

THE GROWING CRISIS  
OF OF THE EVANGELICAL WORLDVIEW  
AND ITS RESOLUTIONS

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## SYNOPSIS

This dissertation is a study of the worldview of British Evangelicals, and especially recent changes in their worldview. The study of worldviews has been largely neglected in British scholarship, in part, because of an aversion to 'ideologies' in general. Nor has British Evangelicalism called attention to itself. It has seemed neither sufficiently dangerous nor weird to provoke investigation. The fact that Evangelicalism is present in all the major Protestant denominations has not made it amenable to investigation by sociologists of religion in the manner in which denominations and sects are. Evangelicals themselves have engaged in little critical self reflection, regarding the development of an articulated worldview as of little significance and the possible source of internal dissention.

Conservative Evangelicalism is very much the religion of 'the Book'. In the course of observations over the past year it became clear that the viewpoints expressed in sermons, prayers, lectures, talks and discussions co-incided with the contents of a corpus of 'sound books'. Indeed, a very high degree of dependency on the writings of a recognised group of 'sound authors' was obvious and acknowledged. Consequently fieldwork yielded for the most part diffuse versions of what was expressed more lucidly in these books, and so the latter have been made the main source of visible documentation, albeit with the field work providing the context for the interpretation of the literature.

Evangelicalism, it is argued, is the historical result of two eras of synthesis, the mediaeval synthesis with Graeco-Roman culture and the modern synthesis with post-Renaissance Humanism. This is the background to its dualistic worldview, of its division of life into

the sacred ('realm of grace') and the secular ('realm of nature'). In one sense it could be said that Evangelicalism lacks a worldview in that it conceives of itself more as adding on (with as few adjustments as possible) a 'religious dimension' (with associated 'religious' practices - prayer, Bible reading, church going and evangelism) rather than with providing the foundations for an alternative Christian culture. 'Religion' is thought to be a compartment of human life rather than its basis coming to expression in every phase of human life - cultic, domestic, social, political, academic, artistic, and economic.

The following chapters seek to show how this dualism comes to expression in the various spheres of human life, and why, due to external pressures (e.g. the the dissolution of middle class values) and internal developments this older pietist evangelicism which has prevailed for three or four generations is coming into a deepening crisis. With this crisis of this 'compromised' Christianity there seems to be the possibility of a renewal making for a much more radical form of faith. The hope for the reformation of Evangelicalism appears to be in the Reformational Movement (stemming from Kuyperian Dutch Calvinism) and the Charismatic Movement conjointly, linking together a vision of the Kingdom of God with great expectations of the power of the Holy Spirit. The opposition to such a reformation is, however, formidable and entrenched.



## Introduction

### The Growing Crisis of the Evangelical Worldview and its Resolutions

A number of items in the title of this thesis call for a preliminary clarification. The term 'Evangelical' is used to refer to those who would identify themselves as 'Evangelical Christians'. In this particular case one obtains a fairly sharp demarcation by this procedure, for those who do not identify with the tradition which we wish to study have no desire at all to call themselves 'Evangelicals'. That the Evangelical outlook is a distinctive one finds confirmation in David Martin's A Sociology of English Religion (1967) where he maintains that the dominant attitudes are the Catholic, the evangelical, the aristocratic, the working class and the progressive.

The term 'worldview' is a familiar one, but the study of the structure of worldviews has largely been neglected by British scholarship<sup>1</sup>. In continental Europe, due to the work of Dilthey, Husserl, Jaspers and others, the situation has been very different. Some aspects of this tradition have been recently introduced into the English-speaking world by the phenomenological sociology of knowledge (and religion) of Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann<sup>2</sup>. That this should have been the case is, perhaps, not surprising for modern European history has largely been formed by conflicts of ideology and crises of confidence in "taken-for-granted" reality. Nor is it surprising that over the last few years, with the rise of the Counter-Culture, that the literary, philosophical, political and sociological productions of continental Europe should have become available in Britain - often via translation and 'application' to Anglo-American culture in North America.

This dissertation is concerned centrally with contemporary Evangelicism in Britain and is based on ten years of involvement, although my academic investigation of this movement has only been over the course of this past year <sup>3</sup>. In a sense my research has an 'anthropological' ('living with the natives') rather than a sociological ('statistical correlation of minutiae') cast to it for two main reasons. The first is that a conventional sociological survey is ineffective, especially in the time I had available, in helping one to grasp the structure of a worldview. In the second place there simply does not exist sufficient conventional sociological theory and data to enable one to test by means of careful surveys and fieldwork extant conjectures.

Not only then did I find myself confronted by little by way of the study of worldviews but also discovered that British Evangelicism had suffered much academic neglect. Ecclesiastical history tends to neglect contemporary ecclesiastical history <sup>4</sup>. Even when that is not true, issues of ecumenism and radical theology tend to be central to such a degree that one would hardly suspect the existence of Evangelicals. When we turn to sociology a similar picture emerges. 'Religion', it was assumed during the formative years of modern sociology, was either marginal or epiphenomenal to society and probably on the way to extinction. Consequently sociology of religion has had somewhat of a cinderella status in the British universities - not infrequently offering but one optional course in the subject by a lecturer whose real concerns were in other areas. (A discipline with a supposedly disappearing subject-matter has little professional attractiveness to it!) Much of the work which has been done has either been related to denominations for which much statistical documentation is available, or sects which being small and unitary lend themselves to research or related to theories about secularisation. Each of these procedures has resulted in the bypassing of Evangelicalism.

Indeed it has simply not been 'interesting' to most scholars in that it did not catch their attention as being particularly controversial, influential or dangerous. In that Evangelicals claim continuity with the Early Church which 'turned the world upside down' and the great Evangelical reformers of the nineteenth century this absence of attention must come as an indictment. Not only have they been ignored by outsiders, but those within the Evangelical camp -- which includes about 5% of British university students -- have neglected to study their own movement and have failed to articulate their own position as a developed worldview or in a systematic theoretical manner as a philosophy.

Indeed one could even raise the question whether there is an Evangelical worldview, in the sense of a totality view of reality. Patrick Corbett in his study of ideologies (in the sense of totality views) specifically excludes Evangelicism from consideration. Speaking of Marxism, Catholicism and Democratism he maintains that "...they all have strong implications for the reorganisation of society, and do not confine themselves -- as Stoicism, Zen Buddhism, and evangelical Christianity tend to do -- to the moral reform of individuals taken by themselves" <sup>5</sup>. As we shall see, in due course, Evangelical activities and attitudes often come close to substantiating this judgement. One prominent Evangelical writer in 1964 maintained that the outlook of the Evangelical is as follows:

"While emphasising that there is a distinctive biblical worldview and while inculcating the more general implications of the Gospel with regard to society, his primary concern is with the individual's experience of the saving work of Christ in his own life" <sup>6</sup>

Thus Evangelicals for almost a century have focussed on the private experience of the individual while Catholicism was renewing her powers, and Democratism and Marxism became the dominating forces on the face of our planet. All three of them are totalitarian in principle

and view Evangelicism as a revolt against the church, as socially divisive, and as bourgeois ideology respectively <sup>7</sup> . In our present time a crisis of identity not surprisingly is occurring within Evangelicalism, with various elements of the passage quoted above vying with each other. Two major positions may be discerned, with an unstable intermediary. The first is a Christo-monistic individualistic mysticism which ceases to be culturally formative and ends in self-cultivation, a cult of the self. The intermediary position seeks to avoid this reproach by replacing the disjunction between 'Christ or Culture' with a conjunction - Christ and Culture, the dualism remaining. The second position seeks to develop a worked out, distinctive biblical world view able to show the specific implications of the gospel for society and seeking to bring all of human life into submission to Christ as King of Kings. Such a faith I believe would be able to vindicate itself against Rome's accusation; would be able to argue that liberty, equality and fraternity are only possible 'in Christ', and would provide a penetrating critique of the Humanist basis which is common to Marxism and Democratism and in part of Catholicism too. Finally it would seek to show that only in a Christianly-conceived pluralistic society could maximal freedom and order be secured and the twin possibilities of anarchy and totalitarianism offset <sup>8</sup> .

Amongst early 19th century evangelicals the 'Christ and culture' and 'Christ or culture' positions appear to have been present, with the former leading to the latter as time went on <sup>9</sup> . The balance is now swinging the other way and the 'conjunction' is everywhere maintained in recent Evangelical thought. Both of these positions, I think it will become clear have an important insight. The first recognises that commitment to Christ and to pagan or humanistic cultural activities are incompatible, while the second recognises the need for

(indeed the inescapability of ) Christian involvement in culture. The idea of a Christian culture however is foreign to both, because for the former no culture can be Christian, and in the latter either the idea of Christian culture makes no sense or existent culture good (or Christian) enough. The one repudiates secular culture: the other embraces it; neither seeks to replace it. Both outlooks are revealed by their fruits - no distinctively Christian art, philosophy, politics, education, literature and science. Not only do these two outlooks polarise the Church, but those committed to either position are liable to swing over to the 'opposite' position, as the two are dialectically related.

At this point, it is important to emphasise that the nature of the contemporary Evangelical worldview cannot be explained by reference to present factors alone. The main structural features of Evangelicism are the result of two eras of synthesis. The first was the Medieval synthesis of the Christian vision with pagan Graeco-Roman visions of life. We shall refer to this as the nature-grace ground-motive<sup>10</sup>. It took a wide variety of forms depending on the manner in which the two were held to be related. For example in Thomas Aquinas the two are regarded as organically related, with nature (and natural theology) as a preamble to grace (and supernatural revelation). In William of Ockham natural theology is repudiated and nature and grace are held to be discontinuous. Again there are differences in terms of what features of the Graeco-Roman culture are synthesized with Christianity. Augustine turned to Neo-Platonism while Aquinas leaned heavily on Aristotle.

The second era of synthesis was subsequent to the Reformation. This time one finds a synthesis with modern post-Renaissance Humanism. The latter embodies a cult of science (abstract systematic knowledge) and a cult of human free personality<sup>11</sup>. The two are dialectically

related - simultaneously pre-supposing and excluding each other. This fundamental problem of Humanism first came to clear expression in the philosophy of Kant<sup>12</sup> -- all subsequent philosophies either giving primacy to the ideal of science (e.g. positivism, materialism, behaviourism, logical positivism) or the ideal of personality (e.g. romanticism and existentialism). The complexity of Evangelicism is due in large measure to the nature-grace groundmotive being more or less re-interpreted in terms of the personality-science groundmotive. With the exception of certain 'Reformed' evangelicals who give primacy to the science-ideal, most identify most closely with the ideal of free personality. Christianity is thought to involve belief in "free will" and "the infinite value of the human soul", over against various forms of "scientific materialism"<sup>13</sup>. A further notable feature which distinguishes Evangelicalism from mediaeval catholicism is that the former is profoundly influenced by individualism stemming especially from Locke's social contract theory of society. All "complex" groups are thought to be nothing more than their "simple" components, the "basic units" being thought of as the individual (or, at most, the "family" or "local church")<sup>14</sup>.

My procedure will be to give a documented account of the way in which Evangelicals see various areas of life and how those various areas are structured into a worldview. I shall seek to show how this structure is fundamental to the ways in which issues are seen, the way in which questions and answers are formulated, the way in which matters are distinguished or identified.

#### Footnotes

1. There are many reasons for this. (1) The extreme specialism of our education after 'O' levels, and the teaching of disciplines in isolation from one another after the age of 11. (2) The presence in departments of philosophy of a similar specialism combined with an apriori suspicion if not rejection of all general questions, especially those dealing with the meaning of life. (3) At a more general level - and perhaps underlying the first two points - is

an aversion to thinking about fundamental issues in any area of life. David Martin uses the term "pragmatic utilitarianism" (p. 113) to sum up this pervasive outlook. He further comments "Apart from giving way to unmanly introversion an 'interest' in religion would conflict with a decent indifference to intellectual debates and metaphysical theories. One has one's simple metaphysics but it is not proper to discuss it or subject it to intellectual elaboration. Dogma and Theology in religion (as in politics) are symptoms of diseased intellectual enthusiasms which portend the ruin of the state. In a curious way this is one more indication of the close relation between English political and religious styles: their Laodicean indifference to doctrine and advanced incapacity to understand the logic of discussion" (p. 68 A Sociology of English Religion). Patrick Corbett refers to England as a country "where the obliteration of intellectual differences is a developed art, wars of ideas are so unfamiliar as almost to be incredible." p. 7 Ideologies (1965).

2. e.g. The Social Construction of Reality (1966); The Rise of Solemn Assemblies (1961); A Rumour of Angels (1969); The Social Reality of Religion (1969) (first published as The Sacred Canopy (1967)). My fundamental objections to the phenomenological method itself is well expressed in Johan Vander Hoeven's The Rise and Development of the Phenomenological Movement (1965). And for a lucid critique of its failure to provide the analysis 'free from presuppositions' see Edo Pivcevic's Husserl and Phenomenology (1970)

3. Locally with the Bristol Inter-Faculty Christian Union, the Polytechnic Christian Union, the Bristol Christian Arts Group, St Matthias' College of Education Christian Union, Trinity Theological College, the Graduate's Fellowship, St Philip and St Jacob (Tower Hill), Christ Church (Clifton), Redland Parish Church. Outside of Bristol my contact has been with Christian Studies Unit conferences, the Ilkley Group, L'Abri at Ealing and Greatham, and 'house churches' at Cobham (Surrey) and in Birmingham.

4. Most ecclesiastical history works with the idea that the ecclesia is centrally the worship organisation with its officers, structure, liturgy and doctrine, rather than starting with the conception that the 'ecclesia' or church is the People of God in all their manifold activities, including worship but not excluding family and marriage, work, politics, art, science, education etc. Consequently most ecclesiastical history does not provide too much help on the matter of world and life view.

5. p. 55 Ideologies (1965)

6. p. 177 A Brief History of the International Fellowship of Evangelical Students (ed. Douglas Johnson 1964)

7. See Leon Cristiani The Revolt Against the Church (1962); the sections entitled 'The Struggle Against Bourgeois and Reformist Ideology' and 'Elimination of the Survivals of Capitalism in the Minds and Behaviour of People' in the New Programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union 1961 pp. 411-415 and p. 460-469 in Essential Works of Marxism (ed. Arthur P. Mendel 1961). John

Dewey writes: "It is impossible to ignore the fact that historic Christianity has been committed to a separation of sheep and goats; the saved and the lost; the elect and the mass. . . I cannot understand how any realisation of the democratic ideal as a vital moral and spiritual ideal in human affairs is possible without surrender of the basic division to which supernatural Christianity is committed" pp. 83-4 A Common Faith (1934). The totalitarian character of democracy as a total way of life (rather than as a political conception only) is very clearly demonstrated in Hendrik Hart's The Democratic Way of Death 1967.

8. These are some of the characteristics of the 'reformational' position which is a development of the thought of the great Dutch theologian and statesman Abraham Kuyper (1837-1920). See pp. 42-63 of E.L. Hedden Taylor's The Christian Philosophy of Law, Politics and the State (1969) and F. Vanden Berg's Abraham Kuyper (1960).

9. The almost innumerable social reforms pioneered by Evangelicals in the 19th century are documented in Ernest Marshall Howse Saints in Politics: the 'Clapham Sect' and the Growth of Freedom (1953); J. Edwin Orr The Light of the Nations (1965) ch. X (1800-1860) and XXVI (1860-1899); and Raymond G. Cowherd The Politics of English Dissent (1956 New York University Press). An early example of the 'Christ or culture' position comes to expression in a passage from Thomas Chalmers' speech at the laying of the foundation stone of New College, Edinburgh during the middle of the "hungry forties":

"We leave to others the passions and politics of this world, and nothing shall ever be taught, I trust, in any of our Halls, which shall have the remotest tendency to disturb the existing order of things, or to confound the ranks and distinctions which now exist in society. But there is one quality between man and man which will be strenuously taught - the essential equality of human souls, and that in the high count and reckoning of eternity, the soul of the poorest of Nature's children, the raggedest boy who runs along the pavement, is of like estimation in the eyes of Heaven with that of the greatest and noblest in the land".

(Quoted by George Macleod p. 71 in Only One Way Left (1961) ).

10. John Van Dyk A Christian Approach to the Study of Mediaeval History (n.d.) E.L. Hedden Taylor The Christian Philosophy of Law, Politics and the State pp. 142-182; H. Dooyeweerd A New Critique of Theoretical Thought Vol. 1. pp. 169-188.

11. E.L. Hedden Taylor pp. 183-251; H. Dooyeweerd Vol. 1. pp 216-498.

12. Kant wished to maintain both the science ideal (Newtonian physics) and the personality ideal (free moral personality). He did this by dividing reality between the phenomenal and noumenal realms legislated over by theoretical and practical reason respectively. To the latter he gave primacy. Cf. New Critique Vol. 1 pp. 325-402.

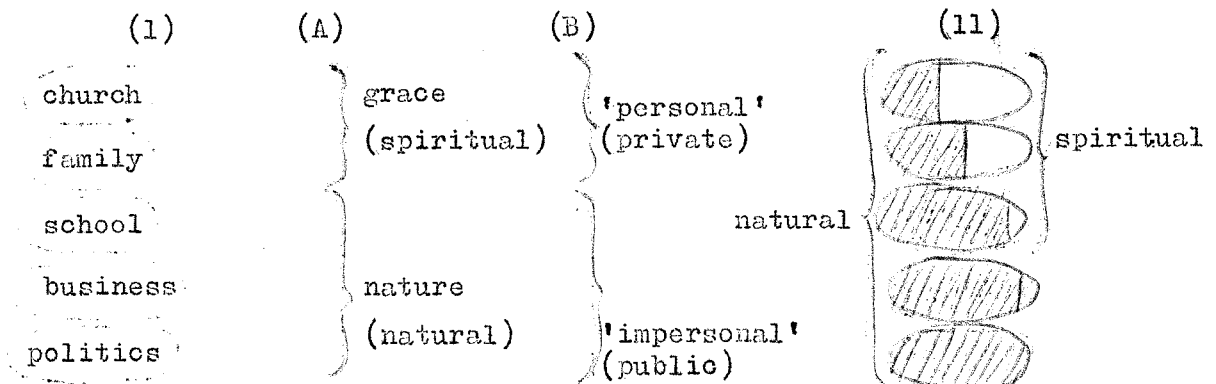
13. This comes to expression in book titles e.g. Christianity in a Mechanistic Universe. For a critique of this sort of synthesis see p. 21 of Herman Ridderbos' The Coming of the Kingdom (1969)



14. As a result there is a tendency to think only in terms of face-to-face human relationships, hence Christian 'ethics' but not economics, politics or sociology. A further feature which may be related is the tendency to work in term of immediacies rather than long range strategies. This seems to derive from an emphasis on "practicality" (i.e. what is immediately at hand) and is often re-inforced by eschatological expectations.

Evangelicals and the Church Institution

This chapter and subsequent ones are concerned with Evangelical attitudes and activities in the main sectors of human life. We have mentioned already the nature-grace dualism present in Evangelicalism; that is, the division of life into secular and sacred areas. As a preliminary hypothesis we could perhaps introduce the following diagram (1) of the way the various societal structures are regarded within the nature-grace (A) framework (together with the secondary elaboration due to the modern humanist science-personality groundmotive (B)).



At a further degree of specification (in 11) we should note that it will be maintained by Evangelicals that the church institution, family and marriage, and education have both a spiritual and a natural component. With respect to the church the distinction is between 'invisible' and 'visible', family and marriage between spiritual and physiological; in education between R.E. and the other subjects. Business and politics are, it seems, emphatically 'secular'. Consequently we could perhaps modify our model as (11), with the top three decreasing in 'spirituality' as we move downwards.

Before we push our analysis of the 'church' any further three vitally important factors must be introduced. The first is that Evangelicals belong to many different types of churches -- Anglican, Methodist, Baptist, Congregationalist, Brethren, Pentecostal and 'house churches' -- which involve a variety of liturgical, sacramental, ecclesiological and doctrinal differences. The second point is that discussion of these differences has been frequently suppressed. One standard work by T.C. Hammond, in its fifth edition in 1961 (reprinted 1971) puts it thus to a readership of Inter-Varsity Fellowship members:

"Students are strongly advised not to debate the divergency in outlook and practice amongst the Protestant communities, but to concentrate on obtaining a clear grasp of the great principles of the Church's foundation and development" 1

The same idea appears again in Evangelical Belief, which is an exploration of the doctrinal basis of the I.V.F. It maintains:

"All officers and members are...urged to discourage any attempts within the unions to proselytize, and to refrain from criticism or disparagement of the denominational views of other members. United opposition to fundamental error will be all the stronger if they are free to differ about secondary matters" 2

The third point is one which is made very clearly by Peter Berger when he writes:

"By defining what the Church ought to be and already is as the body of Christ, theology can provide the criteria by which the empirical reality can be evaluated...In this matter it is very important that theological articulation be accompanied by empirical perception. If the latter is absent (a common state of affairs) it is very possible that the theological doctrine is misunderstood as a factual description -- and thus, from being a criterion of judgement, the doctrine becomes an instrument of rationalization. It is not enough to have a doctrine of the church. One must have a sociology of the empirically existent churches. A Christian view of our situation can then emerge from the tension between theological doctrine and sociological analysis. The diagnosis without doctrine may lead to resignation, which is bad, but the doctrine without the diagnosis almost certainly leads to illusion, which is much worse" 3

Our point of departure here will be to consider the Evangelical view of the nature of the Church. What one immediately encounters

is the distinction between "the Church Visible (or that which is capable of ecclesiastical organisation) and the Church Invisible (all the believers, past, present and future - all who are in Christ)"<sup>4</sup>. Three things are important about this distinction. The first, a minor point, is that the 'invisible' is valued above the 'visible' - this is the form in which the relation between Protestantism and Catholicism was seen in the sixteenth and seventeenth century, and which lies behind the virtual absence of Protestant visual art: music and rhetoric (the sermon) which are 'invisible' have been much more highly regarded. The second point is that the Church Visible is equated with ecclesiastical organisation <sup>5</sup>. In other words the worship-organisation is the only manner in which the People of God is expected to be 'visible'. Although some other Christian organisations are viewed as permissible they are not regarded as Biblically-mandated - all Evangelicals agree that one should join a 'local church' but not necessarily any other organisation. Only the 'church' is official, having been instituted by Christ <sup>6</sup>. And the 'church' is regarded as one type of institutional structure alongside others such as the family and the state. This means that the idea of the Church as the People of God, as the New Israel, as a Royal Nation, as the New Humanity has been reduced to the dimension of the worship organisation. In the Old Testament the covenant embraced the total life of Israel, not just the cultic activities of the Temple but equally family life, agriculture business and property, education, law and politics. The New Israel, the New Testament Church, lived out of this awareness of the all-embracing Covenant. What happened subsequently, in the second century, was a reduction of the claims of the Church to 'freedom of worship' (such as the other 'religions' i.e. cults of the Roman Empire were allowed). After the fourth century the worship institution (and its officers) progressively came

to dominate more and more sectors of life leading to the ecclesiastical imperialism of the middle ages. The Reformation brought the reduction of ecclesiastical power, bringing it back to its proper concern as the worship-institution. However the recognition that the other sectors of human life were also within the Covenant was not fully recovered. The result was that those other sectors of life rapidly became subject to secularisation, a process which had started in the thirteenth century and was vastly accelerated by the Renaissance and Enlightenment <sup>7</sup>. And inevitably the church-institution followed in due course. Evangelicals have periodically vigorously resisted the latter, but have never recovered a recognition of the totality claims of the Covenant. Not only so, but (as we shall see) such a recognition has been resisted by Evangelicals on the grounds of the centrality of the Church - misconstrued as the worship organisation rather than the new humanity. One cannot overlook the fact that a pagan or secularised society frequently does not mind granting "freedom of worship". The Body of Christ coming to organised expression in education, in politics and in business is another matter <sup>8</sup>. 'Personal religion' is seldom persecuted, which adds to its attractiveness.

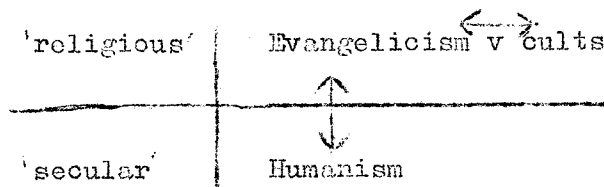
The third point is that the Invisible Church is regarded as the sum total of individual believers, rather than as members of the Body of Christ. Within Protestantism generally and amongst Evangelicals in particular one notices an individualistic reaction against collectivistic conceptions of either church or society. Terms such as we have used -- 'Body', 'Humanity', 'Race', 'Nation' do not form a part of Evangelical working vocabulary. Instead we find innumerable references to the 'individual' or 'the Christian'.

We can bring these three points together by saying that while the Invisible Church is regarded as superior to the visible one, yet

the latter is regarded as being pre-ominent amongst institutions<sup>9</sup>. The (visible) church has importance for 'eternity' while all other institutions have importance only for 'time'. Very often the former becomes idealised (the factual situation is assumed to meet the norm) while the latter is regarded as 'the world', and is assumed to be intrinsically incapable of reaching any kind of Christian acceptability. Not only does this nature-grace dualism polarize institutions but within the worship institution itself one finds the same forces at work. The very context of worship provides in itself a powerful constraint in that direction. The design of church buildings maintains the basic pattern of the Middle Ages with the Reformation merely replacing the altar with the pulpit. The deep distinction between the laity and the minister remains. The laity are passive; the minister is active. Only the minister is regarded as needing a training; only he is provided with a house and salary. He is full time. Of necessity the laity must remain immature otherwise his role would be threatened. Often he has become a minister because he could not understand how else he could serve God full time. Much of his preaching will be on the importance of preaching as par excellence the supreme Christian activity -- all others paling in comparison. As the laity are excluded from this activity the unspoken implication is that they lead relatively meaningless lives. The only way to have some Christian meaning in one's life is in 'the Lord's work', meaning some activity of benefit to the church institution. The organic metaphors concerning the Body of Christ with its many parts, if they are referred to at all, are interpreted within such a context to mean that some people are called to hand out hymn books or cut the church lawn. ('There's a calling from God for everyone'). What is the driving vision? It is that more people will be 'saved'. That will mean more soul-winners

and so more will be saved. The goal is that every individual should be converted. Consequently the sermon on Sunday mornings encourage the believers to evangelise while on Sunday evenings the 'gospel is preached' for the benefit of outsiders. It often tends to be assumed that conversion will automatically solve all possible industrial and social problems.

Behind all this is the view that to become a Christian is to add on another dimension to one's life <sup>10</sup>. To body and soul one adds spirit. The result is that the principal enemies are twofold. The first are the other 'cults' which compete for allegiance, e.g. Jehovah's Witnesses, Mormonism, Christian Science, Spiritualism, Theosophy and Seventh Day Adventist <sup>11</sup>



The second enemy, one which receives far less attention are the positions which deny the need for or the possibility of an "added dimension". That most of life is completely secularized by Humanism is effectively accepted - and even defended. Prof D.H. Mackay, a noted Evangelical leader, maintains that Humanism is true in what it affirms but false in what it denies i.e. the added Christian dimension <sup>12</sup>. In other words, it is true so far as it goes. Thus the liberal Humanism which all but dominates our culture is regarded as almost an ally while the sects which have but marginal significance and who see their own tasks (for the most part) as but adding another dimension to life are regarded as the major antagonists. It seems likely that if the Christian faith were seen not as a supplement to the British middle class way of life but as a total vision and way of life in its own right, then it would devote its first critical atten-

tion to alternative totality views of life, especially Individualistic (Western) Humanism and Collectivistic Marxian Humanism 12a .

The latter is rejected chiefly because of antagonism to 'freedom of worship' and evangelistic activities, whereas the former is regarded highly because it permits these things, because it permits a 'religious dimension' to be added. Consequently many of the public prayers are that God should guide and give wisdom to the British government and for the welfare of Christians in countries with Communist regimes, and never vice-versa.

A further characteristic amongst Evangelicals has been the tendency since the middle of the nineteenth century to withdraw from their respective denominations into various interdenominational or rather non-denominational societies and movements. This co-incided with and may have been prompted by the spread of radical Biblical criticism and modernism. Gervase Duffield has described the situation of Anglican Evangelicals in the inter-war period in the following terms:

"Evangelicals were increasingly found either concentrating on local church life and ignoring the Church of England as a whole, or busy preserving 'Evangelical Truth' in pure Evangelical societies like the Bible Churchmen's Missionary Society within the Church of England or Inter-Varsity Fellowship without it. They counted for less and less in the central councils of the Church...The main life of inter-war Evangelicalism was undenominational ... The theological effect of this undenominationalism was a concentration on things that united: evangelism, personal holiness, Bible reading, prayer, but a virtual neglect of anything that might cause differences between Evangelicals in diverse denominations: baptism, communion, Church and State questions, cultural questions and above all the doctrine of the Church" 13

Since the Second World War however there has been considerable growth in the numbers and influence of Evangelicals. Previously it had seemed a matter of the bare survival of a tiny number of the elect. Those who were members of the historic Protestant denominations saw themselves 'in but not of them'. Rather Evangelicals



considered themselves "All one in Christ Jesus" - they already had spiritual unity so that more organisational issues were unimportant and best left as they were <sup>14</sup>. ("Best left as they were" because behind all changes they suspected the encroachments of liberalism and ritualism).

With the recent growth of influence <sup>15</sup> has come a new sense of self-confidence and a recognition of the need to deal with ecclesiastical organizational issues. The 'spiritual or organizational' disjunction has now in this field to become a conjunction. As to the nature of the worship organisation this has led in a number of different directions. The 67 Keele Anglican Congress decided upon a clear identification with the Church of England to the dismay of many Nonconformist Evangelicals. Some Evangelicals left the Church of England and other historic denominations for independent evangelical churches. Members of Baptist, Brethren and Pentecostal churches have left in order to form 'house churches' in which close fellowship and the freedom to use the 'gifts of the Spirit' are prominent features. Other charismatic Evangelicals see their task as re-vitalising the existent denominations; for example the Mountain Trust is centrally concerned about the spiritual renewal of Anglicanism. It is notable that in all of these cases the worship institution tends to be thought of as the sole or major proper expression of the Body of Christ although one is beginning to see the formation of evangelical groups directing their attention to other areas of life along with the recognition that the Kingdom of God embraces more than prayer, preaching, worship and theology. Along with this is coming a recognition that there is something wrong with the clergy/laity distinction and a sense that the meaning of the 'priesthood of all believers' has yet to be recovered or rediscovered. On every hand there is a growing sense

that the inherited traditions are in many ways lacking and that complacency about the organisational shape of the worship-institution and other areas of life cannot be ignored as if "spiritual matters" could carry on regardless. The ferment of ideas resembles that of the Reformation period. However renewal is unlikely to come painlessly because, as John King has written...

"There are too many privileges and customs attached to the present order of things for a break to be made easily and cleanly. Clergymen who have known a lifetime of running their parishes for the benefit of docile and submissive parishioners will not easily adopt a new role as religious teachers and advisors providing specialised instruction and ministry while lay people play their appropriate part in managing the affairs of the Christian community. Nor will renewal come easily to those Evangelical laymen who have been content to see their vicar play a paternalist role while they happily fail to assume their responsibilities" 16

#### Footnotes

1. p. 167 In Understanding be Men: An Introductory Handbook of Christian Doctrine (1961)

2. Evangelical Belief p. 45 (1962). We should note in these two passages the disjunction between:

great principles / (primary matters)

---

differences in outlook / (secondary matters)  
and practice

This pattern is typical of Evangelicism. The 'great principles' at most exclude certain outlooks and practices. They never imply particular outlooks or practices for that would put Evangelicals (1) at variance with each other or (11) at variance with their fellow members of the British middle class.

3. p. 131 The Noise of Solemn Assemblies. These selfsame issues arise with respect to the Christian doctrine of the State and marriage. The norm for the state or marriage is regarded as being fully instantiated in actual states or marriages. (This same identification of norm and actuality leads some to think that the Church of the New Testament era must be replicated in our own day. When that turns out to be impossible the divergencies are rationalized. Even if the N.T. church was an obedient response to the norm for the church in that period, it will certainly not be in our own era). Some Christians regard it as wrong to criticise church or state because they are "ordained by God". The issue however is whether they are performing the task that God calls them to perform or whether they are falling short in that. The latter provides the possibility of criticism -- in terms of the norm.

4. p. 161 In Understanding be Men

5. The following analysis leans heavily on John Van Dyk's essay 'From Deformation to Reformation' in Will All the King's Men: Out of Concern for the Church Phase 11 (1972) pp. 63-91. Also p. 25 note 2 on visible/invisible.

6. And consequently only church officers -- especially ministers, represent the official views of the church. The non-ordained do not represent the church -- they are, as it were, regarded as more or less 'invisible' !

7. Cf. H. Dooyeweerd 'The Secularisation of Science' (pp. 2-17 International Reformed Bulletin No 26, July, 1966); H. Dooyeweerd The Christian Idea of the State; E.L. Hebden Taylor The Christian Philosophy of Law, Politics and the State; H.R. Rookmaaker Modern Art and the Death of a Culture.

8. Public life is sacred to the spirit of Humanism although marginal concessions may be made to sectarian opinions in private life. The motto of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is "Everything in the name of man for the benefit of man". "Clericalism is acquiring ever greater importance in the political and ideological arsenal of imperialism. The clericals do not confine themselves to using the Church and its ramified machinery. They now have their own big political parties which in many capitalist countries are in power. They set up their own trade-unions, youth, women's and other organisations and split the ranks of the working class and all working people". The New Programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union 1961 in p. 413 Essential Works of Marxism.

9. T.C. Hammond, for example, maintains that the Invisible Church is "...something perfect and complete in the purposes of God" while the visible Church "is beset with the limitations of time, space and human infirmity" (p. 162) it is however "...of first importance in the affairs of men. It exists to make Christ real to them" (p. 161).

10. One wonders whether the attachment of many older Evangelicals to the Authorized Version and their repudiation of modern English translations has less to do with the supposed liberalism of the translators of the latter than the fact that they feel the boundary between 'sacred' and 'secular' is being eroded, indeed that the two are even being brought into contact with each other. Furthermore many favourite "proof-texts" seem to disappear.

11. As for example in Some Modern Faiths (1973) by Maurice Burrell and J. Stafford Wright.

12. Humanism Positive and Negative "...atheistic humanism! is distinguished from Christianity more by what it denies than by what it affirms" (p. 1)

12a. There are indications, however, that some leading Evangelicals are beginning to gain a more total view of the Christian faith. Sir Frederick Catherwood has recently written "Christianity is not just for private behaviour and public worship. It is a world system which competes with other world systems. It argues on more than equal terms with Marxism, Existentialism, Nationalism, Capitalism" p. 60 The Lion Handbook to the Bible (1973)

13. p. 160-1 Evangelicals Today Ch. 11.

14. p. 166 In Understanding be Men "Unity is deeper than uniformity. Although the human mind has difficulty in believing the truth of the assertion, a spiritual unity such as that of a common loyalty of the gospel and the Person of Christ, even though diversely expressed, is ultimately far more influential than any external form of amalgamation or mere uniformity of procedure"

"(Ecumenism)...is of doubtful value and may result either in a vast amalgamation and reunion of organisations or a surrender of vital principles of Christian belief and practice in a mistaken zeal for unity".

"In conventions and elsewhere they (true believers) are drawing closer together in a real spiritual communion based on their loyalty to the one true Head of the Church".

15. E.g. although only 800 out of 20,000 Anglican ministers are Evangelicals, in March 1972 285 out of 808 ordinands in the English residential theological colleges (35.2%) were in the six evangelical colleges. (Evangelicals Today p. 181).

16. p. 135 The Evangelicals (1969)

## Evangelicals on Marriage and Family

The family has always been an institution highly regarded by Evangelicals -- indeed, in some respects more highly than the worship institution, for the former was free from divisive ecclesiological controversies. It was the one social institution that all Evangelicals could agree was a good thing. Nor is it that surprising for Evangelicals in the nineteenth century had played a significant role in the formation of what we can call the middle class view of the family. One writer has described the late eighteenth century situation, against which the Evangelical reformers struggled, in the following terms:

"It is difficult to picture the England of those days. On the one hand was a central government which 'did nothing to secure the public safety, provided no schools, made no roads, gave no relief to the poor', and a parliament dominated by owners of the rotten boroughs, and an aristocracy at once cultured, magnificent and dissolute; and on the other hand a lower class, illiterate, sodden with gin, given over to vicious living and brutal pastimes, and represented only too faithfully in Hogarth's 'Beer Street' and 'Gin Lane' " 1

Evangelical humanitarianism gave family life a status which it had not previously enjoyed, together with greatly improving the lot of women and children. It sought to make family life possible for the working classes. The family was 'moralized', regarded as an ethically qualified institution, indeed even as the 'basic unit' of human society.

Largely due to Evangelical influence there came into being a new kind of family -- the 'Victorian Middle-Class Family' as it is called. Ronald Fletcher has characterised it in the following terms:

"The family was almost a 'religious corporation' within which the dignified authority of the father and the submissiveness of the wife and children were sanctified and sustained. The life of the family was attended by regular family prayers. The unity of the family was written into the source of its sanct-

ity - the family Bible. And the outward dignity and respectability of the family was manifested in the Sunday occupation of the family pew"

"...The wife and mother, no longer intimately involved in the business 'undertaking', was confined to domestic life, and with domestic servants, became more and more of a 'functionless' member of the household - one ornament amongst others in a pattern of conspicuous consumption - totally subjected to the authority of her husband. She had, with slight qualifications, no rights to property, education or occupation. Children, too, were expected to be submissive to the authority and dignity of the father and home and the respectability of the family station. They were to be obedient, to be 'seen but not heard'".

"...These social distinctions and religious beliefs entailed very specific sexual ideas and discriminations. The husband was expected to be sexually virile. . . On the other hand it would have been morally repugnant to the Victorians to think that women themselves also had sexual feelings and sensual needs. A woman submitted herself to a man in marriage because this was, if somewhat shameful and certainly unmentionable, none the less the divinely ordained way in which babies had to be produced" 2

In many respects the contemporary Evangelical has inherited this view of family and marriage, as have most middle class people, albeit the latter replacing the religious sanction by that of the peer groups, respectability in the eyes of the neighbours rather than conformity to the will of God. This distinction, is however, somewhat blurred in that large numbers of the middle class have continued to expect the church to provide them with all the rites of passage all of which are closely associated with family life.

The remains of this Victorian inheritance have, however, come under ever-increasing fire during the past decade <sup>3</sup>. The nuclear family has been declared obsolete in the Reith Lectures. Women's Liberation have protested against male chauvinism and the restriction of the woman to home and childbearing. Legislation concerning divorce and abortion has been relaxed. Homosexuality has gained a measure of social acceptance. Serial polygamy and promiscuity have become increasingly common. Pornography has invaded the arts, the media and advertising. All of a sudden the moral professional middle-class world which had been the realm of nature - to which

Evangelicals had added a religious dimension - seemed to disintegrate. (They were familiar enough with the irresponsible hedonism of the upper and working classes - whose behaviour had served as a paradigm of "worldliness" in preaching for generations). Not only had the middle class world appeared to be a veritable pre-ambule to the realm of grace, but, even more significantly, the Evangelical Faith was felt to provide a rationale for its standards and a motive for upholding them <sup>4</sup>. The life style which the Faith had so largely legitimated seemed to be under attack from every direction, regarded as pernicious at home and 'imperialistic' on the mission fields abroad. Whereas previously the Faith had been regarded as an unnecessary support for norms which (middle class) 'common sense' <sup>5</sup> could see were unshakeably valid, the new situation was that these norms too were regarded as suspect, as instances of "bad faith".

Peter Berger, when analysing American middle-class Protestants and their relation to American society, maintains that "The religious do not hold values that are significantly different from those of others. But they hold these values more strongly. Religion provides the social and individual integration of these values. The religious institution serves to 'socialise' the individual in such a way that he will conform to the norms of his social groups regardless of what these norms are" <sup>6</sup>.

This analysis would seem to entail that an inevitable conservatism would characterise Evangelical believers. For this there seems to be considerable evidence. Not only was the critique of contemporary culture seen in terms of the (good) "old morality" versus the "new morality" but it was assumed that in taking such a position they were spokesmen for the "silent majority", the "mass of ordinary people" <sup>7</sup> against "the relatively few people who were responsible for this moral breakdown of our society" <sup>8</sup>. Not only so, but other supporters

of the Festival of Light declared" The great silent majority who are on the side of law and order must stand up and be counted. We must become more and more vocal in our defence of those virtues which once made this nation great" <sup>9</sup> . Furthermore the critique was directed not at any structural injustices in our society but to the issue of personal morality, and specifically sexual morality. (Criticism of the mass media and the criteria of censorship came up only in relation to this issue). The sensitivity to matters of sexual morality is perhaps indicative of the truth of the hypothesis advocated in the chapter on the church, that the family is (or almost is) part of the realm of grace <sup>10</sup> . In the natural realm of business and especially politics one expected corruption: indeed the older Evangelicals almost came to relish it as a sign of the last times. Family life was different; it was the foretaste of heaven <sup>11</sup> . But with the advent of television the evils of the public world broke into the innocence and privacy of the home. What had been (along with the church institution) the plausible structure of evangelical piety was suddenly, traumatically put into contact with some of the most post-Christian outlooks in Western culture. The visual arts, especially film and theatre, which had for so long been eschewed by Evangelicals, advocated a way of life which systematically denied and wrecked everything they held precious in the realms of nature and grace. The sentimentalised view of the 'poor lost sinner' of much Evangelical theology found that it somehow had to cope with ever more explicit blasphemy and pornography. The latter was aimed with unerring accuracy at the Victorian view of sexuality which Evangelicals had largely inherited for lack of a developed view of their own. However there has been a marked change during the last ten years. A decade ago 'nature' and 'grace' were seen as antagonistic. The Song of Solomon was treated in a fastidiously allegorical manner, and seldom mentioned at all, except as a source of imagery with which



to refer to Christ and the Church. Today the formula has become nature-and-grace, sometimes with the (unbiblical) dualism almost disappearing completely. Peter Cousins' Christianity and Sexual Liberation (1972) exemplifies this new outlook. The cover of the book carries two quotations which are significant in this context<sup>12</sup> and the introduction asks roundly "Why else should God's Word include the Song of Solomon which (whatever other meanings may be distinguished) is an ecstatic celebration of the joy of sexual love"<sup>13</sup>. He goes on to point out how Evangelical Christians "often seem to accept the godless and apostate 'system' which dominates the civilised world as if it were wholly desirable and deserving of Christian support in everything except - by a remarkable inconsistency - its attitude to sex...Unfortunately it is necessary to underline the fact that Christians should also be concerned about other social evils. Too many of them are inclined to ignore, for example, the housing shortage ("That's politics!") and then express holy horror at the incest which can so easily stem from this"<sup>14</sup>. He warns his fellow Evangelicals against blind moralistic reaction "...which would bring back Victorian unbelief and rejection about what the Bible says about sexuality. Christians must not allow backlash to reimpose nineteenth century dishonesty and taboos"<sup>15</sup>. A similar note is sounded by John Capon in his account of the Festival of Light. He maintains there that:

"The biblical view of sex is that it is essentially positive, that sexual relationships are primarily for companionship rather than procreation, and that nudity and love play in the context of a faithful relationship are noble and pure. This has been misinterpreted over the years by the Church partly through a false separation of the spiritual and material"<sup>16</sup>

Here the final sentence indicates very clearly a rejection of the separation of the 'spiritual' and the 'material' and yet at the same time maintains this distinction as a meaningful one<sup>17</sup>. Indeed one

encounters the phrase "false separation" with considerable frequency nowadays in Evangelical literature. Yet what exactly is "the spiritual" or "the material" ? This highly abstract formula is, at best, remotely related to the richness and diversity of human life. The usual line is that marriage is more than a 'merely physical' relationship, that it has a 'spiritual' meaning as well. Two significant consequences tend to follow from this. In the first place one gains the impression that marriage is a mystical-Platonic ideal relationship strangely conjoined with unmentionable animal instincts. From this seems to follow that marriage can be dealt with in terms of ethics and the physiology of the sexual organs, the minister and the doctor. In the second place, and following from this, is an almost complete neglect of questions about the structure of marriage. What is the difference between the structure of marriage and of the family? What is the relationship between family and other societal structures e.g. education, church institution, industry and politics - and what should it be? <sup>18</sup> These are questions which have not yet begun to be answered by Evangelicals in a distinctive manner, and so for the most part a middle-class domestic lifestyle is perpetuated by them. Within such limits many Evangelical families are exemplary, and yet such a situation can hardly be expected to last for another generation. The family requires a clear conception of its task. Nor is it an island which can perpetuate itself in spite of changes in education, industry and politics. What Arnold de Graaf has written of the North American situation is beginning to be typical of Britain too:

"The North American family is caught up in a religious crisis of our times. The old Humanism is crumbling, while the new Humanism can hardly provide an alternative foundation for our culture. This religious struggle and change constitutes the crisis of our times.

Many Christian families have proven to be defenceless against the new trend. They have surrendered themselves to a secular way of life and are now experiencing the breakdown of their family life and their impotence in bringing up their children,

especially their teenagers. Other Christian parents desperately try to hang on to outdated traditions that do not fit our times and to a morality that shows more kinship with the old Humanism than with the Word of God" 19

#### Footnotes

1. p. 5 Saints in Politics, Ernest Marshall Howse.
2. pp. 93-95 The Family and Marriage in Britain (1971 first published 1962)
3. John Passmore has seen the counter-culture to be largely a reaction against the remains of Victorian-Puritanism in North America and Europe. He writes:

"Obscenities are a rebellion against the euphemisms of the 'comfort-station' and the 'powder-room'; nakedness against extreme body-Puritanism, for which even to show the navel was wicked; unisexuality against a rigid distinction between masculine and feminine roles, panic stricken by homosexuality; dirtiness and, more particularly, carelessness about faeces against the exaggeration of hygiene and toilet training; pacifism against the cult of violence and gun carrying; the ideal of 'community' against a viciously competitive individualism; the ideal of play against an intense seriousness of purpose, wholly hostile to wit, irony or any kind of secret smile; the 'return to nature' against savage industrial despoliation; mysticism and ritualism against a moralistic version of Christianity" (p. 320 The Perfectability of Man (1970)

Cf. Richard Neville's Playpower (1970) and Jerry Rubin's Do it! Scenarios of the Revolution (1970)
4. "We need to be set free from our selfishness and given strength to live up to our ideals". p. 8 Basic Christianity. This would appear to imply common ideals which all right thinking Englishmen share - but which Christianity alone enables one to live up to.
5. Such norms as G.E. Moore defended as being "intuited" by common sense continued amongst the older linguistic philosophers to be pulled out of our use of concepts like rabbits being pulled out of a top hat.
6. p. 102 The Noise of Solemn Assemblies. The degree to which this is true of Evangelicals in Britain with respect to educational, political, economic and social matters I have attempted to show in other chapters.
7. p. 18 Land Aflame 1972
8. Foreward by Malcolm Muggeridge ibid.
9. The Bishop of Lancaster p. 45 ibid
10. The Festival of Light was an event of major significance in the Evangelical world. (Over 100,000 people were involved in the meetings associated with the lighting of 300 beacons on hilltops while there was an 80,000 crowd at Hyde Park on 25th Sept 1971). Its focus was on the personal faith and morals of the nation. John Capon remarks:

"Many of those who supported the Festival saw moral pollution as evidence that society was sinful and needed the preaching of the Gospel. Others - men like Eddie Stride - while completely agreeing with this analysis held that because Christians were called upon to be the "salt of the earth" it was important to tackle the moral pollution in itself. They believed that in tackling such a target they would find allies from outside the churches and of other faiths. Throughout the planning and conduct of the Festival the two viewpoints were never fully resolved but on the other hand they existed together in a remarkably friendly tension" p. 124 ...And There was Light.

11. Cf. "The Christian life is a family affair, in which the children enjoy sweet fellowship with their Father and with each other..." p. 142 Basic Christianity.

12. "The Victorian person sought to have love without falling into sex: the modern person seeks to have sex without falling into love" (Robb May 1969)

"Find joy with the wife you married in your  
youth, fair as a hind, graceful as a fawn,  
Let hers be the company you keep,  
hers the breasts that ever fill you with delight,  
hers the love that ever holds you captive"  
(Book of Proverbs c. 11th century B.C. )

13. Ibid p. 7

14. Ibid p. 29 and 31

15. Ibid p. 32

16. p. 119 ...And There was Light: Story of the Nationwide Festival of Light (1972)

17. This distinction is omnipresent in Evangelical circles. In a standard I.V.F. book first published in 1948 and now in its fourth edition Towards Christian Marriage (1966) by W. Melville Capper and H. Morgan Williams one reads "If God be the Designer and Creator of man's whole being - physical and spiritual - it is but common sense to seek from Him the answers to the problems with which a man is confronted in his sex life" p. 10 (my italics)

18. Cf. James Olthius Friendship, Marriage and Family (Wedge Publishing Foundation 1973)

19. p. 12 Hope for the Family ed. Paul G. Schrottenboer (Wedge Publishing Foundation 1971)

### Evangelicals and Politics

The year 1967 appears to mark a turning point in the beginning of a new evangelical view of politics, one which begins to reverse the development sketched out by Michael Hennel's paper "Evangelicals and the World 1770-1870"<sup>1</sup>. In that paper he shows that in 1770 Evangelicals regarded the 'world' as being God's, while by 1870 it was seen as basically under the power of the Evil One<sup>2</sup>. This tendency continued as Evangelicals became more and more on the defensive at home although vastly extending in influence throughout the colonies. By 1870 the initiative in changing British life<sup>3</sup> under men such as Wilberforce and Shaftesbury was lost, and perhaps not insignificantly there appeared to be a retreat to cultivating the inner life<sup>4</sup>, to the life of the home and to the evangelism of primitive peoples in remote areas<sup>5</sup>. Evangelicalism could not cope with the rising tide of Humanism which was more and more capturing the centres of cultural influence and power<sup>6</sup>. In early April, 1967, the National Evangelical Anglican Congress was held at Keele University. The 1000 delegates issued the Keele Statement which in many ways signalled the end of the retreat and the beginning of a new engagement. "The mood of the Congress was one of penitence for past failures and of serious resolve for the future"<sup>7</sup>. Addressing the whole Congress on the first evening Dr. J.I. Packer took up the oft-repeated phrase of Dr Ramsay "Our concern must be as wide as God's"<sup>8</sup>. Canon William Leatham maintained that "a closed mind is a denial of the Holy Spirit...and Evangelicals in the 20th Century have not been conspicuous for their open-mindedness"<sup>9</sup>. In our present context paragraphs 37 and 38 of the Keele Statement are most relevant:

"37. We believe that our evangelical doctrines have important

ethical implications. But we confess to our shame that we have not thought sufficiently deeply or radically about the problems of our society. We are therefore resolved to give ourselves to more study of these crucial issues in future".

38" This is God's world in spite of its invasion by evil. He cares for it and so must we. The Church is set in the World by God Himself, who has made us both citizens of our country and ambassadors for Christ. We must therefore work not only for the redemption of individuals, but also for the reformation of society" <sup>10</sup>

After 1967 came a veritable flood of books by British evangelicals devoted in part or whole to political matters. In 1968 appeared Professor J.W.D. Anderson's Into the World: the Need and Limits of Christian Involvement, in 1969 Sir Frederick Catherwood's The Christian Citizen <sup>11</sup>, in 1970 A.N. Triton's Whose World? and in 1972 Is Revolution Change? edited by Brian Griffiths. Evangelicalism had previously been dominated by ministers, evangelists and missionaries <sup>12</sup> but these books are written by 'laymen' whose work brings them very close to student and/or political worlds <sup>13</sup>. All of them write against a long background of evangelical political apathy and realise that they must go back to the first half of the 19th century -- the era of Shaftesbury, Wilberforce and the Clapham Sect -- if they are to find anything positive in the evangelical tradition. Professor Anderson comments that when he wrote his essay 'Christian Worldliness' in 1967 it "...soon became obvious that very little had been written on this subject in recent years by evangelical churchmen..." <sup>14</sup>

This becomes clear too in the bibliographies of the above-mentioned books -- they are dominated by those in the 'liberal' and 'catholic' traditions <sup>15</sup>. Two related factors seem to be of considerable significance in stimulating this new evangelical political consciousness. The first is the increasingly rapid disintegration of middle-class

British values which are thought of by the authors as basically Christian or at least derivatively so. The second is the rise of the new left and the partial politicisation of the university, which had previously been outside (or above) active political concern. The situation demanded some sort of political and cultural articulation.

Let us consider briefly in turn the four books to which we have referred in order to bring out the salient characteristics of Evangelical politics. Professor Anderson maintains that:

"The Church must, therefore, challenge any view of the state which reduces the individual to the status of a mere cog in a gigantic machine or which in any way debases the dignity, as a rational and moral being created in the image of God, of any man, woman or child...the Christian sees the State primarily as ordained by God to serve the best interests of its individual citizens" 16

It is not the Church which must be politically involved but the individual Christian, and his contribution within party politics will be made "not primarily by manifestoes, but by persistent personal influence" 17 . As far as having a political viewpoint is concerned "...individual Christians must formulate their own views on these subjects, thinking them through in the light of Biblical teaching and principles" 18 .

The same pervasive individualism comes to expression in the writings of H.F.R. Catherwood. In the introduction of his book The Christian in Industrial Society he writes:

"In particular, respect for the dignity and responsibility of the individual has been a feature of our society which stems directly from Christian teaching and has been worked out in terms of universal suffrage, universal education and individual liberty. This view of the individual must therefore be part of any Christian view of industrial society. The purpose of this book is to work out the implications in industrial society of the Christian doctrine of the individual..." 19

It turns out that British society with its trade unions 20 and political party system 21 corresponds very well with the 'Christian doctrine of the individual' such that Catherwood is able to say that

"The countries of the English-speaking world all have a basically Christian culture" <sup>22</sup> . This means that the Christian citizen's task is the defence of the status quo. "I believe that if a country's original law was based on Christian principles it is right to seek to maintain those principles" <sup>23</sup> .

But what are these 'Christian principles' which are so basic to British culture? They appear to include "respect for the individual"<sup>24</sup>, "democracy"<sup>25</sup> monogamy and respect for the rights and dignity of woman <sup>26</sup> "the rule of law", "the development of economic opportunities for all", "the dignity of labour", "racial equality" and "religious tolerance" <sup>27</sup> -- but as we have seen with respect for the individual as the basis and grounding of all the others. For Catherwood these ideals are in fact embodied in British society: the actual and the ideal are apparently identical. Consequently he divides those who are politically involved into two groups. First there are the "extremists" whose "activism is entirely political. That is to say, it is based by definition on attitudes rather than on reason" <sup>28</sup> . Second there is the man of political reason who "can produce a workable proposition which is likely to be agreed upon by those who carry the weight of responsibility and which is definable by the political leadership of the party in power" <sup>29</sup> . His influence is based on "knowledge, thought and hard work" <sup>30</sup> and he comes up with the proposals which are "practicable, realistic, workable and acceptable" <sup>31</sup> . He looks to "moderate opinion, to people who do not take a specifically Christian line" <sup>32</sup> for his support.

Catherwood recognises that with such a viewpoint being advocated as Christian then "in many ways the humanist looks much the same as the Christian. Many of our objectives are common" <sup>33</sup> . He then has the task of explaining how this fits with Evangelicalism's "dramatic contrast between the saved and the lost", that "we are engaged in a struggle between the forces of good and evil", that "he that is not



for us is against us" 34 .

At this point he introduces the familiar nature-grace dualism for "...when we enter secular affairs we are not proclaiming the full law of God with all the authority of the Church, but only the individual lay Christian's view of what is right..." 35 . As we may be wrong "...we do our best to express ourselves in moderate terms and moderate opinion" 36 . Nor will he tolerate an appeal to the Old Testament prophets for "no man today can claim the authority of Elijah, Elisha, Isaiah or Jeremiah" 37 . Moreover "Our Lord took no part in the political controversies of the day..." and "the apostles...avoided political issues" 38 .

Consequently Catherwood sets up an almost complete structural discontinuity between the realms of grace and nature, by idealising the Church - by which he means the church institution - and by thoroughly relativizing any attempt to make a distinctively Christian political witness, a dualism which shows the marked influence of Plato's conception of the relation between the forms and the sensible, material world.

"The Church, as a church, should keep out of politics and should leave the rough and tumble of the battle to the individual Christian. Not only should the Church keep out of politics as a separate entity, but individual ordained ministers, Paul's teaching elders, the men whose main job is to preach God's word, should keep out of current political controversy, otherwise those who hear them will confuse the eternal and unchangeable truths of the Christian faith with uncertain and changing agreements about temporal affairs"  
"The truth of God is unchangeable but our methods of applying the principles of the Christian in the changing human scene may be a matter of judgement and Christians may well be found on both sides of the argument" 39 (my italics)

In this way, Catherwood hopes he can avoid a collision between 'Christian principles' by which one assumes he means the requirements of God, and human society. This is done by making these requirements very vague and their application so obscure so that..."no section of the community should be forced to regard the Church as its political enemy" 40 . Yet within the viewpoint already expressed by Catherwood

it would seem that those who wish to "secularise" politics or have a collectivist ideology are bound to see the church as being inimical to their purposes. If it is true as Catherwood maintains that the "Church must be able to contain all political views compatible with the Christian faith" <sup>41</sup> then he must mean either (1) that all political views are compatible with the Christian faith. In this case it is politically meaningless. Or (11) that some views are incompatible. In this case some groups will regard the Church as a political enemy <sup>42</sup> . Subsequently we shall see that Catherwood has substantially and significantly changed his position. Let us move on now to fill out the picture further from A.N. Triton's Whose World? (1970). As with the previous writer, the Church is thought of as the institution church, so that Christian involvement is either ecclesiastical or individual. Triton working within this assumption suggests that there are then three categories of political action: 1. 'personal' 2. 'corporate but unofficial' . 3. 'corporate and official church action' <sup>43</sup> . He argues that if 1. is acceptable then 2. raises no fresh problems and is far more likely to be effective. Such groups ought "to develop a coherent Christian view on questions where specifically moral and theological issues are at stake" <sup>44</sup> .

Triton is against type 3. involvement but in that type he includes not only denominations or local churches but also Christian Unions, and most significantly of all official Christian political parties. He gives six main reasons:

1. That political action involves compromise and that the public will mistakenly imagine such compromise to represent the Church's ideal <sup>45</sup> .
2. That a political party created specifically to stand for Christian principles can move from being progressive and constructive to reactionary and even unjust over several generations <sup>46</sup> .

3. That such involvement would divide Christians, the fellowship of the church would be damaged and evangelism curtailed. Triton seems to allow that the church must speak on issues "...where there is an absolutely clear Biblical principle at stake" <sup>47</sup> . But one wonders if that is ever the case for he adds "But it is not 'prophetic' to express political opinions where Christians equally loyal to the Bible are disagreed. Political issues are hardly ever clear moral issues - least of all if they are party political issues" <sup>48</sup>
4. Many political issues are "totally irrelevant to the Christian position" <sup>49</sup> but a politically involved church or Christian party if it refuses to speak on the matter will be "suspected of covering some vested interest or other form of cowardice" <sup>50</sup> . Furthermore if such a body did speak out it would be taken as "representing the Christian view" <sup>51</sup> .
5. Church leaders are often not technically equipped for political involvement <sup>52</sup> .
6. "Active political involvement by the Church leads people to think that its main witness today is secular (i.e. good work in society and political programmes) <sup>53</sup> when the Church's real concern is "worship, fellowship, instruction and corporate witness" <sup>54</sup> .

We turn now to Is Revolution Change? (1972) the preface and conclusion of which in many ways provide a good summary of the contemporary evangelical outlook. In the preface Brian Griffiths, the editor, writes concerning the contributors: "On some issues they disagree. And that is how it should be." <sup>55</sup> For while each is in complete agreement in affirming the relevance of the Christian faith, that same faith does not provide a unique political programme to right the world" (my italics) <sup>56</sup> .

Later in the conclusion Griffiths writes:

"...the distinctive Christian contribution will be that of a reformer, a proponent of gradual change, who seeks to alter and modify the system from within...Whatever political causes he embraces and whatever changes he suggests must ultimately be compatible with such biblical principles as individualism, justice, honesty, equality of all in the sight of God, a concern for the poor and underprivileged and a respect for property and authority. While these principles do not imply a unique political programme resulting in a specifically Christian political party, they most definitely limit the range of political alternatives which are available and suggest that the spirit in which some change is called for may be as important as the change itself" 57

These passages make clear a number of features of evangelical politics. Individualism is so applauded that it precludes an evangelical political community or an evangelical political theory. That evangelicalism "does not provide a unique political programme to set right the world" is regarded as an asset: the insinuation is that only a fanatical idealist would expect that. That there is really no distinctive Christian contribution <sup>58</sup> is thought to be right and natural. To be 'distinctive' is to be disturbing and the authors of the book "felt compelled to speak out against the fantasy of revolution"... "that violent and total revolution is no panacea for society's problems" <sup>59</sup> . Nigel Harris in Beliefs in Society makes some illuminating remarks when he points out that the conservative "always had a greater interest in blurring internal distinctions than clarifying them. Compromise and harmony are more important than logical clarity since clarity engenders conflict" <sup>60</sup> . "The ideal is for the conservative broadly the real <sup>61</sup> and therefore there is no need for separate ideals which contrast with reality and which oblige one to change reality" <sup>62</sup> "It follows from this account that were conservatives do put forward ideals which seem to differ from what exists, these ideals are passive or inoperant, they entail no specific action (this set of ideals contrasts with ideals in radical thought which entail : specific action; they are active and operant ideals )" <sup>63</sup> .

This lack of analytic clarification, the tabooing of controversy with its associated cult of politeness has meant that conservative

evangelicals have produced neither a systematic theology nor a political philosophy. Harris comments that in British conservatism "formal theorization is almost completely absent"<sup>64</sup>. Nor has much significant church history been written by evangelicals for that would make their appeal to "historic Christianity" lose much of its plausibility. A further comment by Harris on British conservatism provides an interesting parallel "This blurring is necessary to sustain the idea that the Conservatives have a continuous tradition, one truth consistently applied to a changing reality"<sup>65</sup>. The favourite blurring word amongst evangelicals is 'emphasis'. All serious differences within evangelicism are relativized by the use of this word. Those who refuse to have their 'emphasis' relativized are not regarded as 'balanced' - a term of highest approbation.

At this point we can begin to pull together some of our findings. The first is that the adjective 'Christian' while used quite unproblematically about individual persons is regarded as inapplicable to societal structures (except the church institution), things, and disciplines (except for theology). Whereas in the 'realm of grace' whether one has passed out of darkness into light is regarded of radical significance - this dichotomy is rejected in the rest of life, and all the emphasis comes on the almost total common-ness between the Christian and the non-Christian<sup>66</sup>. Here any attempt to develop a 'specifically' or 'uniquely' Christian politics, art style<sup>67</sup>, philosophy or anything else is regarded as undesirably sectarian or intrinsically impossible. This viewpoint sometimes leads to a strange dialectic. On the one hand it is maintained that, due to 'common grace' the non-Christians can produce politics, art, philosophy, education as good as the Christian, if not better. On the other it is thought that the adjective 'Christian' implies some sort of timeless perfection - and that only hubris could lead us to strive for such a thing. The consequence is a hyper-critical attitude towards

any attempt to produce a specifically Christian anything combined with the most curiously indulgent apologetics on behalf of ideas which seem clearly humanistic<sup>68</sup>. Any serious criticism of the latter is regarded as deriving from questionable commitments. Criticism is seldom taken seriously and is often met with caricature, and the demand that the critic produce an alternative which all evangelical Christians -- or even all experts on the matter including Humanists -- will agree is undeniably better. Of course the latter cannot be done and certainly not in that instantaneous knock-down fashion. Furthermore the critic may not yet have gone beyond recognising the possibility and necessity of a distinctive Christian alternative. When he explains that the work has yet to be done and for that reason he cannot give the examples demanded it is concluded that he is equivocating, playing with words and has nothing practical to offer. Sometimes the possibility and necessity of the alternative is recognised but when it is seen that this will be at variance with the status quo and will encounter serious opposition then all support is rapidly withdrawn. The conclusion drawn is that the status quo or at least a bowlderized version of it is ultimately quite acceptable<sup>69</sup>.

With this pattern occurring generation after generation two things seem likely. The first is that a ('saltless', 'lightless') deterioration of that area of life will set in, leading to the interpretation of this deterioration as due to the intrinsic evil of that area or as an indication of the troubles preceding the Second Coming, so that nothing can or should be done about it. Or secondly, there could come the recognition that a real Christian alternative is desperately needed.

The great majority of older evangelicals take the first view as do considerable groups of younger evangelicals who are more closely associated with the counter-culture. 'The Children of God' are an extreme case but there are a growing number of 'house churches' which advocate

"coming out of the system". The twin emphasis is on evangelism and personal holiness, the groups varying in terms of which is dominant. The 'counter-culture' influence leads to highly informal worship meetings and the rejection of much of what established evangelicalism held dear - especially responsible professional work with prospects and the isolated 'family unit'. Many of these features are of course familiar ones to students of church history.

The second view, the recognition of the need for a developed Christian alternative has slowly been gaining ground. The establishment of the Shaftesbury Project on Christian involvement in society is an indication of this. In an essay entitled 'Reform or Revolution?' H.J.R. Catherwood whose earlier position we have noted appears to be arguing that we have lost or are rapidly losing our "Christian culture" for

"...humanism is now beginning to take over from the Christian faith as the intellectual system on which the establishment relies as the basis for ideas and laws in running society" 70

One can find a parallel awareness if one compares the earlier with the later writings of Peter Cousins <sup>71</sup>. Instead of the mere defence of the status quo, the status quo must be confronted with a Christian alternative, they begin to realise. We must oppose the humanist, says Catherwood, with a "well thought out and a solidly established Christian point of view" <sup>72</sup> for the "Christian faith is a comprehensive and systematic faith" <sup>73</sup>.

As we have indicated earlier this sense of the antithesis between the Kingdom of God and the Kingdom of Darkness running through the whole of life was something of which some continental European Christian thinkers <sup>74</sup> were well aware in the nineteenth century. For various reasons this awareness has only recently begun to be of significance in the British scene. The first organised expression came in 1967 with the founding of the Christian Studies Unit which has sponsored many student conferences and distributed a large quantity

books and materials advocating a radically Christian approach to everything <sup>75</sup> . These interestingly enough derive from outside of Britain -- mainly from the Free University of Amsterdam (founded by Kuyper in 1880) and from the Institute for Christian Studies in Toronto. This new stream in British evangelicism is gradually being recognised, both positively <sup>76</sup> and negatively <sup>77</sup> and as a Christian cultural and scholarly resource to be reckoned with.

Another stream which has emerged from within British Evangelicalism has been the charismatic renewal. This has already shown its political potential in the massive Festival of Light demonstrations in 1971. Most significantly over two-thirds of those present were under twenty-five <sup>78</sup> . Those involved are recognising that they must "move away from the inevitable simplicity of rallies, demonstrations and slogans to the hard unglamorous grind of study, discussion, representation and dialogue" <sup>79</sup> . While the initial vision for the Festival of Light had come from Peter Hill, who after four years in India as a missionary had been shocked by the rise of pornography he encountered in 1970, many involved in the Festival of Light movement are now speaking of "God's alternative society" and of the meaning of the Kingdom of Heaven for the whole of life.

A further striking feature has been the ecumenical power of the charismatic movement at the very time when the ecumenical movement appeared to be grinding to a halt. Amongst charismatic Anglicans, Non-Conformists and Catholics one senses an underlying unity and many signs of a growing convergence, a convergence having an utterly different character from that produced by secularisation i.e. the tendency to share a common Humanist faith. The convergence is one of a radical commitment to the Jesus Who is risen from the dead and seated at the right hand of the Father in glory and Who will finally renew all things. It is interesting to note some common characteristics of the 'reformational' Christianity (such as that of the Christian Studies Unit) and



the charismatic movement. Both involve a re-discovery of the Bible. Both are looking to the future rather than canonizing some past era of Christendom. Both, while being completely orthodox in terms of the great Creeds of the Faith, have relativised, in their own ways, numerous historically accumulated and now almost irrelevant divisive differences within the Body of Christ. Both reject the ministerial, ecclesiastical and theological imperialism which has plagued the Church for centuries. This beginning of the renewal of the life and thought and thought of Christendom is fraught with implications, including profound political ones, as it begins to regain a sense of the Kingdom of God as was known by the early Church. Such a renewal would mean a massive realignment of political forces at the local, national and international level <sup>80</sup>. The words of John C. King, former editor of the Church of England Newspaper could be generalised to refer to Christendom as a whole. "If Evangelicalism is not radical, it will not survive; if it is radical, it may change out of all recognition" <sup>81</sup>.

#### Footnotes

1. pp. 229-236 Studies in Church History vol 8 ed. Canon G.J. Cuming and Derek Baker (Cambridge, 1971)
2. A comparison of hymns is suggestive in this context. Most of the hymns about the beauty of Creation are of 18th century origin - numerous 19th century hymns view nature in terms of weary deserts and stormy seas, i.e. see the world as thoroughly alien to man - not as his home for time and eternity.
3. p. 93 'The Churches and the Social Order' in Religion in Britain since 1900 (1952) ed. G. Stephen Spinks.
4. "The Vicar of St. John's Keswick, invited his friends to the Lakeside town and thus began in 1875 the series of Conventions for the deepening of the Spiritual Life which gained for "Keswick" a unique place of leadership in the evangelical world" p. 98 The Second Evangelical Awakening (1964 Marshall, Morgan and Scott, London).
5. "The Evangelisation of the World in this generation" S.U.M.
6. See Colin Campbell on the rise of self-conscious Humanism in Toward a Sociology of Irreligion (1971)
7. Keele '67 p. 18

8. p. 10

9. p. 11 J.I.Packer 'Taking Stock in Theology' in Evangelicals Today ed. John C. King 1973:

"The National Evangelical Anglican Congress at Keele was a milestone in twentieth century evangelical history, for it broke with a long-prevalent pietist and sectarian mood".

"Now it is an unfortunate fact that, for half a century before Keele, Anglican evangelicalism had occasionally shown symptoms of both diseases, and had in consequence acquired a public image in which intense devotion and missionary zeal were linked with archaic theology, spiritual conceit, social unconcern, pessimism about both the world and the church, and old-fashioned life-style, and a cultural philistinism only too keen to plead guilty to G.K. Chesterton's indictment of Protestantism as Manichean to the core. This image, however, Keele swept away - in intention at any rate, even if not fully in achievement"

(pp. 15-16)

10. Ibid p. 26

Ambassadors of  
Christ

redemption of  
individual

G { evangelical doctrines  
N { social as well as per-  
sonal ethical implic-  
ations

Citizens of our  
country

*a form of  
unity*

11. Already anticipated by his The Christian in Industrial Society 1964.

12 Such people have strong vested interests in the ecclesiastical sector of life and tend to oppose any questions of the centrality of their own activities. Often they have moved into this sector because other types of work seemed to lack Christian meaning for them. 'Laymen' to many have vested interests in that they would prefer to have their Christianity as a leisure time activity.

13. 'A.H. Triton' (O.R. Barclay) is General Secretary of I.V.F. Cath-erwood was formerly Director General of the National Economic Development Council, and is now a Director of John Laing and Son. Anderson is Director of the Institute of Advanced Legal Studies and Professor of Oriental Laws at the University of London. Griffiths is Lecturer in Economics at the L.S.E.

14. p. 7-8 Into the World (cf. pp. vii-viii The Christian in Industrial Society)

15. The Guide to Christian Reading (1964) lists no works at all on politics!

16. p. 48/9 Into the World. One gains the impression that Anderson and the other writers regard the British State as more or less fulfilling these ideals. But significantly they never bring these ideals which they set up into relation with contemporary reality. Nigel Harris suggestively remarks in Belief in Society that... "where Conservatives do put forward ideals that seem to differ from what exists, those ideals are passive or inoperant, they entail no specific action (this sort of ideal contrasts sharply with ideals in radical thought

which entail specific action, they are active or operant ideals"  
pp. 128-9

17. p. 54

18. p. 55 Cf. Anderson who quotes with approval W.R. Inge The Church and the Age (1912) p. 88 "...there is no such lever for moving society as religious faith. It really moves society, just because it alters the will and character of individuals". Cf. an identical statement in Is Revolution Change? p. 110-111. Also W. Cunningham Christianity and Politics p. 92 (1915) : "Christianity will work along the lines of least resistance if it appeals, not to society as a whole or to men in masses but to individuals personally" (p. 96 The Christian Citizen) also p. 113 p. 18 Evangelism should be personal too.

19. p. xiv The Christian in Industrial Society.

20. p. 138 The Christian Citizen.

21. Godfrey Robinson and Stephen Winward, The Christian's Conduct 1960:

"Some Christians consider that one of the best ways of carrying out some of these obligations is to join one of the political parties. Other Christians prefer to remain outside these parties...It is probable that the existence of both these attitudes is in the best interests of the nation as a whole... He is still responsible to God as a Socialist, a Liberal, or a Conservative, whatever his party allegiance may be...But even more important than political action, direct or indirect, is the testimony of the life of the Christian who is a responsible citizen" pp. 72-3

Cf. also The Christian Citizen p. 106:

"But in a democracy, government must obtain a consensus over a very wide front to support its actions and the two- or three-party system seems the best way so far devised to do this... Each man must decide for himself which of the great national parties is the coalition of interests and ideals best able to fulfill the ideas which he himself holds".

22.

23.

24. p. 102 The Christian Citizen

25. p. 102 *ibid*

26. p. 151

27. p. 131

28. p. 167

29. p. 168

30. p. 168-9

31. p. 169

32. p. 173

33. p. 172

34. p. 174

35. p. 174

36. p. 175

37. p. 164

38. p. 163

39 p. 162-3 Cf. the similar conception in H.M. Carson's Riots and Religion (n.d.)

"Any political philosophy is at best the product of man's wisdom. As such it is distinct from the Gospel which expresses the wisdom of God. For the Church to embrace one political position is to equate human theories with divine revelation" (p. 10)

"When he preaches the Gospel faithfully he declares the infallible Word of God. When he pronounces on political affairs he declares the fallible wisdom of man and the Holy Spirit cannot be invoked to buttress any one political theory" (p. 11)

40. The Christian Citizen p. 163

41. p. 163

42. Even if evangelicism was politically bankrupt then those with a political concern would be alienated.

43. Whose World? p. 52

44. p. 56

45. This seems to assume that the church institution exemplifies in its activities and teaching the ideal. The standard is a strangely perfectionistic one such as we observed in Catherwood's 'catholic' yet 'sectarian' image of the church.

46. This assumes that the Christian faith is irrelevant to many political issues. This is because working within the nature grace framework the Christian faith is reduced to the areas of theology and ethics. There is no Christian political theory - only theological and ethical principles 'applied to' political matters. This seems to assume that other Church institutions, e.g. churches, families, and groups such as the S.C.M. are free from degeneration!

47. p. 64

48. p. 65. The norm for proppecy seems to be that upon which all evangelicals agree, the evangelical consensus... A good defence against prophets!

49. p. 65

50. p. 65

51. p. 66. It is not clear whether Triton is implying that they are liable to misrepresent the Christian view or whether there is no Christian view to misrepresent.

52. Doubtless this is true. It is interesting that Triton does not seriously ask whether his Christian laymen are sufficiently well equipped. Furthermore it seems that a Christian political party such as the Anti-Revolutionary Party in Holland is better equipped than either, being supported by the Free University of Amsterdam, and its own research institute, the Abraham Kuyper Foundation in the Hague.

53. p. 66-7. It is not clear what Triton takes to be 'secular' for it would seem that there can be a secular political programme and Christian ones, i.e. those which witness to the coming Kingdom of God in the political arena.

54. p. 67

55. Cf. the individualism of outlook in Christianity in a Mechanistic Universe p. 7 (ed. D.M. Mackay).

56. Few middle class humanists will wish to object to Griffith's "distinctive Christian contribution" or his "biblical principles".

57. Is Revolution Change? p. 110.

58. As note 56.

59. p. 7

60. p. 99

61. Much evangelical preaching about the church has this character: the norms for the church and its actuality are identified. Cf. Peter Berger's The Noise of Solemn Assemblies p. 131

62. Is Revolution Change? p. 114

63. pp. 128-9

64. p. 97

65. p. 102

66. A conflict which expresses itself in analytical incoherence is visible in the writings of many evangelicals. The Biblical revelation appears to demand a total transformation i.e. see the antithesis between the Kingdoms running through the whole of life. This is reinforced by human reflection naturally seeking a unified view of life. On the other hand their own culture demands their allegiance. Hence the thoroughly unstable nature-grace dualism.

67. Whose World? p. 130

68. These two are clearly present in The Amsterdam Philosophy: a Preliminary Critique (papers by John M. Frame and Leonard J. Coppes) 1973 New Jersey, in which the serious attempt to develop a specifically Christian philosophy is rejected on the basis of doctrines derived from linguistic philosophy which is itself dominating the philosophic expression of Liberal Humanism! Cf. M. Gellner's characterisation in Words and Things (London 1963)

69. A.N. Triton maintains that one should not try to develop a specifically Christian culture (including for example a specifically Christian political party or daily newspaper) unless "the alternatives are really vicious" (p. 128). Apart from the small fact that by then it would almost certainly be too late, Triton's thought is dominated by the two norms of 1) 'evangelism': consequently all attempts to develop a Christian culture is seen as isolationism making it "harder to communicate the gospel to others" (p. 128) and 2) 'personal holiness': consequently isolationism would be justified if society became "really vicious". That God should require his people to be a distinctive people (i.e. having their own 'culture' is further excluded by Catherwood's antithesis between creation and redemption, and his individualism). The two possibilities which Triton sets up are cultural isolationism (following Tertullian) or synthesis (following Clement of Alexandria). In the first case no distinctively Christian art, philosophy, political style, etc. is developed. In the second the same is true for those who do not strive to develop in a distinctive Christian way will inevitably develop in a synthetic position: slightly modified Humanist art, philosophy, politics, etc. will be regarded as quite acceptable. Indeed such may well be defended against the attempt to develop something distinctive - the charge most frequently being one of cultural isolationism! This is almost inevitable for those whose thought is rooted in the nature-grace groundmotive. Such people if they give up defending (slightly Christianised) Humanist culture are liable to end up with Tertullian. If one is committed to the status quo then one is not liable to set out a theoretical defence as the principles which underly it are various, mixed and contradictory.

70. Is Revolution Change? p. 31 Cf. Footnote 12a in the chapter on the Church.

71. "Evangelicals and Education" in Evangelicals Today p. 107-121 (1973)

72. p. 32 ibid.

73. p. 33

74. Pre-eminently Abraham Kuyper (1837-1920) "Do not forget that the fundamental contrast has always been, is still, and will be until the end: Christianity and Paganism, the idol or the living God". For Kuyper this realisation meant total conflict "Principle must again bear witness against principle, world view against world view, spirit against spirit" pp. 198-9 Lectures on Calvinism 1898. The Stone Foundation Lectures given at Princeton University.

75. The chief publications in the area of political thought are H. Dooyeweerd's The Christian Idea of the State, Albert Gedraitis's Worship and Politics, B. Goudzwaard's A Christian Political Option, H. Evan Runner's Scriptural Religion and Political Task, E.L. Hebden Taylor The Christian Philosophy of Law, Politics and the State (1966) and Reformation or Revolution? (1970), B. Zylstra From Pluralism to Collectivism: the Development of Harold Laski's Political Thought.

76. p. 25-26, 118 Evangelicals Today

77. p. 34-35 Whose World?: Banner of Truth (August-July and Sept 1973)

78. And there was Light (1972) John Capon.

79. p. 125 *ibid.*

80. Cf. George Macleod's The Future of the Traditional Churches (1972) on the world situation.

81. The Evangelicals p. 148 (1969)

## Business and Industry

We have already touched upon the way in which Evangelicals have tended to grade occupations according to their "evangelistic potential". In this present context we intend to look at those forms of work which are given a low rating in that they are neither directly evangelistic (like that of the minister or missionary) nor ostensibly 'humanitarian' in the way in which are those of the doctor, teacher, nurse or social worker. Unlike political activity, everyday work is not something optional. Until the last decade the attitude of evangelicals seems to have rested upon a number of considerations. Work was a necessity; sometimes regarded as almost a necessary evil but certainly better than idleness. ('The Devil finds work for idle hands'). Apart from supporting oneself and one's family -- regarded as highly important Christian duties -- the main Christian meaning of work was threefold. In the first place there was 'character formation' to be argued in favour of jobs that seemed especially pointless. As one writer of 1960 put it "...a certain amount of monotony is an essential part of character training". "The Lord is more interested in the workman than the work" <sup>1</sup>; and "he makes good use of monotony in moulding our character... monotony can be the raw material out of which steadfastness, patience and perseverance are developed" <sup>2</sup>. Secondly, he must be an evangelist, "Christ's ambassador in the place where he is employed" <sup>3</sup>. Thirdly, the money earned "enables us to minister to the needs of others, and contributes towards the work of the Kingdom of God" <sup>4</sup>. Finally, taking Paul's tentmaking as a model, the job exists as a (secular) means to a higher (spiritual) end. According to this view "Christians do their best and most lasting work for God outside their daily job" <sup>5</sup> and



William Carey is quoted with approval as saying "My work is to preach the Gospel -- I cobble shoes to pay expenses" <sup>6</sup> . In every case the only possible justification of work is seen in terms of what it makes possible for personal sanctity and personal evangelism. Even the necessity of working 'for keeping body and soul together' is, within consistent evangelical thinking, seen as a general pre-requisite of evangelism.

One of the first significant books on business by a British evangelical in the modern era was H.F.R. Catherwood's The Christian in Industrial Society (1st ed. 1964, 2nd ed. 1966). As we consider these and further writings it is important to bear in mind the question -- Why were these books written after so long a silence? <sup>7</sup> Are they intended to stimulate and defend the evangelical concensus against external attacks? Or is their purpose to express dissatisfaction with that concensus and propose a new outlook? (Furthermore it should also be remembered that these writings are, of necessity, the work of the most educated and aware of evangelicals and that popular evangelical thought is lagging a long way behind. Of the latter little documentation is available <sup>8</sup> ).

I think it is fair to say that one finds elements of all three tendencies. Catherwood not only writes his book for 'the Christian in industrial society' he espouses the view that 'the dignity and freedom of the individual' must be the guiding light -- and the Christian light -- which must be the standard by which we evaluate the various features of industrial society. Furthermore our society is held to be characterised by its respect for the individual and this is said to be directly due to Christian influence <sup>9</sup> . From this it would appear that the Christian in industrial society both should support the existing traditions and can fully and happily participate in it. Consequently Catherwood is critical of those Christians who

trivialize 'secular work'. He writes:

"The Christian who is not called to the ministry should ask, What is God's purpose in life for individual members of the Christian Church? Is it to imitate on a smaller scale and part time the work of the minister, or is it something separate and different? Too many people today seem to believe that the laity are without functions except those of 'personal evangelist' and part-time preacher. But if we have gifts as evangelists and teachers, why should we not use them full-time? The teaching of the Bible on the function of the laity would appear to be more positive. The Church is here to glorify God before an unbelieving world by living the kind of life which God intended man to live... The Christian does not work to earn a living; he works because God intended that he should use the gifts He has given him for the fulfillment of a divine purpose. He goes on working whether or not he needs to earn a living. His work is a divine vocation and not to be treated lightly, whether he is a surgeon or carpenter." 10

Not only so, but Professor Tawney's criticism of pietistic Christianity is quoted with approval...

"During the last two centuries Europe, and particularly industrial Europe, has seen the development of a society in which what is called personal religion continues to be taught as the rule of individual conduct, but in which the very conception of religion as the inspiration and standard of social life and corporate effort has been forgotten. Possessing no standards of their own, the churches were at the mercy of those who did possess them. They relieved the wounded and comforted the dying but they dared not enter the battle" 11

Finally with respect to developing an economic system beyond the present compromise between capitalism and socialism Catherwood sets forward a position which he believes could "...both safeguard Christian principles and embody Christian ideals" 12 .

However the ideal which he characterises turns out to be almost a description of the contemporary British economic system and the trends already at work within it. A number of inter-related factors guarantee this. The most general is that Catherwood insists that whatever aims are put forward must be compatible with the existing system<sup>13</sup> Consequently all the suggestions he puts forward are short-termed possibilities within the existent system; he proposes no long-term alterations to the present system. Nor would his view of economics facilitate that. Serious economics does not consider alternative systems. "Economics is about means and not ends...It simply aims to

match given resources to given demands in the most economic manner". Moreover, serious economics must be freed from all moral and political prejudices for "economics, as economics, is a science" <sup>14</sup> . Not only does he seem to want the science of economics to be freed from what he regards as "external influences" <sup>15</sup> but believes that planning for 'economic growth' -- held by Catherwood to be an unquestionable ideal <sup>15a</sup> -- is most successful in the absence of political considerations. He is happy that "Both major parties are becoming less attached to dogma and are looking for a solution which will best combine freedom and economic growth" <sup>16</sup> .

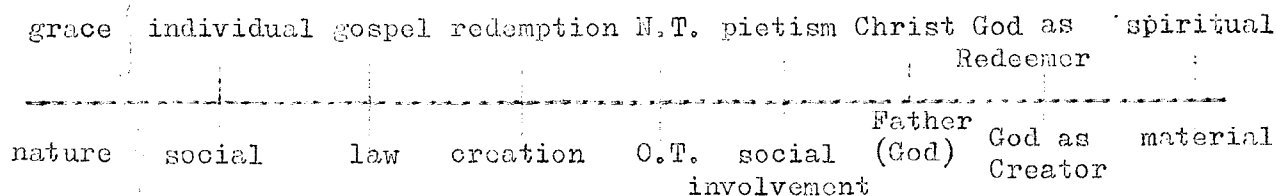
Connected with this belief in the possibility -- and the reality -- of neutral economic theory comes the belief in the existence of neutral technical expertise, along with the assumption that we all agree on the ends so that those who possess the techniques can be trusted to instantiate our common ideal to the extent that it is actually possible . Catherwood writes, "While most decisions are in fact purely technical, there is probably a tendency in modern industrial society to regard all decisions as technical" <sup>17</sup> . By this he seems to mean that to the 'purely technical decisions' must be added others which contain moral elements -- which are taken to be those founded in the common 'Christian' moral tradition of our land. In neither case is there room, in his opinion, for profound controversy related to opposed world and life views.

In 1968, expanding upon his essay 'Christian Worldliness' in Guidelines (1967) came Professor J.N.D. Anderson's Into the World. This book is suggestive and not entirely coherent. Many of its insights come from far outside the evangelical camp as numerous references and the suggested further reading make evident (pp.111-112) <sup>18</sup> . The incoherence is one with which we are familiar as intrinsic to the nature-grace dialectic. What is new is the recognition, on the part

of Professor Anderson, that it is that dualistic tradition within which he is working and his partial break with certain aspects of it. He introduces a formulation which no longer regards the 'realm of nature' as evil, antithetical to grace or neutrally just there, and seeks to develop a 'theology of the secular' as he calls it. The following formulation, which has already had wide currency outside of evangelical circles, has since become part of upper echelon orthodoxy<sup>19</sup>.

"It has sometimes been debated whether the social teaching of the Bible flows directly from the doctrines of the person and work of Christ - that is, from the facts of redemption - or whether it rests on some other foundation. This raises larger issues, concerning the relation of grace to nature, which are beyond the province of this book. But it seems to me that the Bible approaches questions of social responsibility in terms of the doctrine of Creation and of God's plan for the created order, and not primarily in terms of the doctrines of incarnation, redemption and God's plan for his Church - though it is, of course, the latter truths which set out the immediate context, and provide the motivating power, for the Christian's fulfillment of his social duty" 20

Perhaps the clearest way to present the structural features of Anderson's outlook is to schematize them as follows:



What is criticised about the older evangelical pietism is the rejection of the 'natural realm'. What Anderson seems to be recommending is the addition of a positive evaluation of the 'secular' to the older pietist tradition. At the same time he becomes aware that a mere addition is perhaps not possible. He wonders whether there is in fact "...any real antithesis between the secular and the spiritual, and between the temporal and the eternal?"<sup>21</sup> In a number of places this is especially visible. In the first place the older pietism had maintained that it was individuals alone who were to be redeemed and one gained the overwhelming impression that by this was meant the souls of individuals although the resurrection of the body was not

denied. However when Professor Anderson is outlining the Christian faith he clearly has considerable difficulty in making sense of the Biblical teaching which is at variance with the pietist tradition:

"That in the new creation all things are to be summed up in Christ as head (Ephesians 1. 10), for His Cross has somehow 'reconciled' not only the world of men but the whole material and spiritual universe (Colossians 1. 20)" 22

In the second place the nature of the Kingdom of God is especially problematic. While rejecting the optimistic, evolutionistic 'social gospel' view of the Kingdom <sup>23</sup>, he seems simultaneously to embrace and reject the traditional evangelical view that the prayer 'Thy Kingdom come', if more than purely eschatological, is equivalent to the individual obeying and making or acknowledging Christ as his Lord. His characterisation of the nature of the coming Kingdom is set forward mainly in terms of rather hesitant rhetorical questions <sup>24</sup>. This is not surprising for his formulations cut across the dualistic framework of his thinking, for example the material-spiritual distinction introduced earlier. Of the final Kingdom he says:

"It will not be a human or material Kingdom, nor yet a purely spiritual one. Instead, it will be a Kingdom which includes, as we have seen, the 'restitution of all things', so that the whole universe will fulfill its proper function and will reflect the glory of its King" 25

Turning now from his overall vision to his view of business and industry we find a joyful affirmation of them far in excess of the previous writers we have encountered. Again he proceeds by means of rhetorical questions, prudently avoiding the appearance of negating the older evangelicalism in a dogmatic manner - and yet, in fact, doing so. He writes:

"But we are concerned not only with the dignity of man as a worker, but also of the significance of the work he does. If God himself delighted to fashion all the exquisite beauties of nature, and if He bestowed on man, too, many forms of creative ability, then who dare say that He is not interested in the construction of an aeroplane or a tractor, in the composition of a sonata, or in chemical research? If God Himself is the sustainer as well as the creator of nature, is He not concerned with the work of the market, the farm, the laundry and the kitchen? If not a sparrow falls to the ground without His

knowledge, and even the hairs of our head are numbered, can we believe that any work which serves our fellow men or ministers to their needs from the cradle to the grave, is not part of His beneficent purpose?" 26

He goes on to castigate the reduction of the idea of vocation to a limited class of people as sub-Christian and maintains that all of God's people are called to 'good works' which have been prepared beforehand by God for them to do -- following Ephesians 2. 8-10. The restriction of the idea of calling he holds responsible for...

"...an embarrassing lack of Christian authors, journalists, playwrights and artists to influence public standards and even exploit the means of mass-communication in the cause of Christ. Exactly the same applies to the spheres of business, industry and economics. Instead of the salt being so placed that it can 'season' every facet of society, it is today very unevenly distributed. Many God-given talents and capabilities lie undeveloped and unused. It is significant that the Old Testament speaks of men being called by name and filled with the Spirit of God to be craftsmen, metal workers, carvers and embroiderers (Exodus 31. 2-11), to say nothing of rulers and administrators (Cf. Isaiah 22. 20, etc.). We need to recapture this vision.."27

However Professor Anderson never seems to be aware that such new wine may require new wineskins, new structures and institutions. He nowhere discusses the possibilities of Christian trade unions 28, alternative businesses 29 or the need for a Christian economic research institute 30 . His individualism not only precludes these possibilities a priori but also the passage we have just quoted continues "We urgently need to recapture this vision, to ask God to show us His plan, whatever it may be, for our individual lives ." (p. 21) (my italics) "...the Christian...should seek to find out God's plan for his life..." (p. 23) (my italics).

Bruce Reed has commented on this situation with Catherwood's The Christian in Industrial Society especially in mind. His words are worthy of being quoted at length for they are beginning to reflect the awareness which one is today encountering amongst the more aware evangelical:

"Many Christians are conscious of the presence of Christ in the day-to-day events of their lives, and maintain clear standards of personal integrity, but outside a circumscribed area of

'religious' or 'spiritual' situations they are unable to discern what God is doing or reflect upon what they are doing in Christian terms. For example, most Christians in industry acknowledge a responsibility to do a good job, promote justice and mutual trust, set an example of integrity, and make Christ known by word or action. They believe Christ is present with them to strengthen them and guide them. Yet to ask them what God is doing in and through the work of their company, as products are designed, manufactured and sold, as managers, foremen and shop stewards exercise their authority, and as employees receive their wages and salaries, seems to them to ask a practically meaningless question. The answers that are given usually imply that God is impotent to do anything except look. In this way the Christian's own uncertainty is projected on to God. This uncertainty also affects the Christian's approach to the Bible. He reads it to find out what he should do, rather than discover how God is at work.

The Old Testament prophet, on the other hand, was able to describe what God was doing in the market-place as well as in the temple. He saw God at work in political events, in the movements of armies and migration of nations, in good harvest and prosperity, in famine and disaster, and in the life of the city and the palace. The essential function of the prophet was not to foretell the future or to denounce evil (although he did this), but to make people aware of God as a living reality in their midst. There were prophets in the church of the New Testament, and Paul regarded prophecy as the gift of the Spirit most to be desired after love. Today the Church lacks those with this prophetic awareness who can help others to see what God is doing in the everyday situations of their lives". 31

#### Footnotes

1. Cf. Philip May's view that the teacher's character is more important than what he teaches.
2. p. 17 The Christian's Conduct (Scripture Union) Godfrey Robinson and Stephen Winward.
3. p. 18 ibid.
4. p. 18. This pre-supposes that the work itself is not working for the Kingdom of God. The very titles of books can be significant -- a number of those to which we have referred indicate a powerful individualism: The Christian's Conduct, The Christian in Industrial Society, The Christian Citizen, etc. Such a formulation evokes the picture of the solitary individual Christian in relation to the vast structures and organisations of modern society. They are solidly there. The Christian must either, it seems, fit in (more or less) or drop out. He, all by himself, can hardly be expected to struggle for the reformation of those aspects of modern society with which he is involved. If the formulation was "The Body of Christ and..." or, even more so, "Jesus Christ and..." the whole starting point would be radically different. Cf. The Christian Teamwork Approach to Learning, p. 3.
5. ibid.
6. ibid. p. 19--20
7. Catherwood remarks that his study groups "...have found a remarkable

absence of previous study on the subject". (p. vii)

8. e.g. God at Ground Level 1972 by Ralph Capenerhurst and Eddy Stride.

9. Cf. p. xiv The Christian in Industrial Society

10. *ibid.* p. 2-3

11. *ibid.* p. 28-9

12. *ibid.* p. 27

13. *ibid.* p. 32 "Above all, these claims must be realisable in practice and should, therefore, be fulfilled by adapting the existing system rather than uprooting it".

14. *Ibid.* p. 16. This accords with the view we encountered in our chapter on education. Economics can be in principle (and should be) free from all philosophical and religious, as well as moral and political, pre-suppositions. Consequently the idea of a Christian development of the science of economics is excluded in principle. Some fundamental questioning of this view has been begun by Alan Storkey, formerly of the Shaftesbury Project, and Dr. Anthony Cramp (Emmanuel College) in his recent Cambridge University Lecture 'A Christian View of Economic Philosophy' and overseas by Prof. Bob Goudzwaard in his Economic Stewardship and Capitalist Religion (1972).

We can add to this the following: "As a Science, economics can concern itself only with the best means of attaining given ends: it cannot prescribe the ends themselves" (Samuelson, Economics, McGraw-Hill 1967, quoted in Counter Course p. 165)

15. The question here is whether these are in fact external or whether they are inescapably internal to economic theory.

15a. pp 32, 33, 36 of The Christian in Industrial Society Cf. E.J. Misham The Cost of Economic Growth, 1967.

16. p. 36 The Christian in Industrial Society Cf. John F. Kennedy "Yale University Government Speech" New York Times, June 12, 1962, p. 20 (quoted by Theodore Rozsak in The Making of the Counter Culture p.11

"Today the old sweeping issues have largely disappeared. The central domestic problems of our time are more subtle and less simple. They relate not to basic clashes of ideology or philosophy, but to ways and means of reaching common goals -- to research for sophisticated solutions to complex and obstinate issues...

What is at stake in our economic decisions today is not some grand warfare of rival ideologies which will sweep the country with passion, but the practical management of a modern economy"

17. p. 94 The Christian in Industrial Society. Cf. Philip May Which Way to School? p. ix.

18. e.g. A.M. Ramsey, A. Vidler, V.A. Derrant, H. Blamires, W. Temple, J. Ellul, C. Dawson, D. Jenkins.

19. It is absolutely central to A.M. Triton Whose World? cf. pp. 13, 180, 43.

20. p. 15 Into the World.



21. Ibid p. 106.

22. p. 15 (Cf. p. 10). Cf. A.N. Triton in Whose World? (p. 34) whose thought is much more dominated by the same dualism goes so far as to suggest that the passage referred to in Colossians is unique.

23. Ibid pp. 99-100.

24. Ibid p. 102: "Is the Kingdom to be a reality only in the transcendental sphere and in the lives of individual Christians? Is it not to embrace every aspect of human life and, indeed, the whole universe? And is His rule to be visible, not only to the eye of faith but to all men everywhere?"

pp.110-111: "But will any of the things we do on earth, other than the spiritual, survive in the eternal world? Have they any lasting value in themselves?... And may not what is true of our characters be true also, at least in some sense, in what we do - the music or literature we write, the talents we develop, and certainly the faithfulness we show? May not these, too, be transmuted into something of eternal significance?"

(Cf. p. 11)

25. Ibid p. 103

26. Ibid p. 20

27. Ibid. pp.20-21.

28. After the fashion of the Christian Labour Association of Canada now 20 years old. See G. Vandezande and J.H. Olthius Bunglers and Visionaries ( ). Cf. Catherwood in The Christian in Industrial Society who argues that as the British unions are little influenced by Communism he can agree with "senior people in the Trade Union Movement" who oppose the formation of different unions based on distinctive religious principles e.g. Catholicism (p. 47). Furthermore "In the experience of most unionists those who did not join were seldom, if ever, acting for the principles of religious liberty. Only a tiny minority of those who had religious scruples were doing anything more than trying to avoid collective obligations" (p.44). Catherwood in a typically conservative manner consistently thinks the worst of any dissenters against the status quo and always gives the benefit of the doubt to existent practices even when these would appear to be in conflict with the few vague principles he has laid down. Having come close to maintaining that the professional ethos derives from the Christian faith he proceeds to maintain that "Union ideology is very different from middle-class professional ideology" (p. 48) and then proceeds to defend that too. As Nigel Harris has argued Conservatives can never be men of principle.

29. Some of the churches involved in the neo-charismatic renewal have been considering and beginning serious re-organisation here after the fashion of the model of the Church of the Redeemer in Houston, Texas.

30. Cf. The Institute for Christian Studies in Toronto which performs this function for the CLAC. The nearest equivalent amongst British evangelicals are some study groups of the Shaftesbury Project.

31. p. 3 The Christian Teamwork Approach to Learning (1965) by Bruce Reed, quoted in part in John Benington's Culture, Class and Christian Belief (1973 Scripture Union, London)

The Evangelical view of culture: Education, the Arts & Sciences, Philosophy.

1. Education

A rather lengthy quotation from A Sociology of English Religion (1967) can serve as a good starting-point on the evangelical attitude to education. David Martin writes:

"...Obviously literacy is essential to meditation on Scripture and for adequate daily refreshment of the soul. Literacy is also essential for achieving or sustaining a decent, probably non-manual job, and security for one's family: particularly was this the case some fifty or more years ago. Thus education served spiritual and secular vocations alike, but it was still not specially valuable in itself, partly for the fundamentalist reasons just cited 1, and also because it could be associated with the indulgent aestheticism of 'high culture': conspicuous leisure, wining, dining, connoisseurship, opera. Evangelicals wished to be literate, not to be literati" (pp. 60-61)

This characterisation is a helpful one in bringing out the dualistic (secular and sacred) concern of the Evangelicals with education, but its reference is chiefly retrospective. A feature which emphatically needs to be added if it is to be adequate to twentieth century Evangelical attitudes to education is the centrality of evangelism. The latter is said to be -- at least in the realm of grace <sup>2</sup> -- the most important task in the life of the Christian.

As a result, human life is habitually divided between evangelism and the rest. The remainder appears to be subdivided in three principal ways. First, those things instrumental to evangelism. Second, those things which are necessary or legitimate but ultimately unimportant. Third, those things which are unprofitable, dangerous or evil. This leads to a bifurcation of 'callings' <sup>3</sup> -- between those engaged in 'full time Christian work' and those who are 'laymen' having 'secular jobs'. The latter are then divided into three varieties in terms of the above schema. First, the type of work which brings one into face to face

contact with human need and suffering and which thereby offers opportunities for evangelism. Doctors, nurses, social workers and teachers are in this category <sup>4</sup>. Secondly, other sets of responsible respectable work having prospects e.g. banking and insurance. Such people are valued for their organisational know-how and financial support of churches, evangelistic and missionary endeavours. (They are trustworthy people of high professional standards and ethics). Thirdly, such work as is regarded as morally dubious if not as evil <sup>5</sup>.

Such a view has meant that evangelicals have historically contributed to education in two ways. First in the provision of basic literacy so that people would be able to read the Bible -- e.g. the schools established by Hannah Moore and on the 'mission field'. Second the provision of 'theological training' for full-time Christian workers so that they will be able to teach and preach the Bible. Any other education has had a rather severely '3 Rs' utilitarian cast to it -- enabling those so educated to earn a living. (A leading evangelical wrote recently: 'Christian teaching will not merely be trying to win people to a personal Christian faith. It will first of all try to impart basic knowledge and skills which are essential to being useful in society' p. 144 Whose World?). As existent state education is regarded as fulfilling the needs for literacy and vocational skills the only remaining type of educational institution widely supported by the evangelical public remains the Bible and Theological College <sup>6</sup>, and of course the Sunday School both of which are adjuncts to the church institution.

Within the schema previously mentioned it was clear that occupations were graded in terms of their evangelistic potential <sup>7</sup>. The consequence has been that a recurring issue for evangelicals in category (1) of secular occupations is that of the compatibility or otherwise of evangelism and professional behaviour. Professional behaviour is for the most part assumed to be religiously neutral, acceptable, and

reasonably unproblematic. The central issue seems to be whether evangelicism should take place during working hours - or only in coffee breaks!

Within the state school system the major opportunities for evangelism are thought to be the morning assemblies and the teaching of 'religious education' (plus the establishment of a Christian Union out of hours). Consequently most evangelical writers on education see their major task as legitimating the educational situation as it has existed in Britain since the 1944 Act and defending it against serious innovations <sup>8</sup> . The main evangelical writers on education - Peter Cousins, Philip May and Paul Hirst - are now in the curious position not only of defending R.I. against the criticism of the British Humanist Association but of defending the remainder of the curriculum and indeed the very idea of state education against a growing number of younger evangelicals <sup>9</sup> . Against the B.H.A. Peter Cousins argues as follows:

"The fact is that when secularists say 'Most people are in no sense Christians' they are wrong. However vague may be the Christianity of this 90%, they call it Christianity. They do not think of themselves as secular humanist. So it seems a little unreasonable to suggest changing our educational system in the interests of this little ginger group (In 1967 the British Humanist Association had 3,813 members)... the British people are far more 'Christian' than some folk want us to think" <sup>10</sup> .

With respect to the defence of the remainder of the curriculum against Christian criticism it is maintained either (i) that it is in fact Christian and therefore quite acceptable <sup>11</sup> or (ii) that these disciplines are neutral with respect to the Christian religion and therefore quite acceptable <sup>12</sup> . Sometimes both of these are asserted separately and occasionally they are combined into the argument that the idea of neutral autonomous disciplines 'derive from' the Christian faith <sup>13</sup> . We shall consider these issues later when we examine evangelical views of philosophy, the arts and the sciences. The passage just quoted from Peter Cousins is a very strange one coming from an avowed evangelical. It is significant that he does not investigate what they mean by

'Christianity'. Indeed, if it is anything like what Richard Hoggart suggests in The Uses of Literacy<sup>14</sup> then it is far far closer to secular humanism than anything which Cousins would care to call 'genuinely Christian'. If R.I. was truly to represent the views of the majority of parents then one suspects that it would come far closer to the moral education recommended by the B.H.A. than any sort of Biblically based syllabus. Consequently Cousins' arguments appear to be rather hastily constructed defences of commitments which lie at a deeper level. Most obvious is there the attempt to maintain some sort of foothold in the schools of Britain for the Christian faith. But one feels that both May and Cousins would argue that both Christian teachers and pupils should remain in the state schools even if they were (1) in no sense Christian and (11) not neutral but Humanistic. The first reason would be that they should see themselves as missionaries to their non-Christian colleagues and fellow-pupils, and more generally perhaps seek to 'Christianise' the schools somewhat. But even if one could point out that the situation was counter-productive - e.g. that such missionary work was unsuccessful or even that in the schools more people lost their faith than were won to Christ than one still feels there would be great hesitancy about leaving the existent educational system or withdrawing one's children<sup>15</sup> from it. The ground of this hesitancy has a positive and a negative aspect. We have already seen that the dualism of nature-grace means that only part of life is seen in a distinctively Christian way, indeed, often only a very small part. The consequence is that the remainder of life is seen in the light of another vision of life. This means that most British evangelicals sustain not merely two or more roles but rather two religions - two identities and two related communities<sup>16</sup>. The second identity is that of being British and more specifically middle-class. With such an identity and community the idea of repudiating or being excommunicated by this culture would lead to a religious -

and perhaps a psychological - crisis. Consequently the two identities and communities must be reconciled at any cost which means that one must reconcile the Christian faith with the status quo - or at least show the possibility of their co-existence. I have closely related the middle-class world with the status quo on two grounds. The first is the manner in which middle-class conservatism more or less identifies the ideal with the actual. The second is that evangelicalism is, as I have mentioned, negatively connected with the status quo in that it has no distinctive alternative Christian vision of the future of education, politics and the state, business, philosophy, the arts and sciences. Consequently it gives itself no choice but to be shaped by existent ideas, ideals and institutions -- which get sucked into the vacuum created by such a limited Christian identity. The very structure of this situation leads to positions being taken which are at other times clearly repudiated -- even in the same book or article. This anxiety not to be at odds with British society leads therefore, as we have seen, in two related directions. The first is that of 'Christianizing' the image of British society while decrying its apostasy. The second is that of reducing Christianity to a form acceptable within British society, e.g. by secularising it in the direction of a moralistic humanism -- while denouncing theological liberalism (which does the same thing) as 'another gospel'.

This situation helps us to understand why Philip May's educational philosophy, which we shall now briefly investigate -- involves such a severe dualism, indeed a foundational contradiction, the severity and the contradictoriness of which, when he seeks to reduce it, merely ~~does~~ further damage to the cause he intends to support. We remember that he argues for the religious neutrality<sup>17</sup> of education and that Christian and non-Christian can work together for common goals in a common educational system<sup>18</sup>. This may seem to go against his evangelical

view of the unbridgeable gulf between 'born again Christians' and lost humanity under the judgement of God. The two he 'reconciles' within the dualistic framework of nature and grace. The antithesis between Christian faith and idolatry is restricted to the realm of Grace whereas synthesis is advocated in the (much larger) realm of nature. Indeed those who would maintain, following Kuyper, that the antithesis between the Kingdoms runs through the whole of life -- and every academic subject thereby -- are regarded as being misguided and troublesome as those who would blur the distinction between the 'saved' and the 'lost'. Indeed the two groups -- the theological liberals and the reformational Christians -- are often tarred by conservative evangelicals with the same brush <sup>19</sup>. Much of the evangelical mentality was formed in the days of the struggles between liberalism and fundamentalism. Consequently, with respect to anyone who argues from an ostensibly 'Christian' viewpoint it is assumed that if it is not 'conservative evangelical' then it must be liberal. As reformational Christians have criticised the conservative evangelical position it is concluded that they must be from the liberal camp. Evidence for this is regarded as hardly necessary as the judgement follows a priori from the structure of their position. What evidence is offered is frequently trivial or irrelevant <sup>20</sup>. An example of this is A.N. Triton's criticism of Professor Herman Dooyeweerd -- a position probably influenced by Emil Brunner's anti-cultural, personalistic existentialistic neo-orthodoxy <sup>21</sup>. What is ironic, if not surprising once we have understood the structure of this dualistic worldview is that when it comes to the 'realm of nature' <sup>22</sup> most evangelicals will often much more happily turn to the writings of liberal Christians or even Humanist writers rather than those who have sought to provide a distinctively Christian understanding of the matter in hand. Indeed their criticism of the latter will often be almost indistinguishable in substance from that which a Humanist -- a comfortable middle-class English humanist -- would make <sup>23</sup>.

The fundamental contradiction to which this position leads recurs

time and again in evangelical writings. This may be seen in the booklet Preparing for Teaching (IVP 1972, ed. Philip May and Colin Holloway) issued by the Association of Christian Teachers. It is the declared aim of this association to "assert Christian principles and values in education" and "to encourage consideration of educational issues from a biblical point of view" (p. 44). In the early pages of this booklet we read "The basis of Christian action in the field of education must be in genuinely Christian thinking about education" (p. 9) Here then, we are led to believe, are people wanting both Christian action and thinking in education - but it in fact offers none. In fact it insists that "...what the booklet does not attempt to do is to formulate a Christian philosophy of education which is generically different from any other philosophy of education. For there is no separate Christian theory of education. The substance of educational knowledge and experience is common to all, irrespective of faith". (p. 9)

At this point, and as a bridge before we move on to look at higher education, it may be useful to provide a structural analysis of Philip May's educational philosophy in Which Way to School? Such will hopefully make clear the antinomy built into the very heart of his position which forces him to declare the religious neutrality and autonomy of the whole range of academic disciplines and at the same time to introduce some sort of 'Christian qualification' - so that one is never sure exactly what to conclude. Many passages from Which Way to School? would serve but the following three must suffice. His epistemology - never clearly worked out - is a mix of native British positivism and Neo-Kantianism <sup>24</sup> .

He writes:

"Knowledge may be acquired, particularly through the senses and through objective study and analysis. This knowledge is available to everybody in accordance with their intellectual gifts (p. 71) ... each area of study has its own criteria and methods, which are not determined by particular religious pre-suppositions and principles, but by the nature of the subjects themselves (p.104)"



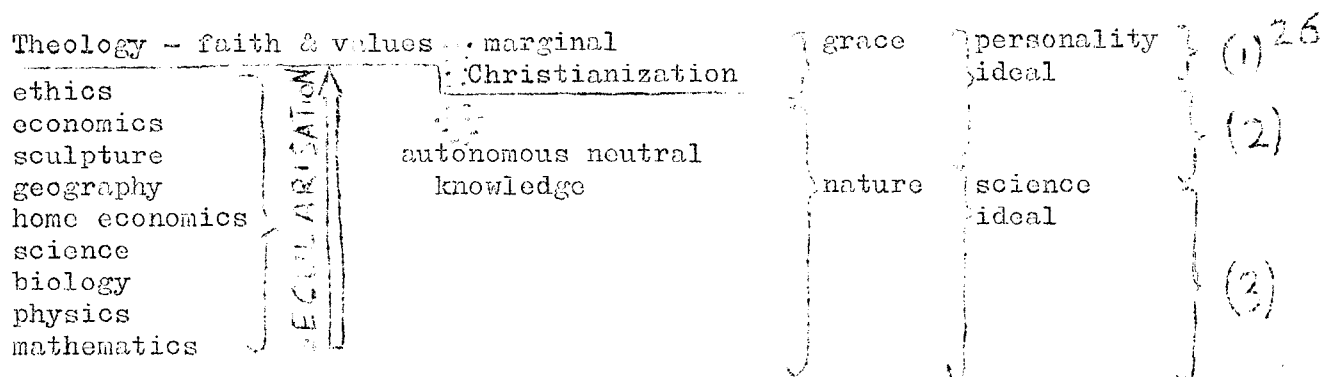
Consequently:

"There are no such subjects as Christian biology, or mathematics, or home economics" 25 ... "Therefore Christian and non-Christian educationalists can work harmoniously together at all levels and pursue many of the same aims in doing so" (p. 96)

And then comes the 'Christian' postscript:

"But it is possible and necessary for us to work out a Christian approach to these matters, an attitude and use based on Christian values and morality" (p. 62)

The following diagram may clarify this situation:



As is clear from the quote from p. 48 May is untroubled by - indeed oblivious to - the secularisation of almost the whole of human life and knowledge and merely insists that there still remains a sector which must remain an exception. He goes a little further than most evangelicals in putting ethics within the realm of nature. A further point to which the double bracketing on the right hand end of the diagram refers is the way in which the scholastic dualism of nature and grace is partly re-interpreted within the science-personality dialectic of modern post-Renaissance Humanism <sup>27</sup>. May -- like most evangelicals <sup>28</sup> -- gives priority to the cult of personality, the 'I-thou' as opposed to the 'I-it' to use the phrase of Martin Buber whose thought is largely formed by the same basic ground motive <sup>29</sup>. It is no surprise which side May takes in the controversy between subject-centred and pupil-centred education for this division is indeed an expression of the Humanist dialectic <sup>30</sup>. The following quotations speak for themselves:

"Nevertheless the main stress in education today should be on character, not calling, on living rather than learning"(p.4)

"People matter more than things" (p.5)

"Biblical teaching primarily emphasises the supreme worth and dignity of every human being" (p. 44)

"What the teacher is matters more than what he teaches" (p. 141)

"Christians...should strive to maintain the personal touch in school life at all points, for we are concerned with people as individuals" (p. 31)

### Higher Education

We turn now to the university scene and the evangelical presence there. We have already commented briefly on the history of the I.V.F. which consists of approximately 5% of British university students and forms on most campuses the largest student groups by far involving a high degree of commitment and participation. However the influence of the I.V.F. on the universities as universities is almost non-existent. Moreover there seems to be considerable evidence that a large proportion of I.V.F. members discard their evangelical faith in the years following graduation, so that any possible impact on society or the professions is seriously diminished. From my investigations it seems that these two failures are closely related. In an I.F.E.S. memorandum of 1950 we read:

"The evangelicals' acceptance of the biblical doctrines of regeneration and assurance of salvation results in a distinctive course of action. While emphasising that there is a distinctively biblical world-view and while inculcating the more general implications of the gospel with regard to society, his primary concern is with the individual's experience of the saving work of Christ in his own life" 31

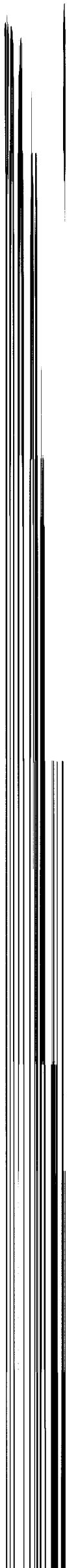
It is fairly evident from the history of the I.V.F. that it was not until the late nineteen sixties that there was much concern with matters other than those regarded as 'primary'. In addition to devotional writings a few rather light-weight apologetic items existed <sup>32</sup>. Nothing was done with respect to developing 'a distinctively biblical worldview' or an understanding of the 'implications of the gospel for society'.

From what we have seen already of the implicit dualism of evangel-

icism such a reduction of Biblical religion to "the individual's experience of the saving work of Christ in his own life" <sup>33</sup> made it structurally impossible for a distinctively Christian social policy and worldview to be developed <sup>34</sup> . But instead of recognising this as the consequence of a serious reductionism it is maintained that those who expect and seek a distinctively Christian vision of life are misguided. In Evangelical Belief we read...

"There is a tendency on the part of some to confuse the great affirmations of Christian doctrine themselves with the details of their application and outworking in the day-to-day experience of Christians. The former are principles which can be stated with certainty and clarity, although their particular applications in experience offer scope for a variety of opinion" (p. 6)

Not that much effort was exerted on developing opinions on these secondary matters. Indeed such effort was discouraged as being divisive and a distraction from primary matters. Furthermore there was little opportunity for it either in that evangelicals holding academic positions provided little guidance. Moreover the life of the student was sharply divided between the Christian Union and the university. The student lived out his life in two very different 'plausibility structures' to use Berger's phrase. On the one hand the warm and earnest pietism of the C.U.; on the other the liberal humanist university. He had two libraries. On the one hand his ever so slim paperbacks most of which bore the I.V.F. imprimatur and on the other his thick expensive hardback academic books. Official publications assured one that these two 'worlds' were 'complementary'. One divided one's life between one's personal private evangelical faith and one's public faith in reason, objectivity and scientific method. One could be a 'keen Christian' and a 'good scholar' in the liberal humanist university. One was re-assured of this by clergymen with double firsts from Oxbridge speaking at Missions, with Professors speaking on prayer and by the great host of academics (with all their degrees specified) listed on the back page of the Inter-Varsity



magazine. Noteworthy was the fact that their qualifications were predominantly in medicine, engineering and the physical sciences with a few theologians thrown in. People in the arts, literature, philosophy and the social sciences were significantly absent. This fits the vocational patterns we noticed earlier.

Not only is it significant that most of the books published by the I.V.F. prior to the late sixties were devotional in character. It is also even more significant that the I.V.F. has never produced any serious Christian critique of the university or of any of its constituent disciplines - unlike the S.C.M. which published a number of items before and after World War II <sup>35</sup> .

Nor is this surprising for the prevailing outlook has effectively dislocated the "great affirmations of Christian doctrine" from the rest of life. This dislocation means that numerous opinions are held on various matters. It is then concluded that there is no normative Christian view because evangelicals differ <sup>36</sup> . Furthermore if there is no distinctive Christian view and everyone has a right to his own opinion then such matters are best excluded from the fellowship as being dangerous to unity. Not only are all cultural, political and educational matters banished from the fellowship but also any theological or ecclesiastical matter on which evangelicals differ <sup>37</sup> . Michael King has suggested that "the unity that exists amongst those representatives of differing Evangelical outlooks is in fact specious; it is little more than a cosy camaderie depending more upon the suppression of controversial issues" <sup>38</sup> .

This means that the 'Basic Christianity' of the Christian Unions incapacitates itself from developing a principled Christian world and life view such as would provide the basis for a Christian critique of the university and modern society at large. Having obtained its ecumenicity by subtraction <sup>39</sup> such a faith is hardly a militant world conquering one. Rather it needs to be separated from life in order to

survive. <sup>39a</sup> This is to some large degree facilitated by the near monastic existence of the evangelical student. It is further made possible by the strength and demanding character of the C.U. groups. Other involvements are discouraged and indeed seldom possible because of the heavy demands of time the group makes - especially on the leadership, the committee. The fragility of such a faith often becomes manifest soon after graduation, lacking the C.U. plausibility structure and being confronted with responsibilities and issues never previously discussed seriously. The failure of the S.C.M. was a visible one - it was unable to handle the cultural questions which it legitimated in a Christian way. The failure of the I.V.F. has been a largely invisible one, delayed until after graduation when confronted with the same questions in concrete form - and thence frequently concluding that evangelicism was an adolescent phase, irrelevant to an involved and mature human life <sup>40</sup>. Those whose 'basic Christianity' survives in its most positive form are those who have moved into the successive evangelical plausibility structures of the C.U., the evangelical theological college and thence into an evangelical church. It is these people who are pre-eminently selected to speak at C.U. meetings and thus the process continues. Another point to be mentioned in this context is that, in spite of official disclaimers, the C.U. does in fact function as a church for its membership. It is their central Christian community, where they feel at home. Their relationship to the churches they attend on Sundays is marginal in comparison, with their C.U. experience always being the norm. Graduation will mean leaving one's 'denomination' and having to adjust to a far 'inferior' one peopled with screaming children, old ladies and under such tight clerical control that one can contribute very little. (The 'culture shock' involved would be like that of moving from a High Anglican to a Pentecostal church - or even worse!) Consequently

not only will one's detached existence as a student give way to an involved life of responsibilities and decisions but also the new Christian plausibility structure will provide only a fraction of the support and direction which the C.U. had <sup>41</sup>. The world which had previously been neatly divided between C.U. Christian and the unbelieving remainder becomes blurred and evangelicals readily fall into the pattern of life and expectations of fellow members of their professions. Often the way of life in which they were brought up re-asserts itself as being the 'natural' one for people such as themselves. Parental influence comes to bear again as soon as the first home is acquired and the first baby expected. Any remaining radicalism of the C.U. days is all but smothered. For a small majority who refuse to be smothered there seem to be few possible lines of action. A considerable number of those not knowing how to make Christian sense of their everyday work, and weekly hearing sermons extolling "full time Christian work" leave their professions for theological college and thence to churches at home or missions abroad. And so the process repeats itself. Any who have doubts about this dualistic pietism are regarded as 'unsound' and accused of 'preaching the social gospel'. The opposition comes not from those who feel that the validity of their 'ministry' is being questioned but equally from the 'laity' who are so happily and unthinkingly adjusted to the central institutions of our society. Having for so long distinguished between themselves as 'true believing Christians' and the others as 'liberals' or 'merely nominal' the idea that their whole outlook on life was in need of profound reformation often strikes them as unthinkable while alternatives are evaluated in terms of whether they would 'fit in to' the present situation. As they seldom will, they are deemed as 'unpractical' and concern is often expressed as to the 'spiritual state' of those who make such recommendations.

### 3. Arts and Sciences

We must turn now in our attempt to understand the evangelical worldview to understand how the various disciplines are seen. We have noted already that I.V.F. Vice-Presidents were dominantly in medicine, physics and engineering. We note too that the Research Scientists Christian Fellowship (along with the Christian Medical Fellowship) is by far the largest and most influential of the Graduate's Fellowship specialist groups. Working with the traditional 'art' and 'science' distinction of the British university a number of general characteristics become visible:

<u>Sciences</u>	<u>Arts</u>
(natural sciences) <sup>42</sup>	(and social sciences)
realistic	romantic
straight society	counter-culture
1. Masculine, work, useful grown up (pp 144, 147 <u>Whose World?</u> )	Feminine, leisure and useless child activity
2. Leads to a responsible secure job (part of the business world)	Often leads to unemployment(only good for teaching) (part of the entertainment world)
3. Thought - rationalism upper-class Stoicism, universal validity objective facts	Feelings Lower class vulgarity or upper class aestheticism feelings, subjective passing fads
4. Self-control, discipline  humility optimism	Self-indulgence, moral (especially sexual) dangers pride, obscenity pessimism
5. Emphasis that the founders of modern science (mathem- atical physics) were Christ- ians and that Christianity	No anxiety to claim that Christianity has been important to the arts in the past or relevant in the present. (The social sciences have been largely



- |  |   |
|--|---|
| is compatible with modern science.   | ignored so far)   |
| Study of the works of God  | Study of the works of men   |
| 6. Science is verbal-propositional (association with propositional revelation) | Art is non-verbal, symbolic etc. (Guilt by association with liberal theologies) |
| 7. Man as a rational-moral being. Classical trio: truth, goodness              | Seldom if ever as an aesthetic being  |
| black business suit or white lab coat  | beauty vestments or hippy attire  |
| 8. Evangelical simplicity e.g. Wesleyan 18th-19th c. neo-classical chapels     | High Church aestheticism/liberal external religion                              |
| Puritanism   | liberal culture-religion  |
|  | Restoration   |
| 9. Applied art in technology   | Fine arts   |
| verbal arts  | visual arts   |
| biography & history  | fiction   |
| ( <u>Whose World?</u> p. 120)  | music   |
| 10. 6th form and University specialisation - making uncultured 'technicians'   | 'culture'   |

A few remarks may be added to this diagram. The tendency is for Evangelical men students to read natural science subjects while the women read arts subjects which are teachable at school. As men dominate the Evangelical movement the type of awareness which the arts subjects are able to produce play a diminutive role, being restricted to the private sphere of the home. This means that many of those in positions of leadership have had a narrowly specialist training from the age of sixteen upwards in subjects such as mathematics, physics, chemistry and biology. I purposely use the word 'training' because the manner in which these subjects are usually taught excludes any general understanding of scientific procedures, any serious concern with the

history of science or the interrelations of the sciences with human culture as a whole due to the pervasive 'pragmatic utilitarianism', to use David Martin's phrase, which is antagonistic reflection.

This has resulted in the wide and unchallenged acceptance by Evangelicals who are scientists (or concerned about science) of a dualistic metaphysic, formulated first by Prof D.M. Mackay in 1965. Those familiar with the history of philosophy will detect various elements which have appeared previously - Ockham, Descartes, Kant, Bohr and (later) Wittgenstein, although only the last two figures would probably be acknowledged as sources. (The dualism reflects the life of the evangelical student of science (I) in the laboratory (II) outside in worship or with family i.e. with objects or with individual people). The basic dualism has late mediaeval origins in the thought of William of Ockham with grace and nature as completely discontinuous magnitudes. This dualism has been considerably re-interpreted in terms of the personality-science motive of modern humanism such that the issue becomes Christianity (i.e. freedom) in the mechanistic universe. This can be diagrammed as follows:

Ockham	Descartes	Kant	Mackay
free God - grace	res cogitans 'mind'	(noumena) free moral personality	'Christianity'
unrevealing nature - nature	res extensa 'matter'	Newtonian nature (phenomena)	'Mechanistic Universe'

The two 'realms' are said to be complementary descriptions, the idea of complementarity being derived from Bohr's view of the relation between particle and wave theories of light. Of late the two 'realms' are characterised more in terms which derive from the later Wittgenstein with the emphasis put on the irreducible diversity of 'languages'. The highly abstract and reductionistic character of this metaphysic can be seen alongside that of Descartes and Kant.

aspectual (modal)	Descartes	Kant	Mackay
diversity			
confessional	Mind	Ethical Personality	Free Rational- Moral Personality (capable of choosing Christ)
ethical			
juridical			
aesthetic			
economic			
social			
linguistic			
historical	Matter (geometrical physics)	Newtonian Nature (constituted by the transcendental- logical categories of the understand- ing)	Mechanistic universe
analytical			
psychical			
biotic			
physical			
kinematic			
spatial			
numerical			

The structural and aspectual diversity of creation is lost sight of through the influence of the dialectical motive of personality and science. All that remains are a realm of atomistic free individuals in a mechanistic universe, in fact almost the Newtonian world picture, to be defended against those in the tradition which stretches from Thomas Hobbes to Francis Crick\*.

By interpreting the Christian faith to such a degree within this

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\* See 'Hobbes and the Modern Mind' pp. 1-27 in The Anatomy of Knowledge (1969) edited by Marjorie Greene (University of Massachusetts Press, Amherst)

Enlightenment Humanist framework the fundamental problematics of Humanism are embraced -- how to reconcile the cult of science with the cult of personality. The attempts by such Evangelicals to do this re-enacts the fruitless attempt by Kant and subsequent Humanist intellectuals to do so. If such Evangelical endeavour were met with such then Humanism would, by the same token, be freed from its central problem! That is not the purpose of the enterprise however -- it is to reconcile the Christian faith with secularised science, a typical example of which is F.H.T. Rhodes' contribution to the volume Christianity in a Mechanistic Universe. For Rhodes science is the systematic observation of the world. Nothing that man can observe is out of the bounds of science. "The realm of science is the realm of the whole universe, of all existence" (p. 33). In this scientific activity faith can play no part at all. To try to intrude it here could only impede the quest for scientific truth..Every scientist must set himself the goal of making the hypothesis 'God' superfluous in his field" (p. 34). The scientist, when he thinks as a scientist, must shut out his faith. He will not cease to believe, as a person, but he will shut this believing out of his activity as a scientist. Only then is true knowledge of the universe possible.

Yet, science does not say all that can be said about the universe. There is another dimension, neither depending on nor overlapping the dimension of science. Science gives us the objective view of reality; the view of man who takes the position of the detached observer. Faith gives us the subjective view of reality; the view of man who takes the position of a participant. Since God is a person "the detached scientific approach must be utterly inadequate to make his acquaintance: I must participate in whatever encounter there may be with him" (p 47). While faith and science are complementary, in the sense that neither says all that can be said about reality, they are in no way dependent

upon each other. Within its own sphere each is complete and self-sufficient, so that we must always "...beware of 'mixing our models', of using observer and participant language interchangeably" (p 44)

Thus whereas earlier Evangelicals had in a fundamentalist fashion simply ignored or denounced secular science but did not replace it with a Christianly conceived understanding of science, so these latter-day Evangelicals seek to embrace both orthodox Christianity and secularised science. An analogous situation one finds in the arts. The basically negative view of the arts prevalent until a few years ago (e.g. in Derek Kidner's The Christian and the Arts (1959) ) has been replaced by an acceptance of a (bowl-derised) version of each new trend in the visual and musical arts (gospel music, magazines, book design, church publicity etc.) albeit usually when the trend is just going out of fashion. The either/or of the older Evangelicals has been replaced by the both/and of the younger ones. The recognition that both of these formulations derive from the nature-grace dualism and stand in the way of an integrally Christian development of the arts and sciences is something that is only just being recognised. The next section will explore some of the pre-conditions of such a recognition in the field of philosophy and the idea of a Christian philosophy.

#### 4. Philosophy

From this pattern it is clear that Evangelical academic leadership has persistently tended towards specialist researches especially in the physical and biological realms and have consequently seldom considered larger cultural questions which are more the daily bread of the arts and sciences. Nor have they ever seriously considered the nature and place of science itself in human life <sup>43</sup>. Nor should we, indeed, expect that such could be provided by a position which

has done little to articulate its own worldview, let alone develop its own systematic philosophy. Without doubt it is philosophy which is a vital pre-condition of the possibility of integral Christian activity in the whole realm of academic inquiries and cultural engagement, so to conclude this section we shall look briefly at what has happened in this respect. William Young provides some historical perspective when he writes:

"In this all too brief survey of the relations of Calvinism and Philosophy to the 19th century we have found a series of compromises between Reformation Theology and various forms of secular philosophy. At no point did Calvinism ever display the consciousness that in its theological system were contained clues for the development of a radically unique system of philosophy. The attitude towards philosophy was fundamentally similar to that of Mediaeval Scholasticism, in that it was an attitude of accomodation of and synthesis with prevalent or classical modes of philosophising. It must even be confessed that the interest in philosophy for its own sake as distinct from its serviceability to theology has been much less in Protestantism than in the Middle Ages" 44

In Britain this tradition has continued into the 20th century. Colin Brown has remarked that within the Christian camp:

"Liberals tended to latch on to some form of Hegelianism or Kantianism. Both were in principle sub- or even anti-Christian. Roman Catholics were officially encouraged to espouse Thomism as the antidote to scepticism. Conservative Protestants did great work in the field of Biblical scholarship, but few, if any, saw the need for a positive approach to philosophy relating it to their biblical faith...For them, scholarship had a purely negative value" 45

The first item to appear on philosophy published by Inter-Varsity Press was Arthur Holmes' Christianity and Philosophy in 1964 -- significantly a mere thirty one pages, written by an American and a reprint of something published four years previously in the U.S.A. It fits the 'grace and nature' mould of the new evangelicism replacing the 'grace not nature' of the older pictism. Consequently the Christian must be... 'neither obscurantist nor rationalist. He is compelled to develop for himself a working relationship between Christianity and philosophy that will discredit neither Christianity nor philosophy' 46. For Holmes Christianity is a religion. Religion is one phase of

human culture and philosophy is another. They have different goals and methods <sup>47</sup>. The main issue in the past has been their failure to appreciate each other. The two are complementary. Christianity meets "the basic needs of men" <sup>48</sup> - but what these are is not explained. The Christian holds to the primacy of revelation but beyond a certain point this does not lead very clearly. The following quotation is Holmes' articulation of the relationship:

"The precise philosophical expression of the nature of man, the relationship of mind to matter, the extent of environmental influence on human behaviour, the degree of objectivity available in historical knowledge, the choice between divergent views of the a priori - in these and other questions the decision of the Christian philosopher becomes as much or even more a matter of philosophical preference as of religious commitment. He could hardly be a materialist, it is true, but he could conceivably be either an idealist or a dualist. He could hardly be a deist but he might follow either Aquinas or Kant in the value ascribed to the theistic arguments... in these more debatable matters his commitment is made more on philosophical than on biblical grounds. Christianity gives considerable direction and motivation to philosophy. But it is not a philosophy, nor does revelation lead unequivocally to the sort of closed and dogmatic system which modern existentialism and analysis define. One cannot infer from Christian premises conclusive answers to every philosophical problem. It is for that reason that even Christian philosophers differ" <sup>49</sup>

A number of features important for our purposes emerge from this passage. The first is the view that the Biblical faith, although it may exclude certain philosophical views (e.g. materialism or deism) does not require its own particular philosophic expression <sup>50</sup>. Indeed it is compatible with a whole range of philosophical positions. Consequently all that 'Christian philosophy' can mean is a philosophy compatible with Christianity <sup>51</sup> and there can be a number of these. Consequently one can expect that Christian philosophers should hold different positions. At the most, Christianity can warn us against philosophic error, but hardly guide us to philosophic truth. Philosophy alone, and by itself, can do that. This seems to assume that as philosophy cannot be produced by means of exegesis and deductions from Scriptural propositions then no intrinsically Christian philosophy is possible. The assumption here of course is that the only

possible relation between revelation and philosophy must be one of logical implication in the manner of seventeenth century Rationalists arguing from a priori principles to the totality of knowledge in a tightly deductive manner. And such an assumption has been a familiar one amongst orthodox Protestants since the seventeenth century. Indeed the nature-grace dualistic position is set forth explicitly in the Westminster Confession of 1648 <sup>52</sup>. Such an apparently strict view of what can be called Christian is quite compatible with a commitment to contemporary secular philosophy. Indeed one may wonder whether it is the latter which prompts or at least re-inforces commitment to the former <sup>53</sup>. Indeed Holmes seems to suggest that the types of philosophy to which revelation leads are not in danger of being despised by existentialism and analysis. If that were really to be the case then they would have to be varieties of existentialism and analysis. One further point is that Holmes has little conception of the Body of Christ in scholarship. The fact that Christians, who are philosophers, differ is not seen as problematic. In the 'realm of nature' all men have a right to their own 'philosophical preferences'.

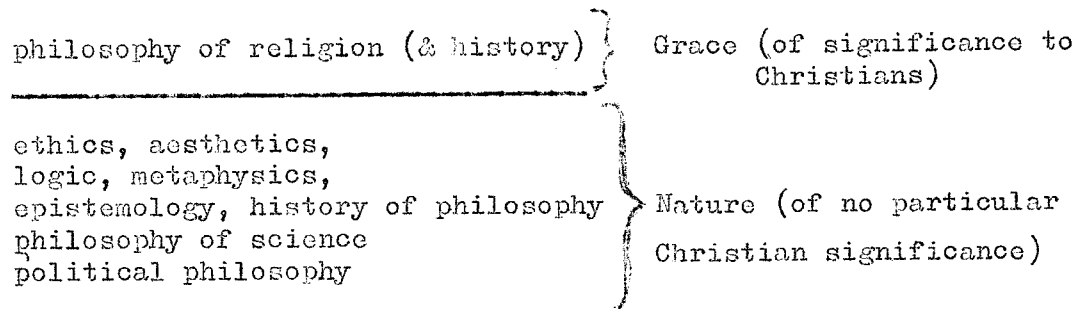
In 1969 appeared a far more substantial work of 319 pages entitled Philosophy and the Christian Faith by Colin Brown. For the most part it is a popular survey of the history of philosophy largely pre-occupied with theological questions. Indeed in his concluding section 'Philosophy and Reformed Theology' the three figures he singles out are theologians and apologists, namely Cornelius van Til, Karl Barth and Francis Schaeffer. (The outstanding work of the Christian philosopher Herman Dooyeweerd is relegated to a mere footnote). Brown's own position, a typical one for evangelicals, comes out most clearly in the 'Postscript: the Christian and Philosophy'. He never even considers the possibility of a systematic Christian philosophy. His 'philosophy of the Christian religion' turns out to be a philosophy of religion



or apologetics done in the style of the language analyst<sup>54</sup>. Indeed he seems to reject the very idea of systematic philosophy by maintaining that "there is no such subject as philosophy today...philosophy is always the philosophy of something else, whether it be the philosophy of science, the philosophy of history, or the philosophy of knowledge and communication...It is the same with the philosophy of the Christian religion. Its subject matter is identical with that of biblical and systematic theology"<sup>55</sup>. With his acceptance of the analytic doctrines of philosophy as a second order activity and its piecemeal procedures Brown has no place cosmology, philosophical anthropology or epistemology. Our only concern should be "philosophical theology". We are repeatedly warned against "the dangers of allying the Christian faith too closely with any single philosophical system" because "no system of philosophy has ever turned out to be complete and perfect" and "no philosophy is all-embracing"<sup>56</sup>. It seems that for the prefix 'Christian' to be appropriate a philosophy would have to be complete and infallible. As there is no such philosophy Brown maintains "we should be cautious in embracing one set of philosophical ideas to the exclusion of others, and critical in our evaluation of all of them"<sup>57</sup>. It is hard to know exactly what he means here. Is he suspicious of 'sets' of ideas and not of eclectically gathered ones? Or should we embrace several sets of ideas? Or none? And can one really engage in critical examination without a position of one's own? Nor does Brown's own example serve to elucidate these issues. Rather, it seems to vacillate between all these positions. He nowhere seriously considers the question of the possibility of a Christian philosophy - rather amazing in a large book entitled Philosophy and the Christian Faith. In his anxiety to avoid being a "sophisticated intellectual" or an "unsophisticated pietist"<sup>58</sup> one has the feeling that he ends vacillating between pietism and intellectualism without

having uncovered the true relation between commitment to Jesus Christ and theoretical endeavour.

The effects of this nature-grace dualism seems to have led Brown to divide up the conventional British philosophy curriculum in a way which can be diagrammed as follows:



Anyone familiar with the 'philosophy of religion', however, realises that it is to a very large degree determined by views deriving from other branches of philosophy - today logic and epistemology especially. Furthermore it is significant that Brown nowhere seriously analyses philosophy as it is taught and practiced in Britain. Indeed he seems quite gratified by what is happening, especially the recent growth of philosophy of religion and philosophy of history "...because the Christian faith lays claim to a certain type of knowledge and asserts that events in the past are decisive for humanity..." (p. 275). Working within the nature-grace scheme he does not recognise that the attack on the Christian faith comes not only from the philosophy of religion and history but from all the other branches of philosophy too (as well as the whole range of the academic disciplines) in that the contemporary British philosophy is rooted in liberal Humanism. Brown seems to accept the secularisation of all these latter areas and only gets concerned when the possibility of 'religious language' and the historicity of the New Testament comes under fire. He fails to recognise that even these areas cannot be defended and maintained in their true Christian meaning unless they are seen within the context of a distinctively Christian development of the whole of scholarship. The degree to which he has reduced the Christian faith and the idea of

Christian involvement in philosophy is evident in contrast with the radicality of Abraham Kuyper when he stated:

"Philosophy, psychology, aesthetics, jurisprudence, the social sciences, literature and even the medical and natural sciences, each and all of these when philosophically conceived, go back to principles, and of necessity the question must be put with much more penetrating seriousness than hitherto, whether the ontological and anthropological principles that reign supreme in the present method of these sciences are in agreement with the principles of Calvinism, or are at variance with their very essence" 59

With this mention of Abraham Kuyper we can turn appropriately to comments on some features of the present situation for it is Kuyper's vision mediated by Dr. Francis Schaeffer<sup>60</sup>, Dr. Hans Rookmaaker<sup>61</sup> and Dr Herman Dooyeweerd<sup>62</sup> which has introduced a significant change in the evangelical outlook. In terms of orientation towards the natural rather than the cultural aspects of reality which we examined earlier Schaeffer using a large brush outlined what was going on in society at large, especially in the art, music, literature and philosophy as indicative of the worldview of those to whom Christians would have to bring the Gospel. At first this was viewed with suspicion but later assimilated as merely a matter of needing to understand the 'thought-forms' of the present generation so that the old pietist gospel could be brought to them -- in the same manner in which the missionary studies the language and customs of the natives. In another sense 'cultural awareness' was pulled into, or at least half into, the 'realm of grace' under the label 'pre-evangelism'. Gradually there has come a resistance to seeing scholarship and cultural involvement as merely providing apologetics and pre-evangelism for the old individualistic-pietistic gospel with its nature-grace dualism. There was a growing sense that Christianity is for the totality of life and not merely for certain aspects of it. Within a very short period of time arose a whole succession of Christian groups who sensed the need to develop a Christian awareness of the area of life in which they found themselves in a communal way. In

1970 came the Shaftesbury Project on Christian involvement in Society which sponsored study-groups on politics, business, family life, crime and other topics in different parts of the country. In 1971 the London Arts Centre (6, Hornton Place, London W.8.) the Edinburgh Arts Group and the Bristol Christian Arts Group arose, the initial impulse coming largely from Dr Hans Rookmaaker's book Modern Art and the Death of a Culture which was published in 1970. 1971 saw the beginning of the Christian Studies Unit. Tear Fund (The Evangelical Alliance Relief Fund) although officially founded in 1968, came into its own in 1971. In 1972 came the first Christian Art Student's Conference while in Easter of 1973 came the first Architect's and Planners Conference. 1971 saw the beginning of the Ilkley Group -- a group of evangelical research sociologists who have since met three times a year. In 1970 the Christian Parent-Teacher League began -- with a concern to consider the possibility of an alternative educational system.

All these groups are small and do not represent the majority of Evangelicals by any means -- but are beginning to exercise an influence out of all proportion to their size. Moreover, they feel that they are only just beginning to see what they should be doing and where they should be heading.

With respect to education, the arts and sciences, the group with the most clearly defined position is the Christian Studies Unit of which there are parallel groups in North America, New Zealand and Australia. All of these groups lean heavily on the work done at the Free University of Amsterdam and the Institute for Christian Studies in Toronto which was founded in 1967. The educational creed of the C.S.U. maintains the following principles:

Life. Human life in its entirety is religion. Thus scholarly life unfolds itself as service either of the one true God or of an idol.

Scripture. As the written Word of God, Scripture, in instructing

us of God, ourselves and the structure of creation, is that integral and active divine Word of Power by which God through His Spirit, attaches us to and enlightens us in the Truth, which is Christ.

Christ The Christ of the Scriptures, the Word of God incarnate, is the Redeemer and Renewer of our life in its entirety and therefore also of our theoretical thought.

Reality The essence or heart of all created reality is the covenantal communion of man with God in Christ.

Knowledge True knowledge is made possible by true religion and arises from the knowing activity of the human heart enlightened by the Word of God through the Holy Spirit. Thus religion plays a decisive ordering role in the understanding of our everyday experience and our theoretical pursuits.

Scholarship a) the diligent pursuit of theoretic thought in a community of scholars is essential to the obedient and thankful response of God's people to the cultural mandate. The task of the scholar is to give a scientific account of the structure of creation and thereby to promote a more effective ordering of the entire community.

b) Because of God's gracious preservation of creation after the Fall, men who reject the Word of God as the ordering principle of life provide many valuable insights into the common structure of reality; nevertheless the central religious antithesis in life remains. We, therefore, reject the possibility of the synthesis of scripturally directed thought with any other system of thought.

Academic Freedom Scholarly pursuits are to be undertaken in the God-given freedom of a complete and voluntary submission to the Word of God and the divine laws that govern human life. The responsible freedom of the scholar must be protected against any constraint or domination of church, state, industry or any other societal structure.

Summary. All scholarship pursued in faithful obedience to the divine mandate will heed the normative direction of God's Word, will acknowledge his Law to which all creation in all its spheres is subject, and will bow before Christ's Kingship over all scientific work.

The response to the Kuyperian views of the C.S.U. has been diverse and often ambivalent. The Kuyperian position implies a different view of theology -- no longer as the queen of the sciences; a different view of the 'secular sciences' holding them to be not neutral but equally involved in the struggle of the Kingdoms. Until recently the Kuyperian approach has been ignored in Britain<sup>63</sup> but since it has continued to gain influence an attack has commenced in the Banner of Truth magazine. This could have been anticipated for there

had appeared already some rather negative reviews of Francis Schaeffer writings which lean to some extent on the work of Dooyeweerd. Indeed it has been these writings plus those of Rookmaker which have opened the door of British evangelicism to the possibility of taking the Kuyperian position seriously. Furthermore the visible break up of middle class values has made the Kuyperian denial of the possibility of religiously neutral culture and the need for distinctive Christian culture much more plausible.

The attack began with a review by Paul Helm, lecturer in philosophy at Liverpool University, of The Amsterdam Philosophy: A Preliminary Critique in which he endorses the view of that publication that the "magical appeal" of the Amsterdam philosophy stems from "certain dominating metaphors" <sup>64</sup>. The book itself maintains that the Amsterdam movement is "(i) full of unclarity and poor argumentation, and (ii) unscriptural at many crucial points" <sup>65</sup>. This charge can be interpreted as: the Amsterdam philosophy is not compatible with (1) the analytic philosophy tradition <sup>66</sup> and (2) scholastic reformed orthodoxy. The first clause is not made explicit but the second one is, for Frame declares "We are convinced that if the goals of the Amsterdam philosophy prevail in our circles, the Reformed Faith as we have known it will disappear entirely from those circles" <sup>67</sup>. In the following month Paul Helm made his position even more explicit -- a position, because it is becoming and soon will come to be a typical one, which is worth quoting at length. After having discussed some of the rather negative characteristics of Evangelicals Helm asks whether Kuyper's outlook may be the answer. What he says at first appears to answer in the affirmative. He writes:

"Kuyper stressed that because God is sovereign over the whole of his creation then the Christian's interest cannot be less than that. The Church cannot be concerned with the redemption of men in such a way that their becoming Christians means that they must withdraw from God's creation. Rather, the Christian faith is meant to apply to the whole of human life, just because God's sovereignty extends everywhere. 'There is not an inch of secular

life of which Christ does not say, it belongs to me'. Considered in these general terms Kuyper's vision of the Church's 'cultural mandate' is magnificent and truly liberating" 68

Having said that he seeks to maintain that such a view is in fact descriptive of the Evangelical status quo and that it has only been the misguided followers of Kuyper (e.g. the C.S.U.) who have gone wrong. In fact the position which Helm proceeds to attack is precisely that which was central to Kuyper's own vision<sup>69</sup>. The attack, like that of Frame, is a two-fold one in defence of (1) the centrality of individualistic soteriology in the 'realm of grace' and (2) the neutralist view of the 'realm of nature'. He writes:

- (1) "But in hands other than Kuyper's this stress has been misleading. For one thing, there has been an increasing tendency to equate the distinctive position of the Reformed Faith with what has come to be called a 'world and life view'. The sovereignty of God over creation has been stressed at the expense of God's saving grace in Christ".
- (2) "There have also been serious difficulties in applying Kuyper's ideas. To some they have come to mean a distinctively Christian content and method to every aspect of human life - a Christian physics, economics, art and so on. But instead of being liberating Kuyper's vision has become another constricting and narrowing influence. "Having a World View" has meant that certain matters could safely be ignored, and certain questions never raised. But, in a sense, a hermit has a world view. And the idea that there is a distinctive Christian content or method to everything is doomed to disappointment if for no other reason than that Scripture nowhere teaches us to expect it. Though it lays down principles, and has a lot to say on the moral and intellectual spirit in which Christians should do whatever they are doing, it does not teach physics or politics or cookery, and any attempt to show that it does or must will appear - to many at least - to be arbitrary and forced. What it means to be a Christian in many 'spheres' has to do with having the appropriate motivation and approach to the matter - patience, fairness, integrity, compassion and respect for the truth".

Helm's dualistic position is very clear from these passages. He is committed to the 'Reformed Faith' in the realm of grace while in the rest of life the only implications which that faith has is in terms of personal moral qualities. Consequently the Faith does not have implications for the development of physics, economics, art, cookery, politics and so on - but only for the persons involved. In other words

there is no internal relation between faith and knowledge. Indeed knowledge is best isolated from faith -- even the Reformed Faith -- for the latter would be a constricting influence, would lead to issues being ignored or answers dogmatically assumed. The 'Reformed Faith' to which Helm is committed is the one in which the 'Five Points of Calvinism' are central -- each of these points dealt with individual soteriology. On the other hand he is committed to what is effectively a Rationalist position in the realm of nature. Indeed he is committed to the view that Linguistic Analysis can provide a religiously neutral criticism and clarification of meaning, and not surprisingly he totally rejects the possibility of Christian philosophy. His double hostility to the idea of the Christian faith being a world and life view is twofold. In the first place a world and life view involves a totality view of reality, a unified vision, and this ill accords with such a position as Helm's for his 'Reformed Faith' only deals with a section of life. In the second place a world and life view could be articulated philosophically, and a Christian world and life view could lead to a Christian philosophy. Such would be incompatible with one of the central claims of linguistic philosophy to ideological neutrality <sup>70</sup>. Earlier we argued that the nature-grace dualism first came to full expression in the writings of Thomas Aquinas. Frederick Coplestone is pleased to tell us that Aquinas "held philosophy become self-conscious and aspire after independence and autonomy" <sup>71</sup>. Helm would doubtless find himself in basic agreement with a Roman Catholic analytical philosopher who wrote:

"I have, myself, definite religious convictions: but I would consider it entirely wrong to make them intrude as tacit pre-suppositions in the actual process of analysis I undertake" <sup>72</sup>

In other words the philosophical analysis and interpretation of reality must and therefore can in principle be freed from the direction of religion. The word 'intrude' is most significant. The clear



implication is that if our philosophical analysis surrenders its autonomous pretensions and bows to the Lordship of Christ then it will become unphilosophical, prejudiced and lose contact with reality. The belief that Scripture supports such a position is usually achieved by ignoring the Old Testament (in a Dispensationalist manner) and by reading into the New Testament an otherworldly individualistic pietism. Consequently the fact that in both Testaments God is concerned with the whole life of His people and tells them what he requires for righteousness (not only for their worship life but also in business, legal and political life, in education, family and marriage) is eclipsed <sup>73</sup>. Helm, like most Evangelical writers, seems to assume that the New Testament even frees us from the all-embracing claims of the Covenant in every area of life (with the exception of the worship organisation) and requires only that whatever we choose to do will be characterised by personal morality. In the 'realm of nature' God is satisfied with a moral-rational Humanism <sup>74</sup>. Kuyper's (and his followers') call for an end to synthesis with Humanism is consequently seen by Helm as a "constricting and narrowing influence" and in another context declares that such a view would "...put a stumbling-block in the way of many Christians, compromise Gospel liberty, and lead to legalism" <sup>74</sup>. But, one wonders, is not the narrowing to do with the narrow way which leads to salvation of academic and educational life? Is not the stumbling-block the offence of the Cross? Is not such 'Gospel liberty' antinomianism? Is not such 'legalism' the keeping of the Covenant?

#### Footnotes

1. p. 60. Due to 'scientific' attacks on the Bible and sceptical psychological analysis of the Puritan religious experience. Cf. Colin Brown on philosophy - not illiteracy yet not alignment (vaccillation).

2. This is an important qualification. The point seems to be that

'personal evangelism' ought to be one's chief liesure-time activity. Attitudes towards the Children of God and similar groups are highly ambivalent in that the latter make 'evangelism' the central thing in the whole of life. They are practising what many evangelical leaders are preaching - and by doing so violating many of the middle class norms to which evangelicals are committed. Hence they are regarded as 'irresponsible' and 'unbalanced'. They also follow evangelical preaching in the avoidance of 'worldliness' -- to the discomfort of evangelicals who reject few of the central institutions of our society. Their de-valuation of the present -- again quite consistent with much evangelical preaching and hymnology -- hardly accords with the modest but comfortable standards of living sustained by most evangelical households.

3. One is 'called to' full-time work. One 'applies for' a job or 'chooses' a profession.
4. These occupations are, with the exception of social work which is a newcomer to the scene, traditionally associated with the mission field overseas.
5. It may be noticed that I haven't mentioned 'blue collar workers'. Working class people who become Evangelicals (or even merely commence church attendance) almost invariably break away from their social background in the direction of a middle class lifestyle. Charles Booth, writing in 1902 on Religion in London in Relation to Class, commented that "...as those of (the working class) who do join any church become almost indistinguishable from the class with which they then mix, the change that has really come about of as out of the class to which they had belonged...but meanwhile the bulk of the regular wage-earning class still remains untouched, except that their children attend Sunday school" (quoted by John Benington in Culture, Class and Christian Beliefs, p. 16)
6. The only exceptions are (1) a few Church of England scholars in evangelical parishes, (2) a few boarding and public schools for the children of missionaries and upper middle class professionals. Even these think of Christian education as being sufficiently provided for if (1) the teachers are Christians (2) the school has a 'Christian atmosphere' and (3) the religious instruction is 'Biblical'.
7. While the evangelistic principle is outward-looking there is also the concern with 'holiness' which amongst some groups seems more dominant and which leads to isolationism.
8. One of the assumptions here seems to be that if morning assemblies, R.I. and C.U.'s ceased to exist then schools would cease to be 'Christian'.
9. E.g. those involved in the Christian Studies Unit (founded in 1967-71) and the Christian Parent-Teacher League (founded in 1970) who wish to start seperate Christian schools.
10. pp. 4,5 Why we should keep religion in our schools. (Peter Cousins is Senior Lecturer in Divinity at Gypsy Hill College of Education, Kingston-upon-Thames). Note also p. 77 in Education and Christian Parents (S.U. 1969, London).
11. "Christian standards and values have helped to form the structure of our society in Britain, and have permeated its thinking for

centuries... This means that despite differences of faith, Christians and non-Christians can and do collaborate harmoniously in the educational service" p. 52 Which Way to School? (Cf. p. 96)

12. "School subjects are not, in their criteria or methods noticeably dependent upon Christian principles or pre-suppositions. Therefore Christian and non-Christian educationalist can work harmoniously together at all levels and pursue many of the same aims in doing so" p. 96 *ibid.* "It was mentioned earlier that each area of study has its own criteria and methods, which are not determined by particular religious pre-suppositions and principles, but by the nature of the subjects themselves" (p. 10.)

13. p. 115 in Peter Cousins' essay 'Evangelicals and Education' in Evangelicals Today (ed. John C. King) 1973

14. "Primary Religion" -- the real religion of the working-class in Richard Hoggart's The Uses of Literacy pp. 112-119. They think of Christianity as "a system of ethics: their concern is with morals, not metaphysics" p. 116. The following phrases give a sense of their understanding of religion (p. 117-118):

'doing good'  
'common decency'  
'helping lame dogs'  
'being kind'  
'doing unto others as y'would be done unto'  
'we're 'ere to help one another'  
' 'elping y'neighbour'  
'decent living'

15. p. 128 Whose World? on "A Christian Culture?"  
p. 142 on public schools. Also p. ix.

Here we have what one could call a projected identity crisis. Their children must go to the existent regular state schools -- or at least socially accepted ones. Underlying the complaint about the 'isolation' (of proposed alternative Christian schools) is the fear of their children having no identity outside of the great British and specifically middleclass community. The point is that they are thought to be missing out on something vital (in itself and for evangelism)

16. This dualism is clearly evident in the following passages. The Christian faith is seen as a mere addition to the secular rationalist vision of life and society. (See Whose World? p. 142 on public schools)

"In the light of this teaching it is foolish for men to put their faith only in their own reason, and to try to interpret the whole of life solely by reference to themselves"(p.48, cf. pp. 14-15)

"It is no part of the Christian's duty in a world that is passing-away to try to create a specifically Christian society or culture. Nevertheless his aim will be constructive citizenship, trying to help and influence those around him to seek and find what is best for them" (p. 62)

Perhaps it is only in times of persecution that it becomes clear whether allegiance to Christ is seen as constituting one's central identity -- or merely as one's religious role.

17. Which Way to School? p. 96 (see quotation p. 65)

18. Ibid. p. 104 (see quotation p. 64)

19. Whose World? Ch. 2 'Other views' pp. 29-43 regards reformational and incarnational theology as erroneous.

20. Cf. Paul Schrottenboer's essay on Emil Brunner in Creative Minds in Contemporary Theology (ed. Philip Hughes 1966)

21. Cf. A.N. Triton's Whose World? (IVP 1970) pp. 32-36 & p. 190, which contains a dialectical view of the relation of creation and redemption.

22. Not that the 'realm of grace' remains uninfected, as the previous example shows. Evangelical theology and spirituality contains many pagan and humanistic elements.

23. Cf. the essential similarity of outlook between that of the reviewer of Dooyeweerd's Transcendental Problems of Philosophic Thought in Mind (p. 407 July 1949) and by Paul Helm in The Banner of Truth (pp. 39-40 July-August 1973) and in The Amsterdam Philosophy: A Preliminary Critique (1973) by John Frame & Leonard Coppes.

24. The Neo-Kantianism derives from P.H. Hirst and R.S. Peters who dominate contemporary British philosophy of education. See e.g. their book The Logic of Education (1970). Philip May's other book Moral Education in the School (Methuen 1971) sees this neo-Kantian approach as the basis on which Christians and Humanists can agree to develop H.B. courses. One wonders what Neo-Kantian Humanists would make of May's declaration that "...Christian and Humanist can agree that morality is more rational than immorality" (p. 42 Which Way to School?) One wonders even more whose position would be compromised by such an agreement. For Kant at least the Kantian ethics radically reject Biblically oriented ethics or "the theological concept which derives morality from a divine and supremely perfect will" for such a concept must involve "such characteristics as lust for glory and domination bound up with frightful ideas of power and vengefulness". Even worse it would "inevitably form the basis of a moral system which would be in direct opposition to morality" (p. 111) In other words that which will not entirely submit to human practical reason as "...sovereign authority, as the maker of law" p. 109, is necessarily immoral. Quotes from The Moral Law: Kant's Groundwork of the Metaphysics of Morals (translated and analysed by H.J. Paton 3rd. ed. 1961)

25. Cf. Thomist Frederick Coplestone who likewise rejects the idea of an integrally Christian philosophy for "the philosopher's principles are those discerned by the natural light of reason". (p. 281) Not surprisingly he too concludes that "...it would sound absurd to speak of a 'Christian biology' or 'Christian mathematics'" (p. 280) A History of Western Philosophy vol. 2 part 11 (1962)

26. The fact that these two groundmotives do not co-incide in their dualistic demarcations has lent itself - indeed has contained many evangelicals in the direction of a trichotomistic anthropology. e.g. p. in Christianity in a Mechanistic Universe. One finds something similar in Watchman Nee's writings which are popular in charismatic circles.

27. Rudolph Bultmann has a more extreme form of this position in his famous essay New Testament and Mythology ed. Hans Werner Batsch 1961, pp. 1-43

28. e.g. A.N. Triton. The exceptions are those who give priority to the science ideal - making 'doctrinal correctness' and 'systematic theology' central. Such are some of the neo-Puritans associated with the Banner of Truth Trust. Cf. No 87 Dec 1970 p. 6 "The Reformed Faith Refined" by Dr. Roy W. Butler. The personality ideal tradition runs through, in ever-increasing degrees of virulence, Arminianism, Pietism, Romanticism, Personalism and Existentialism.

29. p. 47 Christianity in a Mechanistic Universe  
N.B. the familiar evangelical phrases "the person of Christ" and "personal saviour" (p. 33 Evangelical Belief )

30. To Prod the Slumbering Giant (1973) pp. 1-6

31. p. 177 A Brief History of the International Fellowship of Evangelical Students ed. Douglas Johnson 1964

32. A. Rendle Short's Why Believe? (7th ed 1958 completing over 60,000 copies)

33. This has made evangelicism especially vulnerable to Humanist attacks in the form of psychology of religion. Many found Sargeant's book deeply disturbing.

34. By its very character any subjective individualism is hardly able to produce a theory of society - after all only individuals exist. Not only so but individualism is antagonistic to the idea of a shared vision - everyone has their inalienable right to their own opinion. Such an individualism has led many evangelicals to oppose systematic theology (in the realm of grace) and serious church membership while in the 'realm of nature' such individualism has been even more rampant. It has led to (supported by the grace/nature dualism) the apriori rejection of Christian non-ecclesiastical institutions and to neither seek nor expect a 'common mind' with other Christians on various matters. Speaking of a collection of essays he edited Prof D.M. Mackay writes:

"If in the end his strongest impression is one of diversity, we would think this no bad thing. For however general the principles on which a scientific understanding of the world can be integrated with the Christian faith, the crucial thing in our view is for each to make that integration his own; and in this personal outworking of principles for ourselves, no two of us are likely to come at the question in quite the same way"  
p. 7-8 Christianity in a Mechanistic Universe I.V.F. 1965.

Brian Griffiths editing the essays of a number of evangelical writers on revolution uses almost identical words:

"On some issues they disagree. And this is how it should be. For while each is in complete agreement in affirming the relevance of the Christian faith, that same faith does not provide a unique political programme to right the world" p. 8  
Is Revolution Change? IVF 1972

35. E.g. Arnold S. Nash The University and the Modern World SCM 1945 and Walter Moberley The Crisis of the University.

36. Evident in the Keele statement of 1967. While the 'doctrinal' sections have clearly been compiled with anxious care, the remainder appears loose to the point of carelessness.

37. Cf. Evangelical Belief p. 45 - the nature of the church, sacr-

aments etc.

38. p. 78-9 The Evangelicals (1969) Also pp. 161-2 in Gervase Duffield's essay 'Evangelical Involvement: The Doctrine of the Church'

39. Conservatives use subtraction -- the liberals use vagueness. George Macloed has pointedly commented:

"Roughly the preachers of today are either 'orthodox' or 'liberal': that is they either preach the Word, full of texts, with a rather vague application, or they deal with particular modern instances, rather vaguely relating them to a Bible text here and there". p. 42 Only One Way Left (x 3rd ed. 1961).

39a. This is not to deny that every belief needs a plausibility structure. Any outlook which wants to be engaged with culture and influence its direction needs a series of interrelated permanent plausibility structures in the various sectors of life e.g. universities, schools, trade unions, newspapers, political groupings, etc. Only positions which recognise that they are advocating an alternative totality picture of reality will work to produce such structures e.g. as Continental European Catholicism and Dutch Calvinism under Kuyper has sought to do. Anglo-American Christianity (including Evangelicalism) basically rejects the idea of such structures as (1) dropping out of society (2) engaging in a controversial conflict with society. These two criticisms may seem to exclude each other but they find their deeper root in the fact that they are both seen as inimical to the view that the task of Christianity is to add on "the religious dimension" to life. Evangelicals have typically organised cells in these various sectors of life for devotional and evangelistic purposes only. The leadership for such groups tends to come from (1) people largely unaware of what is happening in the sector concerned or (2) people who have distinguished themselves in the sector often through their exemplary conformity. (Cf. note 8 of Chapter 1. One should note the Communist consternation that some varieties of Christianity are failing to conform to the 'pie in the sky when you die' image).

40. It is perhaps not without significance that the Graduate's Fellowship -- the senior branch of the IVF is tiny by way of comparison. Last year there were about 400 in the C.U. at Bristol University while seldom more than 16 people attended any of the Bristol G.F. meetings.

41. Nor can one go back for the community one had known -- centrally the people in the same academic year -- will have dispersed. Few of them will have joined the G.F. The G.F. appears to many to be a kind of "old boy's club" living mainly on memories.

42. On p. 147 of Whose World? A.N. Triton wrote approvingly:

"Science, as opposed to the arts, has generally seemed so obviously useful to men, so free from moral evils inherent in much culture, and so obviously studying the works of God rather than those of man, that it has seemed to have everything to commend it"

Cf. pp. 149, 151-2

In Voice Autumn Term 1972:

p. 4 "True faith is a logical activity pursued by rational people, and has nothing whatsoever to do with ephemeral emotion, the experiences of one's grandmother, or the state of one's liver"

p. 5 "The apologist for established religion repeatedly tells us we live in an age of searching, when religious somnital is especially difficult. They are wrong, and for a paradoxical reason: as we learn more about the world, we can better understand the moral reasons for committing ourselves to Christ. This is probably the reason why more Christians are found among science than arts students" (!)

43. The Scientific Enterprise and Christian Faith (1969) ed. by Prof. Malcolm Jeeves, certainly the most substantial evangelical work on science so far, is hardly an exception. It is a superficial resume of various Humanist philosophies of science taking a 'moderate' view of all issues, concluding with the recommendation of an unspecified 'rational empiricism' (p. 154) as the Christian view. The main purpose is apologetic - to show that "Christianity is possible, even plausible" (p.161).

44. p. 35 Towards a Reformed Philosophy (The Development of a Protestant Philosophy in Dutch Calvinistic Thought since the Time of Abraham Kuyper) 1952

45. p. 166 Philosophy and the Christian Faith. 1969

46. p. 6 Christianity and Philosophy 1964

47. p. 12 ibid. This is fundamentally different from the Reformational view that man is fundamentally a religious creature and that all his activities - whether worship or philosophical analysis - are rooted in his religious commitment.

48. Ibid. p. 26

49. Ibid. p. 26

50. Holmes later contradicts this where he speaks warily of the Christian philosopher needing to develop a "Christian world and life view -- one which sees life steadily, as a whole, and from the perspective of biblical revelation. His epistemology will take into account the place of faith and revelation; his metaphysics will be guided by his theism with its doctrine of creation; his ethics will embrace the law of God and Christ's redemption; his philosophy of history will see the world process as moving under the providence of the Judge of all men" (pp. 28-9). The nature-grace dialectic leads to Holmes almost alternately declaring the neutrality of philosophy one moment and the need for a philosophic expression of Christianity in the next. His Christian Philosophy in the Twentieth Century (1969) has moved towards what he calls the 'perspectival view of philosophy' which leans quite heavily on the work of Dooyeweerd. British IVF were offered this book but they did not want to publish it.

51. This is essentially the Thomistic viewpoint. Coplestone maintains that "the most that the phrase 'Christian philosophy' can legitimately mean is a philosophy compatible with Christianity; if it means more than that, one is speaking of a philosophy which is not simply philosophy but which is, partly at least, theology" p. 280-1 A History of Philosophy vol 2 part 11 (1962)

52. Chapter 1 Section 4 "The whole counsel of God concerning all things necessary for His own glory, man's salvation, faith and life, is either expressly set down in Scriptures, or by good and necessary consequence may be deduced from Scripture. Nevertheless...there are some circum-

- stances concerning the worship of God, and government of the Church, common to human actions and societies, which are to be ordered by the light of nature..." (my italics)

53. This holds for other fields too. Any argument for an integrally Christian approach is immediately rejected by those who hold the dualistic position as being biblicistic, rationalistic, non-empirical, static, dealing with values rather than facts, dogmatic, non open-ended, inflexible, breaking off communication, etc, etc. The following is a comment by an evangelical sociologist about some reformational ones. They "want to build a Christian understanding of the world from a relatively static Biblical foundation ( which makes current sociology of dubious utility) while the rest of us are more prepared to examine secular sociology for understanding man as he is. Our approach is, at this stage more eclectic and related to Scripture more loosely. (Their) approach and what I can only describe as the 'social construction of reality' approach which most of the rest of us seem more prepared to accept is not just a difference in approach but of aim".

54. p. 275 last sentence.

55. pp. 287-8. Like most evangelical writers he seems to conclude that de facto situations are de jure. It is almost true that due to the influence of linguistic analysis philosophy has almost ceased to exist in philosophy departments. Brown seems to assume that is 'a good thing' just as he seems to accept the fragmentation of knowledge both inside and outside of philosophy into a mass of unrelated specialisms. The disabilities of contemporary Humanist philosophy seem to be regarded as a general condition of all philosophical thought.

56. pp. 268, 269. One seldom hears such warnings about 'theological systems' - perhaps because it is assumed that they logically deduced from Scripture.

57. p. 269 *ibid*.

58. p. 271

59. p. 194 Lectures on Calvinism (1971) delivered at Princeton University in 1898.

60. Leader of the L'Abri Fellowship who has produced a flood of books including Escape From Reason (1968), The God Who is There (1968), Pollution and the Death of Man (1970), Back to Freedom and Dignity (1973) and just published Art and the Bible (1973). One of Schaeffer's colleagues Os Guinness has just produced a fairly major work The Dust of Death: A Critique of the Establishment and the Counter Culture and a Proposal for a Third Way (1973). See my review of Schaeffer's books in the International Reformed Bulletin (Number 43, Fall 1970, pp. 23-26 and Vanguard (March, 1971).

61. Dr. Rookmaker author of Art and the Public Today (1969) and Modern Art and the Death of a Culture (1970) is Professor of Art History at the Free University of Amsterdam.

62. Dr. Dooyeweerd is Emeritus Professor of the Philosophy of Law at the Free University of Amsterdam. Author of numerous works In English there is A New Critique of Theoretical Thought (1953-8, 4 vols.) In the Twilight of Western Thought 1960 and The Christian Idea of the State (1968).

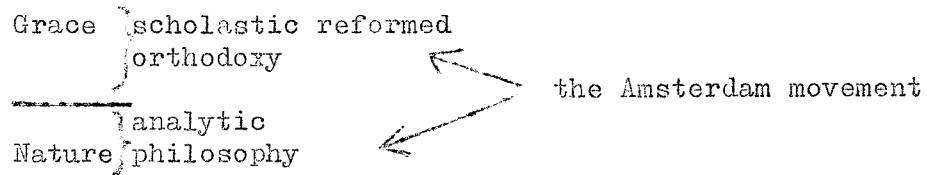


63. The first criticism appeared in A.N. Triton's Whose World? (1970) although this was pre-dated by the controversy between Prof. Jan Dengerink and Dr. Carl Henry in the International Reformed Bulletin ( )

64. The Banner of Truth (Issue 118-119 July-August 1973 pp. 39-40)

65. The Amsterdam Philosophy: a Preliminary Critique (by John Frame and Leonard Coppes) p. 51. The position which Frame and Coppes are defending is basically that of the Orthodox Presbyterian Church and which contains a mixture of elements. It is curious to see Frame using the methods of linguistic analysis to defend Van Til's "pre-suppositionalism" which involves the notion that all possible knowledge can be "deduced" from the doctrine of the Trinity. Helm is more consistently committed to linguistic analysis and does not like such "theologism". He wants a 'realm of nature' in which he can neutrally ply his trade.

66. This has been evident for a long time from both sides of the fence. Cf. the review of Dooyeweerd's Transcendental Problems of Philosophical Thought in Mind (p. 407 July 1949) and James Olthius' Facts, Values and Ethics (1968). This can be schematised as



67. The Amsterdam Philosophy p. 53

68. The Banner of Truth Issue 120 Sept 1973

69. A reading of Kuyper's Lectures on Calvinism makes that abundantly evident as does his founding of the Free University of Amsterdam, the Anti-Revolutionary Party etc., etc.

70. G.J. Warnock in his book English Philosophy since 1900 (1966) is anxious to defend the religious and ideological neutrality of linguistic analysis. From his opponents he demands "...a demonstration of the ways, if any, in which current philosophy has any such Weltanschauung... implications" (p. 110) In the context it is very difficult to know what - if anything - he would accept as a 'demonstration'. Just in case a demonstration is forthcoming he recommends that "...it would be the course of prudence to await with due humility the verdict of history" (p. 111) Until that verdict is given Warnock intends to accept the "undeniably plausible prima facie contention that it has none" (p. 110). The claim to neutrality has proved highly implausible to anthropologist-philosopher Ernst Gellner in Words and Things (1963) and to Neo-Marxists such as Herbert Marcuse in One-Dimensional Man (1964) and David Adelstein in his essay "The Philosophy of Education" or the wisdom and wit of R.S. Peters' p. 115-139 in Counter Course ed. Trevor Pateman (1972) as well as Reformational philosopher James Olthius in Facts, Values and Ethics (1968)

71. A History of Philosophy Vol 2 part 11 p. 279

72. At the foot of one of my essays at McMaster University as an implied criticism.

73. Cf. ed. Robert Carvill Will All the King's Men?

74. The 'secular theologies' of 'man coming of age' and of the 'death of God' are merely more radical versions of this compromised Christianity.

75. Helm reduces the Church as Body of Christ to that of the worship institution which is but one expression of it. He rejects the idea of any organized political expression of the Body "...the Church must never become a political party, with a creed and manifesto. That would be a flat denial of its spiritual character; it would put a stumbling block in the way of many Christians, compromise Gospel liberty, and lead to legalism" (p. 29 The Banner of Truth, Number 77, Feb 1970)

## The Growing Crisis of the Evangelical Worldview and its Resolutions

### Conclusion

It may seem strange to speak of the crisis of Evangelicalism at a time when it appears to be the most flourishing sectors of the Christian Church, bringing the gospel to thousands overseas through missionary societies and at home through numerous churches and non-denominational agencies. The influence of Evangelicism is much on the increase in British schools through Crusaders, Youth for Christ and the Inter-Schools Christian Fellowship while in higher education there are committed Evangelical groups in the Polytechnics, Colleges of Education, Art Colleges, Medical and Nursing Schools, and the Universities. Not only so but there has been a renaissance in Evangelical publishing.

Yet the future of Evangelicalism does seem to hang in the balance because the crisis concerns the most central matter -- the meaning of the Gospel, the nature of the 'Good News'. We have traced the way in which there has been a considerable shift over the past ten years from setting up a choice between 'individual redemption' or 'social amelioration' to seeing their relation as conjunctive. This could lead to a renewed Christian consciousness yet this possibility is a fragile one. Already earlier in our present century such a shift has occurred, with rather baleful consequences. Yet it may be useful to recount some of its main features. The Student Christian Movement had begun as a missionary and evangelistic student movement largely due to the visits of Dwight L. Moody to Britain in 1873-4 and 1880. In this same era Charles Spurgeon \* was the most popular preacher in

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\* See John Sills' thesis An Examination of the Social and Cultural Dimensions of the view of life preached by C.H. Spurgeon Oct 1973 (M.A. Department of Theology and Religious Studies, Bristol University)

London. Their Evangelical pietism brought hope and comfort to thousands, and yet their failure to come to grips with the issues of modern culture was soon to lead to a reaction. Their exclusive concerns with personal piety and missions could make little contribution towards the demands for a more Christian social order in Britain. Not only so, but the absence of Evangelical scholarship left them more or less defenceless against the assaults of Neo-Hegelian and Darwinian criticism, leading to further pietist withdrawal.

However during the first decade of our century most of the SCM leadership had moved towards the formula of Christ and culture. In 1909 some senior friends of the SCM met at Matlock and provided the Movement with an aim and policy in relation to social questions in the following terms:

"Aim

To urge upon students the necessity of learning the will of Christ, and following it in every department of life.

Policy

1. To draw attention to the grave conditions of modern life, and to the duty of the disciples of Jesus Christ in the face of these conditions.
2. To emphasize the Christian functions of home, business and professional life, and to claim men and women to the service of Christ therein.
3. To direct thought to the discovery of those forms of social life which are the fit expression of the Spirit of Christ.
4. To recover the hope for the redemption of society" \*

Having committed itself to responding to these issues and questions, the SCM, having lost much of its confidence in the Bible, tended to conform increasingly to whatever appeared to be 'progressive' in social thought. Soon a polarization developed which led to the formation of the Inter-Varsity Fellowship which saw itself as continuing the evangelical tradition of the late nineteenth century. The

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\* p. 113 G. Stephen Spinks Religion in Britain Since 1900

polarities could be briefly formulated in the following diagram:

S.C.M.	I.V.F.
Christ and Culture	Christ or Culture
Social Gospel	Individualistic Gospel
Centrality of this life	Centrality of the next
Incarnational theology	Atonement theology
'Progressive'	'Conservative'
Public morality	Private morality
A (fallible) Bible speaking on many issues	An (infallible) Bible for 'quiet times' and evangelistic preaching

The SCM attempt to Christianize the social order ended in the secularization of the Christian faith, such that the SCM has now passed into relative oblivion. This development had confirmed the IVF in their suspicions about the consequences of 'cultural involvement'. However the IVF has now begun to move in the same direction, and is now directing at itself some of the same criticisms made by the SCM several decades ago. Could it be that the IVF is, in the long run, trading in its isolated pietism for the marginally Christianized secular life advocated by the latter day SCM? Or a 'balance' of pietism and social gospel? These remain permanent possibilities while British Evangelicism remains committed to the nature-grace dualism which we have explored in the previous pages. But how can a break with this synthesis occur? It seems that there are two related conditions. The first is the elimination of the fear of being different, which requires an alternative distinctive Christian identity instead of the inner contradictions involved in maintaining two identities which we explained earlier. One sees this fear greatly reduced if not eliminated in the lives of those Evangelicals involved in the charismatic renewal. The second condition is a clarification of the possibility of thinking and acting differently. This condition is beginning to be met by the

introduction of the reformational philosophy associated with the name of Herman Dooyeweerd. The Scottish theologian James Orr in his The Progress of Dogma (1901) had envisioned this latter condition as being the distinctive task of the Church in the twentieth century:

"...the Church has another and yet more difficult task before it, if it is to retain its ascendancy over the minds of men. That task is to bring Christianity to bear as an applied power on the life and conditions of society; to set itself as it has never done to master the meaning of 'the mind of Christ', and to achieve a translation of that mind into the whole practical life of the age - into laws, institutions, commerce, literature, art; into domestic, civic, social, and political relations; into national and international doings - in this sense to bring in the Kingdom of God among men" (p. 353)

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