workings of an ideal church!"

The next need which struck most ministers as critical was for more adequate training in pastoral visitation. "The 'how-to' — that's what we need." "When a doctor goes into a house, he knows exactly what to do. Me? I don't know where to start." "The emphasis must be on visiting and what to do when you visit, prayers intelligently used in homes, the knack of turning the conversation where you want it." "They should bring in someone who has been through the mill, let him demonstrate how to talk to a man dying of cancer." And "he must be told he'll have to be human enough to make the people feel he lives in the same world they do," "to bridge the gulf between the 'big' manse and the 'little' people."
The next greatest demand was for more homiletical and elocutionary training. "We must know how to preach. You can't organize men and women into Christianity." "We should be given more about the writing of sermons." Some had very definite proposals. "A young man must be made to see how absolutely simple his preaching must be. It can be deep, but it must be simple. He can't take anything for granted; there is no common knowledge now about spiritual things." Another suggested a classroom procedure, to "have students, then a guest minister — a master — construct sermons on the same text, and compare the results." In the allied area of elocution, strong feelings were vented. "We were taught a clerical whine." "The elocutionary training was a farce. I think it's better now." "Ministerial reading is execrable." "The training needs to be revised for all ministers. Few speak or read really well."

There was a substantial, but not so strident, call for training in pastoral psychology and counseling. This was one of the points at which it was felt that the training of men who were to go to rural parishes should differ from that of men going elsewhere. "We should know something about the outlook of farmers, farm servants, the psychology of the country, rural culture." There is an echo here of one of the conclusions of the Tambaran report, that "the pastor who has been taught to understand the peculiar life problems of his community whether city or country, and intelligently to help the people solve them, will be supported by his community."6 "And," one minister added, "we should be taught how to cultivate the habit of consulting the minister." Many men expressed the wish that they could be consulted more for all varieties of problems, for cases of specific pastoral counseling appear to be rare in the rural areas.

Of practically equal importance to the ministers was the need for training in evangelism. "We were never taught how to come to grips with people." "It was too much on forms, not real. There was too little of the evangelistic note. Perhaps what we needed was more students' campaigns."

"We need a missionary, evangelical fervor in every parish." It may be wise to note here a definite connection not only between statistical health and a high level of missionary interest within the local church, but also between church health and the ministries of men who had previously spent time on the mission field. Almost without exception, their churches were considerably above the average in financial strength and in the ratios of membership-to-population and attendance-to-membership. The men themselves appeared to have a more definite sense of purpose, they were nearly always above the layman's charge of "laziness," and they were producing results. There may well be value in the claim of several men, "Every young minister should be sent abroad for a period."

There was an almost equivalent demand for a course of lectures with the title: "Problems of the Parish." "We should be warned." "We should be told some things bluntly." "We should be told to avoid too-close friendships," "how to handle problem weddings," "the problems of church music." "They should have a series of lectures on 'Mistakes I Made When I Was Beginning My Ministry' by able, active pastors."

Considerable opinion was also expressed that training should now be given in such things as mobile ministries, team ministries ("the training for work like that ought to be more specialized"), and the like perhaps on an assistantship or an internship basis. "A man should be taken out for a year, put to work in an experimental parish, sent back to finish." Assistantships were generally praised ("I learned more from mine than I did in theological college "), with the accompanying pointed
warning that they should "assist the student as well as the minister."
"The student ought to be taken along on visits, not just sent. He should be taken into session meetings. He should be there to help at weddings and funerals, and taken into the minister's confidence." "Assistantships have infinite possibilities, but they should be better supervised than mine was."

Many ministers also agreed that a background course in rural sociology, culture, and customs would have been especially valuable at the beginning of their ministries. It was occasionally claimed that only men who had lived in the country or "had worked on farms and knew what it was" should be sent to rural parishes; but it was generally agreed that this want could be supplied, insofar as it was needed by the minister, through brief instruction in rural sociology and subsequent experience.

The remaining suggestions do not fall into natural groupings of any considerable size, but at least a few have merit. "Every minister should have some teacher's training. Our attempts at teaching are so ludicrous."
"We should have more training for youth work, especially working with a small group." ("Perhaps we could adopt Senior Scout ideas, with a minimum of organization and a maximum of independent initiative.") "There should be emphasis on systematic work, how to organize your daily schedule. A minister's time is his own to divide. He can do nothing or work like a dog. Nobody is there to make him do it. His church is what he makes it."
A few men suggested the wise development of hobbies which will give a point of contact (especially in a country parish) with people outside the church; or as one Roman Catholic priest put it, "a man must develop his own particular strong points — music is mine — or art, or even just tasteful collecting — to be the 'hook' for new contacts with new people."
Three out of every four ministers found that gardening, which was
economically a liability, could be just such a "hook." One minister commented, "My photography is a marvelous help to my work."

Some ministers felt that the whole realm of practical theology was too large for the theological faculties as they stood. "The theological colleges ought to be combined. It would make a faculty who could handle a more diversified course." "Ministers must be trained to make a total impact on the people. They must be made to realize that the religious message is carried to people no longer just by preaching and the worship of church, but by press, wireless, cinema — and we must know how to use them all. One man can't do all that in a theological school."

The fact that the criticisms and suggestions came so abundantly is not an indication that the men were ungrateful for a fine training. I believe that their suggestions were almost without exception offered as constructive criticism for still more effective training of workmen in the kingdom of God. Their proposals were frequently accompanied by qualifying reservations. "But of course you can't train common sense into a man." "Training can't replace experience." "It's difficult to give men from varied backgrounds exactly what they need." One man commented: "You have to learn by making mistakes — and you'd better not make the same mistake a second time!" Another made his own list of requirements for the ministry, and training was not one of them: "You need patience, imperturbability, and a robust faith." Some of the comments were whimsical: "I come across men who think a minister should be trained for business or education. A man could be fifty when he starts!" Everyone appreciates the problems of theological education; the suggestions come because every man wants it to be as adequate as possible.

The laymen too want a well-trained ministry. A few ministers proposed
that the shortage of candidates for the ministry could be met by a lowering of standards. Not one layman offered a similar proposal. I shall long remember one group of men of the Christian Brethren, who supposedly did not believe in any formal training for their leaders ("you have the gift"). While we talked around their fire, they told me proudly about one of their boys who had become a Congregational minister, and was "wonderfully trained." Laymen of the church, even the non-church people of the community, want to feel that they have in their parish minister a man who is called and schooled to meet their needs, a man on whose ability and leadership they can depend, and a man whose public presence brings them pride.

There is a valuable parallel between the critique of theological preparation as offered by ministers and as offered by laymen. Like the clergy, the people see the biggest fault in the practical realm. They would reverse the first two specific complaints on the ministers' list, placing "the knack of visiting" first. "It's the only way to break down the barrier." "They must be trained to listen, keep in touch." "They must be out among the people." "The people are tongue-tied out of awe for their degrees. They need the human touch."

To the matter of weak church administration, the laymen give second place, and frequently offer a remedy occasionally mentioned by the ministers -- labor in another type of work before entering the ministry. "Most of them have never done anything else." "If they had practiced another trade, they would have run into practical problems." "Our minister worked in a selling job first; it helps." This may hardly be a practical answer if a man is not to "be fifty when he starts," but the problem is a very practical and necessary one to face.
Like their ministers, the laymen give third place to homiletics and elocution despite the fact that they would not know what "homiletics" means! They would agree with the need for simplicity. "We need simpler sermons, stories like Jesus!" "They ought to say it in words the people can understand." "And they ought to teach them not to whine."

The laymen would raise psychological and sociological training for a rural pastorate to fourth place. There was general agreement that ministers need not be part-time farmers, "though some knowledge of agriculture would undoubtedly help." But a minister should understand country people. "They'll look up to him, if he's interested in them and their way." One schoolmaster commented: "If a man is going to teach in the country, he's given special preparation. A country minister ought to have it too, to understand the rural mind." Another layman cited the same need, and added: "They ought to be trained to act as though they like the place."

There were other suggestions which are perhaps not less important, although they were certainly less numerous. At least a minimal training in education was one. More thorough knowledge of the English Bible was another. Preparation for vital leadership of worship was still another. A few mentioned a need for training for "talking to young people." "I was in a group of ministers not long ago, and I asked how many had training to talk to youth. One minister said there were three lectures on that, and they were optional."

But more than the ministers, the laymen tended to lay their pastors' faults to human fallibility, rather than defective training. More than half the laymen believed their ministers were well prepared for the work they were called to do. I will leave it to the theological faculties whether to agree with clergy or with people!
Occupational Hazards of the Rural Ministry:

Every profession, indeed every individual job for which a man can be employed has its occupational hazards — pitfalls and drawbacks which are inherent in the job itself. The ministry in rural areas is no exception. At the risk of being deadly repetitious, I shall propose a catalogue of occupational hazards inherent in the rural ministry. As always in this thesis, this is not my list, and I do not necessarily agree with it. It is the list presented by the frank and candid conversation of men who in most cases have had longer experience as ministers in rural churches than I have had.

The greatest hazard is discouragement, and the kindred feelings of disillusionment, frustration, and disappointment. More than one out of every three ministers admits to the feeling, and admits that he either fights it or has resigned himself to it. "I've been here for three years, and I wonder what I'm here for." "I can't see how what I'm doing has much relation to the Kingdom of God." "I'm dissatisfied with the modus labori, but I'm stuck with it." The causes are many — the "one-man show," the dearth of able people ("There are just not the people — I have to be organist, choir, beadle and minister"), the distances which to a man on a straitened budget assume monumental proportions ("They expect you to take care of them, and it's harder in the country"), the pitiful equipment, the size of the garden, the constant financial pressure both personally and ecclesiastically, the pessimistic turn to agricultural conversation ("I fight it; you can't let the pessimism of the people discourage you from trying anything. They didn't think we could lead in water, or rebuild the hall, but we did it."). But the results are the same, unless the man has abundant strength from the Lord to fight back, and a sense of overwhelming purpose in His kingdom.
A hazard almost as great, isolation, may account for much of the frustration of the job. One minister out of every five felt it acutely, most particularly those of the smaller denominations. One Episcopal minister told me: "I shall eventually seek to go back to England. And when I do, it will be with a full appreciation of the solitary, 'rightless' position of the dissenting ministers. I hope not to let my brethren forget it." But no one denomination's ministers had loneliness as their special property. "The country minister stands very much alone. He must whip up his own enthusiasm. The church stands or falls almost entirely by the minister." "A minister cannot have close friends in his congregation, and his brethren are too far away. It is even more of a problem for the minister's wife." "It must be wonderful for a private in line to think that behind him is a whole hierarchy of supply, direction, replacement. A country minister fights alone, neglected, forgotten." It would be easy to over-dramatize the problem, and I do not wish to be understood to mean that it is impossible to solve it. No matter how isolated the Manse itself may be, the loneliness can surely be broken by being "in touch with the people and with the Lord," and the professional isolation can be ended through "fraternals," reading, occasional speakers from the Boards of the churches, and the like. It is an unexpected fact, provable by this survey, that the churches tend to be stronger in areas where there is an active fellowship of ministers. How much this proves is open to question, for I found the most active fraternals in areas which have long been considered "kirk-minded;" but it is undoubtedly an indication of the continuing value of professional fellowship. As a city minister needs to retreat occasionally to the quiet and peace of a country place, the country minister's "retreat" apparently needs to be to a place where he can hear the busy sound of human voices and find the sympathetic
ear of kindred souls.

A third hazard of which the country minister is uncomfortably aware is the temptation to an undisciplined life. "A country minister's schedule is his own. He can do as much or as little as he likes. The temptation is to be lazy."

A fourth hazard is the stigma of the country. As one minister said to me, "There is no place for it in the ministry." But it is there, and it takes its toll of fighting spirit. Other studies have reckoned with the same problem. "Although it is high time that there was a levelling up on .... material things, no reorganization is going to cure the sort of stigma of incompetence as not being a 'coming man,' which hangs over the man in the country church. 'Poor old X, a good chap, but only fit for a quiet job in the country.'"

Apparently a need exists for some sort of approach to country church work as a "specialty," an "Iona of the Country" as one man called it, if only to make it obvious that a minister has accepted its challenge on its own merit, to show the people in a graphic way that he is there by choice, and to demonstrate that he has not taken a country church only because he was unable to compete for another type of work. Industrial parishes, once regarded with the same sort of distaste, have been raised to a missionary status by this approach; the same result could be accomplished for the country parish.

A fifth hazard of the rural minister's occupation is clerical etiquette. As parish boundaries grow to mean less and less, ministerial courtesies must be respected more and more. There is constant resentment where a church in one parish sends buses for people within the bounds of other parishes (not a unique practice), or where projects which began as

7 The Land, the People and the Churches, p. 42.
"cooperative ventures" become the pet hobbies of one man or another, or where one minister visits frequently in a neighbor's parish without the simple courtesy of permission. There must be an increasing regard for the amenity of professional ethics as "parish" becomes increasingly meaningful.

There are other hazards which are minor by comparison, but which pose very practical problems for the minister. It is hard in the country, for example, for a minister who has cultivated the confidence of his people to take a day off. "You're there, and in the country they know it." There is an exaggerated problem of tact. "The society is so small that even vague allusions are taken personally." Participation in community affairs is desirable, but in a small place, it means that one willing person is overloaded with too many responsibilities, with "so much activity on the fringes of a minister's work."

The church must have more than sympathy with the lot of the country minister. And the man himself must have more than the knowledge that a doctoral thesis may some day be written about him. He needs strength of character and stern self-discipline, endless spiritual resources and boundless love for the children of God if he is to be the kind of minister for the rural parish.
SECTION III

THE TOOLS

Chapter VII: The Property and Equipment of the Church
CHAPTER VII: THE PROPERTY AND EQUIPMENT OF THE CHURCH

"It's not just a matter of training. It's a matter of tools. The Church must equip a man to do a job."

In the first major sections of this thesis, we have sought to analyze the field in which the minister of rural Scotland is at work. We have examined the type of person with whom he must deal. And we have tried to discover just what kind of man he is, with what personal motives, interests, qualifications and training. Now we shall endeavor to assess the paraphernalia of the parish ministry - the properties, the furnishings, the equipment, the "matter of tools." Does the Church in landward Scotland "equip a man to do a job?"

I shall remember as long as I live the magnificent old Church that overlooks Lomond from its trim and lovely loch-side churchyard at Lass. I could not forget if I wished the peacefulness of the tiny church at Bedrule, more than restored to its ancient, worshipful beauty. Vivid in my memory is the cluster of stately trees that stands aloof from the surrounding fields and pastures, with a purpose unmistakable for miles around - to shelter the parish kirk of Bonkyl. Unforgettable is the church at Culter, bearing gracious witness to the faith beside a country road, its sanctity preserved by the sentinel grove that separates it from the village. The churches of Carriden, and Linton, and Biggar, and the Haugh of Urr - these and many others deserve to be pictured in any book of beautiful houses of God.

But our writing is for another purpose, and for this purpose, we must turn from the sentimental to the objective, examining such distasteful information as the condition of the fabric, the weather-worthiness of the roof, and the ciphers in the organ.
The Church:

The building where the rural congregation worships is almost without exception large enough to meet all ordinary needs - and usually not so large as to be incongruous in relation to the size of the worshipping church family. It would be safe to say that the size is ordinarily "hopeful," but in only a few cases do my notes include the words "excessively large" in connection with the church building. The reason for this is well-known to anyone familiar with the history of Scotland's church architecture: during the centuries when most of the present churches were constructed, the heritors were required to provide a house of worship in which every person in the parish could be seated. How much space there should be for each person was not stipulated, and so the pews are commonly much too narrow for comfort and too close together for the average Scots knee, the aisles too cramped for convenience, and the light obscured by unneeded balconies. Frequently a vast improvement in comfort could be made by the removal of a third of the pews and the relocation of those that remain, or occasionally by the removal of unsightly balconies; but the over-all size of the building is usually suitable to the parish.

The condition of the church structure is excellent or good in six parishes out of ten, fair in three, and poor in one. The part of the church fabric most commonly in need of extensive repair is the roof, though the masonry needs pointing or rough-casting almost as often. Of the one hundred and eight church buildings in our study, nine were probably pre-Reformation - and all but two of these were maintained in excellent condition. Only seven had been constructed within the last forty years, three of these belonging to the Church of Scotland.

The exterior of the church itself (we shall treat of the grounds later) is ordinarily attractive, though the style would be hard to categorize. Some of the more ancient and more modern buildings incorporate a modest type of Gothic architecture. Most of the rest fall into the general type known euphemistically as
"heirors' Gothic." The latter is a style not so much noted for its beauty as for its utility, but according to a judgment which I acknowledge to be subjective, less than one building in four could be labelled unattractive; by setting, planting or later stylistic improvement, the rest manage to present a good face to the road.

Interiorly, the same subjective judgment would mark six out of ten as worshipful or at least attractive. Even charitable judgment would list four out of every ten as badly in need of redecoration, with paint scaling from the walls, obtrusive discoloration, and plaster cracked and falling. In most of these instances, I have the supporting judgment of minister and people: "The church down there is a dull place. It needs brightening up." Another study of Britain's rural churches reports: "The average parish church in the countryside is large and cold. Many have the addition of medieval dampness and darkness mitigated by methods of heating and lighting almost as ancient, less picturesque and very troublesome." My own study could not support this as "average" for Scotland, although the majority of country congregations take more pains to have a sound fabric than to have the qualities of worshipfulness and attractiveness.

Again in contrast to the report just quoted, three out of very four churches are provided with good heating facilities; only a few continue to heat with paraffin stoves, or have inadequate central heat. Not so many, however, are provided with good organs, either pipe or reed; in those churches which permit the use of musical instruments, less than two out of three have organs which are of adequate quality or capacity even for a small sanctuary. (This is not my opinion; it is the evaluation tendered by the laymen.) On the other hand, a few rural churches possess small organs capable of producing magnificent music. I shall attempt to avoid rendering a value judgment when I report that two congregations have recently installed electronic organs, with which they are so far satisfied.

1 The Land, the People and the Churches, p. 47.
The "central pulpit" remains in two out of every three Church of Scotland sanctuaries - although it is often actually in a corner, or at the side. The divided chancel, which appears in the other third of Church of Scotland churches (usually where a "restoration" has been attempted), is to be found elsewhere only in Episcopal and Roman Catholic sanctuaries.

Two thirds of our rural churches have "laid on" electricity, as we have mentioned before. Other amenities which the rural home has acquired sooner than electricity have almost always by-passed the church. Water and sanitation can usually be found in the parish hall, but seldom in the church hall - and almost never in a hall or session house attached to the church.

Notes such as these, especially when they speak unfavorably about the condition and appearance of the rural church, must be tempered with the sheer realism of the situation. We must be reminded again that more than half of the churches in our study either anticipate or fear union, linkage or closure at the end of the present pastorate. If this is true, there is small encouragement to the congregation to spend the necessary hundreds of pounds to renovate and improve their property.

We must also take account of another hard fact of rural church life. The location of the church often makes the congregation wonder whether it should be kept in repair at all. "The hall is where the church ought to be." "I'm not in sympathy with the church extension program the way it works. So there is a new town of council houses; the people there have buses, and they could go to town to church. What about the people in the country parish, where the church was built off in a corner? They have no way to go but to walk, and it's six or seven miles. They need to have churches built right here!" In one out of every three parishes, the church is not in the village center, or even at its border. In most such instances, the churches are at least located on good main roads. But in seven of the parishes studied, the churches stand alone, with the traffic passing them by at
distances up to a mile, while they are served only by secondary or connecting roads. We must agree at least in part with the finding of the British Council survey: "Village churches of all denominations are trying to cope with a rapidly growing.... population for which their siting... and type of accommodation are wholly unsuited." In a few cases, the ministers did not feel that the life of the church would be appreciably improved by an improved location. "I don't think the church would be better off otherwise placed." But I have noticed that a poor location is usually discouraging when the time comes for improvements to be made.

There is no question that some country churches would be better fitted to cope with their property problems if they followed recommended procedures and conducted periodic inspections of their property. One minister reported sadly, as we looked over the walls with their crumbling mortar, "We should make an annual inspection of the fabric; but I can't get them to."

Many a rural congregation would also be happier if they sought competent advice concerning their improvements. "They just redecorated the church, and most of them don't like it." (I agreed.) "We wasted a hundred and seventy-nine pounds on suspended electric heaters. We may have to remove them, because they don't heat the building." A particularly fine opportunity for this kind of guidance in property matters comes at the time of church unions. "If churches are forced by Presbytery to unite, then they must call in someone to help in the property settlement who knows his business." Outside advice at many other times is a very wise technique which could be adopted to advantage by many more churches. "We had a chance to get colored glass from an enthusiastic member. I didn't want it, felt it was inappropriate. So I called in an architect. He condemned it. I've always followed that line since." An outside advisor can often avoid an internal conflict.

2 Ibid., p. 17.
I would be negligent to leave the subject of church property without the promised reference to the church yard. In half the parishes of our study, the grounds contributed materially to a pleasing appearance around the church. The grass was close-cut and the stones well-preserved.

Of the other church yards, two thirds could be termed moderately well cared for. The grass was uncut but the grounds appeared tidy, and the signs pointed to only temporary neglect. They gave the impression that it was about time for the crew of men from the County Council to come around again, as they did every month or two.

In the remaining parishes - about a sixth of the total - there appeared to be no effort to give more than an annual "tidying-up" to the grounds, if that. Hedges and shrubs were untrimmed, the yards cluttered with broken branches and gravestones lying where they had fallen, fences and walls dilapidated. "An appearance of stagnation is often given by unpainted notice-boards bearing out-of-date notices, and generally unkempt surroundings which could with a little care be made attractive far more easily in the countryside than in the town." If I did not first see the minister, it was sometimes impossible to tell whether the church was derelict or in use. And I could not help wondering what effect such obvious neglect must have upon the religious attitudes of the people of those parishes. What importance would they admit for their faith when even the minister and the kirk session did not care for the house of the Lord?

Only about one rural church in ten is marked by any distinguishing board. The newcomer and the traveler are not visibly encouraged to seek out the church of their persuasion, or notified of its hours of service. A pleasant exception was the church of Glenrinnes, far from the main route of travel up and down the glen; the way to the church was clearly marked in prominent locations on the main road - a good example for other isolated churches across the countryside. The Churches of

3 Ibid., p. 48.
Scotland at Freuchie, Glenprosen and Highgar, and the Methodist Church of Wallowestone deserve commendation for the appearance of life which they cultivate by the simple use of a well-kept board.

In fairness to the churches, we should record the fact that most of them have turned their church yards over to the County Councils for care and preservation. The attention they subsequently receive is occasionally excellent, most often fair to good, and frequently poor. On the other hand, private care is no insurance of well-kept grounds, though the average seems to be somewhat better among those churches who still maintain their own church yards.

One minister remarked to me: "The grounds do matter! When we came here, the yard was so overgrown you couldn't see out. The place looked derelict. What must people have thought as they went by?" We have already noted that the fabric of the church is usually fairly well-preserved; but before the casual observer makes a mental note of the condition of the roof, he sees the weeds and the untrimmed hedge. If only the Scot's wonderful wisdom with flowers could be more often turned to the glory of God in the yard around the country church, as it was at Kinkell! There the caretaker and his wife proudly showed me the striking beds of annuals and perennials, planted with meticulous care and perfect taste, the most beautiful church yard I have ever seen. Perhaps Life and Work and similar publications could encourage others by giving recognition to churches like Kinkell.

The Hall

"It presents a dreary front on the sunless side of a drab street. The door has had the paint long since kicked away from the foot of it. Dirt, torn paper and cigarette cartons are swirled into the corners at the side of the door step.... A blank wall faces the entrance, sometimes dolefully broken by a mural tablet describing the forgotten virtues of a prehistoric cleric.... Such is the church hall
which we have been wont for the last fifty years to extol as the porchway to
the house of God. It is anything but inviting, though its purpose was to in-
vite.\footnote{A. H. Dunnett, The Church in Changing Scotland, p. 109.}

These are harsh words. The situation is critical if they are true. Does
our survey bear them out?

Before that question is answered, we must inquire whether it even applies
to the rural church. As a matter of fact, nearly half (47\%) of the churches
studied had no hall at all, beyond a tiny vestry attached to the church. Two
thirds of these are in parishes where there are village halls, parish halls,
glen halls or miners' halls which they were permitted to use. The rest, about
a sixth of all our churches, had no halls available.

In about one third of the churches which boasted halls of their own, the
"halls" consisted of fair-sized "session houses" or vestries attached to the
church buildings. These were generally better cared for than those which were
separated from the churches. The others varied from the "wooden hut" to the
"converted" church, and in the case of most of them, the description with which
this section began is quite appropriate.

There were many noteworthy examples of fine church halls. In Freuchie, a
beautiful hall had just been completed at the time of my visit. One other hall
was new, and two more had been recently redecorated. Four others must be de-
scribed as good in appearance and adequacy. Clearly these represent a small
proportion.

Where other halls in the parish were used, they were usually adequate to the
church's needs, and the ministers frequently felt that the cost was less than it
would have been had they possessed halls of their own. Many ministers, moreover,
were of the opinion that their cooperation with others in the use of parish facil-
ities helped maintain a desirable spirit, avoided conflicts in schedule, and even
offered the church a chance to regain some of its lost parish leadership.
Between halls they own and those available to them, most rural churches have adequate space for their present activities. With very few exceptions, rural laymen would welcome many more youth programs, social gatherings and evenings of fellowship with their fellow churchmen. But in slightly more than two thirds of our parishes, laymen agreed with ministers that the facilities available were sufficient for their needs, and only wished the halls they had could be used more frequently.

Of the thirty-three churches which reported inadequate hall space for education and fellowship, eleven have already begun to raise "hall funds," and a few have made definite plans to build, expand or convert other buildings. But in eighteen parishes, the report was that "the manse becomes the hall" - sometimes gladly, sometimes to the chagrin of "the charwoman who is the minister's wife." And in still others "so much work is either held up or not done at all - because the church has no hall."

Two ventures in the acquisition of halls are worth passing on to other rural churches. In Sorn, the church acquired a row of three old houses which had been condemned and were being replaced by new housing. By removal of the dividing walls and reconstruction of the shell of the building, a very attractive hall was provided for the church.

The other experiment in hall-building which we shall mention took place in Glenrinnes. An old drill hall was given a complete and thorough reconstruction by a parish committee to which the minister gave able leadership. By thorough investigation of potential sources of assistance, it was possible to obtain sixty-five per cent of the cost of the project from the County Council and the Education Department, while only five hundred pounds remained to be raised from local sources. This type of project can be undertaken only with the understanding that the hall may be used for all parish purposes, both sacred and secular. But generous
government support could make adequate facilities available in many a small parish, if local leadership were prompted to take advantage of it.

**The Rural Manse**

If a traveler were to be quite selective in his journeys through Scotland, he could make a very rewarding tour of beautiful country houses by visiting only the manses of the Scots church. One of the very loveliest he could see would be the manse of Gargunnock, surrounded by arching trees and hedge-bordered gardens kept with infinite care, looking down upon its parish with beneficent grace. Or he could travel to Ayrshire, and walk slowly up a sheltered drive until before him stood the Dundonald manse, its gardens lending it a beguiling air of charm and seclusion in the midst of a busy village. Other journeys could well be made to Old Luce, and Bedrule and Broughton, and many another country parish - all to see the lovely, spacious homes of Scotland's ministers.

Even a critical observer would have to admit the beauty of the average country manse, and the fineness of its location. A few can be described only as dismal or unsightly; but most by far are such that they rouse the envy of the parishioner who with his family is cramped into three or four rooms of a Council House or an unimproved "tied" cottage.

This, in many cases, is a tragedy. For it creates a strangely unrealistic impression of life at the manse. The air of spaciousness is to be envied in the Summer on the sun-drenched day of the garden fete. But it is not so enviable in the cold and wind of a Winter night. The vast succession of rooms presents a problem just as vast when the time comes for redecoration and repair, or the installation of electricity. The manses of Scotland are in poorer condition than her churches; in the case of less than half of the country manses I visited could it be said that the condition of the fabric was good. More often it was only
fair, or even poor (one in every ten). Six manses still had no electrical ser-
vice.

Slightly more than a third were of convenient size; a third were certainly
unnecessarily large, though not uncomfortably so; and slightly less than a third
were so huge as to be a constant burden upon the minister and the church. As a
rule, the manses of the Free Churches and the rectories of the Episcopal and
Roman Catholic Churches tended to be of a more manageable size. By the union
of 1929 and subsequent local mergers, a few of these have become the property of
parish churches; local congregations have frequently had the wisdom to keep these
smaller manses and dispose of older and larger ones. Two churches in our survey,
one of them belonging to the Church of Scotland and the other to the Episcopal
Church, have recently sold their old manse and rectory, in order to purchase newer
and smaller ones.

The size and condition of the country manse are disturbing problems; but
another problem almost as great is its location. In Chapter III, attention was
called to a Dumfriesshire parish where the church has been rebuilt in the village
center, leaving the manse to guard the ruin of the old church three miles away.
An almost identical problem has been created in a parish in Wigtownshire, where
the manse stands two miles from the village and the parish church. Eight others
must be placed in the category "isolated," while another twenty-nine are incon¬
veniently located, away from the village center or the church. The majority, of
course, are in convenient locations; but the fact remains that in more than a
third of the parishes surveyed, virtually every pastoral visit is a transportation
problem, and consulting the minister is too difficult for a generation which has
forgotten how to walk!

"He has his stipend, and his house and a garden. That's good pay." Comments
like these were heard only occasionally, but often enough to indicate that many a
parishioner does not realize how much of a burden the minister has in a manse and
garden both of which are far too large. Far from being an asset, the garden is
frequently a liability. (See p. 129.) Next to that of the laird, it is usually
the largest garden in the parish. The minister used to hire a man to care for it;
in nearly every case, he has long since had to care for it himself. Only one
minister in six considered his garden an economic asset. Eight out of every ten
ministers keep at least a large section of their gardens in good or fair condition;
one garden in ten is poorly kept, and one in every ten can only be properly de-
scribed as a wilderness. The cause is sometimes an ill-timed sickness, sometimes
undoubtedly laziness. But more often it is the simple fact that the seed and the
soil, which most ministers and laymen believe can become a bond between minister
and parishioner, have become hated burdens for the minister, and barriers between
him and his people.

The few persons who feel the minister is singularly blessed with his big
house and garden are more than counter-balanced by an alert minority of laymen
who understand the problem and are anxious to do something about it. More than
one in every ten spoke of the possibility of replacing the manse with a smaller
house. In one parish, plans were already being made to purchase a new manse,
and convert the old one into a parish hall, with abundant rooms for Sunday School
classes, meetings and the like.

Unfortunately, most parishes are caught in the situation that the manses are
so located or so large as to be unsalable. Recent difficulties in securing min-
isters have impressed upon many church officers the undesirability of the old
manse: "The size of the place discourages any young man from coming here." "The
manse is so damp, poor and unattractive that it cuts down on our choice of min-
isters. Who wants to bring his wife to a place like this?" It is interesting
that one of the things to which country laymen attribute the dearth of young men
entering the ministry is the rural churches' out-dated equipment - including over-sized manses. But no matter how deeply these facts are impressed upon the rural mind, economic considerations usually prevent any radical change.

It is difficult to offer constructive suggestions in a situation so often beyond the control of the local congregation. But it would appear wise for each church to survey the size and location of its manse, and to assess the feasibility of selling or converting it if site or size prove undesirable. Should nothing else come of such an evaluation of the manse, attention could at least be called to the condition of the fabric and the state of the interior - matters too often left to the worry of the minister alone.

**Furnishings and Equipment**

Despite all the worries that cluster in the manse, the minister usually manages to retain a sense of humor. In one interview, when I began to inquire about the "moveable equipment" in the possession of the church, the pastor responded: "I don't think Paul would rewrite his chapter: 'Put on therefore the whole armor of God, the breastplate of the cinematograph and the sword of the mimeograph.'"

He is right. There is no sense in which the property of the church, or its desire to keep pace with "progress" should obscure its mission and its most essential tools. Whatever we shall say about physical equipment must be understood in its proper perspective.

It is nevertheless important, though secondary. The Church of John Knox's generation could hardly be said to have squandered its material resources; but the First Book of Discipline includes "the stipulation of doors, windows of glass, thatch or slate, a bell, a pulpit, a basin for baptizing, and tables for the ministration of the Lord's Supper." Beyond the bare necessity for a house of

---

5 First Book of Discipline: or the Policie and Discipline of the Church (James Watson, Edinburgh, 1721), Chapter XV, p. 599.
worship, these were all tools for proclaiming and communicating the word and grace of God. Today the means of mass communication have been multiplied and many additional tools have been placed within the reach of the church - or tantalizingly near.

By 1952, virtually all the churches of rural Scotland have caught up with John Knox, and have acquired the equipment stipulated in the First Book of Discipline. They have added hymnaries, pews, a pulpit Bible, a heating system and (where there is no ecclesiastical objection) an organ. But only one church in five possesses any other equipment worthy of mentioning. "Heating, the organ; that's our equipment!" By choice or necessity, 79% of the churches in our survey do not own a single item in a list of equipment including typewriters, mimeographs, film-strip projectors, lanterns, or cinematographs. Eight churches do own lanterns; seven have film-strip projectors; six have mimeographs; two have typewriters; one boasts its own wireless. Some churches do have such equipment available: twenty ministers own their own typewriters, and in two other cases they have access to them; twenty-six churches have cinematographs which are available for borrowing or reasonable rental; two ministers have their own mimeographs, and churches in ten other parishes have access to them; two ministers have their own printing presses; six churches have access to film-strip projectors. I am certain that many more churches would be welcome to the free or reasonable use of other equipment, if they were to inquire into the resources of the schools and if they made use of machines already in the possession of presbyteries.

The majority of laymen are of the definite opinion that the church makes too little use of the printed word, films and other audio-visual materials. They also believe, as we have pointed out, that the church tends to be more conservative than the people. But more than half of them feel that the church is well-equipped when it has central heat and an organ. Just how this divergence of evidence is to
be evaluated, I am not sure. In some cases, the feeling that the axe is about to fall upon the church is so strong that the members are reluctant to spend money on property and equipment which will soon be unnecessary. In other cases, I believe it is a matter of simple priority; the item which the layman most often listed as needed equipment was the cinematograph - but it usually came far down the list behind electricity, a new organ, a new heating system or a hall.

It may not be necessary, however, to try to explain the inconsistency. Perhaps our laymen are quite justified in feeling that the local church need not own all the equipment which it should put to use in its program. A few presbyteries already own cinematographs for the convenience of their churches; more could do so, or better still, several churches in a smaller area could pool their resources to much greater advantage. When the ministers in our survey were asked what their denominations might do to help most in the small parish, second priority was given to "the subsidy of luxury tools - projectors, films, and things like that."

Another source of help may be found in the suggestion that the occasional gifts which come to the church as memorials could well be channeled into useful professional tools, rather than mural plaques or inappropriate colored glass. As a result of the conversation during our interview, one minister proposed to prepare a list of furnishings and equipment which his church actually needed; this list, naming articles of varying cost, would be made available to anyone inquiring about a memorial gift. Here is but one more example of the endless ingenuity and vision required of the minister, to keep the church abreast of the times.

The Minister's Car

It is possible to become rhapsodic about the country church or the rural manse. We can still echo romantic eighteenth and nineteenth century poetry about the joys of the rustic life. But it is extremely difficult to be romantic or
rhapsodic about the rural pastor's car.

In remarkable agreement, ministers and laymen ruled a car necessary for the parish work of four out of every five ministers. Of the churches for which a car was not deemed necessary, a third were of the smaller denominations which have no parish responsibilities; and most of the rest, serving the largest village centers of our study, enjoyed moderately good public bus service. In the few cases where my own judgment would differ from that rendered locally, I would be inclined to change the verdict to "necessary" almost as often as I would change it to the contrary. And it is patent that several of the ministers, who assuredly need no cars for their parish work as it is now constituted, would just as assuredly need them if they were serving their parishes properly. "If a minister did his work here, he should have a car." "If they visits in the congregation, they needs it. Some doesn't." Among ministers serving rural churches under the parish system, only one in ten can do his work well without a car.

But out of every ten Church of Scotland ministers, four are trying to do their work without cars - a proportion even more unfavorable than the thirty-seven per cent of ministers of other denominations. In the other two denominations which attempt a parish system, thirty-three per cent of the ministers of the Episcopal Church and only eighteen per cent of Roman Catholic priests carry on their work without cars.

The differing per centages are easily understandable from the fact that Roman Catholic priests, who manage all the finances of their parishes, simply charge their cars to parish expense. On the other hand, only one in every five Church of Scotland ministers receives a car allowance or grant in aid (of £5 to £85) from either their parishes or their denominational headquarters. One minister had received a grant of £200 to purchase a needed car. If the average parish minister has a car, its total expense (sometimes amounting to hundreds of
pounds a year) must come from his stipend and his own private resources.

The serious comments of the ministers themselves indicate the difficulty of their situation. "I used £225 for my car last year, and I received a grant of £60." "No, I get no help. The car is in the garage, and will have to be sold." "Last year I spent a third of my stipend on my car." "I can't afford a car. So I hire and have to pay for that myself." "I had to tell them I couldn't run a car, and if I used a bike, I couldn't do as much. This parish is listed as needing a car, but I won't ask for one." "Fourteen years ago, I spent a bequest to buy a car. Now it's worn out, and I can't afford to repair or replace it." "My congregation did give me £20 a year for my car, but I just couldn't afford it." "My car is sixteen years old, but I don't know how I'll ever have another one." "My wife teaches school, or I'd have no car."

The experience of two ministers is worth recording. One of them, unique for his frankness and courage, is an Episcopal rector who refused to accept a new church until the congregation supplied him with both a car and an annual travel allowance. The other example is unique for the ingenuity it reflects. In one Aberdeenshire parish, a fertile glebe was devoted to the problem of the minister's car. The elders of the church undertook to plant and cultivate the glebe by turns, giving all the profit of each season to a fund for the minister's travel. They had set as their goal a fund of £2,000, the interest from which would be given to the minister each year as an allowance for his car. They had already begun to give him £100 each year from the glebe profits, and were putting the balance into their ambitious fund. This is the practical kind of experiment which many other churches could copy to their advantage.

But many a parish is unable to cope with its financial burden. "Even what we get from the glebe has to go into the stipend; this is a Maintenance of the Ministry parish." "They should face it; this will have to be a missionary parish. And the Church (the denomination) will have to supply the tools."
The Parish Faces Its Property Problems

This chapter has so far painted an unesthetic picture of the rural parish. Two-fifths of the churches in only fair or poor structural condition and in need of interior redecoration; a third of the church yards unkempt or downright neglected; nearly a third of the churches with no adequate halls available; more than half the manses in need of obvious structural or decorative repair; only one church in five owning any equipment besides the furniture of worship; nearly four out of every ten ministers trying to do their parish work without cars - this is not a pretty picture.

But the picture is not finished until we give full place to the constant labor which is poured into the solution of the property problem by both ministers and church members. To say that they have a discouraging prospect is to understate the case, but some very wonderful and far-sighted work is being done to improve the picture.

In almost half the churches surveyed, a major property improvement had been completed within the two years previous to the case study, or was presently being carried out. Twelve churches had been recently redecorated or renovated. Nine manses had been given complete or major renovations. Five churches had been wired. Four church roofs had been replaced. Three churches had installed new heating systems. Two new halls had been built, one was being built, and two others had been fashioned from other buildings. Two church shells were being completely and totally restored. Two congregations had acquired manses which were in excellent condition, though not new. Two manses had been wired. One hall had been renovated, and the exterior of another painted. One manse had been rebuilt. The roof of another had been replaced.

These and a wide variety of other major improvements gave me an impression of vitality which the prevailing property conditions could not destroy. It is true
that these examples are given from a total list of one hundred and eight parishes. It is true that a new roof on the manse is only a small part of the solution for a congregation whose church, hall and manse all cry for attention. And it is true that the list of needs is much longer than the list of improvements. But pride in the kirk has not been lost, despite a long period of war and the aftermath of war when property repairs and improvements were extremely difficult.

A few churches have adopted a sound policy of improvement which is a model for the average rural parish. A Moray congregation of very limited resources, for example, has made it a matter of annual procedure to spend at least £100 on upkeep and repair. This policy has been followed every year since the end of World War II. The projects have undoubtedly appeared to go slowly - only £100 a year. But by the time of my visit in 1953, it was obvious that someone had been methodically taking care of the buildings and grounds of the church. That congregation would soon be able to move on from repair to improvement, providing a more adequate stipend for their pastor, and giving him some of the tools for a better ministry.

It might be possible to stimulate this vital rebirth of pride in the kirk on a national scale, through the adoption of "achievement goals" and similar devices found useful in churches elsewhere. The local church sometimes has nothing to measure itself against except its own past, and development does not happen by looking only to the past. If the denominations were to propose minimum standards for a balanced program of property care, organizational and methodological development and financial improvement, such printed standards could be put into the hands of the session. They would then have the tools for an annual self-conducted "clinic," to assess the state of their church's health. This would add meat and

substance to practices like the "quinquennial visitation" in use in the Church of Scotland.

It is only natural that the churches which have been slowest to improve their properties have been those which are most uncertain of their own future. This fact may point in the direction of another step which might be taken by the denominations. A "master-plan" such as those which are used by the County Council and the Education Authority could be outlined, pointing specifically to those churches whose continued existence is considered essential to the religious welfare of Scotland. If it could be so pointed out that there is no intention of closing or limiting such essential churches, the small necessary reassurance would be given to many a faltering congregation, and the unnecessary deterioration of many properties could be avoided.

One country pastor offered still another suggestion for the good of the rural parish - the suggestion that larger and stronger town and city churches "adopt" specific weak and struggling churches in landward Scotland. Desperately needed lay leadership could be spared from the larger human resources of the town congregation to assist the country minister in Sunday Schools, youth work and the like; tools could be effectively shared; financial emergencies could be met with just the touch of assistance needed to inspire new effort by the smaller church. I have no way of knowing whether this method would or could work in Scotland. But it would be heartening to see "pilot projects" of this type started, as a practical expression of the missionary zeal of the people of God.

The day will not soon come when every country church, with its accompanying manse and hall, will be beautiful and sound - all to the glory of God. But this chapter cannot end without the prayer that means may be found to repair the constant ravages of creeping time, and the more instant damage of inevitable war-time neglect.
SECTION IV

THE METHOD

Chapter VIII: The Church Ministering, Part I

Chapter IX: The Church Ministering, Part II

Chapter X: Administering the Church
Institutions tend to become institutionalised. Forms adopted to be the
channels for living concerns become formalized. Does the institution of the
Church, with form and tradition, structure and organization, escape this os-
sification of time? Does it know how to escape? How is the breath of life
breathed into these bones that they may live?

Previous chapters have been preoccupied with averages and per centages.
This chapter and the two that follow will be concerned with the "average si-
tuation," but in a different way and to a lesser degree. I shall try to de-
scribe contemporary and relevant ways which church and pastor have found to
express the ageless ministry of Christ. Sometimes it is the instance of a
single church or minister which is cited to offer the example of vision and
vitality. Frequently the methods and techniques which we single out are not
new or unusual; but they may have been rediscovered to be used in provocative
and imaginative ways to bring the people of a changing world face to face
with the changeless gospel.

"EKKLESIJA:" THE-CHURCH-CALLED-OUT

In the average church in rural Scotland, the formal calling-together of
the people happens on Sunday, when the adults meet once for worship, the youth
gather for a Bible Class or Youth Fellowship, and the children attend the Sun-
day School; through the month when the women meet once or twice for their
Guild; and through the year when the chosen few men of the church, the elders,
meet three or four times as a Kirk Session. In a minority of the churches,
there is a greater variety of activities and gatherings, but let us be con-
cerned for the moment with what happens when the people of the "average church"
are called together.

Called to Worship: the Word and the Sacraments:

The order of worship within which the word is preached is basically the same throughout Scotland's Lowland rural areas, with the exception of Roman Catholic and Episcopal churches and some meetings of the Brethren. There are many variations in the basic order, but the variations from parish to parish are as great as those from denomination to denomination (with the exception of those already mentioned). In the area of worship, therefore, it could hardly be argued that most of the denominations make an especially unique contribution.

The order that follows is the "typical" order of worship:

Psalm
Call to Prayer
Prayer of Invocation and Confession
Praise
Old Testament Reading
Children's Sermon
Praise
New Testament Reading
Prayer of Thanksgiving and Intercession
Praise
Sermon
Prayer, or Ascription of Praise
Intimations
Offering
Dedication of Offering
Praise
Benediction

To say that this is typical does not imply that all the churches follow this order, or even that they all incorporate precisely the same elements in their services. For example, the children's sermon seems to have won a place in the worship of a majority of the churches, but not by any means in all of them. While it usually follows the Old Testament reading, it sometimes replaces it (sic), precedes it or follows the New Testament reading, or even precedes the sermon. Several ministers, who have not adopted a children's
sermon, have begun the use of a children's hymn, dismissing the children before the sermon. Still others have children's sermons on one Sunday each month, and they proceed to set this day aside as a "Family Sunday." One church prided itself on having cultivated the attendance of children to the extent that it was "a real family church" where "families are the whole congregation."

The use of other elements of worship also demonstrates the variety which can be achieved within the same basic order. The Lord's Prayer, for example, is increasingly used — and in a variety of places in the service, at the time of the invocation, following the prayers of thanksgiving and intercession, and immediately before or after the sermon. Occasionally it is sung, but usually it is spoken. Here the innate conservatism of the countryman sometimes asserts itself still: "We've used it for two years now, and the congregation still won't join me." Some men, sensing the suspicion in which their congregations hold such formal elements of worship as the Lord's Prayer or the Apostles' Creed, have the good judgment to introduce them more cautiously and tactfully. "I don't have the Lord's Prayer every Sunday. I explain to them that I don't want it to lose its meaning."

"We use the Creed, but we save it for Communion Sundays."

It is possible to understand how a minister who runs into this kind of suspicion and obstruction should conclude that rural people generally abhor anything which has the appearance of "form." As we have seen, the segment of the population which has held on in some country churches is the most conservative element in the entire community. When asked about his church's worship, therefore, one layman expressed a feeling which was voiced by many others: "It's probably satisfactory to the people who come, but surely not to the man in the street." Another answer furnishes a clue which points in
much the same direction: "A few changes would appeal especially to the young people; some of the older folk might not like it." I believe the laymen were honestly trying to express the majority viewpoint when they said: "The services are dreary, the organ is slow and dead, the minister is dull. It's a draw dreigh hour and a quarter." "They need to step up the pace to modern life."

"The average man is bored stiff." "The service hasn't changed since I was a wee girl. We know exactly what to expect. The only new thing is the sermon." A sweet old lady from Perthshire remarked: "The worship is driving them away."

Church music drew especially heavy fire: "We need cheerier hymns." The music of the Reformers appears to have become as uninteresting to some Scots as early English hymnody became to Isaac Watts.¹

Sensing the demand for change, about one minister in ten has interpreted it to mean that country people despise all forms and desire the utmost in simplicity. They have therefore moved in the direction of a radically abbreviated service, which is completed in about forty to fifty minutes. Typical of this tendency is the order I found in use in one Border parish:

Psalm
Prayer
Praise
Reading
Prayer
Intimations
Praise
Sermon
Praise
Benediction

I do not believe, however, that this represents the layman's opinion of the direction in which worship should develop. "We may live in the country, but we like a beautiful service just as much as anyone."

The voice of the majority of the laymen, like the voice of the majority of ministers, calls for changes which actually have little to do with either

¹ P. D. Thomson, Parish and Parish Church, p. 262.
tradition or form. It is possible for us to single out two kinds of recommendations, upon which ministers and laymen appear to agree:

1) There is need for greater variety in the service. Opinion is divided, as we could well expect, concerning the means by which this is to be achieved, but it is clear that it does not necessarily involve changes in the basic order of worship. "We need variety." "I wouldn't want a change, but I wish it were more lively." "It needs brightening." "The wireless makes it even more obvious." One minister seems to have been on the right track when he said: "I spend as much time preparing the rest of the service as I do the sermon." Another remarked, concerning something so simple as the Call to Prayer: "I prepare myself to say it so as to convey the idea of wonder in worship." Although less than one minister in three continued to bother with a choir of seniors, youth or children, those who did could testify to the contribution a choir can make in voicing the lively spirit of worship. All this can be done, as some ministers were careful to point out to me, within the flexible, adaptable service of traditional Scots worship. Care and thought can put life into the dry bones of the basic order.

2) The second category of recommendations is in the direction of greater congregational participation. "The congregation is too passive." "We used to sing the Lord's Prayer: we don't even do that now." "Responsive prayers work well with children, even though the older folks sometimes don't like them." "I'd like to see responsive Scripture, more in which the congregation could take part." One man was undoubtedly overstating the case a bit when he said: "We're more priest-ridden than any kirk." But he was speaking for many others who object to the worship in which one man alone takes part. To answer this sort of objection, some ministers have introduced introits, either choral or congregational, and have found that this added bit of congregational partici-
pation was well received. Some have introduced choral responses - and have been surprised that their people have accepted them so readily. A minister who had his choir sing a three-fold amen told me with winning inconsistency that he was proud to have "no ritual, no read prayers." Other pastors have found their laymen well able to read the lesson on "special days," and their elders able to "take the prayers" in preparatory services. It is worth noting that the church in which the congregation participates most freely, the Brethren, also claims the most loyal membership.

Quite apart from pure like and dislike with regard to worship, whether it emanates from pulpit or pew, and also quite apart from the theory of Christian worship, are the changes which have been dictated by changed conditions or emphases in the church's program. The children's sermon, which we have already discussed, is just such an "innovation." It is utilitarian in that it makes children feel welcome in the church. By permitting children to be dismissed approximately half way through the service, it provides opportunity for Sunday School classes to meet during the latter portion of the worship hour; the children are then able to use the same public transportation as their church-going elders. For one reason or another, the children's sermon has struck such a note of utility and warmth that it seems to be here to stay, even though two out of every five churches do not yet include it in their worship.

Another change which has been dictated by new conditions is the increasing emphasis upon the offering of the people's gifts. As the Church of Scotland has been compelled to lean more vitally upon its contemporary membership for its support, a place has been found for the offering to be received and dedicated in the worship of the congregation. In a large number of churches, the offering precedes the sermon, though an increasing majority place it near
the end of the service. This trend to give added significance to the offering, along with intimations and the proclamation of bans, has eliminated "the offering at the door" and "the elder on the plate" in all but one-fourth of the churches. As an indication of the strength of the trend, in one church where the offering was still received as the people entered, the minister included a dedication of the offering in his invocation, simply because he felt so strongly that the congregation's giving deserved to be a part of their total worship of God. The offering provided a clear symbolism of the personal consecration toward which the whole service was directed; and the same symbolism is even clearer at the end of the service.

It is sometimes feared, however, that the inclusion of the offering in the service promotes among the people an artificial idea that they worship only while the formal service is being conducted. Many churches have attempted to counteract this idea, and to build an understanding of worship as a part of everyday life. About one church in every three, for example, now keeps its doors open during the daylight hours of the week. (Only rarely is there an accompanying effort to educate the congregation to make timely use of the open church, but where the effort was made, I was assured of the people's response.) A large number of churches have adopted the practice of relating their worship to the agricultural seasons. Almost as many have harvest festivals as celebrate Christmas in the church calendar, and more rural churches mark seedtime (actually only about one in every ten) than observe Palm Sunday. Others hold flower services and churchyard services ("You have to be careful it doesn't become ancestor worship"), and one minister described to me the services he holds on the moors at lambing time. In their effort to make rural worship relevant, some churches invite agricultural clubs or farmers' unions to attend and even to assist in the leadership of seasonal services. One
pastor relates his Spring and Autumn communion services to the thankful seasons of seedtime and harvest. While the results of these efforts are sometimes disappointing ("It's one day when no farmers come"), they are more often the source of real enthusiasm ("The church is filled." "It gives our good working farmers a reason for thanks"). It is therefore an unhappy fact that in most churches, the potential worship material of the countryside is virtually untouched at any time of the year except the harvest. Much greater experimentation could be carried on in this area.2

The same effort toward relevance which we have seen in the whole sphere of worship appears to be needed also in the specific area of preaching. In Chapter VI, we have noted the homiletic frustration of an alarming minority of ministers, who are tempted to conclude that "the day of preaching is past." If we are to analyze the testimony of laymen, however, we shall come to other conclusions. The minister who spends real effort in relating both service and sermon to life is appreciated almost without exception. The most common criticism of the pulpit is the charge of irrelevance: that it shrinks into the shell of generalization rather than to lead the people in their contemporary problems; that it is not outspoken enough. "He lost his hold by being soft." "A minister never loses by being outspoken. One man here was fearless. He lost a couple, but he gained a lot." "The church from the pulpit says nothing that matters. The session takes note of nothing that isn't nice." "He's too frightened of offending." "When we occasionally read that the General Assembly has acted, he never relates that to the local church; we never hear about it." "People don't like to see the church guilty of stooping to conquer." The layman approves of the gradual shift from a religious dictatorship of the parish, but he wishes the church would assume more real leadership.

2 The Lord, the People and the Churches, pp. 36, 37.
He believes his church fears to take stands until the issues are decided. "The church is always behind." And because the Word from the pulpit is not consciously and obviously related to the issues of life, he finds it "dull," "monotonous," "irrelevant," "gas dreigh, like a university essay." He is likely to feel that the sermon is "well-prepared, but it's hard to see the moral." This kind of criticism is far more common than the carping complaints of "old-fashioned," "over-dramatic," "poor delivery," "mannerisms," "too long words," and "over our heads."

By no means all ministers are unaware of the nature of the criticism, nor do they all dismiss it as an inevitable evil. Where a strong church existed, our survey usually found a minister who took quite seriously the relevance of preaching, and who strove to reassert the leadership of the pulpit, difficult though this may be. "You can't preach learned sermons; you have to talk to country people - but you can still say important things." "I plan my preaching months ahead, but I'm always trying to fit it to the times." While criticism of theological content is not particularly common, it is interesting to note that there are six laymen who criticize their ministers for believing too little to every one who thinks they believe too much. One minister, who may have been aware of this fact, asserted: "The wallop of my own Christian witness sometimes helps." Others found that their people responded to a firm claim upon their lives: "We've let too much slip. I've succeeded in getting all weddings back into the kirk, and I've been attempting to have all baptisms there. The church should claim their whole lives." Some made special efforts to relate their sermons and services to particular groups within the church, as "youth services," "children's services," and "family services." Where the Young Worshippers' League was organized, it was frequently given special recognition. Some ministers offered varied and useful hints in the direction of more effective communication with the pew: "I find it finer,
and easier, too, to talk to them in their own broad Scots. "There's a keen interest in local history here. I capitalize on that. I've become an authority on their history, and I make the most of it in my sermons." Still others find it wise to be local experts on Burns, on music, or on art — for there are imaginative ways to use parish interests and concerns to find an opening for the gospel. "Routine is deadly."

Of all the "special" services of worship in the church, the sacrament of communion continues to hold its unique place in the hearts of rural Scots. The Brethren take communion every Sunday ("if there's a man present to break bread"), Roman Catholics and Episcopalians observe the sacrament every Sunday that the people gather (which is sometimes infrequent and irregular because of the arrangement of parishes with many churches to serve), a few celebrate communion once a month, and a surprising number continue the old rural custom of one communion a year, quite ignoring the counsel of John Knox. The prevailing pattern, however, is to observe the sacrament twice a year, in the Spring and in the Autumn.

Scots who will never attend another service in the kirk will go to great lengths to take communion — and the church goes to great lengths to make it possible and convenient. Services are often held both morning and afternoon, and at least one minister has enlisted the teen-age girls of his parish (who are not yet members of his church) to "baby-sit" with young families in order to free the parents to attend. Few things could stir the tumult in presbytery, press and public which was aroused by the televising of the sacrament of communion for the first time in Scotland. Special buses are chartered by the people and by the church on communion Sundays. The most cherished possessions

3 See the First Book of Discipline: or the Policie and Discipline of the Church, Chapter XI, paragraph 5, p. 354: "Four times in the Year we thinke Sufficient to the Administration of the Lord's Table."
4 "TV Communion Service," in The Scotsman, December 9, 1953.
of the church are often the communion silver or pewter, or perhaps the hoarded stock of ancient communion tokens. A few ministers give "the table" added importance in their weekly services, by leaving the pulpit after the sermon, and conducting the remaining worship (including the receiving of the offering) from the communion table.

The common cup remains only as a symbol in most Church of Scotland and related churches; but in order to recover other realities of the Last Supper, a few ministers have experimented with serving the communion "at tables," and with evening communion on Maundy Thursday or at Easter.

The sacrament of baptism has not retained the same high place in the popular practice of Christianity in Scotland. In contrast, it has been commonly administered to infants, children and adults in their homes, until the average person expects to receive it in this way. There is abundant evidence from this survey, however, that the attitude of the ministry is hardening toward such free and easy use of the sacrament. "I marry and bury as asked, but I don't dole out baptism." "They're coming more readily to the church for baptism; I try to get them to. More than half do now." "I insist on church membership for parents to have their children baptized. No one did before." "I always have them come to the church, even if informally."

There is a corresponding, if less concerted, effort to elevate marriage as a Christian ceremony. "I never marry them anywhere but the church; even if they come to the manse to be married there, I always take them to the church for the marriage." "I've had only a little success; ninety per cent of the weddings are in homes or at the manse, but I try to bring them all into the church." "I insist that they be married in the kirk. And I've taken to asking couples if there's any need for their marriage; I ought to know, and then I can talk to them."
In contrast to the emphasis placed on the sacraments and marriage, the liturgical year receives minor attention. Yet there is a degree of experimentation here which is more lively than in any other area of worship. As Sunday evening services have expired (only one-fourth of our parishes continue to hold evening services, with one of the most successful patterns following a schedule of two evenings a month "when there's a moon"), an increasing number of churches have made use of the Sunday evening hour for youth programs, and services to mark special occasions. There seems to be a strong current of opinion that evening services, to survive at all, must be of quite a different character from those in the morning. In all but a few parishes, therefore, Christmas is marked by an added service on the preceding Sunday evening or on Christmas eve. At least one church uses the service as an occasion for baptism, feeling that this is the most appropriate time for this sacrament in the entire Christian year. Candlelight services, pageants and services of Christmas music appear to be gaining popularity.

With the exception of Christmas, however, only occasional churches give special emphasis to other days of the Christian year. Remembrance Day is more widely marked than Easter, and Children's Day is more often noted than Good Friday. An inquiry from parish to parish, however, gives an impression of wider interest than this would indicate. There are a few ministers and churches in every area who are trying to hold special services on Palm Sunday or Good Friday, mid-week services during Lent, and services for Advent and Pentecost. The experimentation is not confined to "Scriptural days" at all, but extends to Watchnight, Mother's Day, Consecration Sundays for office-bearers, Guild Sundays - even Old Folks Days.

While this experimentation is in some ways a sign of health, there are also alarming signs of a weak understanding of the theological bases for worship.
There is a tendency, for example, for "the Word" to be minimized. I took approving notes as one Church of Scotland minister described to me the care with which he prepared his thanksgivings, intercessions and commemorations—until he added: "I regard this as the culmination of the service." As orders of worship were dictated to me in my interviews, I was impressed by the almost universal tendency for the service to be organized around "the praise." I was glad to hear one minister tell me: "I have arranged the order so that the sermon is at the center, because it's the most important thing in the service." Perhaps this confusion explains why I heard so many times from both ministers and laymen: "The whole service stands or falls by the minister." If laymen do not understand the significance of certain elements of their worship, perhaps the reason can be found in the weak understanding of worship by so many ministers, who said: "Then after that lesson I have my longish prayer." "I have the bans and intimations before the service; I get them over so we can worship."

Some ministers, on the other hand, took care to educate their congregations to understand what happens in worship. Sometimes it was simply done. "I never turn up the lesson beforehand; and then I invite them to do it with me." Sometimes it was done with systematic and thorough care. An Episcopal rector in Aberdeenshire described the series of sermons he was preaching on the parts of the service. When he preached on the collect, the sermon immediately followed the collect. If the sermon dealt with the lesson, it immediately followed the lesson. Not only were his people educated to worship; they were being constantly led in vital and meaningful worship by a minister who was alive.

Called to Teach:

"If (the church) be upaland (that is, in the countrey) where the People
convene to the Doctrine but once in the Week, then must either the Reader or the Minister there appointed, take care of the Children and Youth of the Parish, to instruct them in the first Rudiments...."  

In many different ways, the churches have taken this wisdom to heart. The development of the Children's Sermon as a part of the order of worship has been one of the methods adopted to fulfill the centuries-old injunction, along with Bible Classes, preparatory classes, youth choirs, children's choirs, youth fellowships, clubs, brigades, troops, bands, teams and camps. By far the most-used opportunity to instruct the young, however, is the Sunday School (or Church School).

A Sunday School is to be found in six out of every seven of our churches - almost without exception in Church of Scotland (only one church in our survey had no Sunday School), United Free, Nazarene, Methodist, Free and Congregational Churches and in Brethren's Assemblies. Only one Roman Catholic Church and about two-thirds of Episcopal Churches had Sunday Schools. In more than one out of every four parishes, there were between two and four Sunday Schools under the wing of the same pastor.

To say this leaves much unsaid. What of the quality of instruction which the Sunday School offers? What kind of Sunday School do we mean when we say that the average rural church has one? The Church School frequently numbers between five and ten pupils; it very rarely includes more than a hundred. It meets under severe handicaps of space and equipment. It works against the limitations of distance and inadequate transportation. Does it do its job effectively? I asked this question of laymen throughout the Lowlands. Their answers are not professional estimates, of course; but just as it is important that the church should do its work well, it is also important

5 First Book of Discipline: or the Policie and Discipline of the Church, Chapter VII, Section I, paragraph 2, p. 548.
to the church that the people believe in its ability to do so. In this case, there is little cause for complacency among religious educators; lay opinion divides itself almost evenly among the four categories of excellent, good, just fair and poor. Heard with disturbing frequency was the complaint: "We completely miss the teens."

In many cases, there are obvious reasons why a weekend educational program is difficult. "The school here draws from seventeen parishes. The Sunday School can't manage that." "The schools furnish transport; we can't." "Our teachers are all young girls." But little purpose is served by finding excuses, and the facts do warrant some conclusions which may be helpful in building a better Sunday School in the rural parish. Ministers and laymen, moreover, offered numerous suggestions which cluster around problem areas of the rural Church School.

One such problem area is that of teachers who are simply not trained to teach. Previous courses in education are not the most necessary qualifications for Sunday School teachers ("I don't use school teachers even when I could"); but even the most consecrated layman has difficulty communicating his faith and religious knowledge without some training. As one minister put it, "I have no trouble finding teachers. Just good teachers." My own observation was that the teacher-pupil ratio (about one to seven) was nearly always favorable, and should have produced a nearly ideal teaching situation. But once more it must be repeated that the problem of teacher-training is not solved by a high teacher-pupil ratio. To meet the need, about one minister in twelve carefully prepares his teachers through continuous or course-type programs; their Sunday Schools invariably feel the effect of this cultivation, and reflect it in high attendance per centages and a good local estimate of effectiveness. A very few ministers have found that the most
profitable type of teacher-training can be done on an area basis, with several parishes cooperating, or under the sponsorship of the presbytery. This not only lightens the burden of the parish minister, but it also gives his teachers the benefit of training by other men with a resulting broader background of education, interest and experience. One church in our survey made use of the Summer Leadership Training program of the Church of Scotland at Saint Andrews - an indication that such programs do not often filter down into the country parish.

We should not conclude, however, that the entire problem is one of the laymen. Several churchmen, particularly schoolmasters and teachers, reported their surprise when they discovered that their ministers (who with their wives do all the teaching in one-fifth of the Sunday Schools) had never had a course in education, in youth leadership or in adolescent or child psychology. Especially as they observed him in teaching situations in the school, they were struck by his inability to communicate with children and youth. The point of view of the church will not entirely coincide with that of the educator regarding the extent to which a minister should be so trained, but the church should not ignore the criticism of its members in the educational profession. There is more than a shadow of truth in their criticism when a minister can say: "I have no time for youth stunts. Visiting, getting to know your people - that's the only important thing."

A second problem area in the educational program of the church is the area of curriculum. "As the standard of the day school steadily rises, and as, in particular, the teaching of scripture is done by adequately trained teachers, the Sunday School must raise its standards or become totally ineffective, not least with older children."\(^6\) When the school-leaving age was

\(^6\) The Land, the People and the Churches, p. 49.
raised, educators were challenged by the problem of what matter was to be included in the added year of compulsory attendance; their sincere concern extended to the area of religious study, and I was delighted to interview a member of the committee assigned to prepare the syllabus for the added year. The care with which this syllabus was prepared is an example for the churches, which have produced quite excellent materials for teaching children in the Church School, but (if common opinion can be trusted) have failed to raise the level of instruction sufficiently for teen-aged youth.

A third problem area in the churches' educational program is a purely physical one - of space, distance, and equipment. There would be no point in mentioning this again, if there were no remedies available. Many churches, however, have experimented in ways which may be adapted to kindred situations elsewhere. For example, how can a church overcome the problem of distance in working with children and youth? Some hold Sunday School during church; "families can come together." A very few charter (and subsidize) buses which cover all the main roads of the parish, while others adjust Sunday School times to transport schedules, even utilizing Sunday afternoon hours for the Church School. Many parishes in which it is impossible or extremely inconvenient to bring the children to the church, take the church to the children.

Decentralized Sunday Schools are held in a variety of halls and homes around the parish. In some cases, "kitchen Sunday Schools" are run by church women in strategic locations. They usually have one class for small children; older children and youth are encouraged to attend the Sunday School in the parish kirk, so that the kitchen Sunday School is expected to accomplish only the first step in the educational process and then become a "feeder" for the Church School. There are other areas in which families are so isolated that even kitchen Sunday Schools are impracticable. In these, the churches could learn
from the Roman Catholic Church in Scotland, or the Reformed Church of France, which have experimented considerably with "catechism by post." Not only members of orders, but also qualified lay persons, carry out the specified program of instruction for "panels" of children enrolled by priests in country areas. Assignments are mailed in to be corrected by the examiner; puzzles, rebuses and the like are imaginatively employed; and those who use the system believe that whole families are educated in the process, to a much larger extent than occurs in a classroom situation.

Despite its obstacles, then, the churches of the Lowlands have tried to remain generally faithful to the advice of the First Book of Discipline. The schools once begun under the wing of the church have been taken over by the state; but through the Sunday School, through chaplaincies in the schools, through instruction in the public classroom, the process of education "in the rudiments" has gone on. One church I visited had presented the parish school with a framed photostatic copy of the school's charter; the school had been begun and administered by the kirk session, and taught by the minister - and the church did not intend to forget its historic role in education. I recall a tiny Brethren's Assembly in Aberdeenshire, with an excellent Sunday School of over a hundred; "our big problem is finding accommodations for all we do and teachers enough to go around." But the denominations must be still more alert to the needs for improved curriculum (especially for youth), for more widespread teacher training of a consistently high quality, and for progressive and pioneering methods which can be shared from parish to parish, if the gap between Church School and parish school is not to be widened still more.

The problems of keeping the Church School up to a high standard appear

7 Cf. L'Organisation Rurale Actuelle Consideree Comme Un Probleme Humain, a mimeographed report of the Ecumenical Institute, Bossey, Switzerland, 1953.
to be accentuated whenever the church seeks to work with youth. Scarcely half of the churches surveyed had Bible Classes, youth fellowships, or other organized activities for teen-agers. In this area of the church's life, we must be careful when we try to distinguish cause and effect. Do the youth leave the church because the Sunday School program for children has not satisfied them? Or has the church simply failed to understand their widening adolescent interests and needs? Or are they and the church together the victims of an enlarging community which takes them to the towns for school and recreation and which makes the village no longer home? The evidence, some of which has been mentioned in this and earlier chapters, indicates that all of these are parts of the reason. But whatever the reason, the fact is that the church is often alarmingly out of touch with the adolescent age group.

Our survey turned up a host of suggestions for work with young people, some from laymen, others from ministers; some tested, others untried. The same methods were reported to have met with wonderful success in one parish, and with miserable failure in another. ("The Youth Fellowship idea was what we needed - with worship, a speaker, and tea served by the young people." "A Youth Fellowship experiment almost killed our Bible Class." "We tried a Youth Fellowship and stopped it. It was too much a secular organization - and they were tearing the Manse apart.") Obviously, anyone who would try to profit from others' experience must choose and adapt as the situation requires.

One suggestion, however, appears universally dependable: no minister should accept his predecessor's, or his session clerk's, judgment that "there are no young people here." It is true that there are occasional gaps in the age distribution of a small parish; but in the parish where there are not enough youth for organized activities one year, the church may find a sub-
stantial group "coming of age" the next, and the growing migrations of rural people added to sporadic emigration from the towns sometimes confront the church with unexpected opportunities for work with youth. Of every four laymen interviewed, only one feels that the church is doing all it could with youth. The minister must not regard youth work as impossible unless he has factual information to support him. ("There are only six between the ages of fifteen and twenty-two in an area twelve miles long.") Whether a youth program is possible or not cannot be predicted from the population of the parish, or from the presence or absence of a village center; more than half of the youth programs pronounced successful by laymen were in parishes where the village center boasted fewer than five hundred people. "I started a Bible Class of thirteen after being told there weren't any. And they put on a concert, had a clean-up at the church, set up stalls and served tea at a sale, and made puppets for a show." The need can be very glibly dismissed: "They all go away to find jobs." "It's the fault of the parents." "You can't get youth interested these days, but they'll go to the films three times a week." "We haven't tried recently, but when we did there was no response." Yet in these very same parishes, I learned from other sources: "There is a youth club here, with thirty members." "I have a club of twenty at the school, but the church doesn't try." The facts are actually easy to uncover; a brief reference to school census information will reveal the number of high school youth in the parish, and nothing less than this should permit a minister and his session to ignore activities which could bind their young people to the church.

A second suggestion which was constantly repeated, especially with reference to youth, was flexibility. "A minister must keep his eyes open for even temporary work with youth and children. You can never anticipate what sort of group you'll have at a certain age." It is a pleasure to discover a minister who
invites visiting campers to his church, or the group of deer-stalking or grouse-beating students; this is a sign of the church which is ready to seize opportunities with each new generation. All ministers should also know (though few of them do) that in the recommended patterns for community youth clubs, there is nearly always provision for a local chaplain to be appointed. A few ministers are glad to accept opportunities to serve as chaplains in "schools camps." And it would be a source of health for the church if her parish ministers took more advantage of openings such as these.

A third suggestion, which again is not new but which the church could more widely follow, is to approach the young people through their interests. By this I mean not simply the plethora of badminton and tennis clubs, which undoubtedly do have a marginal value, but also the wealth of other youth interests which can be more directly related to religious growth. A few churches, like the Church of Scotland in Portnockie, have used music as a means of grace and have drawn a large group of young people closer to the church through a youth choir. In their way, the "Bands of Hope" and the weekday "Half Hours" of the smaller denominations are also cut to the measure of youth interests. Young people, even though country-bred, enjoy camping experiences; but the churches, slower in this than the schools and uniformed youth organizations, have developed very little in the way of a church camping or retreat program of the type which has proved so valuable in other countries. Notable exceptions are the children's camps of the Nazarene Church; the Tillyrie Youth House of the Scottish Episcopal Youth Fellowship; the Choir Boys' Camps of the Episcopal Church; and the Camas Fellowship of the Iona Community (which unfortunately draws almost no young people from rural

8 Cf. The Land, the People and the Churches, p. 38.
Scotland). A kindred program is sponsored by the Congregational Union. Not only do the churches of the Union operate a Church Training Fellowship for youth from thirteen to seventeen, but the Union’s Youth Committee also undertakes to distribute films and projectors for youth activities.11 Dramatic Clubs are nearly as common as badminton clubs, but seldom do they use this potential power for the presentation of religious drama of the sort which has been developed by the Iona Youth Trust “drama group.”12

It is a cause for concern that the "Youth Movement," in which the churches had so great a part at its inception in Glasgow in 1883,13 has so grown away from the church in the intervening years. In thirteen of our churches, there are Girls’ Associations, in twelve Girls’ Guilds, in eight Boys’ Brigades, in five Life Boys, in still others Boy Scouts, Brownies, pipe bands, and silver bands - all more or less related to the church. In most cases, however, though these may be sponsored by the church, they are operated so much like other parish activities, and the church takes so little conscious interest in them, that their own members are usually unaware that they are participating in activities connected with the congregation.

Brief as this treatment of youth work is, it would be incomplete if we did not include a summary of the customary preparation of new communicants and some of the more noteworthy variations of the prevailing procedure.

There are a very few ministers of the Church of Scotland, the Episcopal Church and the United Free Church who admit to the practice of receiving members without special training. In fourteen churches out of every fifteen, however, more or less care is exercised in this area. The prevailing pattern

11 Ibid., p. 126.
12 Ibid., p. 139.
13 P. D. Thomson, Parish and Pariah Church, pp. 276, 277.
is a course of four weekly classes; if a church varies from this pattern, it is likely to require less rather than more. When the requirements are greater, they assume a variety of forms: a personal interview, the extension of the course to six, eight or twelve weeks, and in one case to six months; or the stipulation of six months, a year, or even three years of attendance at Bible Class. A very few supplement the training with a course of morning or evening pre-communion sermons which prospective members are required to hear. But honest questions must be raised when one or two classes are expected to train a Christian for life-time membership in the church, or when the training is done entirely by post, or when "it's all done in the school." It is therefore no surprise to find that one out of every three laymen considers the preembership training of the church "too lax." "Can you make a Christian in four easy lessons?" "Not one of the last two lots gives through the Freewill Offering." "They join the church now and you'll find them having illegitimate babies next year." "Where do they go after their first communion?" "We asked the minister if we were having preparatory classes. He said, 'No, it isn't necessary.' He gave us communion cards and told us: 'If you fill them in and come, you'll be kirk members.'" A revealing comment concerning the lack of uniform requirements came from another church member: "It depends on who the minister is."

As usual, the laymen offered suggestions. One commented: "You must impress the whole family with the importance of the step." Several cited the need for a higher educational standard in communicants' training. But by far the most common suggestions were of two kinds: 1) a longer training course, and 2) a period of probation of from six months to two years before admission to communion and the beginning of formal membership. This latter suggestion coincides with the suggestions of a large group of ministers, and
with the actual practice of the Christian Brethren, for whom the standard requirement is two years of probation while the life and experience of the probationer are closely watched. If ministers fear that "three to six months is nonsense; they wouldn't come," they may be encouraged by the fact that laymen themselves favor a longer period of training. As one church member said of his minister with admiration: "He's strict. And he brings a lot into the church."

We cannot possibly argue that work with children and youth is easy. It is for the persevering and for him who loves the young. It must be done by one who realizes that the need will vary from year to year, and that the program must vary with the need. He must recognize that there will be times when a Bible Class will be impossible, and the weight of his youth program must be shifted to a Junior Bible Class or a Young Men's Club. He must be ready to seize even momentary opportunities to reach their souls at an impressionable age. He must be imaginative in discovering meaningful services and projects into which their growing faith can be poured—and in being poured, also be replenished. Even where a "group" of young people does not exist, he must be "on the outlook for 'lads o' pairs'..... whose gifts might be of service to Church or State." But above all, he must remember that a diet of formal worship is meager food for fledgling Christians.

Called to Mature Discipleship:

A Woman's Guild is standard equipment in the rural church—as much so as electricity, more so than a hall! In two out of every three churches, and in virtually all Church of Scotland parishes, there is an organization of church women. An interesting statistic reveals that church organizations for women outnumber those for men by more than thirty to one.

14. The Land, the People and the Churches, p. 185.
I believe that there will be few challenges to the statement that one of the least creative and imaginative programs of the rural church is its program with adults. While there are a very few outstanding examples of adult work within our survey, the usual pattern is quite simple and stereotyped. The only organization for the men is the kirk session, which does afford a degree of fellowship in the faith for the four to six men who usually compose its select membership. In a minority of churches, there are also Boards of Managers, inherited from the church's Free ancestry. Such boards serve to expand the inner circle of churchmen who are vitally bound up in the life of the congregation, but they fall far short of the need. Where men's organizations exist at all, they are nearly always oriented toward the exclusively social program of a "men's fraternal," and this also fails to fill the need completely.

Woman's Guilds are far more numerous, but they are usually just as stereotyped. As a rule, their schedule calls for one meeting a month, although a fortnightly schedule is nearly as customary, and an occasional group will meet each week. In size, the group numbers from a dozen to fifty, with a few more in very rare cases. If we are to judge by actual performance, the purpose of a Woman's Guild is one of two things, or a combination of both: 1) to raise funds for the church, and 2) to serve as the traditional "work party." There is frequently a brief service of worship, and in rare cases outstandingly instructive programs are provided.

Usually, the Woman's Guild is as closely attached to the manse as to the church, for the minister's wife serves as its president. While there is sometimes reason for the manse to retain control ("You can't give the common run of women leadership or they clique"), the adoption of this as a universal pattern adds evidence to the charge of a "priest-ridden" church and fails to
develop the native leadership which the church needs, and which other parish and community organizations utilize. In the opinion of some of those whom I interviewed, it is this which makes it possible for the Women's Rural Institute to make its loudly lamented inroads into the membership of the Women's Guild. The rural church must again take cognizance of the rising level of education in the country and the enlarged leadership capacities of rural people. It is not now so true that "the farm wives won't work with the laird's wife, and vice versa; the only one they'll all pull with is the minister's wife." The democratization of the rural parish has often changed all that. It is worth noting that in several parishes where there was no minister's wife (and occasionally where there was no minister), Guilds were functioning with even more than average success.

We have not yet spoken, however, of the most obvious shortcoming in the adult work of the rural church. There is practically nothing which provides for continued education and growth of religious understanding. Nearly all the assemblies of the Christian Brethren had adult Bible study programs, but only two other churches among our 105 had similar groups. In the average church where there is not so much as a literature table or a tract rack, and in half the churches where the denominational journal is circulated among the office-bearers or not at all, the sermon is the one remaining means of adult religious education.

From the suggestions I recorded, this would seem to be an area of work in which the churches could be vastly benefitted by denominational boards and agencies. There were frequent demands for a more "direct approach by the literature arms of the church." "We need pamphlets which are straight-shooting on common problems." "Our publications should make a direct approach to people, instead of just being promotional literature." "The book stores
could help us by providing book tables at presbytery and presbyterial meetings" or "book caravans from presbytery to presbytery." The evidence indicates that the Episcopal and Roman Catholic Churches make wider and more adequate use of readable literature, "literature that explains," than do the other denominations. Carefully watched and well reported programs of adult work, pilot projects which deal with the growing rural concentrations of retired and ageing persons, were strongly suggested. Denominational training of "lay assistants," who would be able to help in situations where linking has occurred or will occur, was also called for. Laymen and ministers alike looked with favor upon D. P. Thomson's efforts to enlist outstanding laymen in a denomination-wide pool of leadership, and upon the program of the Episcopal Church which gives shortened theological training to laymen who have reached an early retirement and are able to give many good years of service to their church.

I was constantly surprised by the attitude of acceptance which meets experimentation in adult work throughout the Lowlands. My records tell of organizations which appear here and there, one or two of their kind, products of need and imagination which have met with instant success. One tiny Episcopal Church in the Borders has a Men's Discussion Circle, a serious group which meets monthly and which has rapidly become the life-blood of the church. Two ministers told of Mothers' Clubs, which seem to thrive especially well in the developments of new houses; another reported an extremely successful Mothers' Circle in the Woman's Guild. In a parish where there were a number of unmarried working girls, a Young Women's Club of the church was successfully formed. A Roman Catholic priest told of forming a St. Vincent de Paul Society for his men, combining fellowship with the serious purpose of parish visitation.

It is a curious fact that organizations which include men and women are
not particularly successful in rural Scotland. An exception to this was the Couples' Club found in one country parish. But in general, "if the husband and wife are both going out, they like to go out socially - not to a meeting." (As a matter of fact, this may offer a clue to the type of organization which would appeal to young couples.) Open meetings of the Woman's Guild, to which the men of the church are especially welcomed, are almost unexceptionable failures. "Men will not attend women's meetings." Men and women will gladly meet together where the immediate health of the church's affairs is concerned, however; occasional "office-bearers' meetings" successfully draw together the session and the leadership of the women's organization. But the feature of weekday church life which seems to appeal most to both men and women is the "Family Night" type of program, at which children are also welcome. These take many forms - game nights, annual business-social meetings, congregational socials, seasonal parties - and are usually something more in content and spirit than a revived "church ale."\(^{15}\) Probably the most interesting program of this type was the "Open Door" at Grindon, where on Sunday evenings a blended program of study, social activity, worship and the penultimate cup of tea has for several years appealed successfully to the families of a barracks-like settlement of "temporary" houses erected during World War II.

This example also provides incidental evidence that "no fellowship is really vital that refuses anybody..... and it is when you can comprise all types and stations of men and woman in your fellowship that you can best impress and influence the man or woman outside."\(^{16}\)

The information and observations in this chapter certainly do not direct us toward an "activity-centered church." The central act of the congregation

\(^{15}\) P. D. Thomson, Parish and Parish Church, p. 144.
\(^{16}\) D. P. Thomson, in a talk given at St. George's Church, West, Edinburgh, November 11, 1953.
remains and must remain the act of worship. The layman more than his minister, however, feels that there is value in occasions when in study, discussion, service and fellowship, he is able to respond to God's call as a whole person. Is he right? In churches where there is more than the bare minimum of activities - the Sunday School, the Woman's Guild and the Bible Class - the number of members who attend the services of worship is almost five per cent higher than in those churches which "won't have any frills." This seems to be significant evidence that the spiritual life of the congregation is enriched by their coming together at multiple levels where their faith can be translated into life.
CHAPTER IX: THE CHURCH MINISTERING - PART II

An ecclesiastical parish should not be identified in our minds with the congregation of any particular church. Instead, it should be identified with a geographic area, assigned as a ward to a specific church, to be the area of its total ministry. The entire nation is divided into parishes, so that no one is outside a parish. The plan is designed to guarantee the Church's faithfulness in responding to Christ's command to "Go... into all the world." If the Church, therefore, is to fulfill its purpose, each of its churches must minister not only to "its own," but also to every soul within its parish.

In Chapter VIII, primary attention was turned inward toward the congregation. We were concerned with the means by which the church nourishes and sustains the family about its table and the children born within its household - the ekklēsia, "the-church-called-together." Now our attention turns outward, to the larger purpose of the church as it deals with its parish.

"MISSION:" THE OUTREACH OF THE-CHURCH-SENT

How can the church speak to those who are not in the pews? How is the voice of the pulpit to be heard in the street? If the people do not voluntarily relate themselves to the church, to its worship, fellowship and service, how does the church do more than minister to "its own?" Within the church there can be unanimity in interpreting the needs of the times:

"Our present distresses are not the result of any controllable political or economic forces; they are to be traced back in the end to persistent sinfulness on the part of man, a sinfulness which it is fatal to ignore. It is sin that prevents a true relationship between God and man, and leads in consequence to disorder in the relationship of man with man. The fundamental remedy, therefore, is not to be found in schemes of secular..."
betterment, but in a return to God, alike on the part of individuals and of the society to which they contribute. The social implications of God's call to man can only be put into effect as individuals grasp the message of God in Christ, obey his call and determine, at whatever cost to themselves, so to live and work as to give effect to Christ's teaching.\textsuperscript{1}

This pronouncement was chosen to be quoted here for one reason only: it is typical of the kind of statement which Christians, met together in reasonable accord and harmony of spirit, can issue with a fairly unanimous voice. But even if the church speaks truth, what is that to those to whom its truth is unimportant or out-of-date? Even if the church is in accord, how are its pronouncements to be heard outside its own fellowship? "How then shall they call on him in whom they have believed? and how shall they believe in him of whom they have not heard? and how shall they hear without a preacher? and how shall they preach, except they be sent."\textsuperscript{2}

The sense of being sent - the sense of mission - this, then, is the first and most vital element in the effective outreach of the church. In all honesty, I am constrained to report that there were uncomfortably many parishes where no vital conviction of mission was apparent. If the examples of evangelistic endeavor and effective outreach which I can cite from my study are few, it is because the sense of being sent has been practically replaced in the average rural parish by a sort of grim resolve to hold its own. The vision of the growing, coming kingdom of God has acquired an aura of unreality during lean years when populations dwindled and the church suffered a steady loss of status. Simply to speak of a "return to religion" (as I heard many countrymen speaking) is to admit that there has been a period of general retreat.

There are, however, some outstanding parishes where vital outreach is

\textsuperscript{1} This pronouncement by "The Christian Front" in Glasgow, representing six denominations, is quoted from John Higget, \textit{The Churches of Scotland Today}.\textsuperscript{2} Romans 10:14, 15.
occurring. There are others where the sense of mission surely exists, and where it will evidence itself as the resources of the parish permit and as methods of modern evangelism become more widely tried and tested in contemporary rural Scotland.

What resources are available? What are the methods both old and new which are being used in rural parishes, and with what success do they meet?

Visititation Evangelism:

Ask the layman whether there is anything in the usual run of church work about which the church should be doing something, but is not. In the list of things he mentions most frequently, evangelism is fourth. Ask him what particular opportunities for growing church work he can see in his parish. Second and third on his list are visitation and evangelism. Invite his suggestions for general church work in rural places, and his most frequent answer is "evangelism." Inquire whether he feels his church is doing its work well or failing in its job - and if it is failing, how? His first answer regarding failure is "visititation." Question him concerning any problems in his parish which he considers unique, and the needs which he believes to be traceable to these problems. Fourth and fifth on his list are visitation and evangelism. Turn to the ministers and ask what opportunities they see for more effective work, and the answer given most frequently is "evangelism." Then inquire what experiments with new programs, techniques, and approaches they have tried in their parishes, and evangelism is thirteenth on their list. Evangelism is something everyone feels should be done, but almost no one cares to try.

In the continuum of the church's work, the most readily usable method of direct evangelism is the person-to-person contact of door-to-door visitation. Visitation of every household is generally assumed to be one of the
duties of the parish minister. Nearly every minister with whom I spoke
agreed that pastoral visitation was one of the most important parts of his
ministerial function "next to preaching and orderly sacraments;" only two
contended that it was useless and professed to do no visiting whatsoever.

Methods of visitation, however, vary considerably. About three out of
every five ministers describe their methods as "general visitation;" one out
of five (representing the Church of Scotland in the same ratio as does the
total sampling) calls only upon his own members. The rest "call only when
called," "call upon the sick and aged only," or "have an occasional drive
to visit." As a further source of information concerning visitation prac-
tices, each minister was questioned concerning his "system of visitation"
and the estimated number of visits he made during a year's time. About one
in every four professed to have a systematic approach to visitation (most of
them claiming to "go once around the parish" every six, twelve or eighteen
months, one claiming to visit the entire parish every four months, one every
three months, and one every month!). A very few men attempt to adhere to a
schedule of calling on given afternoons and evenings each week, although
this seems to have been given up rather completely by the average minister.
With these "systems" eliminated, the one which seems to be in vogue with the
remaining "systematic" visitors is a visitation of the parish before one of
the communion seasons.

I found only six ministers or priests who actually kept any sort of
record of their pastoral visits, and only a dozen others were willing to ha-
zard an estimate of the number of pastoral calls they made. The most faith-
ful parish visitor I met was the minister of the Church of Scotland in Freu-
chie, whose card index record showed 929 visits with his people in the previous
year. Those who could back their answers by an actual count averaged more
than six hundred visits a year, all others who would offer an estimate averaged less than four hundred, and it is probably safe to assume that most of those who refused to guess made considerably fewer calls within their parishes. It was apparent that the simple act of keeping a pastoral record helped to keep the minister faithful to his pastoral duties!

Ministers were also asked about the existence of "religious census" information concerning their parishes — either exact index records of the total population of the parish, or the actual results of a recent religious census. In three out of every four parishes, no such records exist. Successing pastors are apparently supposed to sense such information intuitively. In the other fourth of our sample parishes, the ministers either claimed to have census information — although it was almost never in an up-to-date condition and sometimes dated back more than fifty years — or protested that there was no need for keeping on paper records which could be carried around in one's head. The two chief sources of census information, by the way, were D. P. Thomson's crusades and presbyterial-sponsored surveys. Where these records did exist, pastors were quick to admit that they had corrected many points of misinformation and many wrong impressions about the religious composition of their parishes. Their subsequent approach to the parish as a whole, they believed, was a more intelligent one.

A few ministers have developed interesting techniques in their visitation. There is, of course, no new wisdom in the observation that what happens in a pastoral visit varies considerably, but there may still be value in mentioning some of the variety of practice. One man, for example, has found symbolic value in making all his calls by cycle ("It shows the minister goes to some exertion for them"); another finds similar value in rising at five "at least one morning a month" to meet the men on their way to work and to stop at the
door to speak to the workingmen's wives. Some men "pray in every home;" others offer prayer only when asked; still others make it a practice to pray "with those who can't come to the kirk." One man whose parish had responded well to his hard work told of his visits "to the whole place - cows and all. It takes a while, especially if the men are in the field, but they know they've been visited." Another described his habit of visiting "across the fields" in summer. And a wise old pastor told me: "I always look up the stock prices before I go out visiting. Then I can say, 'I see the price of lambs has dropped at St. Boswell's.'" A very few ministers make it a practice to announce from the pulpit that they will be calling in a certain district during the coming week, and find that it not only prepares their people for their calls, but that it also serves the purpose of informing the whole congregation of one of their minister's time-consuming activities. A minister who wished to impress his people with the importance he placed upon this most personal of his pastoral duties described how he called in new homes - "three visits in a row in each new house; I don't want them to feel they've been dropped." A few ministers were thoroughly convinced of the wisdom of the "purpose-centered visit." One made it a habit to be quite thoroughly familiar with the wireless schedule for several days ahead, and in his sick visitation tried "to get them to listen to a special program." On the next visit, the program became the means of pointing the discussion in a serious direction. Other ministers made similar use of the home quarterly or other church publications; one acquainted himself quite thoroughly with Sunday School or Bible Class assignments for the coming weeks, and followed them up in conversation on his parish visits.

Those who were "good visitors" attested the value of visitation. A minister who insisted that he didn't call "to ask them why they weren't in church" added quickly, "but it does bring them out." Others believed that
visitation opened the door for the church. "When I call, they'll always be in the church for a while afterward." A layman told me: "The village as a whole will help us, whether they're members or not, largely because of some small service rendered by the minister." One elderly minister, whose people knew he loved them well, testified: "Visitation is the refresher for the soul, getting into the homes of those who are surmounting trouble."

It was quite apparent, however, that in many parishes visitation in any form had ceased to be a major part of the ministers' schedule of work. Sometimes there were plausible reasons for this. "It's crying to be done in the new houses, but I can't do it. It's in the other man's part of the parish, and he won't go near it." "I'm not doing much now; a car is too expensive." "I'm limited by the denominational situation." Often, however, there was a more fundamental loss of faith in visitation as an effective part of the pastoral ministry. "The work of the minister is changing. It's no longer just preaching and visiting. I have to be an executive, an educator. I can't be always chasing people up." "It's not a man's job." "It's a waste of time; it never brought them to church."

If we are searching for reasons for the diminishing importance of visitation in parish work, this last comment gives us at least a clue: pastoral visitation simply has no clear purpose in the mind of the average rural minister today. There is no longer any "philosophy of visitation" which seems to him to fit into the contemporary situation. Only a comparatively few ministers, like those quoted in the previous paragraphs, see the pastoral visit as a means of outreach - and the way the average parish minister does his visitation (simply "to get to know the people"), it is far from a method of evangelism. For this, and probably other reasons, "parish ministers don't do it any more. It used to be considered a parish minister's duty to visit every
home in the parish." "The ministers do not go among them." As a result, ministers themselves could honestly tell me, "the people don't expect it now."

There seems to be a similar feeling of futility about the traditional "elders' visitation." Most sessions within the Church of Scotland continue the custom; there is no practice quite parallel to it in the Episcopal or Roman Catholic Churches. It is done almost always just before the "sacrament Sundays," and with little sense of purpose larger than "to get them out to communion." In a few cases, the ministers themselves have assumed full responsibility for pre-communion visiting, or have given it up altogether.

The descriptions of elders' visitation which I was given in most parishes probably explains the feeling of futility. The most frequent comment I heard was: "They drop the communion cards and run." (A few churches still use tokens, but the general description is still accurate.) "One of the elders has his daughter put them in the letter drops." Several ministers commented sadly: "They really do visit - but there's no religious effect. They just visit." "They collect at the same time, and I'm afraid they mostly collect."

"They're faithful, but they don't know how." About one out of every ten ministers felt that the visitation conducted by his elders was "effective." Most of them felt that "it still depends on the elders. One will spend evenings, another will never open a door." "Most of the elders do a proper visit; only one of them posts his cards."

The most successful attempts at meaningful lay visitation seem to have one or more of these points: 1) Some churches have profited from visitation training programs in which laymen are called together for a series of meetings for the single conscious purpose of studying visitation methods, the art of man-to-man religious discussion, and the way to guide conversation. These have almost always been associated with area evangelistic crusades, but the
residual effect on session visitation has been appreciably good. 2) Informal but serious discussion of the elder's function is extremely helpful, and is sometimes done in regular session meetings. It seems hardly necessary to point out that this will never happen in a church which does not have stated meetings of the session at a time other than "after Sunday service." Unhurried meetings properly guided offer an ideal opportunity for the sharing of visitation experience. ("They've taught themselves how, and they're good - even in the bothies.") 3) Specific, yet simple, things can be required of the elders as a result of their visitation. An elder will not be likely to do his job well if he has no idea why he is visiting, beyond getting people out for communion. Visitation seems to be made more effective in surprisingly simple ways: one minister asks his elders to report back concerning sickness in the parish - and thus makes sure that his elders at least inquire for the wellbeing of each household. Another pastor instructs his elders to offer the services of the church - "and now the people turn to the elders in their need." 4) The quinquennial visitation can be used as an occasion for a real self-evaluation in such matters as session visitation, and may provide a starting point for later serious inquiry and improvement. But 5), if there is to be any real development of methods or even of the desire for greater effectiveness on the part of the elders, the minister is wise to be frankly willing to learn with his men. "I visit along with different elders. I learn too. And later we all compare notes."

A few churches employ techniques in addition to, or instead of, the elders' visitation. In some cases, managers and other persons are drawn into the visitation program; this is especially true where there have been area evangelistic crusades. A few ministers have "districted" their parishes, assigning each district to a member, man or woman, to keep him in touch with
the needs of families in the district. One church used a book by the door, and invited those who attended Sunday worship to make notations of parishioners who were sick or in need. In the majority of churches, however, the major contact with the people in their homes and walks of life is maintained by the minister and the elders. Since no other method appears to have been devised to accomplish quite the same thing, it becomes imperative for the church to be careful that it be done well.

**Crusade Evangelism:**

Another form of direct evangelism, which has long existed in the church together with the continuing visitation program, is the evangelistic "campaign" or "crusade." All the denominations have experienced waves of evangelistic zeal during their histories, sometimes quite unique in character. Today, however, there is a blurring of denominational distinctiveness which has affected nearly every phase of Protestant church life in Scotland, and it is therefore difficult to single out many points of difference from denomination to denomination even in the area of evangelism. As a matter of fact, there is little present indication of evangelistic mission in the Episcopal, United Free or even Methodist Churches; they are simply not thinking in terms of new members, but are doggedly conserving the members they have and growing as the birth rate allows. In a few cases only - specifically those of the Christian Brethren and the Roman Catholics - will it be worth-while to point out distinctive patterns of evangelism.

There was a widespread feeling among Scots churchmen that just such an evangelistic wave was breaking at the time of this survey. The accumulation of enthusiasm from the Iona Community, the regional crusades of D. P. Thomson, the "Tell Scotland" movement and the pressure to invite evangelists like "Billy" Graham to Scots soil - all these were interpreted as evidence of a
groundswell of "revival spirit." It was frequently pointed out to me that these waves break periodically "when the time is ripe," and there is a strong suspicion that in the rural parish, the time is ripe! It has been a long time since there has been an outburst of evangelism which has reached into the countryside in more than a few isolated communities. In seventy-four of our survey parishes, living memory cannot recall a single evangelistic series, revival, campaign or mission. In more than thirty parishes where such efforts were recalled, however, it is possible to gather sufficient evidence to reach some conclusions - though we must concede at the outset that these are only tentative.

1) The nature of the effort does seem to have a material effect upon the result. It is not true that "the main thing is what we're trying to accomplish." For example, the least effective approach in rural areas is that known in Protestant circles as "the mission." It usually consists of a series of meetings held through the evenings of one or two weeks. It is conducted by an outside person or team of "missionaries" who belong to the sponsoring denomination (as in the case of the Brethren) or are of vague denominational affiliation. They beg the use of a local church or hall, usually preferring the parish kirk but rarely obtaining it. If local sponsors, looking back, can recall any lasting effects at all, they are that one or two persons were spiritually stirred and were subsequently caught in the orbit of organized church life. My records usually include this note: "When the missionary left, she told us this was an unusually hard parish." Almost any other type of evangelistic campaign (even though it does include a similar series of meetings in combination with other methods) seems to be more effective in communities which are basically agricultural. It is probably a direct consequence of this fact that the sects, which have been noted for
their evangelistic zeal, have made so little headway in rural Scotland. Their mission-type program, which appeals more successfully to people in industrial, mining or fishing communities, "cuts no ice in the country."

2) Sponsorship does make a difference in the success of rural evangelism. The traditional suspicion of incomers, diminishing but still present, applies to unsponsored persons who seek to convert the rural parish. An unsponsored mission is at a distinct disadvantage, too, in having no opportunity for continuity or follow-up. It would seem, therefore, that D. P. Thomson has been exceedingly wise in accepting no invitations to conduct campaigns unless all the churches give their blessing.

3) The most effective evangelistic campaigns have made use of a maximum of local persons. The resistance which elders sometimes expected concerning their own part in parish visitation would seem to be almost completely unfounded, if my findings are to be trusted. For the personal contacts of any campaign, the rural person prefers to talk to someone whose identity he knows. Outside personnel can be used profitably for preaching and speaking situations or for guidance and training; but local personnel should be involved wherever possible. The combination of whole-hearted local sponsorship and maximum use of indigenous personnel more than trebles the chance of success.

4) Campaigns in rural areas, no less than in urban communities, require a thorough preparation. It is sometimes assumed that rural people can be satisfied with something less, and of a lower quality, than their counterparts in the towns. This is far from true. It is desirable, for example, that local persons be engaged in the program; but if they are to be used, they must be adequately trained. With the exception of the counties of Lanark, Ayr and Caithness, it seems to have been a long time since there was any degree of indigenous evangelism within the area of this entire study.
The background of the rural person, therefore, is more likely to acquaint him with bad evangelism than with good. If he is to make constructive contributions to the campaign, then, he must be equipped to do so. It is obvious, too, that very little residual effect can be expected unless a number of persons have been trained to carry on the contact with those who are reached by the campaign itself.

5) If an evangelistic campaign is to be effective, there must be abundant evidence that there is a real and continuing interest in the earthly lives as well as the eternal souls of the people to whom it is directed. Perhaps this explains the poor success of the week-long series of "mission" meetings. Perhaps it also helps to explain the high percentage of failure among campaigns which ignore local sponsorship; it is too obvious that there is no continuing concern for the lives of the people. Conversely, it also explains the success of campaigns in which there are an intensive and thorough visitation and a high degree of personal contact. And it indicates clearly that the participating churches — ministers, elders and members — must show that they are willing to follow through with a total ministry to the people's needs, a ministry which will continue faithfully long after the campaign is finished.

6) The most effective approach to rural people is made on an area basis. I believe that this is directly related to the finding of Chapter III, that the rural community has far outgrown the parish. If a campaign approaches the people on a basis smaller than the total community in which they live, it reaches them only partially. If there is to be a broad impact, then it must strike where the people work, market and play, as well as where they live. Training for visitation, the drafting of leadership and the publicity for the entire campaign can all be done more adequately on an area basis. This

should not be interpreted to mean that a parish program of evangelism can not succeed. Occasionally, the parish is (as it has always been) almost identical with the community. Frequently, too, it is impossible to organize an evangelistic endeavor on an area basis, and this should not serve to stifle the work of a church which is ready and eager to reach out.

It is desirable, however, that a campaign incorporate as many of these six principles as possible, to accompany the primary driving sense of mission. I have only praise for the work of D. P. Thomson in this respect; his crusades have done all that is here outlined, and more. The techniques he has developed have demonstrated the originality, ingenuity and flexibility which are so essential in the contemporary rural parish. In the course of my survey, I have heard from both laymen and ministers many critical comments regarding the conduct of the crusades - the charge, for example, that his campaigns have fallen far short of their goals. If the crusades have failed by comparison with their goals, they have been remarkably successful by comparison with the actual outcome of any other programs of direct evangelism whose results were measurable through this survey.

There are other methods of direct evangelism which deserve to be mentioned here, and which are particularly adaptable in the single-parish campaign. In many areas, kitchen meetings, when coupled with some other type of program, help overcome the obstacle of remoteness. While street-corner evangelism (by the overwhelming testimony of those who still use it) has lost its effectiveness against the competition of the passing bus, out-door meetings of other types are sometimes successful, especially if they can be combined with some particular seasonal or agricultural activity. The incalculable influence of music must also be noted - the "outburst of Christian
song" which has "invariably accompanied" revivals of religion. 4

Mention must also be made of a distinctive pattern of evangelism which has been developed by the Roman Catholic Church. It incorporates some of the principles listed above, and blends them into a campaign which is extremely effective in reaching the lapsed Roman Catholic. It combines a series of services, in which the preaching is usually full of Hell's fire, with a visitation of lapsed members and their families; sometimes all members of the church are included. Both preaching and visitation are usually conducted by outside personnel. The one distinctively unique feature of the pattern is the concept that this is a practice which it is well to repeat every three to five years - and this has certain very practical benefits. For one thing, it means that there are persons in the church who are constantly involved in "missions" in one parish or another. Their training and experience carry over from one area to another, and the church is not therefore dependent upon the good effects (nor subject to the bad effects) of waves and bursts of wholesome or misguided revival spirit. One distinct disadvantage of the pattern, of course, is that it is never marked by the spontaneity of the evangelism of other churches. But Protestant denominations could benefit from the point of view which places evangelism directly and permanently in the stream of the church's life.

"I hope the church faces the difficult task of having two kinds of work to do. It must reach the people on two levels. I must preach for my cultivated Christians, but the church must somehow also speak, reach out to those who wouldn't understand my pulpit vocabulary." When a Free Church minister said this to me, he was summarizing a centuries-old dilemma of the Christian Church. Dilemma though it is, the Church must continue to minister effectively

4 P. D. Thomson, Parish and Parish Church, p. 261.
within it. Neither duty may be neglected, for it is the nature of the Christian religion that it must somehow be renewed with each new generation. A little group of Congregational laymen philosophized for me: "A healthy church's influence will live only two generations, or until the 'converted' generation passes on. We've reached the limit."

The Church's Use of Mass Communication:

Modern communications have given the church direct access to the eyes and ears of the people, in a way which makes it practically impossible to assess the comparative impact of religion on the rural person today and yesterday. The fact that there have been periods in Scots history when more people attended church is obvious cause for concern, and the concern is not removed by the fact that more people today listen to religious speakers over wireless and television. Instead the church is constantly challenged to a difficult adjustment to the demands of the new media. And the new media, effective though they are, have far from simplified the church's task. For the attack cannot be shifted from the pulpit to the microphone, typewriter and camera; attacks must now be made on all fronts at once, and they must be made with equal skill.

In Chapter V (See "Brief Psychology of the Rural Person"), we have summarized the rural person's acceptance of wireless and television as media for religious discussion, but there is more that must be added here.

It is worth noting, for example, the programs which were named to me as being especially "good" and "popular." Programs of hymn-singing were first on the list given me by laymen, followed by schools religious broadcasts, Sunday morning services (especially if the broadcaster is locally known), foreign broadcasts (specifically "The Old-Fashioned Revival Hour"), and Norman McLeod. The listening habits of ministers are quite different, and re-
flect an interest in more speculative religion ("the practical problems series," "the Paisley Abbey questions and answers") and in devotional broadcasts ("the ten minutes in the morning"). Tribute should be paid to the British Broadcasting Corporation for the excellent use they make of religious leadership throughout Scotland, country as well as town. Within the area of our survey, nearly one out of every ten ministers had been given the opportunity, at some time or other, to participate in religious broadcasts. If I may be permitted a purely subjective judgment, they had been well selected from churches which offered some of the best possible examples of vital religious spirit.

Serious account must be taken of the effect religious broadcasting has upon church attendance. In this case, ministers tended to minimise the effect rather more than laymen, who were quite frank in saying that the influence was probably adverse. Laymen, however, did not feel that the small tendency for religious broadcasts to replace the church in people's religious life was necessarily lamentable, in view of the fact that many persons who "wouldn't go to church anyway" are among the listeners. A schoolmaster, for example, took an on-the-spot poll of his schoolchildren: of fifteen in the class, nine professed to listen regularly to religious broadcasts and could name the programs; seven of the nine were from non-churchgoing families. Although a majority of laymen believe the effect on attendance is adverse, they list it twenty-second among reasons why people do not go to church!

Always of interest in this survey are the ways in which churches and ministers make use of equipment and contemporary media of communication. In earlier chapters, we have already mentioned several instances of the resourceful use of religious broadcasts in parish life (in the schools, in more

effective pastoral visitation, to recover the lost emphasis on "family religion"). Still other ministers have capitalized on wireless and television programs by intimating special programs and the more desirable regular ones well in advance, by continuing unfinished discussions in later sermons, and by using illustrative material from them in their preaching. A few ministers have made use of the wide interest in programs of hymn-singing as an opportunity to introduce new hymns and generally improved music into their services.

The church is wise to take increasing interest in broadcasting policies and programming. The part played by the church, for example, in the debate of issues involved in the introduction of commercial television has been not only effective, but also much appreciated by the public. The church has gained ground by its insistence that religious broadcasts should be freed from any sponsorship or dictation by commercial interests.6 An issue which was called to my attention, however, by ministers and laymen of minority churches, was that the ban on purchase of television time for religious broadcasts will continue to make it difficult for the minority voice ever to be heard. The majority church, and those who are directly responsible for the selection of topics, leadership and broadcasting locations, could help to improve local denominational feeling by being constantly sensitive to the proper wishes of other religious groups.

Each medium of mass communication is suited to certain uses. For public debate and discussion, for dramatic presentation of religious themes, or for any of the elements of public worship (including music), wireless and television are superb. The printed word, however, is still the medium best suited to material which is instructional, or which involves detailed or

specialized information (schedules, news, reports and the like). The church, which has always been a large-volume publisher, is still committed to the printed word as its basic means of mass communication. Is its printed material adequately used, and is it suitable for rural audiences?

Almost two-thirds of the churches surveyed do promote the use of their denominational papers or magazines by their members, or at least by their officers. Perhaps by necessity but certainly also out of wisdom, the minority churches are most thorough in this respect; all congregations of the Methodist, Nazarene, Congregational and Free Churches promote their denominational journals. Over ninety per cent of the Roman Catholic churches do so. About half of the Brethren's Assemblies urge their members to subscribe to Brethren's magazines, and only about one-third of Episcopal churches seriously promote the use of denominational papers. Among Church of Scotland rural congregations, Life and Work is promoted more or less in sixty-three per cent, Young Scotland in considerably less, and Round Table in only a very few.

In any church, it appears to be virtually certain that the circulation of such journals is doomed to be small (in a third of the churches where they are used, the circulation amounts to no more than a dozen), unless there is some very definite means of distribution. A familiar sight is the little stack of outdated Life and Work on the window ledge of a rural church. There are a number of ways in which congregations have solved the problem of distribution: youth groups take them from door to door as a service project, elders or collectors leave them in their visitation rounds, they are distributed at the church door, individuals are encouraged to subscribe to them, or they are sent by post. A very few churches make it a point to distribute them to every home, feeling that "those who would not buy it are those who need it most."

The Roman Catholic Church has developed a most useful means of distribution:
an arrangement is usually made with a local bookseller to put the journals on public sale. In this way, there is a minimum of bother and expense to the church itself.

It must be reported that in the majority of churches, there was no great enthusiasm for publications of this kind. "It misses the mark." "It doesn't appeal to the average member at all." "It's a minister's journal; there's not much in it for the average member." These were the comments one commonly heard. But the one heard by far the most often was: "They're written for the big church in the town." I wondered if the minister were not more honest who said frankly: "It's too much work."

The problem of local relevance in the area of mass communication, however, must be taken seriously. There are several ways which local churches have found to solve the problem. Episcopal and Roman Catholic diocesan papers carry news of local parishes. A few presbyteries issue supplements which carry parish notes; this is especially wise where the congregations are very small and the financial burden of individual supplements would be exorbitantly heavy. About a dozen churches (including several of the tiniest congregations) do issue parish supplements, and it is their overwhelming opinion that this increases the value and reflects in the circulation of the denominational journal. About an equal number, despairing of the national publication, issue their own newsletters, papers, and the like, on schedules that vary from monthly to semi-annually.

The over-all quality of locally-produced papers or supplements is fairly good. They are seldom duplicated, but instead are competently (if unimaginatively) printed. They are also competently (if unimaginatively) written, and at least one minister who realized the importance of this access to his people's homes made faithful use of manuals like the Church of England's
Editing a Parish Magazine. There is need for a vast amount of experimentation here; the parish paper could become a powerful tool.

A number of ministers were frank to admit that the by-products of issuing a paper or supplement were almost as important as the publication itself. For one thing, they were required to have something happening, of sufficient importance for parish publicity. For another, there was added necessity for laying parish plans well in advance. They have adequate support for these opinions in the case of parishes which rely upon "other" means of communication. If a minister reports that his church issues "occasional" letters or other printed material, he usually means the annual financial statement; if he professes to find the local press adequate to his total needs, he usually means that there is little to publicize, and that an "advert" for the annual sale of work or an intimation of the annual meeting takes care of it all. From a layman came an indicting summary: "No supplement to life and work; not even a letter to the congregation; not a word in the newspaper - no communication at all."

From the news that does appear, it is obvious that there is room for vast improvement in the press relations of the rural church. In order to gather information to supplement my survey, I maintained a "clipping file" from a large number of secular Scots newspapers. When the mass of articles is scanned, two things stand out. One is that there is usually favorable or at least dispassionate discussion of national church actions, General Assembly pronouncements, or even large-scale problems of the church. But if a rural church or a small presbytery breaks into the daily press at all, it is because the beadle has not been given a fair deal, ministers have refused to resign their charges in favor of a union of churches, or a committee has reported to presbytery on the deplorable level of the local Sunday School -
all the things which support the popular notion of the church as ineffective and anachronistic.

Of laymen, I asked: "Do you think the church makes sufficient use of publicity?" One fourth said "yes;" one half said "no." Most of the rest indicated either that "there isn't much to publicize," or else that "we get the wrong kind of publicity." "We get lots of it recently, all bad." "The church doesn't blow about what it does half enough. How many members know the church has twelve or thirteen rest homes for old people?" A retired newspaperman spoke passionately from a heart that loved the church: "Most churches actually resent publicity. They never furnish the press with decent copy. They could do a lot of educating locally, but they don't want it. It would be to their interest to control the type of publicity they get."

In the opinion of the laymen, the most effective potential means of public information is the secular press, especially if it carries religious news regularly — "a good weekly article," for example. Next most effective is the denominational publication, if it carries a parish supplement. Another means which is moderately effective is the tract. Literature tables also prove worthwhile, if the material on them is kept "alive" and moving. (The most effective of these was one on which the minister placed pamphlets and books on a particular theme — and changed them often.) In a number of parishes where there are also tourist centers, the churches (particularly the Roman Catholic Church) make good use of advertising in local newspapers or by posters strategically placed in hotels and other public places. By a wide margin, the least effective use of the printed word in the opinion of laymen is the "pew leaflet" — which is even less popular than the loudspeaker. "We put them in the pews and gather them all up again."
Here and there, the churches are making extremely good use of the usual channels of public information. One minister told me how he acts as local correspondent for the newspaper ("and I put in lots about the church"), sends a separate weekly article about church activities and "all sorts of special notes." In another parish, a layman told me proudly and confidently: "Our minister does a lot of writing about the parish, too. He loves it here." What more effective use of mass communication could there be than that?

It is an indictment of the general effectiveness of church public relations, however, that one fourth of the laymen with whom I spoke (representing slightly more than half of those in competing parish situations) believe that another local church is "doing a better job" than their own. The statistic is even more telling when we are reminded that it applies to members of the Church of Scotland as readily as to others. When the churches are striving to call attention to great issues or to significant events, they do it with fair success. But in the day-to-day coverage of news and opinion, the church is slow to take any conscious role, and thereby misses enormous opportunities to mold and influence public thinking, particularly toward the church itself."

Program Evangelism:

There is really no adequate term to describe the type of outreach I propose to discuss; I have used "program evangelism" for want of better words. By it I am trying to make a distinction between the openly aggressive forms of outreach - public relations, visitation, crusades - and the "winning" kind of evangelism which simply attracts people by doing the good thing well, by doing it with love and Christian concern, and by making it plain that no

7 For a discussion of the churches' use of films, filmstrips and other visual aids, see Chapter VII, "Furnishings and Equipment," and Chapter V, "A Brief Psychology of the Rural Person."
No matter how beautifully its program is planned, the church's greatest frustration is in making that program available to the people. This is partly a problem of public information, of letting people know what services the church is equipped and willing to render and what advantages and satisfactions there are in participation. But it is also a problem of "opening the ranks," of breaching the invisible walls that rise round social groups. This is a much more subtle problem than that of aggressive evangelism, for it involves life-long attitudes and inbred prejudices which sometimes die with agonizing slowness, if they die at all. We may wish that it were simply a matter of placing a notice on the door of the church with the legend, "All are welcome." But it is not so simple. The church must prove to the people that its unseen bars are down, that it's a fellowship open to every man simply because he is a child of God.

How can this subtle, frustrating, impossible thing be done?

If the church covets the ear of the people, it must demonstrate a very real and very positive concern for the people and for the situation in which they live. If the church wishes to control the kind of activities in which the community indulges (i. e., to inhibit those which tend to lower the morality or obscure the spiritual values of the community), it must show a positive interest in providing activities of a proper sort. If it wants to be heard when it preaches the eternal worth of the individual, it must be a living demonstration of a classless institution. If it wishes to be taken seriously when it decries the improprieties of youthful recreations, or the dearth of healthful recreational facilities, it must be in the forefront of those who are constructively tackling the needs. If it wants improvement in the low state of family religion, then it must offer positive help to
the families that are willing to try. If the church wants to have the
eviable place at the center of its people's lives, it must be the positive focal point of the whole community.

All these things, of course, the church does covet. Yet one-fourth of the laymen believe their ministers (whom they would like to "give a lead in the village") are not really interested in "communities like this." One-third believe their ministers begrudge the time they give to non-church parish activities, or report that they refuse to give any. (The ministers themselves verify the belief, one-third of them declaring that they "disapprove of ministers getting into parish affairs," that they think it is "dangerous" or "unnecessary," or that they "don't think it's worth it." We must then, of course, try to reconcile this with their avowed belief that the church should be the center of community life.)

In four parishes out of ten, the church and its hall are open only rarely from Sunday to Sunday - despite the fact that ministers and laymen alike place the lack of recreational facilities high on the list of community needs at the very same time that they judge the facilities of the church generally adequate. In only a nominal number of churches is there any effort to have young families use specific means for nourishing family life - means like The Holy Tryst or the family rosary.

These and other facts have all been gleaned, of course, from other parts of this report. They do not condemn the church; it is impossible for the church to be perfect. But they point in a direction to which the church must turn its attention, or further lose the respect and good will of the people in whom the church is far more interested than it succeeds in demonstrating. Nor is the church itself unaware of the problem. Alarms are

consistently sounded:

"The churches have not made their voice heard in social matters as they affect the countryside. Much has been done to stir the Christian conscience on the subject of slums, but when was any of our denominational assemblies made to think about the miserable wages of the agricultural worker, the shocking inadequacy of hundreds of our village schools, or the damp-ridden cottages which country women struggle to make into healthy homes? All these facts were within the possession of the Church, but when the nation between the wars forgot the countryside the Church did not raise its voice to redress the balance." 9

"(Youth) must be shown more plainly that social reform, economic justice, racial discrimination and so forth are not only the concern of politicians but of every Christian - and not as a side issue parallel with the Gospel, but as a part of the Gospel itself. They must be shown that Christianity... is a no less formidable opponent than Communism of exploitation, poverty, the ruthlessness of 'Big Business' and other social evils." 10

The elusive bonds between pastor and parish, kirk and community, can be strengthened by the church which makes known the depth of its concern for the people. Situations will dictate the means. In one remote parish, a minister alive to the needs of his people tries to bring a church furnishings firm into the glen. In a parish where there were many old people, the session discovered that "there is still room for charity - even in a welfare state." Coal was ordered and paid for to help those retired on tiny pensions. In another parish, the church leads the way in building a hall, securing public funds for the major part of the cost because it is willing to have the hall used for all parish needs as well as its own. 11 The same church is the experimenter bringing cylinder gas into its kitchen - and "now they all cook with it." In still another parish, the need is for land reform, and the minister's broad influence is behind the small farmers who are trying to purchase land of their own. In yet another rural place, the church which is actively trying to meet

9 The Land, the People and the Churches, p. 59.
the needs of the whole community is able to speak out when the table license hotel stops serving meals - and the parish listens with respect. Though the Roman Catholic Church in Scotland is generally exceedingly weak in the area of community participation, a Highland priest has won the grudging appreciation of an entire town for opening the school gymnasium to all the parish youth. Occasionally ministers seize opportunities to act as chaplains to the British Legion or the Farmers' Union, and ministers' wives become active leaders of the Woman's Rural - to help resolve the undeclared warfare between W. R. I. and Woman's Guild. Through community councils, parish committees and councils of social service, still other churches and ministers take advantage of the open doors that exist throughout the countryside, and keep them open for the message of the gospel.

Not only through its interest in total community life, however, but also through the way the church and its organisations are run, the congregation can make plain its welcome to the whole community. There is a tendency, as we have already noted, for the church to become the "village kirk" or less frequently the "farmers' kirk." One of the most successful ways to counteract the bad tradition is through its organizations. In the smaller group of the Woman's Guild, it is quite possible to devote particular attention to a balancing of the membership, seeing that no group - farmers' wives, villagers, laboring people, free kirk stock ("the church is united, but it's still run by the small kirk people"), farm servants' wives, or incomers - is left out. A person made welcome in the personal informality of the shared cup of tea will not feel unwanted when the church gathers for worship. In most cases, the same personal warmth can be brought about in the church's life by the wise use of parish "districts." Carefully selected and friendly people, welcoming incomers, inquiring for and reporting births, sicknesses and troubles, can
do a great deal to help prevent the damaging impression of a church which does not care. Nor is it possible in some parishes to over-estimate the symbolic value of abolishing the rented pew.

In some areas of church life, particularly the Sunday School, transportation schemes not only help attendance but almost literally open the doors of the church. Four churches arrange for special buses (with the cost guaranteed by the church) to make the rounds of the parish each week. Others arrange for buses fortnightly, monthly, or for communion. Several churches seek to arrange car-pools for Sunday use. One church in particular was arranging a system using private cars to pick up every child in the parish, so that no one would be left out.

The very type of program which the church conducts can by itself convey the hoped-for inclusiveness of the church's fellowship. It is encouraging to find the occasional church incorporating the "family night" in its schedule of activities, with a program specially designed to include all ages, or the monthly family service in which children and youth are specifically welcomed to attend church with their family group. One Episcopal pastor, whose people are scattered over a wide area, conducts what he calls "sick services," in the home of a shut-in, neighbors gather for a cheerful little service which has the effect of bringing the aged back into the Christian family. In one parish, a minister experimented with "cells," modern versions of cottage prayer meetings, which gather for study and prayer in one another's homes. It was his hope that the intimacy of the neighborhood group would help to make it more inclusive.

A final, subtle factor which has a great deal of influence on the future success of the church in its mission of outreach is past success itself. It is difficult to pinpoint the psychological laws which are operative here,
but health breeds health, and success breeds success. If the church can only convey to the people its real personal concerns, if it can once break through the superficial impressions of indifference and make the people feel the church's personal interest in them, the new impressions are much easier to maintain than they are to create. If only the church can inform its people of vital things happening within its walls, the tendency is for things to keep happening. And one of the most effective means of outreach is simply for the people to feel confident that the church takes its mission seriously.

When I asked a whimsical rural minister what he felt was most needed in his parish, his answer was: "A plague of locusts!" Perhaps it would help now and then, or at least we may so indulge our ministerial fancy. But we also know in more sober moments that there is no end to the ways we could find, if we would, to help bring about a more receptive climate for Christ's ministry, and to be the channels through which he can more effectively act. The problem is in beginning. We are often afraid of beginnings, and frightened of the unknown. The status quo is safe and reassuring. But the church must be ever beginning anew. A minister with wide background in evangelistic work spoke out of the fund of his experience:

"We refrain from mission because we see we are not ready for mission. We become ready for mission only by becoming involved in mission. We meet Christ on the road. "We cannot wait on mission because all our elders aren't with us. We shall wait into all eternity. "And we cannot wait to preach our mission for three years, when we may expect to be prepared for mission. We must begin."
CHAPTER X: ADMINISTERING THE CHURCH

"I wish I'd been told the main part of my job would be raising money. I thought I was ordained to preach the gospel." To the minister who said that, church administration was an odious chore, which sapped his energies from the "important" parts of his office. But whether a minister considers it odious or not, it is still necessary and important. The final chapter of this section is therefore devoted to local church administration.

Types of Parish Structure:

The rural parish is not a homogeneous field; the first nine chapters of our study witness to this on nearly every page. Very frequently the first statement a minister made to me when we sat down for our interview was: "Oh, this is just the usual run of country parish - nothing out of the ordinary, nothing different from anywhere else." The interview always proved him a master of understatement. No two parishes are alike. And yet, running through the fabric of them all are certain threads of the same colors. We're able to distinguish types of parish structure, even though every example of each will have its own peculiar variations.

There are five major types of church administration which account for nearly all the churches of our study. 1) The most common, of course, is the ancient single parish, with its one church and one minister.

2) This type of situation in the ancient parish has sometimes been complicated by the addition of outlying preaching posts. Since they are not often organized as churches or even designated as missions, they remain quite flexible, and it is usually a matter of local church administration to decide when and whether these preaching posts will be used. Their home may be a school or hall, or even the remote church abandoned when a new building was erected at a point of denser population.
3) "Mission" is a term used officially in some denominations and unofficially in others - but always to describe the same kind of situation. In the Roman Catholic and Episcopal Churches, missions (or mission churches) are either those which were originally started in areas not adequately served by existing churches, but operated under an existing church (a process which in the Church of Scotland frequently led to the formation of quad sacra parishes), or else churches which have become too weak to warrant separate administration. In most denominations, the mission is not necessarily within the parish bounds of its "parent" church, and may be fully constituted as a church, with its own session or vestry; where this is not the case, it may have a "session committee" whose members are elders of the parent session. In the Episcopal Church, a mission may have no vestry at all, and may be operated in the same manner as a Roman Catholic church or mission in which there is no lay administration. However the term "mission" is used, it carries the implication of a dependent, subordinate position, and often rankles in the minds of the laymen concerned.

b) "Linked charge" is a phrase used to describe a fourth situation, frequently identical to that of the mission church, but with a vast symbolic advantage. It implies a yoking of equals, and it is often precisely that. When two or more churches are each too weak to carry the financial burden of their own ministries, or the population too sparse to justify the use of denominational funds, the churches are linked under the same pastor. In the case of linking, the manse of the stronger church becomes the minister's home, and the other manse is sold, rented, or used as a residence for a beadle. If neither church is appreciably stronger, both manse are sometimes retained with the intention (seldom carried out) that alternate ministers may be resident in the two parishes. The parishes usually remain officially separate, though by General Assembly action, they may be united as one. In some cases where this was done more than two hundred years ago, the people still consider
their parishes separate!

5) the last type of church administration, which is officially identical to that of the first but whose history makes it far different, is the union church. It is the result of a merger of two or more congregations; and though it becomes one church, the complicating psychology of merger makes this type of parish a problem quite unique. Again, various arrangements are made: sometimes one church is sold or demolished; the church of one congregation and the manse of the other are sometimes used; most frequently, the church which is no longer used for worship is converted more or less satisfactorily into a hall. According to procedure outlined by the Church of Scotland, any decisions concerning property are to be made only after a competent examination of the fabric.¹

It should be pointed out that a number of possible forms of parish structure are almost unheard of in Scotland. For example, "common parishes," sometimes suggested for use here,² are not to be found anywhere in the area of this survey. Team ministries, "larger parishes," and other variations of the same type have not been formed in rural Scotland. Local "federations" of churches of differing denominations do not exist here. For all of these, there is reasonable possibility of practical use, and still other methods could be explored with profit. A layman, for example, produced the suggestion that some weak parishes should be operated as missions out of the seminaries, from which competent supervision could be expected. There is no question that congregational readjustment is "a difficult and delicate problem;"³ but it is also drastically required.

The churches seem to be in a period which, in respect to administration, is more than usually transitional. One fourth of the ministers interviewed already

² P. D. Thomson, Parish and Paroch Church, p. 287.
serve two or more churches or missions. In over half the parishes, new or additional adjustment is expected at the end of the present pastorate. (Compare p. 64.) Out of this transition arise two major working principles: 1) the usual requirement of the rural situation is for larger working units; and 2) the demand of the people is for the preservation of the largest possible degree of church identity.

With regard to the first principle, as we have seen in chapters V and VI (see Chapter V, "The Rural Person Looks at the Churches"), ministers and laymen were in agreement. A minister is not really needed in large numbers of rural churches. "They're not justified in keeping a man here when I leave."

"In ______, there are two churches side by side in the same street. They have separate parishes assigned to them. It's much more workable to unite churches like that, where people could go to one as well as another, rather than in the country, where distance is another problem."

I do not believe the desire springs simply from an urge to work economies. Neither ministers nor laymen even suggested this as one of the anticipated results. But there was nearly unanimous opinion that working in larger units would provide a much wiser stewardship of the resources now at the church's command. A more effective ministry, better paid and better equipped, would be the result. "If we could work in larger units, we could afford speakers, films and so on."

The second working principle may appear contradictory to the first, but it cannot therefore be dismissed. While laymen see the need for widespread parish readjustment, they are always reluctant to believe that the need applies to their church; the major reason is that readjustment will mean the loss of their ecclesiastical identity and a subsequently diminished ministry. "People in a more distant community are still entitled to the ordinances of worship."

From the point of view of the minister, union (with the submersion of one
church or the other) makes the job simpler; but from the point of view of the layman, linking is much to be preferred. The church should keep in mind that, whatever course is followed, as many as possible of the advantages of linking should be preserved, with no apparent diminution of ministerial services.

It is superfluous to say that parish readjustment must be accomplished with extreme tact. There are many simple means by which the good will of the people may be preserved in spite of drastic readjustment, however. The Church of Scotland has wisely adopted a system of "terminable ministry" and "deferred union," which give local congregations fair warning that the status quo is to be changed, but also give them sufficient time to adjust to the idea. Sometimes, when union is eventually planned, linking is used as a temporary step. "We used to hold services every Sunday in both churches. Now we have service in one one Sunday, and in the other the next. Eventually we will close one completely." In two Episcopal churches for which merger was planned, combined vestry meetings were held long before there was any public intimation of a plan of union. One minister, sensitive to the deep emotional implications of readjustment, removed a much-loved bell from a closed church, and placed it in the church to be used by the united congregation. In a linked parish, the minister found that communion was a sore point, if it had to be served by elders from the larger congregation; a local "committee of session" was the solution. The opinion of rural people which is increasingly held by experienced ministers is that "they will accept things if they're not forced," or "if anybody takes the trouble to explain the need." It is impossible to suppress the feeling that many of the unfortunate unions discovered in our study (in nine separate post-union parishes, continuing heated conflict was reported), antagonisms could have been avoided by a more sensitive touch. It would be good indeed to find in every united parish

4 Memorandum on Procedure, pp. 6, 7.
the approving opinion expressed by an "old United Free Church" elder: "It's pleasanter now to meet folk on their way to kirk."

Delicate though it is, the church cannot avoid the problem of readjustment. As we have seen in Chapter IV, "parish boundaries become obsolete" as communities grow and bring outlying neighborhoods within their orbit. "Who would build a shop where the people don't naturally travel?" "There are two villages in my parish, and both of them are nearer neighbor churches." We hear a minister in a glen parish reflecting: "We must unite with _ at the foot of the glen. It's good to have a resident minister, but (our village) is too small to be entitled to a man." And another is facing hard facts when he says: "We can't submit to the sentimental wishes of a few...... Parishes must be organized for efficient administration." The church must be ready to ask itself about any existing church: Would this church be here if our history had been otherwise? Would this church be erected now according to any sane policy of church extension? The way is now clear for these questions to be asked; the Church of Scotland has adopted a wise procedure according to which every vacancy requires the presbytery to review the situation and assess the need for a continued separate ministry.

There is in most such "vacancy evaluations," however, a tendency which is of questionable wisdom. Whenever the possibility of linking arises, as it usually does, the prevalent procedure is to think of another weak church within moderate distance, with whom a pastor's services may be shared. The result is that churches are frequently yoked with neighbors who do not even belong to the same community. A common complaint of laymen in linked parishes is: "We have no natural unity." Nothing else brings the people together. Their children attend different schools, their cars turn toward different towns for marketing, shopping and entertainment. And yet they are expected to work together as a team and perhaps eventually come to the point of uniting in one church! Churches of other
nations have also seen the danger of this kind of emergency statesmanship, and have turned their attention to the development of a kind of administration which will preserve the original "parish idea." The weight of evidence from my interviews with ministers indicates that the administration of the church program, pastoral work, communication and transportation are all much simpler to handle when the parish conforms to the community.

In the whole consideration of parish administration, especially at the point of efficiency, the minority churches are in a particularly anomalous situation. Frequently, there is no attempted defense at this point; the case for the minority church is made on other ground: "We're filling some of the gaps the Church of Scotland isn't filling." A curious phenomenon, supporting this defense, was discovered in the case of assemblies of Christian Brethren. By the testimony of their own members, the size and activity of assemblies diminished when the local Church of Scotland was carrying on a more effective ministry, and rose when the success of the Church of Scotland fell. This does reflect a conscious sense of mission on the part of some of the minority groups, to provide a unique witness which is needed to keep the balance of the Gospel message. Actually, of all the minority denominations, the Brethren are in the most defensible position, functioning without a full-time ministry and therefore without the expense of a stipend. But serious questions arise concerning the entire denominational structure in rural Scotland. "The price of our divisions comes home to us when we realize how many secular village institutions exclude religious discussion and acts of devotion from their activities because they fear the disputes which in the past the mention of religion has evoked." The

5 Compare the experience of the Reformed Church in France, as cited in the mimeographed report of Commission I, Conference for ministers, Ecumenical Institute, Bossey, Switzerland, June 10 - 25, 1952.
6 The Land, the People and the Churches, p. 53.
minority churches must seriously seek to answer the rising questions of duplication, waste, ineffectiveness and irrelevance which are heard from the mouths of laymen in all parts of Scotland - even members of their own denominations.

The Use of Material Resources:

The major financial support of the Church of Scotland rural parish came traditionally from the tiends - and it was often more than adequate. At the time of this study, a very few ministers are still paid directly from tiends, with the variable amount fixed by the fluctuating price of grain. This practice has been all but eliminated, however, by the voluntary principle brought into the Church of Scotland by the intermixture of free-church heredity, together with other forces for stipend equalization. In almost all cases, tiends are now paid directly to Edinburgh, and become part of denominational funds from which payments to ministers are made, bringing stipends up to a nation-wide minimum standard.

As the financial burden of administering a church has increased, it has been well that the principle of voluntary support has become a more vital part of the denominational heritage. The churches could not continue to exist without special appeals (from the pulpit, by letter or by visitation), door-to-door collections (monthly, quarterly, half-yearly or annually), and assorted fundraising methods. Occasionally, churches still depend upon traditional sources of income like pew rents (which are almost always unpopular), but an almost endless variety of money-making activities can be listed, in the order of their popular usage: sales of work (in two-thirds of the churches), whist drives, garden fetes, promise boxes (penny-a-day boxes, church-picture boxes, mile-of-penny envelopes), seasonal drives at Christmas and Easter or during Lent, concerts, bring-and-buy sales, jumble sales, talent schemes, film shows, soirees, plays, gala days - even "invisible sales!" It is evidence of admirable self-restraint that the churches are almost universally obeying denominational bans on raffles,
although a few do shut their eyes to church organizations which use the prohibited means. About one minister in twelve expressed objections, ranging from mild to violent, to any fund-raising activities; but the activities usually went on in spite of his good conscience!

Out of this economic confusion certain facts arise. 1) Two-thirds of the laymen with whom I talked believe their ministers' stipends are insufficient. 2) Only nine times in one hundred and eight parishes did I receive an affirmative answer to the question: "Do you think the church could be operated more economically?" (The only reasonable method proposed to accomplish this objective was to "close the church.") 3) Forty-four per cent of the Church of Scotland parishes surveyed are aid-receiving, although the laymen know it in only about half of these cases. 4) Two parishioners grumble about the way the load is divided to every one who feels the burden is too heavy. Ministers would substantiate this point: they are not often concerned about the "one family who feel they own the church;" but in one parish out of every five, the minister points to a precarious financial situation in which the church is dangerously dependent upon one person or a very small number of people who are responsible for the church's support.

All these facts point toward one conclusion: the churches must adopt a financing system which both provides more adequate and dependable support, and more equitably distributes its burden. Just such a program is proposed in the Free-will offering System (or Covenanted Subscription Scheme), but at the present country parishes are much slower to adopt it than the rest of the church. Less than a third of all the churches surveyed make use of this or a similar system, and only slightly more than a third of our Church of Scotland congregations do so.

Where the system has been adopted, it is often only partially used. "Only a third take the envelopes." "Only ten use it; it's a sad little venture I

started." It is seldom introduced by a general explanatory visitation, and
an annual solicitation is almost never used. As a result, "the people who
pledged three pence a week years ago still do." Often it is introduced simply
by an after-church distribution of envelopes, without any effort to have mem-
ers pledge a specific sum. Almost all lay objection to the system results
from this partial use. It is amazing that enthusiastic supporters of the
Freewill Offering System outnumber objectors three to one.

Where the plan has been adopted with even moderate thoroughness, the re-
results have been good. "It works wonderfully. Our giving last year was up to
£530 - and so far only fifty-five per cent use it." "Our finances were never
so good. Almost one hundred per cent use it." "It was an instant success.
Seventy-five per cent use it." "It doubled our income." "Now we don't have to
have all those sales." "Our church's sixty-seven members give over £1400."

Where it is used at all, only two churches consider it a failure.

Ministers and laymen offer many suggestions both for the successful intro-
duction and the satisfactory continuance of the plan. One church politely made
it known that no one would be urged to participate - but those who didn't would
still be expected to pay seat rents and use three-month offering envelopes! In
another parish where the congregation had resisted introduction of the scheme
"because the presbytery wanted them to," all mention of the system was momentar-
ily dropped until a local study of the church's financial structure clearly
led them to a plan of this type. In a parish where an unsuccessful envelope
system had been used for a long period, it was eliminated for three years, so
that the way would be clear to start over again on a sound basis. Warnings
were frequently voiced that the church should be careful to set its goals high
enough ("If you set an average, that becomes the maximum"), and that the system
be accompanied by a careful program of education concerning the church's needs.
("The people here are too much in the dark about what their money is used for").
It is wise also to accompany it with a scheme of training for those who will work in the program. And finally, it is the studied advice of one of the church's most experienced "campaigners" that any parish-wide program is helped by a thorough survey or census of local resources.  

There are always sources of help which are utterly untapped by the church, and it is possible for an imaginative minister to discover and employ them. One of the most promising of these is the voluntary labor project (See Chapter V, "Religion's Value in the Rural Mind") by which the growing pool of rural skills can be used for the benefit of the church. Shorter working days and improved wages tend to free country people from the grinding routine of their employment, and their "leisure" time is devoted to something else if the church does not bid for it.

In about a third of the churches of our survey, projects using voluntary labor have been tried, usually for small improvements in the grounds or facilities of the church. The largest projects attempted (and completed) were the construction of a hall, the rebuilding of a church and entire redecoration programs. It is, of course, necessary to have a very specific goal which is not so large as to discourage the participants, and to be sure that the needed skills can be furnished by the church's membership. It is also necessary to have a minister who is willing to work with his men, and who is anxious to capitalize on opportunities to have vital contact with them.

The results of voluntary labor experiments are extremely encouraging. Only twice did I find ministers who were negative in their reactions, and as we have already noted not one negative lay reaction was reported in churches where schemes of this kind were tried. The benefits were usually judged much greater than pure monetary value, for they brought men into close rapport with

8 D. P. Thomson, Lecturing Nov. 11, 1953.
their ministers, gave them a definite and vital interest in their church, and helped to create the lasting impression of a church "where things happen."

In all fairness to ministers who had not tried experiments of this kind, it must be said that many of them had good reasons to avoid them. Some did so on principle: "We pay our own way." "The church should give local tradesmen their patronage." Some would like to try voluntary labor projects, but for sufficient reason cannot: "The congregation is too old." "We have no tradesmen - only farmers. And we want it better done than that." But the overwhelming lay opinion in favor of projects of this kind should encourage even the most faint-hearted minister. Laymen did not raise objections about union rules, and tradesmen were as enthusiastic as shopkeepers. The most repeated comment I heard was: "Other organizations use it; I don't know why the church shouldn't."

The most unusual project I discovered was one which could be duplicated all over rural Scotland. The elders of Tarves, in Aberdeenshire, have undertaken to farm the glebe by pooling their machinery and manpower. Glebes today are notoriously poor economic investments, so poor that one experienced minister even suggested that all glebes should be sold and the money invested in a businesslike way. The Tarves project not only solves the prevailing problem of the glebe, but also involves the men of the church in a worthwhile venture on behalf of their faith. Other churches, too, have found it wise to begin with a nucleus like the session, a men's club, the choir, or the office-bearers, but it is usually found most beneficial if support for the project can be considerably broadened.

Another source of help which is usually untapped is a plan of annuity called the "Covenant Plan," or the "Covenant Bond of Annuity." A Children's Home attached to a parish of our survey recovers £1,000 each year from the Inland Revenue in respect of Covenant subscriptions.
Still another resource of the rural parish, in which it has the advantage
over its neighbor in the town, is the gift "in kind."\(^{10}\) It is hardly desir¬
able for the minister to live directly from the products of parish farms, but
it is possible for the church to convert gifts "in kind" into funds for neces¬
sary work. To my knowledge, only one church in Scotland has adopted such a
program at the time of this study; a Perthshire congregation, not included in
our survey, has begun a "Lord's Acre Project," marketing potatoes grown by
the youth of the church on land provided by an office-bearer. Such projects
have almost infinite possibilities for expansion and variation.

To my surprise, stewardship programs which emphasize tithing were mention¬
ed only twice in the course of this study, both times in minority churches.
Here again, by the renewed inculcation of the principle of proportionate and
systematic giving, the church could resolve many of its economic problems.

Occasionally a church was found in which there was no apparent financial
system whatsoever. One minister told me with awe-inspiring faith, "We get
some sort of windfall every year. It never fails." Another advised me, "I
don't worry about it. The Woman's Guild will wipe out our deficit at the end
of the year." (Unfortunately, the Woman's Guild is too often depended upon
for this kind of assistance, at the expense of other potential study or activ¬
ity.) Roman Catholic and Episcopal churches in rural districts are usually
run on an economic shoestring, and are almost invariably dependent upon
churches in larger towns for help. But in most cases, it is possible to in¬
stitute a system of support which both lowers the necessary population base
and raises the potential quality of its ministry.

The Church of Scotland is admittedly in the midst of a very uncomfortable
economic transition, which results at least in part from the courageous act of
disestablishment. It has been a long time since 1350, when it is estimated that three-fourths of the taxable land of Scotland was owned by the clergy. It is no easy matter to re-educate a whole generation of rural people whose financial obligation to the church once stopped when they had paid their tiend, and it takes long years to change that basic psychology. I have received a very strong impression from this study, however, that in spite of continuing financial difficulties, the real economic crisis of the church is past.

A long process of lay education is still needed. The public must be informed constantly and frankly concerning the needs of the church and her ministry. Churches which today do not even have annual meetings or submit annual financial statements to their membership must adopt methods which conform to present-day requirements of a church. Far too many members of church sessions and vestries wrongly believe their churches are self-supporting. One member told me complacently, "We're the old established church; we generally get a help from the government." One out of every four laymen does not know whether his church is self-supporting or not. One elder voiced his bitter resentment that all the tiends were going to the other church in the village. He was utterly wrong: his own church received £375 each year from tiend sources, compared with £250 received by the other church. All this indicates a desperate need for improved communications concerning the financial situation of the church. The ministry is naturally loath to be vocal; no one wants to support "the elders' idea of a good minister as one who has an over-flowing treasury." But the church is hurt by silence.

The final answer, however, lies in still another direction. If the ministry is to be freed from the onerous necessity of "grinding out finances," the church must do its job so well that support will be spontaneous. This is not so glib as it sounds. Several times laymen implied that their only real
disestablishment. It has been a long time since 1350, when it is estimated that three-fourths of the taxable land of Scotland was owned by the clergy. It is no easy matter to re-educate a whole generation of rural people whose financial obligation to the church once stopped when they had paid their tiend, and it takes long years to change that basic psychology. I have received a very strong impression from this study, however, that in spite of continuing financial difficulties, the real economic crisis of the church is past.

A long process of lay education is still needed. The public must be informed constantly and frankly concerning the needs of the church and her ministry. Churches which today do not even have annual meetings or submit annual financial statements to their membership must adopt methods which conform to present-day requirements of a church. Far too many members of church sessions and vestries wrongly believe their churches are self-supporting. One member told me complacently, "We're the old established church; we generally get a help from the government." One out of every four laymen does not know whether his church is self-supporting or not. One elder voiced his bitter resentment that all the tiends were going to the other church in the village. He was utterly wrong: his own church received £375 each year from tiend sources, compared with £250 received by the other church. All this indicates a desperate need for improved communications concerning the financial situation of the church. The ministry is naturally loath to be vocal; no one wants to support "the elders' idea of a good minister as one who has an over-flowing treasury." But the church is hurt by silence.

The final answer, however, lies in still another direction. If the ministry is to be freed from the onerous necessity of "grinding out finances," the church must do its job so well that support will be spontaneous. This is not so glib as it sounds. Several times laymen implied that their only real

---

11 P. D. Thomson, Parish and Parish Church, p. 92.
control over the church and its ministry was through their support, financial and otherwise. "The session is aware of the condition of the church; but what can they do? The only way we can make it plain how dissatisfied we are is not to support him." "He must be aware of the condition of the church; the finances should make it clear." Immediate help can be found to ameliorate the difficulty; but it is clear that the eventual solution of the church's financial problem will be found when the quality and spirit of the church evoke the spontaneous support of the people.

Use of Human Resources:

"The church must use her lay manpower more effectively." In one form or another, this "need for working more people in" was voiced by laymen in a majority of parishes. (See Chapter V, "A Brief Psychology of the Rural Person").

No one would claim that electing a man to an office will make him a churchman; but the interest he has in the church is more likely to survive if he also has responsibility in the church. "The church must make people feel needed, give them duties. People in church today are not made to feel enough that they can help." "If we want young people, we must keep them active, engaged, participating." "They ought to ask people to do definite, specific jobs - flowers, sweeping out, linen. It would help keep people interested." Laymen usually did not believe that the church was intentionally dominated by any person, group or "class" within the community; but there was frequently a feeling of frustration that the church is run by "the same people year after year." "There are too few to be really representative." "There's a cross-section of the congregation, but they need new blood." It is true that ministers also felt the need to distribute the work of the church among more hands, but usually found it difficult to secure the people to fit the responsibility. The result, however, is more obvious than the reason, and we have already mentioned the impression that the church is
clergy-dominated. "Ministers are too well established, too entrenched."

The answer, in the long run, is obviously not just to "manufacture jobs." It cannot be simply "projects - we must have more projects, whether we need them or not." The duties assigned must meet genuine needs, or a drive to involve more people will become immediately transparent. Again we are prompted to suggest the thorough parish survey as part of the answer - a survey which will turn up not only the resources of the community, as suggested earlier, but also its real needs. If the needs of the community are carefully listed, opportunities for specific service by lay people become obvious. I gained the impression that this is the kind of responsibility which the average layman is looking for - and this may explain the seeming contradiction between the average man's desire "to do something for the church" and the average minister's difficulty in finding people to take church office. Perhaps the church confines lay participation to such a narrow spectrum of duties that it also confines the number of people upon whom it can draw. A survey finding which supports this possibility is that the churches having the largest number and variety of officerships are the ones which have the least difficulty discovering people to fill them. Churches which have Boards of Managers as well as Sessions, for example, find it less difficult to enlist elders.

It cannot be too strongly emphasized that if thorough lay participation is to be secured, the responsibilities given to laymen must be real. If the minister wants his men to take a vital part in the church's life, he must allow them to have a clear voice in the decisions that affect the whole congregation. It is extremely significant that in eighty-nine per cent of the parishes where lay participation was considered "adequate," the corollary report was given that session or vestry meetings were "frequent." It is also significant that lay participation is best in the small but growing number of churches where
even the selection of lay leadership is made by the entire membership, and
elders are directly elected by the congregation rather than appointed or elected
by the minister or session.

In this respect, there is vast room for improvement. In more than two
thirds of the churches which in theory entrust leadership to laymen, meetings
of sessions or vestries are held only "as needed" - and a few ministers frankly
admit, "This is a mistake." "As needed" usually means before or after an occa-
sional service, "because the distances are too great to bring them together
often." But other ministers find that if the church's business is sufficiently
important, and if the program of the church is being planned thoroughly and
early enough, their men are willing to devote all the time that is needed for
meetings of the church - and distance proves not to be a primary consideration.

A segment of the church's membership which has been mentioned frequently
in earlier chapters is that of the retired person - who is taking up a larger
and larger part of the rural community. Here is a source of manpower which the
church can use to advantage so long as a balance of leadership between old and
young is preserved. The Christian Brethren and the Episcopal Church are using
this source of leadership more adequately than the other denominations; among
the Brethren, such persons often become assembly "leaders," and in the Episcopal
Church, as we have seen, they are often assigned to mission situations after
brief training. We have previously noted, too, that the Church of Scotland is
making an effort to enroll such persons for responsible church leadership be-
yond the local parish.

The employment of lay manpower, however, is only half of the problem the
church faces in the wise use of its human resources. It must also face the
questions: Are we taking full advantage of the ministerial leadership at our
disposal? Do we have a sound system of pastoral placement? Have we adopted
wise policies of ministerial tenure?
In Chapter VI, we have analyzed briefly the characteristics of the average rural minister. From that analysis, serious doubts arise because of the types of men who are commonly found in the rural pastorate - the young minister without experience, the seasoned pastor approaching retirement, the man who was admittedly unsuccessful in his bid for a city church, and the small group of those who are dedicated to the rural parish. Of these, the first three are accepted by rural people as part of the handicap of being rural, a handicap which is balanced by certain other advantages of rural life. They are resigned to it because they are familiar with the stigma of failure which is attached to most professional people who remain in the country.

Is it wise for the church to bow to this acceptance in a period when the country shows signs of recovering some of its lost popularity as a place to live and work? Or shall we agree with those who can "not conceive that it is sound policy to limit the weak congregation to the grade of ministry that it is able to finance"? We are forced at least to propose the question: Would it not be wiser to develop a parish structure of such scope and effectiveness as to challenge the abilities as well as the energies of the most capable minister?

In the course of interviews with both ministers and laymen, a quantity of opinion was recorded concerning the value of sending older men to country parishes. A few believe that "you need more experience to tackle one of these churches than a young man has. This is no place for a young man. There's not enough to do. (A former moderator of the General Assembly) says it is the young man's high ideals that defeat them." But for every one who expressed this belief, there were three opposed - and older men were among them. "I don't think it's good policy to send old men to the country. I find a country ministry harder than the city." Sometimes the objection was raised: "They're no longer flexible enough. When a man is waiting his last few years for

12 Tambaran, Vol. 5, p. 298.
retirement, how can you expect him to move on just because the time is right for a union?" "I felt a little sorry for the old man when he had to take on another church." Rural people, both in and out of the ministry, would be inclined to agree that "the habit of regarding a country ministry as a form of retirement is an insult to country people and a mistaken conception of the cure of souls. The work of a minister in the country presents particular difficulties, calls for self-reliance, offers temptation to slackness and to falling into a rut, but offers also scope for widely differing capacities and types of interest."13

The people with whom I talked were also vocal concerning the ideal length of pastorates. Laymen are inclined to be suspicious of a minister's motives if his pastorate lasts less than five years, but they are also inclined to favor a pastorate which lasts no more than twelve years, although they realize that any idea of a maximum should be variable. Ministers were of the same opinion: "A man should stay in a parish only so long as he remains effective. Some men lose their effectiveness sooner than others." "Lengthy pastorates in the same dispiriting situation militate against the evangelical fire." They were more reluctant to voice their opinions, however, and believed that the church should not think in terms of an ideal ministerial tenure until more adequate provision is made for satisfactory placement and relocation of ministers. "Presbytery should have a selective body, something toward the right man for the right job. The method of getting charges is a downright disgrace. It's no system of rewards for work well done." "I took a country church because I was desperate to get a place. Thank heaven I've been happy here. After that, I'm afraid to think of moving." It was interesting to find that among clergymen who were subject to hierarchical systems, there was usually a more satisfactory feeling toward the system of placement ("It's a system of rewards for good work") even though the

13 The Land, the People and the Churches, p. 39.
frustrations of the immediate job were just as great. The signs point toward the fact that the denominations which wish to preserve the freedoms of both ministers and congregations are faced with the need to provide more effective guidance for ministers who sense the advisability of a change. In a period of transition, the denominations must facilitate movement and adjustment, and their policy toward personnel must be at least as flexible as their policy toward church finances or parish structure.

---

**Denominational Supervision and Assistance:**

The degree of local "interference" varies greatly from denomination to denomination. Among the Christian Brethren, there is a tremendous degree of local autonomy which would be utterly unworkable apart from a strong moral pressure toward disciplinary conformity. In the Roman Catholic Church, on the other hand, there is frequent grumbling but no disobedience with respect to diocesan control. In most cases, interference which is in the nature of service to the local church is warmly appreciated. While denominational requirements are sometimes resented, this should not lead anyone to believe that the average minister or layman is opposed to denominational authority and power. There are many more services he would like to have provided "from above," and there are times when he would like to see his denomination wield more authority, or make greater use of the authority it has.

The denominationally-rendered services most thoroughly appreciated in the local church are contacts with the broad realm of Christendom. The itineration of church missionaries is the one thing most frequently mentioned - although many churchmen feel that the rural parish is often by-passed in the planning of itineraries, and wish they could have mission speakers ("not Board people") more often. A denominational service which is received by ministers with almost as much gratitude is the publication of genuinely informational and inspirational material ("not propaganda") - although the feeling is general, as we have seen, that such
publications are written with little awareness of the problems of the country church.

A third service from the headquarters of the church which is deeply appreciated where local people are aware of its existence is financial help of almost any scale, from the small grant for the minister's car to the subsidization of stipend. Laymen, however, were surprisingly uninformed concerning such assistance. I have a very strong impression that denominational requirements would be much more happily accepted by rural churches if the degree of denominational assistance were better known.

Two other denominational services which met with wide approval on the local level were the provision of otherwise unattainable equipment (cars, projectors, films, etc.) and opportunities for leadership education. With regard to the former, it is the wish of the rural churchman that the subsidy of "luxury tools" could be much more widespread. In the field of leadership education, training courses for youth workers and Sunday School teachers and presbytery-sponsored programs of preparation for church officership were specifically mentioned, although participation in them appears to be extremely sporadic. In such programs, economic and time factors seem to weigh particularly heavy; it is possible that many more churches would take advantage of them if the expense were not prohibitive for the small congregation, and if they were so scheduled and located that vacationless rural people could participate without loss of livelihood.

Suggestions recorded in more than two hundred interviews provide a long list of new or intensified services which the rural church would welcome, and we report them here in the order of frequency with which they were mentioned: 1) Better and more practical home-type literature on Sunday School, youth and adult levels, including a course of training for church membership and material of an inspirational type which would encourage family religious development. 2) Subsidization

of equipment costs for rural churches, and nation-wide development of "pools" of battery- or electrically-operated projectors, cinema vans, travelling religious libraries and other equipment which only the large church can now afford.

3) A denominational attitude which regards the country parish as a truly missionary area, is more willing to grant "emergency" aid, encourages the "adoption" of weak churches by the strong and is more realistic about property ("They must help us; we're not living in the eighteenth century"). 4) A more widespread and permanent use of the "area" approach to many of the problems of rural Scotland, acting on the assumption that evangelism, teacher training, youth "retreats" and conferences are matters which can be better handled within regions (probably smaller than presbyteries) than within parishes. 5) The development of team ministries, mobile ministries, "larger parishes" and other experimental modes of large-scale rural work. 6) Improved audio-visual material, of a quality which compares favorably with commercial productions. 7) Closer oversight of individual parishes and ministers by "pastoral bishops" or "consultative persons" to whom ministers could turn for advice and who would be available to "help put some part of the program across." 8) Closer and more personal contact with all the "causes" and "schemes" of the church, "trained people to go out to give visual lectures on 'The Work of the Church at Home and Abroad.'" 9) Increased denominational "power over parishes and ministers," to link parishes, to increase stipends, to "put men in the right places and take them out when the time is right for unions" - "or should we put it positively, that ministers should be more willing to go where they're called, and to withdraw in the interest of the whole church?" 10) Programs, "ashrams," retreats and conferences which would serve as stimuli to the isolated country preacher and help him combat the tendency to "staleness."

Another list could easily be added. Some ministers call for the training of "lay preachers" who could partially retain their present occupations, but supply

15 Ibid., p. 43.
isolated pulpits and give a measure of church leadership in parishes which have been reduced to neighborhoods. ("The United Free Church has twenty-three laymen doing ministers' work like that.") Others would like to see a program of country assistantships, in which students would be sent to rural parishes rather than town churches, and in which they would be "really supervised." Several ministers suggest a "probationary period" at the beginning of a man's ministry. Some suggest more strict enforcement of ministerial courtesies; "if we're made to work in parishes, then we must respect one another's rights." Others suggest more consistently thorough use of the quinquennial visitation, meeting alone with minister and session (with assurances of confidence), and seeking to get at the real sources of the church's health or sickness, rather than "to urge impossible Bible Classes and to find out why our giving to foreign missions isn't higher."

The total impression which these suggestions give is that the rural churchman does not wish to withhold power from the higher authority of the church. But with the granting of power, he wants assurance that it will be used for the welfare of the churches, particularly the small churches which have much more to gain than to lose from constructive interference. Even more than this, he wants the denominations to realize that the rural church's problems are unique in the life of the church, and to recognize the country parish as important to the kingdom of God. ("How long has it been since there was a country church moderator of General Assembly?") With this recognition, he believes, help will come and past neglect will be amended.

A Glance Toward the Future:

Rural churchmen are almost completely unanimous in their belief that the country parish is a problem distinct in countless ways from any other parish.

16 E. g., "Proposed Overtures and Acts," Reports to General Assembly, 1931 (Church of Scotland Publications), Appendix H, Overture II, p. 49.
situation. From the last few pages, it is obvious that they are by no means completely unanimous in their suggested remedies, nor are they even in agreement concerning the extent to which the church should adopt a new strategy of rural work. It is my own personal conviction that even those who advocate the most radical departures are none too radical. I am sincerely convinced of the church's need for a bold and courageous policy which will hesitate to label any serious proposal "preposterous" until all the facts are in. A new atmosphere must be created, in which men who sense a call to the rural ministry will feel free to try and err, without fear of ridicule and with confidence that the support of the whole church is behind them.

In the strength of this conviction, I shall take the risk of proposing what I believe to be some of the most productive possibilities for the further development of the church in rural Scotland. I cannot in honesty propose them as my own ideas; they are the composite of many thoughts which have come from wise and experienced men. For the form they take here, however, I assume full blame.

1) I believe that the pattern of future rural churchmanship which would be most widely practical is the "community parish," the ancient idea of the parish which is identical with the community. The community with which the new parish should identify itself, however, is not often the same as the old parish. It is a new entity which has become real in the minds of the schoolman, the county planner, the merchant, the transport authority and the lay churchman. As an Aberdeenshire elder put it, it could be called an area. "People think more in terms of belonging to an area than to a village or a parish." This area is sometimes still identical with the parish, but more often it has become much larger than a parish, taking in many parishes around the strong center of a small town. "There have developed groups of villages which go to a particular town for their shopping, amusements and the amenities of modern life which cannot be found in the villages."17

For the church to continue to work without change in its present system of parishes is for the church to accept weakness as its pattern. The parish is a weak unit, a weak neighborhood in which natural bonds are no longer strong. With ordinary leadership, the church simply does not develop bonds stronger than the neighborhood itself. If the church tries to carry on within the present structure, it is in effect doing its business on smaller and smaller capital. It is arbitrarily assuming parish boundaries which do not actually exist. While the country school and the country doctor are expected to fill the needs of more and more people over larger and larger areas, the country minister is expected to make a church out of pitiful human and material resources.

It may seem drastic strategy for the church to take groups of parishes, - not just two or three, but conceivably ten or a dozen - and lump them together as working units, but this is exactly what I propose. The groupings of parishes should be decided only after careful study of the natural community within which the people live. It is obvious that parishes will have to be divided wherever there is a serious problem of a community boundary within the parish. Within each natural group there must be a strong natural center toward which they gravitate. This center will serve as the administrative "capital" of the parish.

It is impossible to set arbitrary standards of the population which should be included in this ideal working unit. It must be a flexible number, and it will vary from one section of Scotland to another; it will usually be smaller where the population is more widely scattered. The population with whom the church will work will be the population which naturally falls within the community boundaries. But whether the population is large or small, the church will be able to take the fullest possible advantage of existing transportation, communication and community facilities.

2) I firmly believe also that the community parish must be developed within a centralized-decentralized pattern. There are some functions which can be best
performed in the context of the total community; others are readily adaptable to the neighborhood situation. By this I hope to make it clear that I am not proposing the wholesale closure of country churches. Many of them, even in a community parish, should be kept open for worship, and most of them should be retained for the use of Sunday Schools, some youth activities, adult groups, meetings and at least occasional services. It is dangerous to make flat statements about the parts of a church program which should be conducted from the center and those which should be conducted at the crossroads; this would depend upon local conditions. In general, the neighborhood should retain all the functions of a church which can be performed within a sensible economy of time and energy. Every effort should be made to help the church in the neighborhood maintain at least as much identity as the neighborhood itself. For this reason, it would probably be wise in the vast majority of cases, for example, to keep old parish names and boundaries where they are still moderately valid, and to use a new terminology for the united "community parish."

3) It is obvious that a parish structure of this kind involves a multiple ministry. It would be wise for staff of such a community parish to be as varied as possible, with at least one person whose training fitted him especially well for the educational work of the parish, and others who would be given the major responsibility for parish administration, youth work or visitation as their interests and abilities directed. The entire ministry of the parish should be considered a "preaching ministry", for the ordinances of worship should be available everywhere that they are necessary for maximum lay participation. In some cases, at least, it would be necessary for all the staff to live at a central location; but wherever practical, they should be scattered about the area of the parish.

I do not propose this plan as a return to the situation that immediately followed the Scots Reformation, when several parishes were put in the charge of
a "minister in full status," with several "readers" to assist him.\textsuperscript{18} The staff of a community parish should be composed of thoroughly trained and preferably ordained persons, though it would be completely possible within the structure to provide satisfactory supervision for trained lay assistants, as frequently proposed by ministers and laymen throughout rural Scotland.

The team ministry would in itself accomplish several things which are desirable for a rural parish. For one thing, it would provide the variety of talents which are so often needed in the country community. It would put young people in touch with a varied and capable leadership. It would be welcome to rural people who "like an exchange of pulpits; we get tired of the same voice and face." And it would overcome the isolation of the rural minister who longs for the fellowship and inspiration of experience shared with his fellow ministers.

4) To make any parish structure more effective, I believe it is necessary to have goals clearly in mind. Therefore, I suggest that there should be an expansion of the present quinquennial visitation system, to include a thorough self-evaluation and the adoption of long-range achievement goals. The self-evaluation should be carried out by measurement of the church's performance in a wide range of Christian activities. The questionnaire for the quinquennial visitation could be used to serve this purpose, if expanded and varied somewhat along the lines of the Baptist Standard for Churches in Town and Country.\textsuperscript{19} Such a self-evaluation should take place in a series of soul-searching meetings of the church session, of which a meeting with representatives of the presbytery would be only one. Honest inquiry should be directed to all who are at work in church positions, great or small, and their opinions and suggestions should be seriously weighed.

Nothing is accomplished by inquiry, however, unless it leads to measures of improvement or correction. There need be no written plan for this, of course, but

\textsuperscript{18} P. D. Thomson, \textit{Parish and Parish Church}, p. 127.

\textsuperscript{19} Cf., \textit{A Standard for Churches in Town and Country} (The American Baptist Home Mission Society, New York City, undated).
the formulation of "five-year-goals" for the church's progress would help to clarify the course of improvement. At the time of the next quinquennial visitation, the goals themselves would provide a measurement of the church's growing effectiveness.

The quinquennial visitation itself should be in essence a review of the church's self-evaluation. It should be as interested in careful planning for the future as it is in past performance - and could thereby counter the occasional charge of "inquisition." Every attempt should be made to assure the fact that the evaluation is honest; session and minister should be seen separately, and any other official groups of the church (managers, Woman's Guild officebearers, etc.) should be heard. A serious evaluation of the wisdom of the minister's continuing tenure should be made. The findings of the evaluation should be as concrete as possible, and suggestions should be given separately to the minister and the session for their future planning. In short, the visitation itself should be a small part of a much more inclusive process by which the gaps in the church's program will become clear, and the way ahead will be thoughtfully planned.

5) Definite provision should also be made for periodic review of parish structure. Conceivably, a survey every twenty-five years would be adequate, but the machinery for it should be clearly blueprinted to assure the facts that the survey is made and that the church shall not continue to fall behind the changing patterns of rural life.

6) A survey of the entire rural area of Scotland should be made and churches whose continued existence is a critical question should be mapped. These "borderline parishes" should become the initial proving grounds for redevelopment. I would also suggest that where attempts at redevelopment are to be made, the churches of the entire "community parish" should be taken under the direct care of the Board of Home Missions. Not only would this make it possible for financial assistance to be given during the crucial experimental period of transition, but
even more important would be the responsible supervision for which it would provide the channel.

Comparison should of course be made between these proposals and experiments carried out in other countries. Attention is called, for example, to a provocative situation in Germany, where a group of twenty-two villages caught in a period of community redevelopment have produced a new organization to meet new demands. Examination is also invited in the case of the Scots Church of St. Andrew's in Buenos Aires, "with three suburban churches on the outskirts of the city served by assistants, and an itinerant assistant to visit groups of Christians in the country hundreds of miles beyond the city bounds, and to supply them with Christian ordinances. St. Andrew's is the Presbyterian parish church of the whole city and of a vast surrounding area, with its minister acting as 'bishop' and directing the whole Christian enterprise of his Church in those parts." Plans like these are feasible. Perhaps they could meet the present needs of rural Scotland.

The six recommendations I have presented are not direct findings of my survey. They are conclusions which I have drawn from my findings. There is in all of them an admitted element of subjective judgment which is far from being above criticism. All this I realize, and though the recommendations are made from deep conviction, they are also made in humility. And they are made in the hope that they may stimulate thought about the rural parish which will eventuate in more effective measures than I am able even to suggest. I have every confidence that the Church in Scotland will meet the challenge of its countryside, for it is a church which from the very beginning possessed the "practical statesmanship" to "fit... its own organization into the already existing framework of civil government and of communal life." This is part of the genius of the parish; this the church will not surrender.

21 P. D. Thomson, Parish and Parish Church, p. 20.
22 Ibid., p. 98.
SECTION V

THE SPIRIT

Chapter XI: The Pulse of the Rural Church
CHAPTER XI: THE PULSE OF THE RURAL CHURCH

The Church is Christ's. It is not ours. It depends for its life upon the will of God. It will not disappear from the earth because our feeble effort fails. Nor does it depend for its final triumph upon activities and programs and funds. What is quite impossible with men is quite possible with God, who needs neither us nor our schemes.

The wee kirk in the glen, however, is as human as it is divine. It can disappear completely and utterly. For its existence, God does not need us, but He depends upon us. He entrusts us with its care. In it, He grants us work of His to do. It matters, then, how we do His work. It is important what methods and what tools we use. And it is even more important that we have His Spirit to tend His holy house and to work in His name.

Among His people, is there the sense of all-conquering power? Is there an awareness that the Church is God's, and will not die? Is there the hope, the confidence, the morale which that awareness would produce? What is the spirit of the Church?

Indications of the spirit that prevails can be culled from this thesis and briefly summarized. More than half of our churches expect to be united, linked or closed at the end of the present pastorate. Of these, half believe that the change will not harm the work of the church; it will be done just as well. In parishes where there are two or more churches, over half the laymen believe that a church other than their own is serving God better. Only half of the laymen interviewed believe the church is doing the work they can reasonably expect it to do. Less than one fourth of the people feel that their church is the center of community life.
The grievances they express are explicit. Their chief criticisms of the church's ongoing program are the weakness of its work with youth and pastoral neglect on the part of its ministers. When they list the most apparent unused opportunities of the church, they again note youth work and pastoral visitation, and add evangelism. They feel that the worship and programs of the church are good, but dull. A majority of them believe that the church is weak in stating its case through the printed word, particularly the public press. Half of them believe the church is too "soft" in what it requires of the people. Most of them believe the church is conservative, much more conservative than the general rural population. They believe the church is too slow in using new tools—electricity, films, television. They consider the church too conscious of an out-dated denominationalism. They see it as an institution which is not intentionally undemocratic, but which has fallen into a rut of exclusive, ageing leadership. They see it as an organization that follows the path of least resistance, working with villagers close at hand and neglecting farmers farther from the kirk. They see in their ministers men who are inclined to be lazy, who bear major responsibility for the conservatism of the church, and who are not really interested in the people and the community except as they are "raw material" for the church.

On the other hand, they believe their ministers preach ably and are generally well trained. They respect the character of the clergy. They believe their pastors are underpaid and deserve better tools, particularly cars. Though more than a third of the laymen believe their church is afraid to speak out on burning issues, a majority credit the church with prophetic courage. Most of them believe that the church does creditable work in the religious education of their children.
believe the church is usually free from the stain of conscious catering to the moneved and positioned. They almost never complain that the church begs too much, and they would usually be glad to give more of their labor, their time and their talents. They are interested in religion and religious questions. They listen to religious broadcasts, discuss their church freely, and frankly acknowledge the need for more religion in their homes. They claim to be willing to assume more responsibility in the church's life, though they would like to be given a wider choice of duties to perform for their Lord. "If you take it for granted that every man wants to do something for the church, wants to give something to it and wants to live for it, there is no bound to what he will do. The trouble with the church's approach to life is that it doesn't expect enough."¹

The layman is cautiously optimistic about conditions in the churches. There are wide areas (particularly in the Eastern Border counties) and many single parishes where he has given in to discouragement; but more often he believes there are signs of improvement. He is ignorant of many of his minister's problems and many facets of church life; he knows far less than he thinks he does about religion in his parish, but he tries to be understanding. He realizes that there are tremendous problems of distance and sparse population, and he knows he cannot expect the church to do its work perfectly. For the greater part, he wishes the church well. And more often than not, he believes he can see the signs of a religious awakening.

Ministers are at least as optimistic about the future as their laymen. They find themselves in a pastoral situation in which most of them do not wish to stay; they are not interested in the rural pastorate as a special

¹ D.P. Thomson, lecturing November 10, 1953.
calling, and would prefer the town. But they do not feel it is a hopeless situation. In most of their parishes, they believe the tide of population is turning once again, to the eventual benefit of the church. Though a fourth of them doubt that their parishes can continue to supply the lay leadership a church needs, most of them are confident or at least hopeful, and the rest see a happier future in combinations of parishes. Ministers usually see an up-turn in economic conditions, and believe that the trend toward the family farm system of land tenure will prove good for the church's health. They are eager to rid the church of an unequal class dependence or alliance, and they believe that the development of a more democratic countryside is beneficial to the cause of religion. They are concerned over the growing age of the rural population; yet they are discovering that country people are decreasingly conservative and are more willing to accept altered concepts of the church's role.

Ministers believe that country people tend to be easier to work with than people in the towns, and that they are inclined to expect too little of their ministers. They point to signs of real religious interest on the part of their people. They believe, for example, that the long-dead family religion of "The Cotter's Saturday Night" is returning by means of wireless and television. But they are puzzled by the contradiction of general good will toward religion and apparent indifference toward the church. Some are tempted to conclude that the day of preaching is gone; many more have adopted the alternative conclusion that the minister's job is changing (though they are not sure what it is becoming). But few of them would return to the past. They do not believe that much can be learned by a comparison of present church attendance with that of a hundred years ago, when populations were larger and social pressures numerically favored the church. They believe that the free and uncoerced
participation of today is much to be preferred, despite their longings to see full pews.

The minister's modest optimism does not blind him to the facts. He still must face the miles of country road to be travelled in his rounds, the indifference toward the church which is more maddening than antagonism, the competition of ever-widening secular interests and opportunities, the difficulty of securing qualified persons who are willing to hold responsible positions in the church, the united church which has no unity, the cost of his car, the grinding pressure of parish and personal finances, the shortage of transport, the centripetal movement of community life toward the towns, the deteriorating fabric, the occupational loneliness of the rural pastorate. All these are disheartening. He often wishes that his training in practical theology had been more practical!

It is hard, after all, to be bursting with enthusiasm in a country parish. Discouragement takes its toll. There is more buoyancy among young men than among more experienced ministers, and there is more idealism among men both young and old who are new in their pastorates, than among those who have been long years in the same dispiriting situation. There is also a more optimistic hopefulness among men whose churches have shown appreciation by granting stipends slightly above the minimum, or assistance in the operation of their cars, or even a men's work party in the manse garden. Strange to say, the most contagious enthusiasm of all is found among those who have the most to do, who have parishes which demand more than they can possibly give. Ministers are human. They become tired and discouraged, but they also respond to appreciation and to real human need. The spirit of service and commitment is there, if the church can only use it to the full.
I have still to find my Guinulgan, the church with all its problems solved and all its people saved! Rural churches, after all, have had very little attention paid to their special needs. They have lived in spite of tremendous difficulties, and they were slow to cry for help. If it now comes as a surprise to anyone that they are not in the best of health, we can only point to the more surprising fact that the rural parish has endured its monumental problems so well. It deserves attention because it has a future, not because of "nostalgic longings after the past, which result in attempts to preserve the countryside as a cross between a townsman's playground and an antiquarian's showcase.... A church in that setting would soon die. It must be a part of a wholesome, busy, flourishing life in the countryside, and must do its part in creating and sustaining that life. It may have to undergo painful reform; we would prefer that to preservation as an interesting relic of other days."

For this study, we claim the hope that it is a step in the right direction. It is no more than an exploration of an uncharted region. I should like to see the findings of a similar study in the Highlands, or of a more exhaustive study of individual parishes. As it stands, this survey will, of necessity, leave its readers with wonderings and questions. It calls attention to many more problems than it can hope to answer. Its findings contain seeming contradictions which I know I cannot always explain. Perhaps for someone else it will lead to further exploration and a growing sense of the rural parish as a special calling of the Lord.

In the ancient history of the Hebrews, nomadic tribesmen contributed

3 The Land, the People and the Churches, p. 15.
their star as a symbol of their faith. In the first century, fishermen, interpreting the Christian religion in terms of their own life, contributed the anchor as an enduring symbol. The rural church today will make its contribution in the same unique way, not by copying the patterns of other churches in the towns, but by interpreting its message in terms of its own people and formulating its plans and policies in the shape of its own environment.
APPENDIX A

A List of "Lowland Presbyteries" of the Church of Scotland, used as the criterion for selection of "Lowland" churches:

Edinburgh
Bathgate
Linlithgow and Falkirk
 Peebles
  Dalkeith
 Haddington and Dunbar
  Duns
 Jedburgh and Kelso
 Hawick
 Melrose
 Annandale
 Dumfries
 Kirkcudbright
 Stranraer
 Wigtown
 Ayr
 Irvine and Kilmarnock
 Ardrossan
 Paisley
 Greenock
 Glasgow
 Hamilton
 Lenark
 Dumbarton
 Perth
 Auchterarder
 Stirling and Dunblane
 Dunfermline and Kinross
 Kirkcaldy
 Cupar
 St, Andrews
 Dundee
 Neible
 Forfar
 Arbroath
 Brechin and Fordoun
 Aberdeen
 Deeside
 Alford
 Garioch
 Deer
 Turriff
 Fordyce
 Strathbogie

Abernethy
  Elgin
    Caithness
## APPENDIX B

A Table of Denominations Having Lowland Rural Churches:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DENOMINATION</th>
<th>NUMBER OF EACH DENOMINATION'S CHURCHES LOCATED IN LOWLANDS</th>
<th>NUMBER OF RURAL LOWLAND CHURCHES</th>
<th>NUMBER OF RURAL CHURCHES LOCATED IN VILLAGES WHERE NO CHURCH OF SCOTLAND EXISTS</th>
<th>&quot;Index of competitiveness&quot;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>APOSTOLIC CHURCH</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>97.9%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ASSEMBLIES OF GOD</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>28.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ASSOCIATED BIBLE STUDENTS (MILLENNIAL DAWN)</td>
<td>5 known</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>20.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHURCH OF GOD (GREEN PASTURES)</td>
<td>8 known</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>14.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHURCH OF THE NAZARENE</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>20.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHURCH OF SCOTLAND</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHURCHES OF CHRIST</td>
<td>31 known</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONGREGATIONAL UNION OF SCOTLAND</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>93.3%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHRISTIAN BRETHREN (OPEN, EXCLUSIVE, &quot;NEEDED TRUTH,&quot; AND OTHERS)</td>
<td>331 known</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>18.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ECCLESIA OF CHRISTADELPHIANS</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN SCOTLAND</td>
<td>316</td>
<td>83.4%</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>26.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FREE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>29.1%</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>36.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FREE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>14.3%</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>22.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>METHODIST CHURCH</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>98.5%</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>10.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH</td>
<td>434</td>
<td>80.1%</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>25.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SALVATION ARMY</td>
<td>154</td>
<td>93.3%</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SCOTTISH BAPTIST UNION</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>85.5%</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNITED FREE CHURCH</td>
<td>121</td>
<td>84.3%</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>21.6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX B, continued

The information in this table represents the most complete information in my hands at the time this survey was completed. It includes some minor changes from the information on which our original one-tenth sampling of churches was based. A few churches which I had earlier assumed to be non-rural (as indicated in the most complete published information in 1952) later proved to be definitely rural; a still smaller number required to be changed from the rural to the non-rural category; and a very few congregations or assemblies which appeared in no published yearbooks were discovered in my thousands of miles of travel in Scotland. Some of the changes were necessitated by the fact that place-names are frequently misleading, and a few churches prove not to be located in the villages whose names they bear; this is particularly true in the case of minority churches.

As a result of these changes of one kind or another, the total number of rural churches in the Scottish Lowlands would appear to be 1,101, rather than the 1,061 assumed at the time our sampling was made. I can only plead guilty to this error of 1.9%, and admit to the possibility of the existence of still other religious groups whose identity has escaped the inquiry of others as well as myself.
### Appendix C

An Alphabetical List of Churches Included in This Survey, by Denominations:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHURCH OF THE NAZARENE</th>
<th>EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN SCOTLAND</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Twechar (Dumbarton)</td>
<td>45. Kirkhope (Selkirk)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>47. Lamalea (Fife)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Airlie (Angus)</td>
<td>48. Lethendy and Kinloch (Perth)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Auchtermuchty (Fife)</td>
<td>49. Linton (Falkirk)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Auchtermuchty (Fife)</td>
<td>50. Logie-Buchan (Aberdeen)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Balfron (Stirling)</td>
<td>51. Luss (Dumbarton)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Balfron (Stirling)</td>
<td>52. Maldon and Bourlie (Aberdeen)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Bedrule (Nairn)</td>
<td>53. Montive (Dumfries)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Bedrule (Nairn)</td>
<td>54. Montgaff (Kirkcudbright)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Biggar (Lanark)</td>
<td>55. Montgaff (Kirkcudbright)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Bank of Preston (Berkwich)</td>
<td>56. Nairn (Aberdeen)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Broughton (Berkwich)</td>
<td>57. Old Luce (Wigtown)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Burghead (Moray)</td>
<td>58. Pancatland (East Lothian)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Bunratty (Perth)</td>
<td>59. Pettinain (Lanark)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Cameron (Fife)</td>
<td>60. Plea (Stirling)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Carnishay (Caithness)</td>
<td>61. Pluscarden (Moray)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Carriden (West Lothian)</td>
<td>62. Portnockie (Banff)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Chapel of Cardoch (Aberdeen)</td>
<td>63. Portmoak (Kinross)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Colliston (Angus)</td>
<td>64. Robertson (Perth)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. Craig (Angus)</td>
<td>65. St. Madoes (Perth)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. Craig (Angus)</td>
<td>66. St. Mungo (Dumfries)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. Culross (Fife)</td>
<td>67. Sorn (Ayr)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. Culfe (Lanark)</td>
<td>68. Stow (Midlothian)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23. Culfe (Lanark)</td>
<td>69. Streeth (Angus)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24. Dalry (Kirkcudbright)</td>
<td>70. Tarves (Aberdeen)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25. Dalry (Kirkcudbright)</td>
<td>71. Trinity Gask and Kinkall (Perth)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26. Dunblane (Ayr)</td>
<td>72. Twechar (Dumbarton)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27. Dumblane (Perth)</td>
<td>73. Urr (Kirkcudbright)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28. Dunlop (Ayr)</td>
<td>74. Watten (Caithness)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29. Ecclefechan (East Lothian)</td>
<td>75. West Linton (Felfches)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30. Freuchie (Fife)</td>
<td>76. Whitesome (Berkwich)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31. Gartock (Stirling)</td>
<td>77. Congregational Union</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32. Glenbuchat (Aberdeen)</td>
<td>78. Dree (Fife)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33. Glencairn (Dumfries)</td>
<td>79. Doune (Perth)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34. Glenelg (Aberdeen)</td>
<td>80. Dummore (Stirling)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35. Glencairn (Aberdeen)</td>
<td>81. Gatehouse (Kirkcudbright)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36. Glencairn (Aberdeen)</td>
<td>82. Insh (Aberdeen)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37. Glencairn (Aberdeen)</td>
<td>83. Invergowrie (Angus)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38. Glencairn (Aberdeen)</td>
<td>84. Rothes (Moray)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39. Glencairn (Aberdeen)</td>
<td>85. St. Fillans (Perth)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40. Glencairn (Aberdeen)</td>
<td>86. Tillymorgan (Aberdeen)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41. Glencairn (Aberdeen)</td>
<td>87. Kess (Caithness)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42. Glencairn (Aberdeen)</td>
<td>88. Wallacestone (Stirling)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX C continued

PLYMOUTH BRETHREN (CHRISTIAN, EXCLUSIVE AND OPEN BRETHREN)

89. Ashgill (Lanark)
90. Crosshouse (Ayr)
91. Eastriggs (Dumfries)
92. Insh (Aberdeen)
93. Netherburn (Lanark)
94. Shielhill (Stirling)

ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH

95. Biggar (Lanark)
96. Blair (Kincardine)
97. Blanefield (Stirling)
98. Falkland (Fife)
99. Hatton (Aberdeen)
100. Herwood (Renfrew)
101. Livingston (West Lothian)
102. Lochearnhead (Perth)
103. New Abbey (Kirkcudbright)
104. Ratho (Midlothian)
105. Tomintoul (Banff)

UNITED FRIENDS CHURCH

106. Doddan (Aberdeen)
107. Broughton (Peebles)
108. Kingskettle (Fife)
APPENDIX D

Interview Guide for Visits to Ministers:

1. Statement of Purpose; assurance of confidence.
General Questions:
2. What is the size (length and breadth) of your parish?
3. What is the center to which your people go for: marketing? entertainment? school (primary, junior secondary and secondary)?
   Is your church located at this center?
   If not, how far from it?
   Do you think your church would benefit from being closer to the center of your people's other activities?
4. Are you responsible for other churches?
   What others?
   Are they within the same shopping and marketing area?
   The same topographical area?
5. Does your church have space, outside the sanctuary, for Sunday School, youth activities, Woman's Guild, fellowship and recreation?
   Describe:
   Is it adequate?
   Must the manse be used for parish activities?
6. Does your church have a, Sunday School?
   Woman's Guild?
   Men's Fellowship?
   Bible Class?
   Youth Fellowship?
   Others?
   Indicate when they meet, how often, and average attendance.
7. Do you have any religious educational program in addition to the Sunday School?
   If in school, who does the teaching?
   Summer Day School?
   Other:
8. Could you estimate how many times in a week your church and hall are used?
9. Is it possible to have frequent meetings of the church session?
   How frequent?
10. Do you conduct preparatory classes for new church members?
    How long a series?
11. Do your youth participate in area activities?
    Summer youth camps?
    Camps Fellowship activities?
12. Does your church own: a projector of any kind (indicate type)?
    Duplicate?
    Typewriter?
    Kitchen facilities (describe)?
    For any marked "no", do you have them in your own personal possession?
    Do you have access to any not in your possession or that of the church?
13. What is the population trend here: shrinking? stable? growing? shifting?
    Is the "flittin' time" a problem here?
14. Is yours a parish of a few large farms? Several small farms?
    Crofts?
    A mixture?
    Are they generally privately owned by the tenants, rented, or other (describe)?
    If by large holders, are they generally resident or absentee?
APPENDIX D continued

15. What types of business produce your community's income?
16. Are there other churches in your community?
17. How would you describe the relationship between your church and these others?
18. Do the educational authorities have a friendly, hostile, cooperative, or indifferent attitude toward church projects, programs, and toward religious education in the school?
19. Is religious instruction carried on in the school by the teachers?
20. What other things in your community conflict with church for people's time and interest?
21. Does your community have any problem of juvenile delinquency?
22. Have you in your parish a serious alcohol problem?
23. What is the feeling of your people toward having fellowship and recreational activities included in your church program?
24. Is there in your community a serious problem in the deterioration of family life, or would you classify family life as good, fair, poor?
25. Have you problems of feeling between classes?
26. Is there in your community any problem in the relationship of national, religious or racial groups?
27. Is there an adequate educational background in your parish?
28. Do you find any of these to be obstacles to the work of the church: former denominational loyalties?
29. Is public transport adequate for your people in enabling them to take part in the church program you'd like to have?
30. Does your parish demand large amounts of your time apart from the work of your church?
31. Rank in order of their importance the following problems in your community:
   - Betraying
   - Sexual immorality
   - Poor working conditions
   - Economic inequalities
   - Juvenile delinquency
   - Intemperance
   - Depopulation
   - Sabbatical non-observance
   - Lack of recreational facilities
32. Rank in order of importance the things which hamper your people in attending and participating in church functions:
   - Lack of transportation
   - Competitive activities
   - Sunday employment
   - Habit of non-attendance
   - Antagonism to church
   - Other (what)?
   - Indifference
   - Unsuitability of worship
33. Do you find that certain seasons, or periods of the agricultural year, make your work particularly difficult, or participation especially lax?
34. Would you classify the economic level of your people as average?  
   Better than average?  
   Lower than average?  
35. Do you find it more or less difficult to win the support and participation  
   of the people in the lower economic brackets (particularly hired men,  
   bothie boys, hands, etc.)?  
   Please amplify:  
   If harder, or easier, why do you think this is true?  
   Have you any suggestions, or have you tried any techniques, to win wider  
   participation from these groups?  

Internal Affairs of the Church:  
36. Could you give me an estimate (or do you keep a record) of the average  
   church attendance?  
37. Do you have a system of weekly freewill offering envelopes and/or pledges  
   for your church expenses?  
   Amplify:  
   If so, do you have a thorough visitation of members and adherents to seek  
   such pledges?  
38. What proportion of your church's income comes from such voluntary pledges  
   and contributions (estimate)?  
39. Is your church entirely self-supporting?  
   If not, what agencies, boards, etc., give aid?  
   To what extent?  
40. What means does your church use to supplement its annual income from  
   endowment, tithes, and voluntary contributions?  
   Special appeals?  
   Drives?  
   Collections?  
   Money-making activities (specify)?  
41. Is there any one person or family to whom you are able to turn for emer¬  
   gency needs?  
   Is that person or family responsible for a considerable  
   portion of your church's financial support?  
42. Have you found it necessary or desirable to seek voluntary labor for  
   church improvements, manse care, maintenance, grounds care, construction,  
   etc.?  
   If so, in what ways?  
   If so, have you found your people generally responsive to such appeals  
   for labor?  
   Have you found such projects helpful?  
43. Would you describe your pastoral visitation as one or more of the following:  
   Calling on the sick?  
   Visiting the aged?  
   Calling on newcomers?  
   General visitation?  
   Visitation of communicant members?  
   Visitation of those in need of pastoral help?  
44. In your view, is pastoral visitation a particularly important part of the  
   whole duty of the minister?  
   Do you feel that it is more important, less important, or of equal importance  
   as compared to study and sermon preparation?  
45. Could you give an estimate, or do you keep a record, of calls and visits made  
   during the last twelve months?  
46. Do you have in your church a regular minister's, elders' or other general  
   visitation at communion seasons?  
   At other times?  
   Do you find it effective?  
47. Have you tried in your community any experiments with visitation evangelism,  
   missions, etc.?  
   What success have you had?  
48. Do you have the results of a recent religious census, or other up-to-date  
   record of the religious affiliations of the people of your entire parish?  
49. Do you find any particular offices or responsibilities hard to fill in your  
   church?  
   Which ones?
APPENDIX D continued

50. Do you think that in your church lay people's responsibilities are monopolized by too few persons, or by a single person?
   Do you feel that a fair number of your laymen are serving in posts of leadership and responsibility?
51. Do you feel that your present church membership has sufficient potential leadership which can be trained to maintain an active church in the future?
52. Do you have the problem of exporting your "best" material?
   Do you feel that your imports balance your exports?
53. What use are you able to make of newspaper and other forms of publicity for your church activities?
54. Do you find that news of services, meetings, etc., is fairly well disseminated in your parish in the natural course of daily life?
55. Do you have a parish magazine or supplement?
   Do many take Life and Work? How many?
   Other church publications?
   Do you send out frequent pastoral letters (indicate nature)?
56. Do you, situated where you are, ever have the opportunity to take part in religious broadcasting?
57. Do you think your people take advantage of religious broadcasts? Which ones?
58. What use are you able to make of visual aids in your church?
59. Does the problem of finances enter into the amount of use you can make of visual aids? Suggestions?
60. Have you found programs such as the "open church" movement (adopted by the Church of Scotland) useful in the rural community?
61. Could you give me a copy of your order of service, please?
62. Do you feel that the usual type of worship service is suitable for rural people? If not, in what ways would you suggest change or adaptation?
   Have you made any experiments in worship which you would care to share with other ministers?
63. What is your opinion of the value of special days in the church's calendar?
64. Have you found any special services or days relevant to the agricultural year to be effectively used by the church?
65. Do you feel that the church in your community suffers from the usual "rural conservatism" when it comes to changes in worship? program? use of church equipment and space?
66. Do you find that the services sponsored by General Assembly's committees reach churches such as yours?
   What services are especially helpful?
   What services could you use to good advantage which are not now readily available?
67. What other ways are there in which your denomination could assist your work?
68. What information can you give me about candidates for the ministry or other church vocations which your church has produced within the last fifty years?
69. Is a car indispensable for your parish work?
   Do you have a car which you use in your church activities?
   If so, is its cost for parish work in any way defrayed by the church? How?
70. Is your parish program such, or could it be such, as to demand further manpower? In what ways?
   Could your church finance it if it were available?
APPENDIX D continued

71. What particular opportunities for new service or expansion of work do you see for your church?
72. Have you conducted any experiments with new programs, techniques, approaches, etc., which you would care to mention?

Personal Questions:
73. Do you find your salary adequate? Do you find it necessary to supplement your stipend? If so, what means do you use for this purpose?
74. Do you find that working a glebe or garden is a good point of contact with your people, or a negligible factor?
75. Do you feel that rural people make a minister's position more or less difficult than, or about the same as urban people? Do they keep too close a watch upon his life? Do they have too critical an attitude?
76. Do you personally feel that rural people are hard to work with, as compared with others?
77. Does a country congregation expect too much, too little, enough of their minister?
78. Do your people and your parish present unique difficulties which must be taken into account with regard to the church health here?
79. What general suggestions do you have for rural church work?
80. What suggestions do you have for the training of men for a rural ministry? Do you feel that your training was suitable and adequate?
81. Do you believe that the church should seek to be a center for the people in respects other than worship and education?
82. What suggestions do you have for future interviews?
APPENDIX E

Interview Guide for Visits With Laymen:

1. Statement of purpose and assurance of confidence.
2. What types of business produce the income of the parish?
4. How would you classify the economic level of the people: average? high? low? Some of both extremes?
5. Is the community generally moral and orderly? Do you have any crime? immorality? a serious alcohol problem? juvenile delinquency? If any of these, why?
6. What is your own relationship to the church?
7. Is the church here entirely self-supporting?
8. How do the people here feel about the way the church raises its funds? Do you agree?
9. Do you think the church could be operated more economically? Where could costs be cut down?
10. Do you think it a good or a bad idea for the church to seek the voluntary labor of its members for maintenance, improvements, construction, etc.? Has there been any such instance here that you know of?
11. Could you give me some idea of average local church attendance?
13. Do you believe that the church has sufficient space at its disposal to do all a church should be doing here?
14. Does the church have all the equipment it needs to carry on its work efficiently? A good organ? Heating facilities? Electricity? Typewriter? Duplicator? Projector or lantern? Library? Other?
15. What organizations are there in the church, or sponsored by the church?
16. If there is any "gap" in the organizational pattern of the church (e. g., with youth), what reason can you give for this?
17. Could you estimate how many times in a week the church, hall and manse are used for church activities?
18. Is the church here open at all times? If so, do you think it is used? If not, do you think it would be used if it were kept open?
19. How would you evaluate the educational program of the church? Adequate? Excellent? Poor? Fair? What could be done to improve it?
20. How do you think the homes of this parish are doing with regard to Christian instruction and moral guidance? With regard to discipline? Do you have children of your own?
21. Does your minister teach religion in the school? What is done in the school with respect to religion?
22. Does the church here do much with the young people? Amplify.
23. How do the people here feel about having fellowship and recreation included in church-sponsored programs? Do you agree?
24. What sort of community feeling is here? What would you say is the center of community life? Do you think the church should try to be a center for the people in ways other than worship, educa-
APPENDIX E continued

25. Do you think the church here makes good use of publicity? How about the church at large?
26. Do you think that the people here listen to the religious broadcasts on the wireless?
27. Do you believe that films have usefulness in church work? Do you think that the church here makes adequate use of them?
28. Do you believe that the people find the traditional forms of worship as satisfactory as ever? Would there be any changes you would care to suggest?
29. For the people who do not attend church these days, what reasons would you give?
30. What would be your chief criticism of the church in this community? Of the church as a whole? If you have none, what criticisms do you hear most often?
31. Do you think that the training of new church members is adequate? too lax? too rigid?
32. Do you feel that the church today demands enough of its people with respect to loyalty, a high enough standard of Christian life, etc.? Not enough? Too much?
33. In your opinion, does the church speak out plainly enough about problems such as economic injustice, morality, divorce, alcohol? Is the church too outspoken?
34. In the church here, do you feel that the important positions are distributed adequately?
35. Do you think there is any feeling that the church is dominated by too few people, or do you feel that the leaders make up a fairly good cross-section?
36. Do you think that the church today appeals to people of one economic level more than another?
37. Do you think the people here feel that the church avoids too close ties with certain groups (landholders, laird, mine operators, etc.)?
38. Is there any problem of class-consciousness or snobbery in the parish? in the church? If so, do you think it keeps anyone from taking part in church life?
39. Would you give us your personal opinion on this: Do you feel that the minister's work suffers from too close contacts or friendships with any person or group of persons?
40. Do you think the minister spends enough time visiting the people? not enough? too much?
41. Would you describe the minister's visits with the congregation as: visiting the sick? visiting the aged? visiting newcomers? general visitation? visiting the bereaved? visiting communicant members? a combination of several?
42. Would you have any criticism of the minister's preaching? If so, what would it be?
43. Do you feel the minister is over-worked? has too little to keep him busy?
44. Do you think the minister gives enough time to community activities outside the church? Too much time? Too little?
45. Do you find the standard of the minister's life satisfactory?
46. Do you feel that the minister's stipend is sufficient? Insufficient? Too great?
APPENDIX E continued

17. Is it your opinion that the minister needs a car for his work, or that he does not?
18. Does the church help to pay for the minister's car for use in parish work? His telephone? Office expenses?
   Do you think they should?
19. Do you feel that ministers today are interested in churches like this one? Amplify if possible:
20. Is it your impression that the training of ministers is of the right sort for churches like this one?
   If not entirely so, in what ways do you feel it could be improved?
21. Do you think a minister is helped by having any special knowledge of the way his people make their living (e., e., the rudiments of agriculture, etc.,)?
22. Do you think this community has any unique problems which the church is helping, or should be helping to solve?
23. Is there anything in the usual run of church work, about which the church should be doing something, but is not?
24. Would you say that the church is doing its job, falling down on its job, or partially doing its job? Amplify if possible:
25. Do you believe that the church here is awake to conditions, like the you mentioned earlier?
26. Both the church and the people of rural areas have sometimes been accused of being over-conservative and over-traditional. Do you think that this is true here?
   Do you think the church is usually ahead of, dragging behind, or about even with the people when it comes to seeing needs, willingness to change, keeping up with the times?
27. If there is more than one church here, would you describe their relationship as: friendly? cooperative? peaceable? cold? antagonistic?
28. If there is more than one church here, do you think the community could be served as well, and the kingdom of God served as well, by one?
   Is it possible that this should happen in the foreseeable future, considering local feeling? Amplify if possible:
29. If there is more than one church here, which one do you feel is doing the better job? In what way?
30. Why do you personally support, or not support, the church?
   If you do not, would you support the church elsewhere, or with another minister?
31. Is there any office or duty around the church which you would refuse to accept?
32. What particular opportunities for new or incomplete service or expansion of the church's work do you see to be done here?
33. Do you think the shortage of ministers will be a serious problem for this parish in the foreseeable future? If your minister were to leave within the next year, would this parish have any difficulty in securing a new minister?
34. Have you any suggestions for recruiting more young men for the ministry?
35. Do you have any general suggestions for church work in rural places?
36. Looking back, what minister do you recall (or hear mentioned) as having been the parish's best preacher?
   Which one is known as the best one to visit among the people?
APPENDIX E continued

57. Do you feel that public transport is adequate for the people here to take part in worship and other church activities?

58. What evangelistic efforts have been made here, and with what success?

59. What is the local church's attitude toward missions? Does it correspond to the attitude of the average person in the community?

60. What is the condition of the church property? the hall? the manse?

61. What suggestions do you have for future interviews?
### APPENDIX F

**Denominational Index of Attendance Per Centages (Attendance-Over-Membership):**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Denomination</th>
<th>Attendance Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Church of the Nazarene</td>
<td>96.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Christian Brethren</td>
<td>84.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Congregational Union</td>
<td>75.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Roman Catholic</td>
<td>66.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Methodist</td>
<td>58.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>United Free</td>
<td>55.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Free</td>
<td>29.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Episcopal</td>
<td>29.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Church of Scotland</td>
<td>26.6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
BIBLIOGRAPHY
BIBLIOGRAPHY

Books, Pamphlets and Reports:


The Automobile Association, Members Touring Guide (Frose and London, undated, but containing statistical information from the 1951 census).


Kathleen Bliss, for the British Council of Churches, The Land, the People and the Churches (E. C. M. Press, London, 1945).

British Association for the Advancement of Science, Scientific Survey of Southeastern Scotland (Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh, 1951).


Church of Scotland, Committee on Union of Congregations and Readjustment of Agencies, Memorandum on Procedure (Edinburgh, 1950).

Church of Scotland, Regulations of the Aged and Infirm Ministers' Fund, the Supplementary Fund and the Pension Fund for Ministers (Edinburgh, 1951, with amendments of 1953 appended).


Church of Scotland, Reports to General Assembly, 1931 (Edinburgh, 1931).

Church of Scotland, Tell Scotland series, particularly booklets 1, 3 and 4 (Edinburgh, 1953).


Ecumenical Institute, "L'Organisation Rurale Actuelle Consideree En Probleme Humain" (published in mimeographed form, Bossey, Switzerland, 1953).


Ralph A. Felton, Cooperative Churches (Home Missions Council, Madison, New Jersey, 1957).


Ralph A. Felton, Local Church Cooperation in Rural Communities (Home Missions Council, New York, undated).


John Knox, First Book of Discipline; or the Policie and Discipline of the Church (James Watson, Edinburgh, 1721).


- Catherine P. Snodgrass, "County of East Lothian" (1953).
- Alexander Smith, "County of Fife" (1952).


Henry S. Randolph, The Rural Church (published in mimeographed form by the Board of National Missions, the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A., Philadelphia, 1945).


Rural Questions Committee, Our Village, a Study Outline for Discussion and Action (British Council of Churches, London, 1947).


Dwight Sanderson, Rural Sociology and Rural Social Organization (John Wiley and Sons, New York, 1943).

L. J. Saunders, Scottish Democracy, 1815-1914, the Social and Intellectual Background (Edinburgh, 1950).


Janet Buchanan Adam Smith, Life Among the Scots (London, 1946).


Society for the Benefit of the Sons and Daughters of the Clergy, editors, New Statistical Account of Scotland, by the Ministers of the Respective Parishes (Blackwood, Edinburgh, 1843).

D. P. Thomson, A New Approach to Evangelism, the Way of the Incarnation (Perth, undated).

D. P. Thomson, It Happened in Kintyre (Glasgow, 1949).

D. P. Thomson, Men Christ Wants (Pickering and Inglis, Glasgow, undated).


D. P. Thomson, The Road to Dunfermline, the Story of a Thirty-Five Years' Quest (Dunfermline, 1951).
P. D. Thomson, Parish and Parish Church, Their Place and Influence in History (Thomas Nelson and Sons, London and Edinburgh, 1943).

United Christian Missionary Society, How to Study Town and Country Churches and Communities (Indianapolis, undated).

Edward Krusen Megler, Rural People at Worship (Agricultural Missions, New York, 1913).

Denominational Yearbooks, etc.:

Christian Brethren, Assemblies in Britain and Other Parts (London, 1951).


Free Presbyterian Church of Scotland, Proceedings of Synod, May, 1951 (Glasgow, 1951).


United Free Church of Scotland, The Handbook of the United Free Church of Scotland, 1952 (Glasgow, 1952).

United Original Secession Church of Scotland, The Original Secession Magazine (Perth).
Periodical Publications:

The British Weekly.

The Builder.

Country Life.

Deutscher Dorfkirchenfreund (Himmelstedt, Germany).

Evening News (Edinburgh).

Evening News (Glasgow).

Human Relations.

Kirche im Dorf, Zeitschrift (Himmelstedt, Germany).

Layman's Work (World Council of Churches, Geneva, Switzerland).

Life and Work.

The Rural Church at Worship (Agricultural Missions, Inc., New York).

The Scotsman (Edinburgh).

Scottish Geographic Magazine.

Town and Country Planning.

World Parish (International Methodist Historical Society, Nashville, Tennessee).

Manse Mail.
Publications of Her Majesty's Stationery Office and Other Government Offices:


British Information Services, Britain Speeds the Flow (New York, 1939).


Department of Agriculture for Scotland, Scottish Agricultural Economics, Volume III (Her Majesty's Stationery Office, Edinburgh, 1952).


Department of Education for Scotland, "Selected Aspects of Public Education Analyzed by Education Areas, 1953" (an unpublished table).

Note:
The methods used in this thesis to give footnote and bibliographical information are according to Porter G. Ferrin, An Index to English, a Handbook of Current Usage and Style (Scott, Foresman and Company, New York, 1939). From the same source are also derived the rules used for quotations and punctuation.