Evangelicalism and the Church of England in the Twentieth Century

REFORM, RESISTANCE AND RENEWAL

Edited by
Andrew Atherstone and **John Maiden**

STUDIES IN MODERN BRITISH RELIGIOUS HISTORY

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STUDIES IN MODERN BRITISH RELIGIOUS HISTORY

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EVANGELICALISM AND THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

REFORM, RESISTANCE AND RENEWAL

EDITED BY
ANDREW ATHERSTONE AND JOHN MAIDEN

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For our families
Robbyn, Hannah and Esme
Catherine, John, Anna and Kate

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1

Anglican Evangelicalism in the Twentieth Century: Identities and Contexts

Andrew Atherstone and John Maiden

South Kensington, London, has a long association with Anglican evangelicalism. The imposing building of St Paul's, Onslow Square, was built for Capel Molyneux, who apparently desired 'a great preaching box' and was dutifully provided one by architect Charles James Freake.[1] The building was consecrated in 1860, seating up to 1800 people, and from the beginning the congregation was decidedly evangelical. Molyneux's anti-ritualist convictions led to his secession from the Church of England in 1872 when the judicial committee of the privy council pronounced the innocence of W. J. E. Bennett's eucharistic doctrines.[2] Molyneux's successor, C. D. Marston, had a short incumbency, dying suddenly in 1876, to be replaced by Hanmer William Webb-Peploe. A star of the Keswick convention, Webb-Peploe helped St Paul's to become a flagship for the evangelical movement. The 'Evangelical Cathedral of London'[3] was highly regarded for its preaching and congregation size (a reported 10,858 communicants in 1898), but also for its robust financing of mission (£3249 was given to the Church Missionary Society in the same year); an enviable parochial machinery, including a District Nurse Fund, Home for Girls, Coachman's and Menservant's Club and Women's Sick and Benefit Club; and an impressive supporting cast of staff and volunteers. Webb-Peploe claimed in 1902 to have about sixty district visitors, Bible nurses and lay missionaries; and to have trained over 111 men during the course of his ministry. St Paul's was the training ground for an array of able curates, who strengthened evangelical witness in London, other parts of the

[1] Charles H. Dant, *Distinguished Churchmen and Phases of Church Work* (London, 1902), p. 271.

[2] Capel Molyneux, *The Bennett Judgment: Our Duty, What Is It?* (London, 1872); Capel Molyneux, *A Farewell Address to the Congregation of St Paul's Church, Onslow Square* (London, 1872).

[3] 'Appeal for St Paul's, Onslow Square', *Times*, 25 January 1952, p. 6.

country and the mission field.[4] At the beginning of the twentieth century, St Paul's was an evangelical success story.

Webb-Peploe was followed by a succession of evangelical incumbents, including William Talbot Rice (vicar 1919–35) and Arthur Barham-Gould (vicar 1936–53). The building, however, gradually became a burden which the dwindling congregation could not easily support. During the 1950s there was a wide appeal for financial aid; and in the 1970s the parish was joined with Holy Trinity, Brompton. In 1978 the Onslow Square building was made redundant. The decades which followed, however, witnessed a remarkable revival in its fortunes. Under the leadership of John Collins and Sandy Millar, Holy Trinity emerged as a centre of charismatic renewal, which in 1988, like a 'fervid tree from the original garden of Eden', planted a new congregation back into St Paul's.[5] The resurgent congregation became a constituent part of what was widely known by the acronym 'HTB': the international centre of the 'Alpha' evangelistic course, and, according to one mid-1990s commentator, 'arguably the country's most successful church', a place where 'hundreds of starry-eyed and fabulously-wealthy twenty-somethings find Jesus each month'.[6] In 2000 a 'mystery worshipper' from the website 'Ship of Fools' remarked that St Paul's, with its 'free-style charismatic' worship, was 'fairly bulging' even in holiday season.[7] By the early twenty-first century, there were plans to extend the Onslow Square site to include a theological college, family centre, café, bookshops and flats for staff.[8] It seemed to have recovered the vitality of a hundred years earlier.

This vignette is not given for the sake of historical curiosity. Instead, it illustrates important aspects of the wider history of evangelicalism and the Church of England in the twentieth century. It suggests a theme of cultural flexibility, something often noticeable in other evangelical parishes of the period. It indicates Anglican evangelicalism's diversity and fluidity: in 1900 the congregation at Onslow Square was known as conservative premillennialist (Webb-Peploe expected 'the speedy end of this terrestrial globe');[9] by 2000 it was famous for its entrepreneurial charismaticism. It is also suggestive of another important aspect of the twentieth-century movement: evidence of religious vitality against the wider backdrop of supposed 'secularisation'. These are some of the broad themes addressed in this introduction and the chapters which follow.

4 Dant, *Distinguished Churchmen*, pp. 273–79.

5 Ruth Gledhill, 'Heaven's Door', *Times*, 28 December 1996, p. 9.

6 Ibid.

7 www.shipoffools.com/mystery/2000/228Mystery (accessed 28 September 2013).

8 'Foster Builds on Architecture of Faith', *Times*, 17 July 2006, p. 50; 'Alpha's Kensington Crusade', *Independent*, 12 August 2006, pp. 10–11.

9 'An Evangelical Stalwart', *Times*, 20 July 1923, p. 14.

Taxonomies of Anglican evangelicalism

The very terms 'Anglican evangelical' or 'evangelical Anglican' – and indeed the notion of an evangelical 'party' – have often been the subject of evangelical introspection and contestation. Writing in the *Constructive Quarterly* in 1915, E. C. Dewick (vice-principal of St Aidan's College, Birkenhead) attempted a taxonomy of evangelicalism in the Church of England. The movement was of growing significance for the national church, he declared, but it included a wide diversity of belief, practice and temperament, more an evangelical 'coalition' than an evangelical 'party'. He identified four distinct types of evangelical churchmanship – Traditional, Protestant, Evangelistic and Liberal. The Traditional Evangelical was known for his 'staunch conservatism, both in politics and theology', a defender of historic formularies and the 'inerrancy' of scripture, suspicious of biblical criticism and social reform, and often to be found in alliance with 'the old-fashioned High Churchman' against the encroachments of Dissenters upon Anglican privilege. The Protestant Evangelical 'flourishes in a controversial atmosphere', obsessed by anti-Romanism and anti-ritualism, often well read in theology but uncultured in his methods. 'Owing to its aggressive vigour', Dewick explained, this type 'attracts an attention greater than its real influence merits; and it has won for the Evangelical Party as a whole a reputation for factiousness and love of negation which is not generally deserved.' Evangelistic Evangelicals had a 'zeal for soul-winning', were ready to speak about the gospel in everyday conversation, and eager to pursue unconventional methods like open-air preaching, lantern services and parochial missions which 'scandalize the more staid among their brother clergy'. They were first and foremost 'messengers of salvation' but likely to disparage culture and learning as irrelevant. Last but not least in Dewick's taxonomy came Liberal Evangelicals, 'the "left wing" of the party, taking the lead in the demand for drastic changes', ready to welcome new ideas to adapt evangelicalism to the modern age. They were friendly towards higher criticism and ecumenism, and wanted to be actively involved in the wider life of the Church of England. Liberal Evangelicals could be further divided into 'sub-types', the Ritualistic Evangelical (a lover of art and music), the Philosophic Evangelical (concerned for intellectual rigour), the Social Reforming Evangelical (champion of 'the people' against vested interests) and the Student Movement Evangelical (inspired by a vision of Christianity which transcended denominations). As Dewick looked to the future he prophesied that Liberal Evangelicalism would be the driving force in the twentieth century, since it was 'the home of many adventurous minds' and was attracting most of the younger people within the movement.[10] Like every attempt to describe varieties of churchmanship,

[10] E. C. Dewick, 'Evangelicalism in the Church of England: Its Present Position and Future

Dewick's portrait was inherently polemical and provoked strong reactions.[11] The *English Churchman*, for example, did not believe that liberal evangelicals should be counted as genuine members of the evangelical movement because they played 'fast and loose' with eternal principles. The newspaper warned that 'History ... is replete with warnings of the disasters to which new thoughts lead.'[12]

Throughout the twentieth century other commentators took up the challenge to categorise Anglican evangelicalism into sub-species, reflecting its changing nature at different periods. Their descriptions were varied, depending of the perspective from which they viewed the movement and their personal theological agendas, though several themes recurred. One Yorkshire clergyman during the First World War identified four types – the Churchly Evangelical, who likes musical services and ornaments, turns with his choir to face the east during the creed, and allows popular amusement as part of his parochial machinery; the Evangelistic Evangelical, who meets at the Keswick Convention, enjoys open-air services and insists on conversion; the Calvinistic Evangelical, who preaches the doctrines of grace and is a good Bible student, but has a gloomy outlook on the future of the Church of England; and the 'wishy-washy Evangelical', who does not like to be 'labelled', says he is 'no party man' and is anxious to avoid 'extreme views', an evangelical as a matter of taste rather than conviction. This northern cleric concluded: 'To be quite frank, are not the differences among Evangelicals greater than those among High Churchmen?'[13] Anglican evangelicalism has been marked by its own diversity.

The conceptual framework which came to dominate the middle decades of the century from the 1920s to the 1970s was of polar opposites, 'liberal evangelicals' versus 'conservative evangelicals', later immortalised by Oliver Barclay as 'LEs' and 'CEs'.[14] The idea of an evangelical binary seemed underlined by intra-evangelical schisms and the formation of rival organisations, such as the Church Missionary Society versus the Bible Churchmen's Missionary Society (founded 1922), or the Anglican Evangelical Group Movement (AEGM, founded 1906 as the Group Brotherhood) versus the Fellowship of Evangelical Churchmen (FEC, founded 1918). This binary interpretation was itself rejected by some in favour of a more exclusive position. Members of the AEGM set out their vision for the future of the church

Prospects', *Constructive Quarterly* vol. 3 (December 1915), pp. 800–13.

[11] On the difficulties inherent in church party categorisations, see Andrew Atherstone, 'Identities and Parties', in Mark Chapman, Sathianathan Clarke and Martyn Percy (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Anglican Studies* (Oxford, forthcoming).

[12] 'Evangelical Churchmanship', *English Churchman*, 9 March 1916, p. 129.

[13] Letter from 'A Yorkshire Vicar', *Record*, 3 February 1916, pp. 106–7.

[14] Oliver Barclay, *Evangelicalism in Britain 1935–1995: A Personal Sketch* (Leicester, 1997), pp. 12–14.

in *Liberal Evangelicalism* (1923), to which members of the FEC responded with *Evangelicalism* (1925).[15] The one-word title of the second volume was deliberate polemic, a claim by the authors not to represent merely 'conservative evangelicalism' but evangelicalism *in toto*, thus disenfranchising liberal evangelicals from a legitimate place within the movement.[16] Nevertheless, the conservative/liberal dichotomy took root in popular caricatures of Anglican evangelicalism, particularly for those prone to see the world in black and white.

Seeking a common cause between liberals and conservatives, Max Warren (general secretary of the Church Missionary Society from 1942) spoke frequently of his preference for 'unhyphenated' evangelicalism. He refused, as he told the Rochester Diocesan Evangelical Fellowship in May 1944, 'to spoil a good word by hyphenating it'. Instead, he urged Anglican evangelicals to welcome each other 'in an atmosphere of love and affection', united around evangelicalism's four cardinal principles: the priority of evangelism, the necessity of conversion, trusting the Holy Spirit, and the priesthood of all believers. He celebrated diversity within the church as a gift from God and, with the Nuremberg rallies fresh in the memory, observed: 'We seek the perfect harmony of the Hallelujah Chorus, not the "Sieg heil" of ten thousand marshalled throats.'[17] The Evangelical Fellowship for Theological Literature (EFTL), Warren's brainchild, was founded in 1942 on this inclusive basis to promote Anglican evangelical scholarship and engagement with the wider church. Within a decade it had recruited 150 members amongst theological college tutors, parish clergy and missionaries, but it folded in 1972, and the gap was soon filled by the writing groups of the Grove Books empire, founded by Colin Buchanan, which grew exponentially in the years after the 1967 Keele Congress.[18]

As the Anglican evangelical movement continued to evolve, especially during the major cultural and ecclesial shifts of the 'long' 1960s, new taxonomies were invented. By 1976 Gavin Reid of the Church Pastoral Aid Society could identify four strands within the broad evangelical coalition. The Protestant Strand was marked by a passion for truth and a deep love for the Bible, but was a small group of mainly older men who remembered

[15] T. Guy Rogers (ed.), *Liberal Evangelicalism: An Interpretation* (London, 1923); J. Russell Howden (ed.), *Evangelicalism* (London, 1925).

[16] '"Unhyphenated" Evangelicalism', *English Churchman*, 4 June 1925, p. 275.

[17] Max Warren, *What is an Evangelical? An Enquiry* (London, 1945), pp. 9, 33–34. See further, Timothy Yates, 'Evangelicalism without Hyphens: Max Warren, the Tradition and Theology of Mission', *Anvil* vol. 2 (1985), pp. 231–45.

[18] On the EFTL, see G. H. Gordon Hewitt, 'Evangelical Theology: An Experiment', *Churchman* vol. 64 (September 1950), pp. 150–53; Michael Hennell, 'An Episode in Twentieth-Century Church History', *Theology* vol. 76 (September 1973), pp. 480–83; Leonard Hickin, 'The Revival of Evangelical Scholarship', *Churchman* vol. 92 (1978), pp. 125–33.

'the siege years' of evangelical defensiveness before the Second World War. In an age of liturgical innovation, it was the last real stronghold of the Book of Common Prayer. The Keswick Strand was missionary minded and placed a high premium on personal spirituality. It was interdenominational in its outlook, favouring Anglican–Methodist reunion, and had backed Billy Graham to the hilt during the Harringay Crusades. The Eclectic Strand, to which Reid himself belonged, attracted the younger evangelicals who now led the movement in place of the older Keswick men. It had emerged since the 1950s, considered John Stott of All Souls, Langham Place, to be a 'father figure', and was more self-critical and analytical than the previous generation, with 'a passion for realism and progress', liturgical experimentation and socio-political engagement. The Charismatic Strand was the new kid on the block, with a desire for intimate fellowship in the local church and informal worship. Although the youngest grouping, and still small by comparison, it was already generating an entirely new set of theological alignments by its friendship with Anglo-Catholics, and even Roman Catholics, who had also experienced charismatic renewal.[19] A decade later Michael Saward offered a similar analysis, though he preferred alliterative titles for his evangelical sub-types – Pietists, Parochials, Puritans, Protestants and Powers-that-Be. By this final category he meant those, like himself, who held the reins of power within the new Anglican evangelical structures like the Church of England Evangelical Council (founded 1960) and the Anglican Evangelical Assembly (founded 1982), organisers of the National Evangelical Anglican Congresses (NEACs), staff of the evangelical theological colleges, and evangelical members of the General Synod and the episcopal bench. Their influence had been decisive, Saward observed, since the late 1950s.[20]

Despite premature claims of the post-war demise of liberal evangelicalism, 'conservative' and 'liberal' dichotomies persisted at the end of the century. Randle Manwaring, for example, divided the movement in the 1980s into 'hard-liner', 'conservative' and 'liberal' – an unsubtle attempt to capture the middle ground for conservatives like himself.[21] The charismatic movement, however, forced a permanent disruption in these classic polarities and achieved the status of a *tertium quid* with which taxonomists had to reckon. The *Church Times* scrutiny of General Synod election manifestos in 1995 divided evangelicals into 'conservative', 'liberal' and 'charismatic' groupings.[22] Due to the negative connotations of liberalism amongst post-Keele evangelicals, it was more typical to speak of 'conservative', 'open' and

[19] Gavin Reid, 'The Evangelical Coalition', *Church of England Newspaper*, 26 March 1976, p. 13.

[20] Michael Saward, *Evangelicals on the Move* (London, 1987), pp. 68–72.

[21] Randle Manwaring, *From Controversy to Co-existence: Evangelicals in the Church of England 1914–1980* (Cambridge, 1985), pp. 210–11.

[22] 'New Synod Puts Mission First', *Church Times*, 3 November 1995, p. 5.

'charismatic' streams, which Graham Kings likened to three watercourses, the canal, the river and the rapids.[23] Of course, any tripartite division was far too rigid and simplistic to mirror theological and ecclesial complexities. The *Church of England Newspaper* playfully joked in 1998 that evangelicals came in '57 varieties', like the canned food of Henry J. Heinz.[24] Evangelical identities seemed to be in a constant process of reconfiguration.

Throughout the century, the concept of Anglican evangelicalism was widely contested, demonstrating something close to an obsession with self-definition. Numerous authors and conference speakers entered the lists in an attempt to settle the fundamental character of the movement, often with a polemic twist symptomatic of their personal hopes for its future direction. James Denton Thompson (bishop of Sodor and Man) suggested in the 1910s that Anglican evangelicals should rebrand themselves as 'central churchmen', because they were theological moderates occupying a middle position in the Church of England between competing ecclesial and doctrinal extremes.[25] The proposal did not catch on. Henry Wace (dean of Canterbury) replied that 'evangelical' was a glorious designation and should be retained as 'the greatest honour of an English Churchman'. In his view it denoted two key truths taught by the apostles, reformers and revivalists: justification by faith alone without human works or priestly mediation, and the supreme authority and 'infinite preciousness' of the Bible as the word of God.[26] This was only one amongst many alternative definitions. Identifying the boundaries of the movement was especially difficult. When Griffith Thomas was replaced as editor of *The Churchman* in 1910 by Guy Warman and Dawson Walker, signalling a broader editorial policy, they marked the occasion by publishing Warman's essay on 'The Essentials of Evangelicalism' which warned against party shibboleths and defined evangelicalism as, in essence, three principles: direct access of the soul to God through Christ, the all-sufficiency of Christ as saviour, and the gift of the Holy Spirit to all who accepted Christ. These essentials were unaffected, Warman emphasised, by attitudes to biblical criticism or ritualism.[27] In *The Future of the Evangelical Party in the Church of England* (1913), Bernard Herklots likewise portrayed evangelicalism as 'a large house' with plenty

[23] Graham Kings, 'Canal, River and Rapids: Contemporary Evangelicalism in the Church of England', *Anvil* vol. 20 (2003), pp. 167–84.

[24] Alister McGrath, 'The 57 Varieties of Evangelicalism', *Church of England Newspaper*, 17 April 1998, pp. 8, 17.

[25] J. Denton Thompson, *Central Churchmanship, or the Position, Principles and Policy of Evangelical Churchmen in Relation to Modern Thought and Work* (London, 1911).

[26] 'Evangelical Principles', in Henry Wace, *Some Questions of the Day: Biblical, National, and Ecclesiastical* (London, 1912), pp. 226, 229.

[27] F. S. Guy Warman, 'The Essentials of Evangelicalism', *Churchman* vol. 24 (October 1910), pp. 750–58.

of room for doctrinal diversity and the need for mutual respect between 'our brother of the Surpliced Choir' and 'our brother of the Black Gown'. He called for an end to mutual recrimination and heresy hunting, 'the *bête noire* of the party'. Anglicanism would be gradually evangelicalised during the twentieth century, Herklots prophesied. In a forceful finale he declared: 'Our boundaries are getting too narrow ... Like the Germans, we want our place in the sun', an unfortunate comparison given the catastrophic events of the next four years. Herklots approved of evangelicalism's broadening outlook and more constructive engagement on socio-economic and ecclesial questions, represented by a shift in emphasis from 'He that is not with me is against me' (Matthew 12:30) to the parallel truth 'He that is not against us is for us' (Mark 9:40).[28] This remained a perpetual tension. Two generations later, in January 1995, R. T. France (principal of Wycliffe Hall, Oxford) challenged the Evangelical Anglican Leaders Conference to take seriously the same Marcan text during the crisis of direction which followed the ordination of women.[29]

Evangelical 'essentialism' was a reoccurring theme in *The Churchman*, which carried articles addressing questions such as 'The Fundamentals of Evangelical Protestantism' (1918), 'What Evangelicals Stand For' (1929), 'What is Evangelical Churchmanship?' (1937), 'What is Anglican Evangelicalism?' (1950) and 'The Essence of Evangelicalism' (1955).[30] Likewise, the annual Islington Conference gathered hundreds of clergymen to hear position papers on 'The Creed of an Evangelical' (1939), 'Evangelical Essentials' (1947) and 'Evangelical Identity' (1978). During the second NEAC at Nottingham in 1977, John King baited the organisers with the quip, 'What is an Evangelical? Tell us, somebody, please.'[31] Stott responded by characterising evangelicals as 'Bible people', holding to the supreme authority of scripture as 'the written speech of God', and 'Gospel people', proclaiming the good news of salvation through Jesus Christ. He called upon the movement

[28] Bernard Herklots, *The Future of the Evangelical Party in the Church of England* (London, 1913), pp. 31, 43–44, 107, 186.

[29] Dick France, '"Not One of Us": An Exposition of Mark 9.38–41', in Gordon Kuhrt (ed.), *To Proclaim Afresh: Evangelical Agenda for the Church* (London, 1995), pp. 75–82.

[30] Henry Wace, 'The Fundamentals of Evangelical Protestantism', *Churchman* vol. 32 (January 1918), pp. 11–20; Westley Bothamley, 'What Evangelicals Stand For', *Churchman* vol. 43 (April 1929), pp. 130–37; C. Sydney Carter, 'What is Evangelical Churchmanship?', *Churchman* vol. 51 (April 1937), pp. 69–74; Howard W. K. Mowll, 'What is Anglican Evangelicalism?', *Churchman* vol. 64 (September 1950), pp. 134–43; John G. Tiarks, W. C. G. Proctor and M. A. P. Wood, 'The Essence of Evangelicalism', *Churchman* vol. 69 (March 1955), pp. 5–15.

[31] Quoted in Michael Smout, 'What is an Evangelical Anglican?', in Eddie Neale, Michael Smout, Colin Bedford and Dick Williams, *77 Notts Untied* (London, 1977), p. 58.

to be conservative in theology but radical in its application.[32] Despite Stott's pre-eminence, he was not able to settle the question. In June 1996 Mark Thompson (later principal of Moore College, Sydney) addressed Reform, a recently founded evangelical pressure group in the Church of England, on the need to remain 'clearly and positively evangelical'. He warned that some were making a 'concerted attempt' to broaden the evangelical movement by redefining the Stottian position as not simply 'evangelical' but 'conservative evangelical', thus pushing it to the periphery. Thompson declared: 'Old fashioned "liberal Evangelicalism" is trying to hijack the middle ground, and sadly the attempt is succeeding in many quarters.'[33] These words might equally have been spoken from an evangelical platform eighty years earlier, further demonstrating the enduring contest over Anglican evangelical identities which spanned the century.

Evangelicals and their context: reform, resistance and renewal

Such debates about the essentials of evangelicalism, its various sub-species and reconfigurations – and the continuing crises of identity which shook the movement – occurred in the context of rapid and testing ecclesiastical and social change. The nineteenth century was arguably a more favourable climate for Anglican evangelicals. The ideologies of evangelicalism were able to permeate both socio-economic ideas and moral discourses.[34] In the Church of England, while growing numbers of ritualist clergy were a concern, the passing of the Public Worship Regulation Act (1874), if something of a pyrrhic victory, nonetheless underlined the establishment's Protestant default setting; and episcopal promotions of evangelicals came steadily, and even frequently during the Palmerston era.[35] The twentieth century, however, proved more difficult terrain: Anglo-Catholicism, theological liberalism, religious 'decline', and socio-political change presented significant challenges. In the early and mid-twentieth century, already many evangelicals felt beleaguered. The 1931 Church Association *Annual Report* starkly summarised: 'The Church of God is faced with grave difficulties, not the least of which is the sea of indifference, flanked by the danger of a

[32] John Stott, *What is an Evangelical?* (London, 1977). See further, John Stott, *Evangelical Truth: A Personal Plea for Unity* (Leicester, 1999).

[33] Mark D. Thompson, 'Being Clearly and Positively Evangelical', *Churchman* vol. 111 (1997), pp. 159–60.

[34] Callum Brown, *The Death of Christian Britain: Understanding Secularisation 1800–2000* (London, 2001), especially chs 3–4; Boyd Hilton, *The Age of Atonement: The Influence of Evangelicalism on Social and Economic Thought, 1795–1865* (Oxford, 1988).

[35] Nigel Scotland, *Good and Proper Men: Lord Palmerston and the Bench of Bishops* (London, 2000).

barren Modernism, while the hosts of worldliness and of a sensuous "Anglo-Catholic" religion seem advancing to overwhelm her.'[36] The extent of wider religious change in this period, as Simon Green has shown, was considerable.[37] The 'long 1960s', as Hugh McLeod has argued, nevertheless brought an 'explosive' phase of theological upheaval, sexual revolution, feminism and political radicalisation,[38] with Callum Brown going so far as to speak of a 'moral metamorphosis' and 'new cultural and ethical landscape'.[39]

This section offers a broad overview of the responses of Anglican evangelicalism to these four major challenges of the century. Rather than seek to produce yet another taxonomy of evangelicalism, it provides an interpretative framework recognising three broad tendencies displayed by evangelicals in response to their ecclesiastical and social contexts: *resistance*, *reform* and *renewal*. Reform here refers to efforts to embrace constructive policies of engagement with church and society, or selective accommodation towards particular religious and social trends; while renewal (which sometimes has a similar meaning to 'reform' in evangelical literature) here refers specifically to notions of spiritual renewal. This framework differs significantly from earlier analyses because it avoids associating particular responses or behaviours with particular theological constituencies, whether conservative, liberal/open or charismatic. For instance, by no means all interwar conservatives were narrow and defensive in their ecclesial and social outlook; some charismatics, in seeking radical renewal, developed strategies of resistance (for example, by advocating church planting across parish boundaries); and liberal/open groups might reform and resist simultaneously, as evident in the enthusiastic support for women bishops but definite opposition to same-sex marriage by Fulcrum (an 'open evangelical' pressure group founded in 2003). The choice, in particular, between resistance and reform has proved a long-standing dilemma for many evangelicals.

Resistance has been a common response to 'external' challenges. Christian Smith provides a reminder from an American context that conflict and a sense of 'threat' may strengthen a group.[40] For some evangelicals the gospel itself has seemed to be at stake at times of crisis. This has sometimes frustrated fellow Anglicans: evangelicals, for example, for many years found it difficult to live down Bishop Hensley Henson's scathing portrayal of a 'Protestant underworld' and its 'deplorable fanatics' during the Prayer

[36] *The Church Association Annual Report, 1931–32* (London, 1932), p. 20.

[37] S. J. D. Green, *The Passing of Protestant England: Secularisation and Social Change c.1920–1960* (Cambridge, 2011), p. 33. Green's argument is probably overstated, but his conclusions restore some chronological balance to ongoing debates about 'secularisation'.

[38] Hugh McLeod, *The Religious Crisis of the 1960s* (Oxford, 2007), p. 15.

[39] Brown, *Death of Christian Britain,* pp. 190–91.

[40] Christian Smith, *American Evangelicalism: Embattled and Thriving* (Chicago, 1998), p. 114.

Book crisis of the 1920s.[41] That controversy, along with canon law revision from the mid-1950s, the permissive society reforms in the 1960s and 1970s, and arguments surrounding women's ordination and homosexuality since the 1980s, have provided the great set-pieces of evangelical defiance. Furthermore, intermittent times of crisis raised the thorny question of secession from the national church. 'Come out of her, my people', advised one *English Churchman* correspondent if Prayer Book revision was accepted.[42] Secession emerged again in the 1960s and 1970s as a hot issue,[43] and during controversies over gender and sexuality towards the end of the century some conservatives mooted the likelihood of leaving the Church of England as a future necessity, though they seldom acted upon this instinct. The tension between biblical truth and institutional loyalty has been an ongoing theme.

The tendency towards reform has also been significant. This did not necessarily mean capitulation, but rather willingness for thoughtful, constructive engagement with church and society. For example, before the Second World War the AEGM determined (according to its 1912 constitution) that theological, ecclesiastical, philosophical, moral and political questions 'must be considered in the light of the changing circumstances of our human experience and scientific achievements of our day'.[44] Liberal evangelicals had no monopoly on reform: the Conference of Evangelical Churchmen (1916–76), which formulated policy on religious and social issues, brought together evangelicals of all shades and was organised by the conservatively inclined, and strongly anti-ritualist, National Church League.[45] From the 1950s conservative 'neo-evangelicalism', culminating with the NEACs of 1967 and 1977, signalled radical reform. The congresses, however, have largely been overlooked by historians of the period. Brown described how

> the new cultural environment affected the churches deeply, and transformed them fundamentally. Ecclesiastical change has been enormous: Vatican II and its aftermath, the *Honest to God* debate, the impact of protest against the Vietnam and Biafran wars, ecumenical discourse, feminism, the rise of environmentalism, and awareness of social and "North-South" issues ...[46]

[41] Owen Chadwick, *Hensley Henson: A Study in the Friction between Church and State* (Oxford, 1983), p. 193.

[42] Letter from 'Nil Desperandum', *English Churchman*, 4 August 1927, p. 406.

[43] Andrew Atherstone, 'Lloyd–Jones and the Anglican Secession Crisis', in Andrew Atherstone and David Ceri Jones (eds), *Engaging with Martyn Lloyd-Jones: The Life and Legacy of 'The Doctor'* (Nottingham, 2011), pp. 261–92.

[44] A. Eric Smith, *Another Anglican Angle: Liberal Evangelicalism: The Anglican Evangelical Group Movement, 1906–1967* (Oxford, 1991), p. 82.

[45] See chapter 5, below.

[46] Brown, *Death of Christian Britain*, p. 190.

No hint here of the NEACs or conservative Protestant reform: few historians have followed up on Adrian Hastings' insightful assessment that the Keele Congress statement was 'one of the more important ecclesiastical documents, not only of the sixties but of this century' because of its engagement with liturgical, ecumenical and social developments.[47]

The third tendency, most marked since the 1960s, has been emphasis on spiritual renewal. During the first half of the century, the Keswick Convention's strong accent on holiness and the work of the Spirit was a powerful influence. In the northeast, Alexander Boddy (vicar of All Saints, Monkwearmouth) attempted to infuse Anglicanism with Pentecostal theology. Speaking tours through England from the late 1940s by missionaries and African leaders associated with the East African Revival heightened interest in spiritual renewal.[48] Then, in the early 1960s, the currents of charismatic renewal moved across the Atlantic, bringing widespread interest in the 'baptism of the Spirit' and *glossolalia*.[49] Charismaticism transformed the internal dynamics of Anglican evangelicalism. Importantly, it intensified and gave momentum to emerging evangelical trends towards ecumenism, laicisation and sacramentalism. Furthermore, while cultural flexibility was a wider evangelical motif, charismaticism displayed a special kindred spirit to the wider cultural mood, adapting to 'contemporary cultural idioms, influenced by counter-culture and by popular music',[50] and bringing vitality to evangelism and worship. Flourishing within the Church of England's new flexible liturgies, charismaticism fostered individual expression and experience – one Anglican report suggested it could sometimes resemble 'Christianised existentialism'.[51] It endured some strong criticism, such as a 1976 BBC programme which broadcast the view of Don Cupitt (dean of Emmanuel College, Cambridge) that renewal was heretical and escapist.[52] While, overall, the idea of 'revival' had less currency than in earlier periods, the concept of *renewal* developed an important role in Anglican evangelicalism.

[47] Adrian Hastings, *A History of English Christianity, 1920–2000* (4th edition, London, 2001), p. 554.

[48] J. E. Church, *Quest for the Highest: An Autobiographical Account of the East African Revival* (Exeter, 1981), ch. 23; Brian Stanley, *The Global Diffusion of Evangelicalism: The Age of Billy Graham and John Stott* (Nottingham, 2013), pp. 81–85.

[49] See Peter Hocken, *Streams of Renewal: The Origins and Early Development of the Charismatic Movement in Great Britain* (revised edition, Carlisle, 1997); Nigel Scotland, *Charismatics and the New Millennium* (Guildford, 2000).

[50] McLeod, *Religious Crisis,* p. 210.

[51] *The Charismatic Movement in the Church of England* (London, 1981), p. 42.

[52] Clifford Longley, 'Churchmen's Attitudes Hardening against Charismatics', *Times,* 12 July 1976, p. 14.

Anglo-Catholicism

How, then, did Anglican evangelicals respond to Anglo-Catholicism, theological liberalism, religious decline and socio-political change? The Catholic movement continued to grow vigorously from the beginning of the century. The interwar years were the 'triumphal period'[53] of Anglo-Catholicism, 'the great age of Mirfield, of Kelham, of Anglo-Catholic congresses and summer schools, even of Anglo-Catholic bishops'.[54] Following the evangelical campaign against Prayer Book revision, 'advanced' Catholics continued to push liturgical boundaries on reservation and extra-liturgical devotions. In 1937 the bishop of Southwark informed colleagues that younger 'Romeward' clergy were playing 'fast and loose' with devotions to the reserved sacrament,[55] and by 1956 a bishops' report was still claiming that episcopal policy on extra-liturgical devotions was 'strained'.[56] Anglo-Catholicism enjoyed a favourable climate in the mid-twentieth century. There was a 'centre-high' consensus in the Anglican hierarchy, which included bishops described by Nigel Yates as the 'self-proclaimed prophets of the Anglican via media'.[57] Randall Davidson, Cosmo Lang, Hensley Henson and Cyril Garbett owned a vision for a 'comprehensive' national church.[58] For much of the century, the general response of evangelicals towards the 'catholicisation' of the Church of England was resistance. National campaigns were waged in 1927–28 and against aspects of canon law revision from the mid-1950s. Liberal evangelicals, too, were opposed to the rise of 'medievalism' within the Church, though the AEGM broke with wider evangelical policy by seeking assurances from the bishops and supporting the proposed changes.[59]

Evangelical preoccupation with ritualism slowly began to subside in the post-war period, but the turning point came in 1964, when the passing of the Vesture of Ministers Measure caused evangelicals to reconsider their

[53] W. S. F. Pickering, *Anglo-Catholicism: A Study in Religious Ambiguity* (London, 2008), p. 46.

[54] Hastings, *English Christianity*, p. 197.

[55] Lambeth Palace Library [LPL], Bishops' Meetings vol. 10 (1932–1938), 18–19 January 1937, f. 264.

[56] 'Extra-Liturgical Devotions: A Memorandum by a Group of Bishops', September 1956, LPL, Fisher Papers vol. 172, fos 19–22.

[57] John Maiden, *National Religion and the Prayer Book Controversy, 1927–1928* (Woodbridge, 2009), pp. 8–9; Nigel Yates, *Anglican Ritualism in Victorian Britain, 1830–1910* (Oxford, 1999), p. 384.

[58] See, for example, G. K. A. Bell, *Randall Davidson: Archbishop of Canterbury* (London, 1938), p. 795; Cosmo Lang, *The Unity of the Church of England* (London, 1925), p. 5; Hensley Henson, *The Church of England* (Cambridge, 1939), pp. 59–60; Cyril Garbett, *The Claims of the Church of England* (London, 1947).

[59] See chapter 6, below

strategy of reliance on parliamentary Protestantism.[60] Younger evangelicals were increasingly drawn to ecumenism, and a growing openness towards Anglo-Catholicism was marked in the Keele Congress statement, which announced the 'desire to shake free' from anti-sacramental polemics.[61] There was serious engagement with Anglo-Catholic doctrines, most notably with the publication of *Growing into Union* (1970), an attempt by leading evangelical and Catholic theologians to agree a position on reunion.[62] The charismatic ecumenism promoted by the interdenominational Fountain Trust further dampened evangelical opposition to 'Rome'. One leading charismatic, David Watson, had previously thought Roman Catholicism to be 'virtually synonymous with the anti-Christ'; however, his experience of renewal prompted committed involvement in peace campaigns for Northern Ireland, and he later informed those gathered at NEAC 1977 that, despite the theological value of the Reformation, the schism of the sixteenth century was 'one of the greatest tragedies that ever happened to the Church'.[63] The decline in antagonism towards Anglo-Catholicism – and subsequently the growth of an 'orthodox' alliance between the Church parties – fostered deeper evangelical participation in national Church life.

Theological liberalism

Lecturing at Harvard in 1925, H. D. A. Major (principal of Ripon Hall, Oxford) listed the various doctrines cast aside by Anglican modernists, including everlasting punishment, the propitiatory sacrifice of Christ, original sin, traditional conceptions of the second coming and the resurrection of the dead, and the infallibility of scripture.[64] These were each central tenets among conservative evangelicals, who largely dismissed the modernism of Major, W. R. Inge and Hastings Rashdall out of hand. Theological trends also opened up intra-evangelical disagreements, particularly concerning biblical authority and inspiration, and the nature of the atonement. The disruption of the Church Missionary Society (CMS) in 1922 was ultimately over the doctrine of scripture. A statement by CMS declaring belief in the 'trustworthiness' of scripture in 'all matters of faith and doctrine' was insufficiently robust for those wishing also to affirm the complete accuracy of

[60] John Maiden and Peter Webster, 'Parliament, the Church of England and the Last Gasp of Political Protestantism, 1963–4', *Parliamentary History* vol. 32 (June 2013), pp. 361–77.

[61] Philip Crowe (ed.), *Keele '67: The National Evangelical Anglican Congress Statement* (London, 1967), p. 37.

[62] Andrew Atherstone, 'A Mad Hatter's Tea Party in the Old Mitre Tavern? Ecumenical Reactions to *Growing into Union*', *Ecclesiology* vol. 6 (January 2010), pp. 39–67.

[63] David Watson, *You are My God* (London, 1983), pp. 97, 101.

[64] H. D. A. Major, *English Modernism: Its Origin, Methods, Aims* (Cambridge, MA, 1927), pp. 102–21.

the Bible's historical statements.[65] The Bible League and Calvinistic publications such as the *Gospel Magazine* and *English Churchman* stood firmly for biblical infallibility, the latter declaring in 1925: 'We Evangelicals stand for a Bible unadulterated with error and unmutilated by modern unbelief.'[66] Others believed this position was unsustainable in a modern context; Guy Rogers, for example, pointedly accused some of his evangelical contemporaries of 'Bibliolatry'.[67] Traditional understandings of the atonement were also criticised by liberal evangelicals. Edward Woods (former vice-principal of Ridley Hall, Cambridge) asserted in 1914 that a substitutionary view did 'not commend itself to the thought of our day … not by any theological twisting and turning can we today conceive it just or right for any judge deliberately to condemn an innocent man in the stead of the guilty party.'[68] Henry de Candole (canon of Westminster Abbey) pronounced of the wrath of God appeased by the punishment of his Son: 'The whole idea is revolting.'[69] The authors of *Liberal Evangelicalism* were likewise 'dissatisfied with some of the older and cruder penal and substitutionary theories of the Atonement'.[70] Conservatives responded firmly in defence of a doctrine widely regarded as sacrosanct; for Thomas Houghton, neo-evangelicals were repudiating 'the old teaching on this great central doctrine of our faith'.[71] He warned: 'To us it is an awful sign of the times, an indication of deepening apostasy. It appears to us that Evangelicals of this kind are more dangerous than pronounced Ritualists or Broad Churchmen.'[72] It was disagreement on these key theological matters which caused the sharpest divisions between evangelicals over the course of the century.

The 1960s brought the emergence of a new radical liberal spirit of *aggiornamento* with the theology of the 'Cambridge group' scholars and publications such as *Soundings* (1962), John Robinson's *Honest to God* (1963) and Joseph Fletcher's *Situation Ethics* (1966).[73] In previous decades the influence of Barthianism and Edwyn Hoskyns' 'biblical theology' provided mood music for the AEGM's decline and the ascendency of conservatism. Neo-evangelicalism, unsurprisingly, took a robust stance in the 'God

[65] 'The Crisis in the CMS', *English Churchman*, 30 November 1922, pp. 582–84.

[66] *English Churchman*, 4 June 1925, p. 272.

[67] T. Guy Rogers, 'Religious Authority', in Rogers (ed.), *Liberal Evangelicalism*, p. 40.

[68] Edward S. Woods, *Thoughts on the Atonement* (London, 1914), pp. 38–39.

[69] H. L. C. de Candole, 'The Teaching of St Paul in Relation to Some Present-Day Religious Questions: The Meaning of the Cross', *Record*, 10 March 1921, p. 167.

[70] T. Guy Rogers, 'Introduction', in Rogers (ed.) *Liberal Evangelicalism*, p. vii.

[71] Thomas Houghton, 'Liberal Evangelicalism: In Relation to the Atonement', *Gospel Magazine* (September 1923), p. 376.

[72] Thomas Houghton, 'Neo-Evangelicals and the Atonement', *Gospel Magazine* (May 1921), p. 194.

[73] McLeod, *Religious Crisis*, p. 83.

debate', roundly rejecting radical attempts to recast orthodox theology.[74] However, for conservatives, engagement with theology had a markedly different feel to the interwar period. While John Stott condemned the liberalism 'emanating from Germany, systemised in Cambridge, Massachusetts, espoused in Cambridge, England, and popularised on the South Bank', he nevertheless coined the term 'radical conservative evangelical', calling for a 'combination of inflexibility and flexibility, of the negotiable and the non-negotiable, together with a God-given discernment to discriminate between them and between their proper spheres'.[75] The most important evidence of theological flexibility was serious engagement with biblical hermeneutics. The work of Anthony C. Thiselton, a rising New Testament scholar and later author of the influential *The Two Horizons: New Testament Hermeneutics and Philosophical Description* (1980), caused evangelicals to rethink traditional approaches to scripture. The Nottingham Congress statement, strongly influenced by Thiselton, called for 'creative listening' to scripture, recognising the ancient context which formed the 'horizon' of the writer and sought to make this 'come alive and arrest the *modern* hearer'.[76] The theological horizons of many evangelicals were broadening.

With such developments came renewed tensions. During the 1970s Reformed 'traditionalist' resistance to neo-evangelical theological openness gathered pace, and the publication in *Churchman* of an article by James Dunn which challenged conservative views of scripture prompted the Church Society council in 1983 to replace the editorial board.[77] Evangelicals were divided upon key issues. In 1983 the Anglican Evangelical Assembly voted in favour of women presbyters (by 48 to 29, with 11 abstentions) but against women bishops (by 27 votes to 41, with 20 abstentions).[78] A survey of young evangelical clergy in 1980 revealed similar disunity. In response to the question 'Do you believe evangelicals should support the following?', 35 said 'yes' to the 'literal inspiration' of the Bible, while 27 said 'no'; and 42 said 'yes' to remarriage of divorcees in church, while 24 said 'no'. It may be a tribute to the persuasive theological influence of John Stott that 76 believed evangelicals should 'support' substitutionary atonement and only one said

[74] See J. I. Packer, *Keep Yourself from Idols* (London, 1963); J. I. Packer, 'Taking Stock of Theology', in John King (ed.), *Evangelicals Today* (London, 1973), pp. 24–25.

[75] John Stott, 'That Word "Radical"', *Church of England Newspaper*, 24 February 1967, p. 7.

[76] *The Nottingham Statement: The Official Statement of the Second National Evangelical Anglican Congress Held in April 1977* (London, 1977). On Thiselton's influence, see Stanley, *Global Diffusion*, pp. 222–23.

[77] Andrew Atherstone, *An Anglican Evangelical Identity Crisis: The Churchman–Anvil Affair of 1981–1984* (London, 2008).

[78] '"Yes", to Women Clergy', *Church of England Newspaper*, 14 January 1983, p. 16.

'no': any such consensus has since disappeared.[79] The embrace of hermeneutics may well have strengthened the position of Anglican evangelicals in relation to their intellectual and cultural context. However, they would now struggle to find consensus on key questions of gender and, perhaps to a lesser extent, sexuality.

Religious 'decline'

A cynic might argue that intra-Anglican debates over ritualism and liberalism were akin to rearranging the deck chairs on the Titanic. Simon Green's study of the mid-twentieth century has shown how British religiosity became 'more diversified, more catholic, more non-Christian, even more pagan' during this period.[80] Green's sense of a declining Protestantism is echoed by contemporaneous evangelical feeling that authentic Christianity was losing currency. At the Conference of Evangelical Churchmen in 1926, H.A. Wilson spoke of a 'vague, widely-diffused religiousness' which tolerated religion and accepted certain Christian virtues. The culture, he observed, seemed to ask, 'Are such things as Sunday observance, Church-going, attendance at the Holy Communion, possibly even private prayer, really necessary?'[81] Fellow speaker A. G. Pite (head of Cambridge House) was even gloomier: 'There is first the body of convinced believers, there is then a vaguer set of learners, children, adolescents, agnostics, the lazy, the undecided, and those with difficulties. And beyond these is the great mass who are today predominantly pagan.'[82] Interwar evangelicals were conscious of both declining orthodoxy and orthopraxy, recognising the kind of amorphous, abstract and non-dogmatic religiosity present in B. S. Rowntree and G. R. Lavers' *English Life and Leisure* (1951) and Geoffrey Gorer's *Exploring English Character* (1955).[83]

Notwithstanding these longer term developments, the 1960s were a key decade for religious change. Two aspects of the evangelical response are significant. First, the failure of the Billy Graham crusades to transform the religious landscape meant that evangelicals largely ceased to speak of

[79] Bill Hopkinson, 'Focus of Identity Among Younger Evangelical Clergy, 1980', Mattersey Hall, Fountain Trust Archive [FTA], box 7. For recent discussion on the atonement, see Steve Jeffery, Mike Ovey and Andrew Sach, *Pierced for our Transgressions*: *Rediscovering the Glory of Penal Substitution* (Leicester, 2007), and N. T. Wright's response 'The Cross and the Caricatures', Eastertide 2007, www.fulcrum-anglican.org.uk (accessed 17 October 2013).

[80] Green, *The Passing of Protestant England,* p. 33.

[81] H. A. Wilson, 'Presidential Address', in *Cheltenham Conference 1926: The Church and the Future* (London, 1926), pp. 7–8.

[82] A. G. Pite, 'How Must the Church of England Adapt Itself to be the Means of Expressing its Message?', in *Cheltenham Conference 1926*, p. 23.

[83] Green, *The Passing of Protestant England*, pp. 81–86.

'revival'.[84] By 1969 one commentator could claim evangelicals were far from 'starry-eyed about Billy Graham and his evangelistic methods'.[85] Second, the language of 'secularisation', an idea which as Sam Brewitt-Taylor has shown was by now widely promulgated by theologians and church leaders,[86] also became part of evangelical discourse. John Stott, for example, asserted in 1967, 'The steady progress of secularization, even paganization, in England … is alarming.'[87] Later, J. I. Packer, referencing sociologist Bryan Wilson, informed evangelicals that the country was 'undergoing the change which sociologists call secularisation'.[88] While revival did indeed tarry, there was nevertheless a certain paradox in that many evangelical congregations displayed significant vitality despite their talk of religious decline. Stott's own All Souls, Langham Place, experienced marked growth during this period. Its electoral roll figures never exceeded 300 before 1950, but between 1955 and 1970 they averaged 760. St Helen's, Bishopsgate, under Dick Lucas expanded from approximately 20 Sunday communicants in 1961 to 100 on Sunday and 400 midweek lunchtime attenders in the early 1970s. There was similar growth at Emmanuel Church, Northwood; St Mary's, Islington; St Ebbe's, Oxford; and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, Cambridge. In contrast, attendances at the Anglo-Catholic flagship churches of All Saints, Margaret Street, and St Alban the Martyr, Holborn, halved between the early 1950s and mid-1970s.[89] This evangelical growth points to London and Oxbridge powerbases; however, these are merely the best known examples, and further research may demonstrate wider geographical strength. Mark Smith's study of Christ Church, Chadderton, reveals a working-class parish which enjoyed growth in the late 1960s and 1970s.[90] Leading evangelicals

[84] Alister Chapman, 'Anglican Evangelicals and Revival, 1945–59', in Kate Cooper and Jeremy Gregory (eds), *Revival and Resurgence in Christian History*, Studies in Church History vol. 44 (Woodbridge, 2008), pp. 315–16.

[85] John King, *The Evangelicals* (London, 1969), p. 17.

[86] Sam Brewitt-Taylor, 'The Invention of a "Secular Society"? Christianity and the Sudden Appearance of Secularization Discourses in the British National Media, 1961–4', *Twentieth Century British History* vol. 24 (September 2013), pp. 327–50; Harvey Cox, *The Secular City: A Study in the Otherworldly and This-worldly Aspects of Christianity* (New York, 1965); Bryan Wilson, *Religion in Secular Society: A Sociological Comment* (London, 1969).

[87] Quoted in Alister Chapman, 'Secularisation and the Ministry of John R. W. Stott at All Souls, Langham Place, 1950–1970', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* vol. 56 (July 2005), p. 511.

[88] J. I. Packer, *For Man's Sake!* (Exeter, 1978), pp. 24, 35.

[89] Chapman, 'Secularisation and the Ministry of John R. W. Stott', pp. 511–12; Alister Chapman, *Godly Ambition: John Stott and the Evangelical Movement* (Oxford, 2012), pp. 61–62.

[90] Mark A. Smith, 'The Roots of Resurgence: Evangelical Parish Ministry in the Mid-Twentieth Century', in Cooper and Gregory, *Revival and Resurgence in Christian History*, pp. 314–28.

may have recited narratives of decline, but many parishes told stories of resilience.

The arrival of charismatic renewal also fostered growth. Examples are many and various. For instance, David Watson's congregation of St Cuthbert's, York, avoided redundancy in 1965 to outgrow the building and move to St Michael le Belfrey in 1973, with over 600 members by 1979; parish communion attendances at St Margaret's, Apsley, Nottingham, increased from 60 to 140 between 1973 and 1981; and the inner-city congregation of St Luke's, Hackney, was known for its vibrancy.[91] A survey in 2000, based on 3120 Anglican churches, associated charismaticism with 'positive signs of local church life' in rural, suburban and urban contexts, with congregations in the latter showing 'more distinctive signs of growth measured against churches in similar environments not influenced by the charismatic movement'.[92] From the 1980s charismatic evangelicals devoted energy to church planting as a means of growth. The *Anglican Church Planting Initiative List* (1993) indicated that of the 192 new congregations established since 1970, at least 65 were charismatic, the majority of which would have been evangelical.[93] Charismatics challenged the sacred cow of Anglican parish boundaries. Sandy Millar (vicar of Holy Trinity, Brompton) reasoned in 1992 that the parish was 'no longer the appropriate geographical area with which to work'.[94] Some resisted Anglican authority on this matter, with David Pytches and Brian Skinner forming the Federation of Independent Anglican Churches (1992) for congregations effectively excluded from the Church of England for crossing parish boundaries.[95] Renewal brought dynamism to evangelical mission.

What factors contributed to Anglican evangelical strength? Dominic Sandbrook identified a resilient cultural conservatism during the 'swinging sixties' and Alister Chapman has persuasively argued that this provided fertile ground for evangelicalism.[96] Furthermore, there is evidence of cultural accommodation in some parishes, particularly after the Second World War. The growth of St Martin's in the Bull Ring, Birmingham, in

[91] 'Revived not Redundant', *Renewal* no. 21 (June – July 1969), pp. 17–20; Robin Thornber, 'God Only Knows', *Guardian*, 26 February 1979, p. 9; *The Charismatic Movement in the Church of England*, p. 13; Roger Day, 'Inner-city Renewed', *Renewal* no. 76 (August – September 1978), pp. 12–15.

[92] Leslie J. Francis, David W. Lankshear and Susan H. Jones, 'The Influence of the Charismatic Movement on Local Church Life: A Comparative Study among Anglican Rural, Urban and Suburban Churches', *Journal of Contemporary Religion* vol. 15 (2000), p. 129.

[93] Scotland, *Charismatics and the New Millennium*, pp. 261–62.

[94] Sandy Millar, 'Perspectives on Church Planting', in Roger Ellis and Roger Mitchell, *Radical Church Planting* (Cambridge, 1992), p. 205.

[95] Scotland, *Charismatics and the New Millennium*, p. 266.

[96] Chapman, *Godly Ambition*, p. 62.

the 1950s, for example, was probably due to shorter sermons and high quality choral music.[97] As the century progressed, flexibility became more marked; for example, under John Stott and Michael Baughen, All Souls, Langham Place, was adaptable in liturgy, music and style.[98] The introduction of guitar-led music exemplified willingness to move with the times.[99] However, up to the 1960s evangelical parochial ministry was still typified by a clergy-led activism based on late Victorian models of the 'busy church'.[100] So ingrained was this clergy-led model that evangelicals did not immediately take up Bishop Christopher Chavasse's recommendations in *Towards the Conversion of England* (1945) about lay leadership.

The 1960s heralded the two most significant and widespread innovations in evangelical Anglican parish ministry: laicisation and charismaticisation. In 1969 John King could assert that Anglican evangelicalism was 'a clergy-dominated male movement',[101] but John Stott argued in *One People*:

> There must be many of us in the Church, both clergy and laity, who need to perform a complete mental somersault. It is not the clergyman who is the really important person and the layman a rather inferior brand of churchman, but the other way round. It is the laity who are important, the whole Church serving both God and man, the vanguard of Christ's army as it advances to the conquest of the world, and the clergy are the servicing organization.[102]

The Islington Conference of 1971 on 'Ministry in the Local Church' underlined the extent to which parish ministry was adapting, with, for instance, extended discussion on small home groups (often known as 'house church' or 'fellowship' groups) and lay eldership. Peter Johnston, conference president, argued, 'we must be prepared to be thoroughly radical in our thinking about what the local church will look like.'[103] The impulse for such changes was partly evangelistic: NEAC 1977 explicitly pushed for wider acceptance of 'every member ministry' as a means of avoiding atrophy.[104] The rise of the laity brought fresh impetus for parish activism. It also enabled women

[97] See chapter 9, below.
[98] Chapman, 'Secularisation and the Ministry of John R. W. Stott', pp. 504–5.
[99] David Goodhew, 'The Rise of the Cambridge Inter-Collegiate Christian Union, 1910–1971', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* vol. 54 (January 2003), pp. 86–87.
[100] See chapter 9, below.
[101] King, *The Evangelicals*, p. 27.
[102] John Stott, *One People: Clergy and Laity in God's Church* (London, 1969), p. 46.
[103] R. P. P. Johnston, 'Introduction', in R. P. P. Johnston (ed.), *Ministry in the Local Church: Problems and Pathways* (Bramcote, 1972), p. 4.
[104] *Nottingham Statement*, p. 35.

to fulfil a greater variety of leadership roles in their congregations. King was typically sceptical that the idea would catch on in evangelical circles: 'Female Evangelicals exist, but it is doubtful if Evangelicalism would survive if its survival depended entirely upon its woman-power. For if lay initiative is a delicate plant in the Church of England, the idea of giving responsibility to women is a more delicate growth still.'[105] Nevertheless, by the 1990s N. T. Wright, a leading Anglican evangelical theologian, could celebrate that lay ministry had stimulated renewal and had brought an end to the perception of the local church as 'emphatically a "one-*man*-band"'.[106]

Renewal fostered further cultural accommodation in parishes: spontaneity, freedom and bodily contact such as hugging and laying-on-of-hands were features of church services, as was the expressive use of the arts.[107] Non-evangelicals had pioneered experimentation with popular music in the 1950s and 1960s, for example with Geoffrey Beaumont's *Folk Mass* (1956). However, as Ian Jones and Peter Webster have shown, as the wider church began to reject flirtation with modern sounds in the 1970s, charismatics baptised the soft rock worship style.[108] Charismaticism also stressed evangelism, and sometimes adopted the language of 'revival' other evangelicals avoided.[109] David Watson focused his ministry on the integration of renewal and evangelism. The filling of the Spirit, he argued, should make Christians willing to be fools for Christ's sake: 'Let's be outspoken and unashamed of the Gospel! The power of the early Church lay in its *boldness* in preaching Christ, its *faith* in expecting signs and wonders; and its *obedience* to the Spirit's guidance, however "foolish" it seemed to others or in the cold light of common sense.' Based on his experience of parish revival in York, he called on evangelicals to re-examine 'worn-out traditions, methods and meetings which (let's face it) hinder God's work in our parishes'.[110] Watson also pioneered pan-denominational citywide evangelistic 'festivals', involving contemporary music, street theatre, exhibitions and worship events.[111] Such charismatic activism was the precursor to what Rob Warner describes as the evangelical hyper-modern emphasis on the 'pragmatic and experimental,

[105] King, *The Evangelicals*, p. 25.

[106] Tom Wright, *New Tasks for a Renewed Church* (London, 1992), p. 118.

[107] Colin Buchanan, *Encountering Charismatic Worship* (Bramcote, 1977).

[108] Ian Jones and Peter Webster, 'New Music and the "Evangelical Style" in the Church of England, c.1958–1991', in Mark A. Smith (ed.), *British Evangelical Identities Past and Present* (Milton Keynes, 2008), pp. 167–79.

[109] Chapman, 'Anglican Evangelicals and Revival', pp. 315–16.

[110] David Watson, 'The Wind of the Spirit', *Church of England Newspaper*, 6 January 1967, p. 4.

[111] See, for example, 'Manchester Festival', *English Churchman*, 24 February and 3 March 1978, p. 3.

entrepreneurial and aspirational'. The Alpha Course arguably encapsulated the essence of this late-modern, culturally sensitive entrepreneurialism.[112]

The evangelical press, of course, provides converse cases of evangelical decline. In the late 1970s, for example, the Church Commissioners' planned closure of St John the Baptist, Bristol, meant, in the view of the *English Churchman*, the prospect of no 'distinctive conservative evangelical' church in the city centre.[113] More recently, it has been suggested that at the start of the twenty-first century 54 per cent of churches using Alpha (not all Anglican, or evangelical) were in decline.[114] However, insights from the history of post-war Anglican evangelicalism are a corrective to linear models of English secularisation and inflexible notions of the incompatibility of religion and modernity. The significance of Anglican evangelical 're-sacralisation' remains largely unexplored, and evangelical parish vitality complicates widely accepted interpretations of recent English religious history.[115]

Social and political change

During the early and mid-twentieth century, Anglican evangelicals often exhibited something of an ambiguous attitude towards the world. A *Record* editorial in 1904 admitted that 'Social reform is God's work, and our Church must learn to do more of it', but also warned readers that 'surroundings will not save a soul'.[116] The Islington Conference took the theme 'The Church and Social Problems' in 1908, but criticism ensured the topic was not re-aired until 1968.[117] Many evangelicals rejected any notion of a 'social gospel' and some avoided engagement with such questions; nevertheless, there is a danger of caricaturing the interwar movement. Those who attended the Conference of Evangelical Churchmen consistently returned to contemporary socio-political issues: labour reform, economic justice and unemployment, and in the 1930s the rise of Communism and Fascism. The *Findings* of the 1926 conference acknowledged that individual salvation was the primary aim of mission, but called evangelicals to greater civic engagement.[118] Liberal evan-

[112] Rob Warner, *Reinventing English Evangelicalism, 1966–2001: A Theological and Sociological Study* (Milton Keynes, 2007), p. 136.

[113] 'Bristol Closures', *English Churchman*, 2 and 9 June 1978, p. 5. St John the Baptist Church was '1662 Prayer Book, and "Black gown"'.

[114] Warner, *Reinventing English Evangelicalism*, p. 136

[115] For example, Grace Davie's otherwise excellent assessment of the period mentions the 'striking gains' of the broader evangelical constituency in Britain, but without any specific analysis of the phenomenon: see *Religion in Britain since 1945: Believing without Belonging* (Oxford, 1994), p. 70. For a discussion of re-sacralisation at the end of the century, see David Goodhew (ed.), *Church Growth in Britain: 1980 to the Present* (Farnham, 2012).

[116] 'The New Year's Call to the Church', *Record*, 1 January 1904, p. 9.

[117] See chapter 2, below.

[118] See chapter 5, below.

gelical voices were generally the most forthright in calls for a Christian social programme. W. J. Lyon (vicar of St Andrew's, Bournemouth), for instance, called for 'constructive proposals for co-operative industrial, political, intellectual and religious welfare, and so by a new way we might arrive at a truly Catholic Church providing a home and a way of life for all men'.[119] However, as David Bebbington has argued, calls for reform rarely translated into concrete strategies, or indeed action, towards reconstruction.[120]

The reforming energies of 1960s conservative neo-evangelicalism resulted in greater socio-political involvement. The essay on 'Christian Worldliness' by Norman Anderson in preparation for the Keele Congress presented a stark message to evangelicals:

> Instead of being content, as it were, to teach Church members the 'faith once for all delivered to the saints' in quiet rooms shaded by Venetian blinds, we need to rethink that message while looking out of an open window on our world in all its chaos, and we need to ask ourselves with new seriousness, not only how to evangelize the individual, but also how to do the whole will of our Lord and Master in the material order in which we have been so unequivocally set.[121]

This 'seriousness' was reflected in the congress statement, which confessed 'to our shame that we have not thought sufficiently deeply or radically about the problems of our society'.[122] Grassroots action followed these official pronouncements as evangelicals, by now largely unbound from a premillennial eschatology, progressed a new social agenda: David Sheppard's Mayflower Family Centre in Canning Town and his *Built as a City* (1974) pioneered gospel strategies in urban areas; the Shaftesbury Project (1969) fostered wide-ranging social action; and the Evangelical Race Relations Group (1974) responded to inner-city diversity. Charismatic renewal, rather than withdrawing into personal piety, often emphasised the social implications of Christianity. In 1967 Watson asserted that a 'new concern for social problems: industrial areas, drug addicts, alcoholics, homosexuals, depres-

[119] W. J. Lyon, *Christian Morality*, AEGM pamphlet series, no. 37 (London, 1923). See also R. R. Williams, *Has Christianity a Programme for Society?*, The Church and Modern Problems pamphlet series (London, 1936).

[120] David Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History from the 1730s to the 1980s* (London, 1989), pp. 213–14.

[121] J. N. D. Anderson, 'Christian Worldliness: The Need and Limits of Christian Involvement', in J. I. Packer (ed.), *Guidelines: Anglican Evangelicals Face the Future* (London, 1967), p. 214.

[122] Crowe, *Keele '67*, p. 26.