The Evangelical Quadrilateral

DAVID W. BEBBINGTON

Volume 1

Characterizing the British Gospel Movement

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PREFACE

The Evangelical Quadrilateral that gives these books their name is a phrase describing a way of characterizing the Evangelical movement. The quadrilateral was outlined in my book *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain* (1989), to which these volumes are complementary, and since that time has become widely used. Evangelical Christians, according to the quadrilateral, are those who specially emphasize the four elements of the Bible, the cross, conversion and activism. That idea is amplified in the reprinted papers collected in these two volumes. In volume 1 the quadrilateral is discussed in the introduction, in volume 2 it is expounded briefly in chapter 4 and throughout these pages its features recur frequently.

The chapters consist of previously published articles now standardized in presentation and very lightly amended. Cross-references to other chapters have been inserted but publications subsequent to the original printing of the articles have not been added. The introductions survey the main literature in the field that has appeared more recently. The original places of publication of the articles collected here are indicated in the list of credits below.

In these papers the word "Evangelical" is used with an initial capital letter to describe those associated with the movement whatever their denominational affiliation. The alternative usage, of confining "Evangelical" to members of the Church of England, is helpful in providing a parallel with the terms "High Church" and "Broad Church" when referring to the parties within the Church. It can be misleading, however, in suggesting that those outside the Church of England were not Evangelicals in the same sense as those within. So here a capital letter has been adopted for any type of "Evangelical."

I much appreciate the extensive work of preparation for these two volumes by my graduate assistant during the fall semester 2019 at Baylor University, Kaitlyn Waynen, who in addition produced the indexes. I am also very grateful to those

who have looked through sections of this book: Andrew Atherstone, Eileen Bebbington, Neil Dickson, Robert Pope and Martin Wellings. My warm thanks go to Jay Brown of the University of Edinburgh, who, in addition to many other kindnesses over the years, has carefully read the whole of the text. None of these people, of course, shares any responsibility for the resulting books. I should like to dedicate the two volumes to friends who over the decades have encouraged and directed me in the parallel field of American Evangelical history, successive holders of the Francis A. McAnaney Chair of History at the University of Notre Dame, Indiana, George M. Marsden and Mark A. Noll.

David Bebbington
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CREDITS

Chapter 1: "Towards an Evangelical Identity," in *For Such a Time as This: Perspectives on Evangelicalism, Past, Present and Future*, ed. Steve Brady and Harold Rowdon (London: Scripture Union, 1996), 37–48.

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Chapter 3: "Evangelicalism and British Culture," in *Culture, Spirituality and the Brethren*, ed. Neil T. R. Dickson and T. J. Marinello (Troon, Ayrshire: Brethren Archivists and Historians Network, 2014), 25–38.

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Chapter 5: "The Legacy of Jonathan Edwards in Britain," in *The Global Edwards: Papers from the Jonathan Edwards Congress Held in Melbourne, August 2015* (Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock, 2017), 1–21.

Chapter 6: "Moody as a Transatlantic Evangelical," in *Mr Moody and the Evangelical Tradition*, ed. Timothy George (London: T&T Clark International, 2004), 75–92. Used by permission of Bloomsbury Publishing Plc.

Chapter 7: "The Context of Methodist Missions: Global Evangelicalism in the Nineteenth Century," *Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society* 59:6 (2014), 227–44.

Chapter 8: "The Advent Hope in British Evangelicalism since 1800," *The Scottish Journal of Religious Studies* 9:2 (1988), 103–14.

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Chapter 10: "Holiness in the Evangelical Tradition," in *Holiness Past and Present*, ed. Stephen C. Barton (London: T&T Clark, 2003), 298–315. Used by permission of Bloomsbury Publishing Plc.

Chapter 11: "The Deathbed Piety of Victorian Evangelical Nonconformists," in *Heart Religion: Evangelical Piety in England and Ireland, 1690–1850*, ed. John Coffey (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 201–23. © Oxford University Press 2016. Reproduced with permission of the Licensor through PLSclear.

Chapter 12: "Calvin and British Evangelicalism in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries," in *Calvin and His Influence, 1509–2009*, ed. Irena Backus and Philip Benedict (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 282–305.

Chapter 13: "The Evangelical Discovery of History," in *The Church on its Past*, ed. Peter D. Clarke and Charlotte Methuen, *Studies in Church History*, vol. 49 (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 2013), 330–64. Used by permission of the Ecclesiastical History Society.

Chapter 14: "Science and Evangelical Theology in Britain from Wesley to Orr," in *Evangelicals and Science in Historical Perspective*, ed. David N. Livingstone, D. G. Hart and Mark A. Noll (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 120–44.

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Chapter 16: "Evangelicals and Public Worship, 1965–2005," *Evangelical Quarterly* 79:1 (2007), 3–22.

INTRODUCTION

The Parameters of Evangelical Identity

William Gaskell, the minister of Cross Street Unitarian Chapel, Manchester, but better known to posterity as the husband of the novelist Elizabeth Gaskell, preached a sermon on 9 June 1847. It was delivered before his denomination's West Riding Tract Society in the Westgate Chapel at Wakefield in Yorkshire. The subject of the sermon, subsequently published at the request of the committee of the society, was "Some Evil Tendencies of the Popular Theology." It was an eloquent denunciation of Evangelical religion, what Gaskell called "Orthodoxy." He found the very notion of orthodoxy abhorrent because it repressed religious inquiry and so tended "to clog and fetter the mind in the pursuit of the highest truth." It destroyed, in the preacher's view, the true idea of God as Father, depicting him instead as a being who was "so hard, so unpitying, so unforgiving." It presented human nature as corrupt and so incapable of any "holy ambition" before "miraculous conversion." It taught a false doctrine of the atonement according to which a Redeemer sets sinners free from the power of guilt "while they look on without effort." And it upheld a view of future punishment as a "work of pure vengeance." Such a theology might have satisfied "our Calvinistic puritan forefathers," but it would not do for Gaskell's contemporaries in the enlightened England of the nineteenth century. They should not uphold a system that "makes belief in a few mysterious dogmas the passport to heaven, in place of a heavenly spirit."[1] For Gaskell the "mysterious dogmas" of Evangelical Christianity contrasted sharply with his own milder Unitarian opinions, but by calling it "popular" he was bearing testimony to its pervasive power in his day. Evangelical religion was a profoundly important force in modern Britain.

1 William Gaskell, *Some Evil Tendencies of the Popular Theology* (Wakefield: Printed by Nichols and Sons, 1847), quoted at 3, 6, 9, 10, 11, 14, 4.

The history of the movement was recounted in my book called *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History from the 1730s to the 1980s* (1989). Although there were complaints about aspects of the volume—sometimes that it neglected providence or Wales—many kind reviewers acknowledged its value as an analysis of the movement over the centuries.[2] Both before and after the appearance of the book I have published a range of articles on facets of the same subject. One of the earliest, published in 1983, was an overview of the gospel movement during the nineteenth century.[3] The topic was chosen because that was a major theme of a course I taught at the University of Stirling on "Church, State and Society in Nineteenth-Century Britain." A second article published in the same year, on "Evangelicals and Reform," reflected another root of my concern with the subject.[4] An interest in the political role of adherents of the movement had emerged from my Ph.D. project on the place of the Nonconformists of England and Wales in public affairs at the end of the nineteenth and start of the twentieth centuries. That research, published in revised form as *The Nonconformist Conscience* (1982), had shown that to a remarkable extent the political style of the chapels was conditioned by their Evangelical beliefs.[5] Since there was no existing history of the Evangelical movement as a whole, it seemed sensible to provide one and *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain* was the outcome. The richness of the field, together with requests from various audiences for papers, encouraged the production of associated articles. Thirty-two of them are gathered in this and its companion volume. They will be referred to by volume and chapter, so that "1:1" means volume 1, chapter 1, and "2:7" means volume 2, chapter 7. The papers in the first volume consider themes that affected Evangelicals in general, the issues that influenced their common identity; the chapters in the other examine particular sections of Evangelicalism, its sects,

2 Timothy Larsen, "The Reception Given *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain* since its Publication in 1989," in *The Emergence of Evangelicalism: Exploring Historical Continuities*, ed. Michael A. G. Haykin and Kenneth J. Stewart (Nottingham: Apollos, 2008), 21–36, at 22. Some of the weightier criticisms are discussed below. Perhaps it should be noted that, although the reverse of the title page says that the book appeared in 1989, it was actually on the market before the end of 1988.

3 David W. Bebbington, "The Gospel in the Nineteenth Century," *Vox Evangelica* 13 (1983), 19–28.

4 David W. Bebbington, "Evangelicals and Reform: An Analysis of Mass Socio-Political Action," *Third Way* 6:5 (1983), 10–13.

5 David W. Bebbington, *The Nonconformist Conscience: Chapel and Politics, 1870–1914* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1982). A previous article on the sociopolitical engagement of an Evangelical was "Politics and Philanthropy: The Social Concern and Political Activity of Lord Shaftesbury," *Third Way* 1:15 (1977), 13–16.

denominations and churches. Although there is necessarily some crossover, the first volume is centrally concerned with the Evangelical movement as a whole, the second with its variety. The collection equally reflects the unity and the diversity of the movement.

The Evangelical Quadrilateral

The 1983 article on "The Gospel in the Nineteenth Century" was the published form of the Laing Lecture for 1982 at London Bible College. Already in this lecture the characteristics held in common by Evangelicals constituted the theme:

> First, they were conversionist. They believed that people needed to have their lives changed by receiving the gospel. Secondly, they were activist. They insisted that true Christians must put effort into spreading the gospel. Thirdly, they were biblicist. They regarded the Bible as the sole source of the gospel. And fourth, they were crucicentric. They saw the doctrine of the cross as the focus of the gospel.[6]

Each of these attributes was illustrated in some detail. The same fourfold pattern was subsequently taken up in the first chapter of *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, where it is called "a quadrilateral of priorities that formed the basis of Evangelicalism."[7] Consequently the formula gradually became known as "the Evangelical quadrilateral," or even "the Bebbington quadrilateral," forming a succinct way of describing the main features that have been consistently emphasized in the movement. In this first volume of the collected essays the nature of the quadrilateral is set out in the first chapter, but it is a theme that runs through all the papers collected here, whether explicitly or implicitly. The fourfold pattern has proved sufficiently elastic to grasp the protean shape of the movement over time. What is more surprising, since it was conceived in relation to Britain alone, is that it has turned out to be a fair method of characterizing Evangelicals over space too. Thus the National Association of Evangelicals in the United States has long used it as a method of identifying the adherents of the movement.[8] The fourfold pattern has even become widely used beyond the bounds of the English-speaking world. A book on Evangelical political activity in Switzerland published in 2014, for example, stated that the fourfold description "*a rencontré un vif succès dans les cercles académiques,*

6 Bebbington, "Gospel in the Nineteenth Century," 19.

7 David W. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History from the 1730s to the 1980s* (London: Unwin Hyman, 1989), 3.

8 https://www.nae.net/what-is-an-evangelical/, accessed 25 June 2020.

mais aussi dans les milieux évangéliques."[9] It is gratifying that the quadrilateral has become acceptable to scholars and Evangelicals alike in many parts of the world. Although in the present two volumes the papers are largely confined to the British experience, they address issues that have affected global Evangelicalism. The quadrilateral has become a widely deployed tool in the analysis of the movement worldwide.

It will be helpful here to review the component parts of the quadrilateral, noting some of the advances in their study since *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, whether by other authors or by the present writer. This first volume of the collection opens with a chapter setting out the four points, beginning with biblicism. Although it has been settled throughout Evangelicalism that the Bible is fundamental for devotional life and doctrinal authority, debates about its status have often divided the movement. One of the most salient disputes, an early Fundamentalist controversy, is analyzed in 2:7 in this collection. There the acceptance of biblical criticism was challenged by conservatives in Wesleyan Methodism as subversive of the faith. The chapter reveals much of what appeared to be at stake between traditionalists and progressives in the Evangelical community as a whole in the early years of the twentieth century, so supplementing the argument of *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain* about the growing polarization of that era. That book, however, has been shown to underestimate the extent of belief in the inerrancy of scripture in the period down to the mid-nineteenth century.[10] Yet it remains important to note that, as the book suggests, there was a shift to stronger views of inspiration around the middle years of the century. More Evangelicals began to believe that the Bible was authoritative in fields beyond the religious, in matters of philosophy and science.[11] Evangelicals were just one of the sections of Victorian society who revered the Bible, but their devotion to it was second to none. The respect paid to the scriptures even by atheists and agnostics was in fact an indication of the permeation of Victorian Britain by the assumptions of Evangelicals.[12] The Authorized Version in particular owed much of its status—and even its title as the "Authorized Version"—to the dissemination of the scriptures by the British

9 Philippe Gonzalez, *Que ton règne vienne: Des évangéliques tentés par le pouvoir absolu* (Geneva: Labor et Fides, 2014), 30.

10 Kenneth J. Stewart, "The Evangelical Doctrine of Scripture, 1650–1850: A Re-Examination of David Bebbington's Theory," in *Emergence of Evangelicalism*, ed. Haykin and Stewart, 394–413.

11 David W. Bebbington, "Response," in *Emergence of Evangelicalism*, ed. Haykin and Stewart, 417–32, at 423–24.

12 Timothy Larsen, *A People of One Book: The Bible and the Victorians* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

and Foreign Bible Society, initially and for long an Evangelical organization.[13] Publications since the appearance of *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain* in 1989 have done nothing to question the contention that Evangelicals have habitually insisted that the Bible was central to their faith.

Another constant feature of Evangelical religion has been a concentration on the cross of Christ. The atonement has been treated as the heart of the doctrine of salvation, essential for the message to be proclaimed effectively. Hence, again, the subject has been the occasion of much debate. The Evangelicals of the eighteenth century argued over whether, as Calvinists held, Christ died for a specific number, the elect, or whether, as the Arminians believed, he died for all. The varying opinions of Baptists on the subject are traced from the eighteenth century down to the start of the twenty-first in 2:11. The final coverage in the chapter is of a fierce controversy resulting from the dissatisfaction of Steve Chalke, a prominent figure in the Evangelical Alliance, with the idea of penal substitution. That doctrine, the conviction that Christ bore the penalty for the sin of human beings in their place, has been widely regarded as the main version of atonement theory accepted by Evangelicals. The discussions generated some weighty theological writing, largely designed to defend the doctrine.[14] None doubted that the atonement was the kernel of the Christian faith. The prominence of the doctrine under Evangelical influence in the early nineteenth century led Boyd Hilton in 1988 to label the period "The Age of Atonement." His book of that title, published immediately before *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, mounted a persuasive case that the doctrine was so salient that it shaped social theory and economic policy during the period.[15] Even if Evangelical teaching became less formative of government practice in subsequent years, the implications of the doctrine for later public life have been drawn out in other ways. I have suggested in particular that the focus on the atonement ensured that sin remained central to the worldview of

13 David W. Bebbington, "The King James Bible in Britain from the Late Eighteenth Century," in *The King James Bible and the World It Made*, ed. David Lyle Jeffrey (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2011), 49–69, at 52–54.

14 *Pierced for Our Transgressions: Rediscovering the Glory of Penal Substitution*, ed. Steve Jeffery, Mike Ovey and Andrew Sach (Nottingham: InterVarsity Press, 2007); Stephen R. Holmes, *The Wondrous Cross: Atonement and Penal Substitution in the Bible and History* (Milton Keynes: Paternoster Press, 2007); *The Atonement Debate: Papers from the London Symposium on the Theology of the Atonement*, ed. Derek Tidball, David Hilborn and Justin Thacker (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 2008).

15 Boyd Hilton, *The Age of Atonement: The Influence of Evangelicalism on Social and Economic Thought, 1785–1865* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988).

Evangelicals and so helped to mold their attitudes to empire in the late nineteenth century and into the twentieth.[16] The doctrine of the cross has always been crucial for Evangelicals.

Conversion has been a third mark of Evangelicals in general. A chapter here, 1:9, sets out detailed evidence for the experience over the period from the middle of the eighteenth to the middle of the nineteenth century. Although the coverage of the chapter is limited to the main denominations of Nonconformists and so omits Anglicans, who were less inclined to expect sudden conversions, it does show the wide variety of paths taken by Evangelicals on their way to Christian commitment. The experience is also touched on in several other papers, such as the ones on Methodist spirituality and Henry Drummond, 2:4 and 2:14. The subject has been illuminated since 1989 by Bruce Hindmarsh, whose book on *The Evangelical Conversion Narrative* (2005) points out the significance of his subject for the rise of individual consciousness in the modern era. The volume illustrates the momentous place of conversion in the lives of those who were caught up in the early days of the eighteenth-century revival. The Anglican clergyman William Grimshaw who assisted John Wesley in his itinerant ministry, for instance, claimed that converts possessed justification, assurance, union with Christ and hope of eternal life. "All this," he wrote, "they *experience* and *feel* in the Heart."[17] The book explicitly endorses the contention that conversionism was a hallmark of Evangelicals.[18] Other publications have reinforced the prominence of conversion in Evangelical teaching and experience. The papers in *George Whitefield: Life, Context and Legacy*, edited by Geordan Hammond and David Ceri Jones, repeatedly bring out the centrality of the new birth in Whitefield's message.[19] The subject has been less thoroughly treated for later periods, but the decay of conversion in Methodism, as its Evangelical temper began to dissolve, has been noted by Kenneth Brown in his study of the Nonconformist ministry.[20]

16 David W. Bebbington, "Atonement, Sin and Empire, 1880–1914," in *The Imperial Horizons of British Protestant Missions, 1880–1914*, ed. Andrew Porter (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2003), 14–31.

17 William Grimshaw, *An Answer to a Sermon Lately Published against the Methodists by the Rev. Mr George White* (Preston, 1749), 28, quoted by D. Bruce Hindmarsh, *The Evangelical Conversion Narrative: Spiritual Autobiography in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 90.

18 Hindmarsh, *Evangelical Conversion Narrative*, 325.

19 *George Whitefield: Life, Context and Legacy*, ed. Geordan Hammond and David Ceri Jones (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016).

20 Kenneth D. Brown, *A Social History of the Nonconformist Ministry in England and Wales, 1800–1930* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), 52–53.

As conversionism was lost, so Evangelical identity fell into abeyance. Here again was an essential feature of the movement.

The fourth characteristic, activism, was even more varied, extending beyond evangelism to social concern and political agitation. The evangelistic core is the subject of chapters in this collection on Dwight L. Moody, the American gospel preacher, and on changes in the Wesleyan Methodist home mission strategy (1:6 and 2:5). Elsewhere social concern is illustrated by the role of the Wesleyan minister Hugh Price Hughes and political agitation by a study of Baptist attitudes to the state (2:6 and 2:12). Other papers that I have written, but which are not reproduced here, address topics in these fields: on the long-term Nonconformist conscience and on nineteenth-century political agitation, on twentieth-century Nonconformist evangelism and Evangelical social concern, and on the relation of Evangelical theology to social engagement.[21] This is the area where most other writing has taken place. Evangelistic activity is the main theme of Mark Noll's book *The Rise of Evangelicalism* (2004), which synthesizes British and American material on the eighteenth-century revival.[22] One of the most revealing other works on evangelistic endeavor was Mark Smith's *Religion in Industrial Society* (1994), a study of the Lancashire towns of Oldham and Saddleworth between 1740 and 1865 which brings out that there was "An Evangelical Consensus" (as one chapter is called) about the imperative to spread the gospel.[23] For concern about the problems of society, the biography of Hugh Price Hughes by Christopher Oldstone-Moore provides a perceptive case study of the social gospel.[24] Dominic Erdozain has shown the steady transfer of focus within the Young Men's Christian Association from direct

21 David W. Bebbington, "Conscience and Politics," in *Free Churches and Society: The Nonconformist Contribution to Social Welfare*, ed. Lesley Husselbee and Paul Ballard (London: Continuum, 2012), 45–64; "The Dissenting Political Upsurge of 1833–34," in *Modern Christianity and Cultural Aspirations*, ed. David W. Bebbington and Timothy Larsen (London: Sheffield Academic Press, 2003), 224–45; "Evangelism and Spirituality in Twentieth-Century Protestant Nonconformity," in *Protestant Nonconformity in the Twentieth Century*, ed. Alan P. F. Sell and Anthony R. Cross (Carlisle: Paternoster Press, 2003), 184–215; "The Decline and Resurgence of Evangelical Social Concern, 1918–1980," in *Evangelical Faith and Public Zeal: Evangelicals and Society in Britain, 1780–1980*, ed. John Wolffe (London: SPCK, 1995), 175–97; "Evangelicals, Theology and Social Transformation," in *Movement for Change: Evangelicals and Social Transformation*, ed. David Hilborn (Carlisle: Paternoster Press, 2004), 1–19.

22 Mark A. Noll, *The Rise of Evangelicalism: The Age of Edwards, Whitefield and the Wesleys*, A History of Evangelicalism (Leicester: InterVarsity Press, 2004).

23 Mark Smith, *Religion in Industrial Society: Oldham and Saddleworth, 1740–1865* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994).

24 Christopher Oldstone-Moore, *Hugh Price Hughes: Founder of a New Methodism, Conscience of a New Nonconformity* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1999).

gospel work to catering for the recreational needs of its clientele, a process, he contends, of voluntary secularization.[25] In the political field perhaps the most important studies have been Timothy Larsen's *Friends of Religious Equality* (1999), on the political outlook of mid-nineteenth-century Nonconformists, and Gareth Atkins' *Converting Britannia* (2019), an account of the permeation of British public life by Anglican Evangelicals in the age of William Wilberforce.[26] Both stress the Evangelical impetus to be up and doing. Like so much other writing, they confirm that activism was at the heart of the movement.

Cultural Affinities

The quadrilateral therefore has been widely endorsed as a characterization of the Evangelicals. Alongside it, however, another key dimension of the case mounted in *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain* was the contention that the movement was in touch with the main currents flowing through Western civilization. Evangelicals, for all their efforts to reproduce the pristine gospel of the first century, were bound up in the cultural settings of the eighteenth to twentieth centuries. Historians in the later twentieth century were only slowly learning from anthropologists to use the word "culture" to describe the nexus of attitudes surrounding human beings in any society. High culture, the world of art, music and literature, was being joined by popular culture, the folkways, traditional customs and novel enthusiasms of the masses, as subjects for study.[27] *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain* tried to relate the movement committed to the eternal gospel to the flux of the culture in which it was embedded. That is equally true of the essays in these volumes. "Gospel and Culture in British Evangelicalism," 1:3, sets out the broad analysis that informs many of the other chapters. It brings forward evidence that the Evangelical movement was drastically affected by the successive waves of Western civilization, the Enlightenment, Romanticism and Expressionism (otherwise called cultural Modernism). These intellectual moods, providing frameworks for understanding the world, originated as features of high culture but gradually percolated down to wider proportions of the population and so deeply influenced those sitting in the pews. The process of diffusion is discussed in 1:4, where the preponderant

25 Dominic Erdozain, *The Problem of Pleasure: Sport, Recreation and the Crisis of Victorian Religion* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 2010).

26 Timothy Larsen, *Friends of Religious Equality: Nonconformist Politics in Mid-Victorian England* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 1999); Gareth Atkins, *Converting Britannia: Evangelicals and British Public Life, 1770–1840* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 2019).

27 Doreen Rosman had led the way in the study of high culture with her *Evangelicals and Culture* (London: Croom Helm, 1984).

flow of influence from the elite to the masses is qualified as well as expounded. Two other essays which I have written but which are not included in these volumes illustrate the way in which cultural diffusion affected Victorian Nonconformity in England and Methodism throughout the world.[28] Both give more space to popular culture, which could often prove resistant to influences spreading down from above, than does *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*. Nevertheless what most requires discussion here is the sequence of the successive phases of Enlightenment, Romanticism and Expressionism.

The alignment of Evangelicalism with the Enlightenment seemed to many readers a startling element in the argument of *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*. It had been conventional wisdom that the Evangelical Revival was a reaction against the secularizing rationalism of "enlightened" thinkers. Voltaire and the other French *philosophes*, together with such writers in the English-speaking world as the Deist John Toland, the skeptic David Hume and the radical Tom Paine, were the acknowledged enemies of vital religion. How could these figures and Evangelicals be on the same side? When, however, the premises of the participants in the revival are examined, they turn out to have shared much common ground with the protagonists of the Enlightenment. Wesley and his contemporary revival leaders believed in reason just as much as those who dismissed religion altogether. They favored experiment and they were outstandingly optimistic; they were moderate and ethical in emphasis; and they were pragmatic in method and classical in taste. All these common characteristics are discussed in 1:2, which makes out the same case as the book. This line of argument, however, can be criticized for treating the Enlightenment as too much of a monolith. Its assumptions are attributed to all the progressive thinkers of the period, whereas much of the literature published since 1989 has stressed the variation in the ideas of the era. Jonathan Israel in particular has pointed to a contrast between a moderate and a radical Enlightenment, with the thought of the philosopher Spinoza stimulating many of the more radical tendencies.[29] The distinction between the two types of Enlightenment, however, can actually be seen to have reinforced the argument of *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*. The Evangelical movement could not tolerate the hostility

28 David W. Bebbington, "Gospel and Culture in Victorian Nonconformity," in *Culture and the Nonconformist Tradition*, ed. Jane Shaw and Alan Kreider (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1999), 43–62; "Methodism and Culture," in *The Oxford Handbook of Methodist Studies*, ed. William J. Abraham and James E. Kirby (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 712–29.

29 Jonathan I. Israel, *Radical Enlightenment: Philosophy and the Making of Modernity, 1650–1750* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), spec. 11–12.

to the Christian faith of the radical Enlightenment but could share the quest for assured knowledge of the moderate version. The issue of whether early Evangelicalism shared the novel intellectual approaches of the eighteenth century has been carefully evaluated by Bruce Hindmarsh, who concludes that it was a form of traditional Christian spirituality that emerged "highly responsive to the conditions of the modern world."[30] Although Hindmarsh stresses the traditional element more than my own book did in 1989, the indebtedness of the early Evangelicals to the atmosphere of Enlightenment is clear in his pages.

The revolution in outlook represented by Romanticism altered most features of intellectual life during the nineteenth century, supplanting and often denigrating attitudes characteristic of the previous hundred years. Although the legacy of the Enlightenment continued to grow in influence long into the Victorian years, its successor was beginning to advance in its rear. The term "Romantic" is used here for a set of preferences—for example, of will and imagination over bare reason—rather than for an era. The conventional usage among literary historians ends the Romantic period in around 1830 so that it is separated from the Victorian years that followed. Here, however, it is recognized that motifs such as a taste for the heroic and a love for the mediaeval that took root during the initial Romantic phase before 1830 continued to spread in society during the rest of the century and came to full flower only in the twentieth. The Romantic impact on Evangelicalism is discussed in 1:3 and two of its chief symptoms, premillennial eschatology and teaching about holiness by faith, are discussed in 1:8 and 1:10. The efflorescence of Evangelicalism with a Romantic turn in the twentieth century is at the heart of the analysis of the Brethren movement in 2:13. Again, the case mounted in *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain* and here can be called into question for taking Romanticism to be a single entity whereas in reality it gloried in pluriformity. There was certainly great variety in the Romantic phenomenon, but it is contended here that there was sufficient similarity between its fundamental premises to see it as a cluster of attitudes that could drastically affect religion. Many of the attitudes were gathered together by Edward Irving, an early nineteenth-century Romantic pioneer whose life has attracted continuing fascination.[31] Two books in particular have demonstrated the longer-term Romantic permeation of the Evangelical

30 D. Bruce Hindmarsh, *The Spirit of Early Evangelicalism: True Religion in a Modern World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 276.

31 Peter Elliott, *Edward Irving: Romantic Theology in Crisis* (Milton Keynes: Paternoster Press, 2013); Nicholas J. C. Tucker, "Edward Irving and Romanticism" (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Stirling, 2018). See also below, nn. 71, 72.

world. Mark Hopkins showed in *Nonconformity's Romantic Generation* (2004) how the frame of mind associated with the new cultural movement swayed theologians of conservative as well as liberal tendency in the second half of the nineteenth century.[32] Subsequently Michael Watts, in volume 3 of *The Dissenters* (published posthumously in 2015), depicted the Romantic impulse, and especially its foregrounding of the immanence of God, as the primary solvent of Evangelical belief among Nonconformists in the same period.[33] Both books echoed the contention of *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain* about the transformative impact of Romanticism on the Evangelical movement.

In the twentieth century another cultural wave slowly spread across the Western world. In literary history its initial onset is usually called "Modernism," which is why that word is used for the fresh trend in *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*. The use of the term, however, risks confusing the phenomenon with the contemporary tendency in Roman Catholicism as well as Protestantism towards liberal teaching more in accordance with the spirit of the age. Cultural Modernism was distinct from theological Modernism and so it is probably preferable to call it "Expressionism," a word more commonly used in Germany to describe the cultural indications, especially in poetry and painting, identified with Modernism.[34] In the present volume the relation of Expressionism to the Evangelical movement is considered in 1:3. As early as the 1930s the Oxford Group, a highly effective evangelistic body discussed in 2:15, showed marks of Expressionism, which are more fully analyzed in *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain* than here. Subsequently its chief vehicle within Evangelicalism was to be charismatic renewal, the subject of 2:16. In the 1960s the attitudes of Expressionism, once confined to the avant garde, became the common possession of the youth culture. The Evangelicals open to renewal took on Expressionist characteristics, most obviously a willingness to express their inner feelings openly in public worship, a topic considered in 1:16. Mathew Guest has demonstrated in a study of St Michael-le-Belfrey, York, for some years the premier charismatic Anglican congregation in the North of England, that what he calls "expressivism" was typical of its corporate life.[35] Similarly Rob Warner has argued that in the 1990s adherents of one

32 Mark Hopkins, *Nonconformity's Romantic Generation: Evangelical and Liberal Theologies in Victorian England* (Carlisle: Paternoster Press, 2004).

33 Michael R. Watts, *The Dissenters*, vol. 3: *The Crisis and Conscience of Nonconformity* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2015), spec. chap. 1.

34 The word is so used in *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, at 234 and 241.

35 Mathew Guest, *Evangelical Identity and Contemporary Culture: A Congregational Study in Innovation* (Milton Keynes: Paternoster Press, 2007), spec. 194.

section of English Evangelicals, predominantly charismatic, were so committed to conversionism and activism that they were willing to diverge from the other section which was biblicist and crucicentric. It was a cultural polarization.[36] Both these authors tend to support the case mounted in *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain* and here that, just as Evangelicals had been deeply affected by the Enlightenment and Romanticism, so they were powerfully influenced by the Expressionism of the twentieth century.

Challenges

The image of Evangelicalism presented in my book of 1989 has been challenged in several ways. Most fundamental have been complaints that the fourfold characterization of the movement is an inadequate statement of its priorities. That case was mounted by several speakers at two conferences held in the United States on the twenty-fifth anniversary of the publication of the book, at the American Society of Church History in Washington, D.C., in January 2014 and at the Conference on Faith and History at Pepperdine University the following September. Two contributors, Thomas Kidd and Darren Dochuk, regretted that other factors had not been given equal status to the four specified in the quadrilateral.[37] Both held that the ministry of the Holy Spirit was as noticeable a feature of Evangelicalism as biblicism, crucicentrism, conversionism and activism. However, while that claim may reflect the realities of the periods in which the two historians have specialized, the eighteenth and later twentieth centuries, in between was a long stretch of time when that cannot be substantiated. Nor do Darren Dochuk's further proposals of fellowship and premillennialism carry conviction. The first is the opposite of what others have advanced as an Evangelical characteristic, individualism,[38] which suggests that neither does justice to the internal variety of the movement. The second, which is considered as a candidate for being a normative characteristic of the movement in 1:1, cannot be so because premillennial teaching was repudiated by many Evangelicals. After the conferences this author remained convinced that no other characteristic needed to be added to the items in the quadrilateral.

36 Rob Warner, *Reinventing English Evangelicalism, 1966–2001: A Theological and Sociological Study* (Milton Keynes: Paternoster Press, 2007).

37 Thomas S. Kidd, "The Bebbington Quadrilateral and the Work of the Holy Spirit," and Darren Dochuk, "Revisiting Bebbington's Classic Rendering of Modern Evangelicalism at Points of New Departure," in *Evangelicals: Who They Have Been, Are Now and Could Be*, ed. Mark A. Noll, David W. Bebbington and George M. Marsden (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2019), 136–41, 147–58.

38 Mark Hutchinson and John Wolffe, *A Short History of Global Evangelicalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 19.

At other times further qualities have been considered as additional hallmarks of Evangelical faith—sinfulness and revivalism, for example—but they have been recognized as being implicit in conversionism and activism.[39] Again anti-Catholicism and a primitivist reproduction of New Testament Christianity have been proposed by Linford D. Fisher as additional Evangelical markers. Neither suggestion, however, fits the requirement that it has been universally *emphasized* by Evangelical groups. Nor does Fisher's contention that the word has been so contested over time that it defies consistent characterization carry conviction because the four points do turn out to have been salient aspects of an ongoing movement.[40] Its edges may often have been fuzzy, its boundaries normally disputed, but an Evangelical entity existed. The author sees no reason to drop the quadrilateral.

A second challenge to the argument of *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain* relates to timing. Many Evangelicals have cherished their roots in the Reformation. E. J. Poole-Connor's history of *Evangelicalism in England* (1951), in adopting that perspective, allocates five of its ten chapters to the story down to the end of the sixteenth century and adds two more on the seventeenth.[41] *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, by contrast, posits that the Evangelical movement began only with the revival of the eighteenth century. That seemed unfair to some who wished to emphasize the continuity of Evangelicalism with the earlier Reformed tradition. In 2008 a volume called *The Emergence of Evangelicalism* (*The Advent of Evangelicalism* in the United States) appeared containing several chapters contending that there was far more consistency between Evangelicals and the Puritans who preceded them than my book indicated. Other chapters nevertheless tended to back the case for the novelty of the Evangelical movement and I was allowed to write a concluding response. It pointed out that the original book of 1989 had tried to give weight to the continuities with the past in the Evangelical Revival as well as to the elements of innovation. The response conceded that a greater measure of activism sometimes prevailed in the seventeenth century than *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain* had allowed. It also recognized that a stronger doctrine of assurance—a believer's confidence of being numbered among the saved—was at times professed by Puritans and that early Evangelicals often spoke more like Puritans about assurance than is delineated in the book. There was a higher degree of continuity over the

39 Hutchinson and Wolffe, *Short History*, 16.

40 Linford D. Fisher, "Evangelicals and Unevangelicals: The Contested History of a Word," in *Evangelicals*, ed. Noll, Bebbington and Marsden, 188–213.

41 Edward J. Poole-Connor, *Evangelicalism in England* (London: Fellowship of Independent Evangelical Churches, 1951).

doctrine of assurance than the book had proposed. Nevertheless the response continued to maintain that there was generally less doubt among Evangelicals than among their predecessors about their salvation. There were also other major discontinuities, such as the rise of Methodism, that made the Evangelical Revival a revolutionary stage in the trajectory of Protestantism.[42] The case that Evangelicalism, notwithstanding its immense inheritance from the Reformation, was in large measure a novel phenomenon in the early eighteenth century was substantially sustained.

The perspective of *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, in the third place, can be challenged on the grounds that it is too insular. Reg Ward's book *The Protestant Evangelical Awakening* (1992), supplemented by his *Early Evangelicalism: A Global Intellectual History, 1670–1789* (2006), brought out the close interconnections between continental movements and the stirrings of revival in the English-speaking world. Silesian preachers, Salzburger *emigrés* and Moravian revivalists prepared the way for the emergence of Evangelicalism in Britain and America.[43] The debt to continental Pietism and Moravianism is acknowledged in my book, but its dimensions are underestimated. Furthermore Andrew Kloes has shown that German parallels with the growing Evangelical movement in Britain were flourishing in the early nineteenth century to a greater degree than had previously been thought.[44] The worldwide Evangelical movement has also come more sharply into focus since the publication of my book, with Mark Hutchinson and John Wolffe's *A Short History of Global Evangelicalism* (2012) and Donald M. Lewis and Richard V. Pierard's *Global Evangelicalism* (2014) providing valuable overviews.[45] In the present two volumes there is more recognition that Britain formed part of an international network than is there in the book of 1989. A chapter on "Global Evangelicalism in the Nineteenth Century," 1:7, places Britain within that context and 2:13 does the same for the Brethren, one of the component denominations of the movement. Elsewhere I have sketched something of the formative part in global Evangelicalism played by Britain, but most of my writing on international affairs has concentrated on comparisons

42 Bebbington, "Response."

43 William Reginald Ward, *The Protestant Evangelical Awakening* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992); *Early Evangelicalism: A Global Intellectual History, 1670–1789* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

44 Andrew Kloes, *The German Awakening: Protestant Renewal after the Enlightenment, 1815–1848* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2019).

45 Hutchinson and Wolffe, *Short History*; *Global Evangelicalism: Theology, History and Culture in Regional Perspective*, ed. Donald M. Lewis and Richard V. Pierard (Downers Grove, IL: IVP Academic, 2014).

with American Evangelicalism.[46] A five-volume series on English-speaking Evangelicalism, including my contribution on the later nineteenth century, tries to show the connectedness of developments across the world, but with special attention to Anglo-American parallels.[47] That book is supplemented by a couple of the articles reprinted here, 1:5 and 1:6, showing the remarkable degree of influence exercised by the Americans Jonathan Edwards and Dwight L. Moody over Britain's movement.[48] Greater attention to the international context has been a main theme of my coverage of Evangelical history since the book of 1989.

A fourth challenge to the representation of the British movement in the book is the neglect of a crucial aspect of international Evangelicalism, the missionary dimension. Enthusiasm for foreign missions flowed in the lifeblood of Evangelicals, but a decision was taken to omit them from *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain* in order to make the material more manageable. In 1989 the academic study of missions was not yet strongly developed. The most important figure in stimulating higher scholarly standards in mission studies was Andrew

46 David W. Bebbington, "Of This Train, England Is the Engine: British Evangelicalism and Globalization in the Long Nineteenth Century," in *A Global Faith: Essays on Evangelicalism and Globalization*, ed. Mark Hutchinson and Ogbu Kalu (Sydney: Centre for the Study of Australian Christianity, 1998), 122–39; "Evangelicalism in Its Settings: The British and American Movements since 1940," in *Evangelicalism: Comparative Studies of Popular Protestantism in North America, the British Isles and Beyond, 1700–1990*, ed. Mark A. Noll, David W. Bebbington and George A. Rawlyk (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 365–88; "Evangelicalism in Modern Britain and America: A Comparison," in *Amazing Grace: Evangelicalism in Australia, Britain, Canada and the United States*, ed. George A. Rawlyk and Mark A. Noll (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Books and Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994), 183–212; "Evangelicalism and Secularization in Britain and America from the Eighteenth Century to the Present," in *Secularization and Religious Innovation in the North Atlantic World*, ed. David Hempton and Hugh McLeod (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 65–79. There is also a comparison with Canada: "Canadian Evangelicalism: A View from Britain," in *Aspects of the Canadian Evangelical Experience*, ed. George A. Rawlyk (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997), 38–54.

47 David W. Bebbington, *The Dominance of Evangelicalism: The Age of Spurgeon and Moody*, A History of Evangelicalism (Leicester: InterVarsity Press, 2005).

48 On Edwards, there are also David W. Bebbington, "Remembered around the World: The International Scope of Jonathan Edwards' Legacy," in *Jonathan Edwards at Home and Abroad: Historical Memories, Cultural Movements, Global Horizons*, ed. David W. Kling and Douglas A. Sweeney (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 2003), 177–200; "The Reputation of Edwards Abroad," in *The Cambridge Companion to Jonathan Edwards*, ed. Stephen Stein (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 239–61.

Walls, who, after serving in Sierra Leone and Nigeria, created at the University of Aberdeen a Centre for the Study of Christianity in the Non-Western World. His essays, collected as *The Missionary Movement in World History* (1996) and *The Cross-Cultural Process in Christian History* (2002), together with the periodicals he edited and the Centre as it moved to the University of Edinburgh, began to transform missionary history into an academic discipline.[49] The process was continued by two large-scale international research ventures, the North Atlantic Missiology Project (from 1996) and Currents in World Christianity (from 1999), run by Brian Stanley, from 2009 one of Walls' successors at Edinburgh.[50] The vast legacy of Evangelical missions in global Christianity is evident in Stanley's major book, *Christianity in the Twentieth Century: A World History* (2018).[51] The relation of missions to imperial history, a theme to which Stanley also contributed, was taken up by others, notably by Catherine Hall and Andrew Porter, and the weighty scholarship produced in the field had the effect of placing the subject of missionary history within a mainstream historiographical channel.[52] A volume edited by Porter contained a previously mentioned essay of mine on "Atonement, Sin and Empire, 1880–1914" that attempted to illuminate the connection between the central concerns of Evangelicals and their changing stance on the question of imperialism.[53] Another essay I wrote showed the importance of missionary organizations in the British version of the Fundamentalist crisis around 1920.[54] These contributions served as minor tributes to the principle that the role of missions had become an inescapable feature of British history.

49 Andrew F. Walls, *The Missionary Movement in Christian History: Studies in the Transmission of the Faith* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1996); *The Cross-Cultural Process in Christian History: Studies in the Transmission and Appropriation of Faith* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2002).

50 On Walls and Stanley, see David W. Bebbington, "Andrew Walls, Brian Stanley, Dana Robert, Mark Noll and Global Evangelicalism," in *Making Evangelical History: Faith, Scholarship and the Evangelical Past*, ed. Andrew Atherstone and David Ceri Jones (Abingdon, Oxfordshire: Routledge, 2019), 257–74.

51 Brian Stanley, *Christianity in the Twentieth Century: A World History* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2018).

52 Brian Stanley, *The Bible and the Flag: Protestant Missions and British Imperialism in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (Leicester: Apollos, 1990); Catherine Hall, *Civilising Subjects: Metropole and Colony in the English Imagination, 1830–1867* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2002); Andrew Porter, *Religion versus Empire? British Protestant Missionaries and Overseas Expansion, 1700–1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004).

53 Bebbington, "Atonement, Sin and Empire."

54 David W. Bebbington, "Missionary Controversy and the Polarising Tendency in Twentieth-Century British Protestantism," *Anvil* 13:2 (1996), 141–57.

A further major historiographical transformation in the late twentieth century was the rise of women's history. This change had made sufficient progress by 1989 for more on the female role in the Evangelical movement to have been included in the book and its relative paucity was a fifth criticism that was made at the time. Women do appear, but there are relatively few of them; and discussion of their part in the movement is included, but only in fairly short passages. It has been suggested that one paragraph, on arguments about women in ministry in the early twentieth century, attributes too little agency to the topic in polarizing liberals and conservatives against each other within the movement.[55] Since 1989 there has been a good deal of writing about Evangelical women. Following on Deborah Valenze's book on the subject, Janice Holmes and Jennifer Lloyd have demonstrated that women played a prominent part in Methodism.[56] Linda Wilson has analyzed the faith and practice of mid-nineteenth-century Evangelical Nonconformists, fruitfully comparing women's experience with that of men.[57] There have been biographies of significant figures such as Josephine Butler and Christabel Pankhurst.[58] And Callum Brown has argued that Evangelical women inculcated the values that shaped British Christian identity over successive generations down to the 1960s.[59] I had contributed in 1983 a minor piece reviewing the divided state of earlier Evangelical opinion on women's ministry as the question of female ordination was becoming the subject of serious debate in the Church of England.[60] After the appearance of *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, I offered evidence on aspects of women's spirituality in two of the articles republished here (1:9 and

55 Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, 206–7; Sarah Williams, "Feminism and the English Free Church Tradition," in *Evangelicalism and Dissent in Modern England and Wales*, ed. David W. Bebbington and David Ceri Jones (Abingdon, Oxfordshire: Routledge, 2020), 139–57.

56 Deborah Valenze, *Prophetic Sons and Daughters: Female Preaching and Popular Religion in Industrial England* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1985); Janice Holmes, *Religious Revivals in Britain and Ireland, 1859–1905* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2000), chap. 4; Jennifer M. Lloyd, *Women and the Shaping of British Methodism: Persistent Preachers, 1807–1907* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009).

57 Linda Wilson, *Constrained by Zeal: Female Spirituality among Nonconformists, 1825–1875* (Carlisle: Paternoster Press, 2000).

58 Jane Jordan, *Josephine Butler* (London: Hambledon Continuum, 2001); Timothy Larsen, *Feminism and Fundamentalism in Coalition: Christabel Pankhurst* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 2002).

59 Callum G. Brown, *The Death of Christian Britain: Understanding Secularisation, 1800–2000* (London: Routledge, 2001).

60 David W. Bebbington, "Evangelicals and the Role of Women, 1800–1930," *Christian Arena* 37:4 (1984), 19–23.

1:11) and touched on their increasing public prominence in the movement by the late twentieth century (1:15 and 1:16). Far more, however, remains to be said about the role of women in the Evangelical movement over the centuries.

Developments

Since the appearance of *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain* several fields of research on matters within its ambit have made striking advances. Some have now entered into mainstream studies of British religion and society, with many nineteenth-century topics, for example, being lucidly delineated in Stewart J. Brown's *Providence and Empire* (2008).[61] One subject where there has been marked progress is spirituality, the subject of 1:10, 2:3 and 2:4 in this collection. James Gordon made a major contribution with his sweeping survey of *Evangelical Spirituality* (1991), broken up into cameo chapters comparing two rough contemporaries each.[62] A volume emerging from the Dr Williams's Centre for Dissenting Studies on *Heart Religion* (2016) brought together essays on aspects of Evangelical devotional life, especially during the eighteenth century.[63] Study of that century yielded monographs on individual authors such as Anne Steele, the daughter of a Hampshire Baptist minister, whose poetry was much read and whose hymns were widely sung.[64] For the nineteenth century, apart from Linda Wilson's important book on female spirituality mentioned in the last paragraph, Pat Jalland explored the Evangelical Anglican experience of death in the family and Mary Riso examined the obituaries of Evangelical Nonconformists in order to discover their attitudes to the approach to death, so greatly expanding the scope of the chapter on the subject here (1:11).[65] The present author contributed *Holiness in Nineteenth-Century England* (2000), three-quarters of which concerned Evangelicals.[66] And for the twentieth century Ian Randall wrote a comprehensive analysis of the range of spirituality across the denominations during the interwar years in his *Evangelical*

61 Stewart J. Brown, *Providence and Empire: Religion, Politics and Society in the United Kingdom, 1815–1914* (London: Pearson/Longmans, 2008).

62 James M. Gordon, *Evangelical Spirituality* (London: SPCK, 1991).

63 *Heart Religion: Evangelical Piety in England and Ireland, 1690–1850*, ed. John Coffey (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016).

64 Cynthia Y. Aalders, *To Express the Ineffable: The Hymns and Spirituality of Anne Steele* (Milton Keynes: Paternoster Press, 2008).

65 Pat Jalland, *Death in the Victorian Family* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996); Mary Riso, *The Narrative of the Good Death: The Evangelical Deathbed in Victorian England* (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2015).

66 David W. Bebbington, *Holiness in Nineteenth-Century England* (Carlisle: Paternoster Press, 2000).

Experiences (1999), showing the strong polarization into liberal and conservative schools.[67] The corporate dimension of spiritual expression was supremely, as the instance of Anne Steele illustrates, in hymnody, which is discussed in another collective volume emanating from the Dr Williams's Centre, *Dissenting Praise* (2011).[68] The practical side of spirituality, however, was shown in the caring activities of congregations, whether for church members or for those beyond their bounds. This topic, less well covered in the literature, has nevertheless been explored for nineteenth-century Presbyterians and Congregationalists in Scotland, England and the United States in Charles Cashdollar's extremely illuminating book *A Spiritual Home* (2000).[69] The result of this output is that a much clearer picture of the experienced religion of the Evangelicals has emerged. In addition, because changing attitudes to the Bible, the cross and conversion inevitably found expression in devotional writing, modifications to the core of Evangelical faith were often clearly displayed in the record of spiritual practices.

One particular dimension of Evangelical spirituality where there has been a historiographical leap forward is in views on eschatology. The subject of events at the end of the world has been set in a long perspective, covering from the Reformation to the year 2000, by Crawford Gribben in his *Evangelical Millennialism in the Transatlantic World* (2010).[70] He has also coedited *Prisoners of Hope?* (2004), a collection that illuminates the thought of Edward Irving and John Nelson Darby, the two colossi that bestrode the subject in the early nineteenth century.[71] Irving has been accorded a biography by Timothy Grass and Darby an extensive study by Donald Akenson.[72] The Christian Zionism, a desire for the Jews to return to the Holy Land, that emerged from

67 Ian M. Randall, *Evangelical Experiences: A Study in the Spirituality of English Evangelicalism, 1918–1939* (Carlisle: Paternoster Press, 1999).

68 *Dissenting Praise: Religious Dissent and the Hymn in England and Wales*, ed. Isabel Rivers and David L. Wykes (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

69 Charles D. Cashdollar, *A Spiritual Home: Life in British and American Reformed Congregations, 1830–1915* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000), chaps. 7 and 9.

70 Crawford Gribben, *Evangelical Millennialism in the Transatlantic World* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010).

71 *Prisoners of Hope? Aspects of Evangelical Millennialism in Britain and Ireland, 1800–1880*, ed. Crawford Gribben and Timothy C. F. Stunt (Carlisle: Paternoster Press, 2004).

72 Timothy Grass, *Edward Irving: The Lord's Watchman* (Milton Keynes: Paternoster Press, 2011); Donald H. Akenson, *Exporting the Rapture: John Nelson Darby and the Victorian Conquest of North-American Evangelicalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018).

the adventist expectations of these circles and was to have a long subsequent career, has been expounded by Donald Lewis.[73] But the most significant change of perspective in millennial studies, and probably in Evangelical history, since the publication of *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain* has been the result of the appearance of Martin Spence's monograph *Heaven on Earth* (2015). Spence shows that historicist premillennialism, the prevailing scheme of prophecy in the mid-nineteenth century, differed much more sharply from Darby's dispensationalism than had been supposed, not least in my book. According to Darby's futurist school, most scriptural prophecies awaited fulfillment in the future and until then the world was dissolving in chaos. According to the historicists, however, the book of Revelation revealed the gradual outworking of the prophecies in history down to the present day. The adherents of this school were not backward-looking world-rejectors but progressive optimists who believed that the world should be put to rights before the second advent. They numbered Lord Shaftesbury, the most dedicated social reformer of the century, in their ranks and were aligned with others who labored for secular improvement.[74] This advance in our understanding modifies the chapter on the advent hope in the present volume (1:8), while confirming its point that premillennial teaching appealed to the Victorian elite. It means that premillennialism must be treated seriously as a significant component of mainstream intellectual life.

Matters of the mind among Evangelicals have not been ignored by historians. The worldview of the eighteenth-century movement has been expounded by Bruce Hindmarsh in his *John Newton and the English Evangelical Tradition* (1996) and subsequently in his book on *The Spirit of Early Evangelicalism* (2018) that has previously been taken into consideration.[75] Isabel Rivers' *Vanity Fair and the Celestial City* (2018) has scrutinized all the dimensions of Evangelical literary culture, alongside that of Dissent, during the eighteenth century, discovering much about networks, publishers and booksellers as well as about the content of every genre of religious publication.[76] Joseph Stubenrauch has provided a perceptive analysis of the

73 Donald M. Lewis, *The Origins of Christian Zionism: Lord Shaftesbury and Evangelical Support for a Jewish Homeland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

74 Martin Spence, *Heaven on Earth: Reimagining Time and Eternity in Nineteenth-Century British Evangelicalism* (Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock, 2015).

75 D. Bruce Hindmarsh, *John Newton and the English Evangelical Tradition: Between the Conversions of Wesley and Wilberforce* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996); *Spirit of Early Evangelicalism*.

76 Isabel Rivers, *Vanity Fair and the Celestial City: Dissenting, Methodist and Evangelical Literary Culture in England, 1720–1800* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018).

next epoch of the Evangelical intellectual world, showing the centrality of the doctrine of "means," that is human methods for attaining divine goals, during the early nineteenth century.[77] Boyd Hilton's book on *The Age of Atonement* (1988), again already mentioned, discusses the contrast between the predominant and the minority Evangelical ways of understanding the world in the same period.[78] The attempt of the Evangelical theologians of the Church of England to come to terms with the trends of the times later in the century and into the twentieth is the theme of Martin Wellings' *Evangelicals Embattled* (2003).[79] There is a study of parallel Evangelical Nonconformist developments over a longer period by Dale A. Johnson, but the fullest exposition of Nonconformist views was in a series of weighty essays by Alan Sell covering from the eighteenth century to the end of the twentieth.[80] A collection of articles on a specific discipline, church history, over an equally long period of time has been published as *Making Evangelical History* (2019).[81] The overall effect of this body of secondary literature, though filling in many gaps, has not been to change the fundamentals of the case made out in *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*. The doctrine of means in Stubenrauch's book, for example, brings to the fore the enduring importance of pragmatism in the legacy of the Enlightenment; and the predominant and minority worldviews discussed by Hilton correspond closely to Enlightenment and Romantic stances.[82] If anything, the fresh literature has buttressed the analysis in terms of the stages of cultural influence on the Evangelical mind.

A subsidiary aspect of the life of the mind is the relationship between religion and science. The essays here forming 1:14 and 2:14 illustrate the tight bond between the two forged by natural theology—a merger of natural science and orthodox doctrine—and their subsequent estrangement. Bruce Hindmarsh has worked out in more detail than before the attitude of the earliest Evangelicals to the natural world, stressing their eagerness to see God

77 Joseph Stubenrauch, *The Evangelical Age of Ingenuity in Industrial Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016).

78 Hilton, *Age of Atonement*.

79 Martin Wellings, *Evangelicals Embattled: Reponses of Evangelicals in the Church of England to Ritualism, Darwinism and Theological Liberalism, 1890–1930* (Carlisle: Paternoster Press, 2003).

80 Dale A. Johnson, *The Changing Shape of English Nonconformity, 1825–1925* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999); Alan P. F. Sell, *Dissenting Thought and the Life of the Churches: Studies in an English Tradition* (San Francisco: Mellen Research University Press, 1990) and many subsequent titles.

81 *Making Evangelical History*, ed. Atherstone and Jones.

82 Stubenrauch, *Evangelical Age of Ingenuity*, spec. 29–40; Hilton, *Age of Atonement*.

in everything and their use of nature as a cause for devotion.[83] John Hedley Brooke authoritatively expounded and situated natural theology in his widely used textbook *Science and Religion: Some Historical Perspectives* (1991).[84] The dissemination of natural theology to the masses by the Religious Tract Society is the theme of Aileen Fyfe's *Science and Salvation* (2004) and one of its classic exponents, John Pye Smith, the subject of an essay by Richard Helmstadter in a collection of articles on *Science and Dissent* (2004).[85] The problems caused for Evangelicals by the collapse of natural theology under the assault of popular Darwinism are addressed by Martin Wellings in his book on Anglican Evangelicals.[86] Stuart Mathieson stresses the breadth of the encounter with science in his study of the Evangelical apologetic organization, the Victoria Institute.[87] The reconciliation of faith with evolutionary theory was one of the aims of liberal Evangelicalism in the early twentieth century, its leading exponent, Charles Raven, occupying a prominent position in the story told by Peter Bowler in *Reconciling Science and Religion* (2001).[88] Meanwhile conservative Evangelicals commonly rejected Darwin, and so the research scientists who shared their convictions in theology but not their inhibitions about evolution had a difficult task to vindicate their case. The successful efforts of the Research Scientists' Christian Fellowship to achieve that goal are compared with the less successful attempts on the other side of the Atlantic in Christopher Rios' *After the Monkey Trial* (2014).[89] Once more, though *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain* does not give pride of place to the engagement with science, the new evidence adduced by this literature gives little cause to modify what is said either there or in the essays in this collection.

Revivals have attracted more attention over the past thirty years. John Coffey made a penetrating critique of John Kent's earlier interpretation of Dwight

83 Hindmarsh, *Spirit of Early Evangelicalism*, chaps. 4 and 5.

84 John Hedley Brooke, *Science and Religion: Some Historical Perspectives* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), chap. 6.

85 Aileen Fyfe, *Science and Salvation: Evangelical Popular Science Publishing in Victorian Britain* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004); Richard Helmstadter, "Condescending Harmony: John Pye Smith's Condescending Harmony," in *Science and Dissent in England, 1688–1945*, ed. Paul Wood (Aldershot, Hampshire: Ashgate, 2004).

86 Wellings, *Evangelicals Embattled*, chap. 5.

87 Stuart Mathieson, *Evangelicals and the Philosophy of Science: The Victoria Institute, 1865–1939* (Abingdon, Oxfordshire: Routledge, 2020).

88 Peter J. Bowler, *Reconciling Science and Religion: The Debate in Early Twentieth-Century Britain* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001), 277–86.

89 Christopher M. Rios, *After the Monkey Trial: Evangelical Scientists and a New Creationism* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2014).

L. Moody's revivals as exercises in social control.[90] In an unprecedented way, in *The Expansion of Evangelicalism* (2006) John Wolffe offered revivals as the chief explanation for Evangelical growth in early nineteenth-century Britain as well as in the United States.[91] The campaigns of the American revivalists who descended on Britain during the nineteenth century were recounted by Nigel Scotland.[92] In *Religious Revivals in Britain and Ireland* (2000) Janice Holmes showed the importance of other Victorian revivalists as well as investigating the great Ulster awakening of 1859 and its impact in England.[93] Historians were attracted to study the nations outside England that played a large part in the history of revival. There was a critical edition of the detailed testimonies from the Cambuslang Revival in Scotland of 1742.[94] The long sequence of revivals in Scotland from before Cambuslang down to 1940 was chronicled by Tom Lennie in three substantial volumes showing the strength of the revival tradition there and Kenneth Jeffrey analyzed a specific revival of 1858–62 in the north-east of Scotland.[95] Robert Tudur Jones made the Welsh Revival of 1904–5 a major feature of his portrayal of religion in *Faith and the Crisis of a Nation: Wales, 1890–1914* (1981–82).[96] The centenary of the Welsh Revival gave rise to several publications, notably Noel Gibbard's *Fire on the Altar* (2005) and *Revival, Renewal and the Holy Spirit* (2009), a collection of papers

90 John Coffey, "Democracy and Popular Religion: Moody and Sankey's Mission to Britain, 1873–1875," in *Citizenship and Community: Liberals, Radicals and Collective Identities in the British Isles, 1865–1931*, ed. Eugenio F. Biagini (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 93–119.

91 John Wolffe, *The Expansion of Evangelicalism: The Age of Wilberforce, More, Chalmers and Finney*, A History of Evangelicalism (Nottingham: InterVarsity Press, 2006).

92 Nigel Scotland, *Apostles of the Spirit and Fire: American Revivalists and Victorian Britain* (Milton Keynes: Paternoster Press, 2009).

93 Holmes, *Religious Revivals in Britain and Ireland*.

94 *The McCulloch "Examinations" of the Cambuslang Revival (1742)*, ed. Keith Edward Beebe, 2 vols. (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press for the Scottish History Society, 2011).

95 Tom Lennie, *Land of Many Revivals: Scotland's Extraordinary Legacy of Christian Revivals over Four Centuries, 1527–1857* (Fearn, Ross-shire: Christian Focus, 2015); *Scotland Ablaze: The Twenty-Year Fire of Revival That Swept Scotland, 1858–79* (Fearn, Ross-shire: Christian Focus, 2018); *Glory in the Glen: A History of Evangelical Revivals in Scotland, 1880–1940* (Fearn, Ross-shire: Christian Focus, 2009); Kenneth S. Jeffrey, *When the Lord Walked the Land: The 1858–62 Revival in the North East of Scotland* (Carlisle: Paternoster Press, 2002).

96 Robert Tudur Jones, *Faith and the Crisis of a Nation: Wales, 1890–1914* (originally *Ffydd ac argyfwng cenedl: Cristionogaeth a diwylliant yng Nghymru 1890–1914*, 2 vols., Abertawe: T ̂y John Penry, 1981–82), ed. Robert Pope (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2004).

from a centenary conference.[97] The annual conferences of the Ecclesiastical History Society were devoted in 2006–7 to "Revival and Resurgence in Christian History," gathering together several papers on classic revivals and concern for revival in Britain.[98] My own book on *Victorian Religious Revivals* (2012) contained accounts of local awakenings in several parts of the world, two of them English Methodist and one Scottish Presbyterian.[99] The study of revival entered a new phase, with critical yet sympathetic historical accounts coming to the fore. The subject deserves fuller treatment in future discussion of the history of Evangelicalism in Britain.

Another dimension of Evangelical history that has attracted more extensive study is the phenomenon of Fundamentalism, the militant assertion of certain doctrines held to be basic to the faith, together with the repudiation that the Fundamentalist tendency provoked. The account of a Fundamentalist controversy in Wesleyan Methodism in 2:7 of this collection relates to an episode before the First World War, but the crisis in the United States immediately after the war when the term "Fundamentalist" was coined had its echoes in Britain. Another essay of mine explored the self-image of the few who were willing to avow Fundamentalism during the inter-war years as martyrs for the truth.[100] In 2008 and 2009 a publicly funded research project examined systematically the nature and extent of Christian Fundamentalism in Britain. In due course it produced a volume on *Evangelicalism and Fundamentalism in the United Kingdom during the Twentieth Century* (2013). The book concluded that beyond the small number of individuals and groups that were prepared to affirm a Fundamentalist stance there were many Evangelicals who showed sympathies of a Fundamentalist kind. There was a surprising number of Anglicans who could properly be called Fundamentalists, but a much smaller proportion of Baptists than might have been expected from the contemporary American scene. Other conservative Evangelicals also resisted identification as Fundamentalists. Free Methodists in the North-West of England, for example, who

97 Noel Gibbard, *Fire on the Altar: A History and Evaluation of the 1904–5 Revival in Wales* (Bridgend: Bryntirion Press, 2005). The same author had published *On the Wings of the Dove* (Bridgend: Bryntirion Press, 2002) on the international effects of the Welsh Revival.

98 *Revival and Resurgence in Christian History*, ed. Kate Cooper and Jeremy Gregory, *Studies in Church History*, vol. 44 (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 2008).

99 David W. Bebbington, *Victorian Religious Revivals: Culture and Piety in Local and Global Contexts* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

100 David W. Bebbington, "Martyrs for the Truth: Fundamentalists in Britain," in *Martyrs and Martyrologies*, ed. Diana Wood, *Studies in Church History*, vol. 30 (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1993), 417–51.

had been prepared to secede from the Methodist Church because it seemed to be moving too far in a liberal theological direction, were nevertheless stoutly averse to being seen as Fundamentalists.[101] This reluctance to proclaim oneself a Fundamentalist was also evident in the two leading figures in the British Evangelical movement during the later twentieth century, Martyn Lloyd-Jones and John Stott. Studies of both showed that, although they displayed some Fundamentalist traits, they were insistent on putting space between their position and full-blown Fundamentalism.[102] Further research has vindicated the refusal in the conclusion of *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain* to permit any equation of the movement with Fundamentalism.[103]

This Collection

The essays assembled in these two volumes represent work that amplifies—rather than modifying—the work on the Evangelical quadrilateral set out in the book of 1989. The quadrilateral is sometimes called a definition, a word I have occasionally used, but a preferable term would be "characterization." The fourfold formula attempts to summarize the leading characteristics of Evangelicalism. The characterization is not theological, as it is sometimes called, but phenomenological, reflecting the movement's most salient features. Although three of its components—Bible, conversion, cross—relate to doctrines, the fourth component—activism—barely does at all. Furthermore, the Bible was read, conversion was experienced and even the cross was inspirational, all dimensions of life rather than theology. The quadrilateral certainly does not claim to say what the Evangelical movement ought to be, but pinpoints what the evidence shows to have been its leading features over time. The essays in this volume try to fill out the picture in various ways and so to supplement *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*. Many of them began as papers delivered to audiences of different types, which helps account for

101 Andrew Atherstone, "Evangelicalism and Fundamentalism in the Inter-War Church of England," David Bebbington, "Baptists and Fundamentalism in Inter-War Britain," and Derek Tidball, "'Secession is an Ugly Thing:' The Emergence and Development of Free Methodism in Late Twentieth-Century England," in *Evangelicalism and Fundamentalism in the United Kingdom during the Twentieth Century*, ed. David Bebbington and David Ceri Jones (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 55–75, 95–114 and 209–29.

102 Robert Pope, "Lloyd-Jones and Fundamentalism," in *Engaging with Martyn Lloyd-Jones: The Life and Legacy of "the Doctor"*, ed. Andrew Atherstone and David Ceri Jones (Nottingham: InterVarsity Press, 2011), 197–219; Alister Chapman, *Godly Ambition: John Stott and the Evangelical Movement* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 40–48.

103 Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, 275–76.

the variation in approach. Some are more popular, summative and heavily dependent on existing secondary literature while others are more detailed, original and largely based on evidence drawn from primary research. That difference accounts in the main for the contrasting proportions of footnotes. For the purposes of these volumes the essays have been reproduced largely as they originally appeared in print in the places indicated in the list of credits, but alterations have been made to avoid overlap, to correct errors and to standardize usage. Cross-references to where a topic is discussed elsewhere in the two books have been added, but no attempt has been made to bring the text or references up-to-date. The discussions in this introduction and its companion in volume 2 are intended to suggest ways in which scholarship has moved on, though (almost always) without invalidating the points made in the chapters. The story is brought into the twenty-first century by chapters 1:15 and 1:16, but they still attempt to be historical rather than normative. All the chapters are designed to exhibit the parameters of Evangelical Christianity in Britain. They help explain why William Gaskell considered that Evangelicalism constituted "the popular theology." Perhaps its tendencies were not as evil as he supposed.

I

The Character and Culture of Evangelicals

1

The Nature of Evangelical Identity

In 1850 John Sirgood, a bootmaker originally from Gloucestershire, moved from South London to the village of Loxwood on the northern edge of Sussex and set up a religious community called the Dependent Brethren, or Cokelers. In London Sirgood had learned from William Bridges, the founder of the Plumstead Peculiars, the doctrine of the new birth. Sirgood proceeded to spread it in the rural area around Loxwood until, at his death in 1885, his followers numbered about two thousand. Their hymns were unaccompanied and, before each verse was sung, it was read out in the traditional manner designed for the illiterate. Spontaneous testimonies peppered their worship services. Like other holiness groups, the Cokelers believed that the power of God could preserve them from committing sins. They were teetotalers, pacifists and favored traditional clothing. The men wore historic Sussex smocks long into the twentieth century. They strongly believed in mutual assistance, taking this principle to the length of running the village stores on a cooperative basis. One of their hymns ran:

> Christ's combination stores for me
> Where I can be so well supplied
> Where I can one with brethren be
> Where competition is defied.

For a while their commercial activities brought them a modest measure of prosperity. Another distinctive belief, however, undermined their very existence. Although Sirgood himself was married, the movement officially encouraged celibacy. In the light of 1 Corinthians chapter 7 it was thought better to avoid marriage if at all possible. Despite Sirgood's enthusiastic evangelism, the numbers in the community soon went into rapid decline, reaching a mere two